DEUTSCHKRON 1 - Int Bâtiment - Zoom arrière on termine là 1/2
dans le restaurant ?

It's not so easy to speak in this coffeehouse. I have not been here for many, many years, because this reminds me very much of the years when there was a signboard downstairs saying : "Juden Unerwünscht" - "Jews unwanted". Now, this signboard appeared not at once in all the coffee-houses, it appeared gradually, one after the other. Probably, they were told to put it up. And, of course we did not go in because there was always this danger of being recognized by someone, and possibly being denounced, and then arrested. Mind you, there were some coffee-houses who had customers -Jewish customers- for long years, and they made arrangments. I remember one coffee-house down here, it was called "Hillbrich", I do not think it exists anymore in Berlin, it arranged a little room

Zoom avant PG sur elle seule

for the Jews to meet in the evenings so that nobody could see them. There, they used to play cards and have just one possibility to be out of their homes for a change.

C.L. : When did this forbidding start ? Did it start at the very beginning or...

No, no, as I said, it was gradual. At the very beginning, there was this First of April, the Boycott (C.L.: 1933), 1933 yes, but it had nothing to do with that yet. It appeared gradually - I cannot really remember exactly the years - but it was not at one stroke; I would actually say that after the Boycott, on the 1st of April 1933, which meant that SA men, or posts, were standing in front of Jewish shops, which was often disregarded by Germans, you know. At the time, it was all so new and looked so little dangerous, let's say. Of course, things happened, people were beaten up or told not to enter and things like this, but in comparison, it was just nothing.
And then, there was another date which perhaps was important, the 7th of April, when the Nazis came out with a law which they called " die zur Wiederherstellung des Berufsbeamtentums" which meant really, that they threw out all those people who had not served in the First World War, all those Jews, of course, and did not allow other Jews to enter professional life in Germany.
So, these were the two dates which were really significant for the Jews in the beginning, but then, you know, it was sort of quiet, nothing drastic really happened, except that Jews of course with a political past, like being socialist or communist, were certainly arrested and put in Concentration Camps.

And at the time, everybody knew there existed concentration camps because it was written in the papers about it. We also heard about tortures and that sort of things. But, let's say the "normal Jew" did not really suffer yet in this sense, as it was later on.

But these signboards, like "Juden Unerwünscht", appeared gradually and I presume it depended on the zeal of the various Blockwalter, or those who had the say in the district.

C.L.: You mean they did it out of their own free will or they got orders ?

I would say there were some who certainly did it out of their own free will, there were some coffee-houses, if I am not mistaken, I do not want to accuse anybody wrongly now, but I remember there was a coffee-house across here, where it appeared volontarily, this means the man was really a Nazi and he put it on by himself, but very many coffee-houses, and that is really proven, have done it on orders.

C.L.: Yes, it means that it was not a shock at the beginning; it was a slow process.

- It was a very slow process; mind you, it was of course also a shock because ...

C.L.: Yes, can you describe this ?

- Well, you see, the Jewish people could not understand all this at the beginning. They were so german, and they believed to belong to this country so completly, that everything like this was of course a shock, and they took it though, because they thought it is just, you know, in the beginning, because the Nazis wanted to take grip, hold on this country, and there had been such -as they said- chaos in the Weimar Republic, such disorder, so that one man had to come. I remember Jewish people saying this, while you see, I mean, after all, something had to happen; it could not go on like this.

C.L.: Even Jews ...

- Even Jews said this. I remember very well that friends of my father - my father was a Socialist and of course politically involved, and we had Jewish friends who were not politically involved...

C.L.: Who were rightists, even.

- Yes, but they were just - and I would say the majority were like this - they were doctors, businessmen. They were interested in their own business to go on and be successful. They said "Well, you know, a man like this had to come, a man like Hitler had to come to make order in the State... After all, even in Italy something like this happened". And you know what Mussolini did. In the beginning there were things that in German were called Übergriffe - I don't know the English word for it - but then afterwards he dried up the swamps, for example. And wasn't

it wonderful, this is what would happen here too, once the first things had just smoothed out. This is how they consoled themselves, and took the things as they came. "All right, well we don't go to Kranzler to have a coffee, we'll meet somewhere else". Of course at the time there were also Jewish-owned coffee houses; there was a very famous one here, only two blocks away - Dobrin. That was Jewish, so one went to Dobrin instead of Kranzler. You see, there were still possibilities for escaping the...

C.L.: And did the Jewish coffee houses have to put the sign up too - 'Juden unerwünscht'?

- No, of course not. But they didn't exist very much longer. I can't exactly remember the dates now, but gradually they had to disappear, meaning they were forced to sell. But at the beginning one always had this way out, and the Jews didn't really believe that something drastic would finally happen. They arranged themselves, just as the Germans arranged themselves. After all, not all Germans were Nazis in the beginning, the Socialists existed still, and the Democrats, and they also arranged themselves - "All right, after Hitler there will be another chance, this was the feeling.

C.L.: Between the Boycott and the Racial Laws of September 1935, how was it? Did things go on smoothly?

- Yes, I would say smoothly. People like my father suffered. I told you my father was a Socialist, as he still is today, he was a functionary and of course he was thrown out of his profession. He is a teacher, and he was an 'Oberstudienrat' - deputy headmaster of a public school - and he had great difficulty in finding a job. He was given a very, very small pension as a punishment for having been an enemy of the State - he was called enemy of the State, there was a certain Paragraph 4 against 'enemies of the State' - and for him it was very difficult to find a new job. Also non-Jews were thrown out of their employment because of that (because of being Socialists, not being Jewish). My father then wanted to be a teacher in a Jewish school because he thought "After all, I'm a teacher and there are Jewish schools" and now Jewish children were flooding into Jewish schools because of what was happening.

C.L.: Did they have to leave the German high schools?

- No, not yet, but there was a sort of feeling of "Perhaps it's better to send my child to a Jewish school now". The Jewish Community didn't accept my father because, they said, "If the State declares someone an enemy of the State, how can we employ him?" He found a place in a school later, called the Theodorherzenschule, a Zionist school, a private school which did not belong to the Jewish Community,

and there he could be a teacher until 1936.

C.L.: Your father was not at all a Zionist.

- No, not a Zionist, not at all. In the first place he was a Socialist, and that was it. And that's how I grew up.

C.L.: What sort of school did you go to yourself, at the time?

- I was in a proper 'Lyzeum', a high school, a German one. Actually, in the beginning it was a source of great trouble for me because until 1933 I was in a primary school, and that year I had to change to a high school. I had to go to a new environment, which for a child is not an easy thing. That was exactly the time when my mother said to me "My child, you are Jewish and you come from a school..." which was at the time run,like other primary schools, really on Socialist lines. There was no religion, everything was very progressive...

Bobine nº10

DEUTSCHKRON 2

I had to change schools, to go to the high school, and for every child this is (A shock? C.L.) not a shock, really a change of environment. And this was when my mother said to me "My child, you are Jewish and you have now to show that you are something special, that you are a good pupil, you have to learn well, and you have to show that you are really good." When she said "You are Jewish" I really didn't know what it meant. I grew up like a child in Berlin, any child, perhaps more so as a Socialist child because I took a great interest in my parents' political fight. I helped them too, I folded leaflets for the Social Democratic party when I was six years old. So we did have Jewish friends, but it didn't matter to me what was Jewish, or non-Jewish, I didn't understand this. I remember to this day that I didn't ask her,"What does this mean?" She didn't explain, but I felt very clearly that this was something not so pleasant. I accepted of course her orders to be something special, also because I had been to what was in a way a political school. (My primary school was run on Socialist lines, it was a sort of free school, progressive, without religion and all this). I remember when my mother went in '33 to the school to register me there, the

headmaster sneered and said "What? She has been to such a school?" Well at that time he could say things like that. Anyway, I went to a proper Lyzeum, a proper high school. We were a minority of Jewish children, and I couldn't say that people were bad to me, or treated me badly - I don't think so, I don't remember this - but I remember I had trouble with the teacher for Jewish religion because I was so terribly ignorant, and she had never seen a child like that.

There were some Jewish children who were sometimes nagged by others - they were children who were scared, not used to fighting like myself - so of course children were very cruel and would notice there was something wrong and say to them "Judenmädchen" or something like that. This never happened to me, I must say. I remember very well that a girl from the BDM - the Nazi girls' association - was very friendly with me, and every day we went home together because we went the same way. She used to say "Heil Hitler" when she left me, I used to say "Auf Wiedersehen" and that was it. So I had no real trouble. Then I had to change schools because we moved out of that district. My father was so well known in the district as a Socialist and a Jew that it was very risky for us to remain there. It was in the Breslauberg, in the northern part of the city, a working-class area. So we moved, actually to this district here, the Uhlandstrasse, where we were not at all known and I went to another school, not far from here. Still at that time I would say half the class were Jewish girls. There were many Jews living in this area, so that's how it happened. And I must say we had no trouble at all in those first years. On the contrary - it sounds very mad today - but we went from time to time to a recreation home for the school. The children would have a week in the home, playing together and making excursions and things like that. The home was called 'Robula', meaning 'Robert Burg Landschulheim'. Robert Burg was a former headmaster of the school, and he was a Jew. So this Landschulheim, this recreation centre for the school was still called after the Jewish headmaster during the Hitler régime. I only stayed there until 1935, because then suddenly it started that Jewish children were no longer allowed to go on excursions, or out to the recreation house, no longer allowed to learn swimming - all sorts of deprivations or

discriminations, and my father thought it wasn't good for a child to be singled out, so he said "Now the time has come to send her to a Jewish school". This was in 1935.

I would say, though, that in those first years the normal Jew didn't really suffer, perhaps today it all sounds so minimal in comparison, of course one has also lost all proportions after what happened. We had some trouble of course - we were always Socialists, and remained that. I remember we lived here in the Uhlandstrasse in one house together with friends, non-Jewish friends, also people who had left their district to live in a totally different one. By accident they had found a place in the same house. We made no secret of our friendship with them, and nor did they. This shows you there was not yet this sort of discrimination, it was still possible for a Jew to mix with a christian, or non-Jew. Then it happened that people in the house suddenly denounced us to the Gestapo. They claimed, as we later found out, that my father - who was trying to make a living(after he had been thrown out of the school) by administering houses, he was allowed to work in the Theodorherzenschule only until the Nazis decided he was not fit even to teach Jewish children. So he lost that job too, and had to find something else to make a living, and took on administration of houses. He was not really the right type of man for this, but we had to live. So he typed a lot on his typewriter, and those people thought he was typing leaflets. Upstairs there were these friends, and there was a daughter who was a nurse. Often she would leave the house with a big suitcase, as nurses do. So they claimed that in the suitcases there were these leaflets for distribution. The Gestapo came to the house, searched it, confiscated 'Marx und die Juden' and things like that, but they did not find anything that pleased them, so to speak, and nothing happened. This sort of incident gave us a feeling that well, "There's still justice in Germany".

C.L.: Do you remember if, for instance, the 'Stürmer' of the 'Stürmerkästen' already existed at this time?

- Of course, well that really started at the beginning, the 'Stürmerkästen'. Or rather, I would say if I'm not mistaken, that existed before Hitler came to power. In the area we lived before there was an inn, which in Berlin you call a 'Kneipe', which was frequented by the SA. They of course had these 'Kästen',

these big showcases, and there there was the 'Schwarze ', and the 'Stürmer', and all these Nazi papers as they displayed them. So that existed from the start.

C.L.: Did you look at them yourself?

- There was a picture that I've never forgotten, maybe it had something to do with my being a young child: I remember a picture of the then Berlin police president, with the name of Weiss. He was a Jew, and obviously the Nazis disliked having a Jew as police president, and he was shown in a photograph in a very discriminating manner with a woman - of course an Aryan woman - they wanted to make clear what type of man this Weiss was. And I've never forgotten the picture to this day, I see it in front of my eyes. It is probably something to do with the manner in which it was taken.

C.L.: How was the picture taken?

- Well, he was half lying on her, on a very blonde girl. I just can't tell whether this was what you call a photomontage, or whether... I just don't know where the picture comes from. But I remember in the showcase of this Nazi 'Kneipe' this display of papers.

C.L.: Do you know something about the book written for non-Jewish children in Germany by a woman called Johanna Haar? The title of the book was 'Mutter erzählt von Adolf Hitler'. (D: Nein.) It was an extraordinary thing, completely anti-semitic.

- I don't know, it may have been in other parts of Germany, or maybe it didn't reach me, I don't claim to know everything that happened.

C.L.: Let's come to 1935, when the 'Racial Laws' were passed...

Bobine nº11

DEUTSCHKRON3

C.L.: Did the 'Racial Laws' of September 1935, the so-called Nürnberger Gesetze, mark a real change?

- I would say yes, it was like a sort of cleavage. You see, it interfered with people's lives. For example, a Jewish doctor was no longer allowed to have an assistant who was not Jewish. And - of course today it sounds funny, but many (9)

Jews had maids at the time, and they had to give them notice - a non-Jewish maid was not allowed to serve in a Jewish household. A non-Jewish shop assistant was not allowed to work in the shop of a Jewish shopkeeper.

