

Interview of IRMA BROCLAWSKI

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Bay Area Oral History Project of San Francisco

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Q. TODAY IS NOVEMBER 14TH, 1991. I'M JUDITH BACKOVER WITH THE HOLOCAUST ORAL HISTORY PROJECT, INTERVIEWING IRMA BROCLAWSKI AT CONGREGATION BETH SHALOM IN SAN FRANCISCO.

ALSO WITH US TODAY ARE VINCE IACOPINO AND ILANA BROWN,

GOOD MORNING, IRMA.

A. Good morning.

Q. I WOULD LIKE TO ASK YOU TO BEGIN BY TELLING US WHERE AND WHEN YOU WERE BORN.

A. I was born in--I was born 26 of January, 1925 in (Vishnich Norway), in Poland. This is in southern Poland. (Kaletsia). I was one of three children. I have two older brothers. My father was a lawyer in (Visnich) and I was--I had a very happy childhood there, 14 years. When I was 14, the war broke out and all my life was turned, you know, over.

Before 16 of December, 1940, my father was beaten by a German. He went to post office to see if he has letters from my brothers, who are--who escape when the war broke out. He came home. He had a client coming.

Interview of IRMA BROCLAWSKI

This was a mother of my girlfriend from school. And she wanted some advice. And my father was talking to her and in one moment he had massive heart attack and he died. This was the first horrible story for us.

I stay with my mother and one day, before liquidation of the Jews in (Visnich), one Pole brought us a paper, false papers for my mother and for me, since they--since then I never was Irma (Ferber) any more, I was (Bronsislava) (Yadovietska), six years older than I was.

I have to remember my father and my mother, who are not real people in my life. With the paper, one Pole came to us--(Marian Ramiska) was the Pole who gave us this paper and who allowed us to survive. Then another Pole took us to the forest and he promise us to pick us up in a few days, but it--the promise never materialized.

One night being in the forest, I saw a white dog and I told my mother, this probably is our end. But, it happened that it was a Polish farmer who lived there, close to the forest. He recognized immediately my mother and told us that Dr. Wagner, this was another lawyer from (Visnich), was killed in the forest in (Comiona), almost 20 kilometer from us. We told his family. He, this farmer, took us to his house.

We stayed there for a few days. He hid us in

Interview of IRMA BROCLAWSKI

the attic behind the straw during the day, and few hours during the night. We were allowed to sleep downstairs.

One night, my mother has a dream that Gestapo come--came to pick us up. And she decided that we would leave the present house, and we did it. We went to our acquaintances close to the Czech border, (Vivnietcha) but they told us they will not--they can't risk their own lives to keep us alive. So my mother decided that we will go to Krakow. We came to Krakow, where she had brother who came from Germany. He was living in Germany. He married a German lady. He was living there 40 years. When Hitler came to power, they came to Poland. My Aunt Elizabeth was speaking Polish very bad but she was a wonderful person. She saved my uncle's life, she tried to save life of my--another aunt and two children, but she couldn't.

And we didn't like to be a burden in this house, you know?

Because it was very hard for so many people. So my mother decided to go to (Wolfe), which was under Russian this time. And I was on the street in Krakow and they pick me up.

They close the streets, and pick all the girls to Germany to work, to labor camp. Not concentration, but labor camp. I had the false papers so I--nobody knows that I was Jewish. When they took

Interview of IRMA BROCLAWSKI

us for a bath before the transport, one Polish officer, a police officer, recognized me and asked me, Irma, where are you going? And I was not anymore Irma, and I say I am going to Germany. He didn't--he didn't report me.

And I was sent to Germany. I was sent to Berlin, where I was working as a...as a turner. As a young girl I was in--in very thin dress and I was working on the machine and all the ammonium was burning my whole body. I was working there for two months and one day I was--they move our place where we were living behind a restaurant to a different place.

This was in (Pankov Shankhausen) and so I went to (Pankov Shankhausen) to my place where I was living and one man--men came and asked me, are you (Bronsislava Yadovietska) and I say yes.

And I am (Arthur Ferber's) friend. My brother, who was POW close to (Kern Amarhein) and he told me I am going from vacation in (Ritsmanstak) back to (Kern Amarhein) to (Dormagen) and I would like to take you with.

So I decided, what I have to lose. I went with him to place where my brother was. To (Kern Amarhein,) from Berlin, which was in the middle, to go to (Kern Amarhein) what was close to the French border, was a big trip.

I arrived to (Dormagen) and nobody knows that

Interview of IRMA BROCLAWSKI

I--except this guy, that I was sister of (Arthur Ferber) because my paper were (Bronislava Yadovietska). I told that this is my cousin and I stayed there for two years working in--as a spinner. In (Egafashion) industry. (Egafashion) industry was on a (Manikalawmater) factory.

In 1942, and '43, starts the alarms and the bombs are spreading around, but our factory was still working. No one bomb fell on the factory, around. One night I woke up under the sky because the roof was taken off. End of 1943--oh, I'm sorry.

In the factory I was working for a few men. Later on, because my brother was a nurse on this medical station in the factory, the doctor of the station wanted to help, and took me to kindergarten to work in the kindergarten where there were children of the foreign girls who wanted to go home. They told that they will have children and they will go home, but it never materialized. The children were raised there.

So they were--there were two girls who were working with the children. This was my girlfriend, Polish girl, and me. They teach us how to give baths to the children. We were working around the clock since 5:00 until 12:00 at night. There were 32 children. When one was fitted, the first was fitted, the last was crying because he was hungry. So it was a very, very hard work.

Interview of IRMA BROCLAWSKI

My brother, how I told you, was before a soldier in Polish army, so he was POW. They--the whole--I don't know how to say. They were in the camp but later on they lose the camp and they were private worker. So from time to time, they go to Bonn, where was the--not officer but under officer, came and they visit them, and they come back.

Once my brother was called to Gestapo and they asked him, how come you are (Arthur Ferber), your sister is (Bronislava Yadovietska) and your mother is (Rosa Yalkoischwa). My brother answered, my mother is a very beautiful woman--what was true--and I am from the first husband, my sister is from second husband, and my mother remarried. We didn't know what happened to our mother. I have here a picture of my mother, sended to me from (Wolfe). I don't know, 1943 I think. To the--to the camp.

So when my brother came from Gestapo he says, Irma, I think we have to escape from here. So because he was going to Bonn often, he asked Dr. Schmidt, this was the doctor of the station, to give him a pass to Bonn and whole night from Bonn he make Wien -- W-I-E-N -- on this pass, false pass, we escaped to Wien.

In Wien my brother was sent to ammunition factory and I was sent to Viennese lady as a maid. I didn't know anything how to work. I was attending school before war until war broke up. I was in--I

Interview of IRMA BROCLAWSKI

ended first grade of gymnasium. When I was in Vienna, this lady told me she was treated me nicely and not nicely. She didn't trust me when she sent me to the pantry, she says (Bronya), (sing gansy), which mean (Bronya), sing, because she thought that I will eat something.

So I have to sing, but I put--I grab something, put in my bra and ate in the toilet. She was treating me mostly nicely but she was a very nervous and from time to time, she tried to punch me. But she was losing her sight. So she--sometimes she succeeded, sometimes she didn't catch me. But she never say you--you see, in Germany you say (Purdue). This is--in English you say to everybody, you. In German, you say (zee), most--only do you say to somebody who you know good. She never say me (Purdue), she always told me (Bronya), come and see or something, and she always told me, you are not a maid, (Bronya). You are a help of the house from you.

So I grow up--I was not a maid. I never ate in the kitchen. I always ate with her in the dining room. Even when the guests came, I always ate with them. But I didn't know how to clean. I didn't know how to do anything. So I thought she doesn't see, she will take everything for granted. But it wasn't like this. When I finished cleaning, she put all the furniture out, and with the hand was feeling if there

Interview of IRMA BROCLAWSKI

is, you know, clean or not, you can feel it. Of course, I was washing and I never wash in my life so I put everything in the bathtub and then I hang and she has beautiful linen from (Davos), from Switzerland, and I probably in the few months where I was there, six or nine months, I don't remember--I ruined probably her linen.

But finally, he saw that I'm not a help for her, and she called the (Arbeitsamt), what was the bureau to give labor for the slaves, and I start to work in--again in the ammunition factory. In Vienna. I was there until end of March, I think--or in the beginning of April in 1944. 1945.

In 1945, they--the German, before the end of the war, the German throw out--us out from Vienna and we were working 30 kilometer to Leo (Bensdorf), 30 kilometer from Vienna. It was the wine country. There I was one month, because it was one month I was between German and Russian. I was in the wine cellar.

All the people from there were in the wine cellar because they were shooting to each other, German and Russian. We didn't get any food, so during the--when it was quiet we went up, steal something to eat, and go back to the cellar.

This was one month. I became blind. I couldn't see anything on my eyes and I was taken to German doctor. Somebody was with me all the time, one

Interview of IRMA BROCLAWSKI

girlfriend who was with me, because there were few Polish girls, and after four days I start to see again. It was a horrible, horrible experience, but it was over.

8 of May--7 of May, we went back to Vienna and 9 of May we have the end of Second World War. We were walking on the Hitler's emblems on the street. It was a wonderful, wonderful day!

This is--I can answer your questions, because probably I didn't say everything.

Q. I'M GOING TO ASK YOU TO GO BACK--

A. Yeah.

Q. --TO YOUR CHILDHOOD.

A. Yeah.

Q. AND YOU DESCRIBED IT FOR THE FIRST 14 YEARS AS HAPPY, BUT I WAS WONDERING IF YOU COULD GIVE US A FURTHER DESCRIPTION OF WHAT YOUR TOWN AND HOME LIFE WERE LIKE.

A. Yeah. This was a little town, very historic. I have pictures of the palace of the Prince (Lubormeirsky). This was, you know, old palace. And as a children, we were playing there of course--of course there were ruins but it was very nice and we love it. The place was 3 or 4,000 people. Thousand-500. Around--approximately--thousand-500 Jews.

