

Interview with Anne Weinstock
Holocaust Oral History Project
Date: November 7, 1990 Place: San Francisco, California
Interviewers: Mike Askenazer, Judith Backover, Peggy Poole
Transcriber: Larry Goldberg

Q - TODAY IS NOVEMBER 7, 1990. I AM MIKE ASKENAZER, AN INTERVIEWER WITH THE HOLOCAUST ORAL HISTORY PROJECT OF SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA. TODAY WE ARE TALKING WITH ANNE WEINSTOCK, AND ASSISTING ME IN THE INTERVIEW ARE JUDITH BACKOVER AND PEGGY POOLE. GOOD MORNING, ANNE.

A - Good morning.

Q - THIS IS THE SECOND PART OF OUR INTERVIEW; WE SPENT ABOUT 3 HOURS TOGETHER 2 OR 3 WEEKS AGO, AND WE JUST WANTED TO FOLLOW UP WITH SOME MORE QUESTIONS FOR YOU, GET SOME MORE DETAILS. BASICALLY, I'LL DO IT IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER, START IN THE BEGINNING WITH YOUR CHILDHOOD AND THEN MOVE FORWARD. FIRST OF ALL, I THINK YOU DISCUSSED THIS DURING OUR FIRST INTERVIEW, BUT COULD YOU DESCRIBE IN SOME DETAIL WHAT SMALL TOWN LIFE WAS LIKE WHEN YOU GREW UP, AND ESPECIALLY THE JEWISH COMMUNITY.

A - It was about 13 to 14 thousand people lived in the small town, and there was maybe 60, 50 Jewish families, and we was a very close-knit community. We had a synagogue, we had a

Hebrew teacher, we had Sunday school, and the parents was more or less very traditional, I should say in the orthodox situation. My parents had, I think all the Jewish families they had a Kosher house. It was understand that everybody is kosher. Every Jewish store was closed on every Jewish holiday, not only Rosh Hashanah-Yom Kippur, Pesach and so on. I think even Succoth was closed. And I went to a regular general day school, and I was accepted more or less from not only the Jewish people, but from non-Jewish people. All the Jewish families had their own stores, some kind of stores, and they was very well off, more or less, and they was very well respected from the non-Jewish population. I lived a wonderful childhood. I grew up through a wonderful childhood, and there was never a doubt in my mind between my non-Jewish friends and my Jewish friends. We, you know, Jewish holidays was with my Jewish friends, and for the regular situation I was with my non-Jewish friends. Now, my parents respected the other religion very highly. My father had a store, like a bazaar in a small town; everything, and he had mostly non-Jewish people who came to him. When there was a need, he always helped them, and when Christmas came he always had something for his steady customers as a little Christmas present; a bottle of schnapps, or a little something. He was very highly respected. He was in the fire department, and he was

in the city hall active, and of course he was also active in the Jewish community. That was my life. I mean, I had a very warm and loving family, and I was spoiled. You might have said today, "the Jewish Princess." I grew up like this. You know, I grew up with a maid in the house, but they all had that more or less in Germany. In fact, I was spoiled very much. I was the only girl in the family, so I wasn't only spoiled from my parents, but I was spoiled from my whole family. They only had boys, and I was the only girl.

That was my life till Hitler came to power, when I was about 12 1/2, 13 years old. Then all of a sudden everything changed, and my first impression from Hitler, I think, I told you that before, was when in the middle of the night they broke into my parents' store and they arrested my father, and you can imagine what that does to a young child. I mean, 13 years today is not any more a child what was 13 years in Europe in the 20s. You know, we was much more naive, we was much more protected, and we had no worries. So that was first shock I got, and of course it did something to me. I think I grew up a little bit in one night of my life. And then afterwards I went to school and when my friends, my non-Jewish friends, I mean there was only about 2 children or 3 children in one class in school,

Jewish children in one class, so when my friends all of a sudden moved away from me, I couldn't understand why. I mean, I didn't change overnight, I didn't change in a week or so. I went to school and when we had papers to write and the teacher give it back to me and says, "I didn't have time to correct your papers." And I said, "Well, can't you correct it today? I want to know what grade I have." "Well, I don't have time for your papers. I don't have time for all the Jewish kids." And then my mother got a phone call from the principal from school that he is very sorry, but the teachers refuse to, the same teachers I had for years, the same children I was friends for years, all of a sudden I felt like the bottom fall down out of my life, you know. I asked myself, why did I change? I didn't change, And I came home many times and I cried because I was ignorant, I was spit at, you dirty Jew. Then the principal called my parents and says, well the teachers refuse to teach the Jews in the class. So then of course I didn't go to school for a couple of weeks, and I had relatives in Berlin; my uncles, my mother's close uncle. They looked for a place to send me to school. I mean, when you're 13 your parents want you to have a good education. You can't just forget school. In Berlin there was about 13 Jewish day schools. What happened to me didn't only happen to me. It happened not only in our town, it happened in all other

little towns, smaller towns, and all of a sudden the schools in Berlin filled up like overnight. I went to Berlin to school, but I had to leave my parents, and I had to stay with my uncle. That was another shock in my life, because all of a sudden I can't talk to my mother, she can't take me shopping, she can't go out with me or my father can't go out with me. I mean, my uncles, my relatives was wonderful, and they was not strangers, because I spent many, many summer vacations with my relatives. But, when you're 13 you need your mother. And I did. And I went to bed many times and I cried my eyes out. And I grew up. I mean, I was not the spoiled little girl any more. And also, the school I went to, the Jewish day school, was much more advanced than I was from the other school. And they didn't put me in a different class, a lower class, because that wouldn't be fair. I was a fairly good student, but still I was not as much advanced as they was. I also didn't had as much Hebrew and Jewish history, and I had to make up, I had to have tutoring lesson, I had to have all kinds in all that to make it up, and it was very hard for me. And all of a sudden, we went to school 6 days a week you know, and all of a sudden I went to school not on Saturday, but on Sunday. And many times I went to school early and the whole town was there, and I had to go on the streetcar to the school and I felt sorry for me, you know, why did I have to go? Why everybody

can sleep and I have to go to school. It was a very emotional situation. Also, I had to make altogether new friends. I walked in this classroom I didn't know anybody. And it took a little while, but I made friends, I made a lot of friends. And I grew up in that school.

The life in Berlin, it wasn't really bad. I really relaxed when I came from the small town, from the anti-Semitism to Berlin. First of all, I really didn't had much to do with non-Jewish people anymore. I went to the Jewish day school, I went to a Jewish organization, you know. In a way I relaxed, and in a way it was very, very hard for me to leave my parents, leave my friends, leave everything. During the summer vacation, when my mother wanted me to come back to stay during the summer, I really didn't want to go there anymore. I really didn't feel good. I went there to visit my friends. I visit my parents, but my friends did not welcome me any more, and it was a small town; the anti-Semitism grew very fast. Then came the Crystal Night. A little bit before the Crystal Night my parents moved to Berlin, because the business was dead; the people wouldn't go to them, and they closed my parents' business. My father was not too well any more, and all the Jewish families who was there little by little left, one way or another. My parents decided, if they find an apartment in Berlin, they

will move. So my relatives found them an apartment, and they moved to Berlin, and that was just a little before the Crystal Night, and I told you my older brother stayed in the small town because they wanted to sell or at least close up many things and close up the business and so on, and my father wasn't well enough, and emotionally he was very disturbed, too, because he built the whole thing up by himself, and he accomplished a lot. He had a lot of property there and a booming business and a lot of friends, and he was quite a personality. All of a sudden he didn't amount to nothing. So it was very hard for a man, when he is in his, I think 50s, to just walk out of everything you own and you get allowance from your savings account. It was not easy for him. Also, then he got sick; he had ulcers, he had a heart condition, and my mother wanted him to leave. She wanted to leave, and she wanted him to leave. Because his whole life changed like in a couple years, and not even in a couple years, in 6 months.

So they moved to Berlin and my brother stayed in the small town. At the Crystal Night the Gestapo didn't know that my father left, because he just left maybe a month before maybe not even a month, maybe less. They went to our house and they arrested my brother, and they wanted my father, and my father was gone, so they arrested my brother. They took out

whatever they could, but he had a suitcase packed and big boxes with our belongings, like pictures and so on, and they took the whole thing and throw it out, and he left with just what he had on. So then he went to the prison and they called my parents that they will put him in a concentration camp, unless they can find a place to send him out of Germany. So my uncle and my mother went back there, and they bought my brother out, and they found a place to send him to England. You see, he was a young person, and England had a camp to take all these young people in so they wouldn't go to the concentration camp, if they had a chance later on to immigrate someplace else. England didn't want them either. England wanted just to help them to have a way of saving them. Anyway, I had an uncle in America, and he gave us an affidavit, but you know the affidavit was no good, because the German quota to go out of the country to America was so small that only a few handful could go. But he went to England, and the quota from England to America was much wider open. So he could immigrate from England to America, and that's how he came here. He came to America, I think, in 1940. We couldn't go. First of all, we had an affidavit, but the quota wasn't there. Then, also my father was sick, not well, and they wouldn't take him, and they wouldn't let me go out after I graduated as a nurse, and I told you I was a surgical nurse, and they didn't really want

me to go out either. For me already was closed. They wanted to hold on to me for a while at least, before the war broke out. No, just right after the war broke out. Because I graduated just after the war broke out. So, what else?

Q - DO YOU REMEMBER ANYTHING WHEN YOU WERE IN BERLIN DURING KRYSTAL NACHT? DO YOU REMEMBER WHAT HAPPENED? DID YOU SEE ANYTHING PERSONAL?

A - Yes. Yes. I heard that they were burning the synagogues and they were burning the Jewish stores, and they arrested people. A few of my friends and I was very nosy, we wanted to see if that's true, or if it's just a story. So we went out in the middle of the night and we went to look around, and we went to one of the biggest synagogues in Berlin. It was a new synagogue, and we walked over there, and we couldn't believe our eyes. That was the newest synagogue in Germany. It was a reform temple, but it was a beautiful synagogue, and it was burning like, I mean, it was completely finished. And people watched it. Some of them laughed, were standing there and laughing, you know, and some of them didn't say anything. That was my experience with the Krystal Nacht.

