

We're now ready to continue the story that we've left close to three weeks ago. Today is December 22, 1992. You were telling us that you had been found with a warm bread.

Warm bread, right.

And the Ukrainian soldier had turned you over to the kommandant of the camp in Czestochowa.

Czestochowa.

And the kommandant, [PERSONAL NAME]], was asking you-- he was going to let you alone, it seems. You were in prison already. And he was asking you who sold you the bread. What happened at that time?

That time, I said, I will try to find the man. Then they called the Jewish police from the camp, yes, which the head of the Jewish police, his name was Goodstein. He came to the station there.

And he took me out from there. While he took me out from there on the other side, he had a whip. He gave me a few whips. And we went in to look for the man.

I was looking for the man [INAUDIBLE] [? nice ?] hours. I said, I cannot find him. I don't see him. As he let me go, I went back to my job.

I was working by a machine there making this some of the munition. He said, he is going to come next day in the morning to me again. Now, next day in the morning, he came from me again was the German, was in charge of the machinery.

Yeah. I went over to him. And I tell him, I have to go here and here. Yeah, he was very mad. Yeah. And he said, I'm not going to let you go.

Yes. If this policeman going to come, I'm going to kill him. Yes? Then I said, I have to go. Finally, he came again. He took me again.

And this took a couple days. Every day he took me for a couple hours. And I went around. And I said, I cannot find him.

Finally, by the end, was, yes, he let me free. But this policeman, Goodstein, I knew him very well. I was with him together in Jaslo, in this jail. I knew him, and he knew me.

He says to me, in a couple of days, said, well, they told me this. While you cannot find, then the punishment for you going to be 25 whips on your behind. And we're going to come into the camp.

Whenever somebody was supposed to-- was find him something, they came into camp at nighttime. They wake everybody up. And the Jewish police came in, sometime German.

And there was a bench there. You had to bend down, pull down your pants. And they whip you.

Now, I was supposed to get 25 whips in the middle of the night. Yeah, they called me in. And they start to give me whips. I screamed, help.

OK, they gave me. The whip went over. Yes, and they let me free. OK, I went back to work, you know, this, what I was doing. Yes. And I was free. That's it.

Yes. And I was in camp like this till 1945. Yeah, in 1945, like in the beginning of-- no, in December, they took out from our camp about 2,000 people. And they sent them away, yeah, to some other camp.

But we had already idea that something is going on here, but we didn't know what. A lot though German came, guards. They surrounded the barracks. And the next day, they ran away.

This was going out for a couple days, was something. They knew something, but we didn't know what happened. In January, yes, like the 15th of January, this, we was remained already-- I don't know how many-- 1,500 people. I don't remember exactly.

This [INAUDIBLE] came into the camp. And he says, everybody should assemble. He going to talk to us. And he said, there's the Russian. They're near. They're near the town.

And he is going to Germany. We should go with him to Germany. Otherwise, when the Russian going to come in, they're going to kill us because we were working making ammunition for the German thing.

But he didn't have too much time. We didn't know so much what is going on because a few of the guards were still standing at the top of the roof watching us. He picked up one of the guys from the camp. He was a driver.

And he took him with him, and they left the came. But we did not know what was going on till, like, at nighttime. At nighttime, came in we heard shots outside, came him something, people said. They were inside the Russian tank came in. And a German was -- they were fighting, and they left.

Yes. But we knew something was going on, but we didn't know what was going to happen here till, like, in the morning. Their guard still was on the top. Probably came him something-- there's nobody is in the town, no German, no Russian.

We opened the doors from the camp, and we went out to the street, came out. There are nice people. Whoever could go, go. Whoever couldn't go, couldn't go.

We went out to the street. I didn't know the town at all. We just was asking for which ways the German went. From which way is the Russian going to come?

People said, the Russian going to come this way. OK, we went all in a column to see whether Russian they're coming. Yeah, and we went a couple of miles.

We went. Finally, the Russian army came. I remember a tank came. And he stopped. He saw a lot of people.

He came out. He ask, who are you? Nobody knew the language.

Yeah. Then this I remember. I don't know if this is in my dream or this was reality. Then came another tank came. And he came down.

And he spoke already Jewish, yes. And we told him we are from camp here, yes. And he said, well, you go straight here with this road. And this and this parts, the Russian already there.

But we don't know what is going to happen here. When I looked around, I saw all over around. And the people where my eyes could see just Russian tanks all over that around in the side.

And he went. We went. And I came to a city. We went by bus. Everybody went, you know, on the road.

Finally, I came to Radom, to a big city, Radom. Some people remained. I went with other people to Radom. And we were there for a day or two.

There was already a Jewish organization. They gave us bread. You know, we stayed there for a night. Then-

This is still December?

