HOLOCAUST ORAL HISTORY PROJECT

INTERVIEW OF

ALEX BAUER

CONDUCTED BY:

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Deposition services nationwide

MS BANDAYAN: I am Sandra Bandayan. I am here interviewing Alex Bauer for the Holocaust Oral History Project.

Today is the 9th of January, 1996.

John Grant is our producer.

Would you please begin by introducing yourself and tell us what was your name at birth, if it is different than it is now, and where and when were you born?

A. My name now is Alex S. Bauer. B-a-u-e-r is the way it's spelled. The S middle initial stands for Sandor. My original name was Sandor.

I was born in Hungary on May 25, 1922. In Hungarian the first name is S-a-n-d-o-r. Pronounced Sandor. Schandor is the way it's pronounced. Here I have a middle name. Since I came to the United States -- Usually you don't have a middle name back in Hungary. But when I came here after the war I was under the impression that in America everybody must have a middle name. So I was trying to get one from somewhere and decided I would take my Hungarian first name, Sandor, translate it into English as Alexander, split it into two: Alex, and second half Sandor is the middle name. I spelled it Sander, Dor. I settle the X with an S. That is the way I got my middle name Sandor.

As I mentioned I was born in 1922 in a small town in Hungary near the Romanian border. By Hungarian standard the name of the name is Komadi. It's in the County -- in Hungary it is divided to areas that I think is roughly equivalent to counties. The name of the County was Bihar. Bihar. Actually the town Komadi is pronounced Komadi in Hungarian. It's kind of a medium size village by Hungarian standards. The population was about ten thousand. It's not very small one but surely not that big a town.

Among the ten thousand population perhaps there were something like about 150 Jewish families. Most of the Jewish people were in business. You know, some small, some larger businesses they were operating and my father was one of those.

We had a small dry goods store in that town which my father and mother kept going. Things were reasonably good in the twenties yet.

As I recall from my early childhood we were sort of maybe middle class kind of family. We didn't have a great deal of financial problem until the recession came. Around in the thirties things got worse.

- Q. Did you own your own house then?
- A. Yes. It was an old house. I have no idea

when it was built. My father owed some money on it. It had a mortgage on it. I remember talking about payments to the bank, which became more and more difficult as the years went by.

The house was a simple one. Several rooms. We had dirt floor. In those days the rural areas like this was where I was living most of the floors were just plain dirt.

We use to get, believe it or not, some kind of mixture of horse manure and things and you coated it, you gave it somewhat harder coat and it was easier to sweep and this kind of thing.

We had electricity. Everybody in the town had electricity. We didn't have plumbing. There was an outhouse in the yard.

Drinking water, we had to get from the artesian well. There were two of them. One on each end of the town. We had to go with big canister kind of thing and carry the water home. Doing these kind of things is really one of the few things I remember from my childhood and about my parents. I use to go with my father, helping him carry the water. It was a reasonably long walk. We had time to talk to each other.

I remember some of the conversations we had.

Otherwise, we didn't talk a great deal with our parents.

For this reason I think I have much less recollection about my mother. She was a very kind woman. I am sure that I remember this correctly. Pictures, I don't have of them unfortunately. The face of my mother is kind of fading in my memory and I don't know how to try to retain it.

I have a stronger picture of my father because we use to spend more time together and even occasionally I had to help out with the store on market days.

We had to get merchandise and take it to the market. I was more involved with my father as a small child than my mother. So I have a better recollection.

- Q. No one in your family has a photograph of either of your parents?
- A. Nobody. Several survivors, nobody has a photograph of parents. I am sure the two sisters still alive we don't have any. It's amazing.
- Q. Since you brought it up do you remember some of the conversations you had?
- A. Yeah. I remember as a kid I was always interested in technical thing. That was my major interest.

I use to tell my father about inventions I

was thinking of. I remember guns were kind of important things. I remember I told my father Yes, you can sprinkle something there to shoot a gun, those were inventions of the time. It was ridiculous. For a child it was -- Some of these conversations I recall with my father.

I told you a little about the house that we lived in. Just sort of off the Main Street, the main business street of the town. His little store, our little store, was on the Main Street but not the marketplace. That was a little further down. The merchandise he carried there was mostly textile stuff, material for women, for the farm woman, peasant. They used linen or cotton kind of thing, printed stuff they made dresses out of. That was white linen, various kinds to make bedding stuff and this kind of thing. No mens suit. We didn't carry that.

Also the store, this was the main type of merchandise, we also had other things. My recollection is we carried spices that were cookies, candies and maybe other things that I don't remember anymore very well. A little general store, but mostly textile material.

We lived fairly simply, but reasonably comfortable. My mother did the cooking. In the early

days the woman had help. I don't recall every day or week or whatever. Later the situation got a little worse economically and I think that wasn't very long in to the thirties.

My father sometimes had to travel to

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Did she work in the store also?

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Budapest to get new merchandise and my mother spent

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quite a bit of time in the store. She was out there

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with us in the market days when we set up a tent like

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thing in the market place in the town and merchandise.

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Most of the textile was laid out and we laid it out on

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the burlap and laid it out on the tent and tried to sell

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some, which we did.

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My mother worked. She had to run home.

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16 to run home to cook the main meal of the day, which is

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around midday in Hungary in Europe. So she was busy.

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She had to do the washing by hand, all kind of cleaning.

Friday was the market day. Around 11:00 o'clock she had

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I will tell you a little bit about the rest

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of the family now.

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married a woman, the family Freikind. Freikind was my

My father, whose name was Joseph Bauer.

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mother's middle name.

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How do you spell that? Ο.

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F-r-e-i-k-i-n-d. He married a girl, very Α.

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beautiful. I recall some of the pictures, old pictures. She was a good looking woman. Lena. Helen was I think her first name. They called her Lena was a nickname. They had five children. Three boys and two girls.

- Q. Do you know their names?
- A. Yes. The oldest boy was Laszlo.

L-a-s-z-l-o. Nickname is Laci.

The next child was to the best of my recollection another boy, Julius. Guyla. G-u-y-l-a is the Hungarian version of Julius. And then came a girl Olga. O-l-g-a. And then I believe came another boy called Miklos. M-i-k-l-o-s. And then a girl Magda. M-a-g-d-a. His wife died shortly after the birth of Magda, the fifth child.

I don't know how long thereafter. Well, may have been a couple years or so. Four, five perhaps. He married his deceased wife's younger sister. The other two children, including me and my younger sister, we are from the second marriage.

- Q. What was your mother's first name?
- A. First name was Sarah. In Hungarian the long version is S-a-r-o-l-t-a. Sarah Freikind is my mother's name. She was, as I mentioned, the sister of the first wife. So I was related with my half brothers, a little bit more than half brothers. There was never at home

any difference between the brothers and sisters. So we were seven.

- Q. You had the same grandparents.
 We had the same grandparents, that's right.
- Q. What were your grandparents name, do you remember.
- A. The only thing I remember by the time I was born in 1922, which was nine years after my older sister was born. The last one of the first marriage.

My mother's mother was the only grandparent that was alive and she lived with us in our home. She lived with us. I recall very well as a little child. She was old. She was very kind. Both myself and my sister use to make fun of her. I feel so bad about it. We didn't treat her with the respect that she definitely deserved. We were too little to realize it.

She died in our house, I don't know exactly when. I was very little. I may have been four, five years old. Maybe my sister wasn't even born, who was four years younger than I. I don't have full recollection of that.

I do remember that grandma lived with us when I was a very little child and then she passed away.

Q. Do you know the name of your father's parents?

A. No. No. Unfortunately, I don't. I am pretty sure my older sister does. She lives in Israel now. She is still alive.

I didn't think of it. There is at home a fairly distant cousin of ours who came to the United States also after the war and lives in Los Angeles, went into the real estate business. He died a few years ago.

He started to set up a family tree. He sent me some copies or something of this that he was trying to make. I believe, I don't think my mother's family's name is on it. I don't think he knew that. He was related to me on my father's side. He does have my father's spelling. I forgot about that to bring with me.

- Q. What was your younger sister's name?
- A. She is still alive. Her name is Clara. C-l-a-r-a.
- Q. Was there a big age difference between you and say your eldest brother?
- A. Yes. Laci, the distance is 20 years. So he is 20 years older than I. He passed away in 1984 back in Romania.

My childhood, you know, we lived at home but eventually, not in the beginning, but my sisters went away from home. They went to Budapest and they lived

there, struck off on their own.

My older brother Laci, the oldest, was always living there with us. He was a clerk, a lawyer's clerk. He always lived with us.

Then the second brother, the next younger brother, Julius, he got away from my family.

You know I have to be truthful. My recollection is my mother, there were some tension between my mother and the older children, except Laci, the oldest boy. He was always at home and he was highly respected. He earned a decent salary and he was always well dressed. Anyway, Laci was with us.

For whatever reason I don't know for sure,
Julius left home and all I recall is he married a
Protestant Pastor's daughter. All I recall is he came
back to visit once with his little boy. A little boy
about my age at that time. So he didn't live with us.

The two older girls, Olga and Magda, went to Budapest. There was a third boy, Miklos. He had a little problem. He had polio as a youngster. He had some physical, and also maybe a little bit mental, some kind of retarded to some degree.

As I recall, he never, when I was there, he never had a job. He was doing odd works around town.

He lived sometimes at home, sometimes he disappeared and

wouldn't see him for weeks or something like that. He was kind of the black sheep of he family.

But my younger sister, myself, Laci we always lived at home with our parents. The girls came home fairly often to visit us. So there wasn't much friction, normal family life, I think. Those of us that stayed at home were pretty close to each other.

- O. What about aunts and uncles around town?
- A. My mother had a fairly extensive family. She had a brother with his family living in town. Two brothers. I don't recall any, she may have had sisters. I don't know. Unfortunately when I was a kid I didn't try to learn about these things. Who cared what the family looked like. Now I am sorry that I didn't find out and now it's kind of late. I am asking my older sister what do you remember? She send me some notes that's mostly what I knew, too.

I know that my mother had two brothers that lived in town. Their children they died eventually I think probably in the holocaust. I am not sure when. They went to Israel and some I think are still alive. I don't have any contact with them.

- Q. Do you happen to know the names of any of these people?
 - A. Their names were Freikind. Louis Freikind

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and Bela Freikind was the other brother. Bela Freikind, one end of town he had much larger store than my father had. It was better run, a bigger store. Bela, interestingly, married a woman who was a cousin of my father. There was a kind of relation. Their son is in Budapest. He is a cousin that's still alive there. He became in the communist regime pretty high up, economics professor in the University. He was highly decorated by the communists. He played along with them after the war. So there were two brothers.

There was kind of on the other side a family. I try to recall. The husband, the wife was related to us and all I recall her name was Serena. Aunt Serena was a nice woman. They were very nice people, reasonably well to do and we use to have New Year's eve parties together with them. I have very faint recollection of these people.

And then we had other relation I remember and we were told on my father's side Yugoslavian side of the border. There was well to do relatives.

We had some relatives on the Romanian side of the border. Again, I believe this was from my father's side. An engineer. He was managing (inaudible.) We had relatives in the area. The relatives that we had most contact with was my father's brother's family that

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lived in Budapest. When I got there to go to school there I had fairly close contact with that family. was my father's oldest brother. His name was Laza. Jewish name in Europe. He was a state employee. worked for the railroad. I remember he was retired and he was very impressive looking gentleman. His white goatee beard. He was dressed always impeccably. recollection is he was a picture of an important personage. Also probably because of the job he had or whatever reason -- although he was very Jewish. changed his name. You know, Hungarian. His name wasn't Bauer. He changed it to Hungarian sounding name, like many Jews did, change the Jewish sounding name to a Hungarian version. His name was Boros. B-o-r-o-s. But originally it was Bauer before he changed it.

This is probably the extent of my recollection of the family. Very little on my mother's side. The three families that lived in our town. On my father's side mostly his brothers, Lasla Boros lived in Budapest with his children and some vague ideas about some other relatives, I don't know how distant. They were living in other parts, even adjacent countries, not even in Hungary.

