

Interview with IRMA BROCLOWSKI

Holocaust Oral History Project

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Q. TODAY'S DATE IS DECEMBER 19, 1991. I'M JUDITH BACKOVER WITH THE HOLOCAUST ORAL HISTORY PROJECT, INTERVIEWING TODAY AT CONGREGATION BETH SHALOM IN SAN FRANCISCO. ALSO WITH US TODAY ARE VINCE IACOPANO AND ILANA BRAUN.

GOOD MORNING, IRMA.

A. Good morning.

Q. I'D LIKE TO ASK YOU TO START THE SECOND PART OF YOUR INTERVIEW BY TELLING US ABOUT, TALKING ABOUT YOUR EXPERIENCES DURING THE WAR, AND WHAT IT MEANS TO YOU TO TALK ABOUT YOUR EXPERIENCES, HOW IT MAKES YOU FEEL.

A. It is not so easy to talk about it because I was hiding under different name, and all the time I have to think that I am not who I am. And the four years was enough for me, so every moment was scary. And I didn't talk after war too much. I talk to my uncles, uncle and aunt, where I was for five years living, but I don't -- I only talk to very close friends who want to know. Anybody cares about war, you know, so. And they are painful memories. So I was not talking too much about it.

You like to see my pictures and you like that I explain what it is, yes?

Q. YES. BUT I'D LIKE TO ASK YOU, FIRST, I'M

WONDERING, WHEN YOU RETURNED TO YOUR AUNT AND UNCLE'S HOUSE, WHAT WAS THE FIRST THING THEY ASKED YOU ABOUT?

A. You see, they come to Poland from Germany. My aunt was German. Not Jewish, German. My uncle married her 40 years before war, second war. And she save my uncle's life. And he was in jail for one and a half year, or nine months, I don't know. And they know what it is, what was going on.

And I come, after war, from Budapest, from Vienna to Budapest, and from Budapest to Poland. I was on the way for seven weeks. So I didn't know that I will be in their house. And my memory, they -- I don't remember few years, you know.

And then I remember that I have in Krakow uncle and aunt, so I thought I will go to them, because I didn't have anybody else. They welcome me and they told me that I can stay in their house. They ask me if I am clean, because seven weeks, you know, it is a long time, and I told, yes. And then, all house was full of lice, because I brought lice and everything. In seven weeks, you know, in the car, you wash only on the way, when the train stops. But they were very nice to me.

And I start my new life. Two years I couldn't work because I was sick. I was all swollen and I have to take medications. And I didn't work two years. Then

I start to work and live. I start a new life.

In 1949 I met my husband, and we married. And immediately, I leave my uncle and aunt and went to Lodz from Krakow. There I was working in the office. I was transferred from Krakow to Lodz. And my husband was working, and we grow, in Poland. I was working in cooperative, in the office. And I went from the cooperative, where my husband -- I have to ask her.

[Translation.]

MS. BRAUN: UNDER THE JURISDICTION.

A. Of my husband, yes. And then I take the course of how to take care of your skin, and I was cosmetologist. I was working for a few years as a cosmetologist. And then I was working in export, import. I took German language because I was, I have to correspond in German, so I have to take state exam. And they paid me for the language.

And till last moment, when we decided to leave Poland, when my husband, they took him from his position in 1967 -- '67 was the war? Yes. In '68, April 12, '68, they took him from his position. But for half a year, they have to pay him money, because this was cooperative. This was not -- this was different jurisdiction in cooperatives. They have to pay him money, what he got before.

And I was sent to (Lippstadt), in Germany, for international exhibition, because, from my work. And I heard in the radio something about Warsaw, about students. And I bought the newspaper, but I didn't find anything else in the newspaper. And when I came home, I asked my husband, what was it? And my husband told me, you know something, probably we leave Poland. And I say, what happened that we will leave Poland now, after so many years? And he says, because they don't want Jews anymore here. So we decided to leave Poland. And this was it.

I can't answer your question because I couldn't say everything, you know. I have difficulties.

Q. CAN YOU TELL US SOMETHING ABOUT WHAT DAILY LIFE CONDITIONS WERE LIKE IN THE FIRST FEW YEARS AFTER THE WAR?

A. It was very hard in the first few years. I came to Poland in, I don't remember, in 8 of May was, the war was finished. And I was in Vienna. And I think, after seven weeks, around July, I think I came back. It was very hard.

There were some organizations. They were fighting the regime, you know. And the anti-Semitism was very bad. But in this time, whenever, whoever was saying something bad to Jews, you can tell to the police, and it

was arrested, but it was only for two years. Many Jews were on high positions, because they came with the Russian army back. They were in military. But it was very, very hard.

Q. AT THIS POINT DID YOU CONSIDER YOURSELF TO BE A JEW? WERE YOU, IN YOUR MIND, NOW IRMA AND NOT (BRUNA)?

A. Of course. They don't let you forget who you are. And I know I was Jewish and, but it was very, very hard. You see, I never was on high position. I always have a little position in the office. And I didn't, I told you before that I, before war, as a child, I never felt anti-Semitism, when I was growing up. I don't know. I never felt this, because of my father, who was very honest man and was very liked in (Vichnich). I don't know. I never felt this. I felt it first after the Israeli Arab War. You felt this very much in Poland.

For example, when I was working in export, import, every day they opened the newspaper, what Jew was threw out from the position. And they read everything, and you felt so bad, you know. And one day they read about my husband. It was not any feeling, just, just the joy that they will be free of Jews. And they were my colleagues, and with whom I was working few years. It was terrible.

You know, when we come back to Poland, we stay

in Poland because we didn't have anybody and we didn't know how it will be possible to left Poland. So we thought, we have the family again and we try to settle and stay. It was enough for me to run from place to place, and I want to have peace and quiet. So we stayed. And we decided, because I didn't finish school before war, because I was too young, we decided with my husband to finish high school, and to pass the exam on (Matura), because this was necessary in Poland after high school.

And then I told my husband, I can't study because I have a little baby. But you always think that you will have higher education, now is time that you can do it. So my husband start study, on the Lodz University. And I was working and I was at home. Our life was good because my husband earn nice money, and I too. So I was working. And at home, I have somebody who do care of my, of our house and our child. And it was everything okay. It was hard from time to time. My husband felt this more than me, because my position was not so exposed like he is.

And I remember, when I came to my director and show him the letter, what I have to, everybody has to sign, that I resign of my position and we are leaving Poland, he told me, Irma, you can have your position. I say, thank you, I know. But what I will do, my husband

doesn't have his position, and we have to leave. We have daughter and we want our daughter in this time pass exam in high school, and wanted to study in medical school. And she passed exam, but she was not taken to the university because everybody knows about her father, that he was, he was -- he lost his position. And they just didn't take her, because she was Jewish. So it was not necessary, because we decided to leave Poland. And this was it.

Q. YOUR DAUGHTER WAS BORN IN WHAT YEAR?

A. In 1950, 9th of November. So it was time that, she was born too late to be a student in university, because it was too late for her. Yes.

Q. AS SHE WAS GROWING UP, AS SHE WAS A CHILD AND BEFORE, WHAT DO YOU REMEMBER HER ASKING YOU ABOUT WAR, TELLING YOU ABOUT IN TERMS OF HOW SHE WAS TREATED IN SCHOOLS? WHAT KINDS OF THINGS DID SHE COME TO YOU WITH?

A. Our daughter was always very quiet girl, very -- she is very intelligent, and she is very, she likes people. And I remember, she only have one very good girlfriend. Of course, she was not Jewish. In this school there were few Jewish girls. She always come home. She was studying. She was helping some colleagues from school, what the teacher taught her. She take this girl, this was her not-far neighbor, and help her because

she can't study. So she was helping her. And this girl told her at school, you, Jew, I don't need your help.

We never told her too much who she is, because you know, in the circumstances in Poland, we like her to have quiet life. And she has girlfriend, who was the director of the school's daughter, and she says, Johanna, we are different, you know. She was not a Jew, a Jewish girl, but she told her, we are different, you know. I say, what do you mean, (Gosha) told you, we are different? Yes, because she is. She was raised not to hate anybody. And our daughter was raised the same way. I want her to have friends everywhere, and not to feel what I went through, you know.

But she always, when it happened in Warsaw, and my husband told her what happened, she told him, you know something, you never -- we want to tell her when she will be grown that she can decide, you know, what she wants. And she says, you never told me, but I always know that I am different than they are. I say, why? Because when they told us at school, there will be religion, and she asked my husband, should I take religion? My husband told her, this is up to you. I will not tell you anything. When you like, go, take religion. So she went for a few lessons.

And one day she come, she came home crying. I

say, Johanna, what happened? I am not going anymore. I am not attending anymore religion lesson. I say, why? This was your choice. And she says, because everybody got a holy picture and I didn't. I say, why didn't you? She says, because I am not going to church. I say, oh, so you decided not going anymore, not attend religion lessen? Yes, I am not going anymore. And this was it. She never attended anymore.

Q. HOW DID SHE LEARN THAT SHE WAS JEWISH?

A. You know, at home, you always talk. And children, you think that the children don't listen to you, but she later told me so many things. I didn't want to tell her too much about Holocaust, you know, because she was too young to -- why should she grow up with it? But when, from time to time our friends, Jewish friends came, and we talk about, they were in Russia, I was in Germany, we talk, and the children were playing, you know. We didn't know that they heard us talk about it.

And then, when I watch the pictures, she wanted to know, who they are. So I told her. And when she asked me, I didn't tell her everything. When she was asking me, I was telling her about grandparents, about her uncle and about great grandparents who were perished. And she was very sensitive. So she was thinking in her little head that something terrible happened. I didn't

want to.

