ANGRESS-1

Interview with DINA ANGRESS

Holocaust Oral History Project

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Q I'M SANDRA (VENDAYAN.) I'M HERE WITH DINA ANGRESS, DOING AN INTERVIEW FOR THE ORAL HISTORY PROJECT OF THE SAN FRANCISCO HOLOCAUST LIBRARY. TODAY IS THE 26TH OF MAY 1990.

DINA, WOULD YOU PLEASE INTRODUCE YOURSELF, AND GIVE US YOUR MAIDEN NAME, AND TELL WHERE AND WHEN YOU WERE BORN.

A I am Dina Angress, and i live in Petaluma at the moment, for a little over a year now. I have been in this area, in that general area, for 42 years.

I was born in Amsterdam, Holland as Dina Dasberg, D-a-s-b-e-r-g. And that is my maiden name. My middle name, too. And had a very pleasant, comfortable childhood.

My father was a physician, house doctor. And I had two sisters that were younger than I was. One is two years younger; the other is five years younger. They both live in Israel. The youngest also has a big family, five children. The middle one does not. She is a Professor of History of Education. And the other one teaches English to

Israeli children, and she is married to a physicist. They come here quite a bit, on and off, because he does work here, too.

My father, who is going to be 90 in December, is also living in Israel, in Jerusalem, and I am very much looking forward to go visit him for his 90th birthday. That is, I hope he stays well. He's not been too well lately. His hearing is failing, and he had hip operations that made him -- at the moment, his walking is not too good. He uses two canes to walk with. But his mind is still brilliant, and he keeps busy learning and reading and writing. So he's an exciting person. Very wonderful person.

And I have many relatives in Israel. Most of my relatives in Israel, most of them emigrated there after the war. I have only three cousins in Holland left with their families. For the rest, there is over 100, probably 200, or so, relatives in Israel, because we had big families.

Q SOUNDS LIKE. WHEN WERE YOU BORN?

A October 12, 1928, which makes me 61 years.

Q WHAT WERE YOUR PARENTS' NAMES?

A My father was Isaac Dasberg, I-s-a-a-c. And my mother was Bertha. I had a very pleasant childhood, from what I remember. Both my parents came from very, you know, struggling families. My grandfather on my father's side was a Rabbi, teacher-rabbi.

My grandfather on my mother's side was a salesperson, antiques, and used to go, when he was younger, used to go door-to-door at the farmers' with little knickknacks and things, trying to sell. Then they made it into a store, and it became one of the big antique stores in Holland. It still is. Some of the grandchildren are going on with that.

My mother's maiden name was Nysdat, N-y-s-d-a-t. And that was a big family. But they all started out struggling. And so everybody really worked themselves up very much. Education was very important in our lives. I knew how to read, and read Hebrew when I was four years old.

Q AMAZING.

A Like I said, I learned to read Hebrew before I read Dutch. But then, of course, schools later on. Even though it was what you would call a Jewish parochial school, it still was a secular situation in which we grew up, although my parents were very Orthodox, and at the same time, very progressive politically -- which doesn't always go hand-in-hand. But they were very Zionistic. And my family in Israel, most of them are very progressive. And even though many of them are still Orthodox, they belong to the progressive Orthodox community.

Q SO DID YOUR FAMILY CONSIDER ITSELF AN ASSIMILATED DUTCH FAMILY?

A Not really. Not really, no, no, no. There was definitely -- I mean, I didn't have any non-Jewish friends when I grew up. I didn't know many non-Jewish people. I knew the person who came to make the fire on Shabbat, and I knew the people that, you know, the housemaids, people that worked in the house were not Jewish. But other than that, I didn't know many. I went to a Jewish school.

Q RAISED IN A RELIGIOUS --

A Yeah, yeah, yeah.

Q AND YOUR PARENTS' ZIONISM, DID THAT HAVE ANY CONNECTION WITH, YOU KNOW, LIKE ANTI-SEMITISM, OR ANY POLITICAL CLIMATE AT THE TIME, OR WERE THEY JUST --

A No. My father was very much liked. The family was well-recognized in Holland, had what you would call a "good name." And I have never experienced any antisemitism. Holland has always been very much of a liberty-loving country. They have taken in, all through the ages, refugees from countries that came to escape -- how do you call that atmosphere?

Q OPPRESSION?

A Suppression. Yeah, oppression. There is a lot in Holland, you have found a lot of Jews that came from Spain and Portugal away from the Inquisition era. And have always been -- it's always been freedom of religion. And that was one of the good things. I

mean that I never experienced anti-semitism when I grew up.

Also, as children in those days, you were much more protected. And you would call this over-protected at this point. I mean, politics was seldom discussed when the children were around. Kids were kept far from anything that was unpleasant and difficult. I mean, it was just -- Kids were supposed to be happy and smiling and learn and go to school and not be involved in anything that was worldly or difficult or scary or sad. I mean, we were kept far from that, somehow.

And even though we weren't pampered in any way -- I was taught to ride a bicycle when I was six years old. I went all over that busy city on my bicycle to school, and I was taught swimming when I was six years old. I went to the swimming pool by myself once I knew how to swim.

And we were definitely taught independence. I was a very independent youngster, more so than my parents liked. (laughter.) I would do things that they weren't necessarily -- they didn't necessarily like, like climb on the roof top, and lure cats from the neighborhood in the house, and things like that.

But yet, in some other ways, we were very well protected and kept from harm and kept

from being involved in any kind -- I was a very unaware youngster. I had no idea what was going on. my main concern was to be safe at home, although I would wander off and go places and stuff.

But it's a different whole different thing. I come now into classrooms, first and second graders. I'm amazed how sophisticated these kids are. It's amazing what they know, what they can talk about, their language. It's really a different world.

Q WHEN DID YOU FIRST SENSE THAT THERE WAS POLITICAL TROUBLE HAPPENING?

A in 1939, I was ten years old, not quite 11. We were vacationing in Switzerland, because my middle sister had acquired rheumatoid arthritis when she was a baby, and, as such, had suffered greatly as a child. And they were always finding new cures for her. She was sent to spas here, and hospitals there, trying to alleviate the problem.

And so they had found this place in (selarina) in the (ingadeen) in Switzerland. And she was getting treatments there and mountain air to do well. So we all went over there for the month of August on vacation, my parents. My sister and I were left in sort of a kinder-home, which is a children's home, you know, sort of like kind of a camp situation, although it was not a camp; it was more like a home

for the summer.

And my sister was there, too, my other sister. But she was more -- she got her treatments and everything else. And then my parents were able to take time off and do stuff together. And in September, just before September 1939, things started happening in Eastern Europe, when I think Poland was invaded in 1938. I'm not quite sure about all these dates. Or something happened in Yugoslavia. I'm not quite sure. my mind is fuzzy on dates, and such.

But things happened to the point where the Dutch militia was mobilized, and people who were part of the army had to sign up. And my father was a medic in the reserves, and so he had to come back from Switzerland to be not a deserter. We had to shortcut our vacation. And my middle sister stayed there. And my parents and my little sister and I went back to Holland.

And we left on Friday, and it was by train -- you didn't fly in those days from Switzerland to Holland. People do that still, but nowadays if you're in a hurry, you take a plane and get there. But that wasn't the case yet in those days.

So we took the train. And when we got to Luxemburg it was Shabbat, and my parents don't

ride on Shabbat, only if it's a really high emergency. So we stayed there in this hotel in Luxemburg, beautiful place there, gorgeous garden. I still have that picture in my mind. And so we made Shabbat there on Friday afternoon, and I stayed in this hotel. My sister and I thought it was very interesting. She was five; I was ten and a half.

And then, the next day, on Saturday, of course, you don't drive, you don't do anything on that day. Then we went for walks in that beautiful park that surrounded the hotel on the grounds. It was wonderful. We spent that whole day in the park, and had a wonderful time. And then, that night, we went on back on the train, and back to Holland. That was the first time of anxiety that I experienced that there was something going on.

Q DID YOUR PARENTS EXPLAIN TO YOU WHAT WAS HAPPENING?

A Well, they sort of just said, sort of like, you know, my father was called up for the army. They had to go back. And I didn't really like it all that much in that place there, because it was, you know, a children's home. And it was all right, but you had to take naps in the afternoon. You had to rest in these chairs outside. Thinking back on it, nothing nicer than lying in that chair out there looking at these beautiful mountains.

But as a ten year old, you want to run around and play. So it wasn't all that exciting. But there were nice kids to play with. And it was all right. But I didn't mind going back home. Neither did my little sister, who hated it even more. She was littler, and she could do even less. I had a friend there, and the two of us were gone most of the time. And this little girl didn't know anybody, and she hated it.

So none, neither one of us was really unhappy going back home. And then we came home. And then he had to be -- I mean he was still -- he did partly his practice, but much of the time he had to be in the military. So that was September 1939.

And then in May 1940, the war started in Holland. I think it was the fifth of May. And then, of course, my father was in the front, which was at the airport near the (haig,) (impenburg,) do you know that? That is where he was stationed.

That was scary, because even though I had no idea what war was all about, I knew it was dangerous, you know. They have bombing, and they were shooting, and you could die. It was awful. And then the sirens -- today I hate hearing sirens. I mean, I hate it. It's horrible, this piercing noise that haunted me all my life. I hate it. And then you can

get these sirens.

You had to go stay in doors. We had to blacken all our windows. Yet, when the lights were on, you had to make sure when the door opened anywhere you had to turn the lights off first. It was really a nervous situation.

And, of course, my mother was very unhappy, because, you know, her husband was on the front there; could be killed at any time. And then we heard that the airport was being bombed. We didn't know if he was dead or alive.

We had possibilities during those five days to get away. There were ships chartered to take Jewish children and their mothers from Holland to America. And we could have gone on that ship because of my father. But my mother wouldn't do it, because he was on the front, and she didn't want to go without him.

She did ask me if i wanted to go with my sister. she gave me that choice. I was 11 and a half years old, and I said, "No way am I going to leave you." I mean, I didn't get along all that well with my mother. We always fought. But I mean that was my mother.

Q (COUGHING.) EXCUSE ME, I HAVE TO STOP.

A Sure.

(pause in proceedings.)

Q EXCUSE ME. THIS IS BETTER. I'M SORRY. YOU WERE SAYING WITHIN THOSE FIVE DAYS?

A People could leave. And many people did. And those people that did leave, came to America, and are surviving today, I imagine, if they haven't died of natural causes in the meantime.

Many ships later didn't make it to America. They stopped in England, and often had to come back all the way. There was one boat that set off and couldn't make it, and had to come back. When I heard that, even though I was only 11 years old, I was very pleased: In no way was I going to leave my mother. I was much too inexperienced to do anything of the sort. Even though I had traveled alone.

My parents had put me on a train from Amsterdam to (hoenig,) which is a four-hour train ride, when I was six years old. They put me on the train. I was supposed to go all the way to (hoenig) there, and I was picked up at the station. They didn't baby me. But, still, I was -- I wouldn't be without them.

Like I said, it was not that I was so loving with my mother, because we -- being an independent child, I was forever fighting all she wanted me to do: Put on a sweater. No, I don't want to. But still I wouldn't leave her for anything in the world. So, no way was I going to go on the boat

with my sister, especially after having been just for a month in Switzerland in this home, which were very sweet people, and all that, but it wasn't home.

Q WHERE WOULD YOU HAVE ARRIVED IN THE UNITED STATES? DID YOU HAVE RELATIVES?

A No. No. I mean, probably the Jewish agency, Jewish-something agency -- I forget the name of it -- would have taken care of that. But, no, I wasn't about to. So that passed. And then, luckily, my father survived. Some of his buddies were killed right in front of his eyes. But he came out of it all right.

Then he came home, and then -- well, then we were occupied by Germany. And, of course, the way that went was that after a couple of days the beginning when the war started, a couple of days Rotterdam was bombed, and half the city was wiped out. Many people were killed. And then they said, "Okay, if you do not surrender, we do the same with Amsterdam." And then the Queen at the time, Queen Wilhelmina -- I guess she was still Queen -- then she decided, "Then we'll just -- we'll have to surrender, because we don't want any more people to die."

And they fled to England, the House of Orange, the Queen and her family, hoping they could do more good from there than they could in the country. Some people really were disappointed in that

they thought she should have stayed there, but she couldn't have done anything. But she might have even been imprisoned. There was nothing really that she could do.

So that is when capitulation took place. And, eventually, my father came home, and then life sort of seemed to go on as usual. We went to school. There wasn't all that much that changed. My parents were unhappy with the whole situation, but personally I didn't experience anything much in the beginning.

But then pretty soon things started to happen where Jews were being restricted. But it was all very subtle. I must say it was a clever scheme that they had. It was really amazing. Some day, I should probably read this book Mein Kampf that Hitler wrote in which he explained exactly what he was going to do and supposedly followed everything he said. I just never felt like I needed to read that, but maybe some day I will.

Anyway, one of the things is how they found out who was Jewish and who wasn't is that I think it was with the telephone bill, or something like that, very unobrustively. You got a piece of paper to fill out. You had to write in there who you were, and where you lived, and about your parents and your grandparents, and how many of them were Jewish

and how many were Protestant, and Catholic.

And it was all this, and you were supposed to fill it out. And most people in Holland felt proud to be Jewish. They never had any pogroms in Holland. They didn't know what it was to be oppressed. I mean Dutch Jews had always had freedom and liberty, and liberty to do what they wanted to do. The synagogs were honored, and so everybody always felt proud to be Jewish. And so they very proudly filled out, "Yeah, we're Jewish, and our grandparents were Jewish."

Well, that was the downfall. Because those people who didn't fill it out, or filled out they were not Jewish -- and some people who came from Eastern Europe could see the handwriting on the wall, because they had gone through this kind of stuff before, and so they didn't fill that stuff out -- and some of those just survived because they were not classified as Jewish.

But everybody who filled in that they had at least two Jewish grandparents, two or more, then you were Jewish. That was, of course, a crime that was terrible to be Jewish, because they had to be eliminated. We needed to have a pure Arian race. And so that is, you know, I felt all this uneasiness around.

But these forms were filled out,

and pretty soon we got noticed that, being Jewish, our children could only go to Jewish schools. But we, already went there, so that was no big deal. And pretty soon everybody had to hand in their cars and bikes.