My father had a fairly large group of family in a fairly large city maybe about 50 or 60 miles away

from our town called Debrecen. It's a fairly big city in Hungary.

It's on the eastern parts of the country.

Again not very far from Romania. Spelled

D-e-b-r-e-c-e-n. It's a large city. My father had

affair number of relations there. I think his relation,

come to think of it, his father's sister, I believe.

His father's sister, lived and progeny children and

families and whole bunch of people and cousin I

mentioned before that lived in Los Angeles before he

died a couple years ago put together the family tree.

He was a grandchild or greatgrandchild of my father's

mother or sister or some sort.

We had various places groups of people that were related to us somehow.

We went sometimes I remember as a kid we did go on occasion, rarely it was a big trip, the 50 miles or so to go to Debrecen. We did go once or twice at least to visit this branch of he family there.

- Q. By horse, by train?
- A. By train. By train. By horse, we didn't have a horse. We didn't have a carriage. My father had to take merchandise to market he hired it.

In our home my mother -- We were fairly simple people. My mother, besides taking care of the

house and cleaning and cooking and so on, she use to do raising geese and ducks and things like that by force feeding them. I don't know if you know that. They use to do that in Europe. Use to say we had maybe a dozen geese. My mother at that time had some help. Use to soak some corn in water to get softer. In the early morning get up and get the goose and force his mouth open and stuff things in there.

When it got really fat it was slaughtered. One of he main things was the liver. Use to have to have huge goose liver. We either used it or sold it. People were willing to buy it.

Geese, ducks and one of the things in those days sometimes in the force feeding process of the animals a kernel of corn goes the wrong way and gets in the air thing of the animal, goes down to the bottom where it narrows and suffocates him or can bleed.

As I recall, on one end of the town there was a woman that knew how to take care of it. It was kind of a cruel thing to do. The animal didn't die. We managed to fix it. She goes down the neck of the goose and finds it in the windpipe, pushes it, squeezes it up and finds out where the kernal of corn got stuck and goes underneath it and pushes it up to the top and you hit the head of the goose or duck and it spits it out.

I hated to do this in the winter time, with a basket, gasping goose and I had to run in the early morning or almost night down to the woman's place. So I watched her how she does it and I learned how to do it myself. So I became an expert in getting the stuck kernal out of the windpipe of geese or duck. Little things.

- Q. How did you get the goose to the woman so fast?
- A. Well, the goose could breathe. A kernal is not a closed plug. It doesn't close it completely. So gasping, a little air goes through there. But it couldn't live very long with it. But it lived long enough. For a few hours.
 - Q. So you became an expert?
- A. I was an expert in getting the stuck kernal out of the windpipe of the animals.
 - Q. Did people come to you then?
- A. No. Not that I recall. Didn't have to. I didn't have to march down to the end of the town winter mornings to do this.
 - Q. So you had a little bit of a farm yard there?
- A. Yes. We had a fair sized yard. There was a well in the yard. The well, I don't know how deep it was. The water wasn't drinkable. You could use it for

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washing, for every other purpose except for cooking and water.

- Q. Do you know why it wasn't for drinking?
- A. It was bitter. It didn't taste good. It's not artesian well. The artesian well, the water comes deeper, is filtered. This had lots of salt. Everybody had a well like that, which wasn't usable for drinking. But for every other purpose. It was cold. Roughly guessing, you had a bucket that you roll up and get the water and put it there.

We used it for other things. I thought the best use for it in the summer time we bought a melon, we put it down there in the water and kept it cold. That was the best use for this.

Life in the little town was fairly peaceful.

There was always a agree of antisemitism but

unfortunately we learned to adjust to it.

- Q. You told us about the people changing the name. Was that due to antisemitism?
- A. Yeah. There was people that actually converted. I don't know how many. Several people, Jews that decided they would convert to Christianity. In the end it didn't help them. The holocaust came around. Most of the other converted Jews were also taken to the concentration camp.

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- Q. Does this reflect the pressure of the antisemitism?
- A. Yes. They wanted to improve their situation by giving up the Jewish identity. And probably to some degree it helped them. Antisemitism, as little kids we knew about it and we felt it a little bit, but it didn't bother us very much.
 - Q. For example, what would happen?
- A. In numerous classes. For instance, in the universities, the population, the Jewish population of Hungary percentage was about six percent of the general population, about six hundred thousand out of ten million, which was the Hungary total population. Jews were not allowed, universities were not allowed to accept Jewish students in excess of six percent of the population.

They had restrictions in certain professions. The peasants in our town they knew we were Jewish obviously. Some of them, the family my father rented the little store from, that was in the yard, the property of a fairly well to do farmer. They were very friendly with each other.

Farmer's wife came down to my mother and brought food on occasion. But there was antisemitism.

As a early child and later on mostly things

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got worse. In the early 30's, with Hitler rising in Germany, Social Nazi rise in Germany, made the Jews situation in Hungary worse, because the Hungarians tended to emulate the Germans. They were very friendly. Germany was their mentor. There they tended to emulate their policies.

But even before Hitler there were antisemitism and no pogroms that I recall. Not that I recall. I would have known about it. There were no pogroms in Hungary in my life time.

There was some professional discrimination and social discrimination. The Jewish population was kind of somewhat separate group from the general socially. Although there was lots of interaction.

- Was there kind of a ghetto in your town? Ο.
- Α. No. No. Jews lived scattered all around.
- Were they all orthodox? Q.
- In those days in Hungary and in Europe Α. there were most Jews were orthodox and there were the (name), the name originated in Germany. In the larger cities there were communities and synagogues and congregations. They were more to conservative Judaism is here. Not quite as secular as the reform movement here.

But in small towns everybody was orthodox.

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There was only one orthodox synagogue in town. When I was very little I remember we use to go there on most, maybe on sabbath morning with my father services.

My mother kept kosher. She had two sets of dishes. My father wasn't quite as religious. He liked some of the farmer's friends gave him. I think somebody brought it into the house, bacon or some sausage kind of thing and tried to hide it from my mother. She found it and I think she made a big fuss about it.

Basically we were orthodox, but not a very religious at the time. We spoke Hungarian at home.
Unfortunately we were never taught Yiddish.

- Q. Did your parents speak Yiddish?
- A. They did. They used it on occasion I think when they didn't want -- They used it among themselves. They never taught us. So we picked up a few words. We heard a few words. It wasn't completely unfamiliar, but we never learned to speak it.

The recession got hold of the town. Things got economically worse.

- Q. Were you going to a public school or private?
- A. In Hungary I was going to a parochial school.

 Each religion had their school. There was a public school mostly I think for the Protestant kids. Grammar school probably. Most of the kids in town went to that.

I think a couple of them in town. I am not quite sure. There was a big one there.

Next to it was the Jewish day school. The Jewish parochial school and all the Jewish kids went to that school. As a matter of fact, some of the better gentile families sent their kids because it was a better school than the public school. So we had some gentile kids in the school.

It was one room school house. A teacher, which was kind of was loved by everybody, an excellent teacher. Called Martin Budi, very good teacher. I was lucky he was my teacher when I went to school.

Then you take fourth grade and go to something like junior high school if you want to. Some kids went to sixth grade and then you can stop there. I think sixth grade was the minimum that was required of everybody to go to school.

But you had an option. After the fourth grade you could do to high school type thing. In town there was a school something like a junior high school. That was affordable for us.

There were eight year high schools called gymnasium. They were in larger towns. You had to have money to go to the city and room and board. We couldn't afford it. I went to the local junior high school, four

1 year program.

We were 14 years old when you graduate from there. Some of the gentile kids went. This was not a Jewish school anymore, and maybe some of the farmer kids could take another two year course in another school, economy, agriculture. Some agriculture things learned and they went on their father's farm and managed that.

I didn't want to go to that. We weren't farmers and I didn't want to go to that school. I went to a teacher seminar in Budapest. I wanted to become, not a Jewish parochial school teacher, but that was the next stepping stone. I wanted to study some more.

In the high school, in the year high school I was lucky enough to have an excellent chemistry teacher. I fell in love with chemistry. I remember he gave me special assignment. He lent me books from his home library and I made some presentations. Anyway, I liked chemistry. I thought I am going to study chemistry.

The next logical step, an affordable step for us, was the teacher seminar in Budapest, Jewish seminary, the only one in the whole country.

Kids came from various parts of the country there. We studied there to become Jewish school teachers.

Q. Your family could afford that.

A. Yes. I got some scholarship and it was fairly cheap. And then I started tutoring to earn a few dollars that way.

My father's brother, that family Laza, lived there. I spent sometime with them. Anyway, this was, my sisters lived there, the two older sisters lived there.

- Q. Were they working then?
- A. Yes. My older sister Olga was a seamstress. She lived for awhile in the apartment of this older brother, my father's brother. I think she must have paid some rent. She had room there, with sewing machines and kind of a model things there and she did excellent, beautiful fashion dresses, women dresses. I remember all the fashion magazines there and people came and ordered the dress and she made it. I carried many times and delivered the dresses.

She earned a reasonable living, I think.

My other sister Magda, I am not quite sure what she did. I know she was a waitress at one time. She worked I think in some office. She also earned a living. I think she changed, didn't have a steady kind of profession or like my older sister had.

Eventually I was 14 years old, my parents thought that I should go to school, say go into a store

or work as a sales clerk in somebody's store. I didn't like merchandising thing at all. I wasn't a businessman.

So I was accepted. They had an entrance examination. You have to go through it. I was accepted and I moved to Budapest when I was 14 years old in 1936.

That was a big adventure for me. I use to come home for the summer vacation, at least the first year, and then I got some tutoring jobs for the summer at various places preparing kids for Bar Mitzvah. There was no Bat Mitzvah in those days.

- Q. You had Bar Mitzvah, I assume, at home.
- Α. Oh, yes. At town there was the school By that time my Bar Mitzvah came around, my old teacher retired. A young man took over the school. He became pretty friendly with my older brother. were kind of friends. He prepared me. I don't know whether I paid him or not. Somehow he prepared me for a Bar Mitzvah. I had a regular Bar Mitzvah. Nothing, we didn't do any flashy business. You were called up to the torrah and made a speech and you had to read the half torrah and that was it. I don't remember we had celebration at home, which we could have done. I don't know whether that was accustom. I don't have a recollection.

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Q. You were in the early thirties and economy was starting to go down?

A. Yes. My father started having problems. He got some of the merchandise on credit from this wholesaler and there was somebody that couldn't payback. I remember, at one point -- I don't recall whether he had to declare bankruptcy or not. I do remember that the sign in the front of the store instead of Joseph Bauer became Magda Bauer, my sister's name. Somehow the store changed name. I surmised it had to do something with financial problems.

Maybe he had to declare bankruptcy or something of the sort. I don't know how things went in those days. Things got tight.

Shortly after my father gave up the store and he retired and he still lived in the same house. He was supported by my oldest brother who lived at home. I don't know what other support he had. I know that I didn't need any money because I earned enough from the tutoring that I could pay that little tuition and room and board thing I had to pay in Budapest for my schooling.

- Q. How about your younger sister?
- A. My younger sister she was at home. She was four years younger than I am. She was at home.

I don't recall exactly how financially they were. They had some money. They didn't sell the house because they lived in it. Until 1941 I believe, or 40 they lived in the house. I don't recall exactly when they gave up the store completely. I don't know that. I wasn't home. I was already in Budapest. And came home occasionally, not very much. I got away from home base.

- Q. Your eldest brother he hadn't married?
- A. No, he never married. He never married.

 Just found out a year ago, just a year ago from my sister, he had some love affair with a woman and he had actually a child, a young man, a physician in Switzerland. We got in touch with him.

I don't know, something was in his life he was made never to marry. He met this woman after the war. I think he was 20 years younger than I. I think he was born around 1902. 1946, he must have been over 40 years old.

Up to that point why he never married I have no idea but he didn't. We had very loose contact with him. As I recall they came to visit once. Apparently my parents weren't too happy about his idea of marrying a gentile woman. Could be.