Many very Orthodox Jews. I came from very

Interview of IRMA BROCLAWSKI

assimilated family. Although my father came from very orthodox family. There were many, many very poor Jews--very, very poor Jews. Few of them were very rich. They have food stores or stores with clothing. And I was a little child, so I don't remember everything. I know that I was very happy and happy family, and I can answer all the question what you ask me. Please.

Q. WERE MOST OF YOUR FRIENDS JEWS OR NOT?

A. At school, I have only one Jewish girl who attended this school. I didn't have Jewish friends, because I didn't have--at school, Jewish friends.

There were very few.

Also in gymnasium I have one Jewish girl who attended to this school. It was a private gymnasium. I was working--I was living in Bochnia. My parents pay for a room and board and I was attending school in Bochnia. I have only one girlfriend. I remember her--her name--(Yakubovich).

She was attending the same class as me.

Q. WHAT SORT OF PRIMARY SCHOOL DID YOU GO TO?

A. Public school in (Visnich) and from 6th grade of public school, I passed the exam to the gymnasium in Bochnia. I finished only one class because of the war broke up. And after war in Poland, I made my (matara) working. I was attending courses and I completed high school. (Makematulate) is the exam.

Interview of IRMA BROCLAWSKI

Q. AT HOME IN (VISNICH) HOW DID IT SEEM TO YOU THAT THE JEWS AND THE NON-JEWS GOT ALONG TOGETHER?

A. How I say, I was a little girl and they were--I didn't know anything. I know that my father was a lawyer. He has many peasant clients, and during the war, few of them help us a lot because they like my father very much, and they help us a lot.

Even when my father died, I remember few peasants still were coming, bringing us food, because my father was a very nice man to everybody. And was very liked by them. And how I say this, men in the forest recognize us immediately and help us.

Also, (Marian Ramiska) who gave us false papers, he was a son of my father client and he was attending school with my older brother. Before war, I can't say anything too much because I was a girl, a small girl.

Q. WHEN DID YOU FIRST NOTICE THAT THINGS WERE CHANGING?

A. When the war broke up, everything changed. The friends were not any more friends because in the beginning you didn't notice so much. But when they--you know, there are not too many heroes in life. Nobody will give life to save another's life, yes? But they --normally everybody knows the Polish nation, Polish people are very--are very anti-Semitic. But I personally didn't feel this before war. I didn't.

Interview of IRMA BROCLAWSKI

During the war it was very hard because the Germans say when everybody--anybody who help Jews will be killed with whole family. So everybody was scared.

Nevertheless,, the person who gave--(Marian Ramiska) who brought us the papers, it was--I think it was a very heroic deed, although he brought the papers and this was it. But, this allowed me to survive. My mother didn't survive because when Ukrainian recognize her in (Wolfe) and what I heard, one month before war, she was killed on the street by Germans, because she told that my mother is Jewish lady.

Q. WHEN DID YOU FIRST LEARN THIS?

A. We learned this when my brother was taking to--called to Gestapo. We didn't know that my mother was killed. But we know that something is--was going on. You couldn't find out anything.

After war, from Vienna I went to Poland and I tried to find my mother and somebody told me that she was killed in (Wolfe). You can find out how it was.

Q. CAN YOU DESCRIBE IN A LITTLE BIT MORE DETAIL THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF YOUR MOTHER GOING TO (WOLFE)?

FIRST OF ALL, WHY DID SHE DECIDE TO GO THERE?

A. Because (Wolfe) was in this time safe and nobody knows her. She was having false paper, too. And she was very capable woman. She can do many things with her hands, you know? She could sew so she could help herself to survive. And because nobody know,

Interview of IRMA BROCLAWSKI

you know, in Poland, wherever you can go and they don't know you, you try to go there, you know?

It is hard to understand. When one person have to survive, he does everything to survive. I never work hard, and during the war I was working like a slave. So my mother didn't want to go to Germany, you know?

And she didn't have this opportunity what I had, that I was on the street and they close all the four street around and took everybody to Germany to labor camp.

My mother was speaking fluently German because (Garetsia) belonged to Austria, Austria-Hungary empire and she was attending German-Austrian school so she spoke fluently German, they were German schools and she told, when she will speak so good German, that I will be not so safe, because they will think, why, you know?

And it--it happened and we were separated.

Q. YOU MENTIONED RECEIVING A PHOTOGRAPH FROM HER?

A. Yeah, I have the photograph here.

Q. WAS THAT YOUR ONLY COMMUNICATION WITH HER AT THIS TIME?

A. Yeah, letters, of course. I was close to the French border in labor camp. Of course I could walk around, not all the time, because I was working 12

Interview of IRMA BROCLAWSKI

hours a day, but we received letters, yes.

I have the photograph. On the end I will show you.

Q. SO YOU DID HAVE REGULAR COMMUNICATION WITH HER FOR A TIME?

A. Not very regular, because from time to time she wrote. It was not very safe.

When I am looking back, it was not very safe to have this communication, you see? But mother is mother, and she wanted to hear, so I was writing to her. Very seldom, but I did. And, vice-versa. She wrote to me.

Q. WHILE YOU WERE WORKING IN THE FACTORY AND YOUR MOTHER WAS IN (WOLFE) AND YOU WERE WRITING, WAS IT KNOWN TO THE PEOPLE IN THE LABOR CAMP, THE PEOPLE THAT YOU ASSOCIATED WITH, THAT THESE WERE LETTERS FROM YOUR MOTHER?

A. Yeah. Yeah. You see, Polish girls and Polish men worker--Polish worker had letter communication with their family. This was--this was not even--even concentration camp from time to time, they allowed the letters. But very seldom. But we were in labor camp. Worse camp was Russian camp. They were Russian girls and Russian POWs. They had much worse than we have.

Q. AS FAR AS YOUR IDENTITIES WENT, NOW, YOU WERE (BRONSISLAVA) --

Interview of IRMA BROCLAWSKI

A. I was born (Irma Ferber Roufna) but I got paper (Bronsislava Yadovietska) who was real person who died and this man brought her papers so I have original papers. She was six years older than me and I was then 15 years old or 16, and I have papers that I am 21. So I never in my life was 17, 18 years old in real life. Because I live under different identification.

Q. HOW WAS THE DECISION MADE TO CHANGE YOUR IDENTITY?

A. It was not my decision. This man wanted to save our life. So he brought the papers and we didn't have any choice but to accept and live on them. Since then, you see, he brought me a New Testament. I have to know everything in New Testament. In the camp every Polish girl was asking me, I have to give her fluent answer. I was the expert.

And I met one after the war and she was (Bronya), when somebody will ask me--will tell me that you are Jewish I will give my hat that this is not true. You see?

Q. BUT WERE YOU EVER CONCERNED THAT MAYBE YOU WOULD BE DISCOVERED?

A. Yes. Every day. I told before that I was operated on--on my finger here and when I got in Vienna, Anastasia, I told myself, you should never say anything about Irma, about your parents, about anything. I was scared to death, all the time. But

Interview of IRMA BROCLAWSKI

when you have to, you have to. You live it.

Q. THE MAN WHO PROVIDED YOUR FALSE PAPERS AND IDENTITIES, HE WAS A FRIEND OF THE FAMILY?

A. No. He was a son of my father client. And he attended in the same class in school with my older brother.

And I, after war, I was--I corresponded with him. I help him a lot, when I--when we were--before we moved to San Francisco, we live in Chicago, 20 years, 21 years, and I was sending him packages and I help him a lot, because this was my responsibility after the war.

Q. DO YOU KNOW, WAS HE A MEMBER OF THE RESISTANCE? DID HE--

A. I think so. I think so. But, besides, when he heard that they would liquidate Jews, he thought that it is--he said his duty to save our life. He is a very good human being and he was in the resistance, yeah.

Q. DO YOU KNOW HOW HE CHOSE THE IDENTITIES FOR YOU AND YOUR MOTHER, HOW HE GOT THESE PAPERS?

A. He had friend who was working in the--escort secretary or something like this or public notary office, and he got these papers for us. They were original papers, so...you see, both people who helped us, we didn't ask of help, because it was so sudden that we didn't even talk about asking for help and the

Interview of IRMA BROCLAWSKI

people give us the support, not asking about one penny.

So I can say Polish nation is very anti-Semitic, but I don't hate all nation because between you always find people.

Q. SO YOU DIDN'T HAVE TO PAY FOR THE PAPERS?

A. No, we didn't pay one penny and we didn't ask. It happens that we got it. The people felt responsible to help us. Not everybody--there were many Poles who gave Jews to Germans. They show with the finger, this is a Jew. But they were different, too. There were people and--people, everywhere. Even in the labor camp.

I remember when I was working in the kindergarten, once a year came a German medical student for practice. I remember her name, (Roshlosa). She always told me, (Bronya), I would love to go with you to (Kern Amarhein) to see a movie, but when my father will know that I have Polish friend, he will kill me! I told myself, when your father will know that you have a Jewish friend, he kill you for sure!

And in Vienna, I was working at the Viennese lady on--I know this--I forgot now. It is not important. On third floor was a Viennese family. He was a lawyer and they have three children. One girl was retarded. And when I was leaving this job and start to work in the factory, the lawyer's wife told me, (Bronya), you probably will not find anybody and we like to adopt you

Interview of IRMA BROCLAWSKI

as our daughter.

She was helping me a lot although I didn't work for her. And she was--she did a sweater, you know, hand-made sweater when I was going to the labor camp where I was in the ammunition factory, and she was very nice to me. You see, I was only a slave, but, she wanted to help me.