C.L.: were these laws immediately implemented, with full force?

- Immediately, and with full force, and of course there was a good deal of fear among the Jews, because there were also Jewish men who had friendships, affairs with non-Jewish girls. Until 1935 there was no trouble about this.

C.L.: And this was forbidden?

- This was forbidden, it was considered a defilement of the Aryan blood - what you call 'Rassenschande', yes - and there are the very funny explanations, whatever you call the legal expression, 'Auslegung', for how to employ this law. For example, I remember we laughed our heads off - and this was perhaps my education - my parents and I used to laugh about these things, what else could one do really, if one wanted to keep one's spirits up? There was talk about sexual intercourse in aeroplanes between a Jew and a non-Jew, can you imagine? Things like that. There was this feeling, perhaps it was a very normal thing, that people wanted to relieve themselves of the pressure that was upon them because of laws like this, so there were many jokes about it; for example, I remember the one about an old non-Jewish maid who had served for years in a Jewish household. She writes in her very simple language to her girlfriend, who is also non-Jewish, and says "I don't understand this any more. I come at 8 o'clock, and Mr Cohen has already left at 7 o'clock. Now I leave the house at 3 o'clock, and Mr Cohen comes home at 4 o'clock. How can he defile me?" This type of joke used to make us roar with laughter at the time, I think it was a matter of relieving oneself of the pressure. Perhaps it was the only way to live, to get over this. But of course it caused difficulties for some men who, as I said, had affairs with non-Jewish women. If there was a nasty German he could denounce the Jew for having this affair, and the Jew was put on trial as a 'Rassenschänder'. Of course this could mean a concentration camp, or prison, or both, as you know.

C.L.: At this time, or even before in '33, did the Jews think of emigrating?

- In '33 there was perhaps a wave of emigrations of those people who would not have a career any more in Germany. As I said, they were not allowed to remain

as teachers if they had not served in the world war, for example. That meant that the young teacher, the young doctor or even the one who wanted to study and couldn't any more, those were the ones who emigrated then. But of course many German Jews said "Why emigrate? This is ridiculous, this will pass" - nobody really took it seriously then. The figure was perhaps highest in '33, because of those people who had no future. I think there were about 37.000, something like that, who emigrated in 1933, whilst in the years after - '34, '35 - the figures dropped. The majority of German Jews did not feel the urge. They took these discriminations, they arranged themselves somehow, and doubtless many of them had German friends still, so they thought they could get over all this. Who would have believed that Hitler would last so long?

C.L.: But there must have been a big difference between a big capital city like Berlin, and the small provincial towns.

- That is very correct. I know, although I didn't experience it myself, that the situation in small towns was dreadful. There, the Jews really suffered from the very first day, terrible discriminations. There, everybody knew where Dr Cohen lived, whilst here in this big city there were so many Dr Cohens, or whatever. It didn't really attract the eye so much. But in a small town, if the SA suddenly orders that Dr Cohen has to be punished, then the people are also afraid not to do it. There was this fear complex for the Germans too.

C.L.: Your own father didn't think of emigrating in 1935?

- My father was so convinced that this was a passing phase. This is so mad, I remember him in 1933 (although I was a child) standing on little heaps of snow - it was during the election campaign, the last free elections in Germany, and there was my little father, he was very small in stature, standing on heaps of snow saying "Hitler means war, Hitler means terrible things". And then in the end he himself didn't really believe it, because in 1935 he was offered a job in Australia. The Australian Government was looking for qualified teachers, and he could have gone easily. At the time most people could still take their money with them, it was much easier to emigrate than later on. But my father thought this was not for him. He said "After all, I am a Prussian civil servant" - and he got a little pension, so he said "I just can't run away like this"; it was also a very comic situation, because he was given a decoration,

he was a volonter in the First World War, not only him, but all his brothers -there were four brothers- and I remember my grandmother was very proud that her four sons had volunteered to fight for Germany. He had been given something like the Iron Cross, I do not remember which degree, but anyhow, we had at home this Iron Cross, and, in 1935, he was suddenly asked to come to the Police Station here, not far from this place, and there, the Police or the man in charge of the Police Station said : " Dr DEUTSCHKRON, in the name of the Führer, I have to give you a citation, the German People is grateful to you for what you have done for the German Nation, and (we still have this at home) in the name of the Führer, signed by I do not know whom, probably by the Führer, I cannot remember it now; anyway, he was congratulated with a handshake, and this was a night in 35. So, of course, my father said " What's the point ofleaving ; it will pass "

Yes, this was a big mistake; From the Nuremberg Laws onwards, it started to escalate. Then, all the Jewish shops were signed with Jewish names. I remember here, on the Kurfürstendamm the shops with big letters, white letters on their shopwindows, the Jewish names on it, which were to show the public that this was a Jewish shop. They were marked.

C.L.: Did the public stop going to Jewish shops, or did they go on as before?

- I would not say they flocked in masses, but there were people who didn't care. This was in Berlin. Again I stress, I doubt whether it was like this in smaller towns. Here people are anonymous, so they went in. But of course it meant a deprivation, and it meant that business decreased for the Jewish shopkeeper - there is no doubt about it. So it went on, one thing after another. It was a very slow process of cutting the Jew out of economic and social life in Germany.

C.L.: Step by step?

- Step by step, gradual, yes.

Bobine nº12

DEUTSCHKRON 4

- These Nuremberg Laws also had effects which might sound funny. There were people who had Jewish names, and they felt that this could cause them difficulty. So they started - or somebody else started - to go into details, investigations, to find out if there was perhaps a Jewish background which would have done them a lot of harm in their professional career. There was a joke, for example - and I hope I

am telling it correctly - somebody in a company presents himself and says "My name is Ungern". The other man to whom he presented himself says "My name is "Ungern Sternberg", which means "I dislike to be called Sternberg". Sternberg is of course a Jewish name, and it might be that the Nazis said "What about this man, he must have a Jewish background, perhaps a Jewish grandmother", which meant he was a quarter Jewish, which meant he had no rights, or his rights were curtailed - something like that. These Nuremberg Laws really made a difference.

C.L.: Did this mean that Germans had Jewish names, or that Jews had German names?

- No, it means that some people in the course of the century, or perhaps only at the beginning of the century, or whenever, changed their religion. Some Jews didn't like to go on being Jewish, it was so much easier to be non-Jewish. Some Jews - the majority, of course - were hoping for full emancipation, to be accepted as a full German. Others hoped to speed this process up by converting to being Christians. But of course they kept the name Goldschmidt, or Sternberg in this case, which didn't really matter until Hitler came to power, when to have a name like Goldschmidt or Sternberg meant that you were immediately under the suspicion that you were Jewish. Does that answer your question?

C.L.: Yes, so people started to look into their past.

- To look into their past. They themselves, sometimes - because it might have been centuries back and they wanted to prove that it was not their grandmother, but much further back, and if it was much further back they were clear. I believe they would also have been given the right to change their names so that they wouldn't have this trouble any more, and be looked at "What, Goldschmidt?" - and be under the suspicion of being Jewish and unacceptable in the Reich. But of course, if it was a grandmother it was not so good.

C.L.: Were there professions created at the time to look into the 'Stammbaum'?

- I believe there were, but this is a subject which did not really concern me very much. I believe there were what you call 'Sippenforscher', but as I said, it was not my concern so very much. I must say, I remember I hadn't much patience with these sorts of people, who tried to make other people believe they were Aryan. I understood that this was much more pleasant for them, and much easier but I thought it was very cowardly. You see, I was brought up a fighter and

therefore I accepted what was my fate. These Nuremberg laws, and all this being thrown out of jobs and having difficulties made people believe that perhaps it was better to at least consider emigration, if nothing else. Emigration was not the easiest of things, you could not just buy a ticket to America and that would be that. There was a quota system, and many countries did not want us. One thing at least was clear - emigration meant you could not go as an intellectual, or as a teacher or a lawyer or whatever, to a country and think you could continue working there as a lawyer or a teacher or something like that. So the Jewish Community - which was really trying to help the people - started up courses for changing professions. You could suddenly become an artisan and, as a matter of fact, all artisans at the time - all the Jewish artisans who existed in Berlin - were considered the aristocracy of the Jewish people. What was a lawyer? He was a senseless, useless man considering his future in Germany. This changing of professions, or rather this taking of courses to be able to execute another profession abroad in another country, was called 'Berufsumschichtung' - I don't know if there is a good English word for it. I remember there were courses for shoemakers, courses for people who made chocolates, people could learn how to milk a cow, to do agricultural work and all that sort of thing. My father, for example, thought that perhaps it would be a good thing - it wouldn't do any harm, you know? - to do such a course. He chose to be a shoemaker. Whenever I asked him "Why a shoemaker?" - and I should add that my father is a very unpractical man, to this day he cannot hit a nail into the wall - he said "I remember when I was a child there was a shoemaker in our village, and it looked so nice when he was sitting there with his big glass bulb, and I would watch him for hours. So this is the reason why I chose this profession". So it was just... yes, a child's dream, anyway he bought himself the outfit, a leather apron and all the tools you needed, and he would sit not far from here, I think it was Pariserstrasse, in a Jewish shoemaker's place and try to learn to hammer nails into people's soles. I'd never give him my shoes to repair, I bet you! We didn't trust his skill very much.

There were other people, like my uncle, who learnt to make chocolates. We always laughed at these things - there was a family who were very rich still, or relatively

rich, and they decided that if at all, they wanted to go to Palestine and start a farm there. The man was a businessman, he'd never seen a cow, I believe - or not more than when you go on holidays, where you see cows - and he bought the outfit for milking cows. So these things were lying there, these very strange things which you put on to the udder of a cow, and we were all looking at it and wondering how to use it. We had great fun with it! So, it was serious and yet not serious - a sort of mixture of thinking "Well, one should perhaps do something", and yet one thought it might never be necessary. But in those years there was at least this feeling that perhaps it was better... I remember a very interesting case: I had an uncle who was a doctor in Berlin, a very successful one, and he one day decided to be the pioneer among us and go to Palestine. So he bought - and those people who had money bought all the things new, new instruments, and invested their money in this way. I think he went to Haifa. I don't remember whether we had any mail; but that's not the thing. After a year or so - or not even that much - he was back in Berlin. Because, he said "I cannot live there. I cannot work there. These strange people! And the dirt, and the insects, and the heat!" You see, he still thought that Nazi Germany was better than the people of Haifa. Perhaps the Arabs were so strange for him, and the insects and heat that did exist, but it was preferable in Germany. So there was a mixture of feelings. There was also an institution, the 'Hilfsverein', an association to help Jews to emigrate, giving advice on what to take, what to do, but all this was sort of half-hearted.

C.L.: It is very interesting to look at the Jewish newspapers of the time, for instance the Judische Rundschau. They have full pages of advertisements for 'Spedition', meaning changing places, changing jobs, and these ads were placed by non-Jews.

- Well of course, the non-Jews made a lot of money out of us already then. For example, there was also a new profession of 'specialists for emigration'. For example when we later on - and this is really a later story - decided to pack all our things for emigration purposes we had to employ a man to advise us what we were allowed to take out of Germany and what not. This is a funny thing - the Nazis might have wanted us out of this country, but they didn't want us to take all we had out of the country. So we had to sell a lot of our things, and I remember well that this man arranged the sale of our things (He was a professional? C.L.) yes, he was a professional, and the German customers came, and I remember how they wanted us to sell cheaply, they wanted to have a bargain of course. They used to say...

(fin de la bobine)

Mämi 36

Bobine nº13

DEUTSCHKRON 5

- The people who came to us to buy something of course wanted things cheaply; they thought "These people will give us this cheaply because they have to get rid of it, they can't take everything with them". I remember people coming and staring at all the things that were, after all, our home. For me it was - well, for every young child it is like a nest, a home - and there were strangers touching everything and saying "What is this worth, what do you need this Meissner vase for when you are going to a country like Palestine? What do you need it for, all right give it cheaply to us". When prices were fixed, and this man - this specialist - did this for us, of course sometimes he consulted us and said "All right, why don't you perhaps add something or make it a bit lower, it will be very difficult to sell all this". I remember somebody saying "If you want me to take this vase, or this picture I think you will have to add half a metre of books to it to make the price worth while". This was the situation, and it was heartbreaking. My parents were very perturbed by the whole thing. Today it sounds very odd that one was hurt by this because much worse things happened afterwards, but at the time it was rather difficult to bear.

C.L.: Yes, but this was the same process.

- Yes, it was the same process, and it was a time when we were becoming very separate from the German people; their interests were different. They had a happy life, Hitler succeeded in everything. The German people who had been doubtful in the beginning thought "Well, he's really making headway and the whole world looks on". On the contrary, they even helped him. When he started the Wehrmacht in '35 nobody objected, when he entered the Rhineland nobody objected; they dealt with him, they came to negotiate with him. Many Germans who had had doubts before - and I am not talking about the staunch Socialists, or the staunch Democrats, there were such people and they were still our friends - but the masses. It had become very difficult to be anti-Hitler, because of all these successes and because of the whole world which looked on and even applauded this man. So everywhere the situation was getting very separated from the German people...