I have a story from the Krystal Nacht. It's not my story. I have the story at home, but it's from my sister-in-law. Her sister was in Berlin and her father was a rabbi, and he lived close to the synagogue, and they took him out from his bed in the middle of the night. That wasn't in Berlin, that was in another town. I don't know if you are interested in this, too. I have even the story. I told my sister-in-law will translate it. She left it here when she was in Israel. It's in German, so somebody has to translate it, but it's a very interesting story. They took the father out, and he had to open the synagogue, and then he says you go home. And the synagogue was in between big gates, you know, so they couldn't really reach the synagogue unless they had the key to open it. then a little while later the father looked out and the whole synagogue was burning, everything was burning, and she writes about that. If I ever get a chance to translate it, I send it to you. Because I think that's a story you really want to know.

Q - WELL, I THINK YOU COULD ALSO BRING US A COPY IN GERMAN. WE COULD PROBABLY FIND SOMEONE TO TRANSLATE IT.

A - Okay, I will make a copy and I'll mail it to you. That's not my story. I know this woman. She is a very nice person. She lives in Israel. She left Germany. But her

parents was killed. I mean, she is my sister-in-law. She married my brother.

Q - HAS ANYBODY FROM THAT FAMILY BEEN INTERVIEWED FOR THE ORAL HISTORY PROJECT?

From my family? From her family? I don't think so. She went to Palestine underground. You know, still around the 40s or so, and she had to hide from England, from the English bombers. And she went into Palestine in the middle of the night, just with the clothes she had on, and they left out of the ship. She is a tall woman, and they left her out of the ship, and she walked in the middle of the night as far as she could. She was in water this far, and she walked into the land, and there people was already there, saving her. But she also has interesting story, but she would have to tell it herself, and she's not here. She was here, she's not. I can get the story sometimes, if you are interested.

Q - DOES SHE EVER VISIT HERE?

A - Well, she lives in Israel. She comes here every other year, and most of the time I go there too, every other year. I can interview her and tape it. You know, on a

little tape recorder. And she speaks fluently English, so she could say it in English.

Q - IF SHE COMES TO VISIT YOU, WE'D LOVE TO HAVE HER COME IN HERE.

A - Yeah. She didn't go through the Holocaust, but she suffered, too. I think I am the only person from my family who went through the Holocaust, I mean who is still alive. Everybody who went through it is gone. I'm the only survivor from my family.

Q - I WAS WONDERING WHAT YOU TALKED ABOUT, WHEN YOU SAID YOU AND YOUR FRIENDS STOOD OUT THERE AND WATCHED PEOPLE LAUGH AS THE NEW SYNAGOGUE BURNED. THEN, WHEN YOU WENT HOME LATER THAT NIGHT OR PERHAPS EARLY IN THE MORNING, WHAT DID YOU TALK TO YOUR UNCLE AND YOUR PARENTS ABOUT, ABOUT THAT NIGHT? WHAT WAS SAID?

A - I don't know what I talked about it. I was sick. I was sick. I came home and I cried. I think we lay on our bed and we cried. We was so frustrated. We wanted to leave Germany in the worst way. And we didn't know how to go about it. I tried to leave Germany many times, and it was impossible. Before the war I couldn't leave, and during the

war I tried a few times to leave, and I lived in hiding. I think I told you that. It was just impossible, how did you get out? You want to get out, but how do you get out? You couldn't get out.

Q - ANOTHER QUESTION THAT I WANTED TO ASK ABOUT SOME MORE DETAILS, AND I WOULD LIKE YOU, IF POSSIBLE, AND THIS CONCERNS YOUR ESCAPE FROM THE HOSPITAL. DID ANYBODY ASSIST YOU OTHER THAN THE ONE AMBULANCE DRIVER, OR TRUCK DRIVER. DID ANYBODY ELSE SEE WHAT WAS HAPPENING?

A - No. I just wanted to get out. I know what was going on, because a lot of people who was arrested before that, we had a little floor in the hospital, and it closed up the gates, you know, it was high up on the last floor. And we brought in people who was arrested and who was supposed to go to the camps. It's like a police station. And the Gestapo many times was around, watching us, and we had to take care of these people. Many of them was young people. We, the nurses, we was free to come and go, of course. But many times we helped them to escape. See, we tried to open the windows what you go out from the 3rd or 4th story, and it's not so easy. So we give them ropes to climb out, to come down, or we helped them in other way to escape. Of course, our life was in danger, too, but we pretended we was

not there, we was in another room, and we was in trouble too, but we tried to help to escape these people as much as we could. Not everybody could escape, and some of them tried to escape and they shoot them. But like I said before, life is very precious, and even if you get killed on the way to save your life, but you take a chance. You take every risk you can. Sometimes you are foolish in taking some risks, and sometimes you do it anyhow. But sometimes you are very careful. You try to be careful. You try to be always careful.

One thing I can tell you, when I lived in hiding for a year and a half, almost a year and three-quarters; from March till December of next year, and it was a very, very hard thing to live in hiding. Even so, I had an identification card. But every day of your life was a danger. You couldn't do it unless you are young. Today I could not do it. My nerves wouldn't take it, and I don't think I have the guts today to do it. You take risks, you don't care, but your life is so precious, you want to survive no matter what. Then, when I was arrested it was like somebody took a load off my shoulder. I says, "I don't care anymore now. If I survive it's a miracle." But the one and three-quarter year was the hardest year in my life. It was really very hard. You have to worry where to stay overnight, you have

to worry that you don't meet somebody who knows you from before who is maybe not Jewish. You cannot trust anybody. You cannot even trust your own people. Food was a very big subject, because they didn't have much food at all there. And people had the ration cards, you know, the cards? For groceries. We of course didn't get it. And my parents, before they left for the camps, they give me all the money they had. But like I said before my husband had the connection for the black market and I had the money. We bought it, but how long does this money last, you know? Even on the black market, it got higher and higher. So there was nothing left for us to do but go in the middle of the night to the field and steal. I raised some vegetable, I raised rabbits, but that's just peanuts, that's nothing. So it was very, very hard to survive. And even if you had to steal, you did it. You didn't like to do it, but you did it.

Q - DURING OUR FIRST INTERVIEW, YOU DESCRIBED HOW WHEN YOU TRIED TO ESCAPE FROM THE HOSPITAL AT FIRST YOU TRIED TO DO IT BY CLIMBING OVER A WALL.

A - Well, that hospital has fences, brick fences all around it, very high, maybe almost as high as the window is over there. And I had no other way of getting out of there, so I

put pants on, I put stuff on, and I want to go onto the fences. And then when I saw, when I looked down and it was, I don't know, 10, 11 o'clock, I looked down and I saw every few feet a Gestapo man. And if I jumped down, or even if I come down, I mean I would be lost. So I didn't do it. What other choice? The back entrance was locked, and the front entrance the Gestapo was there. And also the lights was out all over, because they couldn't keep the lights on. they was afraid for the bombing, you know? They didn't want to let America and England know how Berlin looks. So they had to have the lights out all over. The Gestapo was on the gate, who let people in and out. They can only come in with an identification card. And what kind of identification card I have? You know, I am a Jew. So I couldn't go out there. They would take me right and put me in jail, in the camps. So I didn't had any other chance. And we know many of these drivers who took out, who brought in, the ambulance driver, or the people who took out dead people. We know, because we worked with them, you know, and some of them we know they was very decent. Many of them came sometimes to us and they tell what was going on. I mean, you can't say that the Germans didn't know. these people know, and I'm sure if they know, their families know. Anyway, some of them come to us and say, "Oh, we wish we could help you somehow. We are sorry what happens to you, but what can we

do?" They was cowards. Most of the Germans are cowards. They are followers, you know? Some of them are not bad people, but they are followers. They take orders. And they stick to the orders. Like they said later on, "Well, I didn't know. What can I do?" Well we tried to do something. But not many of us could do anything either. What could we do? I mean, you walk through the gate and you dead.

When you're young you can fight, but when you are older you give up, you resign yourself to this life. We make all a mistake; we should try to leave Germany in 1933 and '34, but Germany was a wonderful country to live in, and most of the Jewish people had a wonderful life. And the life in Berlin was special nice. And I didn't really feel too much anti-Semitism in Berlin, even during the war. Even between the non-Jewish people. In the small town I did, but not in Berlin itself. Like I said before, I didn't have really so much to do with the non-Jewish people, because I went to Jewish Hospital, I went to the Jewish day school, and then my life was only surrounded with Jewish organizations and Jewish activities. So, I didn't suffer this much before the war in Berlin. In fact, I feel that the anti-Semitism in Berlin grew much worse after the war.

Q - AFTER THE WAR ENDED, OR AFTER IT STARTED?

A - After we came back from the camps. The anti-Semitism was pretty big then. And you wanted to know ... I jump from one thing to another, huh? But you ask me these questions.

Q - GIVE US AS MANY DETAILS AS YOU REMEMBER.

A - During the war, before the war?

Q - SPECIFICALLY WITH YOUR ESCAPE FROM THE HOSPITAL, WOULD YOU DESCRIBE IN AS MUCH DETAIL AS YOU CAN, EXACTLY HOW YOU GOT OUT. YOU TOLD US MADE A DECISION THAT YOU COULD NOT GO OVER THE WALL, AND THEN YOU WENT TO THE AMBULANCE DRIVER AND ASKED HIM FOR HELP. DO YOU RECALL ANY SPECIFICS; WHERE DID YOU MEET HIM, DID YOU GET ON A STRETCHER YOURSELF, DID YOU HAVE A SHEET OVER YOU, DID HE HELP YOU ONTO THE STRETCHER, DID HE CARRY YOU OUT? DETAILS LIKE THAT.

