HOLOCAUST ORAL HISTORY PROJECT SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA

INTERVIEW OF HELMUT KOBLER

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1	We are interviewing Helmut Kobler for the
2	Holocaust Oral History Project in San Francisco California
3	It's February 11, 1993. My name is Peggy Coster and the
4	producer is John Grant. Okay.
5	Q Why don't you just tell us about going to
6	Theresien. You were there for about a week?
7	A Yes. I was taken from Ebanchitza, from the coal
8	mine I was working at, and was taken to Theresien to be
9	sent to a work to a slave labor camp for I don't know
LO	what it was. Then from Theresien I know when I left
L 1	Evanchitza that I am going to Theresien. But I didn't know
L2	where from there because I knew that Theresien was only
L3	a transient camp.
L 4	From there I was then taken to a place called
L5	Postelberg, which is in Bohemia. And that was a new camp
L6	which was built for the Germans to house the slave laborers
L7	or the prisoners to which would be working on building
L8	new airfield for them.
L9	Q Let's go back and talk about Theresien. What
20	was the food like, and were you with your parents in the
21	barracks? That sort of thing. What was the logistics?
22	A In Theresien?
23	Q Theresien.
24	A Oh, no. I didn't go with my family. That was

the first time I was taken alone -- away from my family.

<u>l</u>	That was in 1944. So I didn't have my family. That was
2	the first time because I was the oldest of the family.
3	That's why I was taken away from them and sent to Theresien
1	and I was sent there strictly for relocation to a work
5	camp. And this work camp then came about was in
5	Postelberg. And there I was in this camp building an
7	airfield, or being a laborer where the airfield was built.

Q Well, Theresien was supposed to be a show camp for the Red Cross. Was there any better conditions there than in -- wherever else you went?

A No. No. No. As a matter of fact, when I came to Theresien they had an area where they were relocating people who were supposed to go out on the next transport. So it was not comfortable -- it was -- as a matter of fact we slept on the floor.

The food was just as bad as in the other camps I experienced. And to me it was very strange because I didn't know my way around, since I just arrived there at night. And within about a week I was back out again on a transfer to Postelberg. So in Theresien I was only in transition.

Q Were you with a whole bunch of other people in a group or did you join the group that was there?

A No. I was with a whole -- I was put together with a whole group of other people in similar

1 circumstances.

Mischlings like I am. There was also a few men who were not Jews at all. They were gentiles who were married to -- had a Jewish spouse and -- where I was also there was Jews who had a gentile spouse but it was mostly men and most of them -- well, all of the men were young men. Let's say from 15 years on to about 35, 40 who were in good physical condition and were able to work.

So that's the group that I was in. At that time we went -- when we were transferred to Postelberg, I think we were pretty close to 500. For a lot of those people it was the first time that they were imprisoned. It was then when the Germans started rounding up mixed marriages -- members of mixed marriages and products of mixed marriages.

Q What did you notice about the difference between them and their attitudes from the people who had been in the camps a long time?

A Well, from them I noticed first of all that they were well fed. They were in good physical condition because -- when I met them I had already five years of camp behind me, and so I could see that they were well fed.

They were also well dressed. When they were rounded up they knew where they were going. They knew that they had to go to slave labor camps and so they were

- 1 appropriately dressed.
- 2 And they had better shoes and they had civil
- 3 clothes. Not uniform, or camp uniforms or things like
- 4 that. That's what I mostly noticed.
- 5 Q What about their attitudes? What were they
- 6 like?
- 7 A Their attitude was what kept them together.
- 8 They all hated the Germans. They knew this was going to
- 9 come, and they missed their families very much, and most of
- 10 the talk between them was talking about the various
- 11 families.
- They came from various places all over, from
- Czechoslovakia, Austria, Germany. And as a matter of fact
- 14 there was even a few Germans who were married to a Jewish
- spouse and didn't divorce her and so on.
- 16 It was quite a -- and most of them were
- 17 professionals. There were quite a few engineers and
- 18 teachers and professors and lawyers and so on. So it was a
- very good group I got in. I was very pleased about that
- 20 and -- because I learned a lot from them. There was also
- some Masons in between, Freemasons in that group. And so
- that's what I mostly noticed.
- But during the months, you know, they were much
- 24 -- they could much better survive the cold because it
- 25 wasn't winter. And they were much better equipped because

they didn't spend previously any time in a concentration camp, and they were still well fed and in good physical shape.

Later on you can see the weakest falling off to the side, couldn't work any more and so on. But the thing I really noticed, to answer your question, was that they were well fed and well clothed when I met them.

Q Were they treated like, you know, when you were talking about your mom and you were given the worst jobs and kind of mistreated because your mother wasn't Jewish in these other camps, were they all mistreated in the same way because their spouses weren't Jewish?

A No. No. Because there wasn't no majority of

Jews and -- no majority. We were all painted by the same

brush. In other words, we were all from mixed marriages or

products of mixed marriages.

So, no, there was no discrimination -- where one discriminating against the other.

As a matter of fact, there wasn't even kind of discrimination where -- which I often seen where more intelligent people or the intelligencia would kind of move to the side and look down at the working class people.

No. This didn't exist. In this particular group, it didn't. And I would say this group sticks out in my mind in that they were also well organized. They didn't

report on each other. They just weren't hungry enough yet to stoop to the lowdown things which happened in the camp.

Q Now, you just mentioned like when people got hungry they did reporting on each other and things --

A Well, in the other camps I was in, people already spent two or three years in the camp and were nearly starving and so on. They were not as dignified, and not as proud. You lose that during the years. When a person is hungry and knows that there is no future, they do a lot of things.

Like I mentioned before we stole a lot from each other and we did a lot of...

And I know people who reported to the Germans -to the SS on their fellow inmates just so they get a little
bit more food or any kind of other favors -- where you get
a different pair of shoes or things like that. Yes.

As I say, I believe that these people would have been -- if they would have been three years in a camp would have sunk to the same level as we sunk in the camp. But they didn't because they were still -- they were still not hungry enough. And besides that, the future looked much brighter because we knew that the war is going to come to an end.

We seen the Allied bombers bombing the petroleum refineries where we had to go and clean up after the

1	bombings and so we knew that it couldn't take much longer.
2	While in contrast, the other inmates who spent four or five
3	years already under these conditions, they were not as
4	how should I say. They sunk to quite a different
5	intellectual level and moral level too.
6	Q So, were there any children in this group? Or
7	how old was the youngest child?
8	A The youngest I would say was about my age.
9	There was two more besides me who were that age. The rest
10	of them were more in the 20 to 35 group.
11	Q What happened to the younger of the couples
12	who had younger children at this time?
L3	A Well, usually the Germans considered if the
14	child is 16 years old up to 16 years old it's a juvenile
15	and it was mostly out of a mixed marriage it was mostly
16	with his family. Once he became over 16 he was taken to a
L7	camp, to a work camp or something.
18	Q Were the young children and their parents
L9	gassed? Because these were Mischlings, they weren't
20	full-blooded Jews?
21	A Yes.
22	Q Was there a difference between how those
23	children and their parents were treated rather than the
2 4	full-blooded Jews?

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Yes. Because the Germans in their infinitive

wisdom or organization skill, yes, they first took care of killing or decided to kill all the Jews.

And once that was more or less done, then they went after the half Jews or as they called them Mischlings first grade, second grade and members of mixed marriages.

I don't think that very many of these groups were gassed in a concentration camp. Most of them I would say survived. Some of them didn't even get into the concentration camp because basically when they started rounding up half Jews and half — and mixed marriages, was only about in 1944, and they were using them more for work as slave laborers than to annihilate them in the camps. So it was a completely different group.

This was the same reason we were spared in that camp in Ebanchitza which was for family -- that my family and the other family were not sent to Theresienstadt and to Auschwitz because we were not yet on the list.

But, yes, in 1944 is when they did start going after the mixed marriages to eliminate them. So, I couldn't tell you how many of them got into Auschwitz. I don't think any, or very few. Because also by that time in 1944 the Russians were getting pretty close to Auschwitz.

So I don't think -- I do know of a case of a lady -- a girl who was maybe two years older than I was.

She was in the camp in Ebanchitza together and she married

1	or actually she was from a mixed marriage and came to
2	Theresienstadt and married her boyfriend and volunteered to
3	go with him to Auschwitz and but she didn't go to
4	Auschwitz. She went to Belsen-Belsen instead. And he went
5	to Auschwitz, but they did survive. Both of them. And she
6	is in Vienna now. I talk to her.

Q Did you notice that the guards would treat people who looked quote looked non-Jewish like the blond hair and blue eyes -- did you notice they were treated better or worse by the guards?

A No. I didn't notice that. They were all mistreated the same way.

Q Equally?

A Equally, yes. No, I really couldn't say. They were all treated -- even if they are not Jewish, if they were -- like I was half Jewish. They were still considered by the Germans as being Jews.

So once you are in the camp I must say the Germans didn't make any difference whether the hair is blond or red or black. No. Or somebody looks typical Jewish and somebody didn't. No. Naturally, for people like me who didn't look Jewish at that time and looked blond, it was easier to escape. If you just didn't stick out.