Other boy he was kind of loose character.

The two girls, my older sister married in Budapest. She married a very nice Jewish guy, Miklos. What was the last name? I have a picture of that.

- O. We will come to that later.
- A. My older sister got married in Budapest. I don't know what happened. I know that my older sister and her husband they were killed by the Nazi. They were shot there. They were in one of the safe houses. A Swedish safe house. There was a raid on it. Nazi collected them, dragged out some Jews among them, and my sister and her husband, marched to the banks of the Danube River and machine gunned the group and threw the bodies in the Danube. Both died that way.
 - Q. Did they have children?
- A. No. They got married when I was in Budapest. They probably got married in 38 or 39 or so. I don't know for what reason they didn't have children. Neither did my other sister to the best of my knowledge. Unless they don't tell me about it. They didn't tell me about my brothers illegitimate son.
 - Q. Do you know your two older brothers?
- A. The two older brothers, one of them disappeared somehow during the war. The must have died. We don't know. The next brother had polio. He did survive. I visited him when we were in Hungary in 1972

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with my family the first time we went back to visit the surviving members of the family. Miklos was alive. He was in a state care kind of institution. He was old, he was a little feeble. He was in an institution the state managed. He was in good spirits. We brought him some gifts. He was happy about it. And he died naturally thereafter. I don't know by what. I was told Miklos passed away.

From the family only five of us survived. My older sister died with her husband.

The second oldest brother disappeared somewhere, we don't know how. He never came back. We never heard anything about him after the war. But five of us of the seven siblings survived.

Of the five, three of us are still alive today. Myself and the two sisters. The younger sister and the one next above me in age. Magda lives in Israel. Clara got stuck in Romania. I think it was in 40, probably 41 Hitler started to make peace between his allies in the area. Hungary and Romanians were always at each other's throats because of territorial thing.

They lost it to Romania after the First World War. They lost territory to Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia. And Hitler wanted to make peace. He gave back part of the territories that Hungary lost after the First World

War. Part of it was Czechloslovakia at that time.

That's the area that Elie Wiesal comes from. That was returned to Hungary.

Part of Transsalvania was given, taken back from Romanians and given to Hungary. We lived near that area, that little small town.

The big city was just across the border, (name of city) the capital city or seat of the county before the war, before the First World War. My parents moved there. During the war they left the town where I was born and moved to that city. They were retired. My brother moved, his employer moved there. The family was translated there. They lived there.

By that time, 41, I finished teachers seminary in Budapest and I wanted to study some more. I got some scholarship to go to the University in Hungary. The University of Sagit. Second largest city in Hungary. It's the southern part. A big town, big Jewish community. I got the scholarship because very few Jewish kids could get into college in those days.

My school, the teacher seminary, I think they were allowed every year to send two or three students to the University.

- Q. Was this still the six percent quota?
- A. Yes. Yes. Things got worse. As the war

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came along the anti-Jewish laws enacted in Hungary were mirroring the Nurenburg Laws in Germany.

- Q. Let's talk about that. How about the Jews, Hungarians in general, when Hitler came to power in 33?
- A. We lived with a great deal of anxiety. We never thought our lives were in danger or there was a serious problem. There was quite a few very prominent Jews in Hungary, in the social life, intellectual life and business life. Jews were pretty well integrated in society, inspite of some antisemitism current there, which kept them out. I don't think there was any Jews to the best of my knowledge in Parliament, elected. I may be wrong on that. I know there weren't too many, if there was any. My recollection is there was none.

So there were certain kind of profession.

and Jews didn't own land. I am not sure whether at this point this was already by law, but at some point before I believe it was. For whatever reason Jews didn't own land. I know of no landowner, I have no recollection. Jewish people were in business, they had some stores, they managed or they had some profession. They were tailors, shoemakers or whatever.

Although there may have been some -- As a matter of fact, I seem to recall that my father's father -- maybe I should go a step back. The only thing I

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24 25 heard my family originally came from Czechoslovakia. That's where father's family came from. I have no idea where my mother's family came from.

I had a vague notion they came from Czechloslovakia, during the Austrian-Hungarian times and in previous centuries. My father was born in 1875. At that time it was the Austro-Hungarian Empire. could probably move from parts to the other.

For whatever reason I don't know, from Czechloslovakia the ancestoral father or grandfather moved to Hungary. If I recall correctly, my grandfather, this Ernest, this cousin, in Los Angeles, I think there was a rabbi in the family among the I understand, if I recall correctly, my ancestors. father's father leased some land and he operated some farm land on a lease basis.

So there may have been some Jews involved in agriculture, but it wasn't a typical profession for Jews to be in that business.

- The home you had, did you own the land the home was on?
- And I don't know when they bought it. Α. I know they owed money on it, because there was talk about the bank is pressuring for payments, as I recall. But we owned the land and we owned the house.

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You could own a small plot of land? Q.

Oh, yes. I mean land, agriculture, farm as Α. far as I know. And I am not quite clear about it whether it was legally impossible or just not or for whatever reason that was the case. My recollection sometime ago there was some restriction the Jews could not own land. It wasn't a big problem in our area. Jews weren't in that business. We never heard much more about it.

At any rate, they were clerks or like my father's brother worked for the railroad and this kind of thing. His son, Miklos, in Budapest, he was a taxi driver. He owned some taxis. He bought some taxis. I don't know too many things to say. Let me say that much.

Some of our family, a couple members of my extended family got to America.

- Q. Early on?
- In the twenties. Way before. Maybe in the tens. Probably after the First World War. The only ones I know that got here had two daughters, brother of my father in Budapest. Two of his daughters came to America.

One married, Maria, or something like that, had disappeared or it wasn't talked about it. I don't

know. Somehow she disappeared. The other daughter
Helen, was in contact with the rest of the family. She
was the only person that was from the family in America.

When I came here, I wasn't in touch with her but when I came here a few years later I got in touch with her and we visited. They lived in Atlantic City. She married a non-Jewish person. I have her picture. She came to visit us when we lived in Chicago. She had a daughter. She was the only relation.

The rest of the family just sort of disappeared by now. Some of them may be alive. I have no contact with the rest of the family.

- Q. You were saying when Hitler rose to power Jews were afraid?
 - A. Very much afraid.
 - Q. The Hungarians were admiring the Germans.
- A. Absolutely. The relation got almost political between the Hungarian government and closer and closer with the Germans, not particularly after the war broke out.
 - Q. When was that, do you remember?
- A. The war broke out on September 1st, 1939. I remember it was a Friday. My parents were up at the marketplace. Nobody was home. I was at home and turned on the radio and -- We had a radio at that time.

The news said German armies marched across the border into Poland. Naturally nobody knew it was going to last that long and become a world war. The war broke out.

Even before that I think there were two sets of anti-Jewish legislation enacted in Hungary. Similar to the Jewish Nuremburg Laws. I think the first so-called Jewish Acts they called it. This was in 1938, I believe was the first one. I think 1939 was the second one. I am not a historian. I am not guaranteeing the dates here, but roughly.

There were right wing governments were put into power even before.

As I recall, from my childhood, just trying to think back, there were no liberal or left wing governments in Hungary, only right wing governments, that always cooperated with the Germans.

- Q. From 1933 on?
- A. Right from 1933 on. Even before. I don't recall who was the Prime Minister. Hungary, after the First World War remained a Monarchy, without a Monarchy. We didn't have a king. The king was deposed or died during the First World War, but had a regent, regent was ruling the country. Miklos Horty was a pretty big guy in Hungary. He was an admiral in the Austro-Hungarian

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Navy. After the Axis powers lost the First World War and Hungary was kind of dissected. Romanians occupied part of it, Czechloslovakia, central part this remained Hungarian was taken over by Communist government, headed by a Jew. Bela Kul, in 1919. He took over the government and established a communist government. There was chaos in the country in the aftermath of the last war.

This admiral came in at the head of his Army on a white horse. We have pictures of it. I think six months or eight months, he put it down a short period of the communist government. He put it down. This was part of the anti-semitic attitude in Hungary. hated communists. It became highly anti-communist, which naturally played well with the Germans. Another tie to this Nazi ideology, very strong anti-communist feeling and antisemitism was merged into this because a Jew was heading the Communist government and it was so But this was not the only reason for the antisemitism in Hungary. It went way back; as we know, the Catholic church had a great deal to do with it. You asked me what happened, what was the Jewish attitude in the thirties and so on.

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Q. Right. Also Hungarian towards the Jews.

Oh, yes, definitely. Nazi ideologe became

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more popular in Hungary. It was the new wave.

Gentiles, gentile elites went with it. They were right wing kind, the whole government, the prime minister.

Regent appointed the prime Minister. There was one party that was more liberal than the other. This was the Small Holders Party. This was a party by name, a party of the small farmers.

The lawyer in our town was a very prominent member. He was a member of this party. My brother worked for him. Eventually this lawyer became elected to the House. He was a representative of his district and he was a member of the Small Holders Party there.

He was a very nice kind gentleman. He wasn't anti-semetic at all. My brother worked many years for him. When he was gone my brother handled the whole office of the work there.

As a sidelight, during the war Jewish men of military age were drafted into this forced label unit, not into military units. They were drafted into the slave labor units. And eventually went out to the Russian front. Many died there. They were mistreated. It was a terrible situation.

This lawyer who was an officer, I don't know his rank. Colonel or something in the Army. He was on the front. He met my brother. He was able to help my

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brother there on the Russian front and that's the reason why I think he survived there. He managed to come back alive from there because his employer Dr. Julius Mark was an officer. He was able to give him some help there. So miracles.

- Q. Did your parents think about emigrating in the early thirties?
- A. No. For average people in Hungary, any foreign country was a different world. We heard about the two girls that went to America. That was such a remote dream. Romania was about 15 miles away from us. We never got to Romania to go to the big city. It was foreign country. Just very rich people, people who had much broader horizon and had means to travel to foreign country.

at home any talk about possibility. Besides my parents were old. My father was born -- In 1935 he was 60 years old. That is pretty old in those days. My mother was I believe about ten years younger than my father. My mother.

We lived with a fair amount of fear. But even in the early thirties, even after Hitler got to power, it was kind of remote for us. Hitler wasn't in Hungary. He was in Germany. We didn't feel immediately

threatened. But we all had a great deal of anxiety. We saw things go in the wrong direction in Europe. German is gaining more and more power. We were pretty much upset at the various victories, diplomatic victories. Hitler achieved, forging the axis powers with Italy and Japan and Chamberlain Munich affair in 1938 and fall of Czechloslovakia. As time went by things became very disturbing. We didn't like it. We were afraid. But we didn't think it was going to come to us.

Q. Do you remember your parents or whatever discussing what his policy was towards the Jews?

A. Not at all. When I lived at home I was a little kid. They may have mentioned something about the party. All I remember one day, it must have been 1933, 1932. My father took me to a barber to cut my hair. As we got out of the barber's place on the corner my father met somebody that know him and I was standing there with him and he said did you hear the news that Roosevelt got elected president.

Apparently that meant something to them.

Roosevelt was considered I think some supporter in some fashion. I didn't understand what was Roosevelt, what was president in America. I recall that it stuck in my mind. I was wondering why is that important to them.

Why is it my father brought this to his attention or

asked him about it. It's part of me and I remember it.

I remember the man standing on the corner. Very few scenes I recall from my early childhood.

- Q. Was your family Zionist in any way?
- A. No. People were Jewish, but somewhat assimilated Jews. Not very religious. I would say high holidays were strictly held. Sabbath, candles, and my father made kiddush. There was candles. There was a sabbath meal in the evening. It meant we were Jews. Some were partially observing Jews. But I never heard any Zionist thinking.

I was in this town, until I got to Budapest I probably didn't know what Zionism means. We didn't hear anything about it.

Let me go back for a moment to my earlier childhood. This hundred fifty or so Jewish families, there was not a great deal of cohesion. There weren't synagogue affairs that Jewish went to, except going to services on sabbath mornings or high holidays.