No, this already January.

January.

The liberation, we was already liberated. Then from over, that I went to Lublin. Yeah. In Lublin was already also more Jewish people, was a Jewish [NON-ENGLISH]. They used to give you to eat, yes.

But I didn't know what I'm going to do. But later I said, I'm going to go to back to Zmigród. But how I'm going to go there? It's very far.

Your hometown?

My hometown-- finally, I had a man over there is in Lublin, which I recognized him. He was from my town, yes. And we talked to each other. He said he was in Russia, coming back from Russia here.

Finally, I went to Zmigród. Yeah. I went. I don't know how long it took me to come to Zmigród. You know?

I went. I came to Zmigród. I came to our town. It was Jedlicze then. And in this time, in Jedlicze. I saw a couple Jewish people over there, which was over there one of my relatives over there, too.

He was hiding by Polish people. Yes. And I told him, I'm going to Zmigród. Yes, I went myself to Zmigród. The reason I went to Zmigród is, before we left, yes, I put then in the back yard, I make some hole. And I put in a golden chain, some rings. I figure maybe it's there. I'm going to pick it up. I have no money. I have nothing.

I went over there. And a couple Polish people that, in that time, 1945, I met over there-- this was in the wintertime. We start to dig over there. They dig. I couldn't find nothing there Find it. The house--

Was anybody living in the house?

Yes, the house stood the way it was. I could not go into the house. Was living a family over there. I couldn't go in they didn't let me go in

I just went to the backyard from another side and then I said to myself, well I had that guy which I gave him out before this happened-- yeah, the liquidator, in Zmigród. I gave him out six sewing machine because my father used to sell sewing machine.

And the guy told me, if you're going to be in a need, come to me. When I was in a need, I came to him. He want to kill me.

Then I went away. Then I am now here. I said, I'm going to him. He should give me the machine. I have no money.

I came out to him. He looked on me. He was shaking. Yeah, he saw me. And the machine was standing in the room there.

I said, look, you know me. He says, yeah. I said, you take the horse and the wagon, I says, and the machine and bring it into town. He did. He was very afraid. He did.

I brought it into town. I didn't have whom to sell it even. People didn't have money, didn't have whom to sell it. Finally, I took the machine to Jedlicze.

Where was Jedlicze.

Jedlicze was, I don't know, about 15 kilometer from Zmigród, a small town. And I sold them over there. But the next day, yeah, I saw a Pole from my town. And he told me, you're lucky.

He said, you're lucky you went away. The guy what brought you with a machine, he came at nighttime. He wanted to kill you. You're lucky you went away.

When I heard this story, I say, there's no place for me anymore in Poland. I have to leave. I try to leave, to go. I said my first stop going to be I go to Romania. Yeah.

Everybody ask me, why you go to Romania? My father was in the First World War, was a soldier of Romania. And he stood in Bucharest.

And he used to tell us story when I was a kid that he was very good for him over there. And I said, I go to Romania, see what happened. The borders were open. You know, you could go.

I went, took me days. I came to Romania. I came to Bucharest. Yeah, was already, again, Jewish committee over there.

And you know, it was organized. They gave you food. They give you eat. I sit over there nice, nice couple months over there in Bucharest.

Yeah. And then, you know, they was talking that the Russian, the communists, are going to try to give a grip more on Romania. You wouldn't be able to leave anymore.

My next trip was I'm going to go to Italy, yes. I went from Romania, went to Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Austria, all going, you know, by train, by bus, keeping going.

You're alone this whole time?

No, with other people, were other people going to-- I didn't know. People were going, you know, like everybody. You go. The border's still open, you go.

I came to Italy. I came to Italy, in Italy, to a town. The name was Padua, a big town. Yeah, it was over there a camp, you know, for Jewish people, which they came, organized over there. And they gave you to eat, food, there.

Yeah, I was a little bit in this town. And later, you know, I went out of the camp. And I had some money.

I took myself with a friend an apartment over there. And I was waiting to go to the United States because I had here relatives. My mother had here two sisters. I had cousins here.

I was in contact with them. They told me I should wait till eventually I'd be able to come here, but took very long time. I did not have too much patience over there to wait. As I said to myself, well, I am going to Israel. Yes, in 1946, yes, I went with a Jewish organization, you know, with the Haganah, you know.

Excuse me. You knew already that you had no immediate family left?

Yes, I knew I don't have anybody anymore because I didn't look for family. Because I know my family's destroyed, was all killed in Zmigrod.

Yes. I didn't know. I couldn't find anybody because I know I don't have nobody. Maybe a cousin some place, but I don't know where I'm going to look for him.

So you thought you were alone?