While a person who is typical Jewish features

- would have no chance, because he would get picked up right away.
- Q Didn't they ever pick up a non Jew by mistake if they went by looks?

A No. No, because they knew -- they knew who the Jews were, you see. At that time it was very difficult -- you get picked up because you didn't have papers. That's why you get picked up. So, the non Jew would have papers while the Jew wouldn't have papers. So -- you get picked up because you had no papers. Irregardless of what you looked like. I'm talking outside.

And the people who were sent to the camps, they were not picked out because they looked like Jews. They were picked out because they got notification on that day you would report with two suitcases to that place and you going to be repatriated. I think that's what they called it.

And that's when they had a whole trainload ready. And that's where the people went, thinking they were going to be repatriated in a different country and so on. And they went to Auschwitz.

- Q So you went to Postelberg?
- 23 A Postelberg.

Q Okay. What happened when you arrived there?

How many people were there?

Well, as a matter of fact, I think this 1 Α 2 transport I was on with 500 or so men, was the first one in 3 The camp was not very well organized. The camp the camp. 4 was -- there was not enough food in there. 5 There was a lot of jobs available in the camp. Like kitchen help to work in the kitchen, which always was 6 7 a desirable job. And to work on camp still building barracks. Because not all of the barracks were built. 8 barbed wire around the camp was not all finished and so on. 9 And so it was -- as I say we were the first 10 group of prisoners there. And then, naturally, every week 11 or so came another transport. So eventually there was 12 around 3,000 men in that camp. 13 14 All men? Q 15 Α All men, yes. And what was was your job there? 16 Q Maybe I'm wrong. Later on I remember there came 17 Α a transport of about 50 women. Got in there. And they 18 19 were mostly Italian woman prisoners also. And they then were working in the kitchen, yes. So that was the 20 21 exception. But mostly men. 22 My job in there was then to work on the airfield. And most of it was digging ditches for 23 24 underground pipelines and so on. The first job I had in

the camp was helping building more barracks, and after that

1	I was taken out to work outside in the on the airliefd.
2	Q What was the weather like?
3	A It was freezing cold. It was in the middle of
4	winter. It was really cold. That's what I remember.
5	Q I interviewed one survivor who said they didn't
6	even notice whether it was cold or not because everything
7	was so miserable and there was so much else going on.
8	Did you have that experience?
9	A What did he say? That he didn't notice anything
10	else?
11	Q He didn't even notice whether it was cold or not
12	because of the misery, so much misery going on, and just
13	trying to stay alive.
L4	A Well, yes. Yes. That's true. But that's
15	mostly due I would say it's because you are so cold then
L6	your blood starts flowing much slower and things don't look
17	so interesting anymore.
L8	You know, you are half dead really and all you
19	have all a person thinks about is how to survive and
20	also about the better life they had before, like when there
21	was lots of food. And when they had to sleep in a bed.
22	You know, more daydreaming. I basically think that's
23	because of the cold.
24	So, yes, you are more like a how should I
3 E	gov? In onimal lad to elevebron. You just fallow the gove

1	ahead of you, and don't give don't care much about what
2	is going on around you.
3	Also you don't want to get beaten up. You don't
4	want to stick out. So you always, like they say, walk the
5	line and keep your mouth shut. Yeah.
6	But I would say the cold was the worst because
7	the barracks were not heated. They were not insulated.
8	I basically I wasn't properly clothed and we
9	were full of lice and always hungry.
10	Q How did you protect yourself from your thoughts
11	in this situation?
12	A From my thoughts?
13	Q Yes. What I mean is that sometimes when
14	conditions are so bad it's so hard if you can't keep
15	your mind I mean if your mind is always on the opposite
16	which is what would be better I mean did that ever
17	become like a real danger in terms of like, people who
18	might decide to go into the electric fences or things like
19	that?
20	A No. In my case my mind was always on ever
21	since I came in the camp, was always occupied on how to
22	escape. How to get out of it.
23	So, as I said the first thing I noticed about
24	this camp was that the barbed wire wasn't completely
25	installed. And I did use it to escape from there. And

things like that. So I never was that desperate that I had to go -- but I did sit around or when I went to work, I did start thinking about what it would be when the war is going to be over. And how nice it would be to see my father again. And when the family will be all back together. And we will be back in our house. And so, yes, I kept on dreaming while I was working to just pass the time away.

But most of my mind was occupied by thinking about how to get the hell out of there.

Q What was the food like in the camp?

A Miserable. Miserable. Again I got to point out this was already towards the end of the war in 1944. The Germans didn't have much food themselves. The whole country was on rations. So the food was regular camp food.

Like you get about an inch of bread per day.

Which is about four by four inches. This type of German bread. An inch thick. That's supposed to be your ration for the day.

You get some -- what they call coffee, but it wasn't really coffee. It was really just -- an ersatz coffee. And you get soup, what they used to call eintrof which means one pot type of soup which was mostly just vegetables cooked and no meat in it or nothing.

And in the evening you get the same thing -- no, at lunchtime usually the big meal is to get soup and a few

potatoes. And in the evening you get just the soup -- what 1 2 they call soup. It's just -- basically just water with some vegetable in it. Most of the vegetables were 3 4 vegetables which were rotten because they were thrown someplace and so they sent it to the camp. So it was not 5 very good food, no. It was barely -- the thing that was 6 7 good about it is that it was warm. That you got something warm in your stomach and that's all. 8

But, again with me my system was so used to it that I could survive on that because I was for years in the camp.

I seen other people who couldn't. And like I said, the well nurished men who came in on the first transport with me, they weren't so well nourished after four or five months and they were in very bad shape.

I could still work with this type of -- with this type of food I could work ten hours a day, while they couldn't anymore. So it was just a matter of what you were used to.

- Q Was thirst a problem?
- 21 A Pardon?

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Q Was thirst a problem?

A Thirst, no. No. Specially in winter you always
have enough snow around that you can eat the snow if you
were thirsty. But I can't remember that I was thirsty in

- the camp.
 Q How many barracks were there eventually in this
- 3 camp?
- A Oh, I would say somewhere around 50 or 60 barracks.
- 6 Q And how big was each barrack?

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- 7 Each barrack would be about -- house enough for 8 about 200 to 300 men. The barracks -- it's very hard for 9 me to tell. I would say they were about 25 -- about 75 10 feet wide and 200 feet long. Three tiers of beds in it. 11 So, there was -- three times three is nine. Yes, I think 12 they handled about 300 men per barrack. Naturally there 13 was also barracks like the administration barracks, and the 14 kitchen barrack, and the infirmary barracks, the punishing 15 -- the jail barracks and things like that. The guard 16 barracks.
 - Q Which bunk level was the best one to sleep on?
 - A I slept always on the top bunk. Usually because I was the youngest one and I never had no problems climbing up to it.
 - Usually the lower bunks were reserved for older people and sick people and people who were not as agile anymore. But I found the top bunk most comfortable because I think the heat rises to the top and it wasn't so cold.
- But, basically I always -- all of the time I

1	remember in the camp I always slept in the top bunk because
2	it was for me easier to get up.
.3	Q What was the hygiene facilities like?
4	A The what?
5	Q The hygiene facility like? The bathrooms?
6	A The hygiene facilities were outside in this
7	place. The different camps they are different. In this
8	place they were just typical field latrines. You dig a
9	hole in the ground and you set up a five holer, you know,
10	and that's that would be the hygiene facilities. And at
11	the same time there was running trough for urinating, and
12	there were four or five taps for to wash yourself. No
13	showers.
14	Q Was it enough for that many people?
15	A Well, what you mean enough?
16	Q Well, I mean like sometimes you hear stories
17	about those camps, you know, you are only allowed to use
18	them at certain times, or else you were run through them so
19	fast you really didn't have time to do your business, or

There is even one story I heard of one guy that was called the Shit King you know he took care of it and you got a few priviliges, you know.

else the faucets were always in use so you couldn't wash

your hands anyway. You know you hear these stories.

A Well, as I said there were camp commanders who

were prisoners who would take care of these facilities, but to urinate, a lot of times you just got out and pee'd around the back of the barracks outside in the snow or somewhere.

But the other one you sat on the five or six holers, you know, yes there were a lot of other people who had to go, and they were yelling at you to hurry up and so on. But -- again you know you didn't get much food, so you didn't have to do much -- do your business once a week. That's what I can remember.

And as far as washing, you know, the water was cold. There is no warm water. And I didn't care whether I went to sleep with dirty hands or not because I knew that I'm going to get dirty the next morning anyway so it didn't matter to me.

And again, it's in the winter, you can always if your hands are too dirty, you can wash them in the snow by rubbing snow, you know, in the hands.

You don't take your clothes off for weeks and weeks for the simple reason because it's too cold. And I remember it used to be a pain for me to have to take my clothes out to go and kill the lice in my shirt. Which was very ridiculous. You are sitting there shivering and trying to kill the lice so at least they don't bite so much. You knew you never could kill all of the lice but

- you know -- so, no, you didn't in winter take your clothes
 off to wash or to have a shower or a bath. Everybody
 smelled, so you didn't notice it.
 - Q Did you lose your sense of smell?
- 5 A Pardon?

