PREFACE

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ABRAHAM MALACH
March 20, 1990

Q: Tell me your name please.
A: My name is Abraham Malach.

Q: Where were you born?
A: I was born uh on uh May 12th, 1935, in Zwolen, which is in central Poland, uh Zwolen being a small town of about ten thousand people at the time uh half of which was Jewish and that was about five thousand people. And uh when the war broke out...

Q: Before the war, tell me about the memories you have of your family before the war.
A: Uh my uh from my immediate family uh I have only a few uh memories uh but I know that uh there was uh twelve children on my mother's side. Uh there were twelve brothers and sisters of which only one survived the war, they having escaped in 1933 to uh what was then Palestine, and from my father's side uh where there were eight brother and and sisters, uh none of them survived. But uh in the ghetto of Radom uh where I still saw uh the uh uncles and aunts and uh both sets of grandparents until 1941 uh I was able to see them.

Q: What did your father do? What was his business?
A: Uh my father was in the leather business, wholesaling. There were uh the uh town of Zwolen, which was near Radom in an area where Jews uh were the tanners; and uh then uh uh the finishers of leather and uh shipping it to Germany and to the uh manufacturers of uh shoes. So he was, he was one of those that were wholesaling the uh the leather goods.

Q: You were telling me some stories before the camera started of what you remember from when you were four years old and before the Nazis came.
A: Well uh, there are there are pictures that remain with you like uh you see in flashbacks in movies sometimes and uh for me it's in real life several uh pictures that are alive to this day, and that would be like the first telephone uh that was installed in just before the war broke out and the reason that I would remember it is that uh I would watch people walking to uh talking to the wall and uh that uh was such a wonder to me that uh I couldn't explain it and it's remained with me to this day. People walking up to this certain spot and talking to the wall. But uh the next uh flashback would uh be uh when the war broke out and I was four years old, in 1939 the first German planes coming over our town and uh flying low and uh dropping their bombs and everybody running to shelter and uh screaming and just not running fast enough or uh one obstructing to wait for the other. The panic that uh ensued. And so on and so forth.
Q: Tell me about those, just keep on going. Tell me about what you did when the war broke out. Who was in your family. Sisters and brothers?

A: Uh my uh in my immediate family we uh were four children. And uh it was my uh sister who was five years older, a brother who was uh almost three years older, and then I had a si...a younger sister (cough), excuse me, who was born in 1939. Uh after the war broke out and we uh were put into the uh the ghetto, uh sometime uh in 1940 we were uh put into the ghetto in uh Radom uh where they would take a whole section and uh keep all the Jews, collect all the Jews uh from the neighboring uh towns and villages. Uh we stayed in the uh ghetto until about 1942...

Q: What was it like?

A: Uh, from the life in uh in the ghetto I have only uh few uh memories. But uh I remember that uh my mother had been uh kept at the police headquarters for a while and when she came back emaciated and so this picture that comes back to me. Of course I later learned the reason that uh she had been uh kept at the police headquarters was that uh my father had uh uh a lot of uh being that he was wealthy and uh had connections with the leading uh members of the community, so even after the ghetto was organized, he was able to uh obtain through uh uh payment a document from the uh uh mayor of the town in Zwolen and the uh German commissar, the German uh governor of the town, a special document for uh as a merchant and uh supplier of uh the uh uh shoes to the German army and whatever, so he he obtained uh a passport uh so to speak, a uh it was which a document with which he was able to travel and uh the idea was that uh after uh the war broke out and the, Poland was divided to the German Russian sphere of influence, uh his uh he owned two trucks that were confiscated so uh we couldn't get no means of escape but uh he was still dreaming of the, to get us uh out somehow uh with money that he still had and influence. So it was the travel document uh they plotted a scheme uh that we would uh hire a uh a horse uh uh drawn-carriage and that was to take us to the other side of the river where the Russians were. Of course uh when we reached the uh bridge uh of that river, the uh German soldiers were there and uh two uh German soldiers on motorcycles uh would confront us with the carbines on the backs and shout uh, "Alle Juden [zurück (ph)], which reverberates to this day. And uh screaming and the uh weeping by the women and children and nothing helped. We were uh driven back to the ghetto. Uh eventually we were taken, the ghetto was liquidated and we were taken to uh a uh work camp in Wolanow; and uh there we stayed from 1942 'til 1943. But even there, my father had not given up; and uh he had uh bribed uh some people that had influence, the uh head of the camp, to uh close an eye to the fact that we uh we would run away. They would smuggle out at a certain time at the night. And uh it was before uh in December, just before Christmas time that uh we were uh driven on a sleigh to some village to uh uh to be hidden in a farmhouse, except that uh the farmer who was hiding us, he had uh visitors and uh these visitors had heard one of the uh children was coughing or what, so that uh the farmer became afraid uh he would be betrayed, uh that he is hiding Jews, and we have to be smuggled back into the camp from which we had escaped. That was in 1942, the last chance that uh we uh we had still to uh to be free, after which uh on the raid that uh the
Germans uh sent the SS to uh pick up uh old people and uh children, where my youngest sister was four. She was taken on a truck - all the uh screaming and all the yelling - it didn't help. And uh whether they gassed those people or shot them we don't know. It was the last time we saw her. We stayed uh in Volanof until 1943 and were taken to another labor camp in uh called uh Starachowice and uh there we stayed until 1944. Uh...