Then, after, it happened with my husband, she was waking up every day, and she told my husband, before, she told me my husband, you know something, I don't know the other people, but when something happened to you, and I know you, I don't like to stay in Poland. And when you don't decide that to leave Poland, and I will be 18 years old, I am going myself to Israel. This was to me, you know, this was to me very -- I didn't expect this, because I myself decided not to go to Israel, because for me, the war was so terrible, that I didn't want to be in the war again. And when she told me that she decided to go, I told her, you know something, probably we will go together, and we decide where we will go.

So normally, officially, you can't leave Poland. So after war, they didn't have relation with, relations with Israel. So the Holland Embassy take all the people who like to leave Poland. So my husband went to Warsaw and went to American Embassy, saw the American Consul, and he told him, it will be no problem that you will go to America. So we decided to go to America.

We went through Vienna. In Vienna, we should have the papers to America, but it didn't materialize, and we have to go to Rome. In Rome, we were four months,

and there we got the papers to America. And we, in 1969, 6 of February, we came to Chicago, where I have my mother's sister. I didn't mention before about her, because my husband didn't like to go there. She was married to a Polish pharmacist, and they have drugstore in Chicago. But we like to be on ourselves.

So when we were in Rome, we have sponsors from Los Angeles. They met us in (Pias), in Rome, and they wanted to sponsor us. This time only our daughter was speaking little bit English, because she had English at school. But somehow we communicate and they wanted to be our sponsors. But in meantime, my aunt wanted to have us in Chicago. So we landed in Chicago. Too bad. This was 23 years ago. We could go here, in California. We will look differently now than we look in this moment.

Being 22 years in Chicago, we decided to come to San Francisco because our daughter was transferred here ten years ago. And we visited San Francisco twice a year, and you know, the coming was wonderful, but saying good-bye to the only daughter and going back to Chicago, where the climate was so terrible, and we were, we have friends, but we were alone. It was so terrible. So we decided to sell our condominium, liquidate everything, what we can, and come here. So we arrive to San Francisco ten days before earthquake.

And when it was, when the earthquake occur, we get telephones, what did you do, Irma? You have to -- what you sell, we give you everything back. Come back to Chicago, because it's terrible to be in San Francisco where there are such disasters. But you know, we feel very good here, and being in the same city where our daughter is, it is very, it was comfort to us because we are very close family. We are not like parents and daughter, but we are like friends. So we are staying here. Now, when we are retired, it's everything okay.

Q. JUST BEFORE YOU LEFT POLAND --

A. Yes.

Q. -- YOU MENTIONED KNOWING FEW OTHER JEWISH FRIENDS --

A. Yes.

Q. -- IN-LAWS. WERE THESE PEOPLE THAT YOU KNEW BEFORE THE WAR AT ALL? WERE ANY OF THESE PEOPLE PEOPLE YOU HAD KNOWN?

A. No. We met after war. And my husband was working with this lady, in, in Jewish cooperatives. This was (Solidarnus), but it was not (Valensus Solidarnus). They were Jewish cooperatives who get a lot of support from (Joink). So when Polish cooperatives didn't have --

[Translation.]

A. -- material to work, they -- it's probably not

material. They got, you know, furs, so the furrier can work. They got another product so they can work.

So this lady had family in New York, and from time to time she went for vacation to New York. And before it happened, in '67, that it start the anti-Semitic campaign, she told my husband, you know, I am going to New York. And we make such a code between ourselves, when it will be very hard, write to me, and I will write you back. So my husband wrote to her, you know, my head is so bad that I decided to go to sanatorium for a few weeks. (Santori) is, you know, you can get from the doctor, for four weeks (Santori). And you went for four weeks, you have, you have there everything, you know, the cure and everything.

So she wrote him back, Bernard, wait till I come. Maybe we will go together. So when she come from New York, she told us that we can go together with her family to New York. She stay in -- she was alone. She stay in Poland. She still, when she live, she still is probably in Poland. Anyhow, we should go together to New York. But in Vienna, they told us, when we don't have anybody in United States, we can't go to United States. We have to go to Israel.

So her family, the friend's family told us, so when you don't have anybody, you have to go to Israel.

And I didn't want to go to Israel. Someone asked me why. I told him openly why. I love Israel. I was twice from America in Israel, and I was very proud when I saw Israel first time, second time. But I don't think I can live there. Because of the hot climate, this is first. And second, I -- this is a phobia, probably, you know. That when I think about war, when I think now about war, I don't think I will go through war again. I will probably commit suicide in first day, when it happen now, because my head and my nerves will not take it anymore. So we came here.

Q. AT THIS POINT, WHEN YOUR HUSBAND WAS TALKING TO THIS COLLEAGUE OF HIS, DID THE TWO OF YOU KNOW SOME OTHER JEWS IN POLAND WHO WERE LEAVING FOR ISRAEL?

A. Yes, because they were leaving. Everybody who left Poland, you see, we didn't know about (Pias). We didn't know about anything. When you live in Poland, even our friends whom we visit, this was, they were close friend of my husband. She, they were together in military, during the war. And she was a girlfriend before war too. And when they left Poland for Israel -- I don't remember. Our daughter, in '53 or '54 -- I don't remember.

They didn't tell us. They didn't tell us, because everybody who was leaving Poland was scared to

tell somebody else. Maybe -- I don't know why. I think when they were friends, and when they will tell me, we are leaving Poland for Israel and don't tell anybody, because we wouldn't tell, right? But everybody was scared. And then, we know many people who left Poland, yes. But we didn't know anything, how we will survive after we leave Poland.

You see, when we left Poland, they allow every person to have \$5 only, \$5. And they were looking through things, what you are taking from Poland, you know, the customs. It was not easy, you know. When you work and you achieve, you have not too many things, but some things what you need. After 20, I don't know, '45 till '57, so we have some little possession. All our money what we save, we bought something what, what was not needed here. So all your money go for nothing. And you start from the beginning, from scratch, your life. Right?

It was hard those years. But our daughter decided that she will push us, so we did it. In Poland, probably it will be hard for her there. Here, she finish the education in Chicago. She study, she take the easiest way. She study Russian literature. Because she knows Russian from Poland, she has to study in school. And music, she was playing music. So she took the theory

of music and Russian literature. This is not profession for America, right?

She was married for seven years, and she is divorced. So it is a little bit hard for her, but she is working. She earn nice money, and she lives.

Q. IT ALMOST SOUNDS AS IF, BUT FOR YOUR DAUGHTER'S WISHES, YOU MIGHT STILL BE IN POLAND?

A. No. We will not be now in Poland, no. You see, I never visited Poland. I had, in Poland, my brother, who married Polish girl, whom he knows from the, from Germany, from war, and I had my mother's sister in Lodz. She was a widow. He died, my brother died last August. And my aunt die last September or October. And I never visited. I couldn't visit them, because they took our citizenship and they didn't allow us to visit Poland.

Now we can go, but I will not go to Poland. I have many dear friends with whom I was working and with whom I corresponded. But I don't have guts to go to Poland.

Our daughter was in Poland last month. She got a bonus from work and she went to Berlin, to Dresden, from work, to Krakow, to Budapest, to Prague, to Budapest and to Vienna. And she was raised in Poland. I thought that it was, it will be some -- and all the time when she

was in Europe, in the cities we were, she called or we called, because we have all the telephones to call hotels where she was. And I called her when she was in Krakow, and she says, you know, it is easy because I know this language, but you wouldn't recognize Poland anymore. And I decided never come anymore to Poland.

She said, it was a little bit, you know, painful, because you were born there, you were raised there, and then you have -- it is like a stepmother, not good stepmother. So it is hard to explain, but I feel sometimes very, very bad about that. I say about stepmother. My husband has stepmother who he loved very, very dearly. But this stepmother was very bad to us, Poland.

And you know, it's different when you immigrate as a young person. It is easier, because you can grow in different environment. And when you are older, it is much harder to assimilate in different circumstances, when you don't know the language, when everything is so different for you.

Q. CAN WE TALK A LITTLE BIT MORE ABOUT THAT, ABOUT WHAT KIND OF DIFFICULTIES YOU HAD ADJUSTING TO THE UNITED STATES?

A. It was difficult because, you see, I have profession and I was working all the time. And here, in

San Francisco, it's easier. But in big Chicago, going to work, taking the transportation was very hard. I couldn't, I couldn't communicate, because I didn't know the language. Little bit we take English in Rome, (Pias), you know. Art was helping us learn the language, but it was not enough.

When you come to different place, your life exists like you exist in your country, yes. You know the language, you have different, you like to have some different level of life, that you were used to it. And here, you came, and you don't. You start from the scratch, like little, little baby. It is very hard. You can't explain what you want.

For example, I was sick in Chicago. And I have to go into the hospital. I didn't think that here you have nurses in the hospital. In Poland, you have nurses to whom you say, sister. So I told, sister, I need help. Everybody was laughing and I didn't know why. So they start talking to me, sister.

And nobody helped me. For example, I have to read menu, and I didn't know what I have to order. So one time, I ordered five kinds of jellos. It was very hard for me, very.

My husband was working, and studying here too. He study again. And his language was much better than

mine. My daughter went to university. So she was young, she could. And I have to work and work at home. It was very hard for me before I start to speak little bit English.

I remember, first, I was working as manicurist and I start to talk to my customer, and she came with little boy. And the boy told her, mother, what language this lady is speaking? And I try my best, and I was speaking English, but this little boy understand that it was not right.

This was the difficulties. It was very hard to work and start a new life. But we somehow manage. My husband was working 16 years in the same company. He start as a bookkeeper, not knowing enough language, but he's very ambitious and he decided to study. And he grow in his profession, and he was the finance controller of the company later on. And till we move here, this was his only place where he works.