Now, my father didn't have to hand in his car, because, as a doctor, he had some privileges. But people had to hand in their cars. And then pretty soon they had to hand in all their jewelry and rugs, and things like that. And many people did it, because, as most of Western Europe, they were law-abiding citizens: When you were told to do something, you did it. That is what you did.

It may be that is why I am so against laws. If I can cut corners, and not make a full stop at a stop sign, I'll do that. I never know why not, but if I can get away with it, I drive 65 instead of 55. I enjoy doing that. And maybe it's a reaction to whatever. I mean, I don't know. This is my nature. I don't know. Anyway, everybody did what they were supposed to do.

Now, my parents didn't hand in any of the jewelry, or they gave it to friends to keep. And that was one of our -- one of the reasons why we survived. And I'll explain that in a few minutes.

Q NON-JEWISH FRIENDS?

A Well, my father had patients that were Jewish

as well as non-Jewish, and they all loved him. And, so, many of them helped. One of the doctors he fought with at (ipenburg) in the army had told him, "If you ever need help, or if the kids ever need anything, let me know, and I'll be glad to help you." And that came in handy, too, later.

Eventually, we all, of course, had to wear the star, the yellow star.

Q DO YOU REMEMBER WHEN YOU HAD TO WEAR THE STAR?

A Oh, yeah. We had to wear it all the time. And, again, we were supposed to wear that. And we said, "So, we will. We're proud to be Jewish. We'll wear the star." We sewed them on all our clothes; walked outside; strutted outside with our chests out with the star on it. It was all right. I mean, what is wrong with being a Jew? In the back of our mind we thought, "What is wrong about being a Jew?" But we thought, "Nothing really." We were proud of it. So everybody did that.

Q HAD YOU BEEN HEARING ANYTHING FROM GERMANY ABOUT HOW GERMANY TREATED JEWS?

A No, I wasn't. Well, my parents, of course -- actually, not all that much, because once the Germans got into Holland, of course there was a lot more censure on the news, and everything else.

Now, we did listen to the BBC. We

could get that in. You were not supposed to, but we did that, anyway. We had one friend, a patient of my father, who had a photographic memory. And he would listen to the news -- that was after we didn't even have a radio anymore; certainly not a shortwave radio that would get BBC from England. He would listen to the news. And he would come over to us and recite that newscast word-for-word.

I can still see him sitting there concentrating. And he had this interesting hat, sort of cocked up on his head. And he was sitting there. And every day, every day, he came in the evening and gave us the news from the BBC word-for-word the way the newscasters did. I mean, thinking back on that, that was so amazing how anybody can do that. But he did. And that is how we got the news from England.

But the BBC didn't say much about anything that happened in Germany about Jews, because it just talked about the front, and how far they advanced into Russia, and how far, you know, what they did, wherever, the Pacific, and things like that. But nothing, nothing really personal about what Jews had gone through. I mean, I don't remember.

But I knew they had it in for the Jews. I knew you had to be -- somehow, there was something very badly wrong. But you wasn't quite sure what it was all about. Then we had to go, when I went

to 7th grade -- that is High School in Holland -- and then I was supposed to have gone to a non-Jewish gymnasium, which is a classical school where you learn Greek and Latin and classics: That kind of stuff. That is where I was supposed to have gone.

But then they had to make a Jewish High School because no Jewish kids could go to the non-Jewish school. The day after I turned 13, classes started. They took a little while. Usually classes started the beginning of September, but because this whole school had to be reorganized, and everything, we started on the 13th Of October. And that was -- let me see. I was 13 then, so that was in 1941. Yeah. So, 13. So 1941, I started what would be here Junior High. But that was High School. So what was to become my ex-husband and some other friends that are still around. And, let's see. Where was I? Turn it off for a second, somehow get back on.

(pause.)

Q I WAS GOING TO ASK YOU IN THIS PERIOD WHICH MAYBE YOU CAN INCORPORATE WHETHER YOU HAD ANY DIFFICULTY IN GETTING FOOD, OR ANY OTHER --

A No, never. I never did.

All right. So, I went to the school. This was High School. It was an exciting new school, and very excellent teachers, because the Jewish teachers couldn't teach at non-Jewish schools

either. So we had the cream of the crop of instructors, because they could hire the best. Of course, they only needed so many, and there were many to choose from.

So we had people who had Master's degrees and Ph.D.'s and many people who, later on, became professors at the university. Excellent faculty. And I learned a lot. I mean, I only went to school for 7th and 8th grades, because as soon as we started 9th grade, then it was all over. I'll get to that in a little while.

But those first two years, 7th and 8th grades, I learned more in some cases than they learn here in all of High School. I mean, I had Greek; I had Latin. In 7th grade we had Latin, and French, and German, and algebra, and geometry, and biology, history, ancient history, and art. We learned how to draw. And p.e. I mean, it was a very tight schedule.

Q Sounds like it.

A And a lot of homework. I sat there -- I was 13. I often sat there until 11:30 at night studying. And we had a good time. I mean, we played. We played vollyball. We had matches playing the different -- there was one other school. Our school was the one that was geared towards the classics. And then there was another school across the street that was more the

business and math school, different kinds of High Schools that could you choose from. I was never all that good in math. That is why I went this way. So we had, you know, competition between us vollyball.

I mean, we couldn't -- we had to walk to school; couldn't use a bike. And, eventually, my parent had always had help in the household, non-Jewish help. They couldn't have those anymore. I had to learn how to vacuum clean, and vacuum stairs, and how to prepare some food. You know, learn how to peel potatoes, and cut up of the vegetables, and stuff that I had never done before. But, you know, we all had to pitch in somehow.

Q DID YOU OWN YOUR OWN HOME?

A Yeah. Had one of those big homes on the canals. And downstairs was the office where people came for his office hours. And then upstairs were the living quarters. It was all one house, big house. And so we just, you know, went to school; struggled through it.

And then pretty soon all the Jews had to move into one particular Quarter. Now, we already lived in that Quarter. We had lived in the Jewish Quarter from day-one. I mean, that is where my father and mother had settled in the beginning. But then everybody from the outskirts and from other towns had to all come into Amsterdam, because it was easier

to get them all together, and then cart them off.

We didn't really understand all this, although maybe my parents did. But I didn't. It was just all the Jews had to get into the same town. And my friend, who was later on to become my husband, he had lived in the south part of the city, and he had to move into the eastern. the eastern and central part of Amsterdam were the Jewish Quarter. So they had them all close in there. And it was all easy to have raids and pick up people and send them to work.

Many people were sent letters. That was the very beginning, already in 1941, young people were sent letters. They had to come and work in the work camps in Germany. And many of us didn't see too much -- think too much of it. We pictured all the younger men were at the front, so they needed replacements to work in the factories, and stuff like that. So many of the young men and women patiently sat there waiting on the steps with their backpack full of stuff, and waiting to be picked up. Because they were going to go and work in the factories in Germany. Little did they know they were going to be in a concentration camp and gassed pretty soon after. They used them for hard labor for awhile, and then whoever wasn't 100 percent fit was sent into the gas chambers.

And the first thing we heard -- the first thing I remember hearing of one of the neighbors being exterminated -- we say; it wasn't called that-- but was when it was on a Saturday, and we were just sitting at the Shabbat meal. In the middle of the day, nextdoor, we all of a sudden heard this terrible crying and wailing. And my father said, "Oh, my God." He could hear from the way what was happening that they had a son that had been sent off, and they had gotten a notice that he was -- that he had died through natural causes, or something like that.

And, of course, my father went over there and tried to console them, because, besides being a doctor, he sort of was a counselor for the whole community, as well. And that was the first that I realized, gee, maybe those people weren't treated very well over there, or something was happening, something was wrong. But the word "gas chambers," never heard about, never came into our minds. I never remembered it, anyway. Maybe my parents did. But, again, they tried to keep bad news far from us, even then, even though they would talk about -- we picked up a lot more now, of course, than we had before.

Q DID YOU FEEL TENSE DURING THOSE TIMES?

A Maybe a little. Not really. I mean, I was a kid. And I went and played. And I still played with dolls until I was 14 years old. It was very important

that these dolls were put to bed on time. I was a kid, just was a little kid. I look here at 14 year olds. They are all young men and young women. You know, dolls-schmolls: I mean, who cares? But in those days, that was very important. We played games. I remember playing Monopoly, and mahjong, and stuff like that, and card games. I was into playing.

But in 8th grade, my friend and I became boyfriend-girlfriend. But that didn't mean anything, either. It just meant that he walked me home from school, and then he had to walk back. And in that time it was a long ways for him to walk. At first, he still lived in the south part of the city, because they moved together. But he always walked me home, and then walked back. That was, you know, being boyfriend girlfriend, being 14 years old.

And then we would take walks together, and I visit him sometimes at his house. We listen to records. I was 14 then. And there were -- actually, there were six of us in that classroom that were pretty close. And we get together Saturdays Sundays. Mostly all you could do, you couldn't go out anywhere. You weren't allowed to go to any recreation; couldn't go to the movie theater, or anything. But we could walk around. And then we sat at somebody's home and listened to records, listened to music.

Q DID YOU HAVE ANY PROBLEMS GETTING FOOD OR NECESSITIES?

A No. No, I never experienced that personally. In the beginning, we seemed to have had enough food. I never had -- I wasn't hungry one day during my life. I have never been hungry. That is why I was saying before, I don't feel I really suffered all that much. But, looking back, it was, of course, a very traumatic experience, which I didn't really realize how traumatic it all was until later.

Q HOW DID YOUR MIDDLE SISTER EVER GET BACK FROM SWITZERLAND?

A She didn't all during the war. And the Red Cross took care of her. She had very traumatic experiences, as well. She was in a hospital, and, eventually, in order to turn the tides for her on this process of Rheumatism, the only way they could see how they could get rid of her pain -- because she was in constant pain, and there was no Cortisone yet in those days; which in many ways was a blessing, because Cortisone killed a lot of people in the beginning, especially when they didn't know how powerful it was.

But the only thing they could do was stiffen all her joints. They put her in a body cast for a year, from here on down. And when she came out of that, she was a stiff as a plank, and she had to learn to move. But she had no pain anymore. And

then she had to learn to walk again. And she had to learn how to move all her parts of her body.

And this kid was born in 1930, so she was 12, 13 years old when this happened. I mean, she was developing into a young woman, and yet couldn't walk. For a while, all she could do was lie down flat. And then she was learning to move her head. And, eventually, she had hips, new hips put in, and new knees put in, and her elbows, everything had to be operated on. and she is, to this day, severely crippled. But her mind is brilliant. She's a brilliant person.

After the war, she came back from Switzerland -- this was after the war in -- I think she only got back in 1946. They couldn't get -- see, the war ended in May 1945. I don't know exactly when she came back. But it was awhile after that. I don't know whether it was the Fall of 1945 or the Spring of 1946. I know she was 14 years old, so that made it -- no, must have been 1945. Yeah, it must have been. My mother tried to get there soon as she could to try to get her back.

In the summer of 1945, she came back. And then intensive operations were done. And she had constant physical therapy. She couldn't go to school, so she would start at home. But, eventually, she insisted she wanted to go to school. So she got a

wheelchair that was operated in such a way that she could handle it. And, for awhile, somebody brought her in the wheelchair to school and picked her up. Until she said, "I don't want this anymore. I will do it by myself."

She was 15 years old, and she manipulated that electric wheelchair all through busy Amsterdam to go off to school. And when she got there, the principal of the school -- once she got there, it turned out the wheelchair could not get through the door of the school. And here she thought, "I finally got to school, and I can't get in."

And the principal saw what was happening. He told the janitor, he said, "Saw that little piece." It was the hub of the wheel that couldn't get through. "Saw that little piece out of the doorway. Save it. When she graduates, we can put it back in." And they did. They made the door accessable so she could get into the classrooms. She loved this man ever since.

Q YES, I CAN SEE WHY.

A They cut this little piece out. Anyway, so she went to school. She graduated with honors. She went to the University. For the first, taught at High School history. Then got a doctor's degree, and got a job at University of Utrecht first, and later on the University of Amsterdam. She's very much honored and

very much appreciated, very much respected.

Towards the end of her stay in Holland -- she lives in Israel now, too -- but towards the end of her stay in Holland, she appeared on television regularly, talking to people about her specialty, History of Education, and especially pedagogy.

And she would be telling people that things were all wrong: They were putting too much pessimism into children's life. Kids needed to be raised so they had an optimistic feeling about life, that they would be feeling it was worthwhile. And all this doom and fear of destruction was ruining kids and made them commit suicide.

I mean it's still happening, for that matter. And she said that is not the way to go about it. You got to tell kids that they can do something about their future; they can make it happen; that they can change the world. Because you can, if you really want to. Somehow or other, we all can do something. And she was very, very much respected.

And then she finally -- she wanted so badly to go to Israel. But Israel is hard on invalids. I mean, that is a country for young, healthy people. And they'll tolerate the old people, because they honor them. That's part of Jewish life: Honor your parents. And so older people are accepted

and taken care of well. But young people who are invalid, even though they have a lot of them through the war, and now it's getting a little better because of that, because they feel, of course, they have got to honor their war heros.

But there for a while it was not easy for an invalid to get into Israel. And, once she was there, to find work. And so she eventually did, and she insisted, like she insisted all along -- and my mother has always been a big support for her -- she always said, "If you want to do this, whatever you want to do, you can do. Know that." And that has sunk into all of us.

Q WHAT WAS THAT SISTER'S NAME?

A Pardon me? My sister's name is Lea, L-e-a.

So, she insisted. And got to Israel, and had a job there for a while in one of the new desert colonies there. I forget the name, but it is south of Bersheva. And she was starting a whole new school to teach teachers how to teach kids. And especially third-world teachers and third-world kids. Kids that came from Africa into Israel, they have tremendous changes to undergo. It's very much like our Hispanic kids here or the Black kids here.

And they try, just like they do here so often, they try to impress Western standards on third-world cultures. And you can't do that. And

kids don't learn that way. They have to learn it their own way.

She was setting up this whole school in this whole manner. And, again, politics can be so nasty. She was getting just a little too powerful, and the University, some of the people at the University did not quite an agree with her, and just wouldn't give any money anymore. So that project fell through, which is a shame, because it was a beautiful project. And it would have worked very well. But, like anything else, it needed money. And they wanted money for their things more than for this.