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- 6 Q Did you lose your sense of smell?
- 7 Α Well, I don't know whether I lost my sense of smell, but I know I must have been smelling, and I didn't 8 notice the other people smelling. They didn't taking 9 showers or baths or wash themselves too often. You know, 10 I notice smell real bad when somebody had 11 they smell. 12 diarrhea and couldn't clean themselves and so on for days. Run around with shitty pants, yes. That I could smell. 13 But the normal body odor, no. 14
 - Q Okay. I guess that answers the question, because what I was thinking of was that some people just totally lost their ability to smell completely. And even after the camp they never regained it.
 - A Well, I don't know. My smell is still good.

 You know, something stinks, it stinks, You know. But I know everything stunk in there, you know. The latrines were not very far from the barracks so, yes, you could smell that smell. But it's just a matter of what you get used to, you know.
- 25 People are lying in their excrement for days and

days with diarrhea and can't even get out of it. You know.

They don't smell themselves. And the people who were

around there get used to it. So.

Q Were there capos in this barrack?

A Oh, yes. There was the same German system.

There were block leaders which were called blockleiter.

Usually each barrack had a block leader. And each block

leader usually had four or five capos which were the

trustees. The ones who carried the stick around and so on.

And they were sometimes -- they were -- besides that there

was the camp police.

Q Like a Jewish police?

A Yes, the camp police. You know. And they took care of discipline in the camp. Again, I have to say even in this camp there the capos and the block leaders were German Jews. It was just — this automatically — the Gestapo would say pick out these German Jews and say, okay, you are block leaders and you are capos and so on.

Q How did they behave? How did they behave?

A Well, I think they were just as bad as the German SS. And if you cross them, they would beat you up. They would -- if you fight them or argue with them they would go and whip you or beat you, or if you are big and strong and you can put up a fight, they would go and get two or three capos together and at night in the dark throw

T	a blanket over you and start beating you with clubs. And
2	leave you there. And you don't even know who did it.
3	So, again you come to the same thing. You give
4	a man power over another man's life, they automatically
5	will become cruel. Brutal. Brutally cruel I would say.
6	Q Was this automatic or was there some capos that
7	didn't become that way? The block leaders?
8	A I haven't seen have a good one. Because if he
9	would be too good the Germans wouldn't he wouldn't be
10	there very long with the Germans. Because he is the one
11	the block leader is really the one who carried out the
12	contact with the SS or with the guards and so on.
13	And, again, this system was the system which
14	really kept the camp like this one with 3,000 4,000 men
15	and I would say there was 25, 30 guards. And they kept the
16	discipline in the camp, and when they couldn't, you know,
17	when they couldn't handle it, they just handed their own
18	men over to the SS and
19	Q When they couldn't handle it?
20	A Well, when they couldn't handle somebody, you
21	know, who was repeatedly aggressive against them and so on,
22	they would hand him over to the SS. You know, like
23	happened with me.
24	After what happened when I rammed that pick into
25	the pipe and so, first of all I got beaten up by the

1 capos. And then I got handed over to the SS. And the SS, 2 the guards, beat me up and -- and I would say tortured me. 3 And then they handed me over to the Gestapo. 4 you see, one step over to another. If a guy tries to 5 escape, well, he would be handed over to the Gestapo or to 6 the SS because if a guy -- and again this happened to me. 7 If a man escapes from the camp so the block leader where he 8 escapes from is the one who is getting punished by the 9 Germans. So he will take care that nobody escaped. 10 Q What priviliges did capos and block leaders get? 11 Basically what they get, they have -- they don't A 12 sleep in bunks. They have a bed. In one corner. 13 have -- usually they have more like a room. They erect 14 some blankets around it so they have some privacy. Better 15 food. Or different, much better food. Again, in this camp 16 I was in a lot of those people got parcels from their 17 family outside. 18 So they get to steal half of the parcels or 19 quite a lot of parcels. So they always had good food. They had cigarettes and -- basically they don't get hustled 20 21 by the Germans. 22 And they didn't have to work. That's the most important thing. The capo and the block leader didn't have 23 to work at all. And they didn't have to go in 24 ſ] they were just like glorified guards. And 25

- 1 since work is the worst punishment for anybody -- really 2 it's hard work. It's worst than getting beaten and so on. It's continually hard work and everything hurts. I think 3 that was a great privilege for them, that they didn't have 4 5 to go and work. Did they take advantage of any prisoners in 6 7 other ways? 8 You mean homosexual? A 9 Q Yes. 10 A Yes. And you couldn't say no? Or could you? 11 Q Well, you could say no. And you could fight 12 Α them, but then this is the instance where -- for instance 13 14 he gets a blanket thrown over him and gets beaten up. Most 15 of these capos I know, not so much the block leaders -- the block leaders were a little bit older people. But the 16 capos were younger, gung ho, and most of them were sadists 17 18 or homosexuals or things like that, yes. 19 I'm not wanting to say they were all 20 homosexuals. No. But -- yes, I have been approached,
- 23 and...
 This was going on

food and so on

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This was going on in a lot of camps, you know.

It was just like it goes on here in jail. And so on. Yes,

since I was young boy by a couple of them to trade sex for

- I have seen a few of these -- these kind of things going
 on.
- But again, when you see it it's -- you know,

 it's not as bad. I have seen SS, having homosexual
- 5 relations with a prisoner, you know.
 6 So, it goes on -- it went on with the Germans.

- It went on with the American prisoners, with the English
 prisoners of war. It was something that was understood.
 It was just there and nobody talked about it, and nobody
 made a big deal about it.
 - Q Well, if you caught SS men doing it with prisoners, was it pretty open so that other SS men could have seen it?
 - A No. No. Not by any means. How it -- what I have seen was this one guard used to come in and get this one young boy and he was taking him out behind the barracks and doing it to him. But nobody else could see it. And I don't even think -- some of the prisoners might have seen it. You know. And this guy used to come regularly under the pretext that, you know, he called him out and the guy came and that was it.
 - Q What happened to capos after the war? In general?
- A I would like to know. I would like to know. I
 don't know. They are maybe all in Isreal now, but I don't

1	know. But I have yet to see somebody who was in the
2	concentration camp admit that he was a capo or a block
3	leader. But they were. But I don't know what happened to
4	them.
5	Q Now you mentioned there were camp police.
6	A Yes.
7	Q How were they different from the capos and the
8	block leaders?
9	A Well, the block leaders and the capos were more
10	for taking care outside the workplace and inside in the
11	barracks. And the camp police was more all around like,

for taking care outside the workplace and inside in the barracks. And the camp police was more all around like, you know, taking care of overall, like, for instance, order in the kitchen or in the mess hall that everybody gets in line and so on. Investigating stealing. That would be the camp police.

In that camp where I was -- the first one in Ebanchitza, there was no capos. There were camp police who take care. And each camp police had one floor. There was two or three guys who took care of what is going on.

And, so I think they more or less complimented each other. While the capo, he would know his own people, his 15, 20 men, he knows them and he is responsible for them. While the camp police would be -- in a lot of camps, would take over the function of the guards.

And mostly stealing. Because the stealing in

there was going on, and you not only stole from the inmates, we also tried to steal from the Germans. And you try to break into the warehouses or get some dresses -- clothes, food. So you steal from anybody you can.

This would be the camp police job. The other job the camp police was, for instance, keeping the prisoners after working hours and after food, keeping them inside the barracks. Keeping watch that nobody gets out of the barracks and so. Keeping general order I would say that was what -- and mind you, as far as I know not every camp had capos, and not every camp had camp police.

I think in Theresienstadt they didn't have capos, they just had the camp police. Same in the camp Ebanchitza there was no capos or blockleaders. There was camp police and the Jewish administration of the camp.

Q What was their behavior like, in general? Of the camp police.

A You know that's a difficult question to ask, what was their behavior. Most of them I know or I knew they were just bullies, you know. They were just — they felt they were different from the other prisoners and they make it feel you know they could do — they could kick you, they could slap you, they could take you and beat you up and try to get you to confess that you stole something or that you did something like that. They had no laws and

- 1 they had the power.
- 2 Q And their privileges were?
- A Privileges were more food, cigarettes maybe.
- 4 Better quarters.

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- Q Did they get their more food in the same way as the capos? From packages from prisoners?
- 7 Well, that is not the only way they get food. They get better food from the kitchen you know, because for 8 instance in the kitchen the people who work in the kitchen 9 like the cooks and the helpers and so on, they don't eat 10 the same food the inmates do. They eat better food. It's 11 still the same, but they get meat and things like that, you 12 13 know. So -- that's the privilege. They sit at a different table at the dining room. Or wherever the food is dished 14 15 out.
 - Q Was the SS food cooked in the same kitchen or a different kitchen?
 - nowhere where the capo would sit with the SS. No, it's completely different. Usually the SS and the guards, or any kind of guards, and it was mostly SS would be on the outside perimeter. Where they have their own offices and they have their own quarters and they are separated by barbed wire from the inmates. From the camp. So, no, there was no --

1	Q	And were	their	wives	and	families	allowed	there
2	also? The	SS men?						

A In the camps I was in I didn't see no wives or children, no. But I understand that in some of the bigger camps and so on that, yes, they had children and they were -- or wives, but they were, again, outside of the camp.