The only thing I recall there must have been a sisterhood there of some kind because I know at least in some years, maybe every year, the sisters who arranged New Year's Eve party, Jewish friends, we went there. This was when I was going to school. There was some dancing. Parents liked to watch the kids dancing

on the floor. There was some community life.

The other side of this was when we got a new synagogue. Our synagogue use to be a small kind of house like thing somewhere in the town. We use to trek down there to go to synagogue. It looked like a long, long walk to get there.

I went back in 1972 and this was small and it looked like a long way was a couple blocks was really nothing. At that time it seemed like a long, long walk.

In Europe, I believe, in Hungary definitely,
I believe in most of Europe the religion or religious
activities are supported financially by the state.
Everybody pays, they collect taxes. I think they use to
call it culture tax in Hungary, besides the income tax.

The government collected this money and I think they paid for the parochial school teachers salary was paid from that. Probably in congregations, maybe the rabbi or things like that. I think they must have supported somehow the building of the synagogue.

One day, it was probably the late twenties, and beautiful new synagogue was built. I am sure that the state didn't build it that way. Some rich Jewish families in town must have contributed to it.

There were a couple three, four that I recall very rich families. The Blier family, who owned some

huge stores, major store in town was owned by them.

They sold everything, I think, including farm equipment.

They were very rich. Their son was my best friend. We were about the same age.

As a kid I didn't have much toys, but Franz had lots of it. I use to spend practically every day in their home, beautiful homes. Not just me. I was his closest friend. But there were other Jewish kids.

After Franz and he had a fraulein and they had servants in the house and big fancy things and his mother,

Mrs. Blier, every afternoon when the kids were playing in the house they served food to us at 3:00 o'clock in the afternoon. It was very nice.

So I am sure the Bliers, his mother's family was the other rich family in town, Wiess family. They had what seemed to me to be a huge textile store where they sold material for mens clothing. I think tailors bought mens clothing material from the Weiss family. They were very rich.

There were a couple more families. I am sure this family contributed lots of money to the beautiful synagogue, with all kind of stain glass windows. It wasn't there when we went back. The synagogue wasn't there. I don't know what happened to it. Come to think of it I didn't see it. It was gone.

At any rate, there was a big synagogue and the Jews got together once in a while. But not like being a member of congregation where you meet people more intensely.

- Q. Was there much social life or didn't you have time?
- A. Well, my father and mother times, theatre came to town they went to the theater. They must have gone to some social events. I remember as a little child some events where they came back, brought back cakes for the kids. So we know they were somewhere else.

I know they went to some theater things. In town they use to sing operatas and my father and mother use to love the operatas. Otherwise, family members got together.

Family of my mother's side. I don't recall much social life. We were little kids and maybe we didn't see it, didn't notice it. I didn't notice much social life. My parents weren't well to do. They didn't participate in too many. I remember they did go to the New Year's eve celebration.

The congregations, we didn't have a rabbi.

We had a Shohert was the leader of the congregation. He was the cantor. He slaughtered the chickens, the geese

and whatnot.

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He was the religious leader. I think they called it intinerary.

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Q. Itinerant.

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A. Itinerant rabbi. Before all the high holidays the Rabbi with a long red beard came to our synagogue and made the (name). In Yiddish. Maybe part

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of it was Hungarian. I wasn't much interested in it.

That was community life. There was no family

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and a little bit around the congregation, but it wasn't

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very extensive. In the town there were two hotels,

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so-called hotels. One was the big hotel, one was the

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small hotel. The small hotel was the better one. That

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was managed by we were told a distant relative of yours.

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Adolph. Uncle Adolph we called him. And his wife

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Irene. And with the cooks, there was a dining room and

On occasion the richer farmers came and drank

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people were there eating.

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champagne. Later in the summer time my Uncle Adolph

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wanted to lay down in the afternoon and rest, gave me a

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job. I went and I was the cashier there.

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probably 12 years old. Twelve, thirteen years old. I handled the money and wrote down everything that was sold and how much it was. In the end my tally and the

cash had to jive. I didn't get paid for it.

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But Uncle Adolph in the same complex, the same building, the hotel, rooms were there for guests, he operated the movie house there. So I had free access to the movies. I saw movies there. I think that was the only payment I got from him. So I think I had things that are not relevant.

- Q. Keep going. What about the reactions of the Hungarian to the Jews after Hitler came to power?
- A. Well, the situation got worse. Even before official laws were enacted, which barred Jews from certain professions, and I don't know exactly what other ramifications there were. But similar things to the Nuremburg Laws, very similar or maybe a little milder. I don't know the details. I never studied the details. There were two sets of Jewish legislation enacted, I believe in 1938 and in 1939.

Under the rise of National German Socialism in Germany and Central Europe and Italy, Mussolini and anti-Jewish fascism, Hungarian government that was established the first time I think in mid thirties or so about the Hungary Nazi party that was a small fringe group. They called them self the Arrow Cross party. Instead of a cross it was a swastica. They were very vicious people. I think they were worse than Nazi Gestapo.

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For instance, what would they do?

The last few months of the war, when things

became chaotic this party got into power. The regent,

the head of the party was named prime minister and they

were murdering Jews everywhere. This was 1944. By this

time the Jews were all deported to Auschwitz, from the country side, except Budapest. Eichmann was assigned to

deport the Jews. He had some problems. The city was

I think something like 250 thousand or so Jews

living there. Most of the Jews lived in Budapest.

I don't know if you heard about Roahl 11

> Wallenberg. By this time the Allies tried to save some of the Hungarian Jews and many survived. There was a

ghetto there. Many of them were hiding. Nazi uniforms, 14

I know some of them had them for disguise. Many Jews

had them. The Nazis were in small towns where there

were no Jews. In Budapest they were roaming streets. If you got hold of a Jew, life of a Jew wasn't worth

much anymore. They killed many of them.

In Hungary, Kody, Regent, he was reluctant to

allow the Jews to be deported. He was not a Jew lover.

He was probably afraid. In 44 it was kind of obvious

the war is going to be lost. By that time Hungary was

an active ally of Germany.

In 1941, the Hungarians didn't enter the war.

The Germans occupied Czechloslovakia, Hungary, the Balkans by themselves. The Hungarians were reluctant to join them on the battle front until 1941 when Germany attacked Russia. To fight the communists the Hungarian were willing to go with them. There was a large contingency, three Hungarian thousand went to fight with the Germans on the Russian front.

They took with them the forced labor Jews and enlisted them. I understand, and it is probably true, that the Regent was reluctant to let the Jews be deported to Auschwitz. Probably he knew what was going on there. Not like the rest of us, which I am going to tell you later about.

He was trying to suppress the Jews, but he didn't want to kill them and was reluctant to let the Germans deport them. Eichmann I think had problem with the government, couldn't speed it up enough his transports to Auschwitz.

Then I understand at one point the Germans captured the regent's son and they forced him by that means to consent to certain things to which he would not have consented under pressure.

- Q. He had consented to the slave labor of the Jews though?
 - A. Right. Oh, yes. Slave labor, that was

before. The slave labor of the Jews was instituted I think in 1938 or 39 or something around there.

My brother was enlisting I believe before the war. Perhaps not before the war. I am not sure when that was started. Before the Hungarian went to the Russian front which is where they fought. Jews in the military probably late thirties. I think that was part of the anti-Jewish laws. Jews of military age were draft into slave units rather than military units.

- Q. Do you know any other anti-Jewish laws?
- A. I never took the trouble to study it.
- Q. Did it affect your life in anyway in the thirties?

A. No. It did not. By this time in 1941 I graduated from the teacher seminary and in the fall I went to the University to that school and I wasn't personally affected by it, I felt. In the school they knew I was Jewish. I didn't feel any direct persecution.

My professors -- By that time mathematics, the teachers seminar, I had a math teacher and lousy chemistry teacher. I switched from chemistry to mathematics. That's where I stayed to this day. I don't know. Maybe I could tell you about that, unless you want to ask me more questions.

Q. As we go along. Go ahead?

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A. In 1941 and 40 we heard about, and Hitler invaded and occupied Poland and part of Russia, Ukraine, some refugees, Jewish refugees came from that part of the country to seek refuge in Hungary. We felt pretty badly about it. These people are fleeing. Why do they flee. Maybe they live in ghettos so why do they flee. We had no idea, I had no idea they had been killed. Nobody told me about that.

When people came, Hungarian government deported them. I know one guy who went to school at the teachers seminary, his parents didn't have the right citizenship and he was taken out of the school. Farish was the first name. With his parents he was deported to Palestine. That is what we were told. That's my recollection.

I know we felt pretty bad about being deported to Palestine. What a Godforsaken place that is.

By that time we heard about swamps being drained there, we heard a little. In Budapest I learned about Zionism. Our main teacher was the leading Zionist in Hungary. As a matter of fact, he is in the Encyclopedia Judica he is mentioned. He use to edit the Zionist newspaper. He gave me an assignment to cut out

news things from other papers and to paste them together.

By that time we learned about Zionism and heard about the issue that people are living under very difficult condition there, the swamps need to be drained. Anyway, we thought it was pretty much of a hardship to be deported to Palestine.

- Q. Is it true they were deported to Palestine?

 THE WITNESS: To the best of my knowledge, at least some of them. Some of them, not all, but we heard some at least. I didn't check how many. Some people had been deported. I know some people we heard were deported to Palestine. I don't think this was the truth really, but this is what we heard, what I knew about
 - Q. Were some deported to camps?
- A. At that time to the best of my knowledge there was no camps in Hungary and we never heard about Auschwitz. We didn't know. Maybe some were deported back to Germany. They were deported back to Poland and maybe given, turned over to the Germans at the border. That's probably what happened. At least some of them we heard, at least the family it was felt they were going to Palestine.
- Q. Have you heard about any camps from the early thirties like Dachau, Dachau is the only camp I knew

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about. Somebody said concentration camp. People didn't say it. Dachau was a concentration camp. Hitler set it up after he got power. We heard or read in the paper or heard some terrible things are going on there. Some mental retarded people are being killed and communists and political enemies of Hitler and homosexuals. We knew about Dachau. But to this day I cannot understand how it could have happened that we lived in Hungary after the war started in 1941, 42, 43, 44, a couple hundred miles south of a place called Auschiew where people being gassed by the thousands every day and no one heard of it. Somebody must have. I am sure somebody must have known.

I thought really the Jewish leadership, which was a pretty large. There were six hundred thousand Jews in Hungary. Maybe at this time maybe seven hundred thousand were refugees. They must have known what is going on. If they did the knowledge never filtered to the average person. We never knew things were possible they might be deporting civilians. I was exempt from military because I was a student.

- Q. Were you of military age?
- A. Oh, yes, I was 21, 22. I didn't have to report. How come that you never heard of it, concentration camps exist in the parts of Europe

occupied by the Germans.

- Q. You didn't learn anything through the refugees?
- A. Never got in touch. I don't know the refugees came from. They came from Russia, some on the border, they were probably detained. I never saw a refugee myself in Budapest. We just heard that some refugees came across the border.
 - Q. No one brought the newspaper.
- A. Because there was -- There was an underground, there was no newspaper. Then Jewish newspaper appeared weekly or whatever it is. Equality was the name of the newspaper, the Jewish newspaper.

There was nothing said how they were treated. If it comes to the average person you tell each other what is happening. I never heard of concentration camps in the German occupation. The only one I ever knew was Dachau.

- Q. Was the German community disturbed once the slave labor battalions went out?
- A. Yes. We heard about it but there was nothing we could do about it. It was military duty. To us it was very bad time but it was a military duty that everyone is suppose to perform, particularly after 41 the war was on. Wartime military age men go to the

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front. It wasn't something highly unusual.

It's true the fact the Jews were not in the regular military units, that was very disturbing. We took it as that's the way things are. Jews always have problems. This is a much stronger version of it. But an extension of the anti-semitic attitude. It's maybe a little higher degree, but qualitative there was no difference, quantitatively slightly, but we never noticed tightening of the screws.

