

ANNA FLYNN (née RÓŻAŃSKI)

POLAND/CANADA

WORLD WAR II

Interviewed by

Renia Perel

&

Heather Korbin

(September 25, 1990 & February 21, 1991)

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Interviewee: Anna Flynn (F)

Date of Recording: September 25, 1990

Ident. Number: 09-3

Track Number: T1-S1

Interviewers: Renia Perel (P), & Heather Korbin (K)

P: Today is Tuesday, September 25th, 1990. We are interviewing Anna Flynn. The interviewers are Renia Perel and Heather Korbin.

F: This is the first Pesakh that I remember at all only I didn't stay up I was too tired but I remember we had borscht for Pesakh because there was no chicken and, you know...it's sad you know I really never talk about it, I get very upset.

P: If you don't want to talk about the Pesakh part then...

F: There's a lot more than the Pesakh part, you know, there's a lot involved there.

P: This is the Pesakh, you mean, that you had in the ghetto in 1941?

F: Yes.

P: Or was it 1942, because Pesakh is usually in the springtime?

F: Yes, it must have been 1942 then.

P: It was just the first year in the ghetto.

F: It must have been 1942.

P: Where were you born Anna?

F: Lvov, Poland [In Polish, Lvov, spelled 'Lwów', is pronounced 'lvoof'].

P: What date? Do you want to say when?

F: Well, it's no secret, March 18th, 1933.

P: So, you were just a young little child?

F: Yes.

P: Did you live under the Soviet occupation for two years prior to the German invasion?

F: Yes, that's right. From 1939 to 1941.

P: Did you go to school at all at that time?

F: One year, grade one. I finished grade one.

P: So, you finished. What language did [you] study?

F: Polish. We took some Russian as well, as a second language.

P: Any Ukrainian at all?

F: No.

P: So, is this part now, Lvov, part of the west Ukraine today?

F: No, part of Russia. [Today Lwów (Lvov) is in western Ukraine.]

P: One of the Soviet Republics. When did you go into the ghetto if you can remember and who did you go in with?

F: I went in with my parents and my brother. We had to vacate this apartment that we were living [in] because of the German railway people took over the whole block and so I think I went still in 1941; it would be about November.

P: So, they didn't let you live out the first part of the year? They took all of the Jews into the ghetto?

F: Not all, different parts of town at different times and then eventually everybody had to go. The Germans came in and took our furniture the first week they were there. They came and emptied everything including beds, lamps and dishes. We

had nothing. They came with a list already made before, somebody must of [have] spied for them. Some maid maybe. I don't know. They took everything away. So we had no furniture anyways. I think it must of [have] been October 1941 that we went to the ghetto. It was a run down part of town; it wasn't a very pretty place.

P: Do you remember the name of the section of Lvov at that time?

F: I know the street.

P: What was the street?

F: 'Jordańska'.

P: 'Ulica' which means 'Jordan Street' translated [from Polish].

F: That's right. I remember the little house. It was in the corner and about half a block from there was a huge fence surrounding there. It was divided. The street farther up was divided in half on the left side going was [the] Jewish district and on the other side was the Gentile district. It was all fenced off; a very tall fence. Whenever the Germans used to come into the ghetto, the Ukrainian police used to every two steps there was a Ukrainian police, you know, when the killings, just before the killings. That's why we were lucky to run away from there.

P: So, when did the killings start?

F: The killings started the first week the Germans came to Lvov, immediately. It started three days after, and [about] this I have [from] my father [who] wrote [a] few pages.

P: You have your father's testimony?

F: Yes, I do. About fifteen or twenty pages. Do you want to see

it? I'll get it ready for you.

P: We would like to have it.

F: He has quite a story there.

P: We, at the end of the interview, we would like to include your father's testimony because with you being a seven-year-old child and you wouldn't remember all the details.

F: Not only this, but he wrote things that I had no clue [that] were going on.

P: Well, you just tell your story now as you remember it. How it was in the ghetto and what your parent's reaction [was], what the adults said.

F: Okay. I know this. My parents made a deal with these people. Her name I remember [was] 'Słowadzienowa' she was Ukrainian, because my grandfather knew him and, ah, they paid her so [that] they would have a better house in the ghetto. And so, when we moved there the lights were still on and the water was running for I would say maybe three months. The first three months and, ah, after, it was a very cold winter and there was no fuel. I mean, it was really cold. It must have been forty below because I remember watching the trains coming back from Russia with the German soldiers. They were frozen you know, without noses, it was an unusually cold winter. And ah, at first it was, this to me didn't seem so bad, you know, the first little while.

P: In the ghetto.

F: In the ghetto. I mean it was bad we had not too much to eat. But you couldn't buy anything and ah, maybe I was a little

lonely because I was by myself. You see, the family didn't move in till sometime in April I think, or maybe March, and my parents were working. My brother had his own ideas you know.

P: What is your brother's name? Is he alive?

F: Alexander.

P: Alexander. Alec.

F: Ya.

P: Is he here in Vancouver?

F: Ya. And the first trouble that I remember was when they took my bro... Mind you, just a minute, another thing happened when the first victim of the family was my cousin. Her name was Eva and she was brought up with [by] my grandparents and ah, she took off her 'Star of David', you know, the white [arm]band, and the Ukrainian police caught them. She went [had gone] to pick up some jewelry when my father went to bring my grandparents to our place still in the apartment. And then she [grandmother] didn't take her box of jewelry.

P: She left it in the apartment.

F: That's right. So my cousin went to pick it up, and my father was against it. But when he went to work she decided she was going to go anyway. She was seventeen years old [and she was] a very beautiful girl. And she went and apparently picked up the box but never returned home. And about two days later, the Ukrainian police came and brought the box with jewelry to my grandparents. Would you believe it? They did this because they hated them so much.

P: To show them that she was dead but...

F: They didn't want her jewelry. I mean, my grandparents...and that was in the very beginning. So also my father, the first three days...the third day when the Germans entered Lvov they ordered everybody to give the short-wave radios back to them. There was a place where they were gathering this...

P: A depot...

F: That's right. And my father was picked up and put in the 'Łąckiego' [pronounced 'wonskiego']. That is a famous jail in Lvov.

P: Would you spell it please? L-A-C...

F: L-A-C-K-I-E-G-O. That's right. And the Russians apparently left there a mess before they...

P: Ran away.

F: Ya, and there was a lot of bodies there and clearing and so forth, and many Jews lost their lives there because the Ukrainians were in charge. And that was three days after they entered.

P: And how did the Ukrainians behave towards the Jews?

F: Terrible. Terrible.

P: So, they were helping the Germans? That's what you were saying?

F: That's right. Right from the very beginning, because they were in charge. The army came in; the S.S. wasn't involved yet. It was three days, you know that's it. And they, ah, they were in charge. They knew who the Jewish people were.

P: Because they were the indigenous inhabitants of the area so

they knew who the Jews were.

F: That's right. So my father was there all day. And then towards the end of the day the army let them all go after they cleaned up the mess apparently.

P: Cleaned up the bodies of Russian soldiers...

F: Not the Russian soldiers, the prisoners. They were prisoners during Russian occupation, and before Russia pulled out they murdered them all. They were no angels either.

P: I see.

F: So, you know, this is what happened. And ah, that was the very beginning and my cousin was taken. That was still before we went to the ghetto.

P: What was her name?

F: Eva.

P: Eva who, you don't know. That was your father's sister's daughter. So is your daughter, Eva, named after her?

F: No, my daughter's named after Larry's mother.

P: Also, Eva.

F: And going back to the ghetto, the first trouble I remember there like I said right after Pesakh when they came and picked up my grandparents. My grandfather walked away when they were pounding them. He came back home. He just decided that he was going to walk away. He just walked. Nobody noticed it. You know they were loading them on the truck and my grandmother, I've never seen her again. So this was the first time.

P: She is the one who made the Pesakh before she was rounded up.

- F: That's right. It was right after Pesakh. This is the first one. That was 1942; sometime in April.
- P: You were saying something before about how they did the rounding up and that's historically important about how the two S.S. policemen came.
- F: ...but not the April roundup.
- P: Not at that time. Who came at that time?
- F: Only the 'Askarovtsy'. That's right. Only the...and they...
- P: And who were the 'Askarovtsy'?
- F: They were Russian soldiers, prisoners of war, that joined after they were captured, joined the S.S.
- P: I see, so they worked for the Nazis.
- F: That's right.
- P: Do you know your grandparents, this was your paternal grandparents, your father's parents. So they were 'Rózański'?
- F: That's right.
- P: So your maiden name is Rózański too?
- F: Ya, I guess so.
- P: And what happened after that when they took your grandparents away and [your] grandfather came back and [your] grandmother didn't? What transpired in the time when you were in the ghetto for a year and a half?
- F: Oh, that was terrible and I remember my father was crying at night and waking up crying and it was a terrible thing. He was very attached to his parents, and there was [were] five children and he always looked after them you know, and he brought them immediately when the Germans started this murder

business. He brought them to our apartment and he took us, and he took them with us to the ghetto. He just never let them [stay] alone because, you know, they were old. And my father was very upset, I remember that. Many times at night he was screaming, "They killed my mother." It was a terrible thing.

P: And you heard all this. How did you feel?

F: Oh, I felt terrible. I felt terrible when my cousin was taken. I remember when they came and they said that she was finished, that she was dead. My grandmother fainted you know. It was a terrible thing. It was the beginning of the war. You know, when they just came to Lvov. So, everybody thought, well, that this one is dead, but maybe we will survive, you know. We were just human. Nobody really thought that this was going to be the end for everyone. You know, it was a terrible thing.

P: And describe a day of the life in the ghetto, of the ones that you remember, just one day; how it was and how many people were in a room or what did you have to eat. Describe the difficult times that you can remember. One day.

F: Well, sometimes my mother used to bring some fruit from her work...

P: Where did she work?

F: She worked for the German army. She was a maid. Sometimes she used to bring fruit and that's all we had to eat because the Germans didn't allow any food into the ghetto.

P: So how did you survive through the day?