Q. WHEN YOU RECEIVED YOUR PAPERS, HOW LONG WAS IT BEFORE YOU MADE THE DECISION TO LEAVE, TO GO TO KRAKOW?

A. I didn't make the decision. They took us--the other Pole took us on the wagon you know -- horse and wagon to the forest. So you don't make that decision. They just took us out of our house and replace us in the forest. This was it.

And then when we stay there a few days, and my mother has this dream, we have to go to (Vivnietcha) and then to Krakow. This were a decision, you know, we didn't know if we'll survive or not.

Q. WERE EITHER YOU OR YOUR MOTHER AT THIS POINT CONCERNED THAT THE PEASANT FARMER WHO SHELTERED YOU MIGHT TURN YOU IN OR THAT SOMEONE ELSE WHO PERHAPS SAW YOU WOULD GIVE YOU AWAY?

A. We trust this peasant because when he give his hand to us, we took it, right? But we know that his wife have a retarded brother and my mother was not so sure that we can stay there too long and he will not

Interview of IRMA BROCLAWSKI

see us. She was scared. And besides, 20 kilometer from there, the other family of lawyer from (Visnich) was killed with--this was the lawyer, his wife, his daughter, and his sister-in-law. My mother didn't want to make this risk and stay.

Q. HOW LONG WERE YOU WITH HIM?

A. Few days. Around two weeks, I think. Not longer. And from this--across of the forest was--I don't know how to say. It was not a palace. This was a Polish lawyer from (Visnich). This was my girlfriend from school father and I was going there sometimes for vacation to visit for few days to them.

And we were in this forest across of their house, you know. And one night I went there and I asked the mother of my girlfriend that my mother is sleeping on the soil in the forest. It was not smart of me, because it was very dangerous to say, you know?

But I wanted my mother to rest a little bit and I went to the people and I asked Mrs. (Olksa), please help my mother, for one night to sleep.

And she says, oh, we can't, because we are --we have the German who are looking at our--all village. She refused and I never went there again.

Q. YOU SAY YOU HAD TO SLEEP ON THE GROUND?

A. The few days where we were in the forest, we slept in the ground. Because we didn't--we were not prepared with things to go in the forest. We were just

Interview of IRMA BROCLAWSKI

in our--our clothing and nothing more.

Q. YOU HADN'T HAD A CHANCE TO BRING ALONG WITH YOU--

A. Oh, no. You don't do this.

Q. WHEN YOU STAYED WITH THE FARMER--

A. Yeah.

Q. AND HE HID YOU, YOU PRETTY MUCH HAD TO STAY HIDDEN?

A. Oh, yeah, we were hidden behind the straw on the attic, and for few hours we slept downstairs.

Q. DID HE FEED YOU?

A. Yes.

Q. WHAT DID YOU HAVE TO EAT?

A. What he eats. He has cows and he has everything. They make--they bake bread like peasants.

Q. DID YOU GET MORE THAN ONE MEAL A DAY?

A. No, I don't remember. When you live in such chaos, you--I don't remember this. No. We didn't eat too much, no.

Q. WHILE YOU WERE THERE AND ALSO IN THE FOREST, DID YOU YOURSELF SEE ANY GERMANS?

A. No. They were big forests. And the German didn't like to go, you know, to forest because the Polish underground, they were scared of them. Of course they can do everything with them when they go with the mass, you know, but this was 1941, so ...

My husband. (Inaudible)...

Interview of IRMA BROCLAWSKI

Q. YOU SAY THAT YOU DIDN'T SEE ANY GERMANS YOURSELF. BUT YOU DID MENTION THAT THE--THE PEASANT FARMER WAS WORRIED SOMEWHAT ABOUT THE ...(INAUDIBLE)... HAD HE SEEN SOLDIERS OR ANY FIGHTING OR--

A. Not the--no, they were not fighting. The peasant was worried because of course you know when he hid somebody, the people were watching you. So they were very scared.

Everybody was scared during the war. It was not so easy. Everybody can--can show the finger and you know, German didn't ask too much. So they were--they had to be very careful.

Q. DO YOU REMEMBER AT THIS TIME WHAT YOU AND YOUR MOTHER TALKED ABOUT IN TERMS OF WHAT WOULD HAPPEN NEXT? WHAT YOU WOULD DO NEXT?

A. No. We didn't know what would happen next. It was very, very hard time. You survive every day and you pray to God that you survive. You don't--it happened so fast--you know, everything happened so fast that you don't have any control of it. And when I was in Germany, and in Vienna, I didn't hear anything what happened in Poland. All the time.

I remember on the end of war when I was in Vienna, a few months before, and I was at this Viennese lady, where I was working as a maid. Her sister, who was living in Poland--he was (Forks-Deutch), she belonged to German nation and he have the paper that she

Interview of IRMA BROCLAWSKI

belonged to German nation.

And she came for visit her for few days in Vienna, and she told me, (Bronya), did you hear what they do in Poland to Jewish people? I say no. I didn't hear anything, because I didn't hear for--this was true that I didn't hear. And she told me that they are concentration camp.

This was it, what I heard. Never in Germany from nobody I heard about concentration camps.

Q. WAS THERE ANY OTHER MENTION THAT YOU CAN THINK OF RUMORS OR WHAT YOU HEARD THAT WAS GOING ON?

A. No.

Q. --IN POLAND?

A. No.

Q. WHAT ABOUT WHEN YOU GOT TO KRAKOW? KRAKOW WAS VERY CLOSE TO --

A. Oh, when I was in Krakow, that I heard that they--they are--they were ghettos. I never was in ghetto. They were ghettos. I heard this when I was in Krakow. But my aunt was German and she saved my uncle. You know, she was thinking how she would save him and she did, very officially make papers, you know, and everything was okay.

I heard about ghettos but I never was in the ghetto. It was safe for me because I had different paper and I was not Jewish this time. I was (Bronsislava Yadoviztska), nice Polish girl, who was in

Interview of IRMA BROCLAWSKI

this time in grave and I was living her life.

Q. YOU TALKED ABOUT GOING TO KRAKOW AND YOUR MOTHER HAD THE DREAM AND IT WAS CLEAR TO BOTH OF YOU THAT YOU HAD TO LEAVE THE FOREST AND SO ON. HOW DID YOU GET FROM THERE TO KRAKOW?

A. From there we went to (Breshka) because this ... (inaudible) ... was between (Boknia) and (Breshka). It was the contact of ... I don't know, neighborhood? Neighborhood? Forgive me, my English. We went by train to (Vivnietcha) and the acquaintances were scared so we say good-bye and we went back to Krakow.

In Krakow, my mother told me, you see, Elizabeth has another family, the aunt and two children and they have one Pole who was helping them to make papers for them. But how I heard, probably he gave them to Germans because they didn't survive. They went with him and this was it. Nobody heard from them any more. And my mother told me I would love to go with you, but I will be not the support because I am speaking German. They would think, how come--it probably will work out, but, she was scared to and she wanted to save me. So when we say good-bye and I went, and I was just on time of the--when they close all the streets and take everybody to Germany, I went and I never any more saw my mother.

Q. YOU SAY YOU WENT BY TRAIN, SO YOU HAD SOME MONEY WITH YOU?

Interview of IRMA BROCLAWSKI

A. No. We have few money, that we could buy the--of course my mother have few--lot, as that she can achieve the ticket. Yeah.

Q. DID THE PEASANT FARMER ASK FOR ANY PAYMENT?

A. No. No.

Q. COULD YOU OR YOUR MOTHER THINK TO OFFER HIM--

A. I think my mother gave him something. But he never asked one penny. How I told you, he was a farmer client of my father. Peasant are very rough people, but when they have heart, they have heart, or they don't have it.

Q. AGAIN WHEN WAS IT THAT YOU ARRIVED IN KRAKOW?

A. When we come from (Vivnietcha), we arrive to Krakow.

Q. CAN YOU REMEMBER ABOUT WHEN THE DATE WAS?

A. It could be around middle of July.

Q. 194--

A. 1941. Because end of June, 1941, my aunt came with the papers. And end of June I met her in San Francisco people from Bochnia and she told me that Jews from (Visnich) were sent to ghetto in Bochnia and when Bochnia was liquidated, they were sent to Auschwitz. And she survived Auschwitz.

You see, it was safe. The ghetto and concentration camp was safe for me. I never was there.

Q. WHAT DID YOU FIND IN KRAKOW IN THE SUMMER OF 1941? WHAT WERE THINGS LIKE?

Interview of IRMA BROCLAWSKI

A. I heard from my aunt that Jews were replaced in one neighborhood in Krakow. They were in ghetto and there was ghetto in (Brashuf). This is close to Krakow.

Q. DID YOU OR YOUR AUNT KNOW ANYONE WHO HAD BEEN SENT TO THIS GHETTO?

A. I didn't know people from Krakow. I know that one of my uncles was in (Brashuf).

Q. AND WHAT WERE THE CONDITIONS LIKE BESIDES--YOU MENTIONED CROWDED--AT YOUR AUNT'S HOUSE?

A. When my uncle and aunt come from Germany, they have a beautiful, huge house and he was a photographer. He, after war--he teach photography at the university, too, in Krakow. He doesn't live any more. And the German make in their house Gestapo office. So they gave them three-bedroom apartment on (Statovishna), one street in Krakow, so they were after moving and they were not--you know, they confiscate all the photographic equipment of my uncle, what he brought from Germany in 1934--or '35. So it was not the same. So, the house was--he was in this time in jail. In Krakow. And my aunt was doing everything to save him, you know?

And in meantime, come my aunt with two girls and then we came, so my mother decided, we can't do it. We have to do ourselves something.

Q. AND SO ABOUT HOW LONG WERE YOU THERE?

Interview of IRMA BROCLAWSKI

A. Two nights. And when I came back from Germany, I forgot that I have some family in Krakow. And then I remember my uncle, and I went to them until I married. I stay in their house for five years. After all. They didn't have children, so I stayed there.