In retrospect you could see. At that time we didn't.

- Q. How about your relationship with non-Jewish students or other Hungarians in Budapest?
- A. The school where I went to in Budapest was a Jewish school. Jewish teacher, seminary, together with rabbinical. We were in the same building. There were no gentile students there. No gentile.

The University in Sagit there were Jews. I didn't notice anybody being treated differently. I didn't notice on the part of the other students any overt antisemitism, and nothing on the part of the teacher.

Some of the professors at the University were Jewish. One of the major math professors was converted. His family was. I didn't notice any overt.

As a student, I could go there because of the scholarship. I didn't have to pay tuition. I had to rent a room, which I did. A few dollars.

The city by that time, our parents moved to the large city across the border. The city or somebody granted my brother or somebody got me a scholarship. I don't know why, but they did. That money went to my parents. They collected every month a few dollars and had that to support themselves.

In the school, in the University I had to pay for the rent, which was very little. I lived with this friend of mine Nick Hoffman. It was an attic thing. Fortunately I was short. We rented a place from a Jewish family, Nick and I. We never paid much for it. We couldn't afford it.

For the meals, we ate every day with a different family. We were given the main meal of the day. I went to a Jewish family. Monday I ate with these people and Tuesday I ate with these. That's the way I managed to go to school. We had lots of friends and families were very nice.

But coming back to the point, no overt antisemitism, no more than I saw before was noticeable to me. Nobody ever told us that things are very bad.

We know the Germans are losing the war. So

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we didn't feel our life is in any danger.

On March 19, 1944 the Germans suddenly occupied Hungary. Our Allies --

- Do you remember that date? Q.
- Yes, I remember that day. I believe it was a Α. Sunday also. Suddenly German tanks -- I believe it was a Sunday. I wouldn't swear on it, but I think it was. German tanks arrived and surrounded the city. Truckloads of German soldiers. The country was taken We surmised, we were told that the Eastern Front at that time was very close to Hungary. They were being beaten back by the Russians. I think they were afraid, Hungarians fought in the region, may try for a separate peace, like the Romanians tried and they did. Germans were afraid the Hungarians were going to do this kind of thing. They came and took over the government. That's the time they captured Hodaly's son. Suddenly everything changed drastically. We had to wear the yellow star. The Jews couldn't go out on the street only in daytime.

I couldn't go to the school. So March 44, summer of 42 was my first year. 43 the second year. 44, this was my third year. I was almost finished with three years of studying there and suddenly it stopped. I couldn't go to school anymore.

I was ordered to go, to report for this forced labor duty. No more exemption as a student. So we went. If we had some idea what we are getting into I don't know, but probably I would have tried at least to do something. I can't understand, the only concentration camp I knew of in 1944 was Dachau. I knew of the existence of Dachau. But I didn't hear anything of the name. Auschwitz wouldn't have meant anything, Treblinka, or Magdeneck. We never heard of them, even though they were a couple 300 miles away from us.

- Q. Had you ever heard of the treatment of the Jews on the forced labor in Russia?
- A. Yes. We knew they were pretty badly treated. By this time I think we heard that some forced labor group were down I think on the Balkan in Yugoslavia, lead mines they were working and they were marched back and Hungarians killed many of them. We heard of sporadic mistreatment.

Well, maybe we are wrong or whatever. But there is a systemic effort in Europe to exterminate the Jews was the furthest from our mind. If somebody told me I would have said it's not possible. It's terrible.

I don't know what we would have done if we had known. I am sure probably somebody told me let's say in December, 1943 what is going on in Auschwitz I

would say it's not possible, it's a lie. Maybe if we heard it from somewhere else. If you hear it from different sources you begin to believe it. You think well, maybe we better try to do something. Hide or possibly by the time we knew, if I had known the Germans intention was to exterminate Jews when they occupied Hungary I probably would not have gone willingly to report for this duty.

I knew we are in the Germans' hands already and I knew what they are trying to do. But we didn't know that.

- Q. But you referred to and did you think now in retrospect that the heads of the Jewish Community had this information?
- A. I can't imagine that they didn't. I can't imagine why they didn't warn us. Unfortunately I blame them for the demise of many of the Jewish people. We should have gotten at least some warning or some inclination what is happening in the rest of Europe, just around us. We know by this time the Allies knew about it, what was going on, and I just can't imagine the Hungarians -- They contacts with the outside. They were a big organization. I can't imagine they didn't know. This is the one topic I would be willing to spend sometime to read about to understand what happened.

Elie Wiesell, who is also in Hungary, he wrote an article in one of the papers. We had a Russian paper we get. About the 50th anniversary of the deportation of the Hungarian Jews and he is bitterly complaining about the same thing. He can't understand how come we were not warned. It's a mystery to me. I don't know what it would have been, but at least we would known what we are getting into. This way we didn't.

- Q. Do you know if there was like a Jewish community set up?
- A. Yes. In our city -- Well, let me tell you what happened. I don't know in Sagit. There was a large Jewish community there. It was remote. Rich people, rich Jewish community. It was mostly reform. Only synagogue I know, a beautiful synagogue. Probably the nicest in central or eastern Europe. A beautiful synagogue. The people, some of them are very rich people. I don't know, I don't recall the (name). This must have been between middle of March and early June I had to report. There was not much time. I don't know exactly where were the Germans organizing.

I know in the first couple of weeks or so some leading members of the community were arrested and disappeared.

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One of the family, he was a large wine merchant, very well to do. His wife was a dentist. She is the one that fixed my teeth once for nothing. I was a poor Jewish student. She did that. With apricot pit.

Her husband disappeared. Some other people disappeared. We are wondering what happened to them.

By that time we heard a so-called concentration camp is set up somewhere in Hungary at a place called Kitzchard. It's a small town. People said these people have been taken to that concentration camp and are there. Weeks later post cards came back to the families. You heard about this story. It came back we are okay, don't worry about us. Everything is okay with The post cards came from town postmarked on Walzi. People were trying to look on a map and find where it This was before they had concentration camps in Hungary. People were looking for where Walzi was. Nobody could find a town called this in Germany, Poland. There was rumors this was a small town in Switzerland. This is where the people are kept. The cards arrived, the people were long dead and they were taken to Auschwitz.

- Q. Where is Walzi?
- A. I don't think a town exists like that. I don't think so. This is the kind of thing I remember.

I don't know exactly what happened. This is my recollection. The gist of it.

They used all kind of tricks to keep us in the dark. We thought well, the war is on and we have a duty to go to military duty. We were students exempted and now we are not. It's bad, but we have to go. There is no way out.

I reported to this military duty on June 6, 1944. I was ordered to report at the railroad station of a town, a larger town not far from where I went to school called (name). It's a long name. Mostly from the same city, students from the University and some other high school students. I don't know what the age limit was. Probably 18 and up or something. I was 22 at this time.

We were pretty badly treated by the Hungarian Army. Searched us. We were suppose to give every valuable up, money. We had to carry our own clothing. We had civilian clothing. We didn't get uniforms. We had a sleeping bag.

Who made my sleeping bag. Somebody sewed it.

I think that lady, where we rented a room, with my
friend Nick Hoffman she made up a nice sleeping bag I
had. We had rumors June 6th when we report the Allies
landed in Normandy on the French coast. We thought the

war is going to be over very soon. We just hold out, don't try to make big waves so they kill you or hurt you. Wait a couple weeks and the war will be over.

Well, it was a wrong guess. It wasn't over very quickly. We were taken, the unit I got into, was taken to wooded area, on top of a hill. Hungarians had big ammunition dump.

Our unit, maybe 150 of us, 150, 200 perhaps or maybe less. Anyway, a sizable unit was taken and we were working in that area.

In the woods the buildings were hidden. They were trying to hide by the trees. That's where I spent the summer and we still didn't think anything is drastically wrong. We were cut off. I had no contact. I can't recall exactly how, but after the Germans came in mid-March I lost contact with my family.

- Q. They moved.
- A. And my sisters from Budapest. I simply didn't know. We were cutoff. I don't know if I could have written a letter to them or they could have sent me a letter. There was no contact from that point on I had no idea what was happening to my family.
 - Q. Do you think you were forbidden to have mail?
- A. It is possible. I don't have a recollection of it. For some reason I had no idea what was happening

to my family.

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Anybody else I knew of that knew what was going on, I don't think anybody knew. The guys I was with, at least it wasn't talked about. We were sort of kept as prisoners by that time, handled by the Hungarian people, old guards. Some of them were pretty bad. were reasonable.

- Did they abuse you? 0.
- Α. Not very much. At this place, they abused us in the first few days when we reported, they search you. Some of us were beaten because they found Hungary money sewed in the jacket. If they caught somebody doing something like that they were badly beaten.
 - Q. You weren't suppose to do that?
- We weren't suppose to. We were to turn in every valuable, watches, when you reported to the duty.
 - ο. Were you beat up?
- I didn't. They didn't find anything on Α. No. me.
- Q. Why was it your parents left the home they owned?

(Off the record change of tape)

We were going to talk about why your parents moved from this home.

I believe the major reason was the lawyer for Α.

whom my brother worked, who was probably the main support for my parents moved to that city, the big city with his law office.

My brother moved there with him and naturally my parents did go. I believe at that time they sold the house that we lived in and they must have gotten some money out of it. Not very much, but some. Probably that supported them in part in this new place. I know they rented an apartment someplace. I am pretty sure my brother supported them with it. They may have had some money left over from the house. I don't know whether the business left them any. They were retired by that time.

They also received -- The city is the one that gave me the scholarship, the student scholarship. Since I didn't need that it was left for my parents to support them. That's the reason, because my brother had to move with his job.

- O. About when was that?
- A. I don't know exactly, but I believe it was in 1940. It was shortly after that part of Transsylvania was returned to Hungary by Hitler. Then the border was erased, you are free to move into the city. I think maybe about 20 miles or so. So it must have been around 40. I have no recollection. By that time I was away

from home. I was in school in Budapest in 40 and 41 and then I went to Sagit. I was not frequent, infrequent visitor in my parents' place.

Even summer times, most of the time, as I recall, I was tutoring at other parts of Hungary and I visited my parents for a relatively brief couple weeks or so even during the summer vacation.

- Q. Was there any communication by mail?
- A. Yes. Yes. Telephone, no. It wasn't ubiquitous like it is here. My parents didn't have a telephone. Few people had telephones. Neither did my relatives in Budapest. I couldn't have gotten a telephone. By mail, I was a bad letter writer and I remain that way. My mother use to complain about that to me. My mother use to send when I was going to school in Budapest use to send food packages. I don't know how often. Two, three times a year or so. And she made, you know, some baked goods and meat stuff.

In the dormitory, where we lived next to the school building there was a big apartment building that was bought by the Jewish community who supported the school. There was a dormitory there.

All the students, because most of us are from out of town. This was a national school. Very few were from Budapest. We lived in the dormitory. My parents

and other kid's parents sent food packages to their son.

They; thought we wouldn't have good enough food. In fact, the food was very good. There was a kitchen there, the sister of the main professor, she was managing the kitchen there and the food was excellent, as I recall. The Cholan that was served on weekends was just delicious. Probably wasn't the greatest food. At that time it was good enough.

We had one meal there and breakfast in the morning and one meal at midday. In the evening we had to get our own food. We bought small piece of bread and cheese and this kind of thing.

I went to where my sister lived and I had evening meal there occasionally at least. My mother use to send the packages. In the dormitory we didn't have refrigerators. Each of us had a locker, you know for the meager clothing we had. I would take the package, the box it was sent in and kept it on the top shelf and lock it. We would save it so it would last for a while.

Later meat got rotten, some green stuff, we scrapped it off and ate the rest of it. A couple times I came down with terrible food poisoning. Ever since I have a little problem you know with food, particularly with meat. If it's not fresh I can't eat it.

In those days that use to be pretty

fantastic. One guy got a package and give a little bit to the other guys. We lived that way.

You asked me about communication. We communicated occasionally by mail and main communication was when we received a package from home. That was the best thing.