F: Well, every once in a while they used to bake bread you know and how, whatever they had, they sold. I know my mother gave her wedding band for a loaf of bread. You know, over the fence, the Gentiles used to stand and sell things.

P: And were they allowed to do it?

F: Yes, they were.

P: So they were allowed to take...

F: Yes, that's right. I guess they must have been certain, they must have been the 'Volkdeutsche' you know? They were allowed to pull whatever they could from the Jewish people.

P: So, sometimes there was a piece of bread.

F: And sometimes they used to ah, give all of a sudden, the Germans used to make liverwurst, you know, from horse meat. I don't know what was in it. I wouldn't eat it although I was very hungry. I was scared to eat it because I always thought that they were trying to poison us. Describe you a day. I had lice, hair lice, body lice. It was just terrible, just terrible.

P: What about hygiene...

F: Hygiene...they turned off the water after three months; turned off the lights. There was [were] fourteen people in the one small room in the kitchen. There was no water to wash. You had to go to the...

P: [A] well...

F: You know, you had to pump it...

P: Water pump.

F: Water pump. For, you know, maybe ten blocks to get a pail of

water. It was always dangerous to go because you never knew if you were going to come back. Whether you were a child or a grown up, it made no difference.

P: Somebody would pick you up on the way to the water pump?

F: Sure, sure. You never knew.

P: So how, how...

F: You just took your chances that's all. Some people were luckier than others, but it was cold in the wintertime. There was no heat. It was two winters that I was there and I left in 1942 [rather] in January, January '43, and it was forty below both winters. Very severe winter and we had nothing to heat the place with. It was freezing and I stayed in bed all day.

P: How did you share the food? I mean, were there problems? I mean, who got a bite more?

F: Ya, there sure was. Food was weighed on scale. Everybody had to get even but there wasn't that much to fight about. You know, there was just not enough to eat. Then my mother just stopped going to work because she was afraid to cross the border.

P: What means border?

F: The border between the ghetto and the outside world. And the Germans were controlling the gate. And you never knew. You see, they had to walk the gate in fours you know, like an army. You know, going through to work and every once in a while they used to say this to the..."four to the left" and four went through. You see, and she went through this a few

times and she thought that maybe her luck would run out the next time and she wouldn't go anymore.

P: So she remained in the ghetto.

F: She remained in the ghetto.

P: And they didn't call her out to work.

F: No. They didn't know if she was dead or alive. I mean, everyday you go through the gates, the Germans used to stop them and they used to lose workers all the time. They didn't care, they just hired four others. That's all. And what else, listen, I don't know, you know, I remember too many things to go through, ah, and like I said the next big 'Akcja' I remember was September 1942 [August 1942]. I telling, my father found out and they were getting ready the trains to load the Jews. And everybody had a pretty good idea it was going to be pick-up time but it was one of the worst ones. It was this one and [the 'Akcja' of] January '43.

P: May I ask you what you were saying before, that your dad worked for the railway, he was hired by the Germans during their occupation, and this is how he had an opportunity to find out when the trains were being ready for loading of the Jewish people from the ghetto.

F: That's right. Well, nobody told him but he could see it.

P: He could see the preparation.

F: That's right because they were special animal, if they were cattle, what do you call it...

K: Cattle cars.

F: Cars, that's right. And that was for the Jews. Everybody knew

that. And my father got many, many beatings there [at] the railway.

P: Who did he get the beatings from?

F: The Ukrainians.

P: This is when he worked with them...

F: Oh, they didn't work they watched. They were the bosses. And after that my father died from the kidneys from all those beatings. His kidneys went on him already for quite a few years. Right after the war after actually he was sick. And he suffered a lot, I know this.

P: So, go back to this September, before the '43...

F: Ya, so my father came home and he decided to ask this woman who owned the house where we lived in that he was going to pay her to take my brother and myself out of the ghetto and give her enough money to keep us until this 'Akcja' will be over. Nobody knew how long. But he asked her and he gave her quite a bit of money, you know. So we went in the evening, the day before it [the 'Akcja'] started. She went by herself, we had to cross the bridges and the ghetto was surrounded, and the S.S. was on every bridge. Anyways, I walked through first then my brother walked through and we were lucky. And we, she, we went to her house and we stayed there overnight. We stayed there all night come to think of it. She never put us to bed. We were sitting...

P: You were just sitting there.

F: That's right. And early in the morning, she told us to get ready and we were leaving. And she took us back to the

[Lvov] ghetto. And [when] we were entering the ghetto, I remember my brother said, "Let's go and hid[e] in the corn," you know, the very tall corn. I said, "No, I am going to stick with her." And something went wrong with my shoes and I stopped and she went ahead and as I was coming down the hill the S.S. stopped me and he said to me, "Jude?" ["Jew?"] and I just went like this, and I didn't say a word.

P: You shook your head 'no'.

F: That's right. He let me go, but I could see from [through] the corner of my eye he was watching me, but before he stopped me, he stopped the woman [ahead of me] and she had papers. So he let her through and I ran down towards her so he just let me go. She left us in the ghetto far away from home.

P: Far away from whose home?

F: From my house in the [Lvov] ghetto. She left us in the 'Plac Kleperów', the famous [infamous] Plac Kleperów. It used to be a market place.

P: Would you spell that? Plac...

F: K-L-E-P-E-R-O-W. And she disappeared.

P: And where did she disappear to?

F: She told me she was going to get my father. She was going to tell my father that she brought us back. We were there from morning till night. Almost till dark. I remember going, you know, we didn't, I didn't know what to do. My brother was absolutely useless. He admitted himself he was a coward. He was three years older than I was and he [was] completely

dependent on me. It's the truth. So, I went here a little bit and there, you know, I went into somebody's house and this woman was tearing her hair because they took her child away. And she said what are you doing here, they took my child away. How come you're still here? So we left, you know. We just walked from place to place. And they were gathering Jews from all over and [they were] bringing them to this huge 'plac' you know. And from there they were loading them on the trucks and taking them away and at the same time they were killing there...there was such a killing going on there.

P: They were killing people on the spot. You saw it?

F: Yes. It was just one terrible thing. They were killing. They were burning. They were hanging. They were beating.

P: Where were you? Looking at it?

F: I was. What could I do? I had no place to go. Do you understand? I couldn't get through the middle of this place to go home because there were crowds there. [There were] S.S. and Ukrainian police. There was no way I could cross there. So around, I guess it must have been noon. I had nothing to eat, nothing to drink. It was very hot and I remember the children came. It must have been after school, you know, the Gentile kids came to watch this 'performance' there. And I approached one of them and I said, "Aren't you afraid to stay here?", and she said, "No." And I said, "They might make a mistake and think that you are a Jewish girl, too." She said, "No, I have my papers." You know, so anyway, I was so dry, I wasn't hungry, just thirsty and hot and I wanted to do

something with myself and I didn't know where to go anymore and I had been everywhere in that part, you know, where we were. And they were picking up Jews and there was one Jewish man in [an] outside toilet there, you know, like a little house and he had the door open. He has his 'tallis' on. He was completely covered and he was praying, you know. I had never seen something like that before in my life and I knew that....

[End of Tape 1, Side 1]

Interviewee: Anna Flynn (F)

Date of Recording: September 25, 1990 & February 21, 1991

Ident. Number: 09-3

Track Number: T1-S2

Interviewers: Renia Perel (P), & Heather Korbin (K)

F: You know, in the middle of this place [there] must have been a store before. And so I stood there with my brother I don't know, [for] maybe an hour or maybe longer, and we were watching what was going on and I said, "I'm not moving anymore; that's why I'm going to stay for the rest of the day." And ah, all of a sudden some young Jewish fellow came to me and he said to me, "Go away from here, what are you doing here?" And I said that I can't, that I have no place to go. And he said, "I'm telling you, go away from here. Get lost." And I said, "No, I'm not going." So anyway, he slapped my face, and when he slapped my face, you know, it was such a shock, and I was already so worn out that I started to run toward the trucks, you know, and I said [that] I just didn't care anymore and my brother behind me said, "Oh, this man said he's sorry." Of course it wasn't true, you know, but he wanted me to stop and I was running and I was almost there and all of a sudden my father appeared and then I found out that all day long he looked for us there. You know there were thousands of people. He just couldn't find...

P: And this was all taking [place] on the 'Plac Kleparów'?

F: Kleparów, ya. It was all there. It was terrible, terrible thing what went on there.

P: So you were reunited at that moment with your father.

F: With my father. He took us home. He had papers for us. You know, for himself at that time, you know, the stamp. Like I said before, you know.

P: You were talking about the different colours that...

F: His stamp was good at that time, but as soon as we got home the S.S. came. And he said to my father in German that he has too many children but he didn't answer him with just the two of us. He didn't answer him. He just left us. You know it was the end of the day and I guess he couldn't be bothered.

P: The S.S. couldn't be bothered taking any more.

F: That's right. Because they never stayed in the ghetto, the S.S., during the night. Never. The Ukrainian police did, but not the Germans.

P: So the Ukrainian police guarded you overnight?

F: Not only guarded us but they came into the ghetto, they robbed people, they killed people. I mean, they had a free hand you know. They did what they pleased.

P: But the Germans S.S. or those in charge...

F: The Germans never stayed.

P: In the ghetto, overnight.

F: Never!

P: They only came for...

F: Early in the morning. First thing in the morning they were

there, as soon as it was light. I think they must have been scared maybe, I don't know, or else it was a job to them, it really was a job because I can remember when I was standing there, you know, they had army kitchens there and they stopped for lunch and coffee just like doing their job. They actually did this. They would sit down, they had their lunch, soup or whatever, you know, and then afterwards, you know, they finished their lunch and they just kept on going, killing! It is like you know...

P: Just like a regular job?

F: Ya. Although there were some, you know, that all of a sudden used to get a sort of a shock or ah, or I don't know what and they, you know, they used to start to beat somebody, you know, just without mercy, you know. Sometimes [they] would go wild, some of them. There was no reason for it. Let's put it this way, because, you know, and there was no position, believe it or not, from all these people that I had seen, it was so quiet there. Thousands of people, you could drop a pin and hear it. You could only hear the Germans yelling, ordering people around.