I was alone. In the beginning, it was terrible. In the beginning, you know, all the time I said, why I got alive? But it would be better I would be dead.

Because I didn't have nobody. And I saw the antisemitism. Again, in Poland, you know, it was terrible.

I came into my town. I went in for a piece of paper. I did not have a piece of paper who I am, you know? I came into this city hall for a piece of paper.

And they asked me, who are you? I said, I am born here in Zmigrod. I want a piece of paper.

Then they told me, why do you here? Why don't you go to the army? I said, I just came from concentration camp. I am sick, yeah.

And then I was in Poland when was the pogrom in Kielce, you know. I said, no, I better leave here. There's no place for me here.

Where I went, I went, like I said, to Italy there. And I was waiting. And then I went to, from Italy, illegal with a boat. We was rowing for four weeks on this boat to Israel.

Finally, the British caught us on the water. And you know, it was a whole story when they caught us till they bring it in. There's a whole story, you know.

I would take too much time to tell you the particular on this thing. Finally, I came to Israel. OK, I was in Israel.

They put us in the camp in Cyprus-- not in Cyprus, in Atlit-- this was near Haifa-- for, I don't know, a week or two maybe. They gave us paper. Everybody can go free wherever you wanted to go.

I didn't have where to go, OK? I remained in Tel Aviv. OK. In the beginning, it was not so good, but I was still free. I could do whatever I want to.

I was working there, working here. Then, you know, 1947 came. The British was supposed to leave Israel. And I went-- there still was, in Israel, yeah, the British. certain parts they left.

And there were signs. You know, people should go volunteer to the army. I volunteer, and I went to the army, to this Israeli army, yes, in the beginning. And I was in the Israeli army, you know, till the war was over.

'48.

Till '48.

Eight.

Yes. And then I had a job working in Israel, you know. I met my wife there. I got married in 1949. And then-

Where's your wife from?

My wife is from Poland, from Łódź. She was also a Holocaust survivor. She was in the Łódź Ghetto.

And then she was in Auschwitz. And she was liberated in Bergen-Belsen, also lost everybody. Nobody got here. Nobody was alive. She is the only one that is alive.

We met each other in Israel. She was also in the army. We got married in 1949.

Yes. But I was working for the government. And she had a job. She was working. It was not too bad.

But all the times, I want my family. I didn't have nobody. I want to see my own, my mother's sisters and this.

Then in 1950, then my aunt, they sent for me I should come and come. They send me papers. Then my wife got pregnant.

She was pregnant. And my son was born, Michael, in 1955. And then I still wanted to go to America.

Even I have good in Israel, I have everything that I had to have, but I wanted to go. I need my family, this, my mother's sister. Then I came to United States in 1955.

OK, I met my aunt. I never saw him in my life. I met him. It was a good occasion with other cousin. They were very happy to see me.

I was only one with all the question asked. You know, how I got alive, you know? A lot of story was emotional thing again to tell them.

Yeah, but they were very good to me, really very good. They tried to help me. In the beginning, I was living in the Bronx.

Later, I moved to Brooklyn. They got me an apartment. They got furniture.

They settled me down. I start to work. In the beginning, I make \$1 an hour. But everything was good, was nothing bad until I got more involved, got my little bit-- you know, I went a little bit to know the English.

And later, you know, my other son was born, Richard. And then another son was born, Jay. You know, we are a close family. And my family, my aunts, they were very good to me, really couldn't be better.

Then I was working. I was making OK, all right, you know? It was OK. I never complain at United States. I didn't have what to complaint.

I had good children, a good wife, you know, a good family. Yes. But still, you know, what bothered me all the years bothered me-- in the head, what happened.

I couldn't sleep. Years, and years, and years, I couldn't sleep. Yeah. I waked up in night, I was crying, crying, sleeping.

I fall down some time from the bed. I will say, ah, [CRYING]. My wife waked up me in the night years, years, and years, and years.

It was on my chest. I have to go to see, to Zmigród, the grave of my parents. I never was there. I have to see this, but I didn't have the possibility to do this.

I said, well, maybe a time going to come I will go there. But all the years, for 50 years, it was terrible. Was night, I didn't sleep.

Finally, in 1972, yes, 1972, I got a call from the Jewish Congress. They're still looking for people from Zmigród. There's going to be a trial. They find the murderers, what they did when they think I should come down.

I came down to the Jewish Congress. They asked me question. And later, the German consul here in New York called me down.

They had pictures if I can recognize some of them. It was very hard to recognize really because it is 50 years. But their name--

This is, what, 1970?

In 1972, I mean, was about--

This was about 30 years.

--30 years. It was very hard to recognize, but the names were familiar to me. Some of them I did recognize. Yeah. And they asked me if I would be willing to go to the trial.