C.L.: We were getting on to the year 1938.

- I would say the whole separation from the Germans culminated in the year '38, which I always call the year of the marking because it was then that we were told

to have 'Kennkarten', which means (Identity cards? C.L.) identity cards, but they were something special. They were not just identity cards, not only did they ~~have~~ to have a big 'J' on their outside and inside, they had to have our fingerprints. At that time this was done only for criminals, of course, and I still remember this feeling of - what shall I say? It's very strange today to say that one felt awful or awkward when one took fingerprints because it's really so trivial today. Not only this, but we were told that every photograph in the Kennkarte had to be with the left ear free, because the shape of the ear would identify us as Jews.

C.L.: Why?

- You'll have to ask a Nazi for that because I really can't explain what was so special about the Jewish ear. When I was very young, travelling in the bus or the S-Bahn, the electric train, I used to look at the ears of the people around me who were not Jewish and try to find out what was special about their ear, and the difference with my ear, but I'm sorry, I didn't find it.
The Jews still tried to relieve themselves of all this terrible pressure and trouble by making jokes about it. Perhaps the story is even true - I can't say - but there was talk at the time about a big meeting where a lecturer explained how one could see from an ear whether somebody was Jewish or not. He said to somebody from the public "Perhaps you would come up, I can prove it from your ear" and really he proved it from this ear, I'm sorry, I don't know the details, that this man was an Aryan. It turned out of course that he was a Jew, but he didn't say this at the meeting, it was only told afterwards that this was it.
Now, the Kennkarte (And the passport too? C.L.) - just a minute, we didn't have a passport, only those who emigrated - had to be worn by everybody, had to be in their possession every minute, meaning I had to go with this Kennkarte from I think the age of 16 (I'm not sure now what age). Everybody had to have this Kennkarte in his pocket and present it the very minute somebody said "Who are you?". There was something else from that time onwards, we were also ordered to have the name 'Israel' for men and 'Sarah' for women added to our names. So in the Kennkarte I had to sign already 'Ingeborg Sarah Deutschkron', which we also thought very funny, I mean what else could you say to this?

C.L.: So it was 'Sarah' for the women, and for the men...

- 'Israel'. So my father was Dr Martin Israel Deutschkron, and whatever we signed we had to sign with that name - 'Ingeborg Sarah Deutschkron'. My father made a joke about this...

C.L.: All the Jewish women were Sarah...

- All the Jewish women. And the children that were still born, there were still Jewish marriages in this town, mind you very few, but there were some - and some people also married because they wanted to go together to emigration or something - for the children born there was a list of names which the Jews were allowed to take. There were names like Itzig, which were to discriminate us, Itzig or Jankeler - the list is very funny, you'll find it somewhere and laugh your head off. Some names were beautiful, like Rachel or Leah, but there were such names as Itzig that were meant to discriminate, to show "That dirty Jew", you know.

C.L.: So it was forbidden to take Inge, for instance?

- Impossible. Those like me who were grown up already, we had to add Sarah as women, and the men had to add Israel, and the children that were born were born with names from this list. I don't remember how many names there were, it was not a very long list. I had a little niece, the child of my cousin, who was born in '37 or '38 and she was called Bela. I don't know where the names come from or who composed the list, that's immaterial. She did not need to have the name Sarah because hers was already considered a Jewish name.

So, this was it. We had the Kennkarte, we had the fingerprints taken, we had the ear. The photographs were not allowed to be retouched, or made to look nice - on the contrary, they had to look ugly, this was an order for the photographer. Not to be ugly, but not to be touched up. And then you had this name. So this is what I would call 'marking', and we also had to keep in mind our number. I think it was actually the first numbering, or let's call it marking of the Jewish people.

C.L.: Actually there were two different periods, because the marking of the identity cards, the Kennkarte, was in the summer of 1938, and the changing of names - the adding of 'Sarah' and 'Israel' - was later on, in November, after the Kristallnacht.

- Yes, but the Kennkarte was issued and you already had to sign with Israel and Sarah. I cannot remember dates now, it does not really matter, but you can see my Kennkarte, I have it in my possession still today, and I signed 'Ingeborg Sarah Deutschkron'. So this was what I would call the marking. The 'J' in the passports only mattered for those who were given permission to emigrate.

C.L.: Did you know it was at the demand of the Swiss Government, because they wanted to discriminate Jews from Austria, after the Anschluss in March '38, who wanted to emigrate. They did not want them in Switzerland, that is why the Swiss themselves asked the German Government to have this marking.

Bobine nº14

DEUTSCHKRON 6 - Suite

- We knew that the Swiss were not very sympathetic to people who wanted to cross the border and escape the Nazis. I don't know the reasons for it, it's immaterial, but I know that people were returned at the frontier. Some were immediately arrested and put into concentration camps, others escaped that at least, but it was a horrible feeling to know that a Government that should really have been for us and not against us, did what it did. We heard rumours about the possible reason for this, that they didn't want the influx of the Austrian Jews, but at the time we were so isolated from the Germans, from everyone who had something to do with the lawmaking, (and from the world too C.L.) and the world too of course, that we really only heard rumours and never heard if these rumours were correct. The rumours were of course sometimes blown up - our imagination ran away with us, which is normal for people who are afraid. I remember my mother saying "I can't hear this any more, I don't want to hear it any more, it is enough to have to cope with the facts as they are." So we were confronted with things, wherever they came from. In this year all the people who had money had to declare it. I don't know anyone who would like the Government to know how much money they have - today something like this is incredible. We did not fall into this category because we didn't have that much money. At the time, the limit for all those who had to declare their wealth, their property, was 5 000 marks. It sounds very little these days, but at the time it was a lot of money. Then they were given an allowance. The Government decided how much of their money they were to use every month. But this did not apply to us, so all this I only remember from my family - my uncle and aunt, who were very worried because they thought maybe they would take the money away from them, which of course they later did. But at the time they did not. Then came things like - in the parks there were certain benches marked only for Jews, and I don't need to tell you that this was not very pleasant. I never sat on such a bench, and would never have done, of course. But some Jews did.

C.L.: Some did?

- Yes well you know, sometimes you want to sit in a park, sometimes you want to have a bit of relaxation, but I didn't like the idea of being stared at as a Jewess from every side.

C.L.: And the Kristallnacht - can you describe the events? What do you remember?

- Oh yes, I remember this very well. In fact the Kristallnacht was probably a welcome... or let's say the events that led to the Kristallnacht were a welcome opportunity for the Nazis to do something against us. I suppose they had it in their bag all the time and were just waiting for an opportunity. The opportunity was, first of all, that this man Grünspann went into the German embassy in Paris. The reason was that his family had been deported from Berlin to the Polish border - there was this action in October '38, when they expelled all the Polish Jews, and I remember it very well, actually. I went to a Jewish school by that time, and in the morning lots of benches were empty because these children were of Polish origin and had been taken away. We didn't speak much about it, and this was probably the protective attitude of human beings. We said "All right, they were Poles", and we knew that the Hitler régime wanted to be Deutsch, German only, nationalistic, so...

C.L.: But they were Poles of Jewish origin.

- Yes, but the German Jew tried to find an explanation for things and protect himself - "That can't concern me, because I am really German".

C.L.: These people were 'Ostjuden'.

- Yes. At any rate, Grünspann went into the German embassy and shot this German diplomat, Von Rat. I remember that we were all very worried because we realised that this would have consequences. We did not know what, but we could see from the hysterical way it was reported in the Nazi press - 'Völkischer Beobachter Angriff', in the radio 'The Jews... the Jews have committed a crime against Germans' and so on, it was perfectly clear that they would do something. I remember people saying to each other, "If only this man doesn't die".

C.L.: Von Rat?

- Yes, Von Rat. But of course he died, as you know, and practically a few hours later, and this made it clear it was all very well prepared, we had a phone call at

→ p. 19

home from the wife of a friend of my father's - in fact, one of those people who had always thought "Well, everything will work out fine" - and she said "They have been here, they have taken away my husband". When my parents tried to ask "But why, what...?" she said "I can't speak" and put down the receiver. My father said to my mother "What is this, what's happening?" (These were Jewish people? C.L.) Yes of course, Jewish people. And then several such phone calls came. My mother said "What is going on?" and we tried to analyse this - who were the people who had been taken away? It turned out - and today we know it as a historic fact - that they took at the time only rich Jews and intellectuals. So we did not know what to do, and I remember my parents discussing this: "What does it mean, what can one do?" We went to bed without doing anything.

C.L.: This was 9th November?

- Yes. My parents did phone a few friends to find out whether the husband was still there, whether they had heard anything and what they had done with them, but we didn't dare to speak on the telephone - there was this feeling that perhaps the telephone was tapped. It probably wasn't, but people in such a situation have imagination. The next morning it was clear that during the night something had happened. Very soon we heard from friends - it was all telephonic messages - that the synagogues were burning and the shops had been broken into, the Jewish shops had all been plundered and desecrated and whatnot. My mother thought she wanted to see this with her own eyes (You did not actually see it? C.L.) We lived in a house where we could not look on to the street, we lived in a courtyard, so to speak, not far from this area.. So, we decided to go out in the morning. My father said "The child does not go to school today" (that was me), so the three of us went into the street. There we saw - here, on the Kurfürstendamm - what had happened. And we saw, in the strasse, the synagogue burning. We also saw the German people hastening along the street, not stopping by and just looking away from what happened.

We saw all this - we didn't walk very far, just around the block to get an idea of what had happened - and we passed a hairdresser's shop. He must have recognised us as Jews, and he was suddenly shouting " ", which means : "Get out of here, quit Germany, you Jews !" I still see his fat face and his white coat, how he stood in the door of his shop. I also remember the place, my father was terrified, my mother who was a very brave woman just walked up to him

and said : "You dirty swine ". The man was so surprised that he walked back into his shop. It was very funny, but my father was horrified about my mother again, because it could cause trouble. Anyway, we went back home, and my father said : " Look, there's no point, I have to go to school " - he was working in a school not as a teacher anymore, because he was not allowed, but he was doing the administrative work. And despite all this, he went as usual to his work. My mother said : " Please, ring me up whether you arrived, and everything's all right and whether you hear of anything." He had left and an hour or so later, the Gestapo called at our flat. There were two men standing there.

Bobine nº 15

DEUTSCHKRON 7

About one hour later after my father had left the house, there was a ring at our door, and my mother was perfectly aware what this would be, and indeed, when she opened the door, there were the two Gestapo men in their grey leather coats, as they used to go about. I remember their faces looked indescribable, expressionless faces, really, maybe this is my memory, but this is what I saw. They asked for my father; my mother said "He is not in". He said " Where is he?" "I really could not tell you; I presume he's gone to work, this is what he intended to do, as usual. Why, do you want to speak to him ? " She sort of acted as if she did not know what was going on. They said " Yes ", came into the flat, one of them sat down into my father's chair, my mother was standing opposite him, sort of holding herself on to the desk as if this could give her strength. The other Gestapo man was standing at the door as if he was watching the scene. The one sitting in the chair said : " Well, do you think your husband will call or perhaps come back home ?" She said "But, of course, I expect so, what do you mean ?". "Well, I want you to know that he should report to the next police station the minute he calls or the minute he comes home. Will you please arrange this and promise us this will be so ?". My mother said : " certainly, I admit I am a bit worried, I heard something is going on. He has not yet called me from his office but as soon as he does, I shall tell him that he should contact the next police station." They left the house, my mother rushed to the telephone, asked me to watch through the door wether the people had really left, then she dialled the number of the school where my father was working, and just shouted into the telephone: "Disappear!" because she was also scared that the telephone was tapped. Then she put down the receiver and said "Now he will probably know what to do, he will

probably react in the right manner." So she went on with her housework, and I was standing around in the way everywhere, as usual when a child is frightened, I obviously wanted to be close to my mother. Then she said "Let's act as if nothing had happened, we can't do anything now, let's go shopping". So the two of us went shopping, and again we saw the broken glass everywhere lying in the street, and it was obvious that people had done a lot of looting. So we went shopping in the shop where we used to buy milk and butter and so on - our dairy - and I remember the woman saying "What nonsense, why do they do such things? but no more!" We went back home and it turned out that my mother in her excitement had forgotten the key. So we were barred from going home for another hour, we had to wait for a man to open our lock with a certain key. We sat there and waited, because my mother said "Where could he be? He could probably have gone to our German friends.." This was her hope. We waited until the evening, we sat there motionless, not knowing what to do. My mother started on housework, then dropped it again, and so on. In the end, suddenly, in the evening, we hear a key turning in the lock, and there was my father. My mother rushes out into the corridor and says "What are you doing here, why do you come back home?" So he said "If the German police asked me to call, then I can't just disappear and not react!". This was too much for my mother, who was a very fighting spirit, and she said "You're mad! You must not be home. I'll tell you what; I'll ring up one of our Social-Democratic friends from the times past and let him judge what you should do". This man - his name was Dr Ostrovky - he came instantly and said "Deutschkron, are you mad? You cannot follow the dictates of the Gestapo. Come on, let's get out of this house. The best thing is for you all to disappear for a time until this 'action' (as it was called) is over". So that very night my father went somewhere else, to German friends, and my mother and I went to another place. Sometimes we met - we were away about a fortnight. During that fortnight I remember very vividly that many Jewish men had disappeared the way my father had disappeared, and at night you could see them standing in the entrances of their houses meeting their wives, apparently, because one could see how they changed parcels, meaning that they changed laundry for clean shirts or something. Then

they hurriedly disappeared again into the dark. This went on for quite some time. My father used to visit us in the place where we were, and when we had the feeling that the action was over we decided to go back. I must admit that in between, those friends who lived in the same house - the Social Democrats, not the Jews - let us know that the Gestapo had called a second time. The woman, on hearing someone ringing at our door, had made it some sort of her business and gone down and said to the Gestapo people "Are you looking for the Deutschkrons?" They said "Yes", so she said "But you see from the milk bottles that they are not there". (The milk bottles had collected in the mean time, as milk was still delivered to the houses and we had deliberately not cancelled it. So they had collected, and she could easily say "Look, you can see from this that the Deutschkrons are not here".)