A - Well, he drove into the hospital. I have a picture, I show you later, just from the entrance from the hospital. But the hospital was not like you have one building. It was the entrance, and then it had all around buildings, you know? Every intern was separate and children was separate,

and it was a big building. It was a hospital with 500 beds. And he drove into the front gate, because he can come into the front gate. He had an identification card. He was supposed to pick somebody up who died. It was late, I don't know, 11, 12, 1 o'clock. It's very hard to really bring it in, but I see it in front of my eyes, and I went over to him, and I said to him that my father is very sick and I need to go to my father and I can't go through the front gate. Can you help me somewhere to get out without them knowing it, because I know that, I took a chance, too. I mean, he could have said, "What do you think? I'm not going to help you." I mean, you take your chances. They're the only way you can live, is taking chances. He didn't do it only for me, he did it I think maybe for his conscience a little bit. But anyway, he said, "I can take you out, but the only way I can take you out, where would you sit? You can't sit next to a dead body, you have to be a dead body yourself. And the only way you can be a dead body, take your stuff off and put your stuff what you have in front of my seat, and lay down in your just necessary clothes what you have and I put the sheet over. But when you come out, when we come to the gate, because they will look at you with a flashlight, and maybe not one, maybe more, and I take a chance to take you out, and you take a chance if you come out here like this they might just finish you up right then

and there. So, do you want to take this chance? They won't kill me, but they will kill you. Do you want to take this chance?" That what he said. So I said, yeah, what can I do otherwise. I will go to a concentration camp and I want to see my father. I had to have an excuse. I want to see my father. I mean, as long as he is alive and I can't get permission from anybody to leave here. So I lay down on the stretcher there, and he put the sheet over me. I lay down the way he told me, straight, with my hands down. Then, when he came to the gate, he said, "Stop breathing." I don't know if I put some white powder, or he put some white powder on me, I don't know. I can't remember that. But maybe I was just dead scared. It was quite an experience to go out this way, because they came with the flashlight. I didn't open my eyes, so I don't know. I heard a few voices, and I saw a flashlight right on my eyes. I couldn't lift my eyelids, I couldn't even move. I was laying there numb. I think I was numb. I don't know. You can't imagine how that feels when you're there and you know if you just move one little finger, you might not be alive tomorrow. Then, he got scared. Because they put the light on him. Then he finally said, "You know, I want to go home. Let me already take this woman out. I need to go home. It's so late at night. I want to go to sleep." So they finally says, "Well, all right, go!" Then he said, also, "What, you think

I take a Jew out alive here, what do you think? So let me go home, I have to come back one more time." He had to come back for the person he was supposed to pick up. And then he took me out, and that was in March in 1943, and it was as cold as you can make it. And like I said before, I informed my uncle and aunt that I might someday escape and come to their house. I couldn't go to my parents' house, because that's the first place they will look for me. So they was informed, they didn't know when or how, but they know that someday I will come out. My uncle was Jewish. My aunt was not. So he was more or less protected. But they both was blond.

Q - YOU GAVE US THE DETAILS. WHAT I'M TRYING TO GET NOW IS FILL IN SOME MORE DETAILS IN CERTAIN AREAS, LIKE WITH THE ESCAPE FROM THE HOSPITAL. GIVE THE DETAILS TO MAKE THE HISTORICAL RECORD, SO PEOPLE LOOKING AT THIS, JUST TRYING TO ANSWER QUESTIONS PEOPLE WOULD HAVE ON HEARING THIS STORY, EVEN THOUGH THE STORY YOU ALREADY TOLD US IS MOST IMPORTANT PART OF IT; WE'RE JUST TRYING TO FILL IN THE DETAILS.

A - Yes. It's quite a story. When I tell it to you maybe it's not such a big story, but you have to live through it in order, and then you have to walk through Berlin in the middle of the night when it's dead, nobody's there, without

shoes, and it's freezing cold. You have to live through it, and you are afraid. Not only to get out, but after you got out already, you was a nervous wreck, you was half-finished. But life, you want to live. You need to take chances, and when you young you risk, you know, you risk your life. You try. Well that's really, I mean that's all I can think about this escaping, I mean what I told you, and I brought you a tape and you can play it, and I have the same story on there.

Q - ONE MORE QUESTION I WANT TO ADD, AND IT'S A MINOR DETAIL, BUT IT'S BECAUSE IT'S SUCH AN IMPORTANT STORY THAT I WANT TO GET AS MANY DETAILS AS POSSIBLE. WHEN THE DRIVER MOVED YOU, DID HE USE A CART? YOU SAID THAT NO ONE ELSE WAS INVOLVED. YOU WERE ON A STRETCHER. WERE YOU ON A CART, OR A GURNEY?

A - On a gurney.

Q - AND HE MOVED YOU ALL BY HIMSELF AND LOADED YOU ONTO THE ...

A - No, no. I lay down there. You see it was in the yard from the hospital. So I lay down there. Only he assisted me how I have to lay, because, you know, he knows how people

lay there when they are dead. And he wanted me to have the same position, with my hands straight and my face up. I mean, he assisted me, but he didn't put me on it. I lay on it. I just took as much clothes off as possible. But I left it with him, and he gave it to me when I got out.

Q - WAS THIS INDOORS, OR OUTSIDE IN THE COURTYARD, WHERE THE STRETCHERS WERE?

A - It was outside in the courtyard. I don't think there was people around it. Because it was so light at night, you know? Maybe, if there was people around it, it was my own people, it was not Gestapo. And if somebody saw it, it was only my own people. The Gestapo was only around the hospital, but not in the hospital. Okay?

Q - WERE THERE CORPSES AROUND THERE, OR WERE YOU THE ONLY PERSON LYING ON A STRETCHER.

A - Well, I don't know. Yeah, I think so.

Q - JUDITH, I THINK YOU HAD A QUESTION ABOUT PHILOSOPHY WHICH WE STARTED TO GET INTO, AND COULD YOU JUST PICK UP THAT?

Q - WHAT KEPT YOU GOING? WHAT PROPELLED YOU TO KEEP THIS UP FOR NEARLY TWO YEARS?

A - You know, when you grow up with a lot of love as a child and you are full with life yourself, and all of a sudden your life is in danger and you are 22 years old, you want to survive, and that's the only thing what kept me and what kept most of the people who survived. The only word what I can say is surviving.

No matter what, how hard it is and how dangerous it is, that you take any chance in your life that you can survive.

I never told you much about my husband, did I? Well, my husband was born in Poland. He hated Poland, and when he was about 16-17 years old, he came to Danzig. His brother was in Danzig, and he went into the lumber business. He trained him. He was about 17 or 18 years old. He was in Danzig for quite a while. He was a big fighter, my husband, a great big fighter for life, to live. Just around when the war started, he wanted to leave Danzig, and his brother was in Danzig, too, and he says he is going into Poland. The war didn't start yet. Walter said, "I'm not going into Poland, I'm going into Germany, so maybe I can go to Palestine from Germany easier." But the only way he could go into Germany is to go to a working camp. They had

working camps in Germany, agriculture working camps, where you could work in the farm, you know, to help the farmers there. They had a lot of Jewish people there in this working camp. He was also fighting, and one day he decided he can't leave this working camp, he only can work. He was close to Berlin, but he wanted to go farther into Berlin. He took dirt from the cows, I don't know, and rubbed his face all over, and he got an eczema from it. I don't know if he had a sore, or something, but he got an eczema, and when he got sick, because he is Jewish, he can only go to a Jewish hospital, and the next Jewish hospital was Berlin. So he came to the Jewish Hospital in Berlin, and that's how we met. He was my patient.

Of course it was not such a big sickness that he had, but we kept it going. You know, he'd get fever, and he got this. We helped him a long a little bit. He stayed there for quite a while. In the meantime, he was well enough to go into Berlin and may have some connection with people. Somehow, he made friends and he had connections, and then came the time when the Gestapo said, "You are well enough, you have to go back." I mean, he stayed in Berlin for maybe a month, or maybe a little longer, as a patient. He had to be there as a patient, but during the day he was gone. He

wasn't sick! We helped him that he was sick, but he wasn't really sick.

Now he had a connection in Berlin in the meantime, okay? Mostly Jewish people, or even 1 or 2 non-Jewish people. Now he was born in Poland, but he spoke fluently German, and he looked not Jewish, blond. So then he had to go back to the camp, and he got what he had and he went for a walk in this little town, and all of a sudden he took the train and he went back to Berlin. He threw everything away, and he went back to Berlin. He was hiding in Berlin. Then he got in contact with me, and I think I told you how he got in contact with me, and he wanted me to go into hiding, and for a while I said no, and then I called him when I wanted to go into hiding. I told you this story; I don't have to repeat it.

I think I told you that he was caught in his hiding, and how he ran away from the synagogue. They collected the Jews in a big synagogue, and he was running away. He went also over a high fence, jumped over a high fence and ran away again. Then he lived for quite a while in Berlin in hiding. He didn't have any identification card, but he jumped from one side to another, and I told you how I got an identification

card for him, and then he was more free. After a while he was caught.

He suffered a lot in the concentration camp. They buried him alive and they wanted him to help the Gestapo, to give away the Jewish people, and he would not be a traitor and he would not do it, so they punished him. He went to different concentration camp, and I think that his health suffered, and his spirits suffered. Then, when the war was over, he stayed alive, but his brother was in Poland still, and he was living in hiding in Poland. I never met his family. I never met his brother. I know only that he in magazines smuggled, sent him money in the magazine. He sent a magazine and he put money in it for the brother to survive. The brother had some jewelry hidden by a Polish woman in Lodz, and he didn't have any money. In Poland it was even worse to live, there was even less food than Germany during the war. He went to the Polish woman to get his jewelry and she gave him away, so he went to the camp. He didn't survive. His whole family didn't survive. He had three children, and they all didn't survive.

Q - HOW DID YOU FIND THAT OUT; HOW DID YOUR HUSBAND FIND THAT OUT, THE STORY THAT HIS BROTHER WENT BACK FOR THE JEWELRY?

A - Well, his wife was still there, and she wrote that to my husband, to Walter. Then he didn't hear from her any more. That's how we found out. But I know they didn't survive, because nobody came home.

Q - COULD YOU GIVE US SOME MORE DETAILS ABOUT WHAT HAPPENED TO YOUR PARENTS?

A - To my parents? My father was a high officer in the first World War. They had to go to the concentration camp anyway; after all, he was a Jew. But, they gave him the "honor" to send him to Theresienstadt, to the ghetto in Theresienstadt, and my mother went with him. I tried to persuade my mother to let my father go to Theresienstadt and go in hiding with me, but she wouldn't. She said "I belong where my husband is, and stay with him." She was hoping that Theresienstadt had such a big name, you know, everybody survives at Theresienstadt. My mother was younger than my father, about maybe 12 years younger, and she went with him to Theresienstadt, and I couldn't protect them anymore. When I went into hiding, they picked them up. I heard from them. They wrote cards. In fact, I have a card you can barely read. She didn't write it to me, but she wrote it to my aunt, the non-Jewish woman, and she didn't write my name, but she wrote "My dear family," you know? I could send them

4 pounds of groceries a month, so I sent it to her every month, and Walter sent her 4 pounds of groceries to Theresienstadt. Then she wrote to me that my father passed away. Like I said, she didn't write to me, but she wrote that my father passed away. He was not well. He was in the hospital the whole time, and he passed away. That's the last I heard of her, this one card. The only thing I found out later was that when the war was over I went into the ghetto in Theresienstadt, and I found people I know very well, friends of mine from the hospital and friends of ours, period. Younger people. They know my parents of course, so they told me the story that when my father passed away, my mother was not protected anymore. She was protected on account of him, because he was an officer in the army. Now she was not protected anymore. So they took her to Auschwitz. They know that the train went to Auschwitz, and you know, from past experience, that one goes right and one goes left. I don't know which one, but the ones who go one way survive; the ones who don't go, don't survive. My mother was a healthy woman. She was in the middle of her 40s. She loved life, and she would have done anything to survive. But if she goes, I think she went to the gas chamber at Auschwitz. That I found out when I went to the ghetto, from all my friends. I was very close with my mother. We were really a team, and it was a very hard thing

for me to let go. That's all I can tell you about my parents. It's very hard for a close-knit family.