- Q. Do you know how life was like after 1940? Did it make any difference to them in that town?
- A. I don't think it made much difference to them for Jewish life, life in relation with the rest of it.

 Probably there were, like in every town, some element that were inclined anti-semitic.

They got more vocal. I believe, and I never heard my parents say otherwise, the people that they kept in touch with, non-Jewish people, the guy that had the store for them, neighbors. We had several neighbors, kids that I use to go to high school, junior high were gentile kids that lived nearby, had good relations with them. I don't think that changed much. Not to my knowledge at least.

Economically things got worse because of the recession in the thirties. My parents situation got worse and worse. But I didn't feel that much. By that time I was away. I know that my parents had more and more difficulty. They eventually had to sell. I don't

know how they got rid of the store. They must have sold it to somebody or at least the remaining merchandise in it. So I think that is what they lived on in their so-called retirement.

- Q. What would your father do now that he didn't have work?
- A. He wasn't a youngster. He was getting close to -- Well, he was 70 years old in 1945 when he was killed. He was 60 years old in 1935. So he was over 60 in this period of time and he didn't have much hair left, I remember that. People aged then much more readily. He was retired. He didn't do anything. I wasn't home, but my understanding was he lived a life of a retired person.

He was reasonably well, health wise. He had arthritis that was painful even when we were little kids. He was complaining about backaches. One old favorite thing was he laid down on his stomach and we kids had to jump up and down on his back to massage his back.

He was complaining, I recall, about hard arteries. He had that. To my knowledge he never had a heart attack. I don't think he had Alzheimers, because he was -- from what I could see. My mother was in reasonably good health. They were getting old.

When I visited them when they moved and once in a while I visited, not very often, but I went there two or three times I recall. They were just not doing anything. I don't know whether he did anything, whether he had anything to occupy himself.

In our house he had a little garden. In the front there was some flowers and they sold vegetables. I don't think in the rented apartment he had even that. But he may have. I don't recall. To the best of my knowledge he didn't want anything that I know of.

- Q. Your mother was busy keeping house.
- A. Yeah. At least that some. But I don't have any knowledge that they did any kind of work type that would have earned any money. I am not aware of it. I wasn't aware of it. I wasn't very inquisitive about it either, you know.

Somehow I had my own life and I was worried more about that than really finding out some details. They seemed to me to me to be okay. There was no complaining. They didn't tell me we are having this and this problem, financial. I thought they lived reasonably peacefully, if not lavishly. I don't think they starved.

They had an apartment that was a roof over their head. To the best of my knowledge no major

sickness.

My mother use to have problems. My mother had asthma and she had gallbladder problems. I remember as a kid sometimes my mother use to get this terrible pain attacks, gallbladder attacks. I was the one that had to run in the middle of the night over to a doctors. Wake up, doctors. I don't know his name. And there is a problem with my mother. He had a car. He was one of the few people that had an automobile in town. He came and I think gave her an injection or whatever he did and eased the pain.

My mother had this. But it was a chronic thing. Not something that every minute bothered you. I think she was able to -- She couldn't eat certain things.

My father, as far as I know, -- Oh, my father had hernia. I don't think he was ever operated on. I remember somewhere here, because I remember I saw the implement. It was called a truss or something. They put that, it pushes on the thing and keeps your intestines inside. He had that.

I don't think he ever got very bad, because I don't recall much complaint about it or anything of the sort. So they were reasonably healthy. They lived a quiet, very simple life of retired not well to do

people.

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- Your brother, your oldest brother, when was Ο. he sent off to the slave labor?
- Α. He was inducted in this labor. I tried to think of when he first got in there. It must have been maybe 41, because he lived -- He was already living there in the early days of the war, right after that part of the offensive when he was returned to Hungary. I am not sure whether Laci went into the military. don't now how the escaped after that.
 - He was quite a bit older. Ο.
- Α. Quite a bit older. I don't know, you know, whether that may have been the reason he didn't go in 39 or earlier. Maybe he was too old. Well, when I was 22. In 1942 he was 42. I think I am 20 years younger. was under that impression. So he may have been in 38, 39 or so he may have been over the normal limit of when they drafted people. But I think as things went worse they pushed it and they took people much older.

I think Laci, and I don't know whether his boss the lawyer managed to keep him out for a while. At that time he was a representative. He was in Congress, Hungarian Parliament. Whether he could do something like that for him or for whatever reason he got in somewhere in 41, 42 or something my guess is.

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Did you or anyone in your family hear from Ο. him at all after he was sent off?

Α. I wasn't home so I had little contact. I knew that he was in. I am sure my family, my sisters I am sure the communicated somehow to my parents and to my sisters and they heard it from my parents or I don't think too many letters. But somehow his condition, his situation, some news came back from I didn't know very much. him.

My sisters told me Laci I is somewhere on the front, things are pretty bad, pretty cold and what not. I think he had a little luck with his boss being in the I don't know what part. I am sure it wasn't all the time, but at some point he got in touch with him. I don't know the details unfortunately.

- Do you know when he was able to leave and Ο. come back?
- Somewhere, yes, I think that was where the Α. lawyer was mostly instrumental toward the end of the war. He managed to get him back alive somehow. was chaos and I think some way it was possible to get lost somehow. I was told after the war Dr. Meyer helped him get back from the front and get lost. He was in Budapest and managed to hide there or somehow survive the last two, three months of the war there, just the

last two, three months.

By that time my sisters also -- Clara, the younger sister, somehow got to Budapest. I don't know exactly when. Originally she was at home with my parents.

Probably after -- it must have been before.

Why wasn't she deported? My parents were deported. She must have been in Budapest around this time. I have to check with her and find out. I don't know the details.

All I know is she writes in this letter that we were deported also for a few months. In Budapest they were captured and they were deported. Magda got to Bergen-Belzen, concentration camp for a few months and Bergen-Belsen was liberated and she survived and went home.

My younger sister got to Buchenwald. In the last few months of the war, from Budapest they were deported. Probably they were in the ghetto. I don't know the details. But she got to Buchenwald they were telling me years later or some years ago, and things were -- My sister was found dead one day. The people went with the cart to collect the corpses, picked her up, threw her on top of the pile of the corpses and took her to the mass grave there. Somebody noticed she moved before she was buried. They put her down and she

survived.

That's the way both of them survived. I hear lately, I was told my parents were deported I believe on June 4th from the city where they lived in the ghetto.
All the Jews were deported to Auschwitz.

- O. In 44?
- A. In 1944, right. I think June 4th was the date Magda gave me. They were deported and I was many years under the impression they both died in the gas chamber.

Just recently, not too many months ago, my sister wrote, I think when I asked her to tell some of the family, she said her father died in the train on the way to Auschwitz. He probably had a heart attack and he died in the train.

I can imagine how my mother, who was very -She was going along to Auschwitz and was killed
immediately, I think.

- Q. She was gassed?
- A. Oh, yes. She was old and they gassed all the old people. I am pretty sure she wasn't selected by Mengele to go to work. At least I am assuming that's what happened. This is the story of my family.
- Q. Do you know how your parents managed once your elder brother had to leave until the time they were

deported?

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I don't know the details. I know my father Α. use to go to the Jewish community in the city and collect my scholarship, my stipend or whatever it was. It wasn't a great deal, but it was helping him.

Probably Laci, my brother, either made some arrangement I don't know about, but I think his boss, the lawyer, must have -- He knew our family and knew what our situation was. He may have made some arrangement to allow them to survive, pay the rent. don't think they had money left. I don't know what they got.

The house was mortgaged to the best of my knowledge and they probably had to sell it under such hurried condition.

I know the people that lived beyond the backyard, gentile family, was fairly good friends of us. We were a friendly relation. The guy was a woodworker. He had a wood shop and made wheels for carriages and whatnot. They bought the house. They took it.

Back in 72 the house was razed and wasn't there any more and they did something with it. I don't think they got much money for that. I don't think they got much money out of the store when they liquidated it. They may have gotten something. I have unfortunately no

knowledge what they lived on. But they managed to live somehow.

And probably, -- When did Laci get into the concentration camp? Did I have some guidelines on that? In the summer, the fall of 41 I believe Laci was home at that time. It must have been either 42, 43 kind of thing when my older brother got into the slave labor thing, I guess.

And in the summer of 44 my parents were deported.

Somehow they survived that one year or year and-a-half without my brother being physically there.

They may have made some arrangement and I don't know the details of it.

- Q. So your brother Laci by being in forced labor avoided going to the concentration camp.
- A. That's right. He managed to, when they came back, you know, when the front was pushed back, and chaos, his boss managed to get him, without being killed or getting into concentration. Somehow he got to Budapest where it was possible for a Jew for awhile to hide or survive without being deported.

Many were deported from the ghetto, but many survived. I think it was about seventy-thousand or a Hungarian thousand Jews survived in Budapest out of the

250 or three hundred thousand that lived there. Many Of them were saved by Wallenberg and by that time I think Swiss Counsel also set up safe houses, which were not very safe, but at least you had a chance, if you were lucky, to avoid being killed or being deported.

- Q. Neither of your sisters were able to take advantage of any of those things it sounds like.
- A. Well, my recollection is that Magda was telling me our older sister I believe was dragged out with her husband, one of the Swedish safe houses and it was a raid. Hungarian Nazi, arrow cross came in and dragged some people out. This is my recollection.

I think they were -- Magda and Clara, they were deported. They were captured somehow and I remember she was telling me there was a factory on the outskirts of Budapest that was used for housing captured Jews on their way to being deported or concentration camp, kind of a collection point. It was a brick factory. Both of them were in that brick factory.

They were captured somewhere and taken to that place and from that they were deported to German concentration camp. I don't know, unfortunately, the details of that. All I know is the both of them managed to survive somehow.

Q. Were they together, do you know?

A. No. I think they were captured separately.

They went to the camp, I know. There was chaotic

situations here. I was at that time already on the way

to the slave labor unit where I was already in it.

We were located in the wooded area, the ammunition dump where we worked. I would say probably maybe 40 miles southeast of Budapest. Sagit I think is a hundred miles south of Budapest was the city I went to school and they took us halfway to Budapest and that's where we were working.

It was daily, by that time it was summer of 1944. Budapest was bombed very heavily. You could set your watch if you had one. At noon time I think British planes came from some eastern or southern base, flew over us, went to bomb Budapest.

In the evening I think American planes bombed from the other direction. But lots of bombing. Lots of confusion because the front got closer and closer.

The Germans, I remember there was a big -- We heard after the war there was a big tank battle, very large tank battle between the Germans and the Russians and the city was close to where we lived. There was a big battle there.

Let me tell you quickly something of what I did at this time. We were working in this ammunition

dump. Our assignment was the colonel was kind of a Nazi guy, German. His name was a German. He was a German ethnic, Hungarian officer. He got us to work there. There were soldiers working loading ammunition back and forth and shipping them to the front on horse drawn carriages and some trucks.

They got us -- We were to build sand dunes or dams between the various buildings where the ammunition was housed. They were afraid if they bombed the buildings and they blow up one of the munition buildings, warehouses, it blows up the next one and the whole thing will go up.

They decided we would put in between the buildings huge barriers made of sand. These were big. It had to be I think on the top I think 12 feet tall and on the top they were six feet wide and had forty-five degree slope. So huge amounts of sand. We did this all summer. There were many buildings. There was kind of lagoon on the area and everything was sand. We had to dig the sand out from the water, little trolley cars, railroad tracks were laid down. We had to fill them down and push the sand to the area where the big barrier was built and dump it. The colonel when we arrived for inspection, said who is an engineer here? Needs an engineer. In the military you don't volunteer. He said

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we have to have an engineer. Somebody pushed me out. Sandor, he is a mathetician, he is close. He is an I became the engineer. engineer.

My job was besides working also, but I had to make sure that the sand barriers are the right size. had to make huge wooden triangles to make sure they are forty-five degree angle on the side and where the top is suppose to be.