Q. WHO HELPED YOU IN CHICAGO TO GET ADJUSTED TO THE UNITED STATES?

A. How I say? We went to (Pias). And in Chicago, Jewish Family Service start to help us. They, we found a place, and they pay few, two months for us. And then my husband start to work, and we paid -- the (Pias) paid the way to America. So we paid every penny, because we know

that this money will go to different people who need, who need help.

So we work very hard. And when we move in this place, what we find? We start a new life. We were used to have everything, you know, that we achieve ourselves. So somehow we did it. With the first help from Jewish Family, we stay later on our own feet, because we were used to it.

Q. WHAT ABOUT THIS AUNT OF YOURS WHO SPONSORED YOU?

A. She didn't sponsor us. She only want -- she put only money there, that we come to Chicago, because they wanted to have family who will help them. But my husband like to achieve everything himself. And we pay every penny to my aunt, because we are, we like to be our own bosses. We are very grateful for help, but we like to help ourselves.

And my aunt, till today, she is not so happy that we live here. But I told her, listen, we have only one daughter, and this is our family, and we like to be together. So too bad we leave Chicago.

We didn't have help from my aunt, because we don't want it, and because they live in different -- they live between Poles, because he was Polish. He is not alive anymore. And my aunt, when she married him, she

changed, you know. She is Catholic. So my husband didn't want to be around there. We never lived together. We lived 35 minutes by car from them, and we like to -- too bad that we didn't go to Los Angeles, like our sponsors sponsor us, but who knows.

I thought that she will be my, that she replace my mother, because this is my mother's sister, but never materialize. She never was close to me, no.

Q. DID YOU KNOW HER BEFORE YOU CAME TO THE UNITED STATES?

A. I know her as a child. And then, during the war, I corresponded with her, like I corresponded with my grandfather and grandmother, till they were taken to Auschwitz. My aunt was taken with them to Auschwitz. But her girlfriend, a Polish girl, save her life. And they, from the (Appleplatz) in Auschwitz, they took her with the Polish underground, you know, and she was given new identity.

And as a Polish girl -- she was not a girl. She was older than a girl then. She was in Berlin as a worker. And on the first identity, she survive. And my grandparents were perished in Auschwitz. They even didn't take them from the train. They killed them on the steps of the train. So she didn't know that, that she never will see parents. And she lives with -- she always

say, I never thought that they will not survive. She lived with some guilt, but she will not help them when she will stay there. So when they took her from the (Appleplatz), it was like a wonder, you know.

Q. DID SHE TELL YOU ALL ABOUT THIS WHEN YOU CAME HERE?

A. Yes. She doesn't talk too much about -- she told me that. I know this lady who save her life. She was working there, in photographic business, and they were good friends. And it was, it was very hard in this circumstance to save life, because when you were in Auschwitz, it is a wonder that somebody will do this. But somehow, she manage.

Q. DID SHE ASK YOU AT ALL ABOUT YOUR WARTIME EXPERIENCES?

A. Yes, but she doesn't have patience to listen to it. She asks me. I told her, but she know about her life and she didn't listen too much. She is different person than I. She's sensitive about herself and nothing else matters to her. So she never heard what I have to say. But somehow, she survive, you know, by 87 years. She is alone and she's seeing about herself. And she is very big optimist. She like to laugh. She like to sing. So in this age, I don't even bother to change her. Even when she was younger. This is her

life. Let her live her life and I live my life.

Q. WHEN YOU GOT TO CHICAGO DID ANYONE ELSE, JUST IN THE COURSE OF YOUR DAILY LIFE, GOING TO WORK AND SO ON, ASK YOU ABOUT THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF YOUR LIFE?

A. Yes. My customers, when I was working, ask me, and I was talking. And I have a customer, she was German Jewish lady. And she help me a lot in the beginning, when we come to Chicago. She came to America before war. And she brought here her fiancée and they married. And she was very close with me many, many years, till they divorce. And she has patience to listen and she was interested.

And normally, when I was talking about camps or something, everybody, especially, you know, my neighbors in Chicago, she says, don't tell me, because I like to hear only about nice things. Otherwise, I will not sleep. And, my stomach is turning when I listen to such things. So I was not talking. Why somebody should be sick because of the war? People are not, don't like to talk about and don't like to listen about that. They are busy with their lives. They have fun in life. Why should they listen about war? So I was not talking about it.

Q. I WAS GOING TO ASK YOU THAT QUESTION. WHY DON'T YOU THINK PEOPLE SHOULD LISTEN?

A. Why they should listen, to know what happened? So many people say, it doesn't happen, and it did happen, and they ask dumb questions. Why Jews didn't fight? They don't know what they are talking about. The Jews didn't know.

You know something, during whole war, I didn't know what happened. I know, being in Germany, I didn't know what happened in Poland. I know because we were, we were not with Jewish people. I didn't know. I got the papers. I was in the forest. And then, I was like, you know, beaten dog, looking for place that I can sleep. Everybody was scared to give me, you know, place. And then I was taken to camp. So I didn't do anything anymore. I don't need to. I didn't need to think where I will sleep today or something, because I was in camp. I was taken, in labor camp, what was not a concentration camp, what was a heaven in comparison to concentration camp.

Anyhow, I didn't know anything what happened in Poland. First I know, in 1943, come sister from, this lady where I was working in Vienna, this lady's sister come from Poland. She was married to a German. And this lady where I was working was Viennese. Viennese, yes, she is. First she told me she knows that I was Polish, a Polish girl, not a Jewish girl. She told me, you know

what happened in Poland, you know about the camps? I say, I don't know, because I didn't know. And she told me, they are killing people there. This was it, what I know. In Germany, I didn't hear. In Vienna, I didn't hear. First this lady told me.

And they are so many people, they don't believe it happened, that six million Jews perished during the war. And when I am listening to TV, before yesterday, we were listening to (Coppell), and he talked to Austrian Nazi. He says, nothing happened in Germany, nothing happened there. It is not true. So there are many people that they don't believe what happened. So I think people have to have patience in how long the survivor listen to them, because they are not stories from Thousand and One Nights. They are true stories.

I can't say too much. I was lucky that, because of the Pole who gave me papers, I never was Jewish during the war. My identity was Polish. I was in luck that, in the camp, that it was heaven in comparison to Auschwitz, Bergen-Belsen or Dachau or others camps. And here are friends, and in Chicago too, who went through these camps.

In Chicago we have a dear friend. He was in Dachau, and got tuberculosis in the camp. Somehow he came to United States, and he was in (Santori) for two

years. They took out one lung. And he was a chemist. Now he's international patent lawyer. And his daughter went to Dachau, and she make movie, because she is movie producer in Canada. The Dark Lullaby, this is the movie. And she went to Germany. We were talking. It was very interesting how she was talking with the Germans.

She met Nazis and she met different people, the opposite people to Nazis. And the Nazis don't believe that it happened, because, you know, they think now that they will do this again. And I am scared to death when I am looking and thinking what can happen, you know.

Q. WHY? WHAT DO YOU SEE AROUND YOU HERE IN THE UNITED STATES THAT MAKES YOU AFRAID?

A. Here, I don't see here too much. But when I am listening to the television, when I heard about Duke, that he could have, I don't know, 63 or 43 percent votes, he is dangerous person. So is Buchanan. Buchanan was this man who let our President, Reagan, go to Pittsburgh. And then I was reading in the newspaper that he went there because Germans were fighting the war too. But why they fight the war? They fight the war different way than others, right? And it was a shame that American president went to Nazi cemetery. So it doesn't look too good. And now I heard in Russia that the (Paniage), they are Russian Nazis. They are taking, you know, starting

to raise their heads.

It is scary. People don't understand what I went through it, so I am scared. It is worth it that stomach have little pain and people have to know what happened. People don't like to listen. We probably can't help too much, but it is good to know.

Q. ARE THERE SOME PEOPLE WHO, OVER THE YEARS, HAVE CONTINUALLY ASKED YOU ABOUT YOUR WAR TIME EXPERIENCES AND ABOUT YOUR LIFE, PEOPLE WHO SEEM TO WANT TO LISTEN?

A. Yes. Some friends who went through war too, they want to listen, because when you are close to somebody, you ask how did you survive? And you know, I have patience to people, and I listen to people. And I am blessed that I have good memory, and remember what they are telling me. But I have many friends who went through war too, and asking me hundred times the same thing. I don't know your family. I say, I told you so many times, but you ask me and you are not listening what I am answering you, so you never will know my family.

People are self-centered and they don't like to listen. And I don't, I don't like to, to tell them. Why should I? I tell once or twice, and then this is it. I don't like, because when I am talking to somebody, I was raised this way, that you have to have patience and

you have to have, you have to have love to people. So I am listening. But when somebody's not listening to me, I don't care to tell.

Q. HOW ABOUT AT HOME, WITH YOUR HUSBAND AND YOUR DAUGHTER? WHAT KINDS OF THINGS DO YOU TALK ABOUT, ABOUT THE PAST?

A. We talk about everything in the past and in the future, and in the time where, when we live. My daughter is -- how I say it? She was raised, she was not very happy child, although, she got all our love. Somehow she, from the childhood, was very, she was smiling but not like other children. She is very -- how I have to say? -- honest and thinking girl, very thinking girl. And she is very interested in politics. And she likes to read. She is very well read. She is reading, she is interesting, interested about everything.

Always she was older than she was, from the childhood. I don't know why. Probably everything what we went through, she have feelings for it. And she was always much more mature than her girlfriends or boyfriends or colleagues at school. She was much, much mature. She was understanding and asking about so many things that I didn't know that she knows about that even. I didn't want her to be so mature, as a child. And she's very, very sensitive. And it is our fault, probably.