P: You mean the Jewish people.

F: Not a sound! Not one sound.

P: Were they paralyzed in fear?

F: No, I think they gave up, everybody just gave up. They just waited for their death.

P: There was no hope.

F: Ya. There was no place to go, nobody to turn to. What could you do?

P: You were totally locked out.

F: That's right. I remember one Jewish man [who] ran away from the tracks, they [the Germans] were going to load him up and he came towards us where I was standing on the triangle and he got shot and he fell right in front of that building. But he wanted to get shot because if you got shot you were lucky because you never knew what waited for you. So...

P: So, when people knew that they were going to be killed, they didn't promise them like that they are going to go to work.

F: Not where I come from, not where I come from. It was all done in the open.

P: So, they had no public opposition, like the Ukrainian population didn't?

F: No, they joined in. Listen, if the children from school came to watch, you know, how the Jews were killed, the army that was going towards the Russian front came and watched it. I mean, there was thousands of people that just came to watch this, like a show. Also, the German news camera was there recording.

P: So, that news camera that recorded must exist somewhere.

F: Well, I think I have seen some of it.

P: It is on film.

F: Ya.

P: Ya, because they used to record their successes.

F: Record the whole session, you know. I never knew what it was, you know, but now I know.

P: I see. You motioned with your hand, showing that the hand was just turning.

F: They were turning with the film.

P: They were winding the film, as it was recording.

F: Oh yes, they took films and for two weeks this one 'Akcja' lasted.

P: It lasted two weeks, this massacre or 'Akcja'?

F: My father took my grandfather and put him on [in] the attic and there was an old bathtub and he put him inside this bathtub and he covered him with tonnes and tonnes of books and that's how my grandfather survived his two weeks. You know, because they went up there, but they did not see him and you know so many books, I mean, they didn't bother taking them out and it was a terrible, terrible time.

P: And they didn't take you? So, when they came...

F: They didn't come anymore to our house.

P: I see. Once they came once, that's it?

F: No, [to] many other houses they went twenty times but to us they only came once. Each Akcja was the same thing.

P: So you were lucky or what was it?

F: Ya, I think that the house must have been marked for some reason.

P: Not to go.

F: That's right, I don't know how, but it must have been marked. I know for sure it was marked because they only came one time and they seldom took somebody out and I know my uncle was taken out once and he came back, because I think they wanted the money that was in Switzerland, you see, so they kept them towards the end. They wanted to get whatever they could. You see, my uncle's name was on it as well and he was a very, very rich man.

P: This is your father's brother or your mother's brother?

F: Father's, and he not, was not alive anymore but I don't think they knew because his name stayed on the registry, you know. Well, he wasn't alive anymore because in that September [August 1942] 'Akcja', he waited for the Germans outside. He wanted to finish it off. He didn't want to go on and they picked him up and his wife and two children and we've never seen them again.

P: So he gave up?

F: He waited for them, he didn't even go to work even. So when they first came into the ghetto, he just waited for them and he went, and he was, I have a picture of him, you know, he had [been given] an Iron Cross during the First World War from the Austria.

P: Austrian-Hungarian Empire.

F: That's right.

P: So he was a military hero, for the Austrians at one time and now he was killed because he was a Jew.

F: That's right and he just didn't want to carry on. You

know, he had enough. It was the very beginning still, you know, and only one year the Germans were in, he just didn't want to struggle anymore; many people didn't. So this is one day of my life. You wanted one day, here you go.

P: Thank you. Would you like to stop right here?

F: I think so.

P: Then we will continue another time.

F: Then I found out that all the children thought the same way. Everybody, you know, in the Theresienstadt, they left some stories the children wrote. They also felt the same way I did.

P: But how will grass grow.

F: How the trees, how anything will go on without you. When you are a kid, you've got a strange mentality, you know. I will show you the picture of my uncle. I will show you the picture of all of them. My cousin, the one that was in the ghetto with us. I got lots of pictures from Poland.

[Interview continues, February 21, 1991]

P: This is part two of Anna Flynn's story, not necessarily in chronological order, just a continuity of part of her survival.

F: Didn't I tell you on this part about this woman, bring us this picture?

K: She brought you back and that's when you saw the massacre and then your father found you again and took you home.

Now what happened after that, that seems to be where we left off.

F: After that for two weeks, my brother and myself stayed home.

P: By yourselves?

F: Yes.

P: And no one was in the house?

F: No. My father had to go to work and my mother was working for 'Wehrmacht', you know, as a maid.

P: Wehrmacht.

F: That's [the German] army, you know. And so, there was nothing to eat and she used to bring from the garden some fruit at night and that was it.

P: What kind was that?

F: That was the garden where she was working, you know, where the Germans parked their army. And she, ah, and we stayed for two weeks till the Akcja was over. My grandfather was up on top, you know, all this time...

K: In the attic?

F: Ya. Every morning my father put him there and we just waited until they came home.

P: Explain what 'Akcja' is because...

F: I already did before, didn't I?

P: Ya, ya, you did, sorry.

K: So for those two weeks you lived alone, did you go outside? Did you get your...

F: No, no. It was dead outside. There wasn't a soul walking

except the Germans, and ah, you know, walking the people that they caught. No, nobody went outside when the Akcja was on. I mean, who would dare?

K: Do you know what happened to the people who were in the house with you? Any idea...

F: At that time there wasn't anybody except my grandfather with us. After this Akcja the family moved in because then they made the ghetto smaller and they pushed more people together. So there was fourteen of us in a room and a kitchen. It was a two-room house and they brought other people and there was sort of a square hallways and also there people lived. So there was a lot of people in that house.

K: How long did that last, where you were all together in the house?

F: Till January, that was 1942. '43, 1943. Right after New Year's there was another big Akcja, and I don't remember how long that one lasted. But my father, after the Akcja was sort of over, my father took us out of the ghetto, my mother and I, no he took my mother out in the morning and he took us out at night...

P: You and your brother?

F: And there was a drugstore, you see we were right at the border where the fence was...

P: The border of...

F: Of the Aryan district and the Jewish, and the ghetto. So he took us to a small drugstore, 'Apotheke', remember

there were little 'Apothekes' in Europe. They only dealt with medication and there came a woman and she picked us up and she, I remember, she took us, just my brother and myself, and we walked through the cemetery, at night, and she took us to a place where my mother was [being hidden] there already.

K: So your father had, do you think, paid her to take you...

F: Oh, of course he did. I mean, you didn't get nothing for nothing in those days. So, my father couldn't leave his family behind so he wouldn't leave till he could stay, he wanted to stay. And I stayed, I think, with them for maybe a month and then I was separated.

K: And where were you taken?

F: When my father came in I was taken to an old lady and there was a family. There was a grandmother and there was a daughter and a husband and two children. One was just a little baby, and I stayed there. She was teaching me the Roman Catholic religion and I was baby-sitting through the day. It was a horrible place to be. I was so terrified, you know, this kid, whenever the kid cried it was always my fault. Always. I remember one day, they asked me to feed him and they went [out], you know, they went to the kitchen. I don't know what they were doing [when] all of a sudden this child started to cry. And he cried. He just wouldn't stop. And so they came in and they said to me, "What did you do to him?", and I said, "Nothing, nothing." And they picked him up and he wouldn't stop crying. So

that went on for an hour and they blamed me for everything. Eventually, they checked his diaper and the pin was open. So I think I, I don't remember how long I stayed there. I must have stayed there till April because she took me to the church for Easter. And I had never been in a church in my life and there was this statue on the floor and the cross. And she made me go on my knees and kiss every place where there was a nail and it was a terrible thing because people from the Janowska concentration camp were coming and somebody must have recognized me and they started staring at me and we were passing a jail house and I was really terrified and the next time I had a visit with my parents, I told my father about it and he changed my place. So from there I don't remember which place it was. I think I went to my ex-neighbours from the building. They had two boys. I didn't know that. At the time, you know, when we were living in the building, they came from Cracow ['Kraków', pronounced 'krakoof' in Polish] to Lvov with their parents to visit their aunt, and they used to call us "dirty Jew." Now when I got there, during the German occupation, these two guys were with their aunt. What happens, their mother was a Jew you see, so they had to leave there where they were known. One looked very much Jewish, [a] very dark fellow, and the other one was a blond. So, they sent them to the aunt. I stayed there not, I don't think I stayed there, I got very sick, I got very jaundiced. I was transferred to an old

maid's place after that, and she took me in and made me do beads for her lamp. You remember those old-fashioned lamps? All day I was under the bed because she went to work. So, all day long, the minute she left, under the bed and that's where I stayed until she came home at night.

K: Did you do the beading under the bed?

F: No, no, when she came home...

K: So, you just had to lie under the bed...

F: All day.

K: And you were about how old, nine?

F: About nine, ya, I was nine in '42, ya. I was nine years old.

K: So your father was still paying these people...

F: Oh yes. He was paying all the time.

K: Do you know where he was at this time?

F: No, no.

K: But he was probably with your mother?

F: With my mother, with my brother and they took a cousin, my mother's niece. I think at that time already, yes. So, when she came home one night, it was very smelly, smokey, you know, and shooting, you could hear it from far away, and she says to me, "You know what it smells burning?", and I said, "No." She said, "They're killing the Jews." Oh, you can imagine, I was terrified. It was summertime; it was hot. The windows were open; it really smelled, the smoke. Anyways, you don't remember those lamps in Europe? The shade and then came those tiny little beads around,

around and several rows.

K: I've seen them in antique stores.

F: That's right. And when I finished the beads, she finished with me.

K: And what happened?

F: She called this woman who used to transfer me from one place to another. And I was sent away. So, I think I must have stayed there two months maybe, I don't know. Time was [slow], it just dragged. It seems like years but it must have been about two months, no more than this. From there I went to this other place where she told me to go sleep with the maid. She was a Ukrainian woman and it was already dark, you know, at night. The maid was in bed already, so she made me crawl into bed. And in the middle of the night all of a sudden, this maid she grabbed me and she started kissing me and hugging me and I was terrified and pretended I was asleep, you know. Anyways, in the morning she tells me she's Jewish and she has a daughter my age. You see, when I came to bed with her, by the way that woman did survive the war. I met her after the war. And I don't think I was there more than a week. The woman, I think she called the Ukrainian police, she was Ukrainian herself. And after the war when I was talking to this maid, I didn't recognize her. I remember I bumped into her and she said, "You don't remember me?", and I said, "No." She said, "I really looked like a maid then."