They lived outside.

Q What about medical care in the camps?

A Well, every camp had -- I was in had a -- they called it the camp hospital. What it was was a first aid station, where usually a doctor who is a prisoner is treating patients depending what he has available, what he could treat.

Most of the sicknesses, you know -- he might have asprins or so on. But most of the things that were treated when somebody get beaten up too much and broken bones or when he works breaks a bone or accidents and so on. I don't think there was any extensive health treatment in there.

But a good thing about this was that if you get hurt and have an accident and so on, you get -- either get to stay in that hospital, so called, which is just a barrack with three or four -- one doctor and three or four orderlies in there. Maybe ten beds. So called hospital beds. At least they had mattresses and had clean sheets on

it. And I even think the food was a little bit better in these hospitals.

So, if you are lucky enough to get in there as a patient you can get a week of relaxation -- rest. At least lie in bed and so on. If it's a matter of a broken bone or broken leg and so on, you are there for a while and you don't have to work. If you get injured on the job the doctor -- and you can't work, the doctor had the authority to give you a slip saying that you cannot do any heavy work for three days or whatever. Or if you are injured more, the doctor can say -- if you had diarrhea for instance badly, the doctor can go and say, well, you don't have to work for two days or one day or so.

So, yes, the hospitals were I would say a God given gift and I made full use of them. As a matter of fact, in this one camp it was quite widespread where prisoners used to go and mutilate themselves, cut themselves with a nasty wound and you get there and you can go and stay there for two or three days or a even a week. And I have done that myself.

When the work gets so bad and so hard and you can't do it any more, and so you have another prisoner give you a flesh wound which requires some stitches or something like that. Very common was to cut yourself here between the thumb and forefinger and just chop this like that.

Like I have got it on here. And when you do that what happens this thumb just hangs down. It looks awful.

But really it's nothing. When they sew it back together it's all right. But when this happens you have your thumb hanging down like that. So that was good for -- I would say about four or five days you know.

The doctor would stitch it up and it's usually -- the left hand or we did it on the knee. We take -- I can show you the scar. See this here (indicating). You take the skin like that and you cut it and it gives you a bad cut. But see the scar is still here. It gives you a bad cut but it's really nothing that hurts you, you know. It's not permanent.

I heard from other people who go and chop a finger off or something like that, you know, so they don't have to work. But I never seen that. But I know that most of the wounds which were self-inflicted were wounds -- flesh wounds which were good for a few stitches and good for about a week off work.

Q Did the doctors have enough -- you know, antiseptic type stuff to keep it from developing into worse?

A Well, if it developed into something worse, you know, if it would be pussing or so on that -- or infected that would be good for a few more days. So, no, the doctor

usually what they had, they had a lot of Iodine, you know, and they would put -- there was no antibiotics or anything like that. So like these things they would just bandage it up and hope it doesn't get infected.

But that was one thing, if you are careful not to get blood poison because if you get blood poison you know that you lose an arm or leg or whatever. But these were just wounds -- you were just out to get a few days off work.

Q And did people get typhoid there?

A Typhoid in this camp -- that was in the first camp, Ebanchitza, there was a outbreak of typhoid and a few died. But they licked it. I don't know how, but I remember that there was typhoid.

Q What happened when people died in this camp?
There was no ovens or anything right?

A Well, in this camp, in the one I'm talking right now, in Ebanchitza, when they died they were just taken out on a -- kind of a two-wheeled cart and were buried in a Jewish cemetery, you know.

Q And at Postelberg?

A In Postelberg I don't really know what happened to people who died. They were taken out of the camp. I don't know. Most likely taken to the nearest crematorium or something like that, or buried somewhere. I don't know.

1	Q What happened if someone got so sick they
2	couldn't continue working?
3	A Then he dies.
4	Q They didn't ship them to another camp or
5	A No. No.
6	Q Was the medical barrack warmer?
7	A Yes. It was warmer. As I said the meals were a
8,	little bit better. You were better treated. It was like
9	going on a vacation.
10	Matter of fact, I remember that I don't know
11	what it was, but I had a rash with boils on my arms and my
12	feet. And this camp doctor it was in Postelberg, he
13	thought it was very contagious and I should get out of
14	there so the guard took me to the hospital in Saats, you
15	know, and left me there. And I was overnight in the
16	hospital.

And I was about two days in that hospital and then they took care of it. And they lanced a few and bandaged it up and so on. And did a little bit better job than they would -- they could at the camp.

Then they said, you are all right. You can go now. And here, all of a sudden, I was a free man. And they didn't call the camp, and didn't tell the camp, you know, to come and pick me up and so on. And I bummed around the town for another day, and then I went back to

1	the camp. Because I couldn't get any food or anything in
2	the town.
3	I went back and said, okay, here I am. How
4	come? Well they sent me back. They finished with me. So
5	the doctor let me in another couple of days in the hospital
6	in the camp and then I went back to work.
7	Q What did you do when you were bumming around the
8	town?
9	A Oh, I was looking for things I could steal, you
10	know, and eat and so on. And by that time I was 17 years
11	old or yes, I was 17 years old or very close to being 17
12	and admiring the girls. Because I haven't seen girls for
13	such a long time so that's basically what I remember.
14	Q What were you wearing? Did it give you away as
15	being from the camp?
16	A No, it didn't, because I was wearing civilian
17	clothes. I was wearing the clothes I came into
18	Theresienstadt with, you know. It wasn't good clothes but
19	it was not a uniform.
20	Q When you think of guards at Postenberg
21	A Postelberg.
22	Q Postelberg. Or maybe anywhere just in general.
23	Like when you think of the typical German SS man, what do
24	you think of? And I'm not talking about necessarily like

blond hair and blue eyes which the early ones had. I'm

talking about like facial expressions, body expressions,
attitudes, behavior?

A Well, to me all of them were arrogant bastards.

Just -- their behavior puzzled me. It didn't puzzle me for a long time till I had an experience at the Gestapo prison in Karlsbad. Until then they were something you feared.

You get -- you stay out of their way. You don't want to be noted by them. You do everything to just don't have to have anything to do with them, because you know that once you have something to do with them you will be in deep trouble.

And so they were -- don't forget they were the supermen. They were the -- they had the power over your life. So as a kid and I knew that, and I stayed out of their way as much as possible.

But I never wondered -- I never thought about their life or their family life or so on. But then in the later years when I was at the Karlsbad Gestapo -- and by that time it was March 1945. The war was getting to an end. The Reich was getting bombarded from all over the place, from all sides.

And there was an SS Gestapo officer, and about two days before he shot a Russian prisoner right in front of a whole bunch of us. Right in the yard. Just made him kneel down and shot him. That was it.

it was just as cold as anything you can imagine.

And two days later I get hauled out of my cell, and so does

another prisoner, and we were led outside.

And I said -- I'm going to get shot. Because usually in that yard that's where they were -- most of the executions going on. And I also -- and I see this same SS or Gestapo officer standing by a car, which was an SS car, and his driver...

And I said, well, that's it. That's the end.

10 No?

And we both were scared like hell. Because we know how vicious this man was because of the beatings and so on.

And he had a driver. He sat next to the driver.

And he put us in the back of the car. And they drove out

of the prison.

villas and nice houses in Karlsbad. And he told us that he needed us to help him carrying the boxes to move, help him to move. All the Gestapos were starting to move their families way back into Germany. And so our job was to carry the heavy boxes down about three flights of stairs and load them onto a truck. And the boxes were in his house, upstairs and downstairs. And we both spoke German so we could do it.

1 And this man had two children, two little girls. 2 One I would say about two or three years old, and one about 3 four or five years old. And they were very nice. Beautiful wife. And the wife was crying. And he was so 5 tender with his wife and with his children, because she was 6 crying. Because she has to leave him now. And he was 7 telling her, don't worry. I will be there soon. And he 8 was hugging her and hugging his children and kissing and --9 you know, really being as tender as you could imagine. And I think -- that son of a bitch -- that 10 11 That was a conflict. And I just couldn't 12 understand that a man like that could be, in the same life, be a tender loving husband and father. 13 14 So there, to me, is a whole complexity of the 15 German nation. Because they are all very nice now, but 16 when you let them loose, or when they ever get loose again 17 then they are just going to change like that. 18 So, the cruelty to me -- the cruelty and the 19 brutality of a German is inbred. It's not something you 20 acquire. It's in every German. And it will come out in 21 different situations. So this is what I think about the SS. 22

So this is what I think about the SS. And I don't think they are -- they have human sides to them, but the cruelty is in them. They know how to disguise it and they know -- and they don't have to be even SS you know,

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because they were just as cruel to their own people.

I have seen a German hang from the lamp post

German officers and German soldiers who were caught without

papers away from the front lines. They are picked up.

They are hanged. No court, nothing. Because -- by their

own people.

So it's something inbred in the Germans. And I'm glad I'm not going to be here to see it again, but the younger generation will.

Q When did you see them hanging from poles?