What I like to say, in Germany, in this camp where I was, after war my sister-in-law, sister, told me, do you know how many Jewish--because my brother married Polish girl and he stayed in Poland after war.

He died few--a few months ago. And she told me, did you know that besides you, there were four Jewish girls in this camp? I say no, I never--you know, my nose was so sensitive that I recognize every Jew, because I was Jewish under, you know, false paper. But I didn't recognize these girls. There were four Jewish girls in the same camp and we were talking to each other and we didn't know that we were Jewish. Thank God! Because probably we would not survive.

Q. DO YOU REMEMBER THINKING OF THIS AT ANY OTHER TIME, THIS--YOU SAY THAT YOU COULD JUST SENSE--

A. Yes.

Q. --WHEN SOMEONE ELSE WAS JEWISH?

A. Right.

Q. WERE YOU EVER WORRIED THAT SOMEONE ELSE COULD SENSE OR DID YOU FEEL--

A. Yes, I was worried about that.

Q. --THAT YOU WERE JEWISH OR--

Interview of IRMA BROCLAWSKI

A. Yes. Yes. Yes. In this moments you are very sensitive and you hide your personality so much that nobody knows who you are. Otherwise, it is over. You have to know every word what you are talking to somebody. How I told you that even before Anastasia I was worried that I will say some word that it can, you know, be very dangerous to me.

Q. SO AMONG OTHER THINGS YOU WERE VERY CAREFUL TO SPEAK--

A. Very much so.

Q. --POLISH ALL THE TIME?

A. I was speaking Polish fluently and there you spoke--in the camp you spoke Polish. I was also speaking German because you see, my parents were not speaking Jewish, they were speaking German because they both from (Kaletsia), and at school they have German. I was speaking German little bit. I--my parents were speaking German that we children didn't understand, and when you hear the language often, your ear is very sensitive and you can understand little bit.

Q. AND SO WHEN YOU WERE IN KRAKOW, WHEN YOU WERE OUTSIDE, DID YOU DO ANYTHING TO CHANGE YOUR APPEARANCE?

A. No. I was a child. I didn't do--many, many girls, they were older than me, they dyed their hair--not dyed, they bleached their hair. I didn't do anything. We were having a babushkas and this was it. I was a girl 15 years old, 16.

Interview of IRMA BROCLAWSKI

Q. BUT YOU WERE SUPPOSED TO BE (BRONSISLAVA)?

A. (Yadovietska).

Q. WHO WAS 21?

A. Right. And because, you know, when you are going through such chaos, your appearance is not so happy and you don't look so youthful. I have here one picture from (Dormagen) when I am with the P, because we have to pair P, Pole. I was looking like old woman.

This was terrible to lose your family, to lose your mother. This was two years after my father died, you know? And I loved my father very dearly. So I was not so happy looking and I was old looking.

Q. CAN YOU DESCRIBE THE CLOSING OF THE STREETS AND WHAT HAPPENED JUST BEFORE YOU WERE TAKEN TO GERMANY, TO THE FACTORY? WHAT THE CIRCUMSTANCES WERE? WERE YOU INDOORS OR OUTDOORS?

A. Where, in Krakow?

Q. YES.

A. In Krakow they came--you see, the center of the streets in Krakow from four streets come German cars full of German. They close the streets. And whoever was on the street, especially young people, you know, were--who can work, they took them on the wagon and this was it. They put them in someplace and then they--we have to walk few streets to be bathed, you know, before--and the German came--everybody was naked, going to the baths and the German were walking around.

Interview of IRMA BROCLAWSKI

It was terrible. It was terrible. And then they put us on the wagon and we went to Germany.

Q. DID THEY--WHEN THEY WERE TAKING YOU TO THE BATHS, DID THEY SEPARATE MEN AND WOMEN?

A. Oh, yeah. Yeah. But German soldiers come and we were there. Which was very--but nobody talked about this during the war.

Q. DID YOU HAVE ANY SUSPICION THAT SOMETHING LIKE THIS WAS GOING TO HAPPEN FOR THOSE FEW DAYS THAT YOU WERE IN KRAKOW? HAD THERE BEEN A RUMOR OR ANYTHING?

A. No. No it was in the beginning and I didn't hear about it. Later on they were taking more transport from Poland to Germany for--to labor camps. Yes. And many people were working in the field at the peasants. I happened to be sent to Berlin to work as a turner.

Q. ABOUT HOW MANY OF YOU WERE THERE IN THIS ONE CAPTURE? DO YOU HAVE ANY IDEA?

A. I don't remember. Maybe 30, maybe 40. I don't remember. I know from the--when the time is passing, I remember in my transport were two ladies in black. They probably were Jewish, too, and they were in black, you know, like they lost somebody.

And it probably would help them--how do you say when somebody died in the family and the people wear black?

Interview of IRMA BROCLAWSKI

Q. MOURNING.

A. They were mourning, yes. And you know, sometimes they were in mourning somebody.

Q. DID YOU TALK AMONG YOURSELVES, THOSE OF YOU WHO WERE PICKED UP, WHILE YOU WERE MADE TO TAKE YOUR CLOTHING OFF AND TAKE--AND GOING TO THE BATHS? DID YOU HAVE ANY CONVERSATION WITH THEM?

A. I don't remember. It was such a terrible thing that I don't remember this. We have--we were treated like animals, you know?

Q. WERE YOUR CLOTHES TAKEN FROM YOU OR WERE YOU--

A. No, we have to take the clothes and put someplace and they told us they have to disinfect them and--and then we got the clothes, we were back, and we went to the transport. I even don't remember if we got something to eat, you know? I--I don't remember this.

Q. YOU WERE TAKEN BY TRUCK ON THE TRANSPORT, IS THAT CORRECT?

A. Yes.

Q. DO YOU REMEMBER WHAT KIND OF A TRUCK THIS WAS? WAS IT OPEN?

A. Yes. It was open truck. This was only something on top, you know? Some material. I don't remember.

Q. AND THERE WERE PERHAPS 30 OR 40 OF YOU ON THIS TRUCK?

Interview of IRMA BROCLAWSKI

A. Yeah. Yeah. I didn't count. My mind was

...

Q. WERE YOU STANDING OR SITTING?

A. I think I was sitting but I don't remember this.

Q. DO YOU REMEMBER ANYTHING ABOUT THE TRANSPORT ITSELF, ABOUT THE JOURNEY?

A. To Germany? We went by--like animal cars, you know? We were put in the cars and the transport went to Germany. We were many people in one wagon.

Q. WAS THIS STILL A TRUCK WAGON OR WAS THIS A TRAIN?

A. No. No. No. Train wagon, like the animals are sent. But--yeah.

Q. HOW LONG DID THE TRAIN RIDE TAKE?

A. I don't remember. Before we came to Berlin, we have to--I don't remember how long. We have to come out and before Berlin, we went to--again to be bathed . and disinfect. Everything was disinfected. And they took us to--in Berlin was a restaurant where was a billiard before. There were French and Polish girls in one room. We were 40 in one room, and we have a little electric stuff, one burn and we 40 have to do something, and I didn't speak French, and the French girl didn't speak Polish or German. So it was terrible. We were Hungary. Everybody like to cook something, and we were fighting and then we have to go

Interview of IRMA BROCLAWSKI

to work. It was horrible. The circumstances in this lager were horrible, in Berlin.

Then after few weeks they took us to the factory and we got different location.

Q. WHILE YOU WERE ON THE TRAIN WERE YOU FED AT ALL? WERE YOU GIVEN ANY FOOD FOR YOUR JOURNEY?

A. No. No.

Q. DID EVERYONE ON YOUR CAR SURVIVE THE JOURNEY?

A. Everybody survived because everybody came to Berlin.

Q. WERE YOU TOLD ANYTHING ABOUT WHERE YOU WERE GOING OR WHAT TO EXPECT?

A. No. They will not pamper you--pampering you. You were a slave and you were going to slave work. This was it.

Q. DID YOU HAVE YOUR PAPERS WITH YOU THE WHOLE TIME?

A. Of course! I have to have it.

Q. SO BY THIS POINT WERE YOU AT ALL THINKING THAT MAYBE A GERMAN WOULD KNOW THAT YOU WERE REALLY JEWISH?

A. When I will think this, I will probably not survive. I try to do everything that everybody will believe me that I am (Bronsislava Yadovietska). This was my girl. Otherwise, nothing would work, you know? Think to take the paper and...

Q. WHEN YOU ARRIVED IN BERLIN, WHAT WAS THE

Interview of IRMA BROCLAWSKI

FIRST THING THAT THE GERMANS DID WITH ALL OF YOU? WHEN THEY OPENED UP THE CAR?

A. They opened the car. They told us that we are going to disinfection. We have to take our clothes and we have to go to the bath and disinfection. And we did. And we got the clothes later on, and they took us--it was evening. They took us to the place where we have to live since we arrive.

Q. NOW THERE WERE ALREADY PEOPLE AT THIS CONVERTED RESTAURANT/BILLIARD HALL?

A. There were French girls already there. They didn't welcome us, because they were slaves, too. But they probably didn't have such a big journey like we, because we went through whole Germany to French border.

Q. AT THIS POINT, YOU'RE STILL WEARING THE CLOTHING THAT YOU HAD LEFT KRAKOW IN?

A. Yes. They were twice disinfected in meantime. So we all were very clean.

Q. WHEN YOU WERE PUT IN THIS MAKE-SHIFT BARRACK WITH THESE FRENCH WOMEN, WERE YOU GIVEN ANYTHING? BEDDING? A DISH? ANYTHING?

A. I don't remember. But I think we have something to cook in, some bowl or some--some--I don't remember. Anyhow, when I was in Berlin, everything was on cards. You can buy anything in the store because in Germany there was nothing to buy without the card. You get cards of everything and you say so much bread, and

Interview of IRMA BROCLAWSKI

margarine, and marmalade, and this was it. And you know, you have to feed yourself from it. You buy because they pay you few marks and you have to go and buy for yourself on the cards.