But now she's still -- she got early retirement from the University of Amsterdam, but she is still connected with the University because those kids that she started out with in the University are still coming to her for their dissertation in their Doctor's degrees. So she goes once a year over to Amsterdam and prepares those kids for their degree. So, she is still working on that.

And then she is very active in the peace movement in Israel. She works on that, as well. So she's getting into it a little more. And she's financially independent because of her pension.

Q I SEE.

A But it never hurts to make just a little more that way. So, and also just wanting to be needed.

Q YES.

A She has that feeling. She's had a very hard life. I mean with her intelligence, knowing who she is, and what she was able to do physically, it has always very much been a very big bone of contention, of course. But she is fantastic person.

Q SOUNDS VERY COURAGEOUS.

A Yeah, she is.

Q HOW WAS YOUR FATHER ABLE TO SUPPORT HER IN SWITZERLAND THROUGH THE WAR?

A The Red Cross did. We had nothing to do with it. It was really a wonderful way that they were able to do that. The Red Cross does do some good things. I mean, they may have a bureaucracy that interferes every once in awhile, but that was great, because they couldn't do anything. Of course, there was no contact. For years, we had no contact. This was since the war started. Well, a little bit through the Red Cross, you could correspond. But for the time they were in hiding, for instance, that was a year and a half we had no idea what was going on. It was very hard for my parents. That is why my mother couldn't wait to go over there to pick her up.

Q ANYWAY, YOU WERE TALKING ABOUT THOSE 7TH AND 8TH GRADES, BACK IN THOSE YEARS. AND YOU MIGHT CONTINUE ON FROM THERE. YOU SAID YOU ALREADY MET THIS YOUNG MAN WHO WAS EVENTUALLY TO BE YOUR HUSBAND,

SOMEONE WALKING YOU HOME?

A Uh huh.

Q SO DO YOU HAVE ANY MORE RECOLLECTIONS OF THE POLITICAL CLIMATE DURING THOSE YEARS?

A Not very much. It was getting worse all the time. And one of the things that was very hard on us was that slowly but surely many Jewish people were disappearing. They were either picked up by the Germans or they were going in hiding.

So, every day, when we came to school, we were wondering -- every day almost our classroom shrank. when we started out, I think it was about 30 kids in the classroom. And, eventually, by the time we started 9th grade there was three of us left. And the rest had all gone, either were picked up, or were in hiding. and that was pretty scary.

Now, like, for instance, I can remember one instance, one of the girls came back to school. And it's an interesting sort of situation, because we, as kids, were urged to do our homework, and not to worry about what what was going on. We had to learn no matter what happened. And the teachers were very strict about that. And there was no concessions made. And one girl came to school one morning, and hadn't done her homework. The teacher says, "How come?" "Well, my brother was picked up last night." "Well, that should be no excuse for you

not to do your homework."

You know, that kind. I mean, this man was obviously insensitive, and the kid started crying, and we all booed him. But, you know, things like that, that make you think that teachers were trying to keep it, to keep cool, as cool as possible, and to try and keep the spirits up of everybody. You know, they went a little too far once in a while.

Q YOU MUST HAVE BEEN VERY SCARED BY THE TIME YOU WERE ONLY THREE LEFT.

A Well, at that point, it was sort of a challenge to see how long you could stay. But what really happened was, of course, there was a summer vacation. And then, after the vacation, we went back to school. But there was no school anymore, really. We just went to a couple of teachers' homes for lessons. And just the three of us.

Then, on the 29th of September, which was right around Yom Kippur, either the day before or day after, right around that time, that was the biggest (ratya,) biggest raid in Amsterdam. And whoever hadn't been picked up by then, was picked up at this point.

Now, my father -- again, these Germans are so crazy. I mean, they have very strange ideas, that, you know, on the one hand, they wanted to kill all the Jews; on the other hand, they wanted to

be fair, you know.

So one of the things was that my father was the only mohel in Amsterdam. That means the only person who would circumsize babies. And because Jewish people circumsized their babies, the Germans realized, okay, you have to have somebody to do that. So, as long as we had babies here, we ought to have somebody. When we kill all the babies, then the guy can go, too. Sort of. They didn't say it, but that's what it came to.

So my father's brother was a Rabbi who pleaded with the Germans to give my father extensions. People could get exceptions. It was a real funny thing. You could get favors, and certain people -- they played favorites with certain people. And if you gave them money, then you could get a stamp in your card that said you couldn't be picked up for the next three months, or something like that. It was amazing. You know, money did a lot of -- diamonds, money, certain services. So my father got his stay delayed because he was the only mohel.

Q HE DIDN'T HAVE TO PAY FOR THIS?

A No. No, no, no, no, no. No, he just got a stamp in his book that he could stay. So that is one of the reasons any time there was a raid, he was out there trying to help people. And as many as he could, he would save by saying, "Fake gallbladder attack;

Fake this; You're very sick; You can't go; You're having a heart attack." So these people go back home, as many as he could, he would do that with. While he was on one of these things, one time -- I think it was the 29th of September, I think -- 12 (gruna) police came into our house. My mother was there. My sister and I, my grandmother.

And they came in, picking us up. My mother said, "no way am I going anyplace." I mean, mothers in those days were like, in a way, like animals protecting their young. You had to kill them if you wanted to get to the kids. I mean, no way did they let their kids go.

That's why I'm still amazed that she gave us the choice of going on that boat. And it was partly because some of her doctor friends told her, "Look, you have to do this for the children. If you don't want to go, you should let the kids go on that boat." That's why she asked me. And maybe I noticed in her voice that she really didn't want us to go, but she wanted to give us the opportunity. No way were we going. But now, you know, this registers that was amazing that she would even do that.

But so these 12 people, with drawn bayonets, came into the house. And we had just been recuperating from chicken pox. My sister still had it, her face and everything was full of these

blisters, and everything. She was still sick. I had been recuperating. I still had the marks, but it was okay.

And so she said, "I can't go. My children are sick." And she spoke German, and she said that we had smallpox, and we couldn't go anywhere. And she said, "You better be careful because it's very catching. You may catch that, and it can kill people. And my children aren't going anywhere."

"Oh, yes, they are." They stormed up, 12 of them, up to the bedroom where my sister was in bed trembling because we didn't -- all these people with these drawn bayonets coming into the house.

Q REALLY.

A And somehow my mother -- later on she says, "I don't know where I got the strength, but I wasn't going to let these --" well, I won't say the word -- "take my children anywhere. I wasn't going to."

So, they came upstairs. And my sister was trembling in bed, sweating because she was so scared, and all flushed. And they could see. My mother said, "If you want to go close to that, you're going to get smallpox. You better watch out."

I was so scared, I already started, "Let's go, mom." I didn't want these people to kill any of us. And she said, "Get out of here. We're not

going anyplace." And so she pulled the blankets out of my hand, and covered up my sister again.

And, eventually, the Captain in charge, or whatever, said, "All right. Let's get out of here." He didn't want to get smallpox. She also told him at that time, "Don't you have children at home? You must have children at home. You wouldn't want them to go anywhere when they were sick like this. You can't do that. Just wrap them in a blanket. I'm not wrapping nobody in no blanket. Just think of your own kids at home. You wouldn't do that to them."

So, finally, the Captain came and said, "All right. Let's get out of here." And on their way back down the stairs, they took every -- we had some little pictures on the wall, little antique pictures of prayer scrolls and things like that. They were along the stairway. They picked the pictures and threw them down. "Goddamn Jews," they said as they walked out. But they all left, 12 of them.

Q THEY WERE ALL GERMAN?

A German police. And then they were gone.

Then my mother collapsed. She sat down. She really started realizing what had happened. Then she realized my grandmother was gone, because she was still in the house, and she wasn't there. And she said, "Oh, my God, they took her."

But what happened, my grandmother had gotten so scared when all the Germans came, she went out the door. She eventually came to the plaza where they were collecting people. My father spotted her. "Go fake a gallbladder attack." My grandmother was great at that. She always had gallbladder attacks. Whether they were real or not, I'll never know. "You are sick. You must go back."

So, they took to her to the hospital. So she got out all right. Because my mother first saved her kids, and now her mother was gone.

Q WHAT LUCK FOR YOUR FATHER TO BE THERE.

A Yeah, yeah. But he was so upset when he came home. At least he found his family. But all his family had been carted off. He saw his brothers and his nephews and nieces, and, you know, the whole family, being carted off.

Q Do you know where people were going?

A Yeah, they were going to (Westerbrook) which was the camp up north near the border, where they were then put on the train to go to --

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Also, in the next six weeks -- three weeks actually, from the 29th of September until the 13th of October -- all we did all day was cook and bake to send packages to the people in the camp. That was all we could do: Fishcakes. I made more fishcakes in those two weeks than I ever made in my life.

Somehow, you could make them easily, potatoes and fish and eggs. And it was nutritious. And we made hundreds and hundreds of fishcakes. Packed them up and sent them off. And sent them bread and sent them whatever we could. I don't even know what it was, canned stuff, you know, canned salmon, tuna. Protein, and things like that.

They seemed to have gotten many of these packages, amazingly enough. You know what I mean: Germans are so crazy. Something comes, a package for somebody, you give it to somebody. It belongs to them. That's the law. You could gas them. That is okay. But before they are gassed, you have to give them the packages that belong to them. I mean it's hard to understand that kind of mentality. But it was there, obviously.

So that was every once in awhile we had to do some vacuum cleaning, because we didn't do any cleaning anymore, and the house started to get overrun with fleas. And so then I was sent to do

some vacuum cleaning in-between making fishcakes and being sent to the post office to mail them.

So then, eventually, on the 13th of October, that morning, the bell rings at 7:00 o'clock in the morning. The person where we had brought our carpets and stuff, he had stored that in a warehouse in his garage. That was discovered, and somehow our name was mentioned. And the man came to us and said, "You better get out of here, because your name has been mentioned. They're going to come after you."

So my father was still so upset having seen his whole family go, that he was at a point where, "I don't give a damn anymore. Let's just go." My mother said, "No way. We ain't going no place but in hiding." So she orchestrated this whole thing.

We had already, ahead of time, made connections in case something would happen. So that doctor with whom my father fought in (Impenburg) was contacted, because he was going to take me. And then some other people were going to take my little sister. My parents were going to go someplace, because that seemed to be the logical way to do it: To separate everybody. My grandmother was going to be somewhere else.

Those people all hiding together like a family, like Anne Frank, invariably they were

caught. You don't do that. You couldn't live with a whole family somewhere and not be detected sooner or later. But as a single person, or even a couple, it was a lot easier to get by. So these arrangements had been made ahead of time, if anything ever happens, we had a young Jewish woman who had falsified papers and came through as non-Jewish. I think maybe she wasn't quite -- she had maybe some non-Jewish -- maybe she had a non-Jewish mother. She was really half-Jewish. I don't remember, anyhow. Anne Van Damme was her name. Van Damme is right, Anna Van Damme, i think.

She was the one who first -- we were told at 7:00 o'clock in the morning. I remember I was in the bathtub. My mother said, "Get out of there. Get dressed. Put on as many clothes as you can on top of each other. Put other clothes in your school bag for you and your little sister, and you both get out of here. And you go to the left, and you go to that address on that particular street."

And she and my father went somewhere else. She sent my grandmother someplace else. And so I remember getting dressed, putting clothes on. I never have been so warm in my life. And we had these school bags that were pretty good size leather bags, where you put your stuff in. And so my sister and I each had a bag like that.

And I remember putting in a couple

of little things that we wanted to keep, you know. I had gotten a little wooden, it was a piggy bank, and it had a little doggie on it. Then there was a little stick that was attached to the doggie's necklace that would go into the box, and that would lock the piggy bank. I mean, it was just this little thing. In fact, I found it the other day. It was somewhere in -- one of my kids had it. It's still in the family.

Anyhow, a couple little things. And the day before had been my birthday. I took along a couple of things. But you couldn't take much, because the most important thing was clothes and shoes.

Q IS THIS ADDRESS INSIDE THE GHETTO, THAT YOU WERE GOING TO?

A Yes, but non-Jewish people. So my sister and I, trembling, we left the house. We did as if nothing was unusual, as if we were going to go to school 7:30 in the morning. Then my father realized he had left some important papers sitting on the mantlepiece, and he sent the person who had called us to get out of there.

He told him, "If you can go in there and get that piece of paper, this is important." I forget what it was exactly, but it was a piece of paper he needed. And that man went back five minutes

later to try to get that piece of paper. And at that moment, the Gestapo was at the door. So we got out of there just in time.

Q WHAT A MIRACLE.

a So, of course, he couldn't go in to get the piece of paper. He went just by as if he was walking on the street. So we got out of there. And then, from that one address where we were told to go, this woman came and picked us up, and she brought my sister to one place in (Brisom), which is a little -- (Brisom,) (Hilversom) and i also was sent there at -- we were at first together for six weeks. I was in a home temporarily until there was a place to go to a more permanent address.

q This is in the ghetto?

A No. This was in (Hilversom), in another town in one of the suburbs. My parents went to (Brisom), another little town. My grandmother went someplace else. We did not know where the others were, because if you were ever caught and you didn't know, you couldn't tell. So we weren't told any of that.

Even my parents didn't know exactly where we were. They knew the address, of course, of the person that was the go-between, but they didn't know where I was, where my sister was, where my grandmother was.

Q HOW DID THEY MANAGE TO FIND OUT PEOPLE WHO

WOULD BE WILLING TO HIDE YOU?

A Well, there was a very strong underground, and my father knew a lot of people, being very well known in town. Now, like this man where he stored his stuff, and the woman whom we had contacted about, you know, finding places to go into hiding, I mean it all worked together somehow. And so that is how we found places.

Q DID YOU HAVE TO HAVE MONEY TO PAY FOR YOURSELVES TO GO INTO HIDING?

A Actually, I don't think we did. I guess my parents paid for being together to this one woman where they stayed. But the family where my little sister was, was a very religious christian family who did this because that was the moral thing to do. You didn't want these people to be killed. And if you could hide a child from being killed, then you did that. That was moral.

I mean, there were some really beautiful people that wouldn't be -- they would spit in your eye if you offered to pay them. So they took in my sister, who was then ten years old. Yeah, I think she was ten years old. Not even. Nine.

Q What was that sister's name?