K: What was her name?

F: I don't know.

P: What I wanted to interject here, when you left this place of the beading place then your father...

F: No, there was a woman who used to transfer us. Her name was Anna Czarna [Polish for] 'Black Ann', and she used to, she was the go-between, I think she must have been a double agent, or some darn thing. I don't know. I'm not sure. She transferred every one of us to different places. My father had all these places; he paid for them all the time. Just in case you know. So...

P: So, when she took you to this new place these people had a maid and this maid that hugged you happened to be the one that was Jewish...

F: She was a Jewish woman.

P: And she told you that the next day.

F: The next day she told me, she said, " I hope I didn't scare you." She said, "But when you came to bed all I could think [about] is of my own little girl." She left her some place as well. And after the war she told me that they called the Ukrainian police, you know, she had to jump through the window to run away.

P: Oh, so she left that place.

F: She had to. The Ukrainian people were terrible. I mean, they just took the money from my father. One week, that's all I was there.

P: Describe a little bit more of the terrible things that the Ukrainian people did.

F: What the Ukrainian people did, the Ukrainian police?

P: Well, whatever, your contact, what you experienced.

F: What I experienced. Well, the Ukrainian police used to walk with the Gestapo. You know, there was two S.S., two Ukrainian police, and one Jewish policeman. You know, that's the way they used to come into the house, and at night, when the Germans moved out, they came into the ghetto and they were shooting and murdering and stealing. You know, the Ukrainian[s], they weren't scared for some reason.

K: So, they took full advantage when the Germans left.

F: You see, because people who were in hiding used to come out at night to have something to eat, you know, if they had anything in the house...

K: Or to find their loved ones or whoever...

F: That's right, because people used to come back from work and they used to come in, I mean they, my father was working for the railway for Ukrainian police was in charge. And my G-d, they used to beat something terrible there.

K: Did they beat your father?

F: Yes. He died of the kidneys because of that.

K: Because of the kidney damage that he suffered.

F: From kidneys, after the war, ya. He got terrible beatings there.

P: Did he tell you this at the time or later on.

F: Oh, he told us, he told us.

K: When you were children what was that like?

F: When he came back home. I mean, you could tell whenever he got a beating, you know, he was very pale. He was a tragic thing.

K: Where do you think that he was getting his money out...

F: Oh, he gave the money to the Gentile people, to three different places. Two places refused to give anything out, and one woman did for a while.

K: And that's how he managed to distribute the funds for the houses to protect you.

F: Ya.

K: But two of the people took the money and didn't give it back.

F: No, and they wouldn't release a penny. Some just wouldn't. She did for awhile and then she sent the Gestapo as well, this one. So, because I guess she thought too much money was going out, she didn't want to, and she disappeared, you know, they all disappeared when the Russians came in. They weren't living there anymore.

P: What do you mean when the Russians came in?

F: When there, you know, the war was going on all the time, the Russians were fighting back to come back to their territory. So, we were emigrating in 1944 and the war was going on for a long time and now it was July '44, we were liberated. And, ah, they ran away, you know, all these collaborators ran away with the Germans to Germany, and then from Germany they came to Canada and all over United

States, Australia, you name it and they are there. These are, you know, killers. Collaborators most of them, all of them, because whoever who was not a collaborator didn't leave. There was no reason to just pack up and go. And they couldn't afford it, I don't imagine, only the ones with Jewish money [stolen from the Jews].

K: That money that had been stolen.

F: That's exactly, that's what they did. So, this woman that took the money, I knew her. She not only took my father's money and my grandfather's money, but she took other Jewish people's money. So, she had quite a vat of money. She really did.

P: Where do you think she...

F: My mother found her after the war in a small little town with that Anna Czarna, you know, that Polish woman that...

[End of Tape 1, Side 2]

Interviewee: Anna Flynn (F)

Date of Recording: February 21, 1991

Ident. Number: 09-3

Track Number: T2-S1

Interviewers: Renia Perel (P), & Heather Korbin (K)

F: We left Lvov in January 1945. My father made a deal with some Russian general. He gave him the suite and everything that was in it, all the furniture, and he promised to deliver us to Cracow. And he gave, introduced us to his lieutenant or whoever he was, and they came right after New Year's in 1945 and they delivered us to Cracow. And we didn't know anybody there.

K: And these were Russians?

F: Russian soldiers going towards the front there. Auschwitz wasn't liberated yet because Auschwitz was liberated in January, the middle of January or something like this. So, we were going through the day but not at night because they had 'Banderivtsi' ['Banderites'] there, that was the Ukrainian underground, and they used to blow up the army and pull out all the Jews from wherever they could. They used to kill them. So, when we got to Cracow, we must have been there six months. My father was always looking for this woman because we thought maybe she was on this side, maybe she went to Germany, you know. But...

K: Do you remember her name?

F: Pilcerowa, Irena. See, her I remember.

P: So, she took the money and she was with [Anna] Czarna.

F: No, she wasn't with Czarna. Czarna was the one that used to transport us from one place to another.

K: She was the Jewish maid, the one that pretended to be the maid?

F: No, she was not. She was a friend of my parents.

P: A messenger. She transported Jews from one place...

F: No, that was Anna [Czarna]. This one strictly took money. She didn't transport anybody. She had nothing to do with anything.

K: That was Irena who took the money.

F: That's right. She just took the cash to put away, you know, and she said after the war she would give it back, or whenever we needed it. But the money was coming out just too quickly I guess, and she didn't want to give anymore out eventually after the war. So, finally they found her in this tiny little village. So, my mother, my father wouldn't go, and my mother wouldn't go alone, so this Anna Czarna, she also took off from Lvov. All of a sudden she disappeared too. She was afraid too. And she had saved enough money that she bought herself a farm on the other side, and a house, and she was well settled in some other village. So, the two of them went to this village, I don't know the name of it, and as they got there the Polish 'A.K.', that was an underground...

P: 'Armia Krajowa' [Polish 'Home Army'].

F: Ya, apparently four Jews came back to this village after

the concentration camp to claim their belongings so they called the A.K. and they murdered them.

P: They murdered the Jews.

F: The Jews, ya. So my mother, when they got there they were just finishing their business. They were pulling the boots off the Jewish men and they were going away. So she was terrified. So, what did they do. They went to her place and she said to them, this Irena, she says, "What are you doing here? Can't you see what is going on?"

P: Like the killing is going on here too.

F: Ya, and the two of them got terrified and they ran into a church there.

K: I missed something. The two of them...

F: My mother and this Anna Czarna. And they stayed there all night, in the church, and in the morning they ran away from there, and of course, when they notified the police. She wasn't there anymore. She was gone.

P: The salute. So she was really a banker of Jewish money.

F: Ya, of many Jewish people.

K: Now, your mother and Anna Czarna, when they ran away, they got back to Cracow.

F: Ya, then they notified the police, you know, but it was useless. She disappeared.

K: So, Cracow was now under Soviet authority.

F: Ya, because it took a little while before Poland, you know, the Polish government was organized.

K: Was established again.

F: And, what else. And they never found her again. She must have gone to either East Germany or West Germany somehow, you know.

P: She's well-off probably.

F: What could you do. I mean, you know, they gave different things to different people they couldn't get back. I mean, everybody took something. Let's put it this way.

P: Well, the people who were taking it had no intention of returning things. They were waiting for...

F: They didn't think we were going to make it.

P: This is why the returnees to their own village, even in Poland, were killed by these 'Armia Krajowa', means a 'Home Army'.

F: A 'Home Army', ya.

K: The home guard.

P: Something like that.

F: After the war the A.K. was going around and killing Jews.

P: Survivors, left and right.

F: Because the survivors came to claim their belongings and they didn't want to give it back. Only in Poland it happened, you know that after the war, nowhere else

K: They didn't want to give back any of the property or any of the money.

F: Or any of the belongings. I mean, they just, if they didn't want to give it and they had the contact with this A.K. and they called them and they came and killed Jews. Many, many Jews were killed this way.

K: Going back, after the liberation.

F: It got to the point that most of them became known [and] nobody claimed nothing. Especially in small villages, because it was just too dangerous. I know in Lvov it was very dangerous to travel from Lvov to another city or another part, let's say another village or something, because all night there we had the 'Banderivtsi' that was different, that was Ukrainian. When I was watching television, you know, the Watergate, I found out that this 'Bandera' [Stepan Bandera] or the leader of the 'Banderivtsi' [the 'Banderites'] lived in West Germany till 1960 something, protected by the United States and finally some Russian agent finally, finally got to him and shot a needle, you know, from a restaurant, you know, he was sitting at one table, he had a lighter and he finally killed him. And for all these years the Russians tried to get rid of this man, because he caused them trouble. But they were killing Jews during the German occupation, after the German occupation. They were supposed to be independent, you know. But they worked with the Germans. You've heard of [Stepan] Bandera, haven't you?

P: Yes, I have, but...

F: But you didn't know that he was alive until 1966 or '67.

P: The leader, you mean.

F: The Bandera, ya. He was well-protected. He lived in West Germany.

P: So, what happened after, finally, the liberation of

Auschwitz because Auschwitz, I believe, is it in the neighbourhood of Cracow?

F: Yes, yes, it is not too far away. After the liberation of Cracow, the Russians give the [gave a] building to Jewish people and they brought them from Auschwitz to Cracow. Apparently, they could go wherever they wanted. They asked everybody "where do you want to go" you know. Some went back to France, and they let them go and, you know, that is unusual for the Russians because they never let anybody go, but, so they opened a Jewish 'komitet', that's like a Jewish centre, but it was more than a centre because people lived there and they ate there and they couldn't walk. And I remember when they came from Auschwitz it was a sight. Every one of them for months and months, they were doubled [over], you know, they didn't walk straight.