When the war was over, I was still hoping to find my family. I did anything. I put ads in the papers. I wasn't the only one; everybody did it. We were looking for people, but nobody came back. My husband didn't find anybody either. He had 2 brothers, 2 sisters-in-law, a mother, 2 nephews and a niece. They were all gone. When he came home, he had me and I had him, and we stuck together, you know? It's very sad when you're young and you don't have anyone, nobody. I suffered; I still suffer from it. I mean, my family now would be gone, but the children wouldn't be gone, and they are not there anymore either. Nobody is there, except of course, thank God, my children are here. I had this one brother in Israel who went to Israel, and he has 2 daughters there; that's all. But from his side of the family there is nobody.

Q - WHAT HAPPENED TO YOUR BROTHER WHO IMMIGRATED TO THE UNITED STATES FROM ENGLAND?

A - He passed away. My brother came to the United States, and then he enrolled in the army, and he was in the second World War, in the army. He got married, then he passed away. He had cancer.

Q - WHAT CITY DID HE IMMIGRATE TO?

A - San Francisco. I had an uncle here, too. My uncle has a very interesting story. He left Germany. In the beginning, when Hitler came to power, he took money and went to Switzerland for visits, and every time he went for a visit, he took quite a lot of money along and opened an account in Switzerland and left the money. Then he went back to Berlin and worked a little or sold a little. Anyway, until he had almost all the money gone to Switzerland. He took one day his wife and his little suitcase and he went to Switzerland as a visit. Then he got a visiting visa. He couldn't go into America easily, because the quota was filled. But he got himself into America. Anyway, he had already all this money in Switzerland now. By then he couldn't take anything out from Germany, but he did it before. Then he got a visa to go to America for 3 months. He took all his money and he went to America for 3 months. He put the money in the bank and he went to a lawyer and he gave himself an affidavit to

emigrate to America, but he couldn't stay more than 3 months in America, so he didn't go back to Switzerland. He went to Canada and waited. The Canadian visa is very easy to come in here. So he waited until he came legal to America; that's how he came to America. He wanted us to come too like this, but it was already too late. Like I said before, Germany was a wonderful country to live in, and people didn't expect it would ever happen. I mean, the culture in Germany was very big. Who would believe something like this? And all the people, there were not very many Jewish people who were poor in Germany. They all had a wonderful business, they all had a wonderful profession. Everything was open to them, so who would expect? My father sure didn't expect. My father said, "No, nothing can happen. I'm a big man in a small town, and everybody admires me, everybody will help me." They didn't help.

But I can understand how he felt, because I was young, and I grew up, and I go my less in the small town. I was 13 years old, 12 or 13 years old when I got my experience, and after that I left the small town, I didn't want to stay in Germany, I wanted out. But it wasn't so easy. Where would you go?

wanted to go to Palestine, but I was too young to go to Palestine in youth aliyah, so my parents had to sign. Now I was the only girl in the family, and "Oh, no, you can't go to Palestine! It's a wilderness. What will you do there?" My brother was older. He forced them to sign. I mean, I think he could go without signing from my parents. So he went, and I wanted to go with him in the worst way. But, I didn't. And when I wanted to go it was too late.

Q - HOW DID YOUR PARENTS REACT WHEN HITLER WAS FIRST ELECTED? DID THEY THINK HE WOULD BE A SERIOUS THREAT TO THE JEWS, OR JUST THAT HE WAS A POLITICIAN.

Well, I don't know. They didn't like the idea that he was elected, but I don't think they took him serious. I don't think that they expected him to get this big, because he talked a lot and he yelled a lot, and you know people laughed more about it, "Ah, he will stay there for a while and then we ..." Nobody really expected that something should happen like this. I think it wasn't only the Jewish people, but the German people didn't expect something like that too, except many of his followers. But then he started with the young people, the Hitler Youth, and the Hitler Youth was dangerous. The Hitler Youth was dangerous not only for everybody, but he trained them, right from the

beginning. In fact, I had a friend who went to a meeting one time, and she took me along. I mean, that was so early, you know, that you didn't know Jew or not Jew. You just went in there, and when I saw how they trained them, I really ran out. I really got scared of it, because they trained them real, 12, 13 years old as being soldiers and fighting, and they put the hatred in for the Jews. "Our biggest enemy are the Jews." I think that cured me of Germany. That's why I wouldn't trust the people today in Germany who are my age; they grew up as Hitler Youth, how can I trust them? Maybe their children don't feel this way, but these people, I don't know, I would be very cautious.

Q - WHEN DID YOUR PARENTS START TO BE VERY CONCERNED ABOUT HITLER? WAS THERE A TURNING POINT MENTIONED THE NIGHT WHEN YOUR FATHER WAS ARRESTED, WAS THERE A TIME BEFORE THAT HAPPENED THAT YOUR PARENTS REALIZED HOW SERIOUS A THREAT HE WAS?

A - You know, I was very young, and I really did not pay so much attention to politics, okay? I think if my parents would really be this concerned, we would have found a way to leave Germany earlier. My mother wanted to leave Germany earlier, my father didn't. My father only could think that life is wonderful there, we can make a wonderful living, and

nothing like that will happen. "I mean, I am a very influence person in the small town, not between only the Jewish people, but between the whole town, and what will happen to me?" So, I don't think my father was very concerned. People who were concerned left Germany. And you know which people who left Germany, who didn't make a very good living; they left Germany. They had to struggle, and they left Germany, because they said, "Well, what I have here I can get someplace else." But people who made a very good living stayed in Germany, because nothing will happen. And many of the Jewish people stayed in Germany. And then, when they finally wanted to leave, I mean, maybe my parents would have left in '36, '37, '38, but it was too late. Where are you going to go? Who takes you in? Okay? America didn't let many people in. England surely didn't. Who took us in? In this respect I blame the world, took not only Germany, because Hitler would have let the Jews out. But the war closed the doors, and that's why I think it's important that we work for Israel, because if Israel would be in existence in 1934, '35, '36, there would not be 6 million Jews killed. That's only my opinion, but I lived through it and I know. I wanted to leave, and I couldn't. All the doors was closed to me. This has nothing to do with holocaust.

Q - ONE OF THE QUESTIONS I WANTED TO ASK YOU, AND I GUESS NOW IS A GOOD TIME, ALTHOUGH ORIGINALLY I WAS GOING TO ASK IT AT THE END, WAS FOR YOUR FEELINGS AND THOUGHTS ABOUT THE STATE OF ISRAEL, HOW IMPORTANT IS IT TO YOU?

A - It's very important to me. Very important. I mean, I hope nothing serious happens there, because we need the State of Israel. What happened in Germany can happen here. I mean, there was less anti-Semitism there in Germany before Hitler came than even some place here. It can happen all over the world, and if we don't have our own state, you see, we have one voice, and I think it's important, very important. We have to support Israel, and I am a very big supporter of Israel.

Q - HAVE YOU NOTICED IN THIS COUNTRY, SINCE YOUR FIRST ARRIVED HERE, ANY CHANGE IN THE AMOUNT OF ANTI-SEMITISM?

A - I personally, no. Where I live I don't feel any anti-Semitism, okay? I really am more connected with Jewish people, but I also volunteer as a nurse in a clinic, and I have mostly non-Jewish people there, and they know that I'm Jewish, and they respect me very highly. They are very nice to me, and I never heard one time the word that "you are a Jew" or something. I have a neighbor who is a German. I

mean, he is born in America, but his parents was German. He is very polite, very nice to me. His children love to come to my place. And I have another neighbor, who was born in America, but his background, father is also German, and he is like a handyman, and I have a big place and I am alone; my husband isn't there any more, so whenever I need help and I call him and he is there. He is already an older man; he is 75 years old, and he doesn't work any more, but he says to me, "As long as I can do it, for you I will do it." So I don't feel any anti-Semitism, not in Petaluma.

Q - BUT YOU'RE STILL CONCERNED THAT IT COULD HAPPEN?

A - Yes. Because I didn't feel any anti-Semitism in Germany either much in Berlin. But it happened, okay, it happened. I think we have to be cautious. We have to not forget that we have to hold on to each other. We have to help each other.

Q - I WAS WONDERING IF YOU COULD TALK A LITTLE BIT MORE ABOUT YOUR TIME IN THE KLEINE FESTUNG; WHAT THE DAY WAS LIKE THERE, AND PARTICULARLY TALK ABOUT LIBERATION DAY, WHAT HAPPENED, AND WHO YOU SAW.

A - Okay. The day was there terrible. It was the end of December and generally was freezing cold. We didn't have anything except our clothes, and the windows was open, because even if we wanted to run away, I told you, I think before we couldn't run away, because it was quicksand all around it. And they didn't have glass in the window. If it was broken, it was broken. They wouldn't fix it. And there was 100 women in one room. And there was 3 shifts of boards; no mattresses, 3 shifts of boards. And one toilet. And one sink with cold water, where you could wash yourself or could drink water from. And a couple people had blankets, you know, little, thin blankets. And then, because it was wet outside, we had a lot of fleas, and we lived with these fleas, and rats, and mice, you know. We got one little piece of bread every day, and we got some water soup. And sometimes people sent packages for their relatives, but the relatives never got the packages. They would take every package and put it in a pot, in a big pot, and then whatever was in their, it doesn't matter; cigarettes, or cookies, or garlic, whatever was in there, they put everything what was in the package in the big pot, and then they put water in it and they cooked it. And that was, I told you, the first time when I came there, when I just arrived in the Kleine Festung, I saw this soup. I felt like I'm getting sick to my stomach. I couldn't eat it.