I said, I have to. There's no question about it. I go to trial. I hope they're still going to give him the punishment what they deserve.

Where was the trial?

The trial was in a town of-- the town was Arnsberg. This is--

What's this document?

This is the document that the man was in charge send me after the trial, what was the end of the verdict from the people and how many people, how many witness was, and what was the crime. Yes, this was in 1972 in Arnsberg. This is not far away from Koln.

This is January--

No, no. This was the letter sending me in 1973.

Oh. And then the trial was--

The trial was in--

I'll just show this letter here.

The trial was 1972. This is a letter sent to me from a German, which he took care on all the witnesses. Here is our piece of paper from the judges in the courtroom when the trial is coming-- is--

What paper is this?

This is the paper from Arnsberg, from Germany.

A German paper where the trial was?

German paper where the trial--

Why was the trial in Arnsberg?

It looks like there's the people live around this place there, around this town.

That's where the Germans who were the murderers were.

Germans who killed, the murderers, yeah, were living around this town there. Yes.

That's what the article says in German?

No, the article, what it says here, it says that this is-- the court which have this all the Germans which they're going to prosecute them against the killing of the Jews. Yes. Now, I decided that I'm going to come. Also, my friend Leon Rosner, which he was always with me, together, going to come over there to this trial.

Now, we came to the trial in Arnsberg in 1972. He was met by one of these German that he took care on us over there. We were sleeping in a hotel there.

I was very frightened even then over there. I don't know why I was very frightened over there.

How long were you there?

I was there for a week. Yeah. And then I met other people over there, a few from my town, which they

came from California. Some of them came from Israel.

There were about 100 witness from Poland, you know. Was Poles, a few of them. Was about 100 witness over there.

I stood in the front of the judges. And they asked me the question. I told him everything what happened over there. Yes, I didn't want to speak in German. Yes.

I said I'm going to speak in Jewish, which they have over there-- one was an interpreter, which he interpreted. I knew English. I didn't want to speak German language plain. I said, I speak in Jewish. And I spoke.

They heard my story, everything. The accusers were sitting on this side, the murderers here. They were not young people already. Yes.

And every day, another one was coming on the trial. I worked for seven days over there. I couldn't attend any more this trial because was too much emotional for me.

Finally, after this trial, we left back to United States. And in 1973, I received this paper from the man who was in charge from this--

[INAUDIBLE]

His name was [? Karl ?] [? Foster. ?] Yes. I don't know how good he was with the Jewish. He said, he was from the Germany army, yes.

But I had to believe what he says, but he was nice to us, OK? He sent me this letter telling me what happened with the verdict over there. The main man what was in charge in this place, his name was Dr. [? Gantz. ?]

He was the main man that's like the governor from the [PLACE NAME] and the all surrounding areas. Yeah, he gave the order what to do. He was working after the war for the German government.

Yeah. And he had plastic surgery. They could not recognize him. Finally, there came some tip, and they did recognize him.

When they came to arrest him, yes, they find him. He killed himself. He hanged himself. He was out of the picture.

The rest that they found was seven people. They were sitting on this bench on the trial. Two of them they were acquit. There was not too much evidence.

The other five got between three, four, and five years in jail. The other five was got in jail. They couldn't pinpoint that they was the one, let's say, to kill each one separate. Because I did not see them actually, you know, shooting them. But they admitted that this was happen.

They were accused of killing, like the paper says, of 1,000 people from [PLACE NAME], a town, 1,000 people from Zmigród. It's written down exactly the name-- and about 1,000 people of Jaslo. Altogether, it was 5,000 people, more than 5,000.

The rest of the people, yeah, they was sending away to the gas chamber in Belzec. Also, was a gas chamber in Belzec. He was in charge--

These five, six people, it's five?

Five people.



Five people killed how many thousand people?

Well, they couldn't find. They couldn't find the rest of them. I don't know how many was there, yeah?

This five they find. The rest of them, what the paper said, they couldn't find them. They don't know where they are.

OK. This was the end of the trial. I should tell you this, I am happy with it. I was not happy with it. Because for killing so many thousands of people, what is five years? Five years is nothing.

But eventually, this is the German court. And this is the way it goes in Germany. We can see what is going on now in Germany, how this is already a Democratic Germany, what they're doing, what they're doing down in Germany.

This is the thing what happened. OK, they found them. They didn't give them the right punishment.

So this, we're into 1972, '73.

'72, '73, yes.

How did you feel after that?

I felt very bad, even worse than before. Because here you have the murderers.

Still didn't sleep?

No, no. The sleeping did not go on. This was once a week, twice a week, dreaming, seeing everything what is happened to me.

And today?

Today, not so much. While I always said this, I have to come to this place over there, yeah, I picked myself up. Yes. And I said to my son, my family, I am going to Zmigród.