Q. WERE YOU GIVEN RATION CARDS TO START WITH?

A. Yeah, but us foreign workers, we get much less than the Germans. You can die and you can live on it.

Q. SO YOU'RE EXPECTED TO DO ALL OF YOUR OWN HOUSEKEEPING-TYPE THINGS, COOK FOR YOURSELF AND SO FORTH?

A. If this was housekeeping, yes.

Q. WHAT WAS THE DORMITORY LIKE?

A. Horrible! 40 people in a room a little wider than this. It was horrible. Really horrible.

Q. DID YOU HAVE BEDS?

A. There were beds. You know, one on the other, yeah.

Q. WITH ANY KIND OF BEDDING? A SHEET? A BLANKET? ANYTHING?

A. Blanket and pillow. I don't remember. It was horrible. But still it was much better than in concentration camp. I think.

Q. YOU GOT THERE AND IT WAS ALREADY NIGHTTIME.

A. Yeah.

Q. DID YOU GO TO SLEEP RIGHT AWAY OR WHAT DID YOU DO?

Interview of IRMA BROCLAWSKI

A. You were so tired that you were sleeping and you were not thinking where you sleep, and what you need, nothing.

Q. DESCRIBE IN THE NEXT DAY WHAT HAPPENED WHEN YOU WOKE UP.

A. I don't remember. They told us that we were working in the factory. So I don't know how I go to the so-called (Uban), to the middle of Berlin. I was working in fabric (Fredishstrassa) 4, I remember.

It was 20 minutes to go by the electric call train and of course I was not prepared to work, you know, in ammonium factory. I didn't have any uniform. Nothing.

They didn't give us anything. And thank God that I escape, because my dress will not survive longer. I was burn, you know? The aluminium burned my dress and burn my body.

Q. CAN YOU DESCRIBE WHAT YOUR JOB WAS AND HOW YOU WERE SHOWN HOW TO DO IT?

A. They come and show me what I am doing. It was everything, you know, the machine. I first time in my life saw such machine and we were making few little thing to airplanes and--or something. I don't know. They didn't say too much.

We were working, doing I think my--my own work was good for nothing because you were producing and when you are not good in it, so it is not good!

Interview of IRMA BROCLAWSKI

Q. DID YOU GO TO THE FACTORY BY YOURSELF OR DID YOU GO WITH SOME OF THE OTHER GIRLS?

A. With the other girls.

Q. WERE YOU TAKEN--

A. No. No. No.

Q. --OR WERE YOU JUST SENT?

A. No. We just take the train and go.

Q. HOW LONG WERE YOU AT THIS ONE FACTORY, THIS ALUMINUM FACTORY?

A. How long? I was in Berlin, I was in this factory but later on, they give us different place to live. But, I was working in the same factory until this man pick me up to (Dormagen) and I came to pick up my eventual--my pay and he approached me and I remember seeing a photo that my brother sent us to Poland, and he was a tall man so I recognize him. And I didn't have anything to lose. So I went with him to (Dormagen).

Q. BEFORE YOU MET HIM, AND YOU WERE TRANSFERRED--YOUR DORMITORY WAS CHANGED, CAN YOU TALK A LITTLE BIT ABOUT CHANGING DORMITORIES AND WHAT THE NEW ONE WAS LIKE AND SO FORTH?

A. Nobody talk about it because it was not up to us what it will be. What it will be, it will be. You take how it comes.

Q. ONE DAY WERE YOU JUST ALL GATHERED TOGETHER AND MOVED TO ANOTHER PLACE?

Interview of IRMA BROCLAWSKI

A. Yes. We didn't have too many clothing and too many thing to move. So it was very easy.

Q. SO WHAT WAS THIS--WHAT WAS THIS NEW DORMITORY LIKE?

A. You know, I don't know if I was there three or four days. And I don't remember anything because I know that I went one day from work and then I step in this dormitory when I was before to--I was working until 2:00 or 1:00 in the afternoon, the first shift, and I was looking for my mail, and this man approached me, and this was it. I left everything that I have in the new dormitory because I couldn't go back and say good-bye in my mind to them and left.

Q. SO YOU WERE AT THE FACTORY AND YOU WERE GOING FOR YOUR MAIL?

A. Yeah.

Q. AND THIS MAN APPROACHED YOU?

A. Yeah.

Q. AND WHAT DID HE SAY TO YOU?

A. That he is--he came--he was on vacation, he was before POW. And they allow him, when they make him a civil worker, they allow him to visit his family in lots, what was called (Litschmanstat). He was a Pole, not a Jew, you see? And they allow him to visit the family--or he has some dead in family, I don't know and he was allowed to go there.

And he told me, I am taking you to your

Interview of IRMA BROCLAWSKI

brother. I know where my brother was, in (Dormagen).
This was close to (Kern Amarhein), so ...

Q. DID HE INTRODUCE HIMSELF BY NAME?

A. Yes.

Q. WHAT DID HE CALL YOU?

A. ...(inaudible)... (Bronya). (Bronya)!

Because my brother told him that (Bronya) is there. So
he take (Bronya) to (Dormagen). And I was known as my
brother cousin. So...

Q. NOW HOW FAR WAS (DORMAGEN) FROM BERLIN? FROM
WHERE YOU WERE?

A. I can show you on the map. I brought the map
and I have all the cities where I was. It was--Berlin
is--this was East Germany, and this was close to the
French border. So a long, long way to go.

Q. DID HE PROPOSE HOW YOU WERE GOING TO MAKE
THIS TRIP? DID HE TELL YOU?

A. He told me. He has tickets and we went to
the train and ...

Q. WERE YOU AT ALL WORRIED ABOUT BEING PICKED UP
BY THE GERMANS ON THIS TRIP?

A. Oh, by the Germans, yes. But it happens that
nobody ask us about anything.

Q. SO AT THIS POINT YOU DIDN'T HAVE YOUR LITTLE
INSIGNIA ON YOUR CLOTHING?

A. I don't remember if I have them in Berlin. I
remember that in (Dormagen) everybody was wearing the

Interview of IRMA BROCLAWSKI

insignia. But, I don't remember in Berlin if I have it or not. I don't remember.

Q. ABOUT HOW LONG DID THE TRIP TAKE?

A. I don't know. 8 or 9 hours. I don't know.

Q. SO WHAT WAS THE FIRST THING YOU DID WHEN YOU GOT TO (DORMAGEN)?

A. When we got to (Dormagen), he brought me to the women camp and I met the--my future brother-in-law--brother-in-law or sister-in-law--sister-in-law. I met her and she was working in the factory and her sister was working in the barracks. She was not working in factory, but only in the barracks. And I met them and then after work I met my brother. They know that he is my brother. You know?

Q. BUT DID ANYONE KNOW YOUR TRUE IDENTITY?

A. No.

Q. DID ANYONE--

A. Maybe, maybe my future sister-in-law and her sister know, because we were corresponding with them. But you see, when my husband--when my brother came from Gestapo and told me that we have to leave (Dormagen), because it is dangerous for us, and he asked my future sister-in-law and her sister if they will join us, they say no. So we escaped together.

Q. NOW HOW LONG WERE YOU IN (DORMAGEN)?

A. In (Dormagen) I was since September, 1941

Interview of IRMA BROCLAWSKI

until end of '43. Because '44 I was working in--at the Viennese lady and then I was working again in the ammunition factory until the end of war.

Q. LET'S TALK ABOUT YOUR LIFE IN (DORMAGEN); WHAT A TYPICAL DAY WAS LIKE.

A. I was a spinner. They were plastic, you know, threads. I was spinning them. I was working there few months and then my brother ask the doctor to let me work in the kindergarten. First, he want to--want me to work at the medical center as a helper. But when I was assisting Dr. Schmidt once, he cut the abscess under the arm, and I am very sensitive and I fainted. He was very angry at me, and didn't like me to work there. I wouldn't work there. You see? I couldn't look at blood and so on.

So my brother asked him that I can work in the kindergarten. And the first day he teach the Polish girl and me how to give baths to children and how we have to bring the food and cook and do everything. And it was hard work but I love children very much, so it was nice.

But we were very, very tired because they long--we work hard. 32 children from morning until night. How I say when we start to feed first, the last was hungry already. So, we work like machines. But, it was comparison to the factory job, it was a nice job.

Interview of IRMA BROCLAWSKI

Q. AT THIS POINT WERE YOU GIVEN A UNIFORM TO WEAR?

A. I don't remember. I know that we have something white. If we have to buy or the factory gave us, I don't remember.

Q. WERE YOU PAID IN CASH?

A. They paid us very, very little. This was only -- you know, it was not really for the job because we couldn't buy anything for it.

Q. AT THIS POINT WERE YOU STILL RESPONSIBLE FOR PROVIDING FOR YOUR OWN FOOD?

A. We got food in the canteen for the foreign worker. But the food was horrible. It was--it was not food, really. Like for animals, not for people.

Q. WHAT WAS IT? WHAT DID YOU HAVE TO EAT?

A. I know that they brought beets, not the red beets, the--what you feed animals, you know? White. And cabbage. And this was water with cabbage or with the beets.

I remember there were many French workers and when we have clams--clams came in big barrels, and very often were not fresh, they stink, but the French workers were eating it. I always gave my portion because I couldn't eat.

And from time to time we get some--some potatoes, because my sister-in-law--sister was in the barracks so she was sometimes cooking the potatoes or

Interview of IRMA BROCLAWSKI

something so from time to times we have a feast, which really was not a feast.

Q. DID YOU DEVELOP ANY FRIENDSHIPS? DID YOU BECOME CLOSE WITH ANY OF THE GIRLS THAT YOU WERE WITH?

A. With this girl with whom I was working in the kindergarten. I became a friend and we meet few times after war. And when she--when we came back to Poland and she was living in different--she married and lived in different city. Once or twice I met her.