Q. DOES SHE ASK YOU STILL ABOUT YOUR WARTIME EXPERIENCES?

A. Oh, yes. She asks me and she's writing a little bit.

Q. WHAT KINDS OF QUESTIONS COME UP?

A. About everything, about grandparents, my grandparents, her grandparents. She's asking; she likes to know. And now, when she was in Krakow, for example, she told me, you know, they don't understand. They didn't take any time and any -- I don't know how to say it -- to help Jews. And she says, I don't have any feelings anymore to go to Poland. And I thought, this will be very interesting to her. She was not 23 years in Poland, and she was born there, raised there. It's so different, her feelings toward Poland.

And she was not raised in hatred, because, how I said, I can't hate the nations, because in each nation there were some people who were helping and this was not so easy. Because when somebody help you, he and his family could be killed. And they were not too many, but they were. I didn't ask this Pole to give me papers, and my mother's. He came and he brought the paper. So I never hate the nation.

For example, here, we very often, with people from Poland, Jews from Poland here, we were speaking

Polish. And some of them are here long, long time.
 After war some, before war. And they speak very good
 Polish. Not everybody who spoke good Polish is speaking
 good Polish. And they are speaking the language. And I
 met one lady from Poland, and she says, don't speak
 Polish. I hate it. I say, I am sorry. You can hate it.
 It is easier to me, and when I am with people from
 Poland, I like the language and I speak it. And I speak
 well. Why should I not speak? I hate the language, I
 hate the Poles. I say, this is your privilege. But let
 me live my life. Whom I hate, I hate. They didn't --
 not everybody was nice, but they were people who were
 nice and who were big humanists. Why should I hate them?

For example, I like Polish literature very
 much. Literature didn't do anything wrong to me. Why
 shouldn't I read? And so is our daughter. She loved
 Polish literature. She read a lot. Not Polish books
 here, because she speaks better English than Polish now.
 She doesn't have Polish friends. She speaks only Polish
 with us. And I told her, don't forget the language,
 because what you know, it is good for you. As many
 languages as you know, is better to you, for you. Don't
 forget it. So hatred, by us, is going so far. Not to
 everybody. Maybe this is not good, but I think this way.

Q. DO YOU THINK THAT THIS QUALITY OF BEING ABLE

TO REMEMBER THAT ONE SHOULDN'T HATE EVERYTHING IN A CERTAIN CATEGORY HELPED YOU DEAL WITH WHAT YOU HAD TO GO THROUGH?

A. Yes. Hatred is a disease. Hatred is a disease, and I don't agree with people who hate. It doesn't help you. It doesn't help you. I was listening to the (professor) about tolerance. He said, a smart person -- it's a pleasure to listen to him. I don't think he hates. He, for me, he is a Jewish Christ, but, and I don't agree with him in everything. But hatred doesn't help anybody. It is beautiful that everybody can live together. Isn't it? Why should people hate each other?

Q. WHAT ELSE DO YOU THINK HELPED YOU GET THROUGH WHAT YOU HAD TO GET THROUGH DURING THE WAR AND MAKE A SUCCESS OF YOUR LIFE?

A. During the war, during the war, I was thinking only to survive. I didn't know about anything. I was corresponding with my mother very seldom, but I have here picture what she sent me, that this is her last visit. And you know, in situation when you have to survive, you try not to think too much about yourself. You are working. I was like a robot, you know, going to work, working hard, going to the camp, and thinking, when some day will be, the war will be over.

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In the camp, they didn't talk too much, you know. You were treated like a, not human. And this was it. You were working, going to sleep. When, for example, I was in (Dermagen), this was 14 kilometers from (Kernam Rhine), and they were, during the night, sometimes the alarm, the -- I never went down to the basement, because I told myself, what would happen or what will happen. So when the alarm start, I always open the locker. I ate everything what I have for whole week, and went to sleep.

You know, you are not thinking like you think in normal circumstances. Only you know you're hungry, so you eat what you have, and to hell with everything. Your brain is working so differently in different circumstances. And don't forget that I was a very young girl. I was a teenager, so, and I came from very loving family, and I was spoiled to death. And in one moment, your life changed so much that you are by yourself.

I was not, you know, I was not doing anything. My mother always told me, Irma, you know, maybe your life will be very good. You will not need to work. But you have to know everything that, even when you get help sometimes, you have to know what quality of work is it. It happened that I learned the quality of work so hard, on my own, that I know the quality, and nobody can help

me in work, because nobody can do so good that I can do, you know.

I remember, when my daughter was helping me to clean the furniture, I achieve a very bad habit. I remember that the lady in Vienna told me, Bruna, clean this room. This was room of the little girl, baby. I told myself, how I learn this? How I will clean the room? Bruna, the room, this is cleaning, see, this is room. I didn't know how to clean. So I was tired. I laid down and sleep for a little bit. And after she come and she asked me if I did finish, I say, yes. She went to everything, because she was losing her sight, so she was doing like this [indicating]. And this habit stay with me all my life, you know. I never ask my daughter or my husband to do something, because I am doing after them. When I have cleaning ladies sometimes, I am cleaning after her because she is not cleaning what, how I will clean, so I have to do myself. This is the gift of work to me. It stays with me.

Q. WHAT WOULD YOU LIKE SOMEONE, WHO DOESN'T KNOW YOU, BUT WHO MIGHT WATCH YOUR TAPE OR LEARN SOME OTHER WAY ABOUT YOUR STORY, TO TAKE FROM IT, TO LEARN FROM IT?

A. I don't know, and I don't expect that somebody can learn something from this. But I would like, when somebody will listen to it, that people will have some

feeling toward other people. It doesn't matter if this is in normal circumstances. God forbid that it will be different circumstances, but I would love that people would love each other, would care about each other, because, you know, it's so much more easier, much more easier when people are people. Very seldom you can say that all people are people. Sometimes they don't have feelings at all.

And you know, I shouldn't be like this, but it drives me crazy when I see that you are talking to people and they are not feeling at all, not feeling at all. You know, wherever I am, I observe people. This is my hobby. I love to observe people. I love, I love to meet people. But there are, in my observation too, that there are so many people that are going on the streets, not seeing anybody, like they are their own only. And I think especially Jewish people should have feelings, because they went through so many things.

I am only very happy about one thing, that our daughter will have this tape, even when we will not be here. Probably she will hear from it more than she hear during our life.

Q. IS THERE ANYTHING THAT COMES TO MIND THAT YOU WANT TO SAY AS A CLOSING REMARK?

A. No.

Q. I'M GOING TO ASK YOU NOW TO SHOW THE PICTURE THAT WAS TAKEN.

A. It comes to me, the picture -- one moment. It's too much for me.

I am looking for this picture. Oh, here it is. I remember what it was. I was corresponding with my brother before I went to (Dartmagen), and I was writing Irma (Ferberuva). And there I was working with one Polish girl. You know, this was, you know, where you, where the thread was on the spools. I don't know how you say.

Q. A BOBBIN?

A. Probably. Anyhow, she was having her machine, and I was having my machine. I don't know what happened. It was quarrel. I don't know. And when we finished the work, she came out and she told me, Irma (Ferberuva), now you will go to concentration camp because you left Berlin. You left from Berlin here. And I was (BY**). And I was scared to death that somebody will hear this, or something. But my brother somehow talked to her, and nobody -- she was quiet after this.

This was it. This was this picture. Because I was scared to death that she will go and she will tell that I am Irma (Ferberuva), and I was (BY**).

Q. WHERE EXACTLY WAS THE PICTURE TAKEN?

A. This was, this is Rhine, in the (Romagen).
This was on the Rhine River.

Q. WAS THIS A DAY YOU HAD THE DAY OFF?

A. Yes, it was day off. This was Saturday we have quarrel, and this was Sunday. Because only Sunday you can go and rest little bit. This was it.

Q. IS THE PICTURE DATED ON THE BACK? DO YOU KNOW WHEN IT WAS TAKEN?

A. In 1943, yes. I thought that she will --

Q. CAN WE ASK YOU TO HOLD IT UP, PUT IT UP FOR ME SO I CAN SEE ON THE CAMERA?

[Photograph displayed.]

Q. WHO TOOK THE PICTURE?

A. My brother, or somebody from the colleagues there.

Q. HOW DID THEY COME TO HAVE A CAMERA?

A. Oh, you can have camera. You can buy camera there, when you have money. We have little bit of money. So somebody, you know, somebody brought from France or, because there were French people and few Italian people. We have bad ration; some had much worse than we.

And this is the last picture of my mother, what I got.

Q. WHERE AND WHEN WAS THAT TAKEN?

A. It was taken in (Lvov), and in one month before

war. She was killed on the street in (Lvov), because some Ukrainian girl, she was a maid by one doctor, and she know my mother from (Vichnich). And she met her on the street, and she told German, she's Jewish, and they kill her on the street, shot her, yes.

Q. THIS PICTURE OF YOU ON THE RHINE, WHEN WAS THAT? WHEN DID YOU ACTUALLY GET THAT PICTURE? DID YOU GET IT A FEW DAYS OR SO AFTER IT WAS TAKEN?

A. Yes. And it was all the time with me. So this is -- I have at home one picture more, with my brother and my sister-in-law, in (Kernam Rhine), close to the (Cartegra), once we went there, one Sunday.

Q. CAN I ASK YOU TO READ THE INSCRIPTION ON THE BACK OF THE PICTURE OF YOURS?

A. No, no, no. It is not so enjoyable. It was probably crazy to write this time, but I was scared to death. I thought that they will kill me in concentration camp, so I wrote it. And no, I will not read.

Q. CAN YOU TELL US APPROXIMATELY WHAT IT SAYS IN ENGLISH?

A. I can't translate this. Can you translate?

[Translation.]

A. That is last rights before dying.

Q. YOU THOUGHT THAT THAT WOULD BE --

A. This will be it. Because when she will go to

German and tell them, they will not ask too much.

Q. DID YOUR BROTHER EVER TELL YOU ABOUT HOW HE SILENCED HER, OR WHAT CHANGED HER MIND FROM TELLING EVERYBODY WHAT YOU WERE?