My son, he didn't want me I should go by myself. He said, dad, I'm going to go with you. As he went with me my--

Which son is that?

My son, Michael.

The oldest one?

Yeah, oldest one, he went with me. My other friend Leon Rosner-- he's also from Zmigród-- went with me. A cousin of mine from Paris, which he left Zmigród in 1932, he also came to Zmigród.

We came over to Poland. I was fighting to go there. But I said, whatever, I'm going. I came to Warsaw, yes. And I was in Warsaw.

I wanted to show my son. You should see all the concentration camp, what happened to the people. Because I took him to Majdanek. This is not far from Warsaw, concentration camp, a big one.

Majdanek is Lublin?

No, I'm sorry, Treblinka.

Treblinka's near Warsaw.

To Treblinka, I'm sorry Treblinka not far from Warsaw. I took him over there. When I came over there, before you going into the camp, there's a map, a big map.

I went to see on this map. I see on this map, yeah, the main town's named Zmigród in Halbuw. I say, why is my town's name here Warsaw? Now, they pinpoint you--

Wait, in Warsaw or in Treblinka?

In Treblinka, on this map, they pinpoint you all the places where there was killing Jews. Like Zmigród Halbuw they killed so many Jews. This is the map showing you each all the places where was going on the murderers what they killed the Jews.

Then I went with him from over there. I went with him to Krakow. I was in Julag. Was nothing from this camp. They destroyed the camp.

Then I went with him to Auschwitz to show him how Auschwitz looked. It was terrible to see this. My son was crying.

It made on him-- for me, too. Because I did not see something like this myself. I was in concentration, but I didn't see Auschwitz.

And even over there, I went to Jaslo to show him everything what I went through. He find everything what I told him, everything is the way things then.

We came to Zmigród. Yeah, I came to Zmigród. You know, I didn't know where I am. I couldn't recognize nothing. yeah.

I came to our point, which is a crossroad, which goes four places. Now, this road, I look here. I said, OK, I know where I am.

How were you traveling?

From Warsaw, we took a taxi. I took a taxi for seven days while I was in Poland. And he was going with us from place to place.

I don't think you ever had a taxi when you were there as a youngster.

All the people were looking, you know, at the car. And even now they're looking in the car in Zmigród. There's not so many cars over there.

Finally, I came to this place, to Zmigród. There's a man. I didn't know where I am. I didn't know what where.

I knew where the place was took place the murder is, yes, where the killing. I knew where I'm going to go. All of a sudden, I saw a man is coming.

I recognize this man. He's older than me probably about two years, yes? He must be, now, about 74, yes?

And I went over to him. And I said, listen, your name is so-and-so. And your brother's name and your father's name is so and so. Your father was a carpenter. Your mother so.

I told him everything. He looked at me. And I asked him, you know I am here? He says, no. Then I tell him.

My father, his name is Isaac. I lived this third house from you, yes? Well, he embraced me, you know. He didn't have what to --

He says, come to my house. I know what for you came here now to Zmigród. Don't be so emotional. I go with you here.

Finally, I went over there to his house, you know. And then I went. I want to show my son from where they took us all, you know, for the killing to this ball platz.

I went to the old Jewish cemetery to show him everything. The cemetery existed, but you cannot see nothing because everything is full of roots. Yes. Then we went to see another man.

And then we went to the forest of [PLACE NAME] where the mass grave is over there. I came over there. This is by 250 meter from the main road inside into the forest.

I came over there to this, to this thing. What can I tell you? I was screaming. I was crying. I didn't know what I should do.

I just look and see in my head how they brought in these people over there. The trucks couldn't come in. They had to unload them by the road in order to go in, yeah, killing, beating, to bring in these people over there to kill. OK.

I stood over there a couple hours. I cried. I laid on the grave.

Finally, I could not think too much. I just said, there was over there a stone. And the stone you couldn't see too much.

I said to myself, I said, well, my obligation now is to put down a memorial stone over there. It is surrounded with our fence. I said, I will try to put a memorial stone over there. We come home. We're going to see what we can do. OK.

From over there, I had another mission. My next mission was to go to see where my sister is laying. I knew the place where my sister was laying.

The name was Warzyce also a forest. But I could not know inside where it is. I came to the forest, yeah? Was a sign over there, yes?

There is a sign. The Poles built signs, yeah, saying this, like, a fire is burning. And on the top is like two knives is coming. This gives you the idea that something here around something happened.

I came to this place where this happened, but I didn't know how far this is. Then I saw a man is working in the field down with this. As I go down to him, nobody from my people know Polish.

I just the only one what I speak. I go down to him. And I said to him, I said, look. I said, I ask him, from where are you? He told me he is from Warzyce.