A I have seen them in Karlsbad. And I don't know whether I have told you, but I was in a cell in the Karlsbad Gestapo prison with a bunch of German officers who were caught as traitors -- who were caught away from the front lines like -- the wife was sick, or giving a baby, any kind of reason. And they just left for a day or so and were caught.

They were -- most of them, I was in there with were shot in the yard in the Gestapo prison. But sometimes when we went -- after a bombing raid we were taken out of this prison and -- to clean up some unexploded bombs and things like that. Clean up after a bombing raid. And I have seen them hanging from lamp posts with a placard. Some of them had placards, you know, forieter, traitor. Or things like that.

T	Q Did you see many:
2	A I would say about four or five.
3	Q In how long of a space of time?
4	A In about a week's time. But that was standard
5	practice. You know, this was not something out of the
6	ordinary. I knew they were doing that, you know. And
7	naturally I had seen pictures of it too and I had read
8	about it. But I have seen it with my own eyes.
9	So there comes this cruelty this brutality
10	comes in here. It comes into play with the Germans when
11	they have the power. You can even see right now. In this
12	particular time when they were separated, east and west
13	Germany they were very docile, very quiet.
14	Now, you can see already now they are united you
15	see the Nazis starting getting up. And you see people
16	saying, well, they weren't so bad. Now, we are united, now
17	we can show the world, you know. So it's going to happen
18	again.
19	Q When you were in this prison, you said that you
20	were with some German officers. Were you in the same cell?
21	Is that how you had contact with them?
22	A Well, I was in that cell because they thought
23	that I was German and so and all my conversations with
24	them were in German.

And so I was just caught because I didn't have,

you know, they didn't know where I came from. So when I was transferred to this prison, I was put into a Germnan speaking cell, you know. And there were in that cell, I think, about eight, ten German officers.

Q So did you talk with them?

A Oh, yes. Yes. they were -- I was later on taken out of that cell and I was put into a cell with some Jews, you know, when they found out that my father was Jewish and so -- but at the time that I was in there I was talking with them and they were talking to me.

And they knew that they were going to get shot or -- but some of them thought, you know, they can talk themselves out of it and so on.

And I know there was one, he was a Captain. In full uniform. And I think his story was that -- and he was not very far from the front. That he went to see his wife who was having a baby, you know. He was married. Maybe 100 kilometers or so, 100 miles from this wife. So he just went and took a car, you know, his car and went to see her. And on the way back he was stopped by military police and asked, where is your regiment. And it was up at the front. And so they took him and they declared him a traitor.

Q How did these officers talk when you talked?
What did they talk about? What did they say about Germany,
about the war, about Jews?

A Well, about Jews, again I'm just talking from my
own experience. About Jews, they never talked about that.

About the war, what they talked about, the war is lost.

I remember when I was in this prison that during that time the Americans went and bombed Theresien. And Theresien was about 200 miles away from that prison where I was in. And we could see out of the cell window which was on the top, you could see at night during the night the sky being lit up on the horizon. And even felt the tremor, you know. So that was a point for discussion with them, between themselves, that the war is lost, because the Americans come even so close into Theresien and do the bombing. All these bombing raids all around. Karlsbad was bombed.

I would say in the last six months, even while I was in Postelberg, very often, quite a few times half of the camp had to go and start cleaning up the rubble in these oil refineries they bombed -- the American or the English bombed during the night. And so you can see the whole thing is ending.

And, you know, these were quite human beings.

They were worried about their families and so on. But what atrocities they had done at the front, I don't know. All I know is to me the worst was the Gestapo and the SS.

Q Didn't these officers talked about the Gestapo

1	and	the	SS?	How	they	were	behaving?
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A Oh, yes. By that time they hated them because they were in their power. They got caught, you know, and they knew nothing nice was coming out of them.

So, yes, they hated. And there was no more fellowship between them. Maybe they were treated a little bit better. They were not slapped around or beaten around. But the end result was the same. They were executed. Unless they would a real good reason.

Because from the Gestapo, where do you go, you know? They sentence you to a concentration camp? There was no concentration camp for German officers so where -- most of them got executed. Or the ones with the good reason got let go.

Q What were they saying when they were talking?

A Wht would they say. Well, most of them were concerned about their families, you know. Tell each other how many children they got, how big the children are, and so on, you know.

They couldn't show pictures, because they didn't have photographs. Because all that was taken away from them. Most of them the belts were taken away and -- so. I think the boots were taken away too. So, they were just talking about their misfortune. How they got caught. Why they got caught, and so on.

1	Q Did you tell them you were half Jewish?
2	A No. No.
3	Q How did the Gestapo eventually find out that you
4	were half Jewish?
5	A Well, for them it was very easy to find out
6	because I was sent from that camp which was the camp for
7	half Jewish for Mischlings. That was the camp in
8	Postelberg. And I was sent to the Gestapo in Saats. And
9	then from the Gestapo in Saats I was sent to the Gestapo in
10	Karlsbad, so they knew.
11	But the people in the cell didn't know. And so,
12	you know, for them I was just a kid who was found without
13	papers. When they asked me what are you in for, I had no
14	papers. So that was if you got no papers, you know
15	Q Now, how long were you in this prison in in
16	the Gestapo prison?
17	A I was in that Gestapo prison for about from
18	about January 4th until March 25th when I escaped from
19	there.
20	Q In 1945?
21	A In '45, yes. And in between I was out for about
22	ten days when they were taking me to Dachau and then back
23	again because Dachau was full and wouldn't take any more
24	prisoners. I was back and afterward I escaped. So that
25	was

1	Q What was food like in this prison?
2	A Well, the same as any other prison. Again, it
3	was towards the end of the war and there was very little
4	food. You get that one inch piece of bread in the morning
5	with the coffee. That was your daily ration of bread. And
6	you get that soup and the potatoes for lunchtime.
7	Now, sometimes there might have been a little
8	bit of barley or something else with substance in the soup.
9	Sunday there might be a few pieces of meat, you
10	know. Small pieces maybe the size of a thumbnail in the
11	soup. And in the evening the same thing. It's also
12	pretty well the same food. I think they had it rationed
13	out. They said that you had to have so many calories to
14	survive, but in the Gestapo prison it was also that there
15	were prisoners who had family outside. So they also were
16	able to some of them, not all them, to get some food in
17	from relatives outside.
18	Q Did they share?
19	A Some did, and some didn't, you know. They said
20	the ones who had some extra food they slept on it
21	practically. They put it under their pillow and so on.
22	Usually when somebody had some food they shared a little
23	bit, you know, with you know around and kept the rest.

Q Did you get any when they shared?

A Oh, yes. Yes.

24

1	Q Was half of the food taken out of the these
2	packages like in the other
3	A No. No. Not in the Gestapo prison, no. I
4	don't think so. This was something that the person brought
5	and they said, here this is for this prisoner and they
6	would go and take a look and make sure there is no weapons
7	in it or anything in it and they give it to the prisoner.
8	Q Okay. Were there both men and woman in this
9	prison?
10	A Only men I know about. I didn't see any woman,
11	no.
12	Q How big was the prison?
13	A Well, that was I would say there was about
14	100 prisoners in there, maybe 100 or 200 prisoners.
15	Q And were there torture chambers?
16	A There was a place downstairs where they were
17	torturing prisoners, yes. But these were torture, you know
18	for people who didn't confess yet. And so but once
19	you confessed your crimes and so on, then there was no
20	tortures. Then you were in an ordinary cell. But I know
21	there was a torture chamber because I have seen prisoners
22	coming out of there all beaten up and broken up and so on.
23	Q Were you ever tortured?
24	A Not in that prison, no.
25	Q What did they do with you once you were in

1 there?

A Well, when I came in there I was, out of principle, just beaten up, you know. And I was put in a cell. And then I was -- after about two or three days I was brought down to an office to a Gestapo officer and he started to ask me questions.

And basically question was what group did I belong to. Who told me to break that pipe. Who else was involved with it, you know. And while he was questioning me I got beaten up, you know. And that went on for about four or five days.

I had nothing to hide, you know. He just couldn't believe that I was so stupid to do that, you know. I was telling him that it was an accident. You know, that I tried to hit the ground next to that and my pick slipped and that's how I punched a hole in it. Well, he didn't believe that. And so it took about four or five days of every day two or three hours — they took me, and they beat me up. Some other guy beat me up. There was usually two guys in there. Until finally, you know, I told them that I was just fed up with it and that I did it on purpose. So I got beaten up more and — you know, for a couple more days and then that was it. And then I was just in that cell waiting to be sentenced for a crime — for sabotage.