Q. WHAT KIND OF THINGS DID YOU TALK ABOUT WITH HER AND ALSO WITH YOUR BROTHER WHILE YOU WERE--

A. With my brother I talk all kind of things. But with anything else, I--they ask me about the Bible or something, I was answering. I didn't develop close friendship that I was talking too much. I was rather very quiet because when you talk too much you can sometimes say something what will be recognized. So I was very careful whole time in Germany.

Q. WAS IT PRETTY MUCH WITHIN YOUR CHARACTER TO BE QUIET--

A. No, I was very open, but you see, it is the survival and I was thinking all the time that I have to survive. And I keep my mouth shut.

Q. DID YOU HAVE ANY DAYS OFF?

A. Yeah. Not days off. The afternoons or Sundays, sometimes. Because not all Sundays. So we went--you can walk in the little town where we live and

Interview of IRMA BROCLAWSKI

you can take a walk. It was nothing exciting in the day off. No. I remember once I went with my brother and the sister-in-law, to (Kern Amarhein).

Q. HOW OFTEN DID YOU SEE YOUR BROTHER, Usually?

A. This was little town and we were in the same factory. He was in the sanitation station and I was in the same building on the other corner in kindergarten. So we see each other every day almost.

Q. WERE YOU KNOWN TO THE PEOPLE WHO WORKED WITH YOU AND SO FORTH AS BROTHER AND SISTER OR AS COUSINS?

A. No! Cousins. We were--he was (Arthur Ferber) and I was (Bronsislava Yadovietska). So we were cousins.

Q. AND YET AS (ARTHUR FERBER) HE WAS NOT KNOWN TO BE A JEW?

A. No, although he was circumcised and everything. He was taken as a POW and I don't know how he did it, but he did it. He survived. And when we escape my sister-in-law--he was working in Vienna in the ammunition factory and my sister-in-law wrote him a letter--wrote him a letter to come back and afterwards she told me that she sent the letter because Gestapo told her, and supposedly she should send the other letter he should not come but he never got the letter.

She went back--he went back and they was asking question and everything. He told me that he was working very hard to present himself properly but it

Interview of IRMA BROCLAWSKI

happened that it was everything okay.

And this was time that they took them from (Kern Amarhein) to Holland because it was end of the war, and they have to make the--how do you say when they make the holes in the ground for the soldier to hide?

Q. FOX HOLES?

A. Fox holes. They took everybody from (Dormagen) then to make fox holes in Holland, and my sister-in-law took my brother under the seats because he supposed to stay in separation for few weeks because he left to Vienna and come back. They took him together with them to Holland. He got there typhus there and everything, and they save his life.

Q. DID YOUR BROTHER MARRY A POLISH WOMAN?

A. Yes. Yes.

Q. WHILE YOU WERE IN--

A. No. No. No. They married after the war, I was in Vienna and my brother was back.

Q. DESCRIBE THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF YOUR ESCAPE FROM (DORMAGEN) AND (KERN AMARHEIN). HOW DID YOUR BROTHER COME UP WITH THIS?

A. My brother got the allowance from the doctor to go to Bonn and from the Bonn he make Wien and so we have allowance to go to Wien. I went with him. Nobody ask us. This was in Germany. I don't know how it happened. We both get tickets and we went to Vienna

Interview of IRMA BROCLAWSKI

and nobody ask us anything.

In Vienna, when he got the letter from my sister-in-law, after two months I think or three months, he went back and I stay in Vienna. And when we come to Vienna, we went to the labor office bureau, and we told that we came with transport from Poland, and the transport--we lost the transport and we come to ask for work, because we don't know where our transport is. We told them that we come from (Lublin). And they gave us work. I was the maid and he was the factory worker.

Q. YOU WEREN'T ASKED DURING THE ENTIRE JOURNEY OR AT THE--

A. Nobody asked us. No.

Q. AND YOU DIDN'T HAVE TO PROVE THAT YOU CAME FROM (LUBLIN)?

A. No. We just told them that we lost the transport and the transports from Poland were coming to Germany with the worker. So we were so nice that we came and we told them that we lost the transport.

Q. WHEN YOU LEFT (DORMAGEN), WAS IT DURING THE DAY THAT YOU LEFT?

A. I don't remember. I think it was around 8:00 in the evening. But I don't remember.

Q. AND SO YOU ARRIVED IN VIENNA AND I SUPPOSE YOU HAD TO WAIT FOR THE LABOR OFFICE TO OPEN?

A. I don't remember. We went to the labor office. You see, my brother and me we were speaking

Interview of IRMA BROCLAWSKI

little bit German and we went to the labor office. So we make everything possible what the slaves have to do.

Q. WERE YOU TAKEN TO YOUR MAID ASSIGNMENT OR WERE YOU JUST GIVEN DIRECTIONS AND SENT THERE?

A. No. That lady came to pick me up.

Q. AND DID YOU MAKE ANY ARRANGEMENT WITH YOUR BROTHER AT THIS POINT? DID EITHER ONE OF YOU KNOW WHEN YOU WOULD SEE EACH OTHER AGAIN?

A. Oh, yes. He was working in the factory and I know that he was living in 16 (Betserk) in Vienna. This is auto clinic and I was on 30--I forgot the street. I know the street. Oh, 39 (Liechtensteinstrassa) across from (Liechtenstein parlay), it was a very nice neighborhood, and I was working there. I have to take care of a little baby who was this--my boss child with another woman, not his wife and his wife have to raise this child. So she was very nervous and she was losing her sight and, you know, I was raising the child. I was taking care of the child and the work in this house.

Q. ABOUT HOW OLD OF A WOMAN WAS SHE, WOULD YOU SAY?

A. This time she was 36. But he was 28.

Q. And he was a lawyer, you said?

A. No. He was--lawyer was on third floor. He was a (bowmeister). A builder. And he was (Harwick and Lintz), which was 30 kilometer or 15 kilometer from

Interview of IRMA BROCLAWSKI

Vienna and he was coming for weekends.

And this lady always ask me, (Bronya), look how this girl is looking. Is she nice? Because she didn't see her from so far. So I was telling her everything about this girl, about her husband and he was staying with us for weekends and working in (Lintz) all week.

Q. SO YOU WERE A MAID BUT YET NOT A MAID?

A. I was (stitsater hausfrau). She told me, you are the helper of the house. The lady of the house. I was hard-working girl. During the day, I always went for a walk--take the child in the wagon and went to the park, and you know, I have to do everything. Shopped with her.

Q. DID SHE GIVE YOU SOME CLOTHING OR A UNIFORM?

A. No. She didn't give me anything. Because I had my own. But she gave me board and food. As little as possible.

Q. WHAT WERE YOUR QUARTERS LIKE? WHAT WAS YOUR ROOM LIKE?

A. I have a little room behind the kitchen. It was okay. In comparison to everything what I had before in (Dormagen) or in Berlin. And everything was okay.

But I was very hard working since 5:00 in the morning until 12:00 in the evening. And even when I went--how I say in the pantry or anywhere, I have to

Interview of IRMA BROCLAWSKI

always be in contact with her. I have to sing and I have to talk to her, so ...

Q. WHAT DID YOU SING?

A. Polish songs.

Q. WHAT DID YOU TALK WITH HER ABOUT?

A. Oh, I talk with her about everything. She was talking me about her husband, how...

* * *

(End of Tape One)

* * *

... me and kill himself, so, she married him. And she was very unhappy person, because he had different women and child whom she raised, but she tried to be a good mother for the girl. So they had a beautiful apartment. He was a builder and he was an architect, so all furniture were very beautiful done. And I was living there and working.

And because I didn't know how to wash, I put everything in the bathtub and then I put everything--I hang the dirty linen up, and this was it. She didn't see probably, and after she didn't have too much help from me, she called the labor bureau, and they send me to the--to work in the factory, in Vienna.

Q. WHILE YOU WERE LIVING WITH HER AND WHEN YOU GOT A CHANCE TO SEE YOUR BROTHER, DID HE COME THERE?

A. Yeah. He come to me and this lady like him very much. And when he has Sunday off, and I have every second Sunday off, so he take me--he took me

Interview of IRMA BROCLAWSKI

always to the park or for the walk or for a coffee.

In Vienna there are many places. There was a (Luna park), very beautiful, called (Pratter), and we spend a nice afternoons there with my brother, how long he was in Vienna.

Q. AND ABOUT HOW LONG WAS THAT?

A. I don't remember. Three or four months, not longer.

Q. SO YOU WOULD SEE HIM PERHAPS ONCE A WEEK OR--

A. Every second week when I had day off.
Otherwise he didn't come.

Q. AT THIS POINT DID YOU EVER, THE TWO OF YOU, TALK ABOUT ESCAPING AGAIN OR GOING SOMEWHERE ELSE?

A. No. No. He escapes back, but alone.

Q. AT THIS POINT DID EITHER ONE OF YOU HEAR FROM YOUR MOTHER?

A. In Vienna, not. I didn't hear from her.

Q. DID YOU HEAR FROM ANYONE ELSE AT ALL?

A. No, because I--in Vienna I was not in contact with anybody.

Q. WHAT ABOUT YOUR BROTHER? WAS HE ABLE TO HEAR FROM OTHER PEOPLE?

A. He heard from his fiancée and I don't know if he correspond, no. In Vienna, we didn't correspond with anybody.

Q. WHAT DID THE TWO OF YOU HEAR.
...(INAUDIBLE)... ABOUT THE WAR AT THIS POINT?

Interview of IRMA BROCLAWSKI

A. In Germany you didn't hear anything. All the time when we were in Germany, we didn't hear anything what happens in Poland.

First I heard from this lady, from sister of my Viennese lady about camps in Poland. Nothing I heard from Poland. You see, I was not in contact with anybody because when I will be in the--in contact, it will be not safe. It was not safe with us to be contact with our mother. It was not safe. It was little bit--it was not too smart, but she was a mother and she felt that she has to send me the picture.