How old you are? He tells me. And I said listen. My name is Max. I am from Zmigród.

In 1942, I was imprisoned in Jaslo, sitting here. And could you tell me something about this forest? What was happened here?

Then he says, yes, I tell you everything what's happened here. I said, I was a boy from 17 years old. I used to come to this field. This is my father's field, yes?

And I saw every day or once a week they used to bring people. They used to close the road. And the German used to come with trucks. If they brought Jewish people, the truck was open.

There brought also Christian people which they were closed. They brought them over here exactly to this place here by the forest.

Everybody had to go out, yeah. And with sticks, they used to beat them and chase him inside into the forest. I saw, when the brought Jewish people, they were open, yeah?

They used to bring it to the place. They had to get undressed here, nude. And he showed me. He took a stick in hand. They used to beat them and was screaming and crying.

And they used to bring them in. They used to shoot them one by one. I heard the screaming and the crying till here, yeah?

Then I ask him, what did you do? What did you do? He said, look, I was afraid, yes?

When I saw this, I went into the town to Warzyce. This is a small little town. And I saw that when the German finished the killing, they came to the town.

The washed their hand. They were full of blood, yeah? And they washed their hand, and they went away.

Then me, with another couple boys, went into the forest. And we saw grave. People was still alive. Yeah, people were screaming. Yeah. And a lot of people was still alive, but they were shoot.

I ask him, why didn't you help? He says, listen, I could nothing do. I was afraid the German going to come back. Yeah. OK.

Then he said, look, come with me. And I'm going to show you exactly the place. I know which one is Jewish graves and which ones they're not Jewish graves. OK.

What can I tell you? I-- terrible feeling. I went into the forest. I looked coming into this forest, a big, big cemetery. The sign's over there, which we mentioned already about the signs here.

And he went with me from grace to grave, pinpoint me which one is Jewish. One grave, which is mentioned in this paper, was over 1,000 people from the town of [PLACE NAME]. And it's written down, town of [PLACE NAME], big grave.

The second grave from this is a small, very small grave, is marked number two. According what I know information, which the guy told me when this happened when I was in jail, his name was [PERSONAL NAME]]. I knew that this is the grave. And this was near this grave number two.

I came to this grave, again, screaming and crying. We said Kaddish. We remind the people which we know in his grave.

And we went on from grave to grave. There's 32 graves in this cemetery, most of them the Jews. What this guy told me is, he said, like in November there's a Catholic holiday which they going on the cemeteries.

The priest from the town come see it. And children from school with music, they come on this cemetery. And they have, I would say-- he goes from grave to grave. And he says prayers, yes. And they talk about this place.

He invited me if I want to be a guest to come. Why I was one of these prisoners in jail in Jaslo? And he says he never knew that somebody is alive from there.

I should come there, but I did not go yet. I did not go yet.

Finally, after this, it was I had to go home. But my feeling was already-- I quiet down. My noise quiet down.

Since I came from over there, I am not so much nervous. And I don't dream so much than this. I am much [INAUDIBLE].

You felt you made a connection?

A connection, yes. What we do now? What we do now is we decided to put down a memorial over there. I got in touch with some people in Poland.

And this is the stone what we are going to put down in Halbuw on the cemetery which is 1,250 Jewish men, women, and children killed, including my parents. And this is going to be in three languages, in three languages, in Polish, in English, and in Hebrew, which this is going to be unveiled in July 7, 1993, which I will go. My son and I will have other people.

Also, I got a letter that I should invite, like I was say, from town, you know? From city hall, I should invite the mayor from city hall to this place. Then from there, we are going to go to Warzyce which I have a permission from the Polish authority to put down on this place a plaque from these people.

The names that you have here are--

No.

What names are these?

There's no names here. This is just I put down. I send this away to Poland, this. And this is going to be written down in Polish. This is going to be written in English, this in Hebrew.

Yeah. And this one's going to be like this. And this has to be on the top. What will be written down in Hebrew, yeah-- oh, let's say, this is going to be written down on the first stone in Polish, which is the Polish language.

What will it say?

Well, they said here, this here is laying the bones from 1,250 Jews from the town of Zmigród in the surrounding areas, which they were murdered by the Germans in the 7th of July, 1942. Yes, we never going to forget about them.

That's why you want to make it July 7th?

July 7, yes. Yeah.

Yeah. And you're going back July 7th, 1993.

I going back, yes. The yahrzeit comes out and the Jewish calendar comes out July 11. We're going to see how this is going to come about.

This is going to be written down in English. Yes. And the second stone-- which they said, "in loving memory, here rests 1,250 Jewish men, women, and children of Zmigród or neighboring town, murdered by the Germans on July the 7th, 1942, never to be forgotten. Erected by Zmigród Society of New York in 1992."