And usually sabotage is -- you know, you pay you

1 -- if you are a sabotour you get shot. And I expected
2 that. But my sentence apparently was to be sent to a
3 concentration camp with a remark on my file was stamped R U
4 which meant RECOUR UNNERVISHED RETURN, NOT DESIRED on it.
5 So that meant life sentence in Dachau if I survived it.
6 But it didn't mean very much anymore because the

- But it didn't mean very much anymore because the war was being over in two or three months anyway so -- but that's the way it was.
- And I got also in this Gestapo prison I was let out of the cell quite often to wash the stairs and the hallways on my knees and so on. And very often the Gestapo just walk by and just give me a big kick in the rib or in the ass or something, you know. Just for nothing. No reason at all.
 - I remember I was bent over washing the floor and I was listening to what was going on in that one room you know, and this one Gestapo officer came out and kind of seen me that I was listening. And he just stepped right on my head and pushed my face into the stone floor in the hallway.
 - So this was without provocation. That was the kind of life there. And then I escaped from there. I told you the story of how I escaped.
 - Q Was this a pretty notorious Gestapo prison?
- 25 A No. Not too notorious because it was -- most of

it was in the Sudedenland. Karlsbad was part of Germany and so they were not dealing with a heavy terorist or heavy partisan organizations and so on. They were more dealing with smaller things. And mostly Germans, you know. They were dealing with prisoners of war who escaped and things like that, you know.

While the other prison -- Gestapo prison I was in in Brenau that was a bad notorious Gestapo prison.

Because in that one they killed over four thousand people. Exucuted I mean in there which I have seen myself right to the last day. And the people who were in it were -- most of them were underground fighters, partisan fighters they caught. And torture was every day because they wanted information and so on. Russian partisans were caught and mostly were some people who fought actively against the Germans and got caught at it. So there were much -- as I said executions in that one were steady, daily. You know. Where the other one was maybe once or twice a week. And that only towards the end.

- Q What did they do before the end?
- 21 A Pardon?

- Q What did they do before the end?
 - A Well, in Karlsbad they were shooting people who they couldn't sentence any more, you know. But they wanted to get rid of them before they have to give up to the

- Americans. Because the Americans were coming. So -- there
 was -- as I said there was some Germans in between and some
 people who really got caught as sabotours or underground
 fighters.
- Q And then they were sentencing them. What would they tend to sentence them to?
 - A Well, the only sentence you can get from them -and it's not like a court, you know. The same officer
 decides what is going to do. Most of the time before the
 war got so close they were sentenced to a concentration
 camp. What they call the fenichtunslager where they were
 executed. But then when there was no more of that they did
 the executions themselves.
 - Q So the sentence was execution but they wouldn't carry it out themselves?
 - A Yes. That's right. But then when they couldn't send them to these camps anymore they carried them out themselves.
- 19 Q Okay.

- A Well, in Brenau they did it year in year out,
 you know. They executed them right there. But in Karlsbad
 it was not a rule of execution. They did execute them but
 not as a rule all the time.
- Q I just have a couple more questions about Karlsbad. What were the sanitary facilities there?

1	A In Karlsbad, it was pretty good. It was a
2	regular jail so they had a water toilet which you could
3	flush. And they had a sink to wash. There was no showers
4	again or anything like that. But I would say they were
5	pretty good. Just like a regular jail. The fact is that
6	the same facilities are being used today by the Czech
7	police in Karlsbad. So it wasn't bad.

Q Now you said something about having rocks thrown? It had to do with the Germans or the Gestapo or something.

A Rocks thrown?

Q Maybe it was so long ago you don't remember the context exactly.

A Not rocks thrown. In Karlsbad it was not rocks. Well, we were led -- a bunch of prisoners, Gestapo prisoners, to clear up after a bombing raid. And we were handcuffed together and we were led to this place which was bombed which we were supposed to clean the rubble and so on and look for survivors.

And as we were led down that street in Karlsbad of course we were very hungry because food was very scarce. And I noticed a woman looking from -- down at us from one of the apartment buildings and I pointed -- I looked at her and I pointed to my mouth like with my finger. To give me something to eat, you know. To throw down something to

eat. And she motioned to wait. And I tried to hold the
rest of them back to wait. We are going to get some food
from her. But she came back to the window and she throw
down the contents of a piss pot. In other words, all kinds
of, you know, what they used at that time piss pots. No
food. That's the only thing I remember about throwing
rocks in Karlsbad.

- Q When you were out, you know. All these escapes that you made. When you were out, did you ever see people -- you know, townspeople expressing attitudes like that towards Jewish people and towards prisoners?
- A Oh, yes. As I said there were people who helped us. Who knew us. But all through the time ever since we left our own town, I have heard this kind of expression what are these people doing here. What are those Jews doing here. We have enough people to look after. Why do they have to come here. And then I heard the same thing when I was in the camp in Ebanchitza where the people were not hostile, but were very untolerable you know. Saying don't come begging in here, you know. Stay in the camp. So it was basically it was always, what do we have to do with the Jews. Yes. There was an attitude like that.
- Q Did you ever see people do anything like this woman with the pot?
- 25 A No. No. No. Mostly after the Jews -- after it

- was known that they were persecuted I didn't see anybody
 going out of his way to additionally hurt them. No. But I
 didn't see much sympathy neither, you know, for the
 situation.
- 5 Q Now, when you escaped from Karlsbad -- I have 6 some questions that are more detailed about the escape.
- 7 A Sure.
- 8 Q Did you ever know of anybody else escaping?
- 9 A No. As a matter of fact I understand I was the 10 only one who ever escaped from there.
- 11 Q When did you find that out?
- 12 A I found that out just recently when I was -13 when I was over there to take a look.
- 14 Q How did you discover that?
- 15 A Well, I went there. I went with my wife there and I showed her the prison. L and it was -- it is a police 16 17 prison now. And the police station in Karlsbad. And it's 18 very difficult to escape from there. Unless you can get 19 out with a truck or something it's just like a fortress in 20 there because the cells were in the top three floors, so 21 there was no way you could jump out the window. is a heavy steel door -- big steel door. 22
- There just was no way of escaping. The only way

 I escaped was that I told the Germans that -- when I find

 out that they are building this air raid shelter for

themselves, that I'm an experienced miner and I would like to work on it. So I got taken on the detail and that's how I escaped. I did not escape out of the prison proper. I escaped from that -- building this air raid shelter for them. So I was out -- I was out of the prison, but still the only one who ever escaped. And I understand there was others who escaped but they were caught and shot. Or who escaped, you know, when they were let out to work detail and tried to run away from them and they were shot.

But I was the only one who ever made it good.

Made it good. I got caught too, but much further away from there.

Q How did you discover that you were the only one?
Were there records or --

A No. When I was in Czechoslovakia before that -before this last time after the war I talked to some people
who were there too and this man told me that I was the only
one who ever escaped from there.

Q How did you plan this? And did you plan it with anybody else? Tell anybody about it?

A Yes. I talked about it with another guy there.

But, as a matter of fact, I thought of doing something

else. I thought of escaping while we were being led to one

of these bomb sites to clean the rubble up. And just to -
when the guard isn't watching, to get away. And he talked

me out of it. He said, it's not workable. And they will shoot you anyway and so on. So I didn't do it. And this escape from the air raid shelter I didn't talk to anybody. Was just planned. I know once I'm out that I can escape and so -- but basically it was not very -- it was not very well planned because I didn't even know -- even know the direction to run.

You know, I didn't know whether I was running into Germany or getting out of Germany. I just knew from seeing that there is a roadway above the Gestapo prison which was well traveled and I took that as a highway. And that's where I got to and walked along that highway and brought me into Czechoslovakia proper. And I think it took me about two weeks to get to Bernau. Most of it was just walking.

Q How did you get food along this time?

A Well, food was very hard to get. What I -- as I said it was in March and -- I remember it was the 25th of March, so it was still pretty cold in that area. It was just starting spring and mostly what I -- since I couldn't travel the highway I was travelling more or less on the side of the highway where I could still keep the highway in sight. And I was walking along fields and ravines and little forests along there. And most of the food or practically all of the food that I was eating was sugar

beets. Where these fields were fields where they grew sugar beets and when the beets were ripe in the fall they cut the green off and leave it in the field. And so this was during the winter and it was very well preserved. So that's what I was eating was the leaves of the sugar beets and little pieces of sugar beets which were left.

Q How come you tried to escape this time? I mean considering every other time you escaped you always turned yourself in because you didn't have ID. You didn't have what it took to be able to live and not get caught.

So how come this time -- you think it didn't matter too much?

A Well, this time my life depended on it. All the time before it I had dealings with the Gestapo and the SS, but never was I accused of a crime against the Reich, you know. I had dealings with them indirectly. This time it was directly. I was accused of sabotage and I expected to be shot or executed for it.

So I felt that I was really in danger in that prison since I was sent back from Dachau and I knew that the Germans were executing them now in the prison. And I thought my turn is going to come too. So that's why I escaped. On these other escapes I know when I get caught there was — the worst thing that will happen to me is to get beaten up and punished and so on. But never lose my

1	life for it. But this time it was very serious. It was a
2	very serious matter. And so I was afraid of being shot.
3	And so that's why I escaped. Where it became a matter of
4	life and death, and the other ones it was never life and
5	death so

Q Okay. Now, how did you -- at this time when you were travelling back to Bernau, how did you get by without papers?

A Well, as I said most of the time I traveled at night, you know. And I slept during the day in forests under trees and most of the forests were pine trees and so on. Little pine trees, I slept under them. And that's how I survived is -- that's how I traveled. During the night. And where I knew there was no papers and -- you know, I couldn't be seen by anyone.