A Rosette. So, she came into this family. We all had falsified papers, and we all had a false history we had to remember, how we got there. She was

supposed to be the child orphan of parents who had been bombed out during the (Rotterdam) raid. And they did that. A lot of people had (Rotterdam) papers, because that whole civic center was bombed, and they had no more papers from anybody. I mean, that was really bombed out. That was true. It was bombed. That whole, what would you call that?

Q REGISTRY.

A All that stuff. So, I mean, it's easy to say "I come from (ROTTERDAM,) and that's all I have is this identification paper." They were, of course, falsified identification papers, because the real paper had a "J" on it for "Jew." And that was very cleverly removed. So we had falsified papers.

And my name wasn't Dina Angress. It was (Dinika Peters.) I came from (Rotterdam.) That was the address I had to remember -- my sister, too, came from Rotterdam, and had a different name, too. But she was then taken in as a foster child in that family, who had three other children. And she stayed indoors most of the time in the beginning. But, later on, she just was -- even the neighbors thought should was a refugee from Rotterdam.

And my grandmother was a very difficult person. She went through 17 different homes. Everybody kicked her out. She couldn't stay there. She was too demanding: She was cold; she

wanted this, and she wanted that. She made too much noise. They told her to shut up. She knew she can get away if she made noise. So she was a very difficult lady. And so she went through 17 homes. I mean, that was hard for her, too. She was over 70. But still, she was not an easy person to be with. So, yeah, she was well over 70, 75. But very spry, and knew how to walk places.

She would take off somewhere in the evening when she wasn't supposed to. People were exasperated. They almost had her caught to be rid of her. But they didn't. I mean, there were so many decent people.

My parents were with a couple. At first, they were with one woman, a widow. And they were all from the very religious Christian communities. And eventually they had to leave there, because I guess there was some friction between my mother and the woman. My mother was a meticulous housekeeper. She couldn't stand it to see somebody use the dishrag to clean the toilet seat. She could not stand that. So it just didn't work. (Laughter.)

So then they had to go to another place. I think they went to -- they were at this other place. They were friends. That was such a good relationship. They still are in touch. That was a widow, too. Actually, she wasn't a widow then. It

was a family. And they had a son. And I think my father is still in contact with that son and his family.

Q DO YOU REMEMBER THE NAMES OF ANY OF THE PEOPLE THAT TOOK YOU AND YOUR FAMILY IN?

A I could get it, but I don't know offhand. I mean, of course I know the people I was with, but the other people, I could get the names, but they don't come to my mind right now.

Q DID YOUR PARENTS HAVE TO STAY INDOORS?

A My parents had to stay indoors. They would go out like in the wintertime, just before it got dark. They would walk around the block to get some fresh air. But they stayed in. They actually stayed hidden.

Q Were they able to wander the house?

A Oh, yeah, yeah. I mean, they had their own bedroom. And they helped in the household. My father was very handy fixing. And they would read a lot. Well, they were intellectual people. They would do that.

And then my little sister, too, was able to play in a big yard, a big garden. So she had a pretty good time. She was very much loved. I might get to the names as I talk, but right now they don't come to me.

Q HOW ABOUT YOU?

A This doctor that I was talking about was supposed to the take me, but I think he got wet feet, either he or his wife or both. And they kept procrastinating and stalling. I was for six weeks in a temporary place.

And I remember, just before we got picked up, one of the other things that -- one of the ways in which we were able to get a stay of execution, so to speak, was because at one time my father got it taken care of that I was supposed to have polio. And I had to go to the hospital and had a punction (sic) taken, you know, out of your --

Q LUMBAR PUNCTURE?

A Yeah. So, to test. And then, luckily, the laboratory people were underground people, too. And they said, "Yes, this girl is positively identified as having polio." So then I was supposed to be six weeks flat on my back. And I supposedly had this polio.

I think that was the piece of paper they had forgotten to take along saying that I had polio. And that, taking that puncture, that punction, I was supposed to stay on my back, because it takes a while before your body readjusts to that. But I had no chance, because very soon after we had to go to get up and do this (speal) of hiding.

And so I had for six weeks severe headaches in that temporary home. And it was later

on, looking back, I know it was mainly psychological.

But you didn't know. I just had these horrible headaches, combined with my back, because it probably had something to do with it. But it was pressure, more psychological than physical.

Q UNDERSTANDABLE.

A Yeah, sure. But not to a 15 year old, who doesn't know beans. So I just had headaches. I didn't feel good. But I remember being in this home. it was a young family, and they had four kids. And I would help around a little bit, making sandwiches and things.

I remember funny things. I don't know why you remember funny things like that, uninteresting, unimportant things. But those people didn't have much to eat. Food was rationed, and so you had to get every crumb out of everything. And everything you could get out of everything. So I remember making peanut butter sandwiches and scraping the jam out of the jam pot until it was so clean it looked like it was licked clean. And I remember scraping every little bit of jam out of that pot. Why I remember that, I don't know. But I do.

Anyway, so I was there for six weeks. And this man kept procrastinating. And finally a friend of this doctor, who also was a

doctor, said, "Well, all right. She can take stay with us for a little while until you make up your mind."

Supposedly, it wasn't like that. It was supposedly that the woman wasn't feeling well, and that is why they couldn't have me yet. So I never got to that place. I mean, they never could get up the courage to do it. But his friend took me in.

q DO YOU REMEMBER THE NAME OF THE FAMILY YOU WERE WITH SIX WEEKS?

A No. No, idea. I wasn't even told, because we were kept away from people as much as possible. I mean, from names as much as possible, so that if we were picked up, we wouldn't be able to have any information. It was well organized.

Q I SEE. SO EVEN BEING IN THEIR HOME, YOU STILL HAD NO SENSE OF WHO THE FAMILY WAS?

A No. No. Because -- Well, I didn't feel well. I was very upset. You don't start to analyze -- I mean, I didn't. No, I was too unaware. I was a very unaware youngster. I just didn't really know much of what was going on. I knew there was a war going on, and Hitler was trying to kill the Jews. That's why we had to go and hide. That's about the extent of my knowledge, even though I was an intellectually very bright, intelligent person, as far as that goes. That's about where it stood for me.

Q MUST HAVE BEEN DIFFICULT TO SEPARATE FROM YOUR FAMILY BESIDES?

A Yeah, it was. It was. And there was an incident, for instance, again, where we were picked up. We had been picked up several times, and then been released.

This one time, when my uncle spoke for my father, we had been picked up then. And my parents were in one building, which was an old Jewish -- old theater building that was converted as a catch-all for Jews. Jews that were caught. And across the street was a children's home that had been converted for the children to wait until -- when the parents went on transport, then the children were called. And they would all be together.

Well, the day came of the transport, and almost all the kids were called except my sister and I. We were never called. I didn't want to stay alone in that house and think my parents were going to go to transport, and I wasn't going with them. I didn't care if it was going someplace bad, as long as I had my parents with me.

So, eventually, I took my sister by the hand. We were the last ones to leave that place. We just crossed the street, and we were going to go into this truck, thinking that is where my parents were, too. My mother was standing in the doorway of

that theater and saw us coming, and yelled out to us, "Come here, come here, come here." We had already one foot on that truck, and then I saw my mother there.

I yanked my sister by the hand again. We ran across over there. And, what had happened, they had been exempted from going on the truck because of this crazy thing my father had to be there to be able to circumsize the little boys. I mean, it's weird, but that's how it was. So that is how we got out of there. But, again, I would rather have gone with my parents to a concentration camp than been alone without them.

Q WERE THOSE TRANSPORTS GOING TO (WESTERBROOK)?

A Yeah.

Q AND DID YOU KNOW BY THEN MANY WERE LEAVING TO GO TO AUSCHWITZ?

A Well, we knew they were going to leave from there to Germany or Poland or something. But I personally didn't know that people -- I mean people were going to be killed. But how, or anything like that, I don't think I knew anything about that.

Q BUT YOU DID KNOW THEY WERE BEING KILLED?

A Well, I just thought they died. I didn't know. I mean there is a difference, you know, of being killed and dying.

Q RIGHT. RIGHT.

A So I just thought they had hard labor and not

much food, and that is how they died. I think. I'm not quite sure what I thought, but it wasn't much.

Q DO YOU RECALL WAS THERE A JEWISH GOVERNING BODY IN THE GHETTO, LIKE THE (JUDENRAT)?

A Yes. That's why I mentioned before my ex-brother-in-law was involved in that. That is his big drama. That is why it might be interesting to talk to him.

q WERE THEY PROTECTIVE OF JEWS?

A It was very hard to say. In a way, you thought they were the go-between between the Germans and us, so they -- and, in some way, they were the ones that would get the stamps for the people to stay longer.

But it was an elite choice, that people with money could get the stamps, and people who were the ones to circumsize the babies could get the stamps. It was very arbitrary, and so you should have -- looking back, you would have thought that people wouldn't want to be involved in that, because it was sort of, in a way, you were playing God, to say who would go and who wouldn't go. But your own life was being saved. So who am I to criticize that?

Q EXACTLY.

A Because my brother-in-law was in there, his brother and my mother were safe, see? And so they got away from a lot of raids because of that. Because her

son was there, she and her other son were saved. And the other son had happened to become my husband eventually. So, who am I to judge? Who is anybody to?

Q EXACTLY.

A You do what you have to do when you have to do it. And ask questions later. And then get your feelings straightened out later, because you can't do it at this point.

Q WERE YOU WITNESS TO ANY ACTS OF BRUTALITY?

A No, never. Never. To this day, I still have to see a person die. And I have been in all kinds -- you know, I have been a social worker for many years. But somehow or other, I seem to stay away from -- knowingly or unknowingly -- from things that are upsetting, or whatever.

Q WERE YOU AFRAID TO MOVE IN AND OUT OF THE GHETTO? WAS IT FENCED IN? DID YOU HAVE TO HAVE --

A No, it wasn't fenced in. But you knew exactly where you're supposed to stay. You were not supposed to go out there. You would be picked up if you were seen with the star anywhere you weren't supposed to be. No, I don't think it was fenced in. There were boundaries that you knew of, so you stayed within them.

Q I SEE, BECAUSE THERE WAS OBVIOUSLY POLICE.

--

A Oh, yeah. Oh, yeah.

Q AND WERE NON-JEWS STILL LIVING IN THE GHETTO, TOO?

A Oh, yeah. Oh, yeah. They had their home there, so they stayed there. Some of them would move out to other homes. I'm not sure really how that worked. I really don't know how that worked.

Q BY THE TIME THAT THE RATIONS CAME IN, WERE YOU HAVING DIFFICULTY GETTING FOOD OR ANY OTHER NECESSITY?

A Personally, no. I think we always had enough food. My folks always had enough food there. Especially as a doctor, again, you're a respected person in the community. So everybody always gives you all kinds of stuff.

I never wanted anything. I never was In want of anything. during the war, once I was with this family, I was with this other doctor's family, a young family, n-a-u-t-a. He was (frezian.) His first name was J-e-l-l-e -- no, that is not true. W-a-l-l-e. She was Ellie, E-l-l-I-e. They had a little baby 7 months old when I got there, T-j-a-l-d-a.

And I was supposed to be the help in the household. That was my function. If anybody would ask me, I was the maid helping. And I was 15 years old. I had my own little room up in the attic.

And they were scared, because it was a scary thing to do. You put your whole family in jeopardy. And this doctor decided he was going to do this. His wife wasn't too sure, but she eventually agreed. And they were wonderful to me, and treated me as an older daughter, even though they were only ten years older than I was. Just about ten years older. I think she was nine years older, and he was 12 years older than I was.

And so that is what I did. I helped in the household, you know, helped mop the floors. She taught me everything. Most everything I know about households and about whatever, I learned from her, because I didn't know anything. I mean, I went to school. And I was supposed to study. And, like I said, I learned how to vacuum clean. I learned how to cut a vegtable and peel potatoes. That was about the extent of my knowledge. I knew how to boil water to make tea. That was about it.

So I learned from her how to cook, how to sew, and just like because she had to do it. Anyhow, I watched what she was doing. I learned the facts of life from her, because I didn't know those when I was 15 years old. I had no idea what was going on. I didn't know where babies came from.

q SEX?

A All that kind of stuff. But she never told

me outright. It was like her telling a story about what happened to her, and when she had the baby, and stuff like that. I just sat there with my mouth open. I didn't let on that I didn't know this stuff yet, because I figured I should know this. But I really didn't. And I was 15 years old.

So, somehow or other, I got all this information. She got -- I don't know -- she sensed that I was a very ignorent little girl. But she never -- she asked me sometimes outright, she would ask me some questions: Do you know this? "Oh, yeah, yeah, I know everything, of course," but I didn't know beans.

So, through her talking and telling me about -- it was nice for her to have me there, because her husband was gone all day. He worked in a laboratory as a doctor. He was a research man, and he was sort of a quiet person. And she wasn't all that exuberant, either.

But it was nice for her, I imagine, to have a young woman around the house that she could talk to. Because babies all day long, often you want some -- and you couldn't go anyplace. I mean, after all, it was wartime. You didn't go around very much. I mean, you went out to do your shopping, and things.

So, she just sat there and talked to me and told me about all kinds of stuff. I got an

education there, I'm telling you, that year and a half. I became world-wise. I learned about a lot of things I didn't know.

Q YOU HAD TO STAY IN THE HOUSE?

A Actually, no. I don't look that particularly Jewish, and so eventually I just -- you know, a nice thing was they had a big dog -- actually, it was a dog of the landlady who lived downstairs. And we were upstairs.

They had very small quarters. I mean, it was really -- they sacrificed a lot of their privacy taking me in, because they had a big living room-dining room, and then the other room, which was sort of like a two-room suite with a door in-between.

The other room was their bedroom, but it was also -- it was opened in the daytime. It was a bed that folded into the wall. So that was their living quarters. And then they had a little bathroom-kitchen combination. and I had a little room upstairs for me that I think they had to rent. I'm not quite sure how that worked exactly.

So, they had this big dog of the landlady. And I would walk that dog at night. It was a huge Bouvier. You know what a Bouvier was? It's a big black dog with hair all over Its face and back that went, "woof, woof," really mean. You saw this dog, you stayed away.

So I had this dog on a leash. And everybody went in a big circle around me. I was very safe when I walked this dog. An interesting thing was across the street from where I was staying, it was in (Utrecht) downtown, about 25 from Amsterdam south, another university town, and -- God, look at that rain. Boy, it's coming down in buckets.