P: You mean they were bent over.

F: Ya, bent over in two. They walked and walked and I remember how little by little somehow they straightened out. It was a terrible sight when they first came from Auschwitz, and they allowed Jewish people to have guns...

P: You mean the Soviets.

F: The Soviets, yes. They had guns there. I told you who was there with the gun.

P: Who was there I forgot.

F: I'm not going to say it on tape.

P: Oh, okay.

F: But you know who.

P: Oh, yes, I think I remember.

F: And what happened, they got a little bit too smart because these Jews that got the guns came from Russia, they were in Russia during the war, I mean, during the German occupation. They were strong. People like us, even myself, we were very weak, we were starved, I wasn't doubled over, but we were weak people, you know, and there was too much shoving and pushing going around. And so the Jewish people complained to the Russian authorities and they took away the guns. You see, again the same thing, one Jew pushing another.

P: Victims victimizing victims.

F: No, they weren't so much victims because in Russia no matter how bad they had [it] they didn't have it so bad. Let's put it this way.

K: Did they organize anything in the centre for the people [or] were there meetings to help people talk over where they were going to go or what they were going to do with their lives, or where they were going to be settled?

F: Nothing.

K: Were there any religious gatherings?

F: No. Not right after the war, nothing. Absolutely nothing. The worst part of it is that if you think about it, not for myself but for my husband after he was liberated in Dachau, being in Auschwitz and being in different camps, working camps, they couldn't walk all of them were very, very sick and there wasn't one Jewish doctor [from abroad]

there [who] came to look after the Jewish people.

K: Because one didn't volunteer.

F: That's right. Americans did volunteer.

K: They did.

F: Uhhum, but the Jewish doctors never came. Nobody helped them there, and they needed help, they really did.

K: Do you think that it was out of fear?

F: I don't think they wanted to have anything to do with us, to be honest with you.

P: Why do you believe that?

F: Because when we came to Canada they didn't want to listen to our troubles.

P: When you say 'they' who do you mean?

F: The Jewish people here. Did they want to listen to us...nothing. They didn't want to hear it. They really didn't want to hear it. It was always that's all and that was the end of the story. They didn't want to hear it, they didn't want to have any part of Jews after the concentration camps, and it should have been their duty to go and help you know.

P: It's sad. I think they missed out a lot, maybe. Is that what you're saying?

F: I don't think they missed out, I think the survivors missed out on a little kindness from their own. That's what I'm trying to say. It should have been their damn duty to volunteer for a month, for a week, but nobody came. And you know, they were very sick. There were people

there with TB [tuberculosis]. Thousands of women [men, and children] died after the war. They were just too weak to make it and I think in 1946, JOINT used to send some parcels.

P: What's JOINT?

F: Some organization from the United States.

P: Jewish organization?

F: Uh hum, and you must remember one thing, that all of us, even my parents, we came to Cracow with two suitcases, we had nothing because everything was torn apart. Everybody took a little bit and left us nothing.

K: And you lived in a centre. In the Cracow Jewish centre where other people...

F: No, we got a suite. Not a suite, but with somebody. Somebody gave my father a name and these Polish people took us in.

P: And they were Polish Jews?

F: No, Poles.

P: And they knew that you were Jewish?

F: Ya, um humm. So, they gave us one bedroom and we stayed there for awhile and then my father got a job and he found a suite.

P: What did your father do? What kind of job?

F: Well, he was looking for a job but he didn't want to join the Communist Party, so he didn't have such an easy time, you see, because he was afraid if he joins he'll never get out of there. [To get] any good job, you had to join the

Party at the time. So, he was working for private people, you know, keeping their books, and to be honest with you, I think to start with he went to Poland, Silesia, where the Germans used to live and they were on a starvation diet and so when you took some food there you could get things and bring them back and then sell them. So, that's how he started. Till the Germans were not kicked out of Poland which was shortly after, and he was working and he got a huge suite I remember, it must have been ten rooms and he took another family in with us, a Jewish family that came from Russia, and all of a sudden some crippled guy came, [a] Polish fellow and he said that was his suite before the war and he said that he was a 'pułkownik' [Polish, 'colonel'] and he just came out of Auschwitz. He was there six years. So, my father told him, "I'm not moving out because I have no place," suites were very hard to get, "unless you give me something else and the other family as well." So, they found us a suite, not so big, but who needed such a huge place and close to the university in Cracow, and so it was a good place because when they had the Nuremberg Trial after, when they sent some of the Germans to Poland for trial, I had the opportunity to see it. You know, like the commander of Auschwitz, I went to see.

K: How old were you about this time?

F: That would be 1946, '46...13, right, right.

P: And did you go alone to those trials?

F: Ya, not alone, with other friends.

P: Oh, and where were the trials held?

F: They were held at the University of Cracow [known as Jagiellonian University].

P: And they were in Polish courts, ya?

F: Oh ya, that was Polish courts. They already went through trial in Nuremberg. They released them [the war criminals] to Poland. The Poles asked for them.

P: So, they were in Polish custody and they were re-tried again?

F: Ya, for the crimes that they did to the Poles, you know.

P: And the Jews were not involved.

F: Oh ya, the Jews were involved in it. Of course, because the man that wrote the book was a Jew. "The Commander of Auschwitz."

P: Can you describe now your feelings, how you felt when you were in court and this criminal...

F: He looked like a nothing. That's how I felt. I said to myself he looks like a nothing. He's a little nothing and he had so much power, and you know, when he had a uniform on he was so dangerous, and he was a nothing. I mean, you know, when you looked at him I hate, I don't think I hated him, but not so in such a way, you know...

P: In a pitiful way, is it?

F: No, I had no pity for him.

K: You hated him from a distance but not so much from a personal hate.

F: Ya, ya. You know, like you hate a snake. When you don't see it, you know, you don't hate it. It was the same thing with him. You know he was there. His mother-in-law came to testify for him and she told a story about this bird that she had, and this bird died and he was such a gentle person that when the bird died he cried and he buried this damn bird in the backyard. Can you imagine that?

K: I've heard things like that.

P: Ya, but maybe he had compassion for birds but not for human beings.

F: No, what she was trying to say [was] what a gentle human being he was. He wouldn't talk. He wouldn't say nothing. He wouldn't commit himself to nothing till after the trial, they give him a death penalty.

K: Do you remember his name?

F: Rudolf Hoess. After they put him to jail apparently, and there was a Jewish fellow that sympathized with him, you know, he didn't sympathize with him like sympathize him, you know, sort of like putting on business. They give him a hard time you know, the Poles. They wouldn't give him to eat. They this, when the shoe was on the other foot he was hurt and then he started to sing, told a story to this Jewish fellow who wrote the book.

P: When you say he 'started to sing'...

F: He told him the story of what he did and how it looked like in Auschwitz. Didn't you ever read that book? I have part of it in English because Poland only released part of

it.

K: What was the book called?

F: "Commander of Auschwitz."

K: And Rudolf Hoess was the commander?

F: Yes, he was.

P: And this book is available in the Polish language?

F: I have part of it in English.

P: But it's available in full text in Poland?

F: Ya, something like a thousand pages, but this one is just a tiny little book.

P: What's the name of the author?

F: I'll look it up.

P: Thank you, we'll record it later.

F: I'll look it up and I'll tell you. I have the book. You can't get this book I don't think. I found it once and I bought it. It's just a pocket book, but there they describe different things, you know. I mean I wasn't in Auschwitz and if I would have been taken to Auschwitz I would have never made it.

P: You think he befriended him this Jewish author because he wanted to get the story.

F: Ya, the story, He had to get the story. So then he started to describe different thing, the Jehovah's Witnesses, you know.

K: They were persecuted as well?

F: Ya, but they hated the Jews and they said the Jews had to die "because [of] what they did to Jesus"; right in the

concentration camp, you know. This I read in this book that I have. I don't remember hearing this in court because he just wouldn't, ah, but they had so many witnesses against him, you know, that he got the death penalty anyways.

P: He was executed?

F: Ya.

P: But it wasn't a public execution?

F: No. Not in Poland. They didn't do that [Rudolf Hoess was hanged in 1947 at Auschwitz (Oświęcim), Poland]. There were several of them executed. There was some women from Auschwitz as well. Ilse Koch I think was executed. She was a very good-looking blonde woman. And the problem was one thing. That they always caught the big fish on top and they never caught the little fish. All these Ukrainian murderers that were around. They never caught them. I don't even think they were looking for them, and there were several Poles.

K: There must have been so much chaos and disorganization.

F: No, there wasn't.

K: There wasn't.

F: No, because 'Sawicki' was my father's friend and he was a prosecutor for the war crimes, and they used to travel all over the world and then even before we left Poland he told my father that these murderers are here in Canada. So they knew. Apparently, a whole division from Galicia, S.S. Ukrainian division came to Canada. Did you know that?

P: No.

F: That's from our parts. They came here and they are living here, some place in Toronto. And they let them in and the Jewish people had such a hard time to get into Canada.

P: So, how did you come to Canada finally?

F: My mother had a brother here in Vancouver. You knew that.

P: What was his name?

F: Franklin. He changed his name I guess. They wrote to him. My father looked for relatives as well, in South America. I've got some letters that I found that he was looking for 'Parnases' and he found two cousins but they are also dead now. They looked for relatives, I mean, all over the world you know, if he knew that somebody left.

P: They looked for relatives so that you could emigrate, so that you could leave Poland, is that it?

F: Well, naturally. Who wanted to stay there?

K: What happened to your grandfather?

F: My grandfather died in 1943 of typhus. He came to us, my grandfather, but he was a very heavy smoker. He had asthma and he stayed three days and he told my father that if he stays then we [would] all die because he could not be without smoke and he coughed and he snored and my father stayed up all night with him. You couldn't do that. And he [my grandfather] went back to [the] ghetto. The [Lvov] ghetto was still there and three days after he got typhus so he already had typhus when he came to visit us. And my father loved his parents very much, you know, and he

wanted, he would have done almost anything but my grandfather was stubborn and he says, "No, he's not." He was sixty-nine at the time. And my grandmother was gone already. And he died. Apparently, he got something in his throat, complications, you know, from his typhus. And that was it.