After a certain time it was perfectly clear that the action was over and we could go home. But of course the other men were in concentration camps, as is known today; we heard of horrible treatment of course. Then some came back, just to prove that they had the chance to emigrate. Emigration was a possibility to be released from concentration camps. At that time it was very difficult to emigrate, but a country like England, for example, gave the opportunity to all those men who had been in concentration camps to enter England. There was this name, which I've never forgotten, the Richmond camp. That was a barracks designed for people who escaped Germany, but they had to have been in concentration camps. I remember how bitter my father was when he heard that you had to have been first in a concentration camp before they took you into a country. This was our trouble - no country wanted us at the time. At the beginning of the Hitler era...

C.L.: At this time your father seriously considered the possibility of emigrating?

- Yes, I think this experience at last made him realise that there was no longer the possibility for a Jew to live in Germany in peace, and that the Nazis really meant business. So, suddenly it became urgent.

C.L.: So he looked for a country to go to.

- He certainly looked for a country to go to, and as I said, England was kind enough to take those people who had already been in the camps. I remember some

countries also took children; my mother and father asked me whether I was ready to go with a children's transport, and I said "I will not go anywhere alone, I want to be with my mother and father". They accepted this of course, so we were looking round for a country. Now, no country wanted us...

C.L.: Did you examine, country by country?

- I remember that in front of the American consulate in Berlin there were every morning scores of people queuing up, standing there. And it was very difficult to get into America - there was a certain quota, which was not raised at all, even though there was reason for raising it. You had to have relatives who would send you an affidavit, and all these troubles.

C.L.: And money?

- Yes, at the beginning these countries did not mind taking us because these people had money, the rich ones who could emigrate with money were all right. But we were not allowed to take money with us any more. In fact, after the Reichskristallnacht - and I hated this name, by the way, I think it's absolutely not fitting, but that's something else - the Nazi Government ordered that we had to pay

C.L.: A gigantic fine?

- No, I am not talking about the gigantic fine, that is something else, the fine for what was done, when we had to repair all the shops with our own money and so on...

Bobine nº16

DEUTSCHKRON 8

- We were not allowed to take money out, and everyone who emigrated had to pay what was called the 'Reichsfluchtsteuer'. They called it 'Flucht', which meant to escape; in fact I think they really wanted us to emigrate by this time. But the trouble was to find a country ready to take us in, and that's what made us very bitter at the time. Of course, we were now frantic, I would say this concerned everyone by that time, everyone had understood that there was no more staying in Germany. We were searching for countries, we went to embassies to inquire, we went to travel agencies. There were people who sold visas for very high amounts of money. Sometimes it turned out to be absolutely fake, there was nothing behind it. Sometimes the visa was really given for a high amount of money, but of course

this was really for people who had a lot of money to spare. I remember, for example, scenes when we met my family, my father 's brothers and sisters, and we discussed the possibilities. We would hear of a country -"Do you know, I've heard that Paraguay still accepts Jews" and someone else would say "But I've heard that's not true, they already closed it last week". "But I know exactly that Paraguay... let's try Paraguay", and someone else would say "Let's try Africa, it doesn't really matter..." So there was panic by that time, and they tested every country that was possible - Mexico, Cuba, countries we had never heard of. There was one thing that has a certain amount of humour: somebody told us that one could go to Aleppo, which is a town in Syria. I must admit I know this only now,because I live in Israel, but at the time my father said "Where is this? Aleppo? I've never heard of it in my life". He took out a book to find out what it said, whether Aleppo really existed,and it said under 'Aleppo: town in Syria. The aleppo boil is named after this." So my father said "What is this, this must be an abscess, a boil. That is horrible, it means that one can get very ill there from this boil. That's not for me". I remember we laughed our heads off, in fact we laughed whenever it was at all possible.

There were very many people who chose Shanghai in the end, which was really the last port, I would say. Afterwards, people even travelled via Russia to get to Shanghai. The thought of going to Shanghai was horrifying for us at the time - you must understand, there were not so many aeroplanes, the world was not so close and in our imagination Shanghai was very far away, full of gangsters and unusual things. One didn't know... China, and all that, so poor, and what could we do there. Still, people tried to get to these places. Really our only activity at this time consisted of trying to find a country that would be ready to take us in, and indeed I would say there were almost none. They all closed their doors on those poor Jews; I say 'poor' because they were not allowed to take money with them. I guess if we had had money they would not have minded taking us in. At any rate, my father was searching frantically. We had relatives in England, genuine relatives with whom we hadn't had much contact during all those years except for New Year's greetings. Now we asked whether they could

help us. This family, a cousin of my father's, wrote back "Yes, we are ready to take in one of you. We have to pay a very high guarantee to the English Government" a deposit so that in case my father was unemployed he would not be a burden on the English State. So they said "We are ready to take in one of you". So, as my father was of course in more danger than us, we decided that he had to go. So we made preparations for his emigration, which meant applying for a passport and paying the 'Reichsfluchtsteuer', and we also decided that we would break up our house. There was no point in keeping our flat - in fact, house owners were already at liberty to throw Jews out. It was not a law yet, but they did this. I remember that our house belonged to an insurance company, which wrote us a letter saying they would be glad if we left the house in April. So we decided to leave indeed, and packed everything up, the things that we thought would be useful abroad, like small furniture, linen, things that one needs. Everything else we had of course sold by then. We thought also that my father would go, but that he would very soon be able to call for us so we could follow him. Then we thought we would be able to take the 'lift' (?), which was then packed, to England and everything would be easier. I forgot to say that my father's admission to England was made easier because my father had applied, also as a preventive measure, for a certificate to Palestine. There is a reason, because at the time - before the war - there was some sort of an agreement between England, as the protecting power of Palestine, and the German Government. My father received a pension, and it was possible to transfer this pension to Palestine. That was the only country, because, I think, there were some Germans in Palestine...

C.L.: The Haavara agreement.

- That's it, exactly, there was this sort of arrangement. Of course this was a very good thing, because one had a little sum at least, as a basis which one could use. This fact, that he had this application for the certificate, helped him to enter England, because the English said "Aha, this means he will not stay for good in England". This was really what the English didn't want, just as the other countries did not want us for good. England at least was ready to save him for a time, and then pass him on.

C.L.: So your father left Germany.

- My father left on 19 April 1939. I still see the picture, on the Lehrterbahnhof station, when of course all his family was there still, and my mother said to him "You will try immediately to get us also out of here. Don't forget! Try immediately!" Because she knew my father was not the most active of persons, so she said to him "Don't forget any minute the danger we are in here, there may be a war (it was April '39) Please don't forget". I remember my father was so horrified and in such a state of desolation that he said "Yes" to everything, and then he saw his brothers and sisters, whom he never saw again, of course, it was a very moving, emotional scene. And this was it - we were left behind, my mother and I.

Since we had to give up our flat we went to live in a furnished room, and everything from then on was sort of transitional, provisionary. We did not have any furniture any more, it was all packed up in the free port of Hamburg ready for shipping to the country that would be ready to take us, and we ourselves were in this furnished room, a very ugly thing. But we thought, how long could it take? It couldn't take very long. Then the signs of the possibility of war increased and my mother got very very worried. She wrote letters to my father, "Don't you read the papers, what's happening, have you done anything for us?" Of course she didn't realise how difficult it was for him, not only at first to find his footing in England, but also to find a place for us and make people accept us. The only possibility for getting us to England was that my mother and I should be housemaids. The English also took us as cheap labour, of course - that was also possible, so we thought he would be able to find such a job for us immediately. But this didn't turn out. There was a woman -a teacher- who in the beginning of August took a group of children whom the English accepted - a transport of children to England, and she went to see her and said "Look, when you see my husband, tell him it is so urgent. Doesn't he read, doesn't he see that the war could break out, and what then?" Very soon afterwards we did indeed get a letter from a professor in Glasgow, if I'm not mistaken, who was ready to accept my mother as a cook and myself as a maid, and we were very happy. This meant we could get out; <u>how</u> to get out was no longer relevant, because the main thing was to get out. Then the procedure started, the bureaucracy, we did have to have a visa and all that, and it took too long. One of those dates, I remember, which puzzled us...

(Fin de la bobine)

Bobine nº21

Grunerwald.

DEUTSCHKRON 9

(départ d'un train).....they suddenly knew they did not have to take anybody into concentration any more. They took away from us the radios, the telephone of course, they did not allow us to have electrical instruments, all sorts of things we were suddenly deprived of. My mother and I remained true to our character, we did not hand in everything that was demanded from us. For example, after a while - I don't know exactly when it was - we were also told to hand in all fur coats, and electric irons and things like that. More important than anything else, we had to be home at 8 o'clock until the next morning at 6, I believe. In summer it was one hour later, which meant we were allowed out till 9 o'clock, and then out I think at 5 o'clock again.

C.L.: As soon as the war started?

- The very first ration cards that were distributed... You see, a few days before war started the Portierfrau, the woman in charge of the house, came round and distributed the ration cards, and our cards were immediately marked with a 'J', so this was the first time that we were singled out in an administrative sense. Of course, we got less than other people who had not got the 'J' on their ration cards. That was made more perfect in the years to come. Later on we did not get the ration cards delivered to our house, and of course we had no meat coupons, things like that. But that was a gradual deprivation. It was so obvious that now it did not matter any more, nobody looked on, Germany was cut off from the world and the Nazis did with us what they wanted.

C.L.: What always strikes me about these events is that there was a first period before the war, when everything was in the open, this persecution. Then the war breaks out and there is a sort of iron curtain. That was a 'Nacht und Nebel' period for the Jews.

- Yes, you are quite right. They introduced the most ridiculous things: they did not allow us to go to a hairdresser, they did not allow us to have our laundry washed in a laundry. But of course, to my mind at least - at the time and today - it was impossible to stick to all these laws. I just did not care, but many people were scared and rightly so. If they were caught they could have been taken to a concentration camp straight away. I was of the opinion that if you adhered to all the laws you would go nuts. I even convinced my mother. For example, we were of course not allowed to go to a theatre, or to a picture house - you may find that I don't mention some of the things because for us it was so normal.

C.L.: How many Jews remained in Berlin when the war broke out?

- When the war broke out I think there were still something like 200.000, but of course there was still emigration until America joined the war. It was very small, and then there was some illegal emigration, meaning to Palestine; some ships incidentally, which were drowned afterwards. But there was still some emigration going on, and I can't give you exact figures. To my mind there were about 200 000 Jews left in Germany.

C.L.: And in Berlin?

- In Berlin, I'm sorry I just do not know.

We were also told that we had to live in certain houses, we were no longer allowed to live in houses that belonged to non-Jewish owners. We were herded together. The 'Wohnraum' - the area for living rationed to us - was two persons to one room. At one stage I lived in a flat with my mother - of course in one room- where we were eleven people, in 5 and a half rooms, and one bathroom and one kitchen. You can imagine what happened there. Everybody had to go to work; I didn't mention this, but we were all forced to do hard work. Everybody was called to a certain labour exchange, instituted only for the Jews, which was headed by a man named Eschaus. I shall never forget him. He was the worst anti-semite and Nazi you can imagine. The story goes that he was an apprentice in a Jewish textile firm and since he was not very bright he didn't succeed very much. So he took his revenge on the Jews who came to him to be put into forced labour places.

C.L.: You have said that they took away the radio sets, and there was no telephone any more for the Jews. How was it possible to communicate?

- First of all, we lived very close to each other. The whole house where I lived were Jews, most of them, because we were herded together.