He wanted to make this natural lake or lagoon, he wanted to make a huge swimming pool. He was telling me what he needs at this end of the pool, the bottom has to be this deep and this ankle, five degree angle. It has to go to that depth and gave a cross I had to figure out to make the guys get the sand out that it gets the right shape.

Use to make maps. I had little better thing because I was suppose to be the engineer on this. two, three guys to help me work with this with the wooden thing that we pounded down into the water with marks on it and figure how deep it is.

By that time do we have to take more sand out So that's the kind of thing I did. Also worked. That didn't occupy me all the time and I had to also do the work.

Q. How many hours a day or week would you work?

- A. Well, they got us up, we had to get up I don't remember exactly. Probably at dawn in the summer time. Rollcall, we had. The food was pretty good. We got the same food the Hungarian soldiers that was working and that was fantastic.
 - Q. You weren't hungry?
- A. No hunger. No, we didn't starve there. They fed us reasonably well. I don't know, until dusk. Probably was ten. I don't think they strictly adhered to eight hour workday there. But they didn't work us at night or drove us that heavily. I would say probably a ten hour workday or something.
- Q. Was this every single day or did you have a day off?
- A. Sunday we didn't work. Sunday we didn't work. We got reasonable food. I remember the colonel was pretty strict. He insisted we do the work while everybody is working there and he was afraid of sabotage.

One day I remember a group of us, three or four people, pushing that little cart out of the water filled with sand, push it to where it was needed, and the cart turned over. It was very bad luck because the colonel just came to see how things are going. He saw the cart being turned over. He yelled this is sabotage.

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This guy deliberately dumped the sand out. The poor guy, he was younger than I was, he was singled out by the colonel he is responsible and he is going to make an example out of him.

That afternoon I think we had to lineup after work kind of thing and he gave us some kind of a speech about sabotage and they took this poor young fellow and they tied his hands behind him, threw a rope over the end of a branch and pushed him off. He didn't die. was there for awhile. I don't remember half hour or so and told us this is going to happen to everyone of you caught at sabotage.

Otherwise, there weren't that many. remember once. I wasn't use to do shoveling all day long. I remember one time I got some infection somehow. My hand blew up like this and just full of pus and infection. A soldier took me to town to see a doctor about it. He looked at it, it was puffed up both sides, and the says okay we have to what is called lance it.

The soldier was a big guy, got me in a chair and he held me down. The doctor stuck a thing into my hand and pus was squirting up. I still have the scar where he did that.

- Can I see it? Ο.
- Α. Yes. It's very little scar.

1	Q. I thought maybe we could see it on the
2	camera.
3	A. No.
4	Q. No pain killers?
5	A. No pain killers. After he squeezed out
6	whatever pus was in it he took along string of gauze and
7	stuffed it in there.
8	I had to go back in a couple days and he took
9	it out and put a new one in.
10	Q. Did you keep working in that condition?
11	A. No. I had to go, when he said, until the
12	infection went away I didn't have to work. A few days.
13	Maybe a week. I didn't have to work.
14	Q. What were the living conditions like?
15	A. I remember the food was okay. We lived in
16	some kind of warehouse. We slept in our sleeping bags.
17	I don't think we had any bunk bed arrangement. I think
18	it was a huge hall. Some kind of empty warehouse where
19	we were sleeping.
20	One or two rooms. I think we were something
21	like 150 of us, some kids I use to go to school with,
22	and some kids from that vicinity. Some older men.
23	By older men I mean something like 30 or 40
24	years old perhaps. I don't think anybody was older than
25	that. A couple kids younger than us. Between 18 and 40

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I think was the age limit. It was reasonably good.

I can't really say we were very badly treated

the camp.

and mishandled. It's okay. The war is getting an end.

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That didn't happen. The front got too close.

They ordered us out and they marched us out

of the camp and we heard gun fire not too distant, not too great distance from the camp. We marched for awhile

and something came because they brought us back.

A week or two later, I don't know exactly, early in October, 1944 there was another order to leave This time it was final.

We saw on the road many people with their carts and belongings fleeing the front. Civilian women, children, old men. They were fleeing from a head of the They marched us past them, with them. crossed the Danube. I don't remember exactly what town. Somewhere we crossed the Danube going west.

On the other side of the Danube, I know it was October 15th we were standing there, our group, and we were told by the guards the war is over. free to go home.

We will set the papers up, sign the papers, discharge papers and in the afternoon you are free to go An hour or two hours later. They were very home. friendly. They called us mister suddenly. Very

friendly, the guys.

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An hour or two later, very short time later, suddenly everything changed. That's when there was a putsch there. That government got into power that morning, I think it was October 15, 1944. Solishe was the name leader and became the prime minister and everything went back to the old system. They were kind of rough with us. The march continued. I think we were on this march probably maybe a couple weeks or so.

- 0. This party, Arrow Cross?
- Α. Yes. They were Hungarian. They were very small minority in the early thirties or mid thirties. They became bigger and more powerful as it went on. think even they were still a minority even then. Germans forced the regent to turn power over to this party.
 - It was a Nazi government.
- Yeah, it's a Nazi government. A. They are the same as Nazi government in Germany. Except these guys were more vicious than the Germans. Hungarian many of them were anti-semitic.

I remember on the march they led us toward the Austrian border. Later we found at this time many groups like ours, slave labor groups, were marched on the same road to be turned over to the Germans. They

kept us a part so that you don't see other groups. Then you possibly would have rebelled or something. But we didn't know what was going on.

We are marching and didn't see any other groups marching. We saw civilians fleeing.

On the Hungarian side of the Danube I don't recall seeing fleeing civilians either. We marched through little towns. They stopped us in the evening in some school buildings or somewhere we slept overnight, or some barns or some kind of house. I don't remember exactly where.

The next day we marched again with our luggage. It was a pretty forced march.

- Q. Were there many dead along the way?
- A. Yes. Less and less. As things went on the organization got poorer and poorer. We had less and less to eat. Even in the beginning we didn't get the normal food that we use to get in the camp. It got less and less.

We still had some people had some hidden valuable, tried to buy food from the peasants in the villages, you know, the citizens.

They charged, I don't know a hundred dollars for a loaf of bread or a drink. They gave you a jar of cherries or jam. It was pretty difficult by that time.

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Q. Did you feel like the local peasants were supportive of you?

A. They were not. They began the speeches, you know. We asked the guards where are you taking us?

Where are you taking us? We are being taken to a family camp near Vienna where our families are already there and we are going to be united with our families and wait out the end of the war there.

During the whole summer we were convinced our families are deported. If you try to escape you will be shot on sight. If you don't, you go and you will be with your family. We know something isn't right here. But couldn't figure out what it was and should we try to escape? We could have escaped. Supervision was kind of lax at night. They weren't watching us. We could have walked out of the place and disappeared in the woods or somewhere. We didn't know. The debate was -- No, we better go and be with our families.

- Q. Did any one try to escape along the way?
- A. I know two guys. I was sleeping there. Two guys disappeared one night. There was roll call it was found and big fuss was made out of it but nothing else. I don't know what happened, whether they survived or not.
 - Q. Nobody punished the rest of you because of

this?

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- Α. No. By this time things were kind of lax and chaotic.
- Did you have any news about what was going on Q. in the rest of Europe or how the war was going?
- We knew the war was, you know, the front Α. was following us. I don't think it got across that part of the country. There was still fighting on the other side of the Danube, the eastern part. We were in the western front. There was no war or front immediately. We know we are being evacuated because the war is being lost. We knew this is close to the end.
 - Q. This is October, you say?
 - Α. This is October.
 - It's cold now. 0.
- Very cold. That's right, very cold. finally arrive at the border. I think we stayed there for a day or two, as I recall. I recall some kind of school area where we were. We saw other groups like ours.
- One day we were lined up and marched to the actual border. This is the border town and we were turned over to Germans.
- Then we knew the moment they took hold of us that something isn't kosher here.

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Q. How did you know?

Α. They were teenagers, looked to us like kids with rifles and they were beating us. They were running us from the border to the railroad station two miles away or three miles away. You had to run and they were This was a different treatment. We weren't beaten by the Hungarians but here we were. We were not allowed to speak.

Somehow the whole attitude of the guards changed very drastically. We knew something was wrong.

We got to the railroad station. We had a tin can and gave us a ladle of soup and small piece of bread, and packed us into box cars.

- Did you speak or understand German at that time?
- Α. Very little. In high school German is the foreign language they taught in Hungarian, but how much do you learn in a school? But a few words. Some words we knew what it meant.
 - Ο. So you understood the orders being given?
- Α. The orders were understood. They were translated to us. But speeches we didn't understand. They made some speeches sometimes in the camp the commandant.

They packed us in the train and it was very

crowded. We had our sleeping bags and luggage, back packs with us with clothing. Some people had some food and managed. I didn't have much clothing.

On the march one of the fellows, well to do fellows, had extra clothing. He gave away some of it.

I got from him a good pair of shoes there, good pair of letter shoes, boot kind of things and jacket. It was too large for me. Sheepskin lined jacket, a warm jacket. This guy his name is Steve Abely. He was a violinist. He was a student. He was violinist in the old days. He survived, came to the United States. He was a member of the Cleveland Symphony for years. A couple times I was in touch in the early days. I don't know whether he is still alive. Probably retired if he is. He was a fantastic, very good violinist. He gave me two items of clothing. I think that's why I survived. Without that I would not be here today.

- O. You would have frozen?
- A. In the German concentration camp. The lack of shoes particularly. We were thirst in the train and figured the ride will take maybe an hour, hour and-a-half because Vienna is close to the border.
 - Q. Did you know where you were going?
 - A. We were going to the family camp in Vienna.

Q.

You still believed this?

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Α. Yeah. We didn't know any other thing. train was going all afternoon, all night and we were thirsty. Sometime the train stopped during the night at someplaces. We couldn't lookout. It was probably some stations, you know. Maybe between the cracks somebody could have.

It was a boxcar? Ο.

A boxcar, right. You could hear on the whole train, there was several thousand prisoners. They were banging on the walls, asking for water. Wasser, Wasser. No response. The train kept going on again. Stopped and went. The next day, at noon time. We were extremely thirst.

- Did you have any bathroom facilities? Q.
- Α. No.
- 0. You had to go?
- You couldn't sit down. You were crammed in Α. like herrings.

The train makes another stop and they open up the boxcar and order everybody out. We get out we see that we are at a place called Dachau. You can't imagine how frightened we were. We never heard about Auschwitz, but we knew about Dachau. That was the most frightfull place on earth as far as we knew, and to find ourselves

this, suddenly nobody was thirsty. They had to drag us mostly physically out of the boxcars. Prisoners were there from the camp. We saw people with the stripes.

- Q. They had dogs, too?
- A. No, I don't recall dogs. Not at Dachau I don't recall any dogs. They may have been there, but they didn't make a big impression so I don't remember it.
- Q. Do you know if everybody in the box car survived the trip?
 - A. I beg your pardon.
 - Q. Did everybody in the boxcar survive the trip?
- A. I don't recall anybody dying in the box car, but there may have been in some other box car they didn't. We were kind of young people. We came from -- pretty normal. We were chubby. I wasn't about to die then. I was just thirsty and that was it.
- Q. Do you know if you were prisoners from the slave labor with other family in your trip?
- A. My understanding was, and it seemed to me also true that these were all Hungarian slave labor groups that were turned over to the Germans at this time to work, not to be exterminated. They were to work in German concentration camp. We got into this work type of camp.

Dachau, at this time to the best of my knowledge was kind of a distribution center. I don't think crematory or gas chambers were there at this time. I have no knowledge about it. But the groups of thousands of prisoners were coming in day after day. They distributed them to various work type satellite camps in the Dachau main camp and neighboring cities.

We were inducted into the camp, which was painful thing. We were told not to eat the snow. There was snow on the ground. I think it was the beginning of November or something. It was pretty cold. We were warned. We were very thirsty. Don't touch the snow because you get sick from it. We ate the snow anyway. We didn't care, we were so thirsty. We were handled by prisoners, not by Germans.