So during the night I was more walking close towards the highway, towards there and along there. And if I could hear or see a car coming, I just ducked and jumped into the ditch and wouldn't be seen. So there I could travel and walk much faster. During the day, as I said, I was hiding in the fields were nobody could see me, or was sleeping in barns and things like that.

Q Now, if you were walking along the road at night you saw a car coming, was it pretty certain to be Germans?

A Oh, yes. Yes. You know, since I didn't know

- who it was, or who it could have been -- could have been
 anybody for that matter. So I just jumped into ditch and
 hid there. And yes, I would see a lot of German cars going
 -- you know, army troop cars and so on going by, yes.
 - Q What was the weather like?
- A It was cold. But it was starting to get warmer.
- 7 Q So it wasn't freezing?
- A It was maybe freezing at night, during the
 night. But usually spring comes there about middle of
 March. And so, yes, it was cold at night for sure, you
 know. But again, since I was during the night walking, I
 didn't feel the cold so bad. During the day it usually was
 warmer so I slept. So it was not as bitter cold as January
 and February was, you know. It was already springtime.
 - Q Okay. I would like to go back now to finish up
 Postelberg. Mostly what is left is your escapes. Although
 I did want to ask about -- you said they had a jail there
 or a torture barrack there?
- 19 A In Postelberg?
- 20 Q Yes?

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A Oh, yes. Again all these camps have, you know,
camp administration which is where all of the
administrative offices were there and they also have a jail
for prisoners who misbehaved. And when I say misbehaved is
anything which is not very bad that the Germans -- the

official Germans had to take care and step into it like the S.S. or Gestapo. Mostly it was camp discipline -- was run by the camp police and had little cells in there. Torture chambers in that camp; there was none. I don't remember them, but there was these cells where you get beaten up and locked up for, you know, maybe a week without food, without anything just bread and water. But most of those offenses were offenses carried out in the camp. Basically stealing. Maybe fighting. Cheating. You know -- anything small.

Not a crime against the Germans. Once it is against the Germans then it's serious. Then the S.S. and Gestapo came in.

Q Were you ever in a camp where there were both women and men who were tortured or beaten or anything? I'm talking about torturing more than beaten here.

A Well, no. Well -- in a camp, no. In a Gestapo prison, yes. I seen and I personally was tortured a few times. Women, I don't know. I can't tell you.

I have seen my mother being beaten up by the Gestapo. I have seen other ladies being beaten up in camp for small things but purposely tortured only Gestapo, I have seen in Gestapo prisons I have seen it. And I have had it done to me and I knew about that. In these camps the only one where there was women was Ebanchitza with the family and in this camp where I told you in Postelberg

- where they brought in the Italian women for cooking and so
 on. And that's all the women I have seen. But direct
 torture of women, I haven't seen.
 - Q Did you ever hear about it?
 - A After the war, yes.

- Q One time I read that in some ways women were tortured -- they were more often tortured sexually and more often without clothing only. Did you ever hear about woman in some places that were tortured in a worse way?
- A Yes, I have heard that they were torturing women for instance, when they were caught as underground fighting belonging to an underground group -- opposition group that were caught -- underground partisans that they were tortured and even to a point of death.

The other thing, rape. I would say any good-looking woman in the camp was raped by the Germans. But at that time that was no big deal because everybody else did it you know. The Russians did it and it was no big deal. But I have seen where they come and took -- take a woman out and the woman comes back not so much beaten up like from a beating, but you could see and you knew that she was sexually molested and so on. And -- but you know by that time in the camps, these women I have seen they were molested from both sides. They were molested by their own people, you know, and they were molested by the

1 Germans.

This camp we were in was a mixed camp and so any woman in there was free game if she was alone, without a husband or a boyfriend to protect her. And these women were not -- how can I say, were not resisting rapes. They were so beaten down by that time already, you know, that they just thought, well, the best thing is not to put up any resistance and just be quiet about it and so on, you know.

But I know that in this camp I was in this happened quite a few times. And it happened by the Germans and it happened by the -- as a matter of fact I can show you. I have a picture which came to my mind where my sister, that time was two years older than I, she was a good looking girl. I know that she has been raped, you know. What you call rape today. It is different. For them, being raped was preferred than being killed or disfigured.

Q Disfigured?

A Well, disfigured I mean, you know, when you get hit in the face and they break your nose and -- you know, things which leave permanent scars. I talked to a few of those girls who were in the camp with me that when this happened to them, that they would prefer that than being cut up or things like that, yes.

But this was going on in -- now I also seen very often, to be fair, where women offered themselves to the German guards just to get some favors. And there were women who were inmates in the camp and regularly slept the night with the guards because -- for better food, better conditions. And they were known. Everybody knew about it because -- it was no secret. The ones who didn't know about it were the Germans. Because they had it -- it was forbidden for them to fraternize with inmates you see. That's why it was kept secret. But we knew. We knew about it in the camps.

And so -- and you know as things like -- well, this woman had to go and see a dentist or see a doctor in town you know, and this guard had to take her there. So you knew when she came back she didn't see a dentist or -- you knew where they went. And we were kids and we knew it, you know.

So -- it is very hard to describe to you what miseries in a camp like that would do to a person, to people. To a woman. Especially what it would do to her pride and what it would do to her outlook on morality and so on.

I have seen women who sold themselves for a few pieces of bread for their children and things like that you know it will would do terrible things to you. Things you

couldn't dream today of doing. And I have seen them done.

And they were done strictly out of necessity. Out of

getting food or getting something -- even medicines for the

children.

Yes, a lot of these things was going on in this one camp, you know, where I was in there -- where I was there four years. But then I know this one family that I was telling you about -- this other one where this Neicell family when the war was over and the Russians came and she was raped by the Russian soldiers. And quite a few woman from the same camp which was liberated by the Russians were raped by the Russian soldiers you know. That was considered at that time, you know, a reward for them.

And I also know -- in fact when I was liberated,
I myself was liberated where quite a few of my fellow
prisoners and so on got themselves girls and resolved to
rape. Maybe not at that time -- it was not -- forced
themselves onto the girls where the town pretty soon didn't
want anybody from that camp around.

They just said, hey, stay away from our women and get out of here. You know, we don't want -- and again these people haven't seen a woman, haven't been with a woman for maybe -- for years. And all sudden they are free and they can talk to a woman and so on and these woman felt sympathy for them for being so long, and so they showed the

1	sympathy and they misinterpreted it for something else and
2	boom the woman was raped. Yes, a lot of this was going on
3	It was going on on all sides.

Q Was that what you meant when you said some of you resolved to rape some women?

A When I said what?

Q You said something like some of you had gotten together and resolved to rape some women or something like that. Was that what you meant that you got with the women and you misinterpreted their sympathy?

A No, I'm not saying that I was involved in it. I was saying that when we got liberated in the camp there was for two or three weeks -- no place to go. Nobody knew where to go and what to do. The camp was still there. It was open. Now there was no guards in it and so on.

And so the inmates or the ex-inmates were able to go into town. And the townspeople helped them a lot, you know. Bringing food and so on and showed sympathy and so on. And a lot of -- or it happened many times where I know where some of those guys, you know, were even taken in by families and raped, what you would call today, raped the wives or their daughters. And it was not a gang rape. It was nothing like that. It was just -- you know, they became part of the family and they mistook the kindness these people showed by being -- forcing themselves on them.

1 And on the women.

And that talk was talking around the town. And so pretty soon these townspeople got just as fed up with the ex-inmates as they were fed up with the Russians because the Russians liberated them but they still raped the women. You know, it was going on. Yes.

The German normally didn't resort to rape. They didn't have to because they could always buy them for some cigarettes and so on. Get themselves a woman. You know, that was no big problem. But with the Russians and the inmates from these camps, and I'm talking about this particular place that was quite different. After a while they were looked on as part of the problem.

No. Where I was talking about -- where I was talking about I think that you misunderstood, was in this same camp I was in. And I was maybe not quite 14 years old. Where in that camp came again a bunch of new guys from -- also from mixed marriages, you know. From -- not mixed marriages, but results of mixed marriages. They were Mischlings, Czechs, mostly Czechs. And they were put into that same camp with us and they were working in the nearby coal mine. And so they were there and there was this one girl -- one woman. She was older, about 28 or 29. And she was not mentally -- she was a little bit mentally --

O Deficient?

bright let's say. But she was not bad looking. And so she was -- not in love, but she liked this one guy who was a good-looking guy. This younger fellow who worked in the mine. And he made a kind of a date with her to meet her at night underneath the stairs. And he brought his buddies along with him. And so they were all there in the dark and they took me with them. They were going to show me how to do that, you know. How to have sexual intercourse with a woman. And so they had her there and against the wall in the dark. And they were all taking turns with her, and then they pushed me in the foreground. Now let's let him try it, you know, and let him. And they pushed me.

And this girl said -- kind of said, no. No.

Not him. He is too young. He is too young. I don't want him. And so that was it. But that's how I see it today.

This girl leaning against the wall, and her skirt hiked up and there she was. And they all took turns.

She wasn't raped. It was voluntary. But she was not very bright. But she was bright enough to say not me because I was too young. That's why she -- where she made the difference.