C.L.: It was a kind of ghettoisation?

- Yes, but of course it was not a district, there were single houses which were full of Jews because they belonged to a Jewish owner. We used to go and visit each other, on foot - later on we were not even allowed to use a public vehicle, except for going to work.

C.L.: Were you allowed to use the S-Bahn?

- Only for going to work. This was at a later stage, I cannot remember the year exactly, but we were told 'only to work'.

C.L.: But at the beginning of the war the Jews in Berlin, in Germany were not marked.

- No. But there was always the danger that you would be recognised as a Jew. Some people might have had what the Germans used to call Jewish features - the crooked nose, you know, this horrible idea. So anyone could come up to you and say "Show your identity card", and once they found out you were Jewish of course you were in trouble if you did something wrong. Secondly, there was always the danger of meeting somebody you knew. Berlin was a very big city but accidentally you might run into your neighbour, who might be a man who was true to the Nazi ideology. He would say "But what are you doing here", and that would be your end. You were really marked already, in a sense. We were also not allowed to sit in a public vehicle, in the S-Bahn or the tram. We were told to stand up. I remember somebody offered me his seat because, I suppose, he thought I was a nice-looking young girl, and I could not accept. He wouldn't have been in trouble, but I would, if I had been caught. But I risked many things, for example I used to go for walks in the Grunerwald, around here. I said to my mother "I cannot bear it, I'm sorry, I have to get out".

C.L.: And this was not permitted?

- This was not permitted; no parks, no woods, nothing. Whereas there used to be these benches where before the war it was written 'For Jews only', now it was barred entirely. And I used to go to the cinema and the theatre, but of course my mother was terribly worried about me. I thought one could not possibly keep up one's normal senses if one followed all the laws.

So we were herded together in these houses, and of course all these people living together were very nervous people. They were all very worried at what was going to happen. Perhaps the worst thing was that everybody had very large imaginations. So there was all this talking: "I have heard that somebody else has heard from the Nazi Ministry that this and that is going to happen to us". We used to call it the 'Judische Mundfunk', word-spreading, or whatever you'd call it. The ideas were sometimes much worse than what really happened, but that was bad enough, whatever was going on.

Bobine nº22

DEUTSCHKRON 10a

(plan muet, train qui s'éloigne)

DEUTSCHKRON 10- Suite

When the war broke out it was a horrible feeling. On the one hand, we didn't know what this would mean. Of course we were hopeful that this would mean the end of Hitler, because we thought there was no other way of getting rid of Hitler. On the other hand we were caught, we were inside, now they could do anything to us - this was clear to us. The Jewish people went a lot to the synagogue, as if this was a place to find advice, or perhaps comfort or consolation. Of course most of the famous Rabbis, those who had made a name for themselves in the Thirties - Prinz, for example - these people were no longer there.

C.L.: They had left?

- Yes; they had left. There were a few Rabbis, but none of the very famous ones who had been considered spiritual leaders for years of German Jewry. This was a very bad thing. Yes, they had left before the war started. I just do not know why they left so early, but to my mind it was a great shame that there was nobody who could really give us strength, spiritual strength. Before the war these important Rabbis had full synagogues every Saturday, because people really received consolation from them. I personally couldn't understand this, because I have seen

that people - women mainly - left the synagogues always in tears. It was as if these men, these Rabbis tried to get these feelings out of them. I don't know why this was so, I would have thought myself that consolation was something else, that you do not move people to tears, but this is what they did. They were famous for that. You must understand that already in those years people were in a very difficult position; their beloved were scattered all over the world, they did not know what they were doing, or how they were doing, or whether they would ever follow them. There was a time then when these famous Rabbis were very popular. But most of them, most of the time, moved people so much that they cried their hearts out.

C.L.: What did they say?

- I admit very frankly that I didn't like that sort of sermon, when your emotions are appealed to. I did not like that, and I was never religious, even at that time. Although, even my father turned to Judaism in a sense - I mean the man who had been a Socialist, only a Socialist until Hitler came to power, although he had been from an orthodox family - when Hitler came to power he also sort of returned to Judaism in the sense that he went to synagogues and Rosh Hashana , and also held the . Things like this happened not only to him, but to many Jews.

C.L.: This was common?

- This was very common, yes. So when the war broke out this feeling of wanting to have a sort of spiritual assistance was very great, because we did not know what would happen now. We seemed to be cut off from the world entirely. My mother tried to reach my father on the day of the outbreak of the war, by telephone. That may have been the day - I don't remember the date exactly when the telephone was cut off from our house, but on that 1st September when she tried to phone him - what for I don't know, but probably to speak to him and discuss the new situation - it was already impossible. The woman in the telephone exchange just said "England is cut off" or something, "England doesn't answer any more". So this was the absolute physical proof that we were cut off from the entire world. Of course no letters arrived any more. We had the opportunity to send letters to my father via Shanghai or something like that, and in the beginning also via America, but it took ages, I don't know how many months, until there was a reply. But we had this Red Cross letter, those 25 words where we tried to choose every word with

care, to make him understand the plight we were in. As I said, we had no idea - we had the clear feeling that now Hitler and the Nazis could do with us whatever they liked, there was just no holding them.

C.L.: You had no idea at the time that you would stay in Berlin during the whole war?

- Of course not, how could I know? We were really in a situation of absolute helplessness. Whenever we met, I think most of the people cried, there was always this "What shall we do?" You see, it was a paralysation. And the worst of course was that we had hopes that the war would last perhaps 3 months, 4 months. We had a strange illusion that Hitler would be beaten in a very short time. Our German friends still existed, but of course our worries were so different from theirs and we were so occupied with ourselves that we very rarely saw them. We were also physically so exhausted; we had to work very hard, everybody in a factory. Jews were given only jobs which were the dirtiest, the most difficult, hard work, so everybody was so exhausted, and we did not have much to eat, of course. You realise, we had much less to eat than the Germans, although we received from time to time some help in this sense also, some food from Germans. But it was certainly not enough to make us strong enough to do hard work. I had a cousin who had to put coal in sacks and carry them on his back, which is very heavy work for someone who had probably been a clerk before. That of course caused this rupture in our contacts with our German friends, but whenever we did meet them they all said "It can't last long now, Hitler will soon be destroyed. Imagine, all these people have many more weapons, and they are much stronger than Hitler's Germany". p34

C.L.: There were some Germans who talked like this?

- Of course, yes. We were quite hopeful, you see. And of course we sucked this in, with wonderful hope - this could not last long.

C.L.: But how did the majority of the German population welcome the victories?

- Well, that is what I was going to say. When the victories started, it became of course very difficult. To this day I still hear the fanfares - there was a certain fanfare, from Beethoven or something, which always announced what they called a 'Sondermeldung' - a special announcement of a terrific victory. When I heard this fanfare my heart sank. So, as you know, France fell, Belgium fell, Holland...this was all in a matter of time, and it puzzled us so much, we just couldn't understand it. We couldn't understand what had happened to the world. We thought "My God, if

he wins the war, what will he do to us?" This was the feeling then. And the Germans, of course - as also in the Thirties, when he had all those successes - many Germans were very enthusiastic, even people who had had doubts before, and this was exactly the case also when the war went so well. Don't misunderstand, you must also see that every German had somebody in the war, some son, some brother, some father - it was obvious that he was interested in victories. But of course for us this was a different thing. In the beginning there were a few bomb attacks - not heavy ones, one or two planes that came to Berlin or flew over Berlin and were perhaps throwing a bomb here or there, it was very harmless at the time - but they kept us in the air-raid shelters for hours and hours. We Jews had to sit separately...

C.L.: In special shelters?

- In the shelter we were in a separate room and, whilst the German population was allowed to go upstairs if they did not hear anything - people would say "This is not a real attack... " They used to say a very funny thing, they used to say "The English have a Silberblick", which is a very German expression meaning somebody has a squint, he always misses, you see, so the bombs always missed and did not really do any harm in the beginning. So the Germans went upstairs and said "I don't care" - but we Jews had to sit from the very minute the air-raid started until the last minute. In fact we were told that a Jew has to sit in the air-raid shelter because otherwise he might give light signals...

Bobine nº23

DEUTSCHKRON 11

They made us sit until the end of the air-raid, until this (what they called 'Entwarnung') the all-clear signal was sounded, because they said if the Jew goes out during an air raid he might give signals to the enemy.

C.L.: So it was not to protect you that they kept you.

- No, it was not to protect us, it was just this reason, that we could give signals to the enemy. I wish I had known how to do this, but this was the idea. The Luftschutzwart, the man in charge of the air-raid shelter, kept watch that we really didn't move one minute before the all-clear had sounded. First the Gentiles, or the Aryans, were allowed to go, and we were to go last. All this meant that we

sometimes had very little sleep, and we had to go to work in the early hours of the morning.

C.L.: What was your work?

- In the beginning I worked at the IG Farbenwerk. It was very heavy work. Perhaps my mother's work was even worse, she worked in a factory where they made batteries for radios, and she had night shifts. We were all given the worst work possible, you must understand.

C.L.: You were obliged to work there?

- No Jew was allowed to find work for himself. We had to go to this labour exchange, which was an awful experience with that anti-semite, that terrible man Eschaus as chief, who had this grudge against the Jews because apparently he did not succeed when he learned in a Jewish firm, and who shouted through the house, as I still remember to this day, "Du Judensau, dir werden wir zeigen (we will show you)" and things like that. He seemed to have a sadistic satisfaction when he did all this. So we were not asked what we wanted to do, we were told "You go to IG Farben, you go to Siemens, you go to AEG, you go to the refuse collection," - which is very dirty work. All these things were given to the Jews, and of course it was very hard to work, 10 hours a day sometimes, and we had no protection whatever. This doesn't really matter much, but even our salaries were lower than the normal workers' salaries. We had to pay a certain tax. Gypsies and Jews had to pay a tax, I don't remember exactly but I think it was 15% of the so-called wages we got. Everyone was so exhausted from this heavy work. And at work we were isolated, we were not allowed to make contact with the non-Jewish workers.

→ p 35

C.L.: What do you mean by isolated? The Jews were working together?

- The Jews were working together, and when we had an interval we were given a certain room where only the Jews were to have their breakfast, or whatever, and except for the foremen who introduced us to the work, or the forewomen, we were not supposed to have any contact with the non-Jewish workers.

C.L.: What was specifically your work?

- I worked in the textile section, we made silk for parachutes and we had to look after the spindles. For ten hours I had to stand up at that machine and watch the machine and put new spindles on - or perhaps you call them bobbins, I'm not sure of the English word. When the bobbin was empty you had to put new yarn on it or take down the full one. At any rate it was ten hours running after these bobbins. If you missed one it ran amok, it went wrong and you were shouted at.

C.L.: You had no relationship at all with the other German workers?

- No.

C.L.: When they met you, did they talk to you?

- No. This forewoman, a very big woman, just said to me "You do this, this, this, this" and no more. You see, we all worked very well, with great zeal because we were afraid that if we did not do our work well, we would give them a pretext to arrest us, to say we were doing sabotage, things like that. The Jewish workers were excellent.

C.L.: How did you go to work? Was it like in the Eastern ghettoes, with the 'Judenkolonnen'?

- No, no. I went to work on the tram, but as I said, we were not allowed to sit down. It took me from the place where I lived, on the Bayerische Platz, to Lichtenberg, where the factory was, one and a half hours. This meant standing up three hours in addition to the ten hours I had to stand up in the factory. In the IG Farben, at least for as long as I was in the factory, the room which we were given to have our breakfast or lunch in had no facilities to sit down or really have a rest. We were treated like animals, shoved in there and that was it. We were not allowed to move about in the factory, of course, and we were all very scared.

C.L.: Were you marked?

- This is a very interesting thing. IG Farben was the first factory in Germany to introduce, already when I was there, in 1940 (or I think it was '41), before a law to this effect was passed, the Jewish Star. When I came to the IG Farben factory I was given a Jewish star to wear on my working clothes. Of course I took it off when I went home because, as I said, there was no law yet to this effect, but in the factory we were already marked. I don't think that this was the case in other factories in Berlin. IG Farben had a very bad name all those years as one of the worst and most unkind and inhuman factories of all. So this corresponded to that.

C.L.: This was a decision of I.G.Farben?

- Yes. For me there is a special story, if it interests you at all. I wanted to get out of this factory. This was a horrible experience. I don't know how I reached this decision, but I went to work one day with very high heels. Standing on high heels for 13 hours, one evening something moved in my knee and I couldn't move my knee any more. IG Farben had a health insurance of their own, so they sent

me to their 'Betriebsarzt', their works doctor. He was not interested in my knee, he was interested in a very different part of my body and inquired whether I had had sexual intercourse before. At any rate he examined me there, and not at my knee, and I remember it being a very painful examination at the time. You see, this was the attitude in this factory, this Nazi attitude. We were really, in IG Farben at the time, and in Berlin still, slaves of that type of people. I know that treatment of Jews differed of course, I heard later on that people in Siemens or AEG were treated better, but I have no experience of that myself. The worst thing was that everybody was so exhausted coming home from work that sometimes we could not even keep up our contact with our family. My father's sister, whom I loved very dearly, lived in Spandau, which was very far from where we lived. To go to Spandau to meet them was not only an excursion, it was also so exhausting to go there and come back again. And then of course we talked about nothing but the hopelessness we were in.