K: And of course no medical care in the ghetto, nothing.

F: Oh, they had Jewish doctors. I mean, not practicing [in private medical offices] but they used to come from house to house. But nobody, but what could they do. Anybody that went to the hospital was finished because the Germans used to pick them up. Every week they used to clean out the hospitals. They used to come the the trucks and throw everybody from the windows on top, down, the sick people, into the trucks, you know, the open trucks. I mean, Lvov was a terrible place to be. I mean Lvov and Kiev must have been the worst. I mean, there was no hiding and everybody had seen what was going on and nobody did anything. Nobody wanted to help. It was unbelievable you know. I watched sometimes all these programs. I don't know if you did or not, every, now it's 7:30 in the morning.

K: It's a wonderful program.

F: It's not called "World at War" it was called something else. Once I saw a very good one, Burt Lancaster did in Russia. But this you know, did you ever see the part where they were killing the Jews?

K: I've seen some things but I...

F: Did you ever see the movie "99th Blow"? No. There you have pictures from Lvov, you know, exactly what the Germans did. You know, remember we used to have the washing basins from wood, where you used to wash your clothes. They took women's heads and pushed them in and just drowned them right there. That was the only movie that they showed my parts. But also if you ever see anybody wearing a white band with a blue star, that's from our parts only from there. Because from the other part of Poland I think they wore yellow here and most of them either here or our parts was white, you know, ten centimetres large...

K: Wide.

F: Ya. It was a very large. And also the Jewish police I've seen.

K: Did you ever have to wear that white arm band?

F: Not me.

K: Because if you had, you would not have probably escaped as you did.

[End of Tape 2, Side 1]

Interviewee: Anna Flynn (F)

Date of Recording: February 21, 1991

Ident. Number: 09-3

Track Number: T2-S2

Interviewers: Renia Perel (P), & Heather Korbin (K)

F: ...go to a German doctor, I couldn't. For reparations you had to do it and I just couldn't. I just kept on remembering that time when I was caught by the German Gestapo, they caught us and we were all, you know the first thing they did? They told everybody to drop their clothes. Everybody stripped. And I said to myself how can I go to a German doctor and let him examine me. I just couldn't do it.

K: When were you caught?

F: I was caught in 1943, December 30th, the day before New Year's.

K: With your family.

F: Yes, then I was with my family. That was '43, ya, and it was '44 when we were liberated.

K: Tell us what happened.

F: Mrs. Pilcerowa decided she didn't want to pay any more money back.

P: She didn't want to release any more money.

F: Release any more money, ya, and this woman that kept us, I was by that time, I went back to my parents because I think he [my father] ran out of places, you know, where to

put me. So, he gave this woman money to build a house in the summertime. He just bumped into her in the hallways and she had this baby and it was a Jewish little boy. She was a very, very big woman. I had never seen anything like it in my life...

P: This Pilcerowa?

F: No, no, this woman that my father bumped into. For he was hiding and he approached her. She was renting there, and he said to her, "If I give you money, would you build a house and if necessary take us in?", and she said, "Ya." She was glad. She said yes. So, he gave her money; he didn't know her. And she built a house and eventually, they went there. They were already there when I got there. So, she used to meet her once a month in the park, that was out of the city a little bit, it was not Lvov.

K: Who met who?

F: This butcher woman that took us in that had this Jewish boy. She used to meet her to be paid.

K: Irena [Pilcerowa].

F: That's right, and she told my father that she feels [that] she is afraid of her. Not to ask her for any more money. but my father said, "Oh, no. I could give my right arm for her," you know.

K: He trusted her.

F: Anyway, he trusted her and one day on December the 30th, she sent [the] Gestapo. And they came in...

K: To the house that the butcher woman had built with your

father's money.

F: That's right, and it was a terrible, terrible, night, all together, that night.

P: So how did you manage to escape?

F: Well, this butcher woman had a father, a stepfather, and her stepfather was then, one day my father was talking to him, and he asked him if he knew his father. He was an old man and apparently he worked for my father's uncle on his farm, and when he found this out, he built a tunnel. He stayed all summer, he was terrified but he stayed there apparently all summer and he built. And, you know, so, if anything happened, he could get out. But I think what happened actually was that this woman was very stupid and she kept all her gold money in clothes closet and they found it and they didn't want to go back to the S.S. with the money because they would have to turn it in, so they just let us go.

K: So the Gestapo would come to the house, decide to take the money...

F: That's right, because she had all this money in her possession for all these months, you know, she used to get \$10,000 for each person. So, they pocket the money and, but, we didn't know that. Her [last] name was Filipowska, this I remember. I remember a few names. Filipowska, Slobodzienowa, I think was the woman that took us out of the ghetto. Slobodzienowa was the one that took us out for one night from the ghetto I think.

P: So, explain more about the money.

F: The money, so my father gave her the money to build a house. So, she already had a house. It was two rooms and a kitchen and a bathroom, without running water, and there was an attic and that was it, I think. So, we stayed in the back room all the time. So, when the Gestapo came and they were knocking we all ran under the, remember the clothes wardrobes in Europe? So, we went behind them but what happened he turned on his flashlights, all the heads came on the ceiling so naturally he said, "Everybody out, out!"

P: And that included your father.

F: That included everybody.

K: And you all had to strip naked.

F: We all had to strip naked, ya.

K: But they found the money in the closet.

F: Ya, in the other room, the two of them came...

P: Who found the money, the Gestapo?

F: Two of the S.S. came in, okay, but there also was a truck with the S.S. outside. Now, these were personal friends of Mrs. Pilcerowa, that's Irena, and they came in and one of them was a young one, a tall one, and he kept on telling me that tomorrow I will be finished, I'll be on the 'piaski', you know, the mountain of sand. That's where they used to kill the Jews. So, there was no more ghetto, mind you, all the Jews were finished, so everybody was caught, you know, they were executed or beaten to death.

So, I kept on looking at him and I remember, I said, "If I ever catch you, I'm going to survive this, if I catch you, I'll kill you." But the other one was a short, fat one, and he went snooping around to the other room, you see, so he called when he found what he found. He called the other one out so while there were two of them over there, my father opened the secret door in the floor, and we ran away. Naked...naked, stripped naked.

K: Down into the tunnel.

F: And the next thing, my father went into a little house, I don't know whose house it was, somebody's house, and he knocked and told the people to give us something to put on. The people didn't want to have anything to do with us, but he said, "If you don't, when the Gestapo comes I'll tell them that we were living here all the time." So they wanted to get rid of us and they gave us some 'shmates', you know, some socks, rags, ya, and we stayed in that hole all night and at five o'clock in the morning, when you were allowed to...there was a curfew there, my father decided no to go the easy way to take a streetcar, he also took money for a streetcar from these guys, to go into the city, ya. Oh, there was neighbours [who] were far away, and you know it was cold, freezing.

K: You had to run far away to these people to get clothes and bus fare or streetcar fare and he was nude.

F: Ya, my father did tremendous things during the war, you'd be surprised. I don't know he had such a feeling, you

know, he could almost visualize what he was going to do next. So, they waited. There was a road through the park. It was a very short wait you know, to take the streetcar, but my father decided he wasn't going to go this way. He went through open fields for miles and miles.

K: Where was he going?

F: He was going to take a streetcar, but not through that end.

K: But where was he going to take the streetcar, to work or...

F: No, my father? He was going to take us to this other place where they were there before but I wasn't.

K: So, he was taking the whole family through the fields, but my mother was very weak. She could hardly walk, and all of us were weak because you have no air and you are sitting all day, you become useless. So, anyway, we made it so we split [up]. My mother and I went and he went with my brother, and it was six o'clock in the morning when we got into the city and in Lvov, we were in northern Lvov, so we waited until they opened the doors, you know, the gates to the apartment at six o'clock or six-thirty, I don't remember, and we went up there to this wash woman. She was a wash woman, and then Anna Czarna came and she didn't say much but she apparently went to see Pilcerowa on her own and she said she was doing some washing there and she came in there and she was terrified of Hanka [diminutive of 'Anna'] and that's why I think she must have been

something no good too. And she demanded from her to know where we went.

K: Irena wanted to know where you went.

F: No, the one that knew where we were, because we were at her aunt's place. The wash woman was her aunt, but you see, she didn't want her to know that she knew what happened to us so she kept on demanding from her [to say] what happened to us.

P: That was a good ploy.

F: And she kept telling her she didn't know and she said, "You must know." She said, "They just disappeared." And this way she thought maybe we were caught, you know, that Irena, she left us alone. It was January, almost, and the bombing started. You know, the Russians were bombing and there was confusion already.

K: So, that was January 1943...

F: '44.

K: But I have '43 you were caught by the Gestapo.

F: That's December '43. December 30th.

P: That was December 30th, and now it's January '44.

F: Ya. It was New Year's Eve when we got there to her place to Borysowa. It's a German name. The Russians picked her up. My father had to go and get her out after the war.

P: The Russians picked her up, but she was a washer woman.

F: She was a washer woman and we lived through the war there, so my father had to go and pick her up because the janitor came to tell my father that the Russians picked her up.

She was an old woman.

P: Why did they pick...

F: Her name was German.

P: What was her name?

F: Borysowa.

P: But that's a Russian name.

F: No, they thought she was one of those 'Volkdeutsche' so they picked her up. My father went and got her out.

K: He felt he owed her something.

F: Yes, but she was sorry when the Russians were coming, you know, she was sorry that we survived.

K: Why?

F: I don't know, but she was. She wished, I guess in a way that, that it would never finish, you know.

K: Because you were providing her with money.

F: I don't know if it was so much money. I don't know what was with her. She also lost all her money. The Russians took it when they came to arrest her.

P: Maybe that's why she resented it.

F: No, that was a long time afterwards.

P: Oh, but while she was keeping you, she was also, she was...

F: She never said anything. She never said anything. But when we had to run away from there because when the Russians were coming, the war was on, you know, they were fighting right in the city, and the Germans came. Ten Germans came up to the attic and we were on the third floor and they

said the Russians told the Germans to get out or else they were going to blow [up] the building. So, we had to go down. You see the war was still going on and the Germans were still in the city.