Well, anyway, I walked this dog at night. And across the street from where I was staying there were barracks where German soldiers stayed. Now the only German soldiers left at that time were the old folks that couldn't be at the front. And they had to have an occupation in Holland, so these old guys stayed there. They were sort of harmless.

But, on the other hand, they were Germans, and they wore uniforms, and they talked German. They scared the hell out of me, because I didn't know the difference between one and another. But I had this big dog. I went for a walk through this big park which was adjacent to these barracks. I never had any fear of anybody, because everybody went in a big circle around this dog.

And, then, eventually, after I had been out for awhile during the night doing that, they sent me to get shopping done on the bike. And nobody looked at me. I mean, that was just like anybody else. And even you know in those days, the people

that came to -- everybody came to the door. You didn't go shopping at the supermarket. They didn't have that. The baker came everyday and the milkman, and the vegetable man came a couple times a week. And even the person that picked up the vegetable peelings. You know, like they really recycled stuff maybe way before anybody else did here, peelings of potatoes and vegetables kept separately. And they brought that -- somebody picked it up for animals somewhere. There was never anything wasted. Dutch people are very -- how do you call that?

Q Frugal?

A Frugal, yeah. They are. So, all these people came to the door. I always met them. After the war, "We didn't know this girl was Jewish. We thought she was the help in the household." So I never had any problem.

I did have a hiding place, just in case, that was between the floor and the ceiling, between the joists. They would take up a few boards out, and then they would straighten it out. There was a blanket in there. And if anything happened, I was supposed to go for that spot. They would put the boards over and a carpet. You didn't know anybody was there unless you had police hounds, which they didn't necessarily use.

Q DID YOU EVER HAVE TO USE IT?

A I used it once, I think. And it was sort of scary, but it was a false alarm, because it just turned out to be somebody they knew, but after the 8:00 o'clock curfew.

So, if the bell rang after 8:00 o'clock, then you knew something was wrong: Who could this be now? It just happened that another woman who lived in the house, a friend, she had a room upstairs somewhere, she had befriended one of the Germans who was what would you call a "good German." You know, he was in there, and he couldn't officially get out of there, because if they catch him, he would be fusilated(sic), he would be killed.

He was on duty there as -- I don't know whether he was secret police or what he was, but he was German. I didn't know. I had no idea. I thought it was a boyfriend of this lady. But I didn't know who he was, or anything. But everybody else knew. And after the war he had trouble, he was in trouble because everybody thought he was a German.

They would have killed -- the Dutch people would have killed him. He needed people like the Nautas to defend him and say this was a good man he was all right. But he had a hard time getting back to Germany, and all that. It was hard for him. But, anyhow, he was this person that came in after 8:00 o'clock. He didn't know that I was hiding in that

little space.

Q DID YOU HAVE ANY FUN?

A Absolutely. Absolutely. I mean, that was one of the nice things: These people had a great sense of humor. They never lost it. I would go, for instance, with this man, this doctor, we would go to the farmers to get some food, because apparently it was hard -- I didn't know it was hard to get.

I mean, I knew it was hard to get food, but there was always enough, because I overate. When you think you don't get enough, you eat more than you really -- it was all this filling stuff, like potatoes and sugar beets and cabbage, and that kind of stuff, of which there still was something available.

So we would go to the farmers, which wasn't very far from (Utrecht) in an agricultural area on the bike with wooden tires, because the rubber had long since worn out. After the rubber tires wore out, we had wooden tires on the cobble stones. I mean, it was interesting. (Laughter.)

So we would go on these trecks. It was about ten kilometers out of town, you were at farms. And we would get potatoes there and sometimes butter. And what we traded was -- Ellie, the woman and I -- had learned how to spin, how to spin wool. And then I used to crochet mittens out of that wool.

I made more sets of mittens, I can't remember -- I don't even know how to do it anymore. Because it was a certain kind of stitch we used. And we used thick wool. It took me about an evening to make a set like that. I made lots of them. I'd take those mittens, we would trade them for potatoes and butter or cheese and stuff like that.

One time, I remember they didn't even have potatoes anymore, so we got apples. We brought apples home. He was unhappy because he wanted potatoes. I said, "You know, apples are good." I remember that now -- he always he tells me now, later, when I still meet him -- "You're the most optimistic person that we ever met," because I was always finding something that was all right.

And I would say, "Apples are delicious. Let's take the apples home." And then they would laugh about that, because I would think apples were okay. But they didn't have the nourishment, of course, that potatoes had.

We would take the big bag of apples on the back of the bike, and had to tie it on. Falls down. You had to stop and tie it back up again. Anyhow, he was usually quite discouraged, and he was tired, and it was a long trip. And he didn't always get what he wanted to get. Then he would be grouchy.

I would somehow get him back into

good spirits. Maybe -- I don't know. I didn't realize that I had an influence on him like that. He just told me that later. And, thinking back, I remember that for my birthdays I always got a lot of gift certificates to bookstores. And I frequented lots of bookstores, secondhand and other bookstores. My money I had went to books. Mainly, you know, girls' books, girl romances. but I remember some books very distinctly. This was before the war. One was about Pollyanna. You have heard the story?

Q YES.

A I loved that book. I think I read it three times. And maybe that made some influence on me, because Pollyanna could always see something good. It was such a sad story. I loved those sad stories. It ended when she dies, or something. I don't remember. That was one of my favorite books and favorite stories.

So maybe it has something to do with that. But, you know, I always have been, and still am, an optimistic person. I mean, I try to find the good part about it.

Q IT'S A GREAT QUALITY.

A Well, it's a survivor's quality, I guess, you know. One of the worst times in my life was the divorce that I have been through. And I guess, just thinking about, well, you know, maybe there is a good

side to it somehow got me through, I guess.

Q YOU DID HAVE SOME FUN DURING THIS PERIOD, EVEN THOUGH IT WAS DIFFICULT?

A It was interesting, because you learned so much. As a Jewish girl, being brought up in a Jewish school, I always only heard the Jewish side of anything and everything.

And so one of the things that they would talk about -- I never had really seen much of any kind of art that, you know, the beautiful art pictures that are made, christian religious, and there are beautiful paintings by Rembrandt and whoever.

There was never put any emphasis on that kind of painting. I mean, we would be made aware of the paintings by Rembrandt of the Night Watch and the Jewish Bride and things like that. But other than that, these other paintings you didn't worry about that, because that was not Jewish.

So I got a big education in Art History, which I had never had. I had learned about Ancient History, but never that kind of History.

And then there was a time when somehow or other I heard people, I heard them talk about the fact it somehow seemed to get to me that the Jews had killed Jesus. I said, "That is not true. It's the Romans that did it. The Jews didn't do that." I was terribly upset. And, in that time -- it

was towards the end of the summer of the war -- and I was already able to write my father. I had by that time gotten the address. I mean, the worst fear had died down, and most of the Gestapo was sort of out of the picture.

Q HOW LONG HAD IT BEEN?

A It was for awhile. Well, I heard indirectly we would get a message indirectly. But eventually it got to the point towards the end of the war where I could even go and visit. I could pick up my little sister, take her and visit them.

So I wrote my father, I said, "Look what is this? Who killed jesus? Was it the Jews or the Romans?" And I never got a straight answer from him. I mean, he wrote me a letter back. I could never figure it out from that. I got very disgusted with this whole business of religion. That is really when I started becoming less religious. I mean, I figured, "This is all a bunch of bullshit, and I don't want anything to do with it." I became much less religious as time went on, to the chagrin of my family. I'm sort of the black sheep of the family, because everybody else is orthodox.

q SO YOU MAINTAINED THAT LACK OF INTEREST, I GUESS?

A I mean, I always -- culturally, I have always felt culturally very Jewish.

q YES.

A And there is no lack of interest in Judiasm, as such.

q YES.

A And culture of Jews. But to practice Judiasm in a religious manner, I never did that anymore. My husband also was brought up in a very liberal manner. He was never brought up religiously. We celebrated Chanukkah and we celebrated Passover and all the fun things, the parties. And so the kids knew what it was all about. I did not send them to Sunday school. I didn't want them Indoctrinated in things that I felt were not that important. If anybody was going to Indoctrinate them, I would do it.

So, I would read them bible stories and change them around so I liked them. I would tell them that way. The same, I couldn't stand the fairy tales with these bad things in there. I would always have something good. I would change fairy tales around, too. I somehow didn't feel it was necessary to have this -- for instance, the story of Hansel and Gretel: How can parents leave two kids in the woods and leave them there, abandon them? I mean unimaginable to me. I would never tell that story that way. I would always tell they got lost in the woods, and when their father found them, he was so happy. That is not how the story goes.

Q NO, IT ISN'T.

A But I didn't care how it went. It was my version. I couldn't stand telling kids things that they might say, "Would there be parents that do stuff like that?"

Q YOU WERE CREATING YOUR OWN REALITY?

A Right. (Laughter.)

Q SO, ANYWAY, YOU WERE SAYING THAT BY THAT POINT, YOU WERE IN TOUCH WITH YOUR FAMILY. BUT I GUESS YOU MUST HAVE HAD LONG PERIODS WHEN YOU DIDN'T KNOW HOW THEY WERE DOING.

A That's right. That's right. It was stressful, very stressful. But, on the other hand, I had a good life. They were very good to me. I was never hungry. I always, you know, if I ran out of clothes -- because, after all, I was still growing -- then she would find some old things. We would sew them and make them fit. I learned how to sew and be creative about sewing.

I still did some school work. Not much. There was something -- one lady upstairs, who had this German friend, she would help me with my French and Latin. And so I would be studying Latin, something I will never forget about (Perimus and Thisbe), this was a poem in Latin by some famous Latin poet. And that is what I did. I did try to do some -- Math was always hard for me. I never quite

understood it.

Q DID YOU EVER SEE ANY YOUNG PEOPLE?

A Actually, it was interesting, we went one time -- they even tried to do things, go out, and stuff. We went one time to a concert or -- it was a Sunday afternoon, I think. No, it was not a concert. It was a theater production of a one-man show of Charles Dickens. The story was the story of Christmas-- what is it called?

MALE VOICE: A Christmas Carol.

q There you go. And this woman did a fantastic job. She did a one-person story of that. I mean, it was terrific.

When we got there, it turned out to be in the home of a Jewish woman who I knew. She was actually a friend from Holland, actually related back some third, fourth cousin so much removed. And I recognized her. I said, "Hi, how are you?" She said, "Shut up. I'm not supposed to be who I am."

So she and her daughter were in hiding there under a different name, of course. And nobody was supposed to know. But I had already told the people I was in hiding with I knew this person. But then they played dumb, as if they didn't know.

So, somehow or another -- her daughter was about a year older than I, and we got together every once in awhile. We got to be friends

of some sort. But she was much more emotional kind of kid. And when she heard the sirens, she got hysterical, and I had to quiet her down. The Nautas just didn't really want her to come over too much. She was scaring the baby with her hysterical outbursts like that.

As it turned out, her daughter later came over to our house when we were settled in America. She had a teenager. And she came over and stayed with us for a year. And now she lives in Canada. We are still in contact. It was really interesting. But I did not get in contact with many young people.

Walle Nauta had two younger sisters who lived some place else, but came over every once in awhile. And one of them lived with them for a short while. But they were, again, older than I was. I didn't communicate very much. I wasn't a very outgoing person, certainly not somebody who would confide in anybody at all.

Q I WAS REMEMBERING BEFORE YOU BEGAN YOU MENTIONED YOU WERE IN THE SAME SCHOOL WITH ANNE FRANK.

A Uh huh.

Q CAN YOU TALK A LITTLE BIT ABOUT THAT.

A Anne Frank was a year younger than I was, so she was in seventh grade when I was in eighth grade. And we did play vollyball together. That's how I knew

her. She was a pretty good vollyball player, and I knew her as such.

But, you know, an eighth grader really doesn't concern herself with seventh graders. I mean, you're an eighth grader, after all. But there was some of it there. And we talked to each other In the halls, and stuff like that, about the games.

And later on, when I read her book, of course it was of special interest, because I knew this woman. And everybody made such a fuss about -- I thought, why make such a fuss, you know? she's going on. So, she wrote it down; I didn't. What is the difference? I could never understand why they made such a fuss.

"Well, it's such literary stuff." I can write like that. How can they make such a fuss about that? When I saw the play the first time, I was disappointed because the way they portrayed the girl was not the way I knew her. And later on I realized what happened. See, this girl was very shy in school. She never said much. She played vollyball, and she was a rather quiet girl.

But, apparently, when at home, she was very bubbly and exuberent. And she was her father's little darling and angel. And the father was the one who directed this play, who said how this girl should be personified. And so this girl was portrayed the

way her father knew her, but not the way her friends knew her.

Q I SEE.

A She was a whole different girl in school. She was not like that. Because in the play -- I have seen several versions of it -- I was always surprised she wasn't all that up and around and naughty. Naughty, never. She was a very good little girl in school. I was the naughty one.

Q THERE MUST HAVE BEEN A DAY WHEN SHE DIDN'T REAPPEAR IN SCHOOL.

A I didn't notice. She was in another grade. It was mainly our own grade that we looked into. Now, that grade started out with 30 kids, and I think six survived that I know of. Maybe eight. Six that I know of survived. I met some of them. Besides this one woman, I met a couple of others. One of them became a born-again Christian, because she was raised -- and that happened to a lot of people that were raised, because the christian families that were religious were the ones that took in a lot of Jewish people, and really were out to save them.

But then also there were many Christians interested to convert people. So if they could, then they would do that. Because she was raised -- because the Christian family, very religious, were the ones that took in a lot of people,

and really were out to save them. But then it also was in many Christians' interest to convert people. So if they could, then they would do that.

Q SO YOU KNOW OF INSTANCES?

A Yeah, this one girl who was (Dafsy), means "little pidgeon." It's a Jewish name. and (Querido) is one of those Portuguese names from the people who came originally from Portugal to Holland.

Q (QUERIDO.)

A So (Dafsy) was one of the people who converted to christianity and has been very active in Israel in the Jews for Jesus thing, and things like that.