A. Yes. She told me that he speak with her and she like him very much, and she was quiet.

Q. DID YOU EVER HAVE ANY DEALINGS WITH THIS GIRL AGAIN?

A. No.

Q. SHE STAYED OUT OF YOUR WAY?

A. Yes. We stay far, far. I wouldn't dare do anything, because this was not only me, but it could, my brother could go too.

Q. I'M CURIOUS HOW A PICTURE THAT HAS GONE THROUGH A LOT --

A. Oh, yes.

Q. -- HOW YOU MANAGED TO KEEP IT, HOW IT DIDN'T GET DESTROYED OR RUINED SOMEHOW?

A. I have a book, you know. When I got the paper, I have to learn the New Testament, and I have New Testament, and I was the -- everybody ask me questions. I know everything about it. And in this book was this. And two holy pictures, what I have too. This book I don't have anymore. I don't know what happened to it. But the two pictures and this, I have.

It went through Lodz, because they throw us out from Vienna, and we, on foot, we went 30 kilometers, and then it was war. I was one month between Germans and Russians in the basement. How I said, I slept under the cow. I was one week blind. They took me to German doctor, and I thought that I never will see on my eyes anymore.

But you see, this picture was with everything, and it survived and I survive. It was scary thing, because you know, I couldn't -- first, you have to go out, steal something, some chicken or something, kill it, cook in wine in the basement. Because it was war, you didn't get anything to eat. It was only wine there. It was not water. And they were all Austrian. And we were few Polish girls, between them, me. It was very hard. And when you went from the basement, out, it happened sometimes that somebody was killed because the German was -- it was war. They were, you know --

[Translation.]

A. They were shooting. Yes, they were shooting to each other.

Q. WHEN YOU LOOK AT THIS PICTURE NOW, WHO DO YOU SEE? DO YOU SEE IRMA OR DO YOU SEE (BY**)?

A. Here was not Irma. Irma was out of the picture here. It was not Irma. It was not me. You see,

it was very hard, because all the time, you have to, you have to think, how I told you? I had here operation and here operation. I was thinking, whether I will get, you know, (narcos) --

[Translation.]

A. -- anesthetic, I shouldn't say something that, can say something that I am not (BY**). I have to know about my father, about my mother. And I didn't know that. I have papers from a girl who was much older than me. She was 24 years, and I was 16. But everything goes, because I was not looking like young girl.

Q. IF YOU'D LIKE, YOU COULD SHOW SOME OF THE OTHER PICTURES YOU BROUGHT, TELL US WHO IS IN THE PICTURE AND GIVE US ANY DETAILS ABOUT IT.

A. I have all my family. This is my whole family, my parents, my brothers and me, by our house.

Q. TAKEN ABOUT WHEN?

A. I was here, I don't know, ten or eleven years old, or nine years old. I don't know. This was my mother.

Q. TAKEN ABOUT WHEN?

A. Taken in 1936 or '7. I have here my father too. This is my grandmother, my mother's mother.

Q. WHAT WAS HER NAME?

A. Emma Rosner. I am looking for my brothers.

This is my father.

Q. AND THAT WAS TAKEN ABOUT WHEN?

A. In 35 or '6 too. This is my brother who was killed by Ukrainians. He was 22 years old.

Q. CAN YOU TELL US ABOUT HOW OLD HE WAS IN THIS PICTURE?

A. In this picture, this was in '38, this picture. In '40 -- no. Or '39 or '40, he was killed. I don't know for sure.

Q. HE SURE IS YOUNG LOOKING.

A. And this is this brother, my older brother. He died last year. I left Berlin to (Dormagen) because he was there. And this was me when I was 13. No. I was not 13. What I am saying? This was before war, when I was in gymnasium, in '39, before war. I have my grandparents and whole family. This is my family, on pictures.

Q. DO YOU HAVE PICTURES OF YOURSELF, YOUR HUSBAND AND YOUR DAUGHTER, OR YOUR DAUGHTER?

A. Oh, yes. I have daughter and her husband too, but not here. One moment. This is with my -- no, this you will not -- my --

Q. WHO IS THIS?

A. My brothers and me.

Q. YOU LOOK LIKE YOU'RE PERHAPS FIVE MONTHS OLD,

FOUR MONTHS OLD?

A. Yes. Here, I have all the pictures.

Q. NO, DON'T COVER IT.

A. No.

Q. IT'S WONDERFUL.

VIDEO OPERATOR: HOLD IT CLOSER TO YOU, UP
CLOSE. THAT'S GOOD, A LITTLE FOCUS. THAT'S WONDERFUL.
GREAT. THANK YOU. THAT'S GOOD.

A. Yes. They are memories.

Q. YOU ARE ON THE RIGHT, SECOND FROM THE RIGHT?

A. Right.

Q. IN THE WHITE SHIRT, YES?

A. Here.

Q. YES. YOU ARE ABOUT TEN, ELEVEN?

A. No. Eleven, this was in fifth grade.

[End of Tape 1. Start of Tape 2.]

Q. IRMA, I'M INTERESTED TO KNOW, DURING THE WAR,
AS YOU ASSUMED THE IDENTITY OF (BY**), DID YOU HAVE
CERTAIN THOUGHTS TOWARD THIS PERSON AT THAT TIME? IF SO,
HOW DID YOU THINK OF HER?

A. I didn't have any thoughts. I know that she
died and I got her papers. Nobody told me anything about
her. I know that she was 24 years old, because in my
birth certificate, it was written that she was 24 years
old. And all the time in Germany and in Austria, in

Vienna, you know something, I even didn't thought about her. I just got the papers and I was her, and this was it. Nothing didn't, you know, I didn't even -- normally, I am thinking and I like to think about people. And I didn't think about it.

Q. WAS THERE A TIME AFTER THE WAR WHEN YOU DID THINK ABOUT WHO SHE WAS OR HOW YOU MIGHT HAVE BEEN CONNECTED IN ANY WAY?

A. No. I don't know who she was. And you know something, I met this man who save my life, after war, because I went to (Vichnich) after war. I never ask about her. I don't know who she was. I don't know. Now you, you let me thinking about it. And when I will write to him -- no. He probably didn't know either, because he got the paper, papers, and I don't think, he didn't know her, no. He was working in underground against Germans, and had a friend who was working at notary public office. So he has the possibility to have different papers from different people, you know. So I was lucky that I got papers and my mother got papers.

Q. WERE THERE TIMES DURING THE WAR THAT YOU THOUGHT YOU MIGHT LOSE YOUR IDENTITY AS IRMA?

A. Yes. How I told you, this picture was after this girlfriend of me, the Polish girl told me, poor Irma (Ferbaruva), and I was not Irma (Ferbaruva) anymore. I

told her, this is an aunt, because when she will go and tell German, they will kill me, like nothing. And they will kill my brother.

Q. NOW, AT THE END OF THE WAR, YOU SAY YOU DESTROYED THE IDENTIFICATION?

A. Yes. When war was over, in Vienna, I was not thinking about anything, because I should have this paper, but I wanted to go back to Poland. So I just turned the paper, papers, and throw out, and I went to the office and I told, I didn't say that I was somebody else. It was after war, so I say, I am Irma (Ferberuva). I was born then and this, my parents. I didn't have any other papers. And I went to Poland. I went to Poland. They sent me to Budapest first, and then to Poland.

Q. CAN YOU TELL US WHAT IT WAS LIKE TO REGAIN YOUR IDENTITY AS IRMA?

A. Oh, yes. I can tell you. It was like a big stone, you know, left my heart and I can be myself again. It was terrible, because you have to think so much before you open your mouth, because you can say something wrong and they will recognize that you are not who you are. It was wonderful. It was like, like newborn person, you know.

Q. IT SOUNDS AS THOUGH IT DIDN'T TAKE LONG TO RESUME YOUR IDENTITY AS IRMA, DID IT?

A. No.

Q. WAS IT JUST THAT INSTANT, OR DID IT TAKE SOME TIME?

A. No, no. It was instant. I was very young and I have to be behind, you know, different persons, different person. It was very hard for a young girl, for a young girl.

Q. WHEN YOU THINK OF WHO YOU ARE NOW, DO YOU CONSIDER THAT (BY**) IS PART OF YOU?

A. No, not at all, not at all. I say good-bye to her long time ago, and I never think about her anymore.

Q. I'M ALSO INTERESTED TO KNOW ABOUT THE TWO YEARS AFTER THE WAR THAT YOU SAY YOU HAVE VERY LITTLE RECOLLECTION OF.

A. This was end of the war and after the war, I don't remember. I don't remember. And people were talking me that I was, that I was baking --

[Translation.]

A. -- donuts. I don't remember. I have erased. I don't remember many things.

Q. DO YOU REMEMBER WHERE YOU WERE AT THAT TIME?

A. When?

Q. THE TIME THAT IS DIFFICULT TO RECALL, DO YOU REMEMBER THE PLACES THAT YOU WERE AT?

A. I was in Krakow. Yes, I remember, when I came

24-11-1945
to Krakow, this was after war, in 1945. I didn't know anything where I will go, if I have somebody. Then, after, after a while, I remember that in Krakow I have an uncle who came with his wife from Germany, after Hitler come to power. And I remember the address. I went there. He was living on the (Gertruda) 5. And they told me, the German take, took their apartment. And they told me where they live. So I went on the different address. And I stayed there. Thank God, because I don't know what will happen when they will be not alive. I probably, I don't know, I will not survive, because I didn't have anybody else.

Q. THE PERIOD OF TIME IN WHICH YOU WERE BLIND FOR SOMETIME, FOR A WEEK, YOU SAID, COULD YOU DESCRIBE THE CIRCUMSTANCES LEADING UP TO THAT, THAT BLINDNESS?