Q: What did you do in that camp? You told me you were a messenger. What did you do?

A: Uh in Starachowice, I uh I was not uh with the uh work squads that were uh going out, uh outside the camp working in factories uh whether it was munitions or whatever for the uh Germans. So I uh I cleaned the police barracks the uh and I served as a messenger boy which proved to be of uh crucial importance when uh the uh when uh uh making these selections to again uh to pick out uh those unable to work whether it was children or elderly or or those that uh became ill and so on. Uh I was considered uh important or productive and left alone so uh that when we arrived in uh Auschwitz I was listed as fourteen years of age and uh apparently that helped me again uh be considered productive and not taken straight to the ovens.

Q: Can you describe your arrival at Auschwitz?

A: Uh up to uh Auschwitz and the uh ghetto and and the uh first subsequent uh labor camp we still managed to be living as a uh unit, as a family unit uh even though my younger sister at that point was taken away. Uh we were still uh with the uh parents as a family. Before being taken to Auschwitz though, uh they uh loaded the uh men in separate wagons on the train and the women on separate wagons and uh when the decision was to be made how to divide the children uh I was placed with uh my mother. They decided, between my parents they decided that I should go with my mother and let my father take only my older brother with him in order to uh have a better chance of escaping from the uh train uh when uh the train slows down or comes to a stop. They were hoping to be able to uh run away and uh he felt that I was too weak and too young to uh to join him. And that proved to be uh a blessing that uh I went with the uh women's uh into the women's camp because uh the first selection that they had in Auschwitz uh in the men's uh camp, they rounded up uh all the youngsters and uh my brother included and uh again he was uh at the time uh about fourteen, maybe going on fifteen whereas I I was only nine. They took him with the other uh children to the uh the gas chambers. And that being on a uh special day, uh the Jewish New Year, the second day of Rosh Hashanah, which was uh Mengele's uh way of uh uh making a point of uh on uh Jewish events, Jewish holidays. And uh in Auschwitz uh when we had arrived uh was the height of the uh transports and uh they didn't put us straight into the oven because they couldn't handle that many arrivals in a given day, so that we went two weeks uh without a uh number. Eventually they did take us in and uh we became uh the slaves of uh Auschwitz, those that could still uh be useful to work. And uh the daily routine was uh for the adults uh working uh in the nearby factories and uh I was uh a messenger and so on. (Pause) What uh got me to uh be able to survive the uh Auschwitz uh camp was a uh incident uh where a kapo had seen me with uh my uh mother and my sister at one time and
uh she took a great uh liking to me or pity on me, and she would uh call me to her uh barracks from time to time to feed me. There was one incident in which uh I I thought I would never forgive myself. When I returned to the uh to my barracks with my mother and that day not having been fed by the uh kapo I was asking for my uh portion of food which was two slices of bread uh for supper and uh having no breakfast to look forward to and I came home. I was uh hungry not having eaten and uh to discover that my uh mother uh didn't expect that and shared the uh meal with my sister who told me that she gave it to my uh sister. And I carried on at the time, as hungry as I was and made my mother feel guilty and my sister feel guilty which uh I was ashamed of later on for a long time. And uh the thing was that uh as young as I was uh the drive to uh survive was so strong that uh you had to learn fast and uh whether from the kapo or uh by other means - I don't remember - I had somehow managed to get uh ahold of cigarettes and uh when we were separated from uh my mother and from my sister, uh I was able to smuggle to them through a uh cousin of mine cigarettes that they should be able, in order for them to exchange for uh for food. And uh in Auschwitz itself an incident that uh only many years later I could comprehend what was happening to me when uh the same uh kapo had uh brought one day to uh her barracks and uh during the daytime when everybody was out to work she had uh commandeered a uh a young attractive woman to wash me up and uh talking nicely to me that it's important to be clean and uh that girl carefully washed me and fondled me and then uh that kapo took me uh on her bunk and uh tried to arouse me and uh as a nine year old boy uh lying beside her, on top of her and in any kind of position, whatever she tried uh must have have been futile, futile but uh that was the life in the camp for this poor woman. (Pause) They were a degra...degradation that uh they put people to uh to the point that uh living was not worth living. (Pause) And then uh remembering uh Auschwitz, being liberated when the Germans retreated . . .