Q. ABOUT THE WAR CLOSER TO HOME, WAS THERE ANY NEWS? DID YOUR MISTRESS HAVE A RADIO?

A. You know, I don't remember if she has a radio. And when she had, I wouldn't allowed to listen. It was--I was a maid there, although she told me that I am something higher than a maid, I am her helper, but this was the same.

Q. DO YOU REMEMBER WONDERING ABOUT THE WAR? ABOUT WHO WAS WINNING OR WHEN IT WOULD BE OVER?

A. You see, this was time when I was in Vienna that Vienna was not destroyed but there were a few alarms and few bombs fell on Vienna not far from us, and we have to go into the cellar. I have to take the little baby on my hand and her under my arm and go to the cellar. And it was not allowed too much to talk during the alarm in the cellar. Nobody talked to

Interview of IRMA BROCLAWSKI

anybody. It is different that people are talking here about everything. During the war, in the special circumstances, you keep your mouth shut. And you don't talk.

Q. DID YOUR BROTHER TELL YOU WHEN HE WAS GOING TO LEAVE? DID HE TELL YOU BEFOREHAND?

A. Yeah, my brother told me that he got a letter, and he has to leave, and I didn't know what happened when he left. I didn't have anything until after war. I was in Krakow again and I heard that he is in Germany, and he--he married this girl, and he came to Poland in 1947 or '48 back from Germany. And they live in a (Bushwig) so we didn't see each other very often because I live in Krakow.

Q. AT THIS POINT WHAT ABOUT YOUR OTHER BROTHER?

A. My other brother ... was killed in 1940 by Ukrainians and he was an artist and he was studying in (Wolfe)... and after his friend came to Poland from (Lufwolfe), this is after Russian and after German he came to visit us.

It was before we were liquidated from (Visnich) and he was going to France somehow to study and he told us that one day they were leaving--they were talking together, all the boys, and Ukrainian came and they asked is one of you or some Jews here? We need them to clean the snow on the street. And my brother got up and they took him and they killed him.

Interview of IRMA BROCLAWSKI

Q. WHAT WAS HIS NAME?

A. Edward. I have pictures. You see, all the pictures of my family. One Pole whom I didn't know even gave me after war so I have all my family. Very seldom somebody have pictures of his family. I have all.

Q. WAS THERE ANY FIGHT OR ARGUMENT WITH YOUR MISTRESS BEFORE SHE CALLED THE LABOR OFFICE?

A. I don't remember. I didn't like to work so hard and maybe I was not so good, and I didn't want to stay there and this lady upstairs was telling me it will be better for me when I will work some other place. And I was in contact with them all the time.

After war, when we went with my husband to Israel, I took him. We stood by the door and he want to call and talk to her and I couldn't face her. I say forget it.

Q. SO THE DAY WHEN YOU LEFT HER DID SHE TAKE YOU BACK TO THE LABOR OFFICE, OR WHAT HAPPENED?

A. No. She told me--they called her where I have to go and I went to the labor office my own.

Q. AND SO WERE YOU SENT BACK TO--WHAT FACTORY DID YOU GO TO?

A. It was in different neighborhood. And it was ammunition factory. I don't remember the address even.

Q. WHAT DID YOU DO THERE?

A. I was a turner again. I went from the--to my

Interview of IRMA BROCLAWSKI

first profession, what I start in Berlin. And I was working one shift in the morning, 12 hours, and one shift at night, 12 hours.

Q. ALTERNATING?

A. Yeah. One week this, and one week this, and I remember there were maybe--few alarms, and I didn't like to go in the cellars so I remember going--many people went to the cemetery, and it was a macabre thing because the bomb fell in the cemetery and it was terrible.

Q. WHY WOULD THEY GO TO THE CEMETERY?

A. I don't know. They thought it would be easier in the cemetery because it is green and nothing--big buildings are not there. And it was not so safe and it was terrible scene. You see, I don't remember too many things from the factory in Vienna. I don't know why, the end of the war, I--and in the beginning of the freedom, my memory is little bit, you know? Like somebody put a film on it.

Q. DID YOU GET TO KNOW ANY OF THE PEOPLE THAT YOU WORKED WITH IN THIS FACTORY?

A. No.

Q. WHERE WERE YOU LIVING?

A. I was living in little--they say like a camp for the foreign people. There were 20 or 30 people in one room.

Q. HOW WAS IT COMPARED TO OTHER CAMP SITUATIONS

Interview of IRMA BROCLAWSKI

THAT YOU WERE IN?

A. It was little bit better than in Berlin where I start, but it was not so very nice, no.

Q. WERE YOU HUNGRY A LOT?

A. I was not too good fit this time, but I was not very hungry, no.

Q. DID YOU COOK FOR YOURSELF?

A. I don't remember. I don't remember, you know? This factory I don't remember. This was almost the end.

I remember before the war ended and we were sent to (Leodensdorf), we walk 30 kilometers and feed ourself only this what we steal. We steal a chicken or something during the--when the shrapnels were not flying, you know? And we eat.

My place in the cellar was under the cow. Yeah, I was sleeping under the cow because you see, the people who were living there, they have their furniture and everything in the cellar. They have beds, everything. But we were foreign, so the place was only on the end of the cellar and the animals were there, so we were sleeping there.

Q. WAS IT A FORCED MARCH TO (LEODENSDORF)?

A. To (Leodensdorf)? No, it was not forced. They know that the Russian are coming closer and closer, you know? So they told us we have to go farther from Vienna. And, there was a big fight, you

Interview of IRMA BROCLAWSKI

know, between Russian and German. They just told us we have to go, so everybody took what was his and after, you know, my hands were not so strong, and after few steps I open the--my things and throw out what--something to be lighter, you know?

Q. SO YOU HAD A BAG OR A SUITCASE?

A. I have little suitcase, yes.

Q. AND HOW MANY OF YOU WERE ON THIS MARCH?

A. I don't remember. Maybe 20 or 30. They all were polish girls.

Q. WAS THERE A GUARD WITH YOU?

A. No. It was somebody from the factory, you know? But it was not police or something. They just told us we have to go from--out from Vienna to (Leobensdorf).

Q. AND SO WHEN YOU GOT THERE, WHOSE CELLAR WAS THIS? HOW DID YOU KNOW WHERE TO GO?

A. I don't know. I know that it was a cellar and there were people who lived there and they told us we can stay in--upstairs because all the apartments, all the houses were empty. It was a war going on, and they were very close and we were in the zone between them. So they told us you have to stay in the cellar, so we stay in the cellar.

And one time I have a dream that some boy kiss me and I open my eyes and the cow was licking me! Yeah. And this was the time that, after few days, I

Interview of IRMA BROCLAWSKI

got blind and the girlfriend has to take me to German doctor, because I couldn't walk by myself. I didn't see anything.

Q. DID YOU FEEL THIS COMING ON, THIS BLINDNESS, OR WAS IT SUDDEN?

A. No, it was sudden.

Q. DID YOU THINK THAT MAYBE YOU HAD GOTTEN SOMETHING IN YOUR EYE, OR WHAT DID YOU THINK?

A. I was not thinking anything because I was scared to death. But, he help me and ...

Q. HOW DID YOU GO TO A DOCTOR?

A. It was war and the soldier needs a doctor and there was not private doctor. It was a village. So she took me to the military doctor and he took care of me.

Q. WHAT DID HE DO?

A. He gave me some drops, I don't know, and he told that it is common in the circumstances because not enough food and the circumstances in the cellar, you know.

Q. AND SO HOW LONG BEFORE YOU WERE ABLE TO SEE AGAIN?

A. It was few days. It was very scary. I didn't expect that it would be only few days.

Q. HOW DID YOU MANAGE WITH THIS WHILE YOU WERE IN THE CELLAR?

A. The girlfriend helped me to survive. This

Interview of IRMA BROCLAWSKI

girl. This was not girlfriend. This was girl who was in the same shoes that I was, but I was blind, so she was helping me.

Q. WAS SHE POLISH ALSO?

A. Yeah. We were working together in the munition factory.

Q. WHERE DID YOU EAT WHILE YOU WERE IN THE CELLAR?

A. When we steal chicken, we kill it and we did it in the cellar on--you know, not on the stove, special, you know, on stones, and we make fire. We prepared it. There was a lot of wine because it was a wine cellar. It was no water. So when you have to wash your things, you wash in wine. It was very hard.

Q. AND THAT WAS WHAT YOU HAD TO DRINK, TOO?

A. Yes.

Q. DID THE OTHER PEOPLE--WERE THEY WILLING TO SHARE WITH ONE ANOTHER?

A. The Austrians share with one, the other, but we were foreign, so we have to take care of ourselves.

Q. WHO USUALLY WENT OUT TO STEAL THE FOOD?

A. Who can--who was capable was going out. And they were shrapnels all the time. Many people were killed from the civilians, you know? Because you can't walk during the war going on.

Q. DID ANYONE WHO WAS IN THE CELLAR WITH YOU EVER GO OUT AND NOT COME BACK?

Interview of IRMA BROCLAWSKI

A. I don't remember. I remember one, but I don't know if she was with us. She had ten children and she wanted to go out to this--and she was killed.

But I don't remember if she was with us in the cellar.

Q. HOW DID YOU KNOW THE WAR WAS OVER?

A. Because they told us we can go back to Vienna, so, we went to Vienna, but we have to be very careful because--no. I am sorry.