A. This was when I was in the, living in the basement, and the two Polish girls, girlfriends with whom I was, they took me to German doctor. And how he described the blindness, he told me that it sometimes happens that -- I don't know how to say in English.

[Translation.]

A. -- chicken blindness, he told me. It could happen that the circumstances in the basement and lack of proper nourishment could be the cause of the blindness. He put some drops and give me some

medication. I don't remember what. And after one week, the sight came back. But I couldn't walk by myself. Always somebody help me. It was very scary, very scary.

Q. WHEN YOU WERE IN KRAKOW AND YOU SAID YOU RECALL BEING IN THE STREET WHEN YOU WERE FORCIBLY CONSTRICTED, YOU MENTIONED THAT YOU AND THE OTHERS WERE DISINFECTED? I BELIEVE THAT'S THE WORD YOU USED?

A. Yes, yes. German, everything does, they disinfect everything.

Q. IS THAT THE WORD THAT THEY USED --

A. Yes.

Q. -- TO DISINFECT?

A. Disinfection, yes, disinfection.

Q. AND IS THAT THE ONLY TIME THAT YOU HEARD THAT TERMINOLOGY BEING APPLIED TO --

A. No. Second time, when I came to Berlin, we have disinfection again. Disinfection, it means you are going to be bathed, and your, all your clothes, they put to -- in English, it's disinfection too, yes. They put to disinfection everything. They even took people who they put in the gas chamber, they have to put all the clothes, everything out, and they told them, you are going to disinfection. But this was disinfection when they put gas, and they never come out from the gas chambers.

And I remember when I was in Germany, they send us some clothes, because we didn't have money to buy clothes. It was very expensive. I remember, once I bought a coat, but my brother help me. But they brought to the camp bags with clothing, and everybody got something. Probably they were clothes from the people who were gassed, because German will not take these clothes. German only took everything very valuable, like gold, like teeth. You can see the gold teeth, everything.

And I, after war, I met a Pole, friend of my brother's, who always came to (Vichnich) for vacation. He was son of gymnasium professor who had family in (Vichnich). And because his father was in (Choslinsky), this is on west side on Poland, on the border of Czechoslovakia and Germany, she was very big Polish patriot, and she was working in Polish organizations. And when German come to Poland, first time, they took all the Intelligentsia to the camps, Polish Intelligentsia -- not Jewish, they, they killed. And Polish Intelligentsia, they took to the camp too.

So the boy, his name was Olec. After, during the war, he was in Auschwitz. And he was working in the ovens where they burn people, but he was working to scalp all the hair. After war, he was a journalist, but he

never was normal. He was three times married. He couldn't love after war. It was, he said, I can't live anymore, normal life.

Q. DO YOU REMEMBER AT THE TIME OF THE FIRST DISINFECTION IN KRAKOW --

A. Krakow.

Q. -- WHAT YOUR THOUGHTS WERE? DID YOU THINK THAT THE DISINFECTION SERVED ANY PURPOSE, OR DID IT SEEM SURPRISING?

A. No, no. I was a young girl, and I was not thinking. They told us we have to go to take a bath, and they have to disinfect, because if we have some insects or something. Anyhow, I was taken by Germans on the car. It was like, like, in --

[Translation.]

A. -- a truck, yes. And after we were taken to the bath, a policeman was taking care of us that we not go away. And the police recognized me, and he said, Irma, what are you doing here? I say, I don't know. They took me. I think they took me that we have to go to Germany, and now I am going to the disinfection. And this was a son of a policeman who was German descent, you know. They write the papers that they like to be German, so they treat them much better. But he was, he didn't say anything. So he didn't say that I am Jewish, and

they allow me to go. So I was lucky, because it could be my end. I remember his name use (Sivsoyka). You see, they are names that always stay with you.

Q. YOU SAID THAT YOU HAD ONE ACQUAINTANCE WITH A GERMAN DOCTOR WHEN YOU WERE IN GERMANY. DO YOU REMEMBER HAVING ANY OTHER RELATIONSHIPS?

A. Yes. No. She was a student, medical student. Her name was Ruth Schlessner. And she was coming when I was working in kindergarten. Because after working in the factory, my brother asked the doctor if I can help. He was a nurse on the, my brother was first the cook, then he was a nurse in the -- in Germany, it's (Ferbanstasion). And this is a station in a big factory where you have a nurse and the doctor. And when somebody is cut, or wounded by machine, it goes to the doctor. So my brother was working this time with the doctor, and he told him, oh, she can come, she can be a helper. So he has to, the doctor has to cut under arm, abscess or something, you know, and I should hold the --

[Translation.]

A. -- the instrument -- no, not instrument. The thing, when the, everything has to come on the --

Q. THE BONE?

A. Yes, yes. And I cannot look at blood, so I fainted. And he was so angry, and say, you will not work

here, you can't work here. So they give me to a kindergarten, you know. They were Polish girls, French girls, and they thought, when they will have children, they will go for vacation home. But it was not this case. The German like to raise these children for German race.

And I was working there with one Polish girl, and we have 32 childrens, and we didn't know anything about children. We were very young. So the doctor show us how to bathe these children, and where to take the food, and how to, somebody teach us how to cook for the children. So we were working very hard, because they were 32 children and two young girls. So when first was hungry, we start to feed the first. The last was crying, or when we bathe one, it was hard work for two young girls, from very early in the morning to very late in the evening. The children came after being nine days old, and they stay by us till one year.

And then I, we left with my brother, we escape to Vienna, so I don't know what happened with the children. This was the time when my brother was called to Gestapo, and they ask him, how come that your mother, those are your cultural, your sister is Irma (Ferberuva), and you are Arthur (Ferberuva). And he told them that my mother was very beautiful lady, and she has third

husband. I am from the second husband. And he from, he got a pass to Bonne, because in Bonne were the under officers, Polish under officer, and they were going there, and you know, have some theater or something. And from them, they get coffee, cocoa, chocolate. And he was giving the doctor gifts, and doctor give him a pass to Bonne. And from Bonne, he make Vienna, and we escape on the pass. Otherwise, I don't know if I will be here.

Q. DO YOU REMEMBER HAVING ANY ROMANTIC RELATIONSHIPS OR INTERESTS DURING THAT TIME?

A. I was too young and too scared. You see, in my young -- I didn't have, I didn't think about it. I only think to stay with my identity, you know. I didn't think about anything.

Q. ARE THERE ANY HAPPY MOMENTS THAT YOU RECALL DURING THE WARTIME, AS CONTRADICTIONARY AS IT MAY SEEM?

A. Yes, there are. There were happy moments. For example, when we went with my brother and my, she was not my sister-in-law, to (Kernam Rhine), to see something, or when we were in Vienna, every second week, I have day, afternoon, not day, off, afternoon off. So my brother came and we went to (Pratter), to amusement park. There were some moments, but always, always, you think you better stay on the earth, you know.

Q. WHAT WOULD YOU SAY IS YOUR MOST DIFFICULT

REMEMBRANCE OF THE HOLOCAUST?

A. My thinking, or in general?

Q. FOR YOU?

A. The worst thing was saying good-bye to my mother in Krakow, because she went to (Volfe). She told me, I speak too good German. They will think, how come I speak so good. She was scared that I will not survive. This was the worst moment for me.

And before this, the worst moment was the death of my father, what I experience. I saw it. It was the worst moment for me. I didn't know that he was beaten before. I only know that he was shaken when he came home. And I experience the death. He died of heart attack. And believe me, his death is all the time with me, because I am so scared when somebody's dying on heart. Here, he was talking to somebody, to my girlfriend's mother, and here he was dead. This was a moment that I never forget.

Q. WHAT ADVICE COULD YOU OFFER A SURVIVOR OF THE HOLOCAUST, OR ANY OTHER FORM OF MODERN GENOCIDE, WHO HAS NOT FULLY COME TO GRIPS WITH THEIR EXPERIENCE? WHAT COULD YOU TELL A PERSON LIKE THAT, TO HELP THEM?

A. You know, everybody in this case has to help himself. You have to forget about your bad experience, because otherwise, you can't live. But the war is coming

to me so and so in dreams, very often. So you can't forget. You can't forget.

For example, I remember when we went with my mother, the day one Pole took us to the forest, and he should come after few days, and he never came. And when I saw the one peasant with a white dog, at night, in the forest, I thought that it is our last moment. And it happened that the peasant recognize us immediately. He told us that the whole family of other lawyer from (Vichnich) was killed, 30 kilometers in the forest, 30 kilometers from us, in different village.

[Translation.]

In different village in the forest. But he help us. He took us to his house. And one night, my mother has a dream that Gestapo came; after two weeks, we left. And he didn't ask about money, about anything. You see, they are people, they are helping. We didn't pay him. He didn't ask for money. He just wanted to help us.

Q. SO YOU SAID PEOPLE NEED TO FORGET, BUT AT THE SAME TIME, YOU CANNOT FORGET?

A. You don't forget, because the memory, sometimes you don't think about it, but you dream. So many times I am, I am someplace, running, you know. Maybe everybody has these dreams, but I have dreams from war very often,

very often. You have to, you have to live your life. You can't think about it all. You can't think all the time about it.

You see, in Europe, we are, in this time when I was raised, we were not used to go to psychologist. You have to be enough strong to take care of things in your life. And eventually, you succeed. I don't know if all these people, all we who survive, are always so normal, but nothing we can do about it. So far, I think everything in my life was okay, after. Nobody help me medically, to survive. After war, I mean.

Q. HOW HAS YOUR HOLOCAUST EXPERIENCE AFFECTED YOUR RELIGIOUS BELIEFS?

A. It affects my religious beliefs, because I saw two wagons of cars, with small children, frozen, like, you know they were not alive anymore. They were like ice. And Gestapos were determined, were throwing them, you know, like stones. And I always ask myself, how could God look at the Holocaust? I can't believe anymore. I can't.