And this is going to be in Hebrew. This will be in Hebrew.

Same thing.

Yes. Yes? This-- on the third stone. Now, on the fourth stone is going to be like [NON-ENGLISH]. How would you say [NON-ENGLISH] in English?

Versus, biblical versus.

Biblical versus-- in Hebrew and also in English. I hope we can accomplish this. We had a lot of good people which donated money.

My all children donated money. All my friend donated money. It's a big expense on this, but we're going to do.

How expensive was it?

This cost \$7,000.

Whoa.

Yes.

Because the work was done here?

No, the work was done over there in Poland.

In Poland.

In Poland, the work was done in Poland.

Yeah.

Yeah. What we're going to do here is just the plate. We're going to make the plate here and going to bring it over there on this place to Warzyce.

That's quite a story you told us.

Well, this is what I went through. I am happy, yes, with my family. There's everybody's OK.

I gave them good education. They're good children. I have a good wife. And I have good friends. And--

That's important.

This is very important.

Yeah. I want to ask you some general questions before we conclude.

Yes.

I want to go back to that story that we began today. The Ukrainian policeman's name was Goodstein?

No, no, no, no, no. He was a Jewish policeman. He was a Jewish policeman. He came to take me out from the--

From where you were working.

--police station, yeah, by [INAUDIBLE]. He was a Jewish policeman in the camp of Czestochowa.

Oh, so he was helping you.

Well, he was in charge. They told him he should take me. I should go to show him what was going on.

But the one who wanted to see that you got punished was the Ukrainian policeman?

It was the Ukrainian, but also the Germans--

Yeah.

--also, the Germans.

That's a very interesting question in general. Because you're talking about Germans. You're talking about Ukrainians.

Right.

You're talking about Jewish policemen.

Yes.

How do you compare the three?

Well, the Jewish policemen, their order was to, let's say, whatever the Germans want to tell us, they were the one to tell us. Well-- had to be some order. Let's say, you're going to eat.

You have to be in line. If people, they're hungry, like everybody, yes, is one going to run first, one going to have less. Somebody has to take order on this.

They're taking charge. They said, you are the policemen. And you going to taking charge to do this and this.

But in general, in Czestochowa, the Jewish policemen, they were good people. There were no problem with them. There were no problem with them.

And how do you compare the Germans with the Ukrainians and the Poles?

Well, like I would say, I myself have very bad experience about the Poles, more than on the Germans. Because had not the Poles worked together with the German and gave them an open hand to do with the Jews, they probably wouldn't do. I lived in Zmigród for so many generations with all the Poles, go to school, everything.

I didn't do no harm to them. Why, for a couple of pounds of sugar, he should take me and bring me to the German, I should get killed? Why? But what is? Maybe they were themselves-- this was not [INAUDIBLE].

This was coming in from the church, the priests. They gave so much hate to these Jews that this is impossible, impossible. I see them, yeah, as they more-- this is their fault more than the Germans.

Even the Germans killed us, yes, but they killed us both ways. They killed us with giving us to the German. And some of them kill us, too.

For instance, I had two cousins, which they were hiding by a Pole, yes? They were hiding by them for six months. After he took them, everything, he came down to the basement, yeah.

And he killed them both. They killed them both in the basement. How can you--

How do you explain that? He hid them for six months, which put himself into danger--

Which put himself-- he was, yes.

And then--

He then go to kill them. Why? And they gave him away. They were rich people. They gave them away everything what they had, everything what they had.

You know, you cannot even understand this, yeah? There may be some Poles, which they hide Jews. But you can count them on the fingers, yes? In Poland, this is a nation who, in that time, was 30-something million people.

I'm sure you discussed this with Jewish people from Poland. Have you ever discussed this with Polish people?

I did not discuss. This particular friend of mine in Poland which he writes to me letters very often, he writes me, dear friend and neighbor, yes? I did not discuss with him because, when I come to this Zmigród, I'm still afraid now.

And I don't want to go in with him in certain thing which he talked to me about certain thing. That he belonged to an organization before. And this organization, what he belonged, was one of the biggest antisemite in Poland after the war, yeah?

They killed the Jewish people after the war. And he told me he belonged to this organization. But again, I didn't want to pinpoint him. How come you belong to this? And they did this and this. Maybe he by himself did not do it, but the organization did.

I didn't want to go in with him in conversation about this thing disavowed second I have to come again to meet him this time I need him yes, is what I'm going to go with him in this particular thinking.

Otherwise, I would like to have a conversation with him. I would like to, but I'm afraid. I'm afraid. I didn't go with him.

When did you start talking about the Holocaust after the war and with whom?