Q: Can you tell me, tell me first about the food. You told me about the woman kapo and her salami. Tell me a little more about the kapo. It's OK. It's OK. (Pause) Tell me as much about her as you can. (Pause)

A: I'm sorry. Uh uh one of the things that uh uh I had constantly uh in my mind was uh the vision the kapo having a uh round uh table uh sort of like this side table but taller and a uh shelf on the bottom. It was covered with a uh uh some kind of table cloth but on the second shelf being a piece of salami and bread at your disposal. And the idea that you would, you can uh eat your uh your meal and uh have some left over, have uh extra food for later. It was uh the dream, a dream that uh was to be with me for a long time. Uh when we were liberated and uh we were being fed uh by the, at the time we were being cared for by the UNRA which was uh the uh relief organization, a Jewish relief organization active all over Europe taking care of the refugees and survivors. Uh when we were uh being uh served meals it was not uh a sit-down meal but you had to go to the counter and uh your plate was being filled with the uh different foods and to this day I can remember that asking for uh when they filled my plate for an extra spoon, extra spoon even though uh one would, should have uh known uh after the first or second time around that uh there's no need to fill up the plate that much more than you can eat because uh some of it won't stay on the plate and you wouldn't be
Q: Take a minute and if you can go back to the camp one more time. You told me about an incident with the kapo and a toy. Can you tell us about that?

A: Yeah. (Pause)

Q: Take your time.

A: (Pause - drinking water) Uh, at one point in Auschwitz uh that after I had met this kapo and uh as I mentioned uh if not for the food and occasionally a piece of clothing - she had a uh coat commandeered for me uh because uh when people arrived at Auschwitz they were uh, their clothes with the outer belongings they may have still had with them, was taken away and uh we were given that uh pajama type uh prisoner's garb uh striped prisoner's garb. Excuse me. She somehow managed to get me a coat one time. Shoes and another time uh wanted to give me a toy that I refused and uh I pointed out to her that uh my brother was taken to the uh to the chimney and uh this particular story I didn't uh, I cannot say that I recollect having that conversation and but uh she told it to my mother, that I refused the toy and my mother had talked to me about it.

Q: Why did you refuse the toy?

A: I refused the toy uh pointing to the chimney and telling her that uh how can I play when uh my brother was taken to the uh chimney. We could see from our camp that uh tall chimney, the flame uh going up day and night, smoking. And uh the picture of a selection. Having gone through that uh once in your lifetime and you will never forget it. Uh the uh infamous uh Dr. Mengele, he would stand at the head of the uh column of the procession of uh naked people and uh some way before reaching, uh coming up in front of Mengele, we saw that uh there's left and there's right and uh what he was doing is he would uh people would march up in front of him and uh he would look at them and whether they are still able bodied or not, able to contribute uh toward the work, to the labor in the factories. So uh when my turn came, and somebody was whispering to me uh to the right, and somehow I uh managed to stay in that right lane without being uh motioned back to the left lane. That's what uh made the difference of life and death.

Q: Can you recall children? Did you see other children at Auschwitz?