C.L.: When did the general marking of the Jews start?

- The Jewish star became law in September (1941? C.L.) 1941; we were given a few weeks before, the Jewish community had to distribute I think 4 stars - I think it was rationed, and I believe we had to pay for it too, I don't remember, a nominal sum. We were told the star had to be stitched on the place where the heart is, and it had to be stitched on firmly. We were also told it had to be worn in the flat, meaning we were not allowed to open the door without the star on.

C.L.: Even in the flat?

- It was meant to be so that if we opened the door, everybody... But of course our flats were marked by that time too. On every door where Jews lived there was a . Our German friends...

(fin de la bobine)

Bobine nº24

DEUTSCHKRON 12

(clap de fin. arrivée d'un train. plan muet, le train s'éloigne)

DEUTSCHKRON 13

C.L.: I want to ask you this. Did you hear about the first deportations? Because the first deportation took place very early, already in October '39, the deportation of Jews from Vienna, Prague and Berlin to in Poland. Afterwards, in the Spring of 1940, there was a second wave, a very brutal one, of deportations of Jews from Stettin and Schneidermühle to the area in Poland, and even a deportation of Jews from Baden-Baden to the west, the so-called Badentransport. Did you hear something about these?

- We did hear about it, but not very detailed, not very much. We heard that something had happened, but you see there was not much contact between the communities either. You must always understand we had so many worries of our own, we heard something horrible, we didn't know how much was true, or what happened. It was all fleeting. And then, of course - it is probably all human - everybody thinks of themself in the first place. There were many people who thought "Maybe they did something wrong". This was always the excuse of the German Jews. I remember very well something that happened before the war started, they suddenly arrested people who had had some sort of punishment years back - either they had had a car accident for which they were punished, or something like this - and they were arrested suddenly. They called them 'asoziale Elemente', antisocial elements, whom they arrested at the time. I remember my parents saying "Well, perhaps they did do something wrong". So there was always this... perhaps you could call it hope for your own fate, that you might not be affected this way. We were totally absorbed with our own terrible worries. As I said before, and you must understand this correctly, we lived in flats that were marked with the , meaning that this was a Jewish flat. But of course Christian people, or non-Jewish people lived in the same house. After all, they would not be thrown out because this was a Jewish-owned house. So whenever we had a visitor, for example, I would call over one of our German friends... We lived once in a house on Bayerische Platz and one of our German friends, those who had helped us before and with whom the contact really never ceased - maybe it became rarer because we were so absorbed in our own troubles - they lived opposite us. Many of our things which we thought were precious, whether it was our silver or fur coats, we gave to them

to keep for us until one day we might be able to use them again. So these people, we had a very fine word for them, we called them 'Aufbewaryer', you see, from 'Aryer', and 'aufbewahren' means 'to keep'. So whenever this friend came to visit us he would not stand in front of our door marked with a Jewish star, he just rang the bell and then stood in the entrance of our neighbour, who was not Jewish. He would turn round the minute we opened the door and dash in, so he was not seen so much ringing at our door. When it was suddenly made law that we had to wear the Jewish star I admit that for the first time I was scared.

I don't want to appear now as a heroine; all those years I was very young, and whenever there was an anti-Jewish law I was the fighting spirit, and I fought them however I could. But in this case, with the Jewish star, I knew that now I was a target for anything. The day we had to wear the star for the first time, I asked a friend of mine to go with me to work - I did not want to go alone. We did not know what the reaction of the German people would be.

C.L.: How was their reaction?

- Well, their reaction was extremely interesting. That first day - I remember, I had a young man with whom I used to flirt in the train, you know, going to work and I was very worried how he would react. We had never spoken to each other, of course. So when I got into the train, there he was. He looked at me, perhaps a bit puzzled, but he looked at me with sympathetic eyes. But - and maybe this was very typical for everything else, very symbolic for everything else that happened, for the reaction of the German people - I never saw him on that train again. You see, we always went on the same train, obviously. But I never saw him on this train again. Perhaps he was not brave enough to face me every morning with this Jewish star. Then it happened, on that very morning, I was standing up in the underground - it was very crowded - and suddenly a man rose and said "Please sit down". So I said to him "Thank you very much, I don't want to sit down". "You sit down!" It was an obvious demonstration, so I had to make it clear to him that if I were to sit down I would be punished, not him; and he gave in. So this was the first morning, and we had the feeling - at least I had the feeling - that there would not be, what could have been, the spontaneous outrage against the jewish people - something which maybe people like Goebbels, or those who had favoured this law for

Jews to be marked, had expected from the German people. But this did not happen, at least certainly not in my experience on that first day. I admit that later on it was not easy to wear the star.

C.L.: Did you ever have a bad experience with this?

- I never had a really bad experience. It was very difficult to wear something like that. First of all, people certainly look at you; maybe one looks at you in astonishment that such a woman is Jewish, maybe somebody looked at me with sympathetic eyes, maybe somebody looked at me - and that also happened - with a sort of sneer on his face. So all the time I had to wear this Jewish star I had the feeling I was wearing a mask, and that is very difficult. I remember also that on a certain underground station a woman was staring at me, staring, it was unbearable. So I went up to her, to the disgust of my mother who worried very much, and said "You have apparently never seen a Jewess. Do look at me fully". So she got a very red face and disappeared, of course. Other people had bad experiences, I know that, and I know also that you could encounter Gestapo men in the street who would find out whether the star was stitched on firm enough. He would try to do this by putting his pencil in between the stitches, and if he thought it was not good enough he would arrest the people on the street. I have also sometimes taken off the star, I admit this, because otherwise I would not have been able to go to our friends and, for example, collect the bits of food which we needed badly. They could not risk us in their shops with a Jewish star, so that is why I took off the star sometimes, which is a very risky business. Everything was risky at that time. They made the law that Jews had to do shopping...

(fin de la bobine)

Bobine nº25

DEUTSCHKRON 15 - Mme

It must have been some time at the end of September, so I can't remember exactly, one of the women who lived in the same appartment as we did - a woman of sixty-five years old, rather elderly also in her ways of life - received a letter from the Jewish Community, and in it, she was told to fill up, to fill in lists, lists which contained questions of how many sheets, how many wheels she possessed, to be put onto this list. And she told us about it, and said : "Did you also get this ? ". We said no, but we did not really take much notice of it, and said we'll probably get the same thing a little later. So, we forgot about that entirely. One day, and this was on the 16th of October 1941, in the morning, I was sitting in the workshop for blind people where I worked at the time, where the owner was anti-nazi and had very good contacts with the Jewish Community, one of the employees of the Jewish Community suddenly appeared, and I saw from his face that something terrible had happened, or was to happen.

And he asked to speak to the German owner very quickly, and very hysterically. And, he went in, and suddenly my boss came out again out of his office, called for his secretary, who was also Jewish. And then, both came out again, and this Jewish secretary, ELISA, her face was absolutly white. I said : " What has happened ?". And then, it came out, that this man had brought the news that, on the same evening, I think a thousand people who had received those lists would be collected and deported to the East.

Now, when I heard this, I said " this can't be true, what does that mean ? this is always those rumours that people are telling. They should stop all these rumours ". This was my reaction at the first moment. But then, this man from the Jewish Community said "no,no, this is not a rumour. We, ourselves had to prepare the transport, meanig that we had to single out, or to sellect the people who were to be shipped off in this first deportation So, I said " who is this: what category of people is it?"He said"All the people who are over sixty-five, I believe".

So, suddenly, it dawned to me that this woman in our flat had been sent this list. I said: " Is it this. Does it mean that this woman who had been given this list, who had been sent this list to fill in, will she be deported tonight ?" He said " Exactly, this is it. We had to write for the Gestapo, on the order of the Gestapo, this list. We had to choose the people".

C.Lanzmann : This means the selection was made by ...

... by the people of the Jewish Community, on the instructions of the Gestapo. The Gestapo laid down the number of people, and the category of people. So, this time, at the beginning, and this was the first transport, they chose those 65 year ones, who were not working, of course. So, I was still ... , I could not believe it. It sounded so mad. I asked "What are they going to do with them in the East ? they can't send people over 65 to work; what is this ? "
So everybody shrugged their shoulders, they did not know. You see, it would have made sense if it had been young people to send them to work-camps - after all, Germany had already occupied Poland, and, I don't know, half of Russia - so it was possible to send people to work in camps there. But, a woman of 65, how could that be ?
So, I was full of questions which nobody could answer to me. And, I remember I went home to my mother, and we talked about it, and my mother also said "this sounds so incredible, what will they do with them in the East, what's the point ?"
So, I remember we had a big discussion, and to this day, I think this harasses me, we had a big discussion wether to tell the woman of this, what was then really a rumour, so that she could prepare herself, or not to. And since we were so terribly uncertain, and did not really believe in this story, that we did not prepare her.

C.L. : But she had to prepare herself.

No, she was totally unprepared. She did not get any warning of this at all. This first transport, I believe, I do not wether this is my deputation, perhaps the Gestapo wanted to test, in this first deportation , how it would all work out, you see, wether it would all work quietly or what. At any rate, she was totally unprepared. And I remember, I see her still to this day, how she walked in the kitchen and made her supper, went back into her room. I said "Good Evening Mrs Hohenstein , this was her name. And then, at eight o'clock, or after 8, the bell rang. And I remember the terrible fright, because, I mean, to me, it was obvious, it could not be anybody else. Jews could not go out after eight, our German friends would hardly come after eight o'clock (8 o'clock at night -C.L.-). So, I put on my coat with a jewish star, which I sometimes forgot to do, but that evening, I put it on, and I opened the door.

And there in front of me there stood two Gestapo men, showing their pass, and they asked for Frau Clara Sarah Hohenstein. So, I showed them the room. They went in, and I went very hurriedly to my mother and told her that indeed these people had come. And we were <u>horrified</u>, we were sitting in the dark and listening to every little noise that we could hear from that room. Of course we didn't hear much except a few steps, and after a while this old woman came out of her room and called for my aunt, the owner of the flat, and said "I'm being taken away..." And the Gestapo, to cut her short, said "We shall immediately lock the door, we shall seal it, and I warn you, don't open it, don't touch it... you have no right to touch it." The whole thing was a matter of twenty minutes I believe, maybe in remembering it I cut it short but to me it seemed like twenty minutes, something like this. The woman was carrying a little suitcase with her things. She was standing in between these two big men, and they locked the door, they took the key, they put a seal on and then they walked her out of the door and she said Goodbye. They walked down the stairs, and to this day I hear the steps of their boots and her little shoes. And that was it. That was the first thing.

C.L.: She was caught completely unprepared.

She was caught completely unprepared. Now in the morning - I mean, at night we couldn't speak to anybody else because we had no contact with anybody else, you see, and after 8 o'clock what could one do? - so in the morning we heard a little more. We heard that they had all been taken to the synagogue in the Wetzerstrasse, in the 'Tiergartenviertel' and there they were collected, waiting for their deportation. Now the first reaction, of course, was to bring them something, something to eat, to <u>do</u> something for them. But I remember that people who went there to hand in some warm clothes, or something like this, were turned away by Jewish Community officials who were saying " Don't worry. They are looked after, we are doing the best we can for them, and don't worry". And whenever we asked questions - What is this for? Where are they going? - the Jewish officials also shrugged their shoulders and said they didn't know. Now I can't speak for them, whether they knew or didn't know, but at any rate it was clear it was going to the East. A day later, I believe, they were taken to the railway station (at the time I was told it was the Lehrterbahnhof), and they were off. And that was it. One day the Gestapo came and took off the seal, and took out her clothes and all that belonged to her, and that was it.

Bobine nº 26

DEUTSCHKRON 17 - Suite

From now on, of course, the lists had their meaning. There was no longer any secret connected with it. This meant not only that the people who got the lists - and later on other people got the lists - knew that they were due for deportation...

C.L.: In principle, not one Jew should have remained in Berlin. This was the aim.

- This may have been the aim, but this wasn't clear to us at first, because you see this was done after a certain scheme. But I'd like to say that also the Jewish Community from then on didn't make a secret out of it any more. On the contrary, they informed the people who received the lists at the same time that they had been singled out for deportation, and would they please do everything in their power to assist the people who came to collect them for deportation. From then on - and this is perhaps the tragic thing too - the Gestapo no longer came to collect the people for deportation, as it was in the first deportation. Jewish... what would you call them... functionaries from the Jewish Community, or people whom the Jewish Community appointed for this task, came to collect the people. They just came in and said "Mrs So-and-so, you know you have the lists, please are you ready?" The date was also fixed for them, so they knew when and at what time they would be collected, so then the Jewish 'Ordner', as we called them, came and said "Are you ready?" and took them down to a truck, and that was it.