And I had, in Chicago, I had one German, born in Germany, a customer, who likes me very much, and she was a Baptist. And she was very religious. And she always told me, Irma, you are from chosen people. I say, because I am Jewish? I say, Marybell, chosen for what,

to be killed? When you like, I give you as a present that you will be chosen. And she says, you have to understand, God is very old, and he was very tired and he wanted to close his eyes for moment. He closed his eyes and it happened.

You see, I don't believe in such stories. And after war, I am not religious. I am sorry.

Q. WHAT IS THE SOURCE OF, THE GREATEST SOURCE OF MEANING IN YOUR LIFE?

A. I believe in people, good people. I have strong morals in my life. And this is my religion. That's it. And this I told my daughter, that she has to be a human being and treat humans properly. This is my religion after war.

INTERVIEWER: I HAVE NO MORE QUESTIONS.

NEW INTERVIEWER:

Q. I WANTED TO ASK YOU, GOING BACK TO 1940, '41, AFTER YOUR FATHER DIED --

A. My father died in 1940.

Q. BETWEEN 1940 AND '41, WHEN YOU LEFT FOR KRAKOW, WHAT DID YOU LIVE ON?

A. You see, during the war, when only German come to Poland, my father couldn't work as a lawyer anymore, because German didn't allow him to have his practice anymore. So we live only -- you see, my father was a

very soft man, very sensitive man. When somebody told him he doesn't have money, when not my mother put his, her hand on it, he will do everything for nothing. But during the war, all his clients help us, even when my father died. They were many peasants who were helping us very much. They brought us bread and other things. They were clients of my husband for years and years and years. And we survive this way.

My mother was arrested in 1940, in the beginning of 1940, because this maid. The Ukrainian maid of the doctor was helping her in our house. And she told her that it is so hard, that Hitler should -- not should die, but she said, in Polish, you know --

[Translation.]

A. She swear something, and this girl told German, and they put my mother into arrest. So my father took a lot of money to take her out. When not, they will kill her. So our money was going away from us. So people help us to survive, till it happened that -- I don't know how we will survive when it will take long time.

Q. WHEN DID YOUR BROTHER GO TO (VOLFE)?

A. When war broke out, many people left, and he left too. And he went to (Volfe) and never come back. In (Volfe) he was studying farther. He was in the art academy in Krakow, and then in (Volfe), and he finish

there, and he never come back. And then the Russians were there, so he stayed there.

Q. DO YOU KNOW ANYTHING MORE? HOW WAS HE ABLE, AS A POLISH CITIZEN, TO STAY IN THE RUSSIAN ZONE WHEN THEY CAME?

A. When he left, he stayed there. And he was killed, I think in 1941, because later on, come his colleague, who was not a Jew. He was studying with him. And he came to tell us that (Addic) is not alive, that the Ukrainian came and asked who, who here is a Jew, because we need somebody to clean the street. So (Addic) stand up and say he's a Jew, and they took him and they kill him immediately after, after they were on the street.

Q. WHEN YOU WERE IN KRAKOW, YOUR MOTHER WAS NOT IN KRAKOW?

A. She was in Krakow. We said good-bye on my way to Krakow, and I went to (Sukanitsa), and they close -- (Sukanitsa) are in the route in Krakow. And they close four streets, and they took everybody who was in the middle.

Q. SO IT HAPPENED THE SAME DAY?

A. Yes, the same day.

Q. YOU SAID THAT YOU SAW THINGS ON THE WAY TO GERMANY THAT YOU DIDN'T EVEN KNOW WHAT YOU SAW, AND IT

WAS LATER YOU REALIZED WHAT IT WAS THAT YOU SAW. COULD YOU SAY MORE ABOUT THAT?

A. I thought about the two wagons of the frozen little children. And then I saw -- I didn't know who, who were these children. I didn't know anything. Then I saw. I was busy, you know, with myself. I was looking, who is going with me. And they were two ladies in black, in black veils, in black suits. This is what I saw. I remember. That's it.

Q. WHEN YOU LEFT TO GO TO (DORMAGEN), WHEN YOU WENT TO (DORMAGEN) TO JOIN YOUR --

A. Brother.

Q. -- YOUR BROTHER, WHAT DID YOU TELL THEM? HOW COME YOU APPEARED THERE?

A. When I was in Berlin, I was working in this fabric factory on (Frider Strauss). I remember, this was electrical factory. And during the war, they make (famisha). And they brought us to a room behind a restaurant. They were 40 girls in one room. They were French girls and Polish girls. And then they give us different lock room. I don't remember. And I was living first in (Pancove Shankhousen), but then we live closer to the, in different neighborhood. I don't remember this.

And I went to (Pancove Shankhousen) to peak in

the mail, because my mother was and my brother was sending me mail, from (Dormagen). So one day, I came, and one man, Polish man, came and told me, are you (BY**)? Yes. I was in the same camp with -- because my brother was POW -- with your, with Arthur (Ferbaruva). And I went for vacation. They, I don't know if somebody died in his family, or something. He was in Lodz, coming back to the (Dormagen). And he said, will you -- I came to pick you up. So I didn't go to pick my things, nothing. How I stay, I went to (Dormagen).

Q. DID THEY ASK YOU FOR PAPERS AND WHAT YOU WERE DOING THERE? I MEAN, THE AUTHORITIES?

A. No. When I came to (Dormagen) with him, I am (BY**). I came to work.

Q. SO YOU HAD THE FREEDOM, SO TO SPEAK, TO CHOOSE WHERE YOU WERE?

A. No, you don't have. But I came with him, so I gave the paper in the office and this was it. And when we escape from (Dormagen) to Vienna, we went to (Arbitz). This was the office who gave the work to foreign people. And we told them that we are from (Lubrin) and we lost our, our transport. The transport with which we came to Vienna, we lost. And we give our papers and they give us job.

Q. WHEN YOU WERE IN THE CAMP, IN THE LABOR CAMPS,

WERE YOU ABLE TO SHOP IN REGULAR STORES? LIKE WHEN YOU HAD THE MONEY TO BUY SOMETHING, WERE YOU JUST ABLE TO GO?

A. No. You have to work. And in the weekends, you see, in Berlin, we get cards, and I can go and buy bread or something, yes. But in (Dormagen), no. They have each kitchen, and we were eating there, and this was it.

Q. It was just clothes?

A. Clothes, I told you, when I was in (Dormagen), they, from time to time, they brought to the camp --

[Translation.]

A. -- bags with clothes, and everybody got clothes. They probably were from people who they killed.

Q. AT SOME POINT YOU WENT, AND YOU SAID -- MAYBE I MISUNDERSTOOD YOU -- YOU BOUGHT A COAT?

A. The coat, yes. I bought in (Dormagen) one coat, because somebody brought, from the French, or somebody, and I bought in the camp. Yes.

Q. OKAY. IN THE PLACES WERE THERE ALSO GERMANS WORKING?

A. Of course. They were masters who were Germans, and German workers. In Berlin, there were many German workers and there were many workers who came from the east, from Russia, you know. They were all faces that were --

[Translation.]

A. -- wounded. And you know, some were blind. They come with dogs. Yes, they were working.

Q. WAS THERE ANY INTERACTION BETWEEN THE GERMANS AND THE --

A. Oh, God forbid. They were -- no. They were, they can get arrested when they will interact with foreign, and vice versa. The boys, Polish boys, when they will have romance with Germans, it's, they can get to concentration camp. No. It was (forbotten).

Q. SO THERE WAS NOT EVEN EXCHANGE OF ANY GREETING, OR ANY --

A. Oh, greetings, you have to greet everybody. Normally, you greet when you come to work, where you greet and they answer you. But only in (Dormagen), in the kindergarten was Ruth Schlessner, the medical student, who came for practice in vacation, she was very nice. But she thought that I am Polish, and she told me, my father will kill me when he knows that I have Polish friend. So I always thought, my God, when he knows that you have Jewish friend, he will kill you twice.

Q. WHEN DID YOU ACQUIRE THE NEW TESTAMENT?

A. When I got the papers. And before, Marion gave me New Testament to read. Before I didn't know even why. I read it as a book. And he told me, read this book.

And I was reading. And it come very handy to me.

Q. ON THE WAY WHEN YOU WERE IN AUSTRIA, IN THE BASEMENT, WERE YOU EVER THE ONE THAT WENT OUT TO FORAGE FOR FOOD?

A. When I was not blind, before, yes. When I was blind, I couldn't go out. Yes, you have to steal everything, what you have, what is moving. And it is to eat.

Q. SO THE POLISH GIRLS AND YOU SHARED THINGS THEN?

A. Yes. They know that I am one from them.

Q. WHEN YOU WERE GOING BACK TO POLAND AND THE RUSSIAN AUTHORITIES -- WAS IT THE RUSSIAN AUTHORITIES THAT GAVE YOU PAPERS AND TOLD YOU WHICH --

A. Not Russian authorities, no. When I go to Poland, I went to the, in Vienna, to the Russian, told them that I am from Poland and I am going home. So everything was okay. During this time, nobody asked me anything.

In Poland, when I came to Krakow, I was in Krakow, so my uncle and aunt know me, right? I went to (Vichnich). And I went to the place where I lived, somebody else was living. And I went to the judge who knows me, from childhood, and he says, Irma, when you see something what is you, yours, tell me. Everything will be yours. I didn't expect to stay in (Vichnich), and

what I need this for? I didn't ask for anything. I was still a girl, very young girl.

I went to Krakow, and I stay and went to the doctors and take medicines. Two years I didn't work. I stayed at my uncle's house. And then I got a job, and I start to work. This was it.