A: Uh at some point uh in Auschwitz itself I was separated uh from my uh sister and from my mother and put in a uh children's uh block. In that children's block there were not only Jewish children uh but also uh uh Polish and from uh Russian uh war uh prisoners of war, some of them uh even younger than me. Some of them uh that uh were still uh babies (pause). When uh the Germans retreated and uh they took uh all the inmates on the forced
march, they left the sick children and those that were unable to walk...They have been children under the age of six. Well, I hide among these and other kids; we managed to stay behind until the Russians arrived, and we were liberated in Auschwitz. Because those that were taken on the forced march and those that were unable to keep up, they were simply shot on the side of the road. After we were liberated and as I mentioned before I had run away from the camp when the first Russian soldiers arrived and they had nothing on them but they were asking us for cigarettes or asking from us where's the supplies, and uh we had managed to find some sugar that was not burned and we showed them where the sugar was. We took out with us uh a few sacks or whatever to uh and ran away to the city, to Auschwitz, myself and two other boys of whom I never heard again. These two boys may have ended up being raised by some childless family like uh I was supposed to. And as the uh the experiment by that couple didn't succeed . . .

Q: Back up, because we're not following you. Let's start - you're running away. Where did you run to?

A: Uh from the uh camp of Auschwitz we went to the city, to the town of Auschwitz and where a childless couple uh took me in and uh being that they uh worked both of them they would uh close me up during the day in their one room shack and uh disappear. Uh that didn't last very long and I ended up in a uh monastery. But about uh whether it was uh two weeks or four weeks after liberation, they had organized the mass grave for all those bodies that uh were collected uh of people that uh had been shot on the march and the retreat when the Germans took with them the, all the rest of the inmates. And uh all kind of bodies that were not cremated but uh left unattended some of them till they starved and whatnot, so there was this uh mass grave that the uh and ceremony that they had organized in Krak...Auschwitz with the uh bells, all the churches uh ringing away. And that day I met I met up with uh the children that uh had stayed in the camp and uh now were collected by the UNRRA and uh I rejoined them. Uh everything by chance. If not for that uh I would have been in that monastery uh growing up and uh stayed there in Auschwitz. It was the uh it was uh to this day I uh I remember the prayers in Polish and the original, the how they were teaching me, the uh Polish nuns. And I would have been a good uh decent Polish uh Catholic to this day. After having survived alone the camps.

Q: What was UNRRA the camp like?

A: The uh...

Q: No, no. What did you do when UNRRA took you? Where did they take you?

A: Uh, in Auschwitz? (Pause) In Auschwitz uh I was uh not uh employed like the adults and uh it seemed that uh they simply didn't uh have uh the capacity to burn uh all the people when we arrived and uh they kept us there for a while until our turn would come.
Q: No. I'm sorry. When you were rescued, after the war you were talking about UNRRA.

A: Oh yeah. After the war uh when they collected the children in uh in Auschwitz. Well, they uh they eventually collected uh all the children and uh not only from Auschwitz but uh from the other uh wherever they found uh refugee children, survivors. They took us to uh Kraków, uh Kraków. And uh from Kraków, they took us to uh a resort place to uh feed us and to uh to put us back on our feet. Because uh we were skeletons at the time. And uh during that time uh when uh my mother and my sister were liberated in uh Ravensbrück in East...what was East Germany under the Russian influence. And uh they went back to uh our hometown looking uh to see who survived. And in those days, uh the UNRRA had uh lists of uh survivors that they were compiling and sending it to all over Europe and all over the world. And uh eventually, my mother got hold of uh these lists and uh found out that uh I was among those kids that were collected in Kraków. And uh she sent my uh sister, who was uh at the time sixteen, to pick me up from uh Zakopane, where we uh were...had been taken uh for recuperation. After we were reunited uh with my mother we found out that uh our father was uh in Germany. It took him uh sometime to recuperate; but uh then uh...he went on uh a trip to Poland to look for uh...he seemed to have found out that uh myself, my sister and uh my mother had survived the war, and uh he got uh travel documents. He obtained travel documents for us and he went to Poland with the idea of uh taking us to Germany, to the American sector. We missed each other; uh because uh while he traveled to Poland, we traveled to Germany to join up with him. It was already after the war, and uh the crossing of the border from uh East Berlin to West Berlin was not uh just uh picking up yourself and uh going but uh we had to smuggle through and uh my mother was resourceful in that uh she uh got ahold of the right uh connection made the right connections, paid off paid off the right people who would uh drive us to the western sector. Eventually we uh reached uh the town of ______ where my father supposedly was, and uh found out that he was looking for us in Poland and had to wait and uh it took us a year before we were reunited, in 1946. By the time uh they organized the uh first uh school where we were about seven children and uh we were lumped together even though we're not of the same age to uh to learn ______. From documents that uh I have uh to this day uh it's interesting to that in 1946 which would have been uh one year after liberation, I already signed my name with my own handwriting. The motivation was so strong that uh even before I attended formal school I uh knew to read and write, to read and some somewhat to write.