C.L.: It was done in an orderly fashion?

- It was done in a very orderly, very German fashion, where everything works according to plans, and of course the Gestapo gave the Jewish Community all the time instructions. Meaning, for example, that in the first transport they took people over 65, or something like that, and later on they selected people who worked in factories that were not working for the war effort - little factories and so on. They said " This man, we can spare him, he is not necessary for the war effort so he can be deported." Then there came another category or another transport with people who were not able to work, invalids and

people like that. There were people among them who had injuries from the war, the First World War, and had been given not very long ago a citation from the Nazis. Suddenly they were due for deportation because they were not good enough for working. A transport was going off practically every month, and it was going off from here, not far from here, on one of the trucks of the Bahnhof Grunerwald. There was this rumour that they had shifted this from the Lehrterbahnhof, where the first transport had left from , to Grunerwald because German people had seen it and had uttered their disgust about it. How much is true of this I cannot judge, because there were these sorts of rumours. Of course rumours were many among the Jewish people...

C.L.: Excuse me, this means that the Jewish Community - all the Jews had to be registered by the Jewish Community (yes, long ago, of course) - acted as a tool, as a matter of fact.

- Perfectly. I know that the chiefs of the Jewish Community were called to the Gestapo and told "On such-and-such a date we want to shift 1000, or 1500, or 500 people to the East. Will you please make the necessary arrangements. We want the type of people that are no longer useful for the war effort, who are invalids whom we cannot use anyway." So, according to that, the Jewish Community looked through their lists and chose the people. That was all.

C.L.: What is interesting is the way they explained to the people what they had to do in a lot of papers, and said how they had to act, how they had to behave.

- They sent them a note saying "You have been selected, will you please prepare your luggage. It must be compact, it must not be too much, you must be able to carry it yourself. It must contain warm things. Please take some water with you. Take a bit of food with you, not too much - you will be given food on the way. Please behave in a civilized manner - it will not change things if you don't, and it will help matters very much for yourself and for us. It is not easy for us to do all this, please do behave in a civilized manner." This was sent to everyone who was selected for these deportations.

C.L.: The Jews too, before their deportation, had to pay all their bills - bills for electricity, etc this had to be done too.

- I don't remember that really, because I've never been in this situation, but besides, we didn't possess anything any more, and anyhow the bank accounts were confiscated. Everything was confiscated. As I told you before, nothing that

belonged ... nothing that we wore ... our clothes did not belong to us by law. Nothing belonged to us, it was all on loan from the German State - so they just cashed them, that was it.

C.L.: But was there a feel of the East? What was the meaning of the East at the time, when the deportation was in full swing?

- Well, we knew the East meant Poland, and we were still under the illusion that there were camps where most of the people who could work, worked. We had no proof of it, but I would say perhaps that it was self-protection. We did not think that this meant death.

C.L.: But what really did you think, yourself and your mother, because you saw, day after day, month after month, the people gathered and shipped away - members of the Jewish Community, the Jews in Berlin who remained were less and less every day. Did you think that your turn would come? The purpose was very clear, it was to make Berlin 'Judenrein' - empty of Jews.

- Certainly. We saw this very clearly. There was no blinding oneself - every month there were these deportations and it was quite clear that one day we would also be called. In fact, I once got the 'Listen', as we called them, and that was the category of people who worked in factories which were not for the war effort. My mother worked in a factory which made these radio batteries, so she was in a factory for war efforts and I remember that my mother said " I do not allow you to go alone. I shall go with you, I shall volunteer", and I fought with her, in a way. I tell you frankly, I wasn't so horrified. What horrified me more was perhaps that I would be separated from my mother. I had this curiosity feeling - what is going on there in the East? Because we did not know, there is no question. Mind you, I didn't have the feeling that this could be anything good, this was quite clear. But we did not - I did not think this would mean death. And we watched very closely what was going on on the fronts; we were all the time hoping that Hitler would perhaps after all lose the war. It was sort of looking all the time - "Where are the English? Why aren't they coming? What are they doing?" We went to friends who listened to the BBC, these German friends with whom we still had contact, and we listened in. We always had this sort of ray of hope, that perhaps we would win this race - it was a race, in a way - that we would survive it after all. But why, I cannot tell you. Perhaps it's very human to have this sort of feeling.

Bobine nº27
DEUTSCHKRON 18

Do you know, after those first transports, or during this first period of deportations, we felt so stunned in the first place. We couldn't think straight. It was a horrible feeling. Suddenly we all thought "My God, what's going to happen to Uncle So-and-so, and to Aunt So-and-so", and then they had gone already. It became sort of emptier around us and we felt terribly alone. The jewish Community after all - I don't want to pass judgement, but they co-operated, they had no option but to co-operate with the Nazis. Those people who were really the ones who should have been on our side, they shipped us away to this unknown destination.

C.L.: Do you think that they did it in order to save their own skins?

- Well obviously, I mean, if they had refused to do this they would have been shipped immediately. This is obvious. Maybe they would have been put into a concentration camp, I don't know.

C.L.: They were shipped whatsoever, later on.

- Exactly. But you know how human beings are, they're always hoping that something will happen and they will be excepted. "It can't happen to me" - this was always the feeling, obviously. And I hated those people,especially those people who came to collect the people. I was once present when Jewish 'Ordner' - Jewish functionaries - came to collect somebody who had been sent the lists, and I thought they did it in such a cruel manner. But of course they said to me,"Do you think we like doing this?" And I said to them "Myself, I would never have done this work, but it's so easy to say when you have never come into this sort of situation. You just perhaps shouldn't judge. But this I felt so much. You see in the beginning, in the Thirties, the Rabbis had gone, and now the Jewish Community, which should have given us some kind of assistance, co-operated with the Gestapo. These are the facts, you see. I mean - willingly or unwillingly. I don't pass judgement. That was horrible. Now, two phenomena come into my mind of this first period. A number of people got married - because, they said (I mean, those who were... widowers, in fact they were more people of elderly age groups) - because they thought it was easier to go into such a thing together. So there were a number of marriages, I remember. And there were, of course, a great number of suicides. I don't know whether the figure is correct, but I heard something about 7000 - I don't think that would be the correct number of

suicides, but it's immaterial. I remember a family, friends of my parents. I remember the woman standing in the street and saying to my mother, "We will not allow ourselves to be deported by the Nazis. We shall certainly commit suicide." She said this as a matter of fact, and they did it. They did it when they had the feeling that time is running out, we will not be ...

C.L.: After they got the lists?

- No, they did it even before, when they saw that the number of Jews was reducing and reducing, you see? So they were not the only ones. There were some people who said it's so crazy to do that sort of thing, there must always be hope, and perhaps it's only that they work out there in the East. We just simply didn't know what was at the other end. There were rumours of course, and one rumour was very substantial in the sense that the BBC - I believe it was at the end of '42, but of course I can't judge it any more - said something about something like gassing going on there, and something like mass killing. I remember saying to my mother, "You know, this sounds like propaganda. Something like this cannot possibly be true." We didn't know what to make of it, it was so terribly difficult. There's a very interesting feature I should mention here. Once these deportations were going on (they were on average, let's say one a month, sometimes there were two.)

C.L.: At first, from the figures we have, there were periods...

- Yes, there were periods but let's say for argument's sake, perhaps once a month, twice a month, it was speeded up later. It changed, of course, certainly later on especially, at the very end. But at the beginning there was a certain order. There were factories, like AEGM, Siemens for example, which objected bitterly to this. They said "You are taking away my best workers", and they started to argue with the Gestapo and to reclaim their workers. Obviously, the Jewish workers were excellent workers. They were working against death. They knew very well that the minute they relaxed from their efforts and were no more good at their work, they would be shipped away.

C.L.: This was a general problem, it was the same in all the eastern ghettoes.

- Yes. But firms like Siemens and AEGM managed for a certain period to protect, so to speak, their Jewish workers from this deportation. Also that gave us a little hope. Every little ray of hope, it may have been very very small, helped in a sense to make us feel perhaps it's not... not death yet, you see.

It's very difficult to describe a situation you have been in, but where you never wanted to look at the face of it fully. No human being does that. So also we didn't do it. But of course around us it became emptier and emptier. One day some very simple friends of ours - friends of those times past, non-Jewish people - said to my mother (and this is a scene which I haven't forgotten to this day)... This was a very simple woman, the owner of a laundry, who suddenly took the hands of my mother and said to her "Frau Deutschkron, now you have to promise me something". And my mother said,"but what do you want me to promise you? You must tell me what you want me to promise." So she said "No, I won't tell you what. You first promise, and then I'll tell you." So after a little bit of an argument my mother finally gave in and said "All right, I'll promise". The woman had a smile on her face, and said "Now you have promised me that you won't allow yourself to be deported by the Nazis to the East". And my mother said,"But Frau Gurms , how can you imagine... what do you mean? How should we do this?" So she said,"You know, we have decided that we'll help you". But my mother said,"First of all tell me, how do you have this idea?" So she said"You see, that neighbour of ours, Fritz, he was in the East and he has seen what they're doing there with the Jews". And my mother said "But what are they doing there with the Jews?" And you see from that question already, the way my mother so eagerly asked "But what are they doing there with the Jews?" She said "Oh, I can't tell you, I can't tell you, it's so horrible", and her eyes filled with tears and she didn't tell my mother the details that this boy had seen. So you see we didn't really know, or we didn't want to know. She knew. She said this to us, and we, and she said she would help us, we should come to them. [illegible] my mother said "We will have to discuss this in detail [illegible] what it is. It's not as easy you know, what do you think you can [illegible] will also [illegible] you know". So we went to other German friends of ours, and it [illegible] the impressions took a different turn. They [illegible] were treated in.

[illegible] that is interesting, really remarkable, is that in the really organized [illegible] all of the Jews, they killed them earlier than in Germany itself. Some of the Jews in Germany succeeded in staying. They didn't succeed, as a matter of fact, in having Germany 'Judenrein'.

- No, not even one day, apparently - these were the rumours, I can only repeat

what I heard... the Nazi Government was not satisfied with the speed of the deportations. At that time Wien (Vienne) was already 'Judenrein', as you said, so they decided to bring the Wiener Gestapo to Berlin to complete it.

C.L.: Yes, the Eichmann team.

- Exactly. And they also came with some Jewish functionaries, who also in the Jewish Community in Vienna had helped to do the job. They came with these Gestapo men and made Berlin 'Judenrein'. They did it in a different manner.

Bobine nº28

Plan muet... arrivée d'un train...

DEUTSCHKRON 19 - Suite

Now a totally different system started. The Gestapo from Vienna didn't bother any more about lists and all that paraphernalia.

C.L.: They had to finish quickly.

- They wanted to finish quickly, and that took much too much time. So all they did was hire removal vans. During the war these vans were not used anyway because nobody moved from one place to another. So they took the vans and stopped in front of those houses - they had a list of the houses where Jews lived - they rang the bell, went in and took the people as they were, whether they were wearing a nightgown, or an apron or whatever. They just took them out.

C.L.: So there were no 'Listen' any more.

- No 'Listen', no warning. They just took them out of the houses. I would say this was in the last few months, obviously. Obviously this was the most cruel way of doing things. They also had the Jewish 'Ordner' as their assistants - the functionaries of the Jewish Community - and I should perhaps mention here that... You asked me before whether the Jewish 'Ordner' did it to save their own skins, well of course. And they also had a hope that they could save their own skin, because there was this Theresienstadt, which was called the camp of the prominent people, of those who deserved honours. All those who assisted in this would be taken to Theresienstadt, which was of course in the first place meant for elderly people over the age of sixty-five. The transports to

Theresienstadt were going side by side with the other transports, so everyone who did this dirty work, as you might call it, had this slight hope that he would be taken to Theresienstadt which, as a 'prominent' camp, might not be so bad.

C.L.: In fact it was bad too, in a way.

- I'm talking not of the result, but of the feeling we had at the time. Of course they were very much envied. Everyone who was going to Theresienstadt was looked up to as a God, and he felt like a God too, something better than the others. There was this feeling that there was no more equality in a way among the Jews, there was this feeling of being the cattle, or the big shots who, although they walked on a tightrope sometimes, had the chance at least to be taken to Theresienstadt and better conditions. Then, this friend of ours, who had tried to persuade us to go underground and not allow ourselves to be deported, had of course put a bee into our bonnet, this idea was going on in us, and my mother and I were discussing it and I was very much for it. Then we went to other German friends, those former Social Democrats, and asked them "What do you think of this idea?" I remember how the men jumped up in joy, absolute joy, and said "This is marvellous! And you must never allow yourselves to be deported, I have heard on the BBC what they do with Jews and we shall help you."

C.L.: They were extraordinarily courageous, these people...