One day, one Russian came to the cellar and told the war is over, and you can go back. He was very elegant dress, but the all others, they were Mongolian, and when we were going back to Vienna it was unbelievable. They come on the, you know, on the wagons with the horses. Unbelievable. But during the walk to Vienna, we saw many...how do you say in--they are the--in the war, like in the Gulf War where the ... not--

Q. REFUGEES?

A. Not refugees, how they go--the army is going with the--not on the wagons but--

Q. TANKS?

A. Tanks. Many tanks were burned all way to Vienna--whole way to Vienna, and many people were burned around, you know? The soldiers. And it was a very hard war going. We came to Vienna and next day we saw the--everything, the emblems of Nazis, every--the

Interview of IRMA BROCLAWSKI

(flacks) on the floor.

It was beautiful, you know, celebration of peace, 8 of May.

Q. WHEN YOU ARRIVED IN VIENNA, CAN YOU DESCRIBE WHAT ELSE YOU SAW ON THE STREETS? WERE THE PEOPLE ABOUT?

A. Everybody was very happy, although there were for sure many Nazis around, Austrian people, but everybody celebrate peace, and next day, I went to special office to--I turn my (Bronsislava Yadovietska-- I didn't even have the paper. I turned them, you know --torn them on pieces and throw them out and I went and I told them I am (Irma Ferber) and I would like to go back to Poland, and I did it, and my journey to--from Vienna to Budapest was 3 weeks.

Normally you go by train, 3 days. I stayed in the camp by Russian one month in Budapest, and from Budapest to Krakow, 7 weeks in the wagons.

I came to Krakow and I forgot whom I have here, so finally I remember that I have an uncle and I went there, and Elizabeth asked me, Irma, are you clean? And I say, I think I am clean--but I have lice everywhere. Here it was prominent. And next day she told me, why you didn't tell me? Now we have to disinfect everything because whole house is dirty.

So--but when it was over they say, you will stay, you will--you see, I was not able to work because

Interview of IRMA BROCLAWSKI

I was whole, you know, swollen and I have to go to the doctor and I stay in--at my uncle house for two years, and after two years I start to work, and stay there by them.

And in 1944 I married my husband and we went to Lutz from Krakow.

Q. '44?

A. Not '44, and in 1949, five years after I stay at my uncle's house.

Q. CAN YOU TALK A LITTLE BIT MORE ABOUT THE RATHER CIRCUITOUS JOURNEY FROM VIENNA BACK TO KRAKOW AND--

A. Back to--first to Budapest. The Russian put us on the wagons again in the animal wagon. We sleep on the floor. They give us food that you have to cook. But the whole train is going, yeah? So you have to ask when they are staying. You cook on the steps, you cook your food, and you wash yourself and you go back to the dirty wagon.

So we came to Budapest and they put us in camp where--before where soldiers and we sleep on--I don't know how to say. They were wooden bed without anything, so I have two coats. I put feet in one--in the sleeves and hands in the sleeves, so this was my bedding. And so we stay one month there. It was very hard. It was--but you think the war is over, so how long you are going back to Poland, and I thought maybe

Interview of IRMA BROCLAWSKI

I will have my mother, I will have house again. So the hope let you survive. But it was nothing like this.

And then one day they told the transport is ready. They want few hundred of people in the transport back to Poland and it was again like this. The transport stay. You can cook something from the thing what they gave you and you can wash yourself and so it went to Poland. Seven weeks.

Q. WERE YOU STILL WITH THIS POLISH GIRL THAT YOU HAD BEEN WITH?

A. Yes.

Q. DID YOU TALK ABOUT WHAT YOU WOULD DO NEXT? DID YOU MAKE PLANS?

A. No, you can make plan but because it was after the war you don't know what you will find back in Poland. Everybody has hope, and everybody was happy that it is over.

I was happy that I am again who I am. I don't know if this girl was with me because she will wonder--no, I don't remember her anymore. She would wonder that I--my name is different. No, nobody asked me about it.

Q. DID YOU MEET ANYBODY THAT YOU HAD KNOWN AT ALL?

A. No.

Q. DID YOU STRIKE UP ANY CONVERSATIONS OR FRIENDSHIPS WITH ANYONE?

Interview of IRMA BROCLAWSKI

A. No, no. You see, they told me I shouldn't go back to Poland because Russian are cutting the breast of the women's breast and everything, and I was scared to death. But I wanted to go to Poland because I didn't know that my mother is not alive anymore, and I wanted to have house again. Home. But never materialized any more.

Q. SO YOU HEARD THESE TERRIBLE THINGS ABOUT THE RUSSIAN SOLDIERS. BUT HOW WERE THEY REALLY? HOW DID THEY TREAT YOU?

A. Terrible. But you know, I went back. I went back. And I start to work and then when I married my husband, we make (matura) together and my husband went to study and I have family. I have a child and house. I was working.

Q. TALK ABOUT ARRIVING IN KRAKOW AND GOING TO YOUR AUNT AND UNCLE'S HOUSE.

A. First I didn't know where to go and then I remember that they were living on (Gertruda 5). I went there and they told me, you see, I was on (Statovishna) before and I forgot this and I went to the back, where was Gestapo and they give me again the address that they live on (Statovishna), and I went there and they were very happy to see me alive. And they told me I can stay with them. They didn't have children.

So I stayed with them for four or five years--four years. 1945 to 1949, when I was married.

Interview of IRMA BROCLAWSKI

Q. AND HOW WAS LIFE IN KRAKOW AT THIS POINT?

A. At the beginning is very--was very hard, because you see, the underground was not tolerating Jews, and they were, you know--I heard about kills, about the (Pogrom) kills, but it was not in Krakow. I heard not too much about it. I heard more when we emigrated in Poland and now they are talking more how it was.

Q. At this point you have resumed your proper identity. You were Irma Ferber again?

A. Yes. Right.

Q. WERE YOU KNOWN AS A JEW IN KRAKOW THEN?

A. Yeah. Everybody know. Although my--my uncle married my aunt, she was Protestant. But, they were not believers. She was a humanist first. She hated Hitler. She saved her husband. You know. And ...I was working and this was it.

Q. WHEN YOU WERE TOLD ABOUT THE (KEY EL CHIN POGROM), WERE YOU WARNED AT ALL ABOUT BEING JEWISH IN KRAKOW?

A. (Uzkeltza) was smaller city and I think more anti-Semitic. They were not--a few anti-Semite in Krakow. Polish people are very anti-Semitic. But I didn't have too much to do with them. I have to put everything together with my life, you know?

I wanted to work and to rest and to cure myself, and it was very hard for me, because I didn't

Interview of IRMA BROCLAWSKI

have any family. This was a gift for Heaven, this uncle and aunt that they have the roof on my--under my head. So--and I still was young. I didn't think too much about anything.

Q. HOW LONG WAS IT BEFORE YOU FELT WELL ENOUGH TO GO TO WORK?

A. Two years.

Q. WHAT DID YOU DO FOR TWO YEARS?

A. I was at home. I was attending--first I was attending course how to type and stenography, but then I was starting to work at the office, and when I was--when I married we start to prepare ourself to finish high school, and I have family and work.

Q. HOW LONG BEFORE YOU FOUND OUT ABOUT YOUR MOTHER?

A. First when I come to Poland I went to (Visnich) and I met the judge from the court who knows me from the childhood, and he told me, Irma, when you see something what is yours, let me know, everything will be--and so many things, but I didn't have house and nothing. So I even didn't ask to give me my things from my house, you know? Because they--the neighbors took everything.

And I remember in my father's office were two huge portraits of my grandfather, of his parents, by (Moritz Gottlieb), and I asked our neighbors. They told me they cut them and threw them out. So I didn't

Interview of IRMA BROCLAWSKI

have anything from my house. What I saw, I even didn't take, because where I will put them? The things. So I went back to my uncle's and aunt and somebody in (Visnich) told me that my mother was killed on the street in (Wolfe).

Q. WHEN YOU WENT TO THE (VISNICH), WAS THERE ANYBODY IN YOUR FAMILY'S OLD HOUSE?

A. Yeah. It was occupant, and I even didn't stay there for night because I can't ... I can't get ... I just arrive and went back and this was it. I never went back--oh, yes, once before we left Poland, I take my family, my husband and my daughter and showed them (Visnich) and this was it, and we never go back.

Q. DID YOU EVER SEE WHERE YOUR FATHER WAS BURIED AT THIS POINT?

A. Yes. When I came back, I went to the cemetery. My father grave was there not anymore. This part was fresh. There was a field. Were only the old, old, you know, graves. But my father died in 1940, so this was everything fresh. They put everything as a field.

Q. WHEN YOU GOT THE NEWS ABOUT YOUR MOTHER, WHO WAS THE PERSON WHO TOLD YOU?

A. I think it was sister of this man who saved my life. And I know who was the Ukrainian girl who--to give her to Germans. She was a maid of one doctor, Jewish doctor in (Visnich). He was a bachelor.

Interview of IRMA BROCLAWSKI

And when he escaped from (Visnich), when the war broke, he never come back, so the Ukrainian was taking everything, all belongings of this doctor, and she was--she hate Jews very much and she gave my mother to Germans. In (Wolfe). She recognized her and recognized that she is not (Ferber) but (Rosayalkosich).

Q. DID YOU GO TO ANY AGENCY TO TRY TO FIND OUT ABOUT ANY OF YOUR OTHER FAMILY MEMBERS OR PEOPLE WHO YOU KNEW IN (VISNICH) OR IN KRAKOW TO FIND OUT WHAT HAD HAPPENED DURING THE WAR?

A. I know what had happened. What happened. There was not agency. I don't know. You know what happened, after war we know what happened. We know that Auschwitz was the death factory, that Treblinka and other places were the death factory, so we know what happened. The people didn't go and you know that they are not alive anymore.

You see, I didn't--I heard that few people from (Visnich) are alive, but I didn't meet anybody so far from Jews in (Visnich).

Q. DID YOU HEAR AGAIN FROM THE MAN WHO SAVED YOUR LIFE?

A. Oh, yeah. I was--I correspond with him. I help him a lot when I was in Chicago. You see, we left Poland after the war between Arabs and Israeli in 1947. We left Poland in '48. So I was all the time in