And the rest of the people said to us, "Well wait, wait a couple of weeks until you will grab it." and this bowls what we got, the rest of it grabbed it from us. Because that was the best thing they had. An they was right, after a week or two weeks, when we got it again we grabbed it. We found everything in there; you wouldn't believe it. Even a gold tooth we found in there one time. But you're hungry, you're starving. And then they made bread from potato peels. It was as hard as lead. An like I said before, you either couldn't go to the bathroom, or you had diarrhea. And when the diarrhea hit you, that was terrible. You have 100 women there and 10 have to go to the bathroom to the same time. It's quite an affair. And then they have so many people there, and you lay on one roll on the boards when you go to sleep, without a mattress. In the meantime you got skinnier and skinnier, and the bones stick out. And it was very hard to lay. And when you wanted to turn because your bones hurt you, the whole row had to turn, because there was no room, there was not this much room in between us. So when I wanted to turn, the rest of them had to turn. So it was a tragedy the whole time. And then we went out, many times they took us out, depends on how they felt. They either didn't even open the door unless they brought us the food, or they would let us come out and let us stay in the line, how you call it? I can't think of it.

But they would let us stay all of us in a line for hours at a time, and generally you have clothes on, but you are undernourished, and you can barely stand. You can't move. You have to stay like a soldier in one line, with so many people. Not for half an hour, not for 5 minutes, but for hours. Any you shiver because you are cold.

It was a real, real tragedy. I mean, this camp was known as a death camp. Nobody really came out alive. In fact, I went to the Holocaust Survivor's Meeting in Jerusalem, and I have a little mark here, where I was, you know, with my name and where I was, in which camp I was, and some people came over who was in Theresienstadt and said, "You survived the Kleine Festung? Is that possible? We never met anybody who survived." They had a gas chamber there, one. I was in there. Just when the war was over, and I told you that. I didn't know it's a gas chamber, then but I found it out later. The 5 months I was there, when I came out I could barely walk. If I would be another 4 months, 5 months there, I couldn't survive. I mean, we all couldn't survive. There was a lot of people who died in there, because they was older and they was longer there than I was, and it was, I think it was just god wanted me to live, you know?

When we came out, they put us in this shower. Also, there was a lot of fights with the 100 women, you know? Everybody had their own opinion, and when you have 100 women and they don't always come from Germany. Some of them came from Czechoslovakia. They had their own opinion and they looked down on the German Jews, and it was quite an ordeal this 5 months. And if you was not strong enough when you came in, if you came from another camp and you was undernourished, you didn't survive it. We was young and we was in hiding, we at least eat better than some of them who came from another camp. We survived. We was strong. We was healthy. But it was an ordeal, and then when you said you wanted to know how when the war was over? Well I tell you, I don't know if you are going to believe me, but I had a funny dream. I says, I saw all the lights going on, and the war is going to be over. And in the morning I told my friends, "The war is going to be over today." And they all laughed at me. I laughed at myself too. I thought I had a dream, you know? And believe it or not, in the evening the war was over. The next day they wanted to take us to the ... we saw the lights far away in the camps, and then the next day we was survived. That was, I think, the 5th of May, 1945. Then they took us out. The Red Cross took us out. And I have a picture from Theresienstadt where they brought us, but they put us in quarantine, because we was

all sick. We was not well anymore. You know, the fleas, they submit from one person to another the typhus, they have a special name on it. And we was all sick. And we could barely walk, you know? They had to take us with the big buses, with the big cars. Because we was much too weak already after this time. I think we was the only ones from Berlin, the group I came with, was the last one who went to this camp. That was in December, 1944. And most of us from Berlin survived. We wasn't very many. One woman they took out and they shoot her. I don't know what the reason was. I couldn't tell you. But the rest of us, I think there was only 3 or 4 of us who survived.

You want to know more about the camp. Well, we didn't give up even inside in the Kleine Festung in the room. We was fighting. How do you fight with an empty stomach? Well we made parties, you know, we pretended. It's all in your mind. You talk about food, and you invite each other for dinner, and you invite each other for breakfast, and it gives you something to do, and you feel that you do. It's mishigoss, but it's really true. You need that for your moral support, to believe on it. And then we talked about what we going to do when the war was over. We got so many potato soup, you know, thin soups made from potatoes. That's one thing we will never touch. To this day I don't

touch it. Today I would like it, but the memory doesn't let me touch it, because all the soup was made from old potatoes, and there was more water than potatoes in it. But then we talked about what would we do when the war was over, and we had so many plans. Well, I will find my mother, I will find my brother, and we will, maybe when the war is over they will come and be waiting for us. And we also had a cultural life in there, because we had some people who was very talented, who was very well read, and who could think very well, and we also tried to have an evening of entertainment. I mean, it's pathetic to think this way, but that's the only way we could mentally survive. So we was sitting around in the middle of the room. We didn't have chairs, so we had to sit around in the middle of the room, and we would start group singing, and we all would go along with the singing, or we would tell stories, or one would give a book report. We didn't have books, but she would talk about a certain book, and it sounded like we read all these books. You know, all the book with her together. So that's what survived us mentally, a little bit.

And then we went in the quarantine and we went to the ghetto, in this building, and we went into quarantine, you know, after our ordeal, which I told you before, that they start shooting. But then, they give us milk and bread, give

us food, and many of them couldn't stand it. It was too rich. And we looked for, we tried to find the people who was still left from our few people who we thought was still left in Theresienstadt. My family was all gone. Everybody. Every one of them was gone. I had a lot more family in Theresienstadt. I had no idea what happened to them. I only knew about my mother. Because the rest of my family, my friends didn't know. Then, after they let us go from this building, we was healthy already, free, we went into the camp and the _____ sent food for us, you know, and we could start eating, we could start getting a little stronger. And I think I told you the story about the hospital, how I went to the hospital there, right?

Q - YOU GAVE US A FEW DETAILS, BUT ...

A - Well, there was a hospital in Theresienstadt, in the ghetto. It was a little farther away, because these people all had typhus. And one day I got a call from somebody and says that one of the nurses from the Jewish Hospital in Berlin is very, very sick, she is ready to die, would I go and help take care of her? So I went to this hospital. There was one doctor there and me and a couple women who helped, but this hospital was the most, I mean it was unbelievable if you see it. All these people was laying

there. They was in fever, they didn't know what they talking about. The fleas was ... the flies. There was no fleas anymore. The flies was laying all over there. There was no food; I mean, there was food, but nobody to feed them. They couldn't eat by themselves, because they was ... and first I didn't want to go, and then I didn't stay away from there until almost the day I left Theresienstadt. And I helped, I did as much as I could, but what can one person do, and the people who was there in the ghetto, many of them wasn't strong enough and many of them didn't know what to do, and some of them we could persuade to come and help, you know, just to do. One doctor was there, one doctor from Czechoslovakia, a Jewish doctor, he was there too, but this nurse what I talked about at the one I went original from, she survived, and she came to America after the war.

I had another friend I met when I was caught in Berlin, and I don't know if I talked about it, and we became friends and we went through the whole time in the concentration camp, we stick together. She took care of me, I took care of her. And she had 2 children. She lived also in hiding in Berlin. And she had 2 children in Theresienstadt. One died, and one was brought to Auschwitz. And when she came to Theresienstadt and she heard that the children are gone, they are not there anymore, she tried to commit suicide,

right then and there, and I didn't leave her out of my sight. So finally she was all right. She is still alive and she is in Israel, and I still are in contact with her, and she still doesn't speak about the children, except to me. I never met the children, but she knows that I went with her when she looked for this children. She has quite a history, too. First she came to America, and she met her husband. Her husband stayed alive, and she found her husband, and they came to America, but her husband didn't stay alive very long. He was beaten on his head a lot, and he suffered from a brain cancer. So he passed away. Then she got married again, but she lost that husband too. But then she decided she is not going to stay here, she is going to Israel. And she immigrated to Israel. And she is now not a very well person. She is a very sick person, and she is in a home. And I saw her last year. And last year she took me on the side; she is married again, and she took me on the side and she showed me the picture from her children. She's got pictures from her children. And we sat down the whole night and cried together about the children. So I asked her, "Why don't you make a big picture and put it on the wall," and she says, "No, I don't want to see it. I don't want nobody to see this picture. That's my children. I don't want anybody, even my husband, who is a very nice person." But she has a lot of love to give, and her husband

has a son and grandchildren, and in her mind that's her son and her grandchildren. She tries to make a belief that that's her family. I'm just bringing this out to express to you how people who went through what we went through, feel. They have to have something to hold onto. Otherwise life isn't worth it. I don't know if you want to hear all these things.

Q - WE'D LIKE TO HEAR EVERYTHING THAT YOU WANT TO SAY.

A - Any other question?

Q - WHEN YOU WERE IN PRISON, DID THE WOMEN THERE FORM LITTLE GROUPS OF LIKE FAMILIES, THAT STUCK TOGETHER. YOU TALKED ABOUT HOW THEY HAD PARTIES.

A - No. It was just women who, we never met in our life before, and they never met in their life before. Maybe they come from the same town, but, no, there was no families together.

Q - DID YOU GET TOGETHER WITH OTHER STRANGERS AND SORT OF ACT LIKE FAMILY GROUPS?

A - When, after the war?

Q - NO, IN THE PRISON ITSELF.

A - Yeah, anyway I met a lot of people after the war, after I left the camp, after I came to the ghetto, I met a lot of people I know, but my one and only concern was I want to go back to Berlin, I want to look for my whole family. That was my main goal in my life. I told you that I had a chance to go to England, and I had a chance also to go to Palestine. Because there was a whole group, and I was very much in demand, because I was a nurse, and they needed that. And I could have gone, but I wanted to look for my family. That was my main concern. How can I leave Europe and go to another country and never know what will happen to my family. I wouldn't be able to live with myself. I had to find them. And I didn't give up looking for them until I left Berlin.

Q - WHEN YOU WERE TAKEN TO THE GAS CHAMBER, DID YOU REALIZE THAT IT WAS A GAS CHAMBER?

A - We didn't really quite know if it's a gas chamber or not, but when they closed the door, we suspected this, and then somebody said, "Oh, that's a gas chamber." We waited for the water. We supposed to get the water, but there

wasn't really pipes for the water. Then women started to get real hysterical. They tore their hair out, the screamed. We was all naked, all 30 of us was naked. They took our clothes away. It was a real tragedy. I mean, I don't know how long we was in there. You know you lose time in a situation like that. It might be 10 minutes, it might be 2 hours, might be all day. I can't remember that. I can't remember how long I was on the stretcher there to go out from the hospital. It's unbelievable. You don't want to think about it. I found out later on, when we left there, when we was free, that that had a gas chamber. And I had a friend go into Czechoslovakia last year and she brought me a picture of the gas chamber. She stood in front of it, and she said that was the gas chamber. She was in Theresienstadt, too. She was in different camps. And she brought me a picture of the Kleine Festung where I was too, but from the outside. They put a memorial there for the people who died. I don't know how many people died. It was not only Jews there. In fact, there was many non-Jews. There was Russian soldiers, you know, who they captured. There was people who tried to run away from a different concentration camp. They was even more punished than we was punished. It was a camp for only political prisoners, and I was considered a political prisoner, because how dare I go around the Gestapo and live in hiding for such a long time.