- Extraordinarily courageous no doubt, but they also had a very funny attitude which I just cannot explain. The man said "But you see, Hitler will be over in 3 months, it can't take much longer." And God alone knows, I mean I can't ask him any more because he's dead, what made him think this. But of course it helped us, and we were clinging to every straw. We accepted it with great joy - 3 months, what is 3 months? So when he said - and we considered him a very serious man - that we should do it, we decided all right, we shall do it. Now we had to decide on the date. Naturally, we wanted to do it as late as possible, because every month...

C.L.: This was meant to be completely clandestine? Completely underground?

- Completely. We called it 'U-Boot' - submarine - which means to take off the Jewish star, to go away from where you live, obviously to be without ration cards, without documents, without anything, just nobody. Clearly this was a very difficult step, so we wanted to do it as late as possible. I knew at the

time one of the Viennese Jews who was connected with the deportations, and he came to me one day and said "Inge, the time has come. Time is running out and there are too few Jewish houses left. It's about time you made up your mind. If you want to do the underground, do it now. Don't wait much longer". So, we prepared this; I'm sorry, it probably sounds very trivial but I didn't want the Gestapo to have anything of my belongings and I carried away whatever I could of what we still possessed - just things like shoes and clothes, which are probably very unimportant. Those things that I did leave in that horrible furnished room we lived in, I destroyed in a sense - I burnt them with a cigarette or something like that. This was only child's play, I would say.

The decisive factor, or rather the setting of the date was caused by an incident which happened to my mother. She worked a night shift and was at home during the day. Suddenly, one morning the Gestapo rang to clean out the furniture from a room from where other people had already been deported. There was a very sadistic, absolutely unusual - well, they were all sadistic but this was something special - this Gestapo man came in and said to my mother, after they'd done their business, "What are you doing at home?" She explained that she was working at night and all that, and he said to her "Do you know, we'll take you with us immediately too". So she said "But look, I've got a daughter and, if at all, I want to be in it together with her". He said "Well, that can always be arranged afterwards". Then he played this game with her - "What? Aren't you preparing yourself yet?" and sat down in her room and started reading papers, playing about with her, making sexual advances, that sort of thing. In the end he said "Well, all right... I'll leave you here".

When I came home I found a note from my mother, who was working the night shift - "I can no longer go on. We must now disappear". So, we went to our friends and said we would like to come. They said All right, no problem, so on 15th January 1943, very late, we took our last things and left the house. I still remember that we were already in the street when my mother said "My God, I've forgotten my watch!" To go back or not to go back - there was the feeling of a bad omen, you know, if you went back. I said to my mother "Oh, go back". So we went back and it was as if we were going into something we'd never been in, something we had already left. There indeed was her watch, and we went to our friends and they took us in, and we had made the cut.

We were without the Star; I remember the first few nights I slept like a log. Suddenly I was free. I was free also from the fear - the fear that suddenly someone would knock on my door and take me away. I was also free from the terrible rumours, which always predicted something worse. I was free from the feeling that perhaps there was death on the other side.

C.L.: This was the last day for the Jews of Berlin. Officially...

- Yes. We went underground (as I said, on 15 January 1943). Of course, deportation went on and I had a phone call from an official - a friend of mine - from the Jewish Community, who said "Please, do not go out on Saturday". This was Saturday 27th February '43. I couldn't ask him because he rang off immediately. And of course, what for? So I stayed inside, and said to my mother "What could this be?" Then suddenly in the morning we saw police cars, patrol cars, rushing through the streets of Berlin

Bobine nº29

DEUTSCHKRON 20

Arrivée d'un train, etc.

DEUTSCHKRON 21

One day I had a phone call from a friend of mine, an official of the Jewish Community: "Don't go out on Saturday". The Saturday was 27th February 1943, which turned out to be the day when the Gestapo made Berlin 'Judenrein', or at least what they thought to be 'Judenrein'. On that day, and I remember the day very vividly, it was one of the worst...

C.L.: Officially there were no Jews alive in Berlin after this day.

- Officially there were no Jews alive in Berlin, except those who lived in mixed marriages and they were considered non-Jewish, in a sense. So on that 27th February, and I remember it very vividly because it was for me one of the greatest shocks, we saw from behind the curtains and watched the police cars rushing through the city, taking people out of their houses. You could see that people were absolutely paralysed, they did everything they

were told. Often they were not dressed properly. They were pushed into the car and taken away - it was all a matter of seconds. Something like a film. It was horrible to see. There was some talking, Germans said "Look what they're doing... they're taking all the Jews away today". Later on we heard that they had herded them all together - from factories, from their houses, wherever they could find Jews - about 15 000 I think, and put them into something called 'Klou'. This was a dancing-restaurant, a very big one, and there they herded them together, those last ones. The others had formerly been taken to another, smaller camp, obviously; that was the Grosse Hamburgerstrasse, where they could accommodate perhaps 1 000 people, but with such a great number they had to choose a place like 'Klou', where they collected those 15 000 people or however many it was (I think that may be not quite correct). From there they were deported in various transports. That was that horrible day, the day when I felt suddenly so utterly alone, left alone, because then I knew we would be among the very few people left. I didn't know how many more would be underground; this was the day I felt very guilty that I didn't go myself, that I tried to escape a fate the others could not escape. Of course, I didn't know that I would succeed, but anyway I remember that I cried all day long. Not only I cried; those friends we were with, perhaps they didn't cry but I remember one of my girlfriends saying, "These pigs!" and she hit her hand on the table and left the room. It was a horrible day for all of us, something unforgettable.

C.L.: So you thought that you and your mother were the last Jews left in Berlin, completely alone among the Aryans, the Germans.

- Completely alone. It was as if we were out in a terrible cold, there was no warmth around us, no more soul akin to us. And we talked,"What happened to Elsa, what happened to Hans, where is he, where is she? And my God, what happened to the child?" this is what we talked of on that horrible day. We had this feeling of being terribly alone and terribly guilty. But we did not go with them.

C.L.: The guilt was not a reconstructed feeling? It was your feeling at the time ?

- No, it was a feeling at the time that I had tried to escape something that the others had to go through, don't you see, I was Jewish! This I have never overcome, I think.

Later on we learned that more people were underground, like ourselves. There were in fact about 5 000 other Jews - that's the number I know today - who tried to live underground, and we know today that 1 200 survived. 1 200 survived underground, with the help of German people, of course. During that time I met a friend, for example, who lived underground. Unfortunately he was caught later on. But at least we knew, gradually, that we were not the only ones. I also heard later that the Gestapo had a card index which they called the 'Geflitztenkartei' - something you can hardly translate - an index of the names of all those who had gone underground, and of course they wanted to find them. It was not as if they didn't want to find us. They were very keen on doing the job as any German would - perfectly well to the very end. It was in a way a débacle that Berlin was not quite 'Judenrein', and they knew it.

You see, that feeling of guilt, when you asked whether it came afterwards. Afterwards came the feeling of guilt that we did not take anybody with us, that we did it alone. For example, I talked all the time about a little girl - my cousin had a little daughter, Bela. She was about 3 years old at the time, and a sort of copy of myself. A sweet little girl, blonde curls and all. And I said "We could have taken her along", you see, this was the feeling of guilt that came afterwards. Why us? Why did we try, what made us do this to escape a fate that was really our destiny, the destiny of our people?

Bobine nº20

Deutschkron, Lanzmann à la grille

Deutschkron 23: Lanzmann parlant dans l'interphone

- Ja?

C.L.: Entschuldigen Sie bitte, ich möchte sehr gern dieses Haus besichtigen.

- Hier gibt es keine Besuche...

C.L.: Ich bin aus Paris, es ist sehr wichtig für mich.

- Es tut mir leid, es geht nicht.

C.L.: Aber warum nicht? Vielleicht können Sie an die Tür kommen, wir können ein Gespräch haben.

- Es tut mir leid.....

C.L.: Bitte, kommen Sie, kommen Sie zwei Minuten.

- Nein, es tut mir leid...

C.L.: Nein, nein, nein. Eine seht wichtige Entscheidung in diesem Gebäude für mich und mein Volk getroffen worden ist. Il a coupé ce salaud.

SONS SEULS DEUTSCHKRON

DEUTSCHKRON.025

C. LANZMANN: What do you feel when you are here in Berlin? Is it the same town, the same people? What do you feel now?

DEUTSCHKRON: Well, I feel it's not the same people. I certainly feel a certain attachment to it because I know every corner, but I have a feeling that the people are no longer the same. I don't know them. Their faces are absolutely strange to me, absolutely. There is no similarity any more. But it still is the sound of the language - which is my language, my mother tongue in a way - that perhaps also adds to it, that I feel somewhat at home, if I can use that word. But I also feel sometimes that I want to get away from here again, I want to get to that country where I am at home at the moment, and I shall be at home - I know that. This is no longer home, you see? And especially it is no longer home when they start telling me that they didn't know, they didn't know. They say they didn't see. This is so ridiculou

C.L. They say they didn't see?

D. They say this, of course they say it, the older people:"Well, we didn't know. Yes, there were Jews living in our house and one day they were no longer there. We didn't know what happened." And this is absolutely ridiculous, because they all saw it! They couldn't help seeing it! It was not a matter of one action, these were actions that were taking place over almost 2 years. Every fortnight people were thrown out of their houses. How could they escape it? How could they not see it? Sometimes

I fell, when I hear these (inaudible) , either I want to laugh or I want to cry or I want to slap their faces. The longer the time goes by, I feel I will go mad when somebody tells me that he didn't know and didn't see, because as I said, they couldn't help seeing the police cars, they couldn't help seeing the removal vans, they couldn't help seeing the people being torn out of their houses. That's impossible. After all, the Jews didn't live in a ghetto, they lived everywhere in this town.

Then of course, I remember the day on which they made Berlin 'Judenrein'. The people hastened in the streets. They didn't want to be in the streets, you could see the streets were absolutely empty.

C.L. You mean the Germans?

D. Of course.

C.L. They didn't want to look?

D. They didn't want to look. They hastened to buy what they had to buy. It was a Saturday, and they had to buy something for the Sunday, you see. So they went shopping, and hastened back into their houses. And then, later on, you could see them standing behind their curtains - because at that time it was in fashion to have these very thin curtains, voile or something, with the holes in it. And you could suddenly see a head behind it, or you could see a curtain fall back suddenly, when they felt observed. So nobody can tell me that he didn't know or didn't see. That is an utter lie, that's all I can say to that. And the longer the time goes by, and the more I hear it, the more I

feel that I shall not be able to bear it any longer, that sort of excuse.

C.L. But the Germans of Berlin today, they are the same people in one way or another.

D. The old ones, of course. But the young ones drive me mad too, when they say they don't want to know, it was not their business, they weren't alive. Of course they were not alive, and nobody wants to accuse them of having had a share in the responsibility. But what I cannot stand is that they refuse to want to know. No people can live without its history. Nobody can say "This is not my concern". So I demand this from the young people in Germany, I really do. And I think there is no getting away from it. They have to get the information. They have to be told every little detail about what their fathers and grandfathers did, and that belongs to them. This is their share of their history. It can't be that you just say "It's not my life. In 1948 I was born, and everything else doesn't concern me any more". No people can be without their history.

C.L. I agree with you completely, but I don't think they are looking towards this history at all (?) - this is a lie.

D. You see, it has sometimes happened to me already, that when I have said these things about young people, that they should have full information and should not refuse to listen to this information, that they were furious with me and said this was not their concern and they couldn't care less. This is what I see

sometimes in their faces here. It's not so long ago - in fact only a few days ago - I gave a lecture in some place, and when I spoke about this time, boys of the age of 18, 19, left the room one after the other. Because I said, 'This is after all your history'.

C.L. That is what everybody said after the filming of this 'Holocaust' film, that the Germans awakened to their past, to their history. It's a big lie, it's not true.

D. I would not want to generalise. I was also told by some teachers (but I have not had this experience) that some young people now want to know more. But my own experience is to the contrary, just in those last few days, that they said they didn't want to know. But mind you, one has to understand it is not easy for them. It is not easy for anybody to be confronted with one's past and the past of one's parents and grandparents. That's not easy. But the crime was such that I think we have to demand this from them, if nothing else.

C.L. They are the same as their parents. They can start tomorrow.

D. Well, I will never understand - this is one of the things that are absolutely beyond me - that there are already young people again who wear jackboots and black uniforms and imitate all that happened, and demand to re-introduce 'Recht und Ordnung'. This is exactly what the Nazis always wanted to restore. 'Law and Order', you see. This is the death sentence of any nation, of course. For me this is absolutely impossible to understand. And when they also talk about the need to destroy Israel and

say this country has no right to exist - things like this have already been said so many times, not only from the neo-Nazis. Also some so-called 'left wingers' demand the wiping out of the state of Israel that took in the people that survied the horrible murders and the horrible things that happened in the concentration camps.

Murder, after all, does not produce anything new. It does not bring new ideas or new principles to live. Murder is murder. There is nothing that can grow out of murder that could be better, or could give a new perspective or bring about new ideas and a new ideology. Murder is just murder, and there is only one right, the right to live. That is the right of everybody.

(fin sons seuls Deutschkron)