Then there was another girl, who was my -- actually, they were both good friends of mine. But the other girl, her name escapes me. I don't remember. Maybe it will come back later. She came through all right. And she had gone onto school and back to university. And the last time I knew, her she was still in school. I think, I mean, it's 30 years ago, maybe, that I met her again. I haven't seen or heard from her since.

Then there is another man (Yap) Wolf. And we met him -- he lived in New York. I don't know what happened to him now. There was a Peter Sussman. He was from New York. He lived with us for awhile when he moved here. And he was with us

for a little while. And then somehow there was some sort of conflict, and he left. I haven't heard from him since.

The only one that I am still in contact -- a few years ago was the last time -- is this Jack and Ellen (van krayfelt,) and they live in Belmont. He came over before he was married. And it was after we already lived in our place. Somebody knocked on the door, and it was him him.

Now, what happened with him, shortly before he disappeared out of the classroom, he had his hair dyed red. And we thought, "Oh, my God if this guy goes in hiding, he'll certainly be caught," because it was striking, this red-haired guy.

Apparently, what happened was he did go into hiding, and it did seem to have helped him, because he did seem to look less Jewish to other people. To us he looked ridiculous, because we knew him with black hair. But here with this red hair, we said, "Oh, of course he was picked up." Logical. But he survived.

So what happened when he knocked on the door -- this was a few years after we had immigrated to the United States. I opened the door. I thought, "Oh, my god. I thought you were dead." (laughter.) It was the way I greeted him. He says, "Well, I am not sorry, but I'm not." (Laughter.) And

so we became friends again. And then he married a girl who was a friend of the people with whom we shared the farm on which we lived. And so it was -- the world is so small. It's amazing. You meet people all the time.

Q DID YOU EXPERIENCE LIBERATION STAYING WITH THIS COUPLE?

A Yes. That was interesting, too. First, we thought the war was over in June of 1944, with the invasion of France in Normandy. And we thought they were going to come up north and we were going to be freed. We were already celebrating.

And then the whole thing fell through, and they were sent back. And the southern part of Holland was free, but the rest was still occupied, because they couldn't make it. So there was a terrible disappointment for us. Here we thought the war was over, and it wasn't. So when war actually was over, I wouldn't believe it. I said, "Don't tell me any other fairy tales. I don't believe it. It's bullshit. It's not going to be that way." And they said, "No, really, this time it's true." "No, I don't believe you. You celebrate all you want. I don't believe the war is over. It isn't over."

Well, somehow or other, when you saw the troops marching in and you could see the Americans and the Canadians in the jeeps, I finally

had to admit well, I guess it had been over.

q Had you been hearing any news of the war?

A Yeah, because they too had been able to listen, you know, to newscasts from the BBC, which is only way you could get news, of course. And it all had to be done very clandestine and secretly because if they found out you were doing that, that was the end of you. but we did find out what was happening. But I never really cared. I couldn't care less. I was very little politically interested. All I wanted was for the war to be over so I could be back with my parents.

Q YES, YES.

A Or for the rest. Now, my ex-husband, he was very interested. He kept track. They had a map on the wall and little flags pointed exactly where the Russians were and where Germans were and where Allies were. Knew exactly. I couldn't care less.

The first time I got interested in politics was when Truman ran for president in 1948, I had just moved here. I come here in January 1940, and politics, the people that we lived with in the beginning, this man was very politically interested and active and was in the democratic party. But, hey, you know, forget it. I'm not interested. But then what happened was in November of that year, Dewey and Truman ran against each other and everybody said,

"Dewey is going to win." It was already -- time magazine already printed up with a cover of Dewey on the front with his hands up in a victory sign that was printed before.

But, as it happened, we listened to the evening results and Truman started being ahead. And they said, "Oh, that will change when the other ballots come in." And whatever. The ballots that had to be counted later. It will change, it will all change because Dewey Is going to win, of course. Well, Dewey didn't win, and we kept turning on that radio at night. 2:00 o'clock we had gone to bed eventually because well everybody knew Dewey was going to win, and why stay up and listen to this defeat that we didn't want?

So we went kept listening to the radio, and kept saying Truman was ahead. And finally, at 5:00 o'clock in the morning, he had won the election. And it was so exciting, from that day on, I became an active democrat. (Laughter.)

Q BEFORE THEN, WHEN YOU WERE A YOUNG PERSON?

A I couldn't care less. I was interested in nature. I was interested in watching the birds in the trees and going on canoe rides and on bike rides and stuff like that.

Q Did you have any sense of the fate of the Jews in concentration camps?

A I didn't know anything about that. I only heard about that later. Now, that was interesting, when the war was over, I -- even though I had had a wonderful time at this family, I knew this wasn't home. I needed to get out of there, because these people want to have their own family. I mean, by that time another little girl had been born while I was there. And I felt they would never say they wanted to get rid of me, but I knew that I should get out of there and I should find my parents and go back to my own home and start a normal life.

And so that is what I did. And as soon is I could, I went back there. And my parents really would have liked me to stay until they got settled, because they had to start from scratch. Our old house was completely broken down to the bottom. Every stone except for the chimney, everything was broken down, because people needed wood, they needed fuel. And houses that were empty were ransacked, and everybody took what they could.

It was very interesting, because shortly before we went into hiding, you know, we were supposed to hand in all our silverware. Well, nobody ever did that. Maybe some people did, but most people didn't. You are not supposed to have silverware in the house. What a silly thing, come to think of it, asking somebody to hand over your silverware. Many

people did, but we didn't. My ex-husband, we were friends then already, he helped my father hide the silverware in the chimney, the bottom of the chimney and fix it all up again with cement and rocks so that nobody knew it was in there. So, after the war, we went back to that house and they took -- that still was in there.

That silverware had not been found, because they couldn't do anything with bricks. They took off the wood down, with everything, everything that was in the house, furniture and stuff, but that silverware was still in that chimney. And my father and my friend took it out of there.

Q DID YOU EVER RECOVER THE OTHER THINGS THAT YOU HAD HANDED OUT TO FRIENDS?

A I don't remember. Maybe some. Not very much. I don't think so. Ever since then, see my mother she was really a very wise woman. Before the war, she was a very frugal person. And, in fact, she saved nickels before she got married and she had 250 guilders worth of nickels when they got married. That was enough to build a bathroom in the house. Can you imagine 250 guilders for a bathroom?

Q HOW MUCH WOULD THAT BE IN DOLLARS?

A Well, that would probably be a fourth of that at that time, so probably $60. You could build a bathroom for that, because this was an old house and

there were toilets, but there was no bath, because many people used the bath houses, the public bath houses.

So they built this bathroom for 250 guilders. Anyhow, that is besides the point. What happened was that before the war she was always very careful with all the things she had. They had beautiful crystal and china dishes. Expensive stuff. But it was only used for very special occasions and not when the kids were around, because they break everything. So when there were guests and stuff then she would use our crystal and silverware and her china and stuff.

Well, that stuff got stolen or broken. So, after that, she said, "From now on, I'm going to use everything." And I had the same feeling when I got nice things I would use them, because you never know how long you're going to have them. So you might at well use something.

So, after we got back, my parents' house, like I say, was ransacked. My father had to start a practice all the way from scratch. Most of his patients had been killed, because most of them had been Jewish before. But he also had non-Jewish patients. many of these came back to him when they found out he was back. So now we have to find a place where to live and where to have a practice.

So, close by to where we had been living, there was a home of friends. He had been a dentist who had not come back. They were all gassed: husband, wife, and daughter. And so the relatives of these people rented that house to my father. And we later on bought it. So we had very quickly a new place and helped to put it together. And I enjoyed that. I enjoyed helping to build up a new place like that.

Then, at the same time, people started coming home from the camps. Whatever was survived, came home. And every time there was a transport coming on the train station, big central station, Amsterdam, my father would be there to see whom of the relatives would come back, because there had been one of his brothers and family had been In hiding, and they had come out all right.

His sister-in-law had been and her kids had been in hiding. But the brother, husband of that woman, had been sent to the concentration camps. And then his brother and his sister and my father's brother and her sister and their whole family -- they're all big families three, four, five kids -- they had all been sent to the concentration camps. And his mother, too. My mother's mother had been in hiding.

Q YOUR OTHER GRANDMOTHER WENT TO THE CAMP?

A Uh huh. So he went every day, shaking in his boots, to the station, trying to find out whom was he going to find or whom was going to find out about who didn't come back. It was a very hard time for him. So whoever came back, almost everybody survived. There were two of his brothers, one of his brothers and wife and one of their children were killed. Actually, they died. They all died. They just died of malnutrition.

Q THEY WERE IN AUSCHWITZ?

A Bergen-belsen. And the little boy, their youngest son, died in his sister's arm in the train back to freedom. But three of those kids survived. Two girls --

(End of tape 1.)

* * *

(tape two)

A What was interesting for me was -- which, for my father and mother was terrible; for us, too -- but their own mother, brother, sisters, and my mother, found out that her sister and the whole family, husband and three kids had been killed.

Q DO YOU KNOW UNDER WHAT CIRCUMSTANCES?

A Not really, not really. We only know their oldest son was one of those people who was sent early on the work permit, and he was gassed in Auschwitz, most likely. He worked in a camp for a long time because he was a strong young man. The rest, they were probably all gassed in Auschwitz. But I'm not sure about that.

My mother's brother was married to my father's sister. He had three kids. They were all in Theresienstadt. That was a better place. It was one of those preferred things. Again, money brought them in there. You wonder. But they got out of it, so that's what counted, right? The rest of my father's family was in Bergen-Belsen. His mother had been there. She came out of it okay. One of his -- the one brother that survived, and his whole family, they all had survived. The brother came out with a terrible case of Tuberculosis. He had to recuperate for a half year before he was well enough to start living.

Q THAT IS AMAZING. YOUR GRANDMOTHER SURVIVED, AN OLDER PERSON?

A She was born in '75, so she was 70 years old when she came out of there. But she survived. Tough lady, very tough. Women in my family have all been very strong people. And many of them survived because of that.

So, what happened was that our house became sort of a center, where all the relatives came before they found their own place. Because we had a big house, and we used to put beds wherever we could. And tried to help people get back on their feet, because we had the place, and they didn't yet.

So my other uncle, who had been in hiding with his, I think at that time five kids -- he had two more after the war. So they had this big family. He survived, he and his wife and family. He opened a home for children of parents who had not come back in (Hilversom.) And so many of the cousins, you know, like those three cousins who lost their parents and little brother, they went living with him. But before all these people went anywhere else, they came to our house.

For me that was such a beautiful time, because I felt so useful. I was cooking and cleaning and helping people and making beds and there was very little, very few supplies in those days. I

mean, you had to scrub sheets by hand on a scrub board, big pieces of stuff, you know, out in the garden, and no refrigeration to speak of. You had to cook fresh and go shopping and do all this stuff with 20 people sometimes that we had in the house. But it made me feel so good. I think that is where my wish to become a social worker originated, even though it didn't materialize until 30 years later. I could still feel it was a good feeling.

And I was very unhappy when summer ended, and I had to go back to school. I did go back to school. I tried. I wanted to go back to that same type of school, that gymnasium, because I always thought I couldn't do Math. It was an Idee Fixe. I could have done it if I had had the encouragement, because there were classes where you could go and catch up. They were called "catch-up classes."

And Jewish people who had been out of the school system for a long time, would go there and catch up, and then go into the regular school system. But I didn't want to do that. I wanted to go to regular school. And I shot over my head. I should have gone to the 9th grade. But I was 17. At that time, almost these other kids were 15. They were all babies. They hadn't gone through anything. And I felt, "God, what am I doing here? There is more important things to do in life than sit in the

classroom listening to somebody telling you what to do when you don't want to do it."

So, I tried it for awhile, and then I said, "No way, I'm not going to do this." And my ex-husband had already dropped out long before that. He wasn't about to do that, either. His father had been killed in the war. That is another story. But he can tell you that. And he wasn't going to do this, either.

He got himself a job in a matzoh factory, the (Hans) matzoh factory. Was doing very well there. He was waiting -- he had one brother in America who had gone before the war already to America, who was sponsoring him and his other brother to come back there. So, while he was waiting for that, he was working in the matzoh factory making money, and stuff. And so I wasn't about to do it.

Well, my father insisted I learn something. He didn't want me to know nothing. I wanted to get married and be a housewife. That's all I had in mind. I wasn't interested in any other stuff. But he insisted.

First, I took course of Geography. I thought maybe I wanted to get some sort of degree. That was too theoretical. I didn't care for that. Finally, he convinced me to become a maternity nurse, because many babies in Holland at that time were born

at home, and needed somebody there to assist the Doctor. I took that course, and I enjoyed it. I got the degree, so at least he felt I had something. And then when I came here, all the babies were born in hospitals, so I had no job. I didn't want it, anyhow. I just wanted to be a housewife.

But my when my husband -- or my friend at that time; we got engaged in December 1946, and in 1947, the Spring of 1947, he was going to leave for America. And I wanted to go along, you know. I wanted to go get married and go along. My parents said, "Are you kidding? He has no job. He has no education. He has no money. He has no father. We don't know what he's going to do over there. I mean, It's a strange country, 6,000 miles away. You ain't going no place. If he wants to, when he finds a job he can come back. We'll pay his way back. We'll pay both your ways to go back there. When he has a job, you can come and get married."

They figured I'll never see him again. In ten months he was back with a High School diploma he had acquired there, because he had learned enough here, but but he never put it together. And a job on a farm, milking cows, which he wanted to do. He wanted to learn to be a farmer. You can't do that in Holland, unless you are born to a farmer. He came back, much to my parents' -- my mother never really

liked him, because he wasn't Orthodox and he was German. And even though he was Jewish, German people, by the Dutch, no matter what, they weren't all that much liked. My mother was pretty prejudiced, as far as that goes. You couldn't get her dead into a Volkswagen, for one thing. She wouldn't buy anything made in Germany.

She stayed away as far as she could from any of that kind of stuff. I guess some of it has rubbed off on me, because I would never buy a Volkswagen, either. But, somehow or other, he did come back. They kept their promise. We had a big wedding in December of 1947. Then, in January 1948, I went back and came here, and I have been here ever since.

Q WELL, MAYBE AT THIS MOMENT I WILL STOP FOR A MINUTE BECAUSE (JEREMY SUTTON) HAS SOME QUESTIONS HE WOULD LIKE TO ASK YOU.