How dare would I do this, you know? So that is considered a political prisoner. That was my crime.

My husband give took once from an apartment that Jews lived in a mezuzah, and he gave me that mezuzah, and I had that mezuzah. I had a suit on when I went to this camp, and I put this mezuzah in my little pocket. It was a man's suit; it was his suit, but it was freezing cold, and I didn't care. I mean we didn't wear pants over there as we do here. And this little mezuzah was in the little pocket. They didn't find it. I still have it. I didn't bring it, though. I feel that that mezuzah saved my life. Maybe. Maybe not, but I still feel this way. My little talisman. When I came in there to this camp and they found everything, I mean I had a watch, I had some necklace. They took everything away. And they touched me all over, but that they didn't find. And I said to my friend, "I will stay alive. That will save me." You know, you believe very strongly. You believe on things like that. Maybe that belief makes you stay alive.

Also, there's another thing. Some people said if god can let something happen like that, there is no god. They don't want to believe on god. They don't want to believe on anything. And some, most of the people, so I found that out

they became stronger in their belief and stronger in their religion and stronger in these things. In fact, there was a saying that the assimilation in Germany was very big before Hitler came, and we needed Hitler to bring the Jews back to Judaism. Jews really remembered that they are Jews then. They helped each other, they stuck out for each other, and I think that's what we have to do for Israel.

Q - ANNE, I WOULD LIKE SOME BACKGROUND, JUST A LITTLE BIT. DURING OUR FIRST INTERVIEW, YOU TOLD US THAT YOU WERE CAUGHT IN DECEMBER OF 1944. I DON'T RECALL YOU TELLING US THE DETAILS - AGAIN, MY FAVORITE WORD, DETAILS - ABOUT WHAT HAPPENED THEN. DO RECALL HOW YOU WERE CAUGHT, WHAT LED UP TO IT, WHAT YOU WERE THINKING AT THE TIME IT OCCURRED?

A - Well, Walter was caught. And I tried to help him. I tried to bring food to him there. And there was one person who know about me. They didn't really know too much about me that we was in contact with each other. They tried to get names out of him. But of course he wouldn't give names. He had no connection with anybody as far as they're concerned. But they had other people, too. And they heard about me. And there was one woman who know me. And in fact, before I left the hospital I took some Morphine pills with me, and I had it on me most of the time. I says, if I

can't handle it any more, I take it. It was always in a little side pocket. And this woman know about, because somehow I confided in her. See, you can't confide in anybody. I confided in her, and told her that. I also had quite a lot of jewelry left, which Walter gave to somebody, and she knows about that too. Where it was. She didn't know what she had, but she knows where it is, somehow. Anyway, one day I stayed in the place where Walter was hiding, before I went back to the place where I was, because I stayed in a place out of Berlin. But because I wanted to be there and help him in some ways, send groceries, or be able to help him in some way, I stayed in the place where he was hiding at this time, just for a couple days or so, till I know what's going on. Anyway, one day I got a phone call ... got a knock on the door, and they left some people in. And they said, "Hold your hands up. Where is your purse? Where is your dope? Where is your pills? We don't let you kill yourself." That's why I know that she was the one who give me away, because nobody knows except her and Walter. And that's how I was caught. And then they took me and put me in a special place, where they brought all the people in. They caught a lot of people. They caught this friend of mine too, what I was talking, what is still in Israel, to the same time, and we all came into the same place, until they brought us away. And then, there was already the end

of '44, there was not many places to go to; into Poland was already half-closed. And they said they bring us to Theresienstadt. So when I heard Theresienstadt, I says, "Oh, I will be with my mother, with my aunts and uncles, and I will go." And when I came to Theresienstadt, they separated us. You see, they caught us, but they brought already some people who wasn't in hiding there, because there was a lot of mixed marriages. And if the non-Jewish partner died, they brought the Jewish partners to Theresienstadt. So, there was a lot of Jewish people there who was not political prisoners like me. And they went into the ghetto from Theresienstadt. But us, who was the criminals, they brought into the other, to the Kleine Festung. That's why I say there wasn't so many of us. Because they caught us, but they didn't catch so many of us. And that's how I got arrested. And then when the war was over, I found out that she ... we went to the man, and he was not a Jewish man, he was a non-Jewish guy, and he was a very decent man, and he says, "I had your jewelry, but somebody came in with a gun and they know exactly that I have it from you, and I had to give it. Either that, or I get killed." So that's why I know, that's why I brought it up. After the war was over, I went to the police and I give her in. I told the police about her. What happened to her,

I don't know. But they interviewed me about it and I told them about it, and give her name.

Q - DO YOU RECALL WHAT YOU WERE THINKING AT THE TIME YOU WERE ARRESTED?

A - What I was thinking? You expect a lot of me. I told you, when I was arrested and when I thought I go to the concentration camp, I was relieved. I really was relieved. Because the year and three-quarters to live in hiding in the rooms and different places and fight for food and fight for your life was a real, real struggle, and it wasn't only one and three-quarters year, it was like half of my lifetime. I felt that half of my lifetime I lived like this. And if it doesn't come to an end pretty soon, they I don't know if we can survive. Little by little we didn't have the physical energy and mental energy left anymore to fight much longer. We didn't know really, we thought the war would be over soon, but you know every day is a fight. Every single day. Every minute of the day is a fight. So when they caught me, I was in a way relieved. I says, that's it, that's it. What happen now will happen, and if I survive, fine, if I don't what can I do? I tried. Okay? And when I came to the Kleine Festung there was no way of yes living or no living. Of course I wanted to live. But if you are so

hungry, if you are so undernourished, if you can barely walk because you are so weak, then you don't want to give up but there is no choice that you give up, and that I survived like this was just plain luck, was beschirt. That's it. But till then I was fighting, every single day of my life, and even when I came to the Kleine Festung I tried to fight. But we saw so many people be shot that there was no chance for us to even think that, I want to fight, I want to survive. And you was in this room there, in the showers, the so-called showers. Some of the people tear their hair out and they screamed and they yelled, and I just resigned myself. I says, there's no use. I mean, what's the use to yell and scream. If that's the way it's supposed to be, that's the way it's supposed to be. And of course, when I was alive, I was still in quarantine, I wanted to live, and my only goal then was to find my family. I mean, that was my most priority in my life then at this time. Where will I find my family? I will not give up till I find anybody alive, anybody. I know my father's dead, but my mother, my cousins, my uncles, they was all healthy and younger people. They was older than I, but healthy and younger people. There was not one I could find.

Q - TALK ABOUT WHAT HAPPENED IN THE GAS CHAMBER AND YOU WEREN'T GASSED. DO YOU HAVE ANY THOUGHTS ABOUT WHAT HAPPENED, WHY YOU WEREN'T GASSED?

A - Oh, I know why we wasn't gassed. The war was over. You see, they didn't had any more chances to gas us. I mean if it would be a couple days earlier they probably would have done it. But when they put us in there already, the war was already over. They didn't give up. These few people who run the camp, they didn't give up. But all around it was already over. The ghetto in Theresienstadt was already over. I told you, the Red Cross was already there.

Q - BUT IF THEY WERE NOT GOING TO GAS YOU, WHY DID THEY PUT YOU IN THE CHAMBER, AND WHY DID THEY TRY TO SHOOT YOU AFTERWARDS?

A - I think they didn't had any more gas to put in, you see? And then they tried the other thing. They throw us out and they put us all in one big line and they start shooting. Men and women alike. And then the wagons with the Red Cross and they was arrested. These people, the police, and some of them tried to run, but it didn't help them much.

Q - WHEN YOU WERE IN THE GAS CHAMBER YOU DID NOT HEAR ANY NOISE OTHER THAN FROM THE PEOPLE WHO WERE IN THERE?

A - How many people was in there? Thirty. There was about thirty, thirty-five; around thirty. That was all what could get in there.

Q - BUT YOU DIDN'T HEAR ANY NOISE OF THE GAS CANNISTER OR PELLETS BEING FIRED?

A - No. I couldn't hear anything. I mean you couldn't hear anything because people was screaming anyway. And your mind wasn't on it. It didn't matter any more to you, see? When you in there you resign yourself. You don't care anymore. You give everything of yourself for so many years to survive, that when it comes that you are in there ... I mean when I was there I didn't really know it was a gas chamber. I know it was a shower, but water didn't come! You was supposed to take a shower, but water didn't come. And then when I really came out I found out it's a gas chamber, you see? I didn't know when I was in there. So I didn't look for any gas or anything. But some people who was with me in the same shower, they know, they must have known, because they says, "Oh, this is not a shower. this is a gas chamber." But I didn't know. I wasn't sure. I

wasn't sure what to expect. I know that they told us that's a shower, and to get a shower. Some people said no, it's a gas chamber. So I don't know who to believe.

Q - AND WHEN YOU WERE TAKEN OUT AND PEOPLE WERE BEING SHOT, WERE THE GERMANS USING MACHINE GUNS AT THIS POINT TO YOUR RECOLLECTION?

A - No they had only guns, rifles.

Q - ABOUT HOW MANY PEOPLE WERE LINED UP? DID YOU JOIN A MUCH LARGER GROUP?

A - Yeah. It was a whole row. They put us all in one long row, and then they start shooting. But there wasn't too many people shooting. They didn't have too many people to fight anymore. And then it's only maybe half an hour from the ghetto to the Kleine Festung to drive, maybe not even this much. I don't know. So before I know it, we was free. When they came and told us that "You are free, you are free, you are free!" You know, how do you feel when you are told you are free? I don't know. You don't believe it. You're free. Free from what? Free. What now? By then you're immoral. Your feeling is so dumb, you don't feel anymore. Now you have to remember that by then I was

about 24, but I started to get kicked around since I'm 13. So that's over 10 years. And how do you feel when you're kicked around, when you make believe that you're really nothing, that you are just a dirty Jew, that you are nothing. You grow up with this. It took me a long time, even in this country, to get it out of my system. To know that I'm something, that I'm me. Then you had to fight again, you know? Fight for your moral. When you came here you had to fight to make a living, fight to survive, fight to be a person again. Who am I? I didn't know who I was anymore when the war was over. Who am I? I have to find myself. I think you can't understand that. I mean, the only love, the only feeling, the only good thing I got was from my family, and not only before the war, but during the war, as long as I had them. And that's why it was so important to find my family again, because we all have to have love in order to survive. For me that was a matter of life and death, to find somebody, and then I found out that nobody survived. Then I said, "Why did I stay alive?" I felt guilty. "Why did I stay alive? I don't want to live. Why didn't they kill me. I don't want to live." But then I got married and I had a child, and then I wanted to live, I wanted to survive, I wanted to build up.