Q: How long did you stay there before you moved on?

A: In Hamburg uh I stayed uh for about uh two, for about two years, two or three years; and uh then uh I was sent to a uh bigger town in Stuttgart, where there were more uh Jewish survivors, more children and uh there was a bigger school. And then uh from there I went on to Israel where I finished high school and uh my parents uh had stayed behind. Uh they were still in Germany and uh when I came back I uh stayed with them for another two years and then went on to America.
Q: Why...excuse me...why did you go to Israel and they stayed in Germany?

A: Uh they were tied up uh at the time already uh in uh in business. And uh they had a mind to go to Israel eventually but uh uh they didn't want to keep me uh and uh to go to a German school, so they sent me ahead and uh sent uh myself and my sister, they sent ahead to Israel to go to uh a Jewish school. When I finished uh uh when I finished high school I went back and was uh attended two years uh of the uh Technische (ph)...in Stuttgart; and then went on to uh I went to New York, to America, and uh finished school in New York, at uh the Columbia University.

Q: What was Germany like right after the war for you as a child?

A: On the uh it wasn't too personal level. Uh I had uh not seen in Germans any different uh human beings, didn't uh didn't see look at them any different than at other people and uh uh did not uh feel uh outright uh anti-Semitism among the people except when you traveled to the small uh towns and villages where they would display uh their relatives who were in uniform and you could see and feel the way uh they were uh proud of uh their service to the Reich and in the songs that they were singing that many of them uh they uh they still lived that uh era that they looked at uh as the great era of uh ruling the world and so on, and uh that there were many of those that uh didn't learn a lesson among the older generation. But I must say that in the uh university, at the university there were uh a lot of young people who were no different than uh other uh young people in other countries that uh they did realize uh that you cannot conquer the world and get away with it. So uh you you had uh among them these uh young people that uh would stand up for causes of uh democracy and so on.

Q: OK. Can we go back to Auschwitz for a minute? Were there other children that you came in contact with during those years in Auschwitz?

A: Uh I don't recall much of uh the uh children that I was with uh except those a few a few of those that uh survived with me. And uh we uh were not uh in in Auschwitz uh kept much like a a normal setting where you uh make friend...friendships and so on where you have an occasion to play with children and to get to know them much. Whether it was uh on uh appells, which meant uh being lined up uh for muster and uh that could take uh hours of your time, or what uh as some other tasks of cleaning, whatever. Uh but no socializing per se.

Q: What was living with your mother and your sister in the barrack in the barrack, in the women's barrack. What, can you describe that barrack? Can you describe what your life was like in that barrack?

A: The uh barracks uh would house uh, well it consisted of uh metal corrugated uh structures uh that uh had these uh two-tiered bunks, wooden uh bunk. They're wooden beds. And uh how we managed to uh to sleep without a mattress or whatever, it's beyond me and uh working uh to uh outside when uh being taken to work in the winter time in these harsh uh uh winter
days in Poland with uh inadequate clothing and not having uh a coat and pneumonia the first
time around uh it's beyond me. But uh uh it seems that uh human beings are capable of uh
surviving uh great hardships uh and still come out alright. It's amazing. And that's one of the
things that uh looking back when you uh when you hear, when you read of how it uh
German uh uh doctors would come and conduct experiments on human beings, to that
effect.

Q: Did your mother and sister try to protect you _____?