We were told to stand here. Eventually we were herded into a big hall, we were ordered to undress.

There was a huge pile of clothing in the middle of the huge hall, tall building. We had to throw our clothing. They allowed us to keep our shoes. They didn't have those wooden sandals that was the standard footwear they gave to prisoners. So they told us to keep our shoes and our papers and any valuable, anything you had you had to give them. The prisoner was standing there with a razor, a couple were standing with a razor

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they shaved, or scissored or shaved all the hair off your body everywhere.

By the time they got through you were bleeding pretty much in all places. You were shoved to the next station, another prisoner was there with a bucket and mop and some disinfectant fluid. Whatever it was, it was burning like heck on raw skin.

And you went to another room where you had to turn your paper over. Another big hall where prisoners were sitting behind a huge table and you had to walk up to one of them, turnover the paper and he put something in a book. He wrote, he registered you and you were given a piece of cloth with a number on it. They sewed this thing to our prisoner's garb. That was your number.

Also I don't know, red triangle, yellow and I don't remember. Some class of prisoners. I think it said, one guy I talked to, the red mark, I don't recall whether it was red or yellow or whatever, but it was some marking on our clothing.

- Q. Did you have yellow triangle for being Jewish?
- Α. I think so. I think the red was political I think yellow was from being Jewish. prisoner.
 - The jacket, did you give up the warm coat? Q.

A. No. As we go out, we go to another room and were thrown prisoners garb and there was no jacket given to us. We were told on the way out, we came through the same hall, we were told to go to the pile of clothing and pick a jacket. Everybody was told to pick a jacket.

As I walk in I see that same coat and I grabbed it. I walk out of this place with a good pair of shoes and that warm jacket.

I think that was the luckiest thing that happened to me at that time.

Pretty soon we were -- We didn't stay there very long in the distribution center. We stayed there that night. They took us to some barracks. Block, the elder of the block, older prisoners gave us a speech. You have to obey everything and if you don't do this there is punishment.

We got something to eat, some soup maybe and piece of bread. We were by that time, we surmised that food is going to be very little in this place. It would be a good idea maybe to save some, a piece of bread, and not eat it in the evening. I don't think I was the only one. Many of us probably thought the same thing. And put it under the straw thing there in the evening that we were sleeping on.

The next morning they wake us up and order

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everybody out of the block, the barracks. There was fountain, some water and we try to wash. We did. come back. I don't think we didn't have pajamas. were sleeping in the clothing we had. We looked for the food. Nobody could find the bread we saved from last night. Later we found the older prisoners, they knew the ones tried to save some food so they go through the whole straw thing and collect all the food that was left there.

So we learned the first night you have to be kind of careful here. You can't trust each other. we didn't stay there very long.

- 0. This is a good place to stop. Could you tell me about the picture?
- This picture is part of the school group I don't know the person sitting in the background, who it is, unless I look at the whole picture.

On the right is me, myself. Probably around six years old. The young girl sitting next to me I seem to recognize her. I remember her name is Lowy. name is Dutti. And myself. I don't recall. I think it's a group picture and not part of some theater performance.

I remember you said you had a nickname. What Q.

is your nickname?

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A. My nickname is Sanyi. Hungarian my first name is Sandor. It's spelled S-a-n-d-o-r. The nickname

of Sanyi, Sanyi. My sisters call me that. That was my nickname.

Although my friends usually, we also have other nicknames for each other of our own invention. We called each other something. Since my name is Bauer, somehow they got the nickname Booki. I was known as

Q. And this picture?

Booki among our friends usually.

A. This picture again part of another small group picture. Four of us are standing next to some kind of wire fence. There's a couple girls and couple guys or maybe one girl and three guys. This is from our teenage time. It is the late thirties or mid thirties.

By this time I was a student in Budapest and teacher seminary. That was the cap, the uniform all the students wore.

I don't know the exact date, but I would guess it was maybe 1937 or 38 when this picture was taken.

All the other people in the group are teenagers there, various other schools. I was the only one from our town that went at this time to this school.

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- Q. Okay.
- A. There was all kind of mischief in this place.
- Q. Who are these people?
- A. This is a group picture from the porch of the dormitory building where we lived as students in the teacher seminary in Budapest from 1936 to 1941.

 Graduation was a five year course. You go there for five years.

This may have been, I am guessing, probably may have been taken in 1940 I would say. I don't remember the full name of everybody there.

On the left leaning against the rail is Laci Berenberger. In the back is Nick Hoffman, my friend with whom up to his death in the concentration camp we were together.

From this school through college we use to room together. I am the smallest one there. That's me, the second from left in the first row.

The third next to me is fellow called Sandor Levi. He was a very bright student. He came from an orthodox family and was very good with Hebrew kind of things.

In the back is a fellow called Rosenthal. I don't recall what -- I don't remember his first name anymore. I remember his last name. He was Rosenthal.

I don't remember the name of the last guy. I remember the face. Somehow his name escaped me.

This is from our high school, teenage years. We were pretty happy there, away from home, lots of freedom and smoked a lot. Learned to smoke unfortunately in this place. Took me a long time to give it up.

This is a group picture from my grammar school, Jewish grammar school, parochial school in Hungary. Komadi. This is my younger sister's class. My younger sister is the little chubby girl on the very left side of the picture, from the front, the third row on the left. She is four years younger than I am. She is. I don't know what the picture says.

Q. Can you point?

THE WITNESS: Let me see. That girl. I recall some of the faces. The little guy up on top, this one, he was the youngest son of the religious leader of the group. I don't remember some of the faces. Some of them look familiar. I don't remember the names. It wasn't my class. This is about four years younger than I am.

- Q. How old do you think she might have been there?
 - A. Clara, I think, I don't know. This was

probably the mid thirties. Clara is probably maybe second grade or something. She might be about seven years old. She was born in 26. Maybe 33, 34 in there. I don't know whether there is a date marked on the back of the pictures. I don't remember. Just to see what the Jewish group looked like in those days in Hungary.

Two teachers. I don't remember the names.

That was the teacher that replaced the man, the one that replaced my teacher who retired a few years before that.

I can go ahead with it? Apparently a group picture of my younger sister, who is again on the left. I may point. This is her. I think this is a year or two later than the previous picture was taken. They are holding flowers. There may have been some kind of performance associated with this at school.

I remember the two girls I believe on the right, on the opposite side, I think they are sisters.

If I am not mistaken they had a third sister who was more closer to my age. I think that is the sister that later managed to get to Israel. She gave my older sister the picture. I think their sister that kept that picture and gave it to my sister.

This is a picture of my oldest sister and her husband. I would guess this may have been from around 1938, 39. She was an extremely kind woman. Miklos is

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her husband's name. They were very nice to me, particularly my older sister was always trying to protect me. I am glad I got at least this picture so I remember what she looked like.

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Q. What was his last name?

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A. What was Miklos' last name? I am sorry somehow at this point, the name escapes me.

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Q. Would this be maybe the apartment in Budapest?

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A. It probably is the apartment they lived in.

It's not a very clear picture. I don't have very good recollection. I didn't live there. I visited with them. This must be their apartment I would guess.

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Q. Okay.

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A. You don't see very much of it.

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50s. 56, I believe it said. It is taken in Romania.

My youngest after the war. I think it's mid

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am not familiar with the city. In the city there is

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lots of snow, I see. Somewhere in Transsylvania, near

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the city where they lived at this time. I can't tell

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much about it and I don't remember. I didn't make a

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That is my younger sister after the war.

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Q. Okay.

note of it when she sent it to me.

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A. That's my older sister, surviving older

sister who lives today. This is a somewhat touched up picture of her. I had another picture they sent from Romania. They touch it up so badly. This is touched up to look natural. She was a very good looking woman, well dressed by Romanian standards. She is reasonably well dressed. This was taken in 1956. She gives an actual date.

- Q. About how old do you think she was?
- A. Magda is I believe nine years older than I am. So in 1956 I was 34 years old and she was about 43 years old at that time.
 - Q. Okay.
- A. This picture was taken, you can see the house behind them, the apartment building where my younger sister lived then with her husband.

On the left is her husband. This one, his name is Miklos Obdelean. This is my sister Clara. This is her little new born son Garbi. Who may have been a couple years old there or three. This is my sister Magda. That is my, one of my surviving brother. The oldest of the seven siblings, Laci, or Laszlo. He looks kind of sad there. He was a bachelor all his life. He came to visit us once and spent a month here with us.

In 1982 I believe or so before his death.
You can see it's primitive circumstances. I

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don't remember now what Miklos was doing, what his profession was. I know that my younger sister Clara at that time had to supplement their income, whatever they got. She was mounting photographs for people. She framed and mounted photographs and she made some money on that basis.

- Q. Okay.
- A. This picture was taken in 1947. I was a student at that time in Munich. I am not sure where this is taken. We use to go out on picnics, on trips with the kids from the various area in Bavaria. Very beautiful country there. Nothing in particular about this picture that I can recall. At this time way I looked after the war in 1947. Returned to normal pretty much.
 - Q. Okay.
- A. This is a picture of my cousin that lives, survived in Budapest, became a pretty well established person there during the communist's regime and even today he still lives there. These are his two grandchildren.

His father and my mother were brothers and sisters. He went to the same school. The way I got to the teachers, his name is Teborg Freikind, Tibbi for short. He went to the teachers college. He is four

years older than I am. And gave us the idea to follow and go do the same thing.

- Q. Okay.
- A. This is a picture of my sister's son Gabbi, that little baby. He grew up. I think he is in his late thirties today. I am not sure when this picture was taken. I think maybe 74 or something or maybe later. Anyway he is a violinist. At this point he formed a little quartet. I don't know what they were playing. This is his quartet.
 - Q. Okay.
- A. Before we talk about this picture, the previous picture, I was mistaken, the date wasn't 74. It was taken in 1980, four guys playing the quartet. This is my nephew. I can't recall the actual proper word for the relation.

Coming to this picture, this was my older sister and her husband after she got to Israel. This was taken in 1974 it says on the back. Her husband is a Romanian guy, terrific sense of humor. He made a good living at a house painter in Israel.

My sister naturally loved him and was pretty sad when he passed away. I think sometime in maybe 84 or something like that, around that time the died.

Q. Do you remember his last name?

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A. Yes. Schwartzberger. My sister still goes under Magda Schwartzberger in Israel. I don't know they married the other guy, they lived together. They traveled together, a couple years after her husband died. She is a widow. I think they live in the same apartment.

Q. Okay.

A. This is a picture again of my older sister who lives in Israel with her husband or companion at least, whose name I know only his first name. Joseph. Josi for short. I believe he is also Romanian background. Old friend of my sister and her husband. After her husband died I think they became more friendly. They travel together, I know. I am not sure whether they are married or not. May not be.

Q. Okay.

A. This is pretty bad picture of my sister in Romania. She is sick, diabetes is bothering her.

Mostly I think things related to diabetes was bothering her. She is complaining she can't walk very well.

I think this is a worse picture than she normally looks like. Roughly she is in this kind of condition nowadays. This was taken in 1986. 93, I am sorry. 1993. Just a couple years old. I think I have some better pictures of her recently.

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- Q. Looks like it's her apartment?
- That's her apartment. She has a nice little Α. apartment. She is considering trying to buy it if she can because otherwise she wants to leave it to her son.

That is all I can say about Clara. writes to me once in a while. We received a letter from her three days ago. She is more or less okay, except problems that come with age and diabetes.

- Q. This is another picture.
- Α. Well, this is a picture that was taken probably not more than about three months after the liberation from the concentration camp after I got out and was discharged from the hospital.

At the time of liberation I had typhus. couldn't walk. They found me unconscious somewhere in the snow after the liberation. I got in the hospital and I survived it. About three months after I got into a displaced person camp and this is the identity paper that identified me as a member of the displaced person camp and survival of the Dachau concentration camp.

This thing here is not a decoration. looks like something, a ribbon that holds the picture in place.

Not much else to say about it. I am just about fully recovered from the typhus by this time.