Q - YOU STARTED TO DISCUSS A LITTLE BIT AT THE BEGINNING OF THE INTERVIEW A PHILOSOPHICAL ARGUMENT OF WHETHER THERE IS A GOD, OR IF THERE IS A GOD HOW COULD HE ALLOW THE HOLOCAUST?

A - I never said that. Many people said it. I never doubted god.

Q - WHAT WERE YOUR THOUGHTS THEN, AND DO YOUR THOUGHTS NOW DIFFER FROM THE WAY YOU THOUGHT AT THE TIME?

A - My thoughts today, I am a very believing person. I feel that a lot of things happened what we don't want to happen, but you know there is a saying that god will help you, but I believe that god will help you, but you have to help yourself first. Maybe there is no god, but you have to hold onto something. If you don't have something to hold onto, then life is very empty. I don't want to be an empty person. I want to amount to something. And I tried to live my whole life afterwards, after this ordeal, I lived my whole life like this. I told you just a minute ago, I never really doubted god. I think many things. You know, there is a book out, and I don't know if you ever read that, "Why do bad things happen to good people?". Well, a rabbi wrote the book. And I feel the same thing; why do bad things

happen to good people? But you see, there was so many good people who was killed. A tremendous amount of good people. Why were they killed? Why? I feel that god had a reason for all this. When we go back into the history, why did the Jews had to go 40 years in the desert? God has a reason for it, and it's not up to me to doubt it. I can only do what is right for me, what is right in my life, and I try to be like that.

Q - DID YOU FIND YOUR BELIEF IN GOD TO BE STRONGER THAN WHEN YOU WERE A SMALL GIRL GROWING UP?

A - No, not really. You see, I come from a fairly traditional house, and I went to Sunday school and to Hebrew school when I was about 8 years old, and I went to the Jewish day school, and it was an orthodox day school, and religion was a point that was always very important in my upbringing. And it always give a me a lot of good feeling to know there is something, to feel there is something higher which I can lean on. Even so I am alone, but I have something to believe on. And I think it's important.

Q - WHAT BRANCH OF JUDAISM WERE YOU BROUGHT UP IN; ORTHODOX, OR CONSERVATIVE?

A - Well, I don't know. You know when I was growing up there was only reformed and orthodox. There was no conservative. It was more really like the conservative today. But it was stronger than the conservative, because my parents was kosher, shabbat was shabbat, you know, but what I understand today from the orthodox, we wasn't like that. We wasn't radical, like some of the orthodox are today, and I don't believe on this. I think it's a little overdone. On the other hand, I'm not a reform Jew either. I don't like to go to the synagogue without a yarmulke.

Q - WERE MOST OF THE JEWS IN GERMANY BROUGHT UP, WAS IT YOUR OBSERVATION THAT MOST OF THE JEWS WERE BROUGHT UP ABOUT THE SAME WAY?

A - Well, most of the Jews was brought up the way I was brought up. There was, in big towns like Berlin, the synagogue, the picture of the synagogue; I have a book from Berlin. I showed the synagogue I saw burning. That was a new synagogue; I don't know when they built it; just before Hitler came, and that was a reform temple. Now I went there to the services a couple of times, and I felt out of place. I felt like I don't belong there. It's like a show, it's not like a synagogue to me. I would not feel good in it. And I don't think I would feel good in one today. But I am

not really this religious. I am traditional, very traditional, and I believe on keeping my holidays, but I am not kosher today anymore, and I am still only traditional, more or less.

Q - GOING BACK TO LIBERATION, YOU WERE IN THERESIENSTADT AND FINALLY YOU ARE FREE TO MAKE YOUR WAY BACK TO BERLIN. TALK ABOUT MEETING UP WITH WALTER AND RETURNING TO BERLIN, AND WHEN YOU DECIDED THAT YOU WEREN'T GOING TO STAY THERE ANY MORE.

A - When I weren't going to stay where, in Theresienstadt?

Q - NO, IN BERLIN, IN GERMANY IN GENERAL.

A - Well, Walter was liberated before. He came, I don't know, from a different concentration camp. I can't remember which one. And he was liberated already in April, end of May. And he was very, very weak. He had water in his feet. He was so undernourished that he can barely make it from the camp to Berlin. And his only goal was the same as mine; to find his family, and to find me. And he went to the only place where they have names, whole lists from the people who survived in this place. And that was in the Jewish Hospital, after the war. And they had a whole

roomful with names from people they know who survived. Now they found out from Theresienstadt, from the ghetto in Theresienstadt, who survived there. And my name was on it. And he wrote me a card that he is so happy that I am alive, and he is alive, and he is waiting for me also in Berlin. Now he wanted to come to Theresienstadt, but he couldn't get in there. So he is waiting for me in Berlin, and he knows about that my mother isn't there, and he knows all the names from my family. So he knows only that I was alive, that I was there, and he doesn't know what happened to the rest of my family. And he hopes, of course, that they are alive. Of course, then I wanted to get back to Berlin the worst way I know how, and I wanted to find my family. I had more relatives who didn't go to Theresienstadt, who went to other camps. So the next chance I had, I went back to Berlin. And we got married and we looked. He looked for his family, I looked for my family. We looked for each other's family. And we put notes in the papers, you know. We looked all over. And we didn't find anybody.

Then I could go shopping. And I told you, the anti-Semitism in Berlin was much bigger after the war than it was before. And then we could go shopping, and I had an identification card. They had to stay in line, in long line, but I had an identification card that I didn't have to stay in line, that

I could leave and go pick it up. And that's when I heard, "You dirty Jew, why didn't Hitler maybe should have killed you, too," and so on and so forth. And then I what I saw in the camp, in the places when I worked in the hospital, in the synagogue where they collected the Jews to send them away, I put it altogether and I did not want to stay in Germany. I says, "I can't live here, I can't breathe here." And my husband didn't really want to leave yet. He wasn't ready. He was emotional and physical not really ready. I didn't want to come to America. I want to go to Palestine. But he did not want to have anything to do with illegal anymore. He wanted to go where he doesn't have to hide. Like I said before, this is the hardest thing in our life, to live in hiding. Even so we could be free, but we are not free, you see? And for him it was even worse, because he didn't had an identification card as long as I did, and he was a man, and a young man on top of it, so he couldn't move as easy around as I did. For him it was a big strain and his nerves went pretty down. and he didn't want to go to Palestine illegal. He would have gone if it would be Israel, but we didn't know then if there will be an Israel, or if there will be a state for ourself, and he didn't want to go this way. And I could not stay in Germany, no matter what. I couldn't breathe the air there. I felt like I'm still in the concentration camp. I couldn't

walk on the street without looking over my shoulder. And I didn't want to live this way anymore. I wanted to find myself. I wanted to know, whom am I? What am I? Am I somebody else, or just a frightened animal?

And then came the time when American opened the gate, and I went to the American consulate and I says I want to get out. And I signed up, and then I went to my husband, and he didn't want to go. He was, like I said, not ready mentally. And I says, "Well, I can't live here, and if you want to stay in Germany, we can't stay together." So then we went to America. Of course, he lost everybody. He didn't want to lose me either, and I wouldn't stay there. I just couldn't. I couldn't breathe. I couldn't listen to "You dirty Jew" anymore. That was the insults what I had. I had a lot of insults as a child. Not so much when I was in Berlin, but as a child I had lots of insult, and I grew up with it.

A few years ago I got an invitation ... not a few years, almost ten years ago ... I got an invitation from Berlin that if I want to come for a visit they would welcome it, and I should come. Well, I like to travel, so I said, "Well, it doesn't cost anything. Let's see. Let's go." And I went there. And in the last minute I wanted to cancel

the trip. I don't know if you ever heard about these trips. It was a chartered tour from New York. It was only the German Jews who left Germany. They give them a free trip to come to Germany. We all was together. And we stayed more or less in one or two hotels together. We had everything together. But then there was time when you walked on the streets alone. I walked on these streets where I walked as a child with my uncle, with my mother, where I walked with Walter sometimes when I was in hiding, and then where I walked after the war, and I says, "Do I belong here? Should I forget?" I couldn't wait till this week is over. And then I came in the middle of Berlin in an area where I am very familiar. I saw a big sign, from all the names of the concentration camps. And I wasn't prepared for this. And I looked at this and I saw this and I collapsed there. And I was sitting there for half an hour, three quarters of an hour, crying. And the German people passed by; not one of them stopped. Not one of them. I says, "These people are still not human. I can't live here." I think that wouldn't happen in America. If you sit there and you cry your eyes out, somebody would stop and say, "Can I help you?" But it didn't happen. And I couldn't wait till I get out of there. I says, "I don't belong here. I don't want to live here." And then when I came home and I came to New York and I had to find a taxi

and I found the dirt on the street there; in Germany is spic and span, and everything is neat. And when I saw the dirt on the street in New York, I said, "God bless America!" I felt like I can breathe again. I couldn't breathe the whole week long I was there, I couldn't breathe. Maybe it's only me. Maybe other people enjoy Germany, but I didn't. It's good I went there, because I had to really know if I felt this way only after the war, or if I feel this way now, and I feel this way now. Maybe even stronger now. Anything else?

Q - YOU SAID YOU WENT TO THE AMERICAN CONSULATE AND SIGNED UP TO COME HERE. HOW DID THE AMERICANS, HOW WERE ABLE TO ACTUALLY COME HERE? WHO PROVIDED THE SHIPS, DID THE AMERICANS PROVIDE YOU WITH SOME SPENDING MONEY, WHICH I THINK YOU TOLD US YOU SPENT ON CHOCOLATE?

A - Well we got only eight dollars.

Q - WAS THAT FROM THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT?

A - I don't know who gave us ... The Joint Distribution. UJA. It's today called UJA. Then it was called the Joint Distribution. Or HIAS. That was a Jewish organization after the war. And they probably gave each of us eight

dollars, you know, some money. I got eight dollars. I think my husband got eight dollars. And I think so you can buy something, so you shouldn't be human beings without a dime in our pocket.

How we came here? We came with an Army boat. It was terrible! It was in January. The boat was packed with people, all survivors. All people who wanted to leave Germany as fast as they can. There was terrible storms. The boat was in danger. And it's a funny thing. I was hungry. I was hungry! I could eat 24 hours a day, right?