About the Holocaust, you all the times talk. Whenever you meet Holocaust people, one with the other one, friends, you always talk what happened here, what happened here, and what happened there.

Oh, there was never, not one. When I came to Israel, I had cousins. I told them the story about the Holocaust. I told them what happened in Zmigród, you know.

So you found people listening to you.

Yeah, people listening to you.

Always?

All the time listening to you.

And when you came to America?

When I came to America, people, I talked to them. I told them what happened. I never hide this thing. I want everybody should know, yes?

And with their children?

My children-- all the time. Michael was the first what I told him. The other one, too. They were very interesting to know.

Of course, you cannot keep going and going and going every day the same stories, yeah? But you tell. For instance, if Michael sees on television a film from the Holocaust, he calls me, dad, do you see this?

What can you tell me? Do you know these people? Did you heard of it?

All the time, we have always conversation till now. He reads a lot of books about the Holocaust. And we always have conversation about this.

How has the Holocaust affected your outlook on life and your understanding of human nature?



Well, you see, human nature can be very cruel. People can be-- like to see what happened. I personally, myself, yes-- I was never against anybody.

And first of all, I never knew what is racist is. In my town in Zmigród, you know, I didn't know. I knew what it was against us. And I always was asked the question, why is this against us? You killed Jesus.

I did not kill him. Did I kill him? What happened many, many years ago is not my fault. I don't know how was what happened. Understand this? Was always to me, you know--

Well, the church, now, has finally made some amends to that.

Matter of fact, the Pope, Paul II, he is not far from my town. Yeah, from not far from my town, this pope now. OK. Look, I hope, yes, that we learned a lesson.

But looks to me, right now, yes, there's all this 50 years what happened. Everything was hiding because the communist was there. Under the communists, maybe this hate couldn't come up so often. Even in Russia was a lot of thing going on.

But what do we see now? What was going on again? You see, in Germany, what was going on. They're killing people. They don't go specific on Jews because there's not too many Jews.

But they go on [INAUDIBLE]. And eventually, they're going to come on Jews, too. Look, you see all over the world. It doesn't make no difference. I am very, very much afraid.

I hope would not come in my life I should go to see, again, what happened. Yeah. I don't want to go in to United States. That is a good country. But you never know. People can do a lot of things.

I hope that we learned a lesson, all the people learned the lesson. This is not going to happen like this. People have to live.

It is not up to me. Yeah, it is not up to you, Rabbi, yes? You have to live. We always going to live with this fear.

Finally--

If--

Go ahead, sorry.

If we live maybe without in Israel, we'll say, sometimes I wanted to go back, which I go year by year to Israel, yes? But I have here my children. If my children would be able to go to Israel, I would settle right now there. No question about it, I like Israel. I like United States, of course, yes?

But you know, when you're getting older, you look different on certain things. But I don't know. I don't know what to say, what the future going to bring. I don't know.

Finally, I want to ask you, has the Holocaust affected your faith and religious observance?

Well, I am an observing Jew till a certain thing. It did allow the harm to me, the Holocaust. Because like I said, mention in these tape, when I was in jail with this rabbi, this did to me terrible thing, terrible thing.

Because I was just a person from the street. Here, you see people which they didn't kill our instincts. And all of a sudden, take a look what happened to them. There is something, yes, which takes care on all of us, yes?

But I lost a lot of faith. But my tradition, Yom Kippur, Passover, Jewish holidays with everything, I observe. I

am a good person. And I am a good Jew.

And I teach my children exactly the same way like my father taught me. I have yahrzeit I'm keeping my yahrzeit. I never one time left my yahrzeit out.

I'm going to shul. I say Kaddish. I light the candles all the time till I'm going to be alive. And then I said to my son-- he's here-- Michael, one thing I want from you. You should keep the yahrzeit for you grandparents.

For me, I don't care too much what. If you have time, OK. But this is a must. Because I was--

I think he's going to observe everything [INAUDIBLE].

I was now in Israel. I went down, and I make a plaque, [NON-ENGLISH] for trees and put down exactly the name on the [INAUDIBLE] exactly. And I make a picture, and I gave it to my brother, Michael. This is your present.

You should remember forever this to keep. And your children, if they want to, should keep going. Always tell them what was going on with the Holocaust.

And this tape, what you, Rabbi, gave me the opportunity to make, was one of their biggest achievement what I ever did. Because I always wanted to do something to tell my story and to leave for my son and for my children and from schools, wherever this tape is going to go, to see what people went through and what was happened.

Well, this has been a very important recording of your story, which tells a great deal about what happened to so many people during the Holocaust. And I thank you for coming down and sharing these experiences.

OK.

Thank you very much.

I thank you very much, Rabbi.