P: And the Germans saw you?

F: Ya, but they were just soldiers.

P: Oh, they didn't know who you were really.

F: No, I remember when we stepped out, my mother, the Germans were there and my mother got scared, you know, and she said to them, "What's going on?", and he said to my mother that there were two Russians downstairs. They were terrified of them. They were Mongols you know.

P: Soviet troops had...

K: A great mixture of different people.

F: Ya, so anyway we had to leave this place.

P: Again.

F: Because the neighbours started to yell for the Jews to get out.

P: By now it sounds like you'd been to at least ten places.

F: So, we started to walk and we bumped into a Russian patrol and my father asked them to take us with them and they just wanted, they said they'd take him and my brother to the army. You know, and my father went and sat down on one of their trucks. They pulled a gun and told him to get off or they shoot.

K: So, one minute they're saying one thing and the next minute they're saying another.

F: Ya, but they, this is front line army. I mean, there was many women there. Very tough women. you know, Russian army, they were in charge. And you see, we were, my father was afraid that they are going to pull out.

K: Rather than stay in...

F: That's right because they did this in another city, Tarnopol, six time they pulled in and out. Anyways, we had no place to go so finally we walked into some building and my mother was very sick and she didn't look Jewish, so some woman said that she'd let her into her suite. But when she'd seen the rest of the family she threw her out [laughs].

P: Maybe describe what that is, what she saw.

F: She saw Jews.

P: You mean Jewish looking faces.

F: No, she knew. They know the Jewish face miles away. So, anyway, we stayed on the cold cement floor all night.

K: Where was this? Where did you go?

F: In building, a strange building, and the next day we walked from Lvov to north Lvov, that's the outskirts, to the same butcher woman that we left. And there was no streetcars and the bullets were coming from every side. We were the only four people on the street, but we got there by night. It was terrible. They were whistling through. I don't know how we never got shot. And we got to her place and she had this little boy and she told us the story then that the Gestapo waited for us in the park that night when

my father took us to the open fields, round and round, and they beat her up and she kept on saying she didn't know who we were. She thought we were refugees from another part of Russia, and she said they hit the little boy. The little boy when she took him he was just born. He was a Jewish, but he was circumcised. It was a little hard for her to, to protect him, but he survived with her.

K: And they hit the little boy, the little baby.

F: Because he was crying when they were beating her apparently.

K: But he lived. He wasn't injured very badly.

F: I don't know. She was a very tough butcher woman. Every second word she swore, such ugly language she used [laughs]. She was so big. I've never seen a woman like this in my life. But my father said she put on the 'porządna kobieta'. She was a nice woman, you know, an honest woman, you know, so when the Germans were there she had a German boyfriend and when the Russians came there she had a KGB [NKVD] immediately. So when the Jewish agency came for the boy, they couldn't get him out. She wouldn't give him [up].

K: She must have loved him by this time.

F: He was only about two years old then.

P: And she didn't give him up?

F: No. His name was Yuri. Oh, I don't know if she's alive anymore. She never left the city.

P: So he stayed with her.

F: Oh, he was just a baby.

K: But she wouldn't give him up to the Jewish agency.

F: They wanted to take him but she had the NKVD, the KGB now they call themselves, and they, I mean no way could they get him out. I wouldn't say that was a good home for him. She loved him very much. She could never have children and her husband was in jail. So, um, she swore at this child. She talked so rough to him, I mean, she used such a low language. Terrible. I've never heard something like this before. She called him "you dirty" so and so. Just a little baby you know. So we had seen her after the war. But you see after the war we had no money. We had nothing left. I think my father took some jewelry back from somebody and they sold it all because they needed money to live. And I think she got some stuff back, not too much. And she got her beddings back and different things from one woman who took everything out of the ghetto. And the rest of the stuff was left in the ghetto. And it was there...

K: Isn't that amazing.

F: you know, upstairs on the attic it was there. After the war I never went to the ghetto because they didn't take me with them but my brother did. The three of them went and my baby bed was there.

F: In this little house that you lived in, in the ghetto, the first place that you were taken.

F: Um humm. My father rented it or bought it off this woman,

once they outlined where the ghetto boundaries were and my father always wanted to be on the border so he could run out if possible.

K: Your father was a smart man.

F: Ya, he was. My father was a very smart man. And not only smart but lucky. He could feel, he knew, you know, he could smell a rat before it even came, he knew, you know, don't go this way, go that way, you know. He somehow, I don't know how he knew it, but he did. He figured it all out. Because most of us couldn't think. Most people just couldn't think.

K: The terror.

P: So, now are you close to telling us about how you got to Canada? You had a brother...

F: My mother had a brother, so made us papers and they sent us the papers.

P: Oh, they did. How did she contact him?

F: Oh, she wrote to him but she had the wrong address. She sent it to the army. The last letter she had from him, he was in the army and so they, the army, found him.

K: What year would this be, Anna?

F: 1945, '46, '45.

P: So, he was in the Canadian army?

F: Um humm.

P: So, the Canadian army forwarded it to him.

F: Um humm.

P: Was he a married man?

F: Yes.

P: And he had a family?

F: No, no children.

P: And, so when did you finally communicate with him or mother so that...

F: I have some letters so I would have to look it up.

P: Well, we can follow that up in the editing.

F: And we left in March in '48, we left from Poland to New York and from New York to here.

P: You came by boat?

F: By boat, ya.

P: How did you feel when you were leaving Poland and going on to a boat?

F: How did I feel? I had a dream the night before we left. I dreamt that I came to Canada and everybody hated the Jews just as much as they hated them in Poland. And I said, "What's the difference? Why did we leave?" I mean, what's the point in going there.

P: This is the dream that you are talking about.

F: This is the dream, ya, and when I came here, New York City was nice at that time, in '48, it was beautiful. But Vancouver was a little village, you know, and so that was it. I met the relatives. The big deal. And he died in 1955.

P: Your mother's brother.

F: Ya. So, you know, I didn't really know him too well.

P: Was mother happy to be here and to be free away from...

F: I wanted to go to Israel. I wanted to go and fight. I wanted to go and shoot.

K: How old were you in 1948?

F: Fourteen.

P: Did you know about Israel?

F: Sure I did. They were taking people to Israel although they never got there because, you know, they couldn't get in. But they wanted to take children but my father wouldn't let us go. If they didn't take all of us, then he didn't go for it, but I really wanted to go, you know, all this frustration that I had in myself. You know, if I could have got[ten] hold of a gun, oh boy, would I shoot anything moving. I really, and I'm sure that there must have been many survivors in the '48 War [Israel's 'War of Independence'] and they did it and they saved the country.

K: All this aggression and confusion and anger.

F: Ya, for once to show that if I have a gun, I am just as good as anybody else.

K: After what you'd been through.

F: Ya.

P: So, you weren't too happy when you got here or you didn't...

F: Well, I didn't speak the language. I don't know. I wouldn't say I was too happy. I wasn't happy in Poland either because when I went to school and when I used to walk the streets everybody used to call "You, you 'dirty Jew', go to Palestine!" to Palestine, you know, after the

war. It was a terrible thing, grown up people [said this], and I was just a kid, and I never grew, you know, for six years I stayed the same, little, and I wore the same coat when I went into the ghetto from before the war, I have a picture of myself, from 1939 to 1946. I never grew an inch you know. I was just a little kid, and I stayed this way and grown up people used to call me, "Look at this, there's a Jew." And they used to say, "You 'dirty Jew', why don't you go to Palestine!"

K: And this was in Poland, after the war?

F: Ya.

P: They still weren't satisfied with six million lost.

F: Listen, when I came out [of hiding] in Lvov, you know, the first time when the Russians were there maybe a week, I went to the market. I wanted to see a market, so I went to a market. All these peasants that were there, left their stuff and they all surrounded me [calling out], "Look, there's a Jew!"

P: You were just like in a circus or like a novelty.

F: Ya, and they said, "How did you survive?"

K: How creepy.

F: I didn't realize how dangerous it was.

K: Did your mother know or your father know that you had gone out to the market?

F: No, no, my mother was very sick after the war. She had surgery right away on the table without anesthetic, so she was not capable of taking care of me or herself. And my

father was looking after her and I went for a walk. I wanted to see, I hadn't been anywhere for three years, such a long time, I wanted to see something, but I never did afterwards, that was it, because I was terrified. I make a tea now. An apartment, we didn't have an apartment.

K: In Vancouver?

F: No, my uncle decided that anybody that came to Canada had to work hard, so he sent us to Cloverdale, to a farm, and my father never worked on a farm; he's no farmer, so he didn't want to do it. And my uncle said, "You have to stay there a year." So, my father went to the immigration office without my uncle and he found himself a job in the office and he went there and he said, "Look, either you release me from this that my brother-in-law did or I have to go back, because I can't work on the farm." And so they released us, but we stayed there about three months in Cloverdale on the farm and so then nobody signed for us, my father went on his own.

K: He was independent. Did he speak English very well?

F: He couldn't speak a word.

K: But he got a job anyway.

F: Yes, he got a job in an office in a sawmill because he was an experienced man in this business. In lumber.

P: In the sawmill...

F: Ya, he had lots of experience with this [kind of work], and numbers were numbers and the measurements are certain weight. He knew all those things...

K: So you didn't need English that much.

F: No, but he learned. He learned fast.

K: And what did you and your mother and brother do?

P: And where did you live when you left Cloverdale?

F: We lived on 13th Avenue, here in Vancouver, in a house.

Mr. Bogner['s] house.

P: You rented it?

F: Ya, a suite or a house, I don't remember. And I couldn't
speak English.

K: Did you go to school. What school?

F: Ya.

[End of Tape 2, Side 2]

Interviewee: Anna Flynn (F)

Date of Recording: February 21, 1991

Ident. Number: 09-3

Track Number: T3-S1

Interviewers: Renia Perel (P), & Heather Korbin (K)

P: This is the story of Anna Flynn continuing. This is tape three, side 1A. Now she will recall her life in Canada, at school and her parent's life.