The men and women was not together. They had only big rooms where you can sleep, like bunk beds, you know? But otherwise it was all right. One day everybody got seasick. I didn't get seasick. I was fine. I wanted to eat. Even the cook was seasick! So we went in the kitchen, a few of us went in the kitchen and helped ourself. We didn't cook, but we ate what was there. You would be surprised, if you are 80 pounds and you come to you barely have no strength left. You eat!. Anyway, when I came to New York, we went to, what's the name? ... Ellis Island. Most of them was Polish Jews. I mean, survivors, but from Poland. And I had English in school in Germany. I didn't speak so good English then, but I had a little bit. And they couldn't

understand the inspectors. We went to the inspection, you know? Then they came to me and I understood them and I explained to some of the people who was around. My English was very poor then, too, but at least I could communicate a little bit. They used me for a little while with the other people.

Then I came to New York and I was seasick. I was seasick for a whole week. I couldn't eat nothing. And then I told you I had an uncle and a brother in San Francisco, and they wanted us to come, so we went to San Francisco. Then was in San Francisco about a week, a week and a half, and I found a job in Mt. Zion Hospital. That's how my life started in America. Then my spirit was back. Then I was starting to fight again, to survive, to get ahead.

Q - WHAT WAS YOUR FAMILY LIFE LIKE HERE IN THE U.S. WHEN YOU WERE RAISING YOUR FAMILY? HOW DO YOU THINK IT WAS AFFECTED BY THE EXPERIENCES YOU WENT THROUGH IN YOUR YOUNG ADULTHOOD. DO YOU THINK IT CHANGED THE WAY YOU RAISED YOUR KIDS, OR DID IT HAVE ANY IMPACT ON THEM?

A - I don't know. I would have to ask my children that. I really don't know. I don't think I wanted to make any much different to my children, to let them grow up as normal

human beings. And one thing, I felt to be very close with my children. I'm still very close with my children. And maybe more so than Americans, American Jews. I think you find that in most survivors they are trying to be more close with their own children and hold on to them, and they are more protective of their children than American Jews. Maybe. I know with my friends, some of them was too overprotective. I was overprotective not as much, because I felt they have to grow up.

My daughter, she told me later on, in later years, that sometimes she was afraid to say that she is Jewish in school. You know I felt that I have to let my children know what their background is. Maybe I shouldn't, but I did. My husband never could talk. He didn't want. He wanted to push it away. And maybe I shouldn't have talked either, but I felt that they have a right to know. Today she is a very proud Jew, my daughter. She works for the Federation. But when she was little she told me this one time, that she was ashamed to say she's Jewish.

My son, he is not very religious. He know's he's Jewish and he will hold onto it and he goes to the synagogue, only for the holidays, and most of it maybe he does for me, to show me his respect, but I think down deep in his heart he is

more of a Jew than he thinks he is. I asked him to make a copy of the tape I brought here, because he didn't see it when I had it. I really didn't want my children to see it, because it's not so hot. And they know most of the story, and everything they didn't have to know. But I never let them see it. But I didn't know where to go, and he has a VCR where he can just play it and tape it. And he taped it. I said, "You can tape it for me, you don't have to watch it." Well he wanted to watch it. And then he called me up, and he was ready to throw an atomic bomb on Germany. "Why did they throw it on Japan? Why didn't they throw it on Germany instead?" So, his hatred for, he doesn't trust Germans. I don't know if he got it from me or ... I don't really talk about it. I really can't say that I hate the Germans anymore. Because I had good Germans there, and they was very good to me. And I don't want to hate. I feel hate destroys only me, not anybody else. I won't forget, and when I go to Germany I will not trust them too easy, but he has even more hate than I have. Because he grew up without a family, you see? He didn't have a grandmother and a grandfather, and uncle and an aunt. He had an uncle in my brother, he passed away, but he had an uncle in Israel, and he doesn't really know them. But he had a desire to have a family, and he did not have a family. He doesn't ever talk about it, but I think that hurt him more than I realize.

As far as our life went here, I think it was normal. I mean, in the beginning we had a big struggle to make a living. Later on, we struggled as all our friends, and then we lived a normal life, I think. We was active in Jewish affairs. I became president of Hadassah, and it was very important to me. And my children went to Sunday school, my son was bar mitzvah. We was a real traditional Jewish family. Not real orthodox, you know, not really even kosher, but traditional. I will not forbid my children to eat chozzer. I will not cook it in my house, and I will not allow to bring it in my house, but I am pretty liberal. I understand. Maybe time heals, right? Time makes you not forget, but get easier. Anything else?

Q - DO BOTH OF YOUR CHILDREN HAVE FAMILIES?

A - No my son isn't married. I wish he would.

Q - HE'S NEVER BEEN MARRIED?

A - No. My daughter is married, and she has 2 children.

Q - SHE'S BEEN MARRIED A LONG TIME?

A - Yeah.

Q - AND HOW ARE YOUR GRANDCHILDREN?

A - Oh, great!

Q - DO YOU SPEND TIME WITH THEM?

A - If I spend time with them? Oh, sure! But now they come to the age where they don't want to spend time with me so much. I have a grandson who is 15; he was bar-mitzvah, and I have a granddaughter who is 11 and, you know, she is a very busy little bee. She is a social butterfly. She is an excellent student, and she's very busy. She goes to Sunday school. She goes to Hebrew school. Whenever I have a chance to see her, I take it. I am very close with them, at least as close as I try to be. They are my pride and joy.

Q - DO YOU CONSIDER YOUR DAUGHTER'S FAMILY TO BE A TRADITIONAL JEWISH FAMILY?

A - Much less so than me. My daughter, I don't know if I should talk about it, but my daughter, the guy who she married is a convert. And he's not much of a Jew. But she holds it up very strongly. And we are together to every

Jewish holidays. We have the seders together, we have Rosh Hashanah together. She takes her children not to Petaluma, to Santa Rosa, to Sunday school. Because the Sunday school it's very important to her that her children are raised with a lot of Jewish knowledge. So Sunday school in Petaluma for a while was lousy. And she wanted to have more Jewish education for her children, so she took them there.

Q - DID YOUR SON-IN-LAW CONVERT BEFORE OR AFTER THE MARRIAGE?

A - Before.

Q - WAS IT FOR THE MARRIAGE, BECAUSE OF YOUR DAUGHTER, TO GET MARRIED, OR AS IT AFTER HE MET HER?

A - I think so. No, he met my daughter, but he converted before they got married.

Q - BUT AFTER THEY'D MET?

A - After they met, yeah.

Q - AND MAY HAVE CONVERTED BECAUSE OF HER?

A - Yeah. He's not much of a religious in any way. He didn't believe on his religion either. I don't think he believes much on Judaism, either. But he has no objection.

* * * * *

PHOTOGRAPH-SHOWING

Q - WHY DON'T YOU JUST TELL US WHAT THIS IS, PLEASE?

A - This is Theresienstadt, and this is the building I went to after they took us out from the Kleine Festung to stay there in quarantine. And that's where we stayed for a couple of weeks.

Q - AND WHERE DID THIS PICTURE COME FROM?

A - This picture comes from Theresienstadt, from the ghetto in Theresienstadt. All these pictures.

Q - WHO TOOK THE PICTURE?

A - Nobody took it. I don't know how, I got them somehow. They had postcards, and I have a whole bunch of postcards from Theresienstadt. And I thought maybe that would be interesting.

Q - ALL RIGHT, IT IS, VERY!

A - This building I don't know, but the other building, down below, this used to be the headquarters from the Gestapo at Theresienstadt.

A - That's the star I got, which I had to wear all the time. Even to go to the camp. And I saved it and I brought it with me. I think that's something you have probably plenty, but to me it's really important.

This is the Jewish Hospital in Berlin. It's still in existences, and it's still called the Jewish Hospital. It's not only the Jewish service any more, but it will remain named the Jewish Hospital in Berlin. And that's where I went in training and a graduated as a nurse from this hospital.

This is the only picture I have of me working as a nurse in surgery, with a doctor.

Q - WHAT YEAR WAS THIS TAKEN?

A - This was probably in 1940, '41. That's when I worked there.

This is me with my friends.

Q - YOU'RE ON THE LEFT, YOU SAID?

A - Yeah. That was also around maybe '39, '40. That's what I have from Berlin. Now I have two more pictures, but that's the way Berlin looked during the war, with the bombing, and that's how we survived sometimes. That's how we tried to survive many times, because we didn't have no place to go, and you would stay there overnight and sleep there. It was very frightening for a young woman to go there by herself. And when you hear noises, you get scared stiff. But that's the way we stayed. The other picture, too. This is even better. I mean, people didn't live any more, and there was nothing there anymore except ruins, and you were sometimes afraid that some of the boards might fall onto your head, but you stayed. You needed a place to hide.

Q - WHO TOOK THESE PICTURES?

A - I don't know, but I had them when we came here. We took them in Berlin. Some friend of ours took the pictures, and I felt it might be important, how Berlin looked then.

Q - YES, IT IS, VERY! CAN YOU TELL US WHAT THIS IS, PLEASE?

A - This is the Kleine Festung in Theresienstadt, in the inside. And that's where I was. That's one part of it, but there was a lot more stuff. And I think this was the gas chamber, called shower where I was. I don't know what it says today, but it looked like it.

Q - OKAY. WE HAVE ANOTHER ONE THERE.

A - And that is right next to the camp, where you can see the entrance to the Kleine Festung, and you can see the trains used to come there to go around it. It's very hard to understand when you see it just on a little picture, but when you have it in your mind, it's quite frightening. This camp today has a memorial. See? There were so many people killed, that as of today they made a memorial there for this camp. You can see the entrance, where the memorial is, and

then you see the places where we was brought in. It didn't change inside. It changed only the outside is much nicer today than it was when we was there.

Q - WHAT ABOUT THIS?

A - This is nothing.

Q - WHAT ABOUT THESE?

A - That you saw already. That's the same thing.

Q - SAME THING, DIFFERENT ANGLE?

A - Yeah. It seems so. Maybe this would be interesting. There you can see the camps from the outside, when you go around it. You couldn't go around it, but there was quicksand all around it. In the one before this you saw the entrance, but this is all around it.

And I don't know if you are interested in this. This is money from Theresienstadt. The money in the ghetto from Theresienstadt. People got money, they could go shopping if they could find something to buy.

Q - WHAT DOES IT SAY?

A - What it says? Two Kroner. I never used it, because I wasn't there in the ghetto during the war. I was only there after the war, and I thought it's interesting to have some money just as a memory. Zwei Kronen. Two Kronen.