BY JEREMY SUTTON:

Q YOU HAVE JUST SPOKEN OF YOUR MOTHER'S ATTITUDE TO GERMANS. DID THAT ATTITUDE EXIST BEFORE THE WAR?

A Yeah, yeah, already before. And what was worse than Germans were Polish Jews. They were even worse. She couldn't stand them. It was probably because they had a whole different way of life. They were more expressive. They were much more the

prototype of a Jew than the Dutch Jews were.

Even though they were very religious Orthodox-living Jewish people, you know, they still did not want to be the prototype caricature type of Jew. They didn't want to be that way. They wanted to be a western-type Jew and Polish. And some of the German Jews still had this shtetl appearance, and somehow or other -- she could never really put this into words, and such. She would very vehemently deny anything I am saying right here. She would say, "Well, they were all Jewish people. They were all right." But I know deep down inside she felt differently.

Q PRESUMABLY, YOU HAD QUITE A FEW GERMAN JEWS WHO FLED GERMANY JUST BEFORE THE WAR AND NOW WERE YOUR SCHOOLMATES?

A Actually, not that many. Only a couple. And this was not -- I mean, anything my mother said in those days would really be -- I would disagree whole-heartedly with anything she said. I would take the other side. So, no, I had no problems with that at all.

Q I WAS INTERESTED TO KNOW WHEN THE WAR ACTUALLY BEGAN OFFICIALLY IN THE NETHERLANDS, WHAT ACTUALLY YOU REMEMBER OF THAT DAY AND HOW IT WAS, HOW THE NEWS ACTUALLY CAME TO YOU.

A It was bombing and air raids and sirens and

excitement. And my mother being terribly nervous because my father was at the front, and she didn't know what was happening. And we were all worried and scared and didn't know what was going to happen. And we had to stay in the house, because these planes are flying overhead. And we didn't know whether they were German or English planes, or whatever. I don't know the details so far.

Q WERE YOU LED TO EXPECT THIS TO HAPPEN?

A No. Holland was neutral. We thought we would stay that way. In world war I, Holland had stayed neutral and the mobilization of the military was mainly to have people ready just in case. But they never really expected to be invaded. They thought they would be neutral. They thought they had -- the water would keep the Germans out, because it had kept them out in the first World War.

They had what they called "the Water Line." They would just flood the country and then they figured the troups couldn't get in. Well, they didn't figure on bombs coming dropping from the top. And that's how Rotterdam got flattened. They figured, I guess, the water isn't going to do this. If they're going to do this to the cities, then we better not go on with this.

Q YOU MENTIONED THAT IN THE FIRST FIVE DAYS OF THE WAR, OR SO, THERE WERE SHIPS THAT WOULD TAKE

JEWISH MOTHERS AND CHILDREN?

A Uh huh.

Q WAS THE OPPORTUNITY TO GO ON THESE SHIPS ONLY OPEN TO jews WHO COULD AFFORD TO PAY FOR IT? WAS IT AN OPPORTUNITY THAT WAS REALLY OPEN TO A LOT OF THE JEWS IN HOLLAND?

A I'm not sure. I know that many doctors' families got on the boat for some reason. Now, I don't know if it was an organization, medical organization, that organized that. I know that there was one ship we were supposed to go on. Many doctors and their families were on it. I'm not really sure. I am sure you had to pay. Not everybody could afford to do that, and not everybody even was aware that this was happening.

Q AT THAT TIME, WAS THE FEAR THAT JEWISH PEOPLE FELT THEY HAD TO LOOK FOR A WAY TO GET OUT, OR WAS THAT TOO EARLY?

A Say that again?

Q AT THE TIME WHEN THE WAR BEGAN IN HOLLAND, WAS THERE THE REALIZATION THAT THERE WAS DANGER FOR JEWS?

A Yeah, there was somehow or other some underlying fear that they knew that if the Germans were in charge that things with be hard for Jews.

Q HAD YOU HEARD MUCH FROM YOUR JEWISH CLASSMATES WHO WERE FROM GERMANY? HAD THEY TOLD YOU

STORIES ABOUT HOW THEY WERE TREATED IN GERMANY?

A No, because they were all kids. And, like I said before, we were not aware. Little kids were just kept to their studies and play. They were sent out of the room when politics was discussed. And, no, I don't think -- actually, the kids I went to school with before the war, they were all Dutch kids from that particular area, and people like my future husband and one other boy -- there were actually only two; maybe more -- but actually only two boys who I knew were German boys. And they hadn't experienced anything.

I mean, actually he had experienced it, but I only heard about that much later. He didn't talk about that at that point, which is -- we were just interested in passing little notes around and things like that. Like I said, we were not politically interested. He was actually more so. He got to be more so once he was in hiding and working with the underground in the situation in which he was.

Q DID YOU HAVE ANY CONTACT WITH DUTCH NAZIS OR JUST DUTCH NAZI SYMPATHIZERS?

A No. No. I knew of a couple of people who were labeled as such. I knew them by name because they were some of the people that my father -- but I didn't know anybody.

Q YOU MENTIONED THE ONE CASE OF A SO-CALLED

GOOD GERMAN, THE PERSON WHILE YOU WERE IN HIDING. WERE THERE ANY OTHER INSTANCES OF SO-CALLED GOOD GERMANS OR GERMANS WHO HAD, IN FACT, TRIED TO SAVE PEOPLE THAT YOU HAVE HEARD ABOUT?

A This is the only one I ever heard about. Now, it doesn't mean there weren't more, but this was the only one. Another in that same vein, one of the things we heard about was the girls who had gone out with German soldiers, after the war, whenever they could be caught, they were caught and literally tarred and feathered. These kids lost all their hair. They were stuck. It was amazing. I mean, we all thought that served them right, because what were they doing you know going around with these Germans.

I mean, that was like being traitors. You were supposed to shun those people, not go to bed with them. So they were really, if they were caught, they were publicly tarred and feathered or their heads were shaven, or something bad was done to them so they stood out for years.

Q THEY WERE VERY MUCH THE EXCEPTION?

A Yes, they were. But there were some, there definitely were some.

Q THE ATTITUDE OF THE DUTCH TO THE GERMANS AFTER THE WAR, IMMEDIATELY AFTER, WAS THERE MUCH RETRIBUTION?

A Suspicion. Anybody who talked German, "What

were you doing during the war? What were you doing? Get out of my sight if you don't want to be hit," sort of thing. and that lasted for a long time, for a long time. And there is animosity in some ways, some people.

I mean, I personally have mixed emotions when this Berlin wall came down. I thought I'm not so sure I want that Germany to be united again, because it's happened before that they promised to be good and they weren't. And so I, you know, even though at this time there is a lot more influence from outside, and a lot more experience, I really still have some doubts about the matter, and definitely mixed emotions.

Q YOU DESCRIBED THE SYSTEMATIC PROCESS WHICH THE germans USED TO INITIALLY IDENTIFY JEWS AND THEN TO TRACK THEIR FREEDOM, AND, FINALLY, TO ARRANGE FOR THE TRANSPORTING OF THEM. COULD YOU GIVE US SOME IDEA OF THE TIME FRAME? I MEAN IN TERMS OF HOW LONG IT WAS THAT THERE WAS NO RESTRICTIONS AND THEN WHEN DID THEY START BRINGING IN SOME OF THESE RULES YOU MENTIONED: HOW LONG WAS IT BEFORE THEY ACTUALLY CLAMPED DOWN HARD? WAS IT SIX MONTHS OR WAS THAT A YEAR?

A I'm not sure exactly, but I think it must have been -- see I'm not sure. It was probably six months. Sounds probable. I remember something, maybe in the early Spring, and that must have been 1941,

because I was going to go to high school in 1941. And during that period, things had changed, because I couldn't go -- I was already registered in this non-Jewish Gymnasium. And then it had to be changed. I think it must have been in the Spring, Summer of 1941 that they really started clamping down and started putting restrictions on. The first few months, nothing much really happened. Then, after that, it started going down hill.

Q YOU ALSO MENTIONED THAT THE NON-JEWS WHO HELPED A LOT WERE PARTICULARLY THE RELIGIOUS CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY?

A Not only, not only. For instance, the people where my husband was in hiding were not at all religious. They were just very -- actually, they were part of the Labor movement. The Labor movement was very anti-German. Most of them. You had your traitors everywhere, but it was really a small percentage.

It was less than five percent of the Dutch population collaborated with the Germans. And there was about -- I'm not sure about the figures exactly, so don't quote me on any of this, but it was somewhere between about ten percent that was in the underground and working actively against, and the rest just went about their business. They had to make a living; they couldn't be bothered; or they just felt

terrible, but that was the way it was.

Q WAS THERE ANY DIFFERENCE THAT YOU KNOW OF THE ATTITUDE SAY FROM THE CATHOLIC PART OF HOLLAND TO THE PROTESTANT PART?

A I don't really know. I think many of the Catholics were also prosecuted by Hitler, and many of the Catholic families also kept Jewish kids in hiding. They were even the ones that were more into converting Jewish children. But I don't have any particulars on that, any percentages, or anything like that.

But there was a book called -- it's well-known -- Michael, Michael, by Leon Uris, I think -- that explains about one such family where the family wanted to keep the child, felt they had raised it. It was a Catholic child now. And then some aunt on uncle came back and wanted to reclaim the child. I mean, that happened quite a bit in circles, where, you know, the kids really were ambivilant. They didn't know anything: They came there as babies. They didn't know any better. They belonged there.

And then their Jewish aunt or uncle or grandparent or somebody came back and said, "This is my sister's kid. I promised my sister on her deathbed I would take this child if I could find it, and raise it as my own." And they would say, "Well, sorry, we have raised this child for four years, five years, and it's our child." There is a lot of very

sad situations.

Q WAS THERE ANY FORM OF INDOCTRINATION THAT YOU YOURSELF HAD IN YOUR FAMILY?

A No.

Q IN TERMS OF CHILDREN?

A No. No, no, we had all only wonderful people that we came in contact with. I can't praise them highly enough. In fact, I have been thinking my husband recently -- my ex-husband -- recently got the people where he was in hiding, they got that award from -- I forget the name of it, something about the Righteous Gentile. That word really bothers me. It sounds so pompous.

And I know that I have been thinking about doing something like that for the people who saved my life. But I know they wouldn't go for this sort of thing. They would find it much too -- I don't know. It sounds sort of -- I can't think of the word for it. "Pompous" is the only thing I can think of.

It's just not the right kind of word. It's a poor translation from the Hebrew. I know what they mean, but it's a poor translation. If they could only find a better word for these people than calling them righteous gentiles. That means there are some Righteous Gentiles, as if the rest are not. I don't like that expression at all. I wouldn't

want to be involved with anything that -- I don't know, maybe it just didn't hit me right.

But I would like to do something, you know, more than just I am in contact. I am in contact with them. They live here in the Boston area, and once or twice a year, you know, we are in contact. Not as much as I should be, maybe. But to give them some sort of recognition in that vein doesn't appeal to me. I know it wouldn't appeal to them. They would feel funny about it.

Q IN TERMS OF THE RISKS THEY TOOK, DO YOU ACTUALLY KNOW INSTANCES OF WHAT ACTUALLY HAPPENED TO FAMILIES WHO WERE HIDING JEWS WHO WERE DISCOVERED?

A Actually, I don't. I don't know of anybody in particular -- probably some of the people -- no, I personally don't. And it's partly, maybe, now that I think of it, because I tried to keep myself as far as possible removed from things that I don't really want to hear about, unless they happen to come my way blatantly.

Q THAT'S ALL THE QUESTIONS I HAVE.

A WOMAN'S VOICE:

Q KIND OF CONTINUING, I THINK YOU WERE TALKING ABOUT YOUR LIFE JUST AFTER THE WAR ENDED AND PEOPLE WERE COMING BACK FROM THE CAMPS, AND YOUR FATHER GOING. BUT PREVIOUS TO THAT, I WAS WONDERING WHAT WAS THE REACTION OF THE DUTCH GOVERNMENT AFTER THE WAR WAS

OVER, WHAT WAS THE RESPONSE TO THE JEWS COMING BACK FROM THE CAMPS AND OUT OF HIDING?

A They were very helpful, and they were very sympathetic. And, you know, helped where they could. I mean, again, I don't know anything of instances of any kind or other, but whenever they could, they would provide help.

Q IN WHAT FORM?

A Well, I guess just physically getting these people, you know, on the trains. And if they came, when they came to the border, I would imagine there was some sort of customs going on. And I am sure they looked on those people with their shaven heads and sunken eyes, skin over bone, in a different manner than anybody else just coming over the border. So, I don't know. I mean, this is just how I imagine it.

Q WAS THERE ANY HELP WITH HOUSING OR MEDICAL CARE THAT YOU KNOW OF?

A Medical care in Holland has always been easy, because they have an excellent National Health Service. I don't really know the details on that.

Q YOU WERE STARTING TO TALK ABOUT THE VERY REAL PROBLEM THAT YOU HAD LOST THOSE YEARS OF SCHOOL, AND IN A WAY, A PIECE OF YOUR CHILDHOOD. OBVIOUSLY, I'M SURE THIS WAS THE CASE FOR MANY PEOPLE.

A Yeah.

Q HOW HARD IT WAS TO GET BACK INTO THAT KIND OF

LIFE?

A I couldn't. I couldn't. Some kids did. They went back to school. They got the degrees, and they did all right, and it was fine. But I simply couldn't. My ex-husband couldn't.

We made up for it later, I mean after. First of all, I learned a lot when my kids went to school. I had six kids, and listening to their homework taught me a lot about America History, which I didn't know anything about. About politics here, of course I got interested. I told you.

And then I started taking courses here and there at the Junior College, things I was interested in, Anthropology and Poetry and a few courses here and there. And then, after my divorce, I went back to school, because I wanted to be a Social Worker. Then I got my Master's Degree. So I got that seven years ago.

Q GOOD FOR YOU.

A So, then I had no trouble. I only had had actually eight years of formal education. And, after that, it was just -- but I had no problem fitting in. I went two years to the J.C., and then I got my Bachelor's Degree from the University of San Francisco. And then I got my Master's Degree from San Francisco State. I did that in five and a half years. It was fun. I really enjoyed it.