F: I am taking still the school starting after the war, so I finished grade one and three years of the Germans, I should have been in grade four, and I had to go to grade two. So, I was pinching my father, my father took me to register, so I was pinching my father all the way, you know, all the way from home to school. I says, "I'm not going to school. I'm not going to grade two, I'm going to grade three." So he did. He put me into grade three. So I finished half a year of grade three in Lvov and half a year in Cracow. I have the report cards from there and then I went to grade four and half a year and half a year in grade four and half a year in grade five. I caught up, you know, with my education, but, nevertheless, it was still 1948, '47 actually was grade seven and when I came here and he wanted, the principal wanted to see some books from there, you know, math and science and all this. So, he decided that I should be in grade ten.

K: And you were fourteen.

F: Ya, but I didn't speak English [laughs], you know, I was having a hard time.

K: So, what grade did you go into.

F: I went all the way to grade twelve and then I quit.

K: But you did go into grade ten. The principal put you in grade ten.

F: Ya, I went there.

K: So, it was a hard struggle those years, [grades] ten, eleven, and twelve.

F: Ya.

K: Because of not having the language.

F: It was terrible. It was very hard, and the life was so different here than it was in Europe. The kids were a different mentality. I was too grown up, you know, after the war. You know, you live through so much, you're different, you're not a child anymore.

K: And they were teenagers, childlike.

F: I never went to school with boys, that was another problem. It was an all girls school [in Poland], and so then I got married.

P: Right after high school, right?

F: Ya, and then afterwards I went to a night school. I took computers and then I worked, you know, afterwards for I don't know, three years, that was about it. I didn't work very long, I should have but I didn't.

P: So when were you married, what year?

F: 1952.

P: What's the date?

F: I don't remember [laughs].

P: So, are you still married to the same man?

F: Ya, you're not kidding.

K: I bet the date is about February 25, 24th...

P: February 24th, 1952.

F: Ya.

P: So, you have another two years before your fortieth.

F: One, I think so. It seems to me like one.

P: So, it's your thirty-ninth wedding anniversary, isn't that right? You're figuring things out, and you don't look a day more than thirty-nine.

F: Oh, sure, sure.

P: How do you keep yourself so well-preserved?

F: You must be joking. Now you're joking.

K: When you started grade seven, I was starting grade one.

F: No kidding. Well, I'll tell you something. I wished I would have been born in Canada instead of being born in there [Lvov, Poland]. Things would have been different. I mean, I went through too much. I have no patience to [for] many, many things.

F: It caused a restlessness in you do you think?

K: No, but I never, never once denied that I am a Jew. That's one thing. I never tried to hide it after the war. No matter what, you know, and I know many people that don't want to admit that they are Jewish. They are afraid, and I am not afraid. I went through hell, but I am not afraid.

You know, I never would say, "No, I am not a Jew." And I became a Roman Catholic. I forgot to tell you that one. I mean, they converted me there when in hiding. Believe it or not. They talked me into it so much and I wanted to live that I finally accepted it and in all my other report cards after the war, because there was religion [taught] in school, I am a Roman Catholic. And I have an 'A' in religion [laughs]. I do. I'll show you my report cards if you don't believe me.

P: Please mark down the report cards and perhaps we could put that into the book.

F: I'll get them ready for you. The only problem was that no matter how much I prayed and how much I went to church and how much I knew and the priest who would give me an 'A', I was still a 'dirty Jew', you know, to those kids and to everybody else, I was still a 'dirty Jew'.

P: Excuse me, but have you ever thought of what gave you so much more courage than maybe other Jews have or had and admitting that they are Jewish. I mean, what do you attribute that strength and...

K: Pride.

P: Pride.

F: Pride. It is, you know, I am what I am. No matter how much you're going to push me I'm still, you know, Jewish and that's it. I tried, don't think I didn't. I tried to listen to these people that tried to convert me and talk me into it and told me that we killed Jesus. I never heard

of this man before, you know. When I was a kid I never heard of Jesus. I didn't know who he was, and I was told [that] I killed him. But when you are in hiding and you know you're life depends on this person, you don't argue, you agree.

K: It's coercion.

F: You agree, but eventually they talked you into it. The religion has a power. And actually they...

P: Actually fear is the persuasion maybe more, you feel that?

F: I didn't want to be Jewish at that time. I wanted to just be like everybody else and I thought, you know, if I take their religion, then everything would be okay, but it didn't do any good. I became a Roman Catholic and they still called me a "'dirty Jew', go to Palestine." So, what was the point? There was no point in it. The only thing is that I know about the religion. I understand them very well, but I don't know, at that time it was partly fear I think, and the prayers, I didn't know any Jewish prayers. I only knew one 'Mode Ani [Lefanekha...]', you know, this morning prayer. I didn't know and every time you get caught in the spot...

P: You still remember the 'Mode Ani' [females would traditionally say 'Moda ani']. Say it.

F: That's all I remember.

K: That first line...

F: 'Mode Ani Lefanekha melekh...' that's it. I don't remember any more. Just from my grandfather. That's the only prayer

that I knew. So, I learned all the ones from the Roman Catholic, so whenever you know you are on the spot, you pray because you want to live. You don't care who you pray to [laughs], you know, and I was by myself, and I was just a little girl. It was very hard. I was terrified. I remember many times you hear voices, you hear Gestapo coming and you get so terrified you, there's not a place, not a hole in the world that you, you wish that there would be some sort of an earthquake or a flood, you know, nothing ever happened during the war. No flood, no earthquake, no nothing. No fire.

K: No way to escape. Just whoever was coming to get you.

F: There was nobody to go to for protection. You see, here you can go to a policeman. There if you go to the policeman he grabs you and that's it, the end of the story. There really was no protection. I don't even think that we were citizens of Poland, were we? No, we weren't. Jews never had a citizen[ship].

P: We were Polish nationality.

F: Nationality, but not a citizen. Nowhere. You know France didn't give Jews the citizenry [citizenship]. They still don't. [Jews received citizenship in France after the French Revolution, c.1790-91.] Even if you are born there, if you came from another country you are not a citizen. Same thing in Germany. Did you know that?

K: No, I didn't know that.

F: Even when you are born, all these Turks, from Turkey, you

know, they have a big population. Their children were born there and their grandchildren, they are not German citizens, no more than we were [Polish citizens]. You see...

K: I don't know about that.

F: Oh, I do. I read about it. So you see, we weren't classified as citizens.

P: I don't really know the legal status of the Jews in Poland during that time, but even if we had, it was a terrible way of treating...

K: Non citizens.

F: Ya, I was telling you, you know, when I was watching this program on television about the Holocaust, they showed how Hitler decided that he had six million Jews and when he went into Russia that's, you know, starting in my parts, and there was another three million and he said, "What am I going to do with all these Jews?" Who was he to decide what to do with us? Can you imagine. He yelled, "What am I going to do with all these Jews?" You never watch these programs do you?

P: Are you speaking to me? Well, as a survivor I don't relish programs like that and I don't...

F: I'm sorry but that's not true. When you're a real survivor you want to see it. I've seen it over and over, you know, a continual story, the way it should...different places in eighteen months.

P: Would you repeat that for the record here about the

eighteen places.

F: Again, I was in eighteen places in eighteen months. Every month I had to look for another place, you know, because people were so darn greedy.

P: So, you would like to start...

F: I would like to start at the very beginning in 1941, July, when the Germans entered this part of Russia, because it was Russia at that time. And to July 1944. Three years and three days I think.

P: All right, so we can meet again and you can begin there and then...

F: Ya, because I think then that would be more understood because this way, you know, a little bit of this day and a few months later, it's all mixed up.

P: Well, what is good about the interview so far is that there are in depth recalls about different parts and now you can start with the chronology, that's what you want, from the beginning when the war started between the Soviet Union and Germany in 1941 and that. And you can begin there at the entry...

F: I also have some of my father's memoirs in Polish. Mind you, he wrote this [while] still in Poland. The very beginning, I mean, he really went into details by describing how he was taken in the first three days when the Germans came. He was picked up already. He has some details.

P: There is no reason why we cannot memorialize your father

in this book and if you can translate it into English then we can include him, his picture and his story in that book, and...

F: He never finished, you know why? Because he wrote the story to send it to my uncle here in Canada, and that went on maybe a couple of months and then my uncle wrote him, "don't bother me with your stories. I'm too tired to read this," and he stopped writing. That's how interested they were in our, you know, so I have parts, but he started at the very beginning and he went into details and he was older and he knew more.

P: So, your father will be completed with your story. So, you can just put in what he has as part of his story and whatever...

K: Incorporate it into yours, because so much of what happened to you was because of...

F: Not in this part, not in this part, because what happened to him didn't happen to me. You see, because he was picked up after three days, you see, everybody had to take the short-wave radios, to report with the radios and hand them in to the authorities. So, he went with my mother and he was picked up and, he looked like a Jew you know. Somebody apparently approached him and said, "Excuse me, sir, but you look a little bit like a Jew." So he said, "Of course, I am a Jew." [Laughs] So the Ukrainian slapped his face and his hat flew off. That was the first three days they were there [laughs].

P: When you are laughing you are not really laughing are you?
It's a nervous laugh.

F: I'm laughing the way [that] he used to tell that story, it was, you know, then he was put into ah, one of those great big jails there, that the Russians left some dead people. They were to clean up the jail, and my mother got him out and he goes into details, you know, and she met some Ukrainian policeman, and she brought him home. I don't know what happened there, but I remember her bringing him home and coming home without my father and he went and he got my father out.

P: Well, we'll conclude it for now and we'll continue with a chronological meet some other time.

F: Perfect German [because he] could read and write because he finished his education in Graz, Austria, because [when] he was born it was Austria, you know our parts...

K: The Austro-Hungarian Empire, I guess, but still, because he was born before the First World War.

F: That's right. He was born in 1907.

K: So, he would have been born eighty-four [years ago]. My mother was born in...

F: [When] he died he was sixty-four.

K: Ya, that's young. My mom is going to be eighty-four, so...

F: There was a woman who looked around sixty.

P: This is the end of Part Two, and we will continue with Part Three.

[End of interview]