Usually I noticed in all of these camps, you know, the closer you are to death the more sexually aroused you can become. I have seen men who were skin and bones

and they were -- where all they could talk about was sex
and sex and women, you know, and so. Well, at this camp,
you know, we used to say this was one great big whorehouse,
you know. That's really what it was. And most of those
things were going on at night where nobody was watching.

Yes. Okay. What else?

Q Did any of the women get pregnant?

A Did any women get pregnant in camp. Oh, yes. A
get few got -- yes.

Q What did they do with them? Did they have abortions or did they have --

A No. No. Abortion was not even -- you know, it was not even done. They had their babies.

Most of them ended up eventually in the gas chambers in Auschwitz. But this lady I was talking about, that Mrs. Neicell who was raped by the Russians, she had a baby and she carried it through. She had five in the camp and one outside after the liberations. This is really my family now because the youngest daughter was Lilly — not the youngest, second youngest, Lilly. And she is now a married woman and she is out in — lives in Vienna and has a family and so — and her two brothers died. So she says I'm her only family left. And I remember when she was that (indicating) high in the camp. And the lady I'm talking

- about was her mother.
- Q Do you recll any little girls, really young

 girls being --
- A Being raped? No. No. Even I don't think -- if 5 I knew about it -- if it happened I wouldn't know about it 6 because this kind of thing would be kept secret and nobody 7 would talk -- most of these things I know about I have 8 either seen or my mother told me. And I know my mother's 9 biggest worry was getting raped or getting taken under 10 protection by a man in there. So -- and her second worry 11 was that my sister doesn't get raped.
- But, no. You know I don't -- I'm trying to

 think whether there was some incident I knew about or saw,

 but -- no. And there was a lot of little girls, you know.

 I can't think of anybody. And not by the Germans. That

 I'm sure of because -- no.
- 17 Q So, when you were escaping from Postelberg -18 now you escaped four times?
- 19 A From Postelberg?
- 20 Q Yes.
- 21 A No. From Postelberg I only escaped once.
- Postelberg I went to the Gestapo and I never even told you that I escaped from Postelberg.
- I really escaped once from Postelberg, but I

 never mentioned that. Because Postelberg was my last, as a

slave labor, my last camp. After that I went to the Gestapo in Postelberg and then in Saats and then in Karlsbad.

But I did escape from Postelberg, and as I mentioned to you that this -- when I got to the camp the camp wasn't quite ready or quite secure and so on. And when Christmas came along and most of the guards were -- went home to their family, there was just a skeleton crew -- a skeleton guard crew in there.

I escaped from there and right on the edge of the camp, outside camp, a railroad went by. A railroad went by. And so I escaped on that one and got onto a train which went to Bernau. And my biggest desire was to be home for Christmas. And so Christmas eve -- no, it was day before Christmas eve that I escaped from there and I went through the barbed wire, which was not very bad. I got there in the train station and I caught a train. And I got to Bernau on the train.

And I was able to avoid the patrols and so on.

And it was Christmas eve. Just about six o'clock in the evening. And I wanted to get home to Ebanchitza which was about 25 miles away from Bernau. But that's where the train I was on stopped and everything was starting to shut down. And it was snowing.

And so I caught this train to Ebanchitza which I

knew very well how to get on it. And I knew it was

Christmas. There was not too many patrols on it. And I
got to Ebanchitza and I was walking home, you know, to
where my mother lived and so on. And I sneaked in. And my
mother had this little Christmas tree on the table. And
she and my sister and my brother were decorating it, you
know. And she was hanging all kinds of little ornaments
and little candy -- wrapped up candy on it. And I sneaked
in and she didn't even hear me, you know, in this little
room that they were dressing up the Christmas tree.

And my brother snitched one of those candies and she kind of slapped him on the hand and told him not to do that. And he looked up and he seen me standing in the doorway. And he smiled, you know. And she got angry at him for smiling. She thought he was laughing at her. And he said, turn around and take a look. And there I was. And my mother just hugged me and kissed me. And so it was just -- so great.

She thought I was dead by that time and to see me -- you know. And how come you are here, you know. And so on. And I told her that I escaped, you know. And you know, you could see the whole thing -- the whole pleasure went out of her and everybody else, my sister and my brother. And you know, all of a sudden that great pleasure to see me was turned into fear about -- usually when

somebody escaped and they catch you, they all get punished, you know, as shot or put in a camp.

And so they tried for a while, you know, to still make like to keep the Christmas atmosphere. And finally I could see that this wasn't going to work. I spoiled Christmas for everybody. And so I said, well, I have to go, you know. I have to go. And I told them that I was going to join the partisans and that I can't stay very long with them.

And so they understood. And I went out and there was nobody outside in the streets. Nothing. And it was snowing and I could see my tracks going from the house walking down in the street. And I got scared thinking that now the Gestapo when they come looking for me they can see my tracks. And so I backtracked and I had this old jacket on. And I took the jacket and I dragged it behind me so not to show the tracks.

And to make a long story short, I hopped a train again and two days later I was back in the camp. And they didn't even know that I escaped.

So there was -- that was the one out of Postelberg and that was at Christmas. I think that was terrible, you know.

So. But I will never forget as long I live -- I have been living already a long time, was the -- how fast

it turned when they realized, you know, that now they are 1 2 all going to get it. And they didn't want to show it. 3 They still artificially -- come here and -- say, come here. 4 Have a piece of bread. Stand here by the stove and warm 5 yourself up a little bit. And still trying to be 6 Christmasy, you know. And just thinking and listening and 7 waiting -- every time somebody will come and knock on the 8 door and take us away. So that's why I seen a need to get 9 out and get back to the camp. Because I realized that from 10 then on anything that I do, it would go on to my family. 11 So you were saying. So that's when I escaped. So when I got back from Postelberg shortly thereafter that 12 13 was a very bad time for me with what happened when I escaped. I finally realized even if I escaped and was 14 outsmarting the Germans, I got no place to go. They got 15 16 me, you know. If they don't get me, they get my mother and 17 my brothers and so on. And so I was pretty -- how should I

And so then shortly thereafter I think January

5th or so is when I punched that pipe, that hole in the

pipe. And from then on I was in the hands of the Gestapo.

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say, pretty depressed.

And then as I got back again, you know, on the train I already described that, and I got caught in Bernau and was sent to the Gestapo prison in Konigs we call it.

As a matter of fact they found in this -- after they

1	liberated	this	Gestapo	prison	
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Q Where was that?

A In Bernau where I told you that all of the execution was going on and so on. And so they went in and this prison was a student dormitory at one time before the war. And then the Gestapo took it over and made a prison out of it. And after the war it reverted again back to a college dormitory. But before they changed it back they took pictures. And a lot of prisoners wrote their name into the bunk beds because the bunk beds were out of board, you know. And scratched the name into the walls and so on.

And I did the same thing. And they took pictures of the whole thing after the war, you know, because some wrote the names and some wrote other things. I'm going to be executed tomorrow, or things like that. And my brother just showed me -- and they wrote a little book about it. And they showed me where in one of pictures, was my name on it, and the date and the town from where I came from. I remember doing that, you know, when I scratched that in just to let somebody know that you were there.

Q How did your mother and siblings get out of that camp and back into the town?

A Well, as I said before, this camp in 1942, all the Jewish inmates in that camp were sent to Theresienstadt

and from Theresienstadt to Auschwitz and to various other concentration camps for -- camps which had for gassing and so on. And these two families, my family and -- well actually three families mixed left there because it wasn't our turn yet to go. And so I at that time just completed 14 years -- to be 14 years old and I was ready to go and work in the coal mines. So I was sent to work in the coal mines, and my brother was sent to work in a textile factory with my sister. And we were given quarters in the same town where the camp was. And which again was very close to that coal mine. And then -- when I say quarters it was just -- housing. I wouldn't have -- my dog has better housing now than we have had in there. But we lived there for -- or my mother and we lived there from 1942 -- it was condemned housing. Can you imagine when the Czechs at that time condemned something you know that's where we were put in.

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And that was about four miles from that coal mine. And so I had to go and work in the coal mine. To walk every day eight miles, four to work and four back.

And then after about six months they erected barracks again right at the coal mine for prisoners. And so I was taken there and I was working in that same coal mine. And I was living in this barracks. But I was able to just get away every weekend and get to my mother. Not officially, you

1	know, but since that was in the area where I used to live
2	and so I knew my way around there and I knew the guards.
3	And so but as I said from there it was very
4	hard to even escape because you had no papers. And so
5	that's where we came out of that camp, my mother was
6	washing laundry for a German company of soldiers, you know.
7	I was in the coal mine, my brother was in the
8	textile factory and as a matter of fact the textile
9	factory is now that's where the textile faxtory is now
10	is where the camp was before. And so my other brother
11	two brothers were two small to work. And then in '44
12	when the time came to go after the Mischlings, after the
13	mixed breeds or half breeds or whatever you call them,
14	that's when I got my marching orders to go to
15	Theresienstadt and from Theresienstadt then I got to
16	Postelberg. And that's when this happened where I was in
17	custody of the Gestapo.
18	Q How long were you in Postelberg?
19	A It was summer when I got there so it was
20	later summer '44 so and in January I was taken to the
21	Gestapo. About five or six months after that.
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