A: To the extent uh possible but uh you were uh subject to uh their total control (cough) and
wasn't uh a matter of being able to intercede on behalf of uh your beloved ones. When my uh
smaller sister was taken from uh literally from my mother's arms and uh would have
preferred to uh die in her place and uh there was no way of her to to stop it. The truck just
took off and they uh they beat her down to the ground, my mother and uh could do nothing
and uh I can imagine uh after the war for all these years to have to live with such memories,
what it means to uh to or to my father for that matter, that he couldn't uh that he couldn't
protect my brother and that the uh guilt feeling, uh him feeling that uh he had uh taken my
brother with him rather than having sent him with me uh and that in turn may make him feel
guilty if uh if I was able to survive and uh if he had let my older brother go together with me
that he maybe he would have survived too. But that was the decision at that time, that uh he
though he would be able to jump the train. (Pause) Up to uh up to a certain point yes, uh my
parents were able to uh when they still had uh they had money and uh where their
connections were able to uh do something for them, but when you reached uh Auschwitz, we
were stripped uh of our belongings and uh reduced to uh to objects that they could do with
uh whatever they wanted. (Pause) You ask yourself uh how is it possible and uh (pause) to
this day when I uh after having uh read and trying to understand uh that whole episode of
human history, how is it possible in the 20th century for a thing like this to happen and uh
there's contradictory feelings and uh (pause) to try to explain rationally - there's no
explanation. To try to say that uh (pause) once the people were told uh that this is the policy
of the government and uh therefore the lower echelon would accept it and go and follow
through. It's one thing when you're uh when you're told to go along and uh and people uh
may have tendencies of uh not to care about other people uh when can be possible but uh
you're talking of an entire nation and more than one nation that participated in this, meaning
uh educated and uh people with uh feelings, poets, writers.

Q: How did you feel as a ten year old child in Auschwitz, given everything you have described
to me? What did you feel?

A: (Pause) It uh it must have been uh maybe reduced uh a little bit of human life to the life of
uh of a crude animal uh where survival is the only thing and it makes me wonder uh how do
people come out of this uh intact. That all uh all you learn is uh (pause) that uh that there are
uh it's uh hunters and there are those that are hunted. And uh it's, it must have taken years to
for me to uh to understand uh what life is all about but uh (pause) again uh to come back to
uh the after all this time uh that uh passed and I I uh I read some of the uh some of the books
written about that era, and uh of the people uh that participated in it; and it's so hard to understand uh how uh you can find so many beasts that uh took pleasure in uh executing these orders and and participating in the actual cruelties. I hope when you talk of Eichmann, that people like Eichmann, who...uh Albert Speer I can rationalize, but I can say they were uh people that uh were at the beginning of their careers. They were in their early thirties or not even thirty, and getting uh high positions and uh power and uh influence which uh made their sense their senses so it made them uh drunk with power and they were capable of uh doing anything that uh...

Q: What about the people who you came in contact with, the the perpetrators in the camps? Did you ever encounter any Nazis or any guards who were particularly cruel or difficult with you, as a child?

A: Bodily uh it was not only my brother that uh I would missed a beating, a beating that uh ended up with uh one, one side, his right side having been completely disformed and that's why uh on the first roundup in uh in Auschwitz on the first selection, uh he may have been he may have been, that may have been one of the reasons contributing to him being taken away without consideration _______. Myself I had uh uh at the end of the war uh I ended up with uh two front teeth had been knocked out, the uh the reason for it not even clear to me. What I was suspected of I don't remember, but uh I was beaten by uh uh one of the uh guards what uh for having possessed a potato and being suspected of uh stealing it from the kitchen or whatever I don't know. I don't recall. But I was uh at one time uh washing the uh uh in the kitchen or helping in the kitchen and ended up being beaten up.

Q: Abe, thank you. Thank you very much.

A: Thank you for the uh the patience.

Q: Rather extraordinary ______.

A: It's something. It just uh doesn't come easy and uh this is one of the reasons that uh I uh I meant to write it down someday rather than verbalizing it. It's uh very difficult.

Q: _____________ I appreciate your willingness to share it with us, knowing how difficult it is and knowing the age at which all this happened to you which makes it harder, not easier. (Yeah) I have some sense of what it took. I want you to know I appreciate _____.

TECHNICAL CONVERSATION

Q: Is there anything we've missed? Is there any story that you want to tell us, because we can go to another tape, that we didn't that we didn't get?

A: Uh, I can't think of anything...