Q. THIS MAY BE KIND OF DIFFICULT, SO --

A. Please.

Q. SPECIFICALLY, WHEN YOU WERE GOING FROM VIENNA, TAKING THE TRAINS, DID YOU HAVE TO PAY? DID YOU HAVE TO GET TICKETS?

A. No.

Q. YOU JUST GOT ON TRAINS? TELL ME MORE ABOUT THAT.

A. Yes. They took us, many, many people, to go to Budapest. I was not alone. They were, there was whole train of people going to Poland, back. In Budapest, we stay in (shastovia).

[Translation.]

A. In temporary camp. We get food and we sleep on --

[Translation.]

A. -- kind of wooden beds. They were not beds. They were special, a row, wooden things, not beds. We didn't have anything, you know.

Q. LIKE PALLETS?

A. What?

Q. PALLETS?

A. Pallets?

Q. YES.

A. Yes. I put legs into my, in my slippers, from my, and foot in the other, other coat, and this was my bedding. And so we stay, so I stay for a month in Budapest. Sometimes I took something what I have, something to sell. I didn't have too much, but what I have, and like to have, for example, to buy cherries, once. So I went and I sell it on the, you know, market, and bought cherries. But we didn't buy there anything, because we still were in camp, but not concentration camp.

Q. SO IT WAS LIKE, SO IT WAS, IN A SENSE, A TRANSPORT OF PEOPLE GOING BACK?

A. Right, to Poland. So nobody thought about -- when you go for six weeks, they didn't sell tickets.

Q. YOU ALSO MENTIONED THAT THE RUSSIANS TREATED YOU VERY TERRIBLY?

A. Yes.

Q. COULD YOU TELL ME MORE ABOUT THAT?

A. No, no.

Q. I HAVE A QUESTION ABOUT, AGAIN, IN POLAND.

A. Yes.

Q. YOU WERE SAYING -- AND AGAIN, FEEL FREE TO TALK OR NOT TALK -- ABOUT YOUR BACHELOR, ABOUT YOUR (MATURA), AND YOU KEEP GETTING THE QUESTION THAT YOU DIDN'T WANT TO GET IT. WHAT WAS IT ABOUT THIS THAT MADE YOU CRY SO MUCH, ABOUT THE POEM, FOR INSTANCE, OF THE --

A. It was so --

[Translation.]

A. It is a book about war, about concentration camp, about children. As little children, they have to be like mature, or something. So they pick up, they stay on the coast to be larger, that they can survive. And I was scared to death, this question. And I get this question, and it was oral exam, I have to speak, and I was hysterical. I couldn't. I start to cry. And they say, don't say anything.

Q. IN THE FIRST YEARS AFTER THE WAR IN POLAND, WERE YOU AWARE OF AN INCIDENCE --

A. Of (Communism)?

Q. YES.

A. Yes.

Q. WHEN YOU WERE IN ITALY, WAS THIS AS SOON AS IT HAPPENED OR --

A. No.

Q. -- EXPLAIN.

100-1-1
A. Yes. And still in Poland, I didn't know about (Communism) very good. First in America, I read about. And then two years ago, I got Polish newspaper, political, who was on very high level, and they wrote about it.

Q. WERE YOU, AT THAT TIME, AFTER THE WAR, AWARE ABOUT THE OPPOSITION TO THE COMMUNIST RULING, THE INCIDENTS, THE FIGHTS?

A. Yes, yes.

Q. DID ANYTHING EVER HAPPEN IN THE VICINITY WHERE YOU WERE?

A. No. See, in Krakow, I remember my uncle was against religion. He never was a graduate. He was entrepreneur, so he didn't have anything to do with religion. He didn't work in the office. You know, he has his business, and later on, he was on the university in Krakow, teaching the photographic tour. So when was the first time, when we have to go to vote --

Q. WHAT?

A. When we have to vote, Krakow was very against, so they say, vote three times no. So I vote with my uncle three times, no, against regime. Later on, when it was normal, you couldn't do this. In Krakow it was different too, because the regime was established, so. Did I answer the question?

Q. YES. GOING BACK TO '56, '57, HOW DID YOU FEEL THEN AFTER THE REGIME HAD FALLEN?

A. Let's see. In '56, I remember that this was first time that they tagged my husband. And they thought, write a letter that he is a Jew. Everybody knows that he was a Jew. His name was (Botswafski) always, from father, grandfather. It's Polish name. But his name was Benjamin. So they write that he is helping the Jews. And it happened that, all the material for all the, all have to go through him, so that he is giving the purchases, what from Jewish is left, he is giving the purchases.

And they, we probably would leave Poland then. But the minister liked my husband very much. The secretary, who have the, all the cooperations movement, you know, like my husband very much. And when they want to do something, to take him from his position, he came to Lodz and he says, I don't let him to go, and I don't like that something happened to him, because he was very good worker. And this was it. And we stayed. Too bad. It should happen in '57.

Q. WHEN YOU LEFT POLAND IN '60 --

A. '58.

Q. -- IN '58, ON WHAT KIND OF -- DID YOU HAVE A REFUGEE STATUS OR NO?

A. Yes.

Q. GOING TO --

A. Yes, we have refugee status, because when we, we could go only to Israel from Poland, no other place. But my husband went to Warsaw first, and know that we are not going to Israel. But everybody knows that we are going to Israel. It was this time that, when you say you like to leave Poland for Israel, they, they took your citizenship. And they took your apartment, everything. So what we can, we sell.

And my husband, being on the disposition what he was, we went and asked that they will give our apartment somebody whom we know, because we make big investment and we couldn't take it with us, because it was built into the apartment. So they promise him and they give these people what he asked, and they pay us some money for this, what we did in this apartment. So they ask us to write a letter that we ask the Polish regime to take our citizenship off. And my husband say, I didn't. Oh, this is only formality. This is only formality. You have to write it down. So, and in this thing, they told us, in moment when we left the Polish borders, we are not anymore citizens of Poland. So we went to Vienna, then to Rome. And in Rome we got Italian passport. I have this passport today. Because we didn't

have anything.

Q. WHEN YOU WERE LEAVING POLAND, WERE YOU SUPPOSED TO GO TO ISRAEL? OR WHEN YOU WERE LEAVING POLAND, WHERE WAS IT THE POLISH AUTHORITIES LET YOU LEAVE?

A. To Israel. But we to leave first to Vienna. Everything was on the --

[Translation.]

A. -- on the cases, two cases of our belongings. The address was to Israel. And first, in Rome, we change for America.

Q. SO YOU WERE NOT AFFORDED REFUGEE STATUS?

A. Yes, we were refugees. We have the status of refugees here, when we come, and in -- you see, we could take only five dollars per person. Not everything we have we were allowed to take. For example, I have a lot of china. I have, I gave so many things to my friends, because I couldn't take with me, and I couldn't leave for these people who pay me few dollars for everything what I have in the apartment. So I have to give everything to somebody.

Q. GOING BACK, CAN YOU SAY MORE ABOUT, WITHOUT LANGUAGE -- WAS IT WITH SOME FRIENDS THAT YOU GOT THOSE JOBS?

A. You see, when we come to Chicago, I was, I had profession, very nice profession, cosmetologist, but I

didn't have license, because my Polish, you know, certificate is nothing. And I didn't know the language so good that I can pass the exam. So Jewish Family sent me and my daughter for manicure course. So I told them, I never did manicure before. So I learned. I met there the German lady, the German Jewish lady who came here before war, and I start to do manicures after I finish.

My daughter got the job. And first time she make manicure, she cut somebody and she got fired. So she came crying that she never will do it. So, and she like to study. So she went, she passed the exam and she went to university. And I was working as manicurist.

Till I finish this school, I show them my certificate, and they told me, in America, you have to be hairdresser to be cosmetologist. I say, I never was hairdresser. I only have school for skin care. And I was working with dermatologist, because it was different in Europe. It was a very good profession. So when I finish the school to make permanent or something, I did, because I have to have license. Otherwise, I couldn't pass the exam. I have the 300 or 100, I don't remember how many hours, and I pass the exam and then I got the license and I was cosmetologist. Before I did electrolysis, I passed, I make the course too.

Q. AFTER COMING TO THE U.S., DID YOU, THROUGHOUT

YOUR STAY, DID YOU BECOME MEMBERS OF ANY JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS OR POLISH ORGANIZATIONS?

A. Polish, no, no. How come in America to be member of Polish organization? Because of this, I am glad that I am not. I was in Chicago, and I was not member of Polish -- I didn't have anything to do with Poles in America, no. My aunt had Polish husband, and she, she is Catholic, so let her be. But no. I have a Polish friend in Chicago, a lady who save her husband's life. He was Jewish. She married him. And in Chicago, he told her he's a Cohen and he can't live with Catholic lady. So I told her, divorce him, and that's it. I didn't agree with it. We told him, don't you think that she save your life and she could be killed? She and her family could be killed. And this is, I think, one of the reasons why they are anti-Semites in the world, because I will be anti-Semite when somebody will do to me what he did to her. But she isn't.

Q. DID YOU BECOME MEMBERS OF ANY JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS?

A. No. I was, I was going to (Art), yes. And this is organization that I like very much, because this organization help so many people in Poland, to adjust to life in America. They teach them, in Poland, they teach them many jobs, you know.

Q. AND YOU MENTIONED SOMETHING AGAIN ABOUT YOUR
DECISION TO HAVE ONLY ONE CHILD?

A. Yes.

Q. CAN YOU SAY MORE ABOUT THAT?

A. Yes. I saw so many things what happened to
children during the war, that as much as I love children,
I was always scared that -- you see, living in Poland,
there was always war. After war, every day, they thought
there will be war. And I told my husband, no, I will not
have anymore children, because I don't let my child go
through what other children went through. And we have
only one child. It happened to us. And it happened that
I am not a grandmother, because she doesn't have
children.

Q. THANK YOU VERY MUCH.

A. Thank you.

(End of Tape 2.)