And even though I'm not a Social Worker right now, I feel very good about having had that experience, and having that education. I feel I am doing Social Work every day. I mean, selling is Social Work, too. I am feeling I am an educational counselor to families, helping them understand about education materials for their kids, and how it helps them in school, and how it helps them get ready for school. So I'm still doing Social Work.

Then I have one little finger in the Social Work pie, where I'm part of an adoption agency for whom I do some work once in a while, when I can find the time. And my interest in that has a lot to do with the fact that my youngest child is adopted, and so that sort of ties into that. And I did my Master's thesis on adoption.

So, as I said, I have caught up nicely. And my ex-husband got his, has taken many courses in school, too, and got his Real Estate License. We aren't, I don't feel, undereducated. So one of the things that I feel when kids do drop out of school, that you can always get back in. And then you really want -- when you really want to do it, it comes easy.

Q YOU JUST FINISHED TALKING ABOUT YOUR HUSBAND COMING TO THE UNITED STATES, GETTING HIS JOB, YOU GOT MARRIED. did YOU EVER GIVE ANY THOUGHT TO GOING TO

ISRAEL AT THAT POINT?

A No, I didn't want to go there. I mean, there were just too many -- I didn't want to be too close to my family, and having to be Orthodox. Because, if I lived close to my family, I would have to have a Kosher household, because they wouldn't eat otherwise at my house.

Now, when they come, I make it Kosher. You know, we have -- I just say, "These dishes are for milk, and these are for meat." They go along with it.

Q HAD THEY ALREADY EMIGRATED TO ISRAEL AT THAT POINT AFTER THE WAR?

A No. No, no, my father, from 1945, until 1970, he stayed in his practice. And when he was 70 years old -- he was born in 1900 -- when he was 70 years old, he retired. And it was always his wish to go to Israel and spend the rest of his life there.

So, then they sold everything. And my mother was older at that time. She was already 76 at that point, and she didn't know any Hebrew. He knew some. But it was a big sacrifice for her to give up her house and everything. But she knew he wanted to, and so she decided, "Okay, we'll do this." So at the age of 71 and 77, they moved to Israel.

Q THAT IS REMARKABLE.

A Then they had five good years there. And, in

1976, my mother died. She was almost 82. And my father is still going strong. So I'm really keeping my fingers crossed he will stay healthy, and we can get together in December.

Q DID YOUR SISTER EMIGRATE TO ISRAEL EARLY ON AFTER THE WAR?

A No. Actually, my one sister who was married to a scientist, they lived in all different places because he is -- well, first, I think they lived for a year in France. And then they lived for three years in Berkeley. They came to Berkeley in 1958, where they were all right here for ten years.

They were three years in Seattle, three years in Boston. They emigrated, they went to Israel finally when he got a position there in 1968. I know that because my daughter -- they lived in Boston at that time. And one of the reasons my daughter had chosen to go to Brandeis University was because her aunt was living there, and she thought she could have a second home there where she went to school. They went to Israel. So that was in 1968. They have been there ever since.

My other sister, my middle sister, moved there about ten years ago, something like that. Maybe less.

Q SO DID YOUR FAMILY AND YOU HAVE DIFFICULTY READJUSTING AFTER THE WAR TO SOME KIND OF NORMAL LIFE?

A Well, of course it was hard. But we all wanted to so badly, that we made it work. You know, if you want something badly enough, you can make it happen.

And the good thing about it is that we had to be there for those people who were less fortunate than we were. And so it all somehow fell into place. I don't know how they did it financially. I have no idea, because whatever money they had, I'm sure they spent during the war, giving it to whatever people.

I don't know if they had any assets, or anything that they could -- they got this house and they rented it from these people, first. And then they bought it. He built up his practice in no time at all, and must have done all right, because he was able to retire at 70. That was after 35 years. I guess -- no, 45 -- 25 years after the war. So he must have done all right.

Q YOU SAY YOUR GRANDMOTHER, YOUR MOTHER'S MOTHER, SHE SURVIVED ALL THOSE 17 HOMES?

A She survived the 17 homes. And my other grandmother survived the concentration camp. I come from very sturdy stock.

Q SOUNDS LIKE.

A Yeah. I really admire my family. I'm very close to them. Not in every respect, like

religiously, I'm not. But they have accepted that.

q YOU SAID YOU HAD SIX CHILDREN OF YOUR OWN. DO YOU DISCUSS YOUR EXPERIENCES WITH THEM?

A Oh, yeah. My oldest son, especially, is very interested. He has done some tape-recording. In fact, he has done a lot. He has a lot of oral history tapes from all of our family. He talked to my father and to my mother-in-law. He's got all of them on tape for posterity.

And he lives in Berkeley, here, by the way, not far from here. I'm going to see him after I get done here. My other kids, yeah, everybody, they are all interested, and they all want to know. And whenever they can, they write down whatever they hear. By my youngest daughter, who just finished her third year at Sacramento State, got interested lately because her father -- my ex-husband -- has gotten interested also in this Holocaust business. And he is finally coming to grips with the fact that his father was killed. He really never had worked out some of this. And so has recently gone into -- I think he's done some therapy on that.

And my youngest daughter, who has had her domicile with him since she was at school the last few years, was drawn into that. And so not too long ago, at Sonora State University, there was a

gathering at the Holocaust Remembrance, and she was the speaker there as the child of a survivor, and what it meant to her, and how she felt about it.

So, yeah, they're all aware of what has been happening. None of them are religious, but they all have strong Jewish feelings.

Q DO YOU FEEL LIKE YOU HAVE ANY KIND OF AFTERMATH OR PSYCHOLOGICAL AFTERMATH FROM THOSE EXPERIENCES?

A I don't know. It's hard to tell how you would have been if you had lived in a different way. I mean, who can say? You don't know that. There have been instances like when this whole divorce for me came up, that people have linked that to this sort of thing.

And I have done a lot of therapy on that, as well. Not so much about the war, but how -- you know, you can only deal with the past so much. And, for me, you have got to see it as experience that enriches your life, one way or the other. Then you've got to live the life of today. And you've got to go on with what you know. And, whatever you do, whatever enriches that, the better off you are.

But I am not a person that can dwell in the past too much, because it becomes -- it can become obsessive, I think. And you take it as it was, and you use what is helpful. And whatever isn't,

well, you just go on from there.

Q WELL, BESIDES YOUR GREAT OPTIMISM, DO YOU HAVE ANY OTHER THOUGHTS ON WHAT HELPED YOU GET THROUGH THOSE HARD TIMES?

A I think a loving home and a secure childhood. As a child, I feel I had everything I could have wanted. And I knew I was very loved, although I should have been a boy.

Every Jewish firstborn should have been a boy. And, so even though my mother always said, when people say, "You had three daughters?" She said, "Yes, and there is nothing wrong with it. They can do as well as anybody," I knew deep down they were sorry they never had any sons.

She was married very late. She got engaged right after my -- her brother and my father's sister got married. That is where they met, at that wedding. My father was 20 and she was 27. Then he entered medical school. They had to wait almost eight years before they could get married, because you didn't do that in those days. You had to first have an education and something established. So she was 33 when they got married. So she would have liked to have had a dozen kids. They would have loved to have had some sons. But, somehow or other, it didn't materialize.

I think that had a lot to do with

it. If children have a solid childhood, where they are loved and appreciated and get what they need physically and emotionally, they can weather almost any storm. I think you find children surviving who have not had that. But I find more of them in the other way: People who have -- and I notice that in my job right now. It's the first four years. When a child is four years old, half his adult intelligence has been formed. And by the time they're eight, 80 percent of their intelligence is in place. So those early years are the most important.

Q YES.

A And if you can get the kids in the right frame of mind, and give them what they need in that time, most of the time they'll do all right. I mean, there is no foolproof guarantee, but it's a lot better chance.

Q ALONG THOSE SAME LINES, YOU MADE SOME COMMENTS BEFORE, YOU MADE COMMENTS ABOUT REUNIFICATION IN GERMANY. do YOU THINK THAT YOUNGER germans HAVE DIFFERENT ATTITUDES THAN THEIR PARENTS AND GRANDPARENTS?

A I have not had much experience that way, really. I'm sure they do. I am sure. I know there are still some Nazi feeling in Germany among some of the older generation, just like you have some of these skinheads right here. Not all of them, apparently.

But some of them have this -- whatever it is, I can't describe it. But, by the same token, I am sure there are a lot of -- I imagine there is an lot of different attitudes now than there were then. I don't know. It's hard to tell. I have never been in Germany. I have no real desire to go there. There are a lot of other places I want to go and see first.

I know when my children traveled, and they did a lot of traveling when they were younger -- my oldest son, my mother-in-law took my oldest son, when he was about 18, to Germany to visit. My mother was appalled: What did he have to do in Germany? Nobody should ever go to Germany. But I said, "Look, mom, let him have his own experiences. He doesn't need your prejudice. He can make his own."

She took him to Germany and showed him where his father was born. I mean, it's interesting, it's good to see that. And she introduced him to -- her sister still lives there with her family -- and introduced them to him, and all that. When he came home, he said, "I didn't like Germany. I didn't like the Germans. I didn't like the whole attitude." And, you know, we have always -- I mean, he knew how we felt about it, in a way. But we also made it quite clear that didn't need to be their prejudice. They should see for themselves.

One of my daughters had been there. She went and traveled through Europe when she was 16. And she had a stop in Frankfurt. And she was thinking of staying there for a few days. And the stopover was at the station. And she was so irritated by the way the people were dealing there -- I mean, just the way they talked to her and the way she heard people around her, she said, "I want to get out of here." She did.

Now, it probably had something to do with our prejudices. But, at the same time, they have been always very independent children. I mean, somebody who traveled in their 16th year all through Europe, is not anybody who is too pampered.

So, she sort of knew what she was talking about. I guess, in a way, she did not feel comfortable. None of my kids has ever really shown any interest, but we have also not had any contact with young German people. My husband's brother, my ex-husband's brother, just moved back to Germany to retire. He was a professor here of History at the State University of New York at Stoneybrook many years. And had some good friends in Germany, and decided he wanted to retire there.

Q THAT IS INTERESTING.

A It is interesting. I mean, none of us really understand it. But he was older when he left there. my brother-in-law was 17 when they left. And so he

had a happy childhood there. He had good memories in some ways, and some bad ones, too. But, for him, it was different. His younger brothers didn't have all that. He only had the misery.

Q I SEE.

A So, I mean, that is what he wanted to do. He seems to be happy there. He says there is a lot of wonderful people there, and he has good friends. And he's, you know, a Jewish-German person. But that is what he did. So, it's a good thing the world is made up of all kinds of people. That is okay.

Q WELL, CAN YOU THINK OF ANYTHING MORE YOU WOULD LIKE TO ADD THAT COMES TO MIND?

A Well, the one thing I was thinking of is that every once in awhile, when people hear that I have been to school with Anne Frank, and many schools these days have the kids read <u>The Diary Of Anne Frank</u>, that is one of their assignments, six, seventh, eighth grade.

And then, when they find out about that, they wanted me to come and talk to the kids, which I gladly do. I tell them about my experiences. And what I think is important about that is that kids nowadays have very little idea of what reality is. What the television -- which is such an important medium in many people's life -- comes up with, these absurdities of Spiderman and the Muppets -- And, I

mean, even though Big Bird is a wonderful character, it is still fictional.

But to the kids, it's real. And even to Junior High School kids, things like Spiderman and robots and these ridiculous space stories, ridiculous to me -- probably very wonderful to other people -- they it makes it so that it's hard to differentiate between real and surreal and unreal.

And when they read a book about Anne Frank, why is that much different from a story about space or Superman or Spiderman? I mean, all the stories are made to sound so terrific, that I have a feeling -- now, this may be my imagination; but I don't think it is. But, whatever: It's my feeling -- many kids feel that the person like Anne Frank could just as well be another fictional person. It's almost like Helen Keller. Nobody ever met somebody who is blind and deaf and can talk and do all these terrific things. It's a wonderful story, but I'm not so sure many kids are able to identify with that.

So when they then see a person, flesh and blood, that comes through their classroom and talks to them, ordinary person, a grandmother just like their grandmother, somebody who has gone to school with this girl and played volleyball with her, then maybe that is a real person, and maybe that really happened, and maybe you ought to be sure that

things like that do not happen.

That is why I think it's important for me to do that. That's why I tell them also never to take things that people tell you -- if you see things on television, that doesn't mean it's necessarily always true. You should always question things. If it doesn't feel right to you, do something about it.

Q SO THIS IS A VERY GOOD WAY YOU HAVE PUT YOUR EXPERIENCE TO A POSITIVE END?

A Yeah. I think it's important that people know this. They shouldn't dwell on it forever. I get very irritated by the Elie Wiesenthal -- Simon Wiesenthal Center, or whatever. They just dwell on this so much it just takes over their life.

I don't believe that. For me, that is not necessary. You need to know that this happened, and you need to make sure that any kind of an uprising like that gets brought into the foreground and looked at and put down before it takes hold. And kids need to know that things like this have happened, and can happen.

I mean, it's like the Negro problem in the United States. Finally people started to understand that, you know, things like this have happened, like this television series on Roots. They never knew that people could be tortured like that,

and that things like that could happen. And they need to be able to identify with that.

So that is, I guess, my mission: To tell kids that, you know, there are people like that, and this can happen. And if you hear things that you don't agree with, you don't have to agree with everybody. Just because television says so, or just because your teacher says so, or maybe even because your mother and father says so, you got to question.

Q QUESTION AUTHORITY?

A Yes, absolutely.

Q SOUNDS LIKE A GOOD MESSAGE. AND DO YOU HAVE ANYTHING MORE YOU WOULD LIKE TO ADD?

A Well, I enjoyed talking to you, and I hope I haven't taken too much of your time.

Q NO.

A It's been fun. I appreciate that you tried to preserve some of this. And even though I always felt I really didn't have all such a bad time personally; a lot of people have gone through a lot more hell. I don't feel I have. I feel I have always been very well-treated and well taken care of. I have never wanted of anything in particular. I feel pretty lucky about that.

Q WELL, THAT IS PROBABLY TRUE, BUT YOU HAD YOUR HARD TIMES, TOO.

A Yeah, looking back, I understand they were hard. While it was happening, I really didn't so much.

Q WELL, IN ANY CASE, THANK YOU VERY MUCH.

A You're welcome. My pleasure. And I enjoyed being with you.

Q GOOD, GOOD.

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(end of tape two.)