INTERVIEW WITH HARRY LAWTON

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Holocaust Oral History Project

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Holocaust Center, San Francisco, California

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0: IT'S JULY 18, 1990. WE'RE IN SAN FRANCISCO WITH HARRY LAWTON.

JOHN ANGELL GRANT ON CAMERA. I'M ANNE FEIBELMAN.

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HARRY, LET'S START AT THE BEGINNING. WHERE WERE YOU BORN AND WHEN?

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A: Okay. I was born in Berlin, Germany, June 16th, 1920.

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0: AND TELL ME A LITTLE BIT ABOUT YOUR FAMILY LIFE, YOU KNOW, BROTHERS

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AND SISTERS, SHUL. WHAT WAS YOUR FAMILY LIFE LIKE?

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A: Okay. I had no brothers or sisters. I was an only child. My parents

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were not born in Berlin. Both came from small towns, but lived in

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Berlin most of their life. And my father originally was in --

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what kind of business was it? After World War I. I think he worked at

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a clothing store, men's clothing, which later was taken over by a big

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company, Herman Tietz, but you, naturally, you wouldn't know

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anything about that. And then he and my uncle, my mother's brother,

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started the theatre business. My uncle grew up -- he was an actor

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originally, before World War I and during World War I, I think. And

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then they started a theatre in Berlin, a kind of review type. In other

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words, it was a variety theatre and became quite famous in Berlin. It

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was called the Komische Oper. which is comic opera. And, as

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a matter of fact, I just heard that in East Berlin they have the same -- apparently not the same building, but they continued it. They

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are now bringing operas and -- similar type. So it's still in exis-

tence. But my uncle was killed in France by the Nazis and -- so this

1 eventually went bankrupt on account of the takeover by Hitler. 2 HARRY, WHAT WAS YOUR UNCLE'S NAME AND YOUR FATHER'S NAME AND YOUR Q: 3 MOTHER'S NAME? 4 Okay. My father's name was Artur Levison, spelled L-e-v-i-s-o-n, A: 5 Arthur. But in German you pronounce it "Artur." 6 Any my mother's name was Gertrude. 7 My uncle's name was James Klein, and there are many books 8 written about him. He was well known in Germany, so if you talk to 9 German people -- I mean my age and older -- they will remember 10 James Klein. 11 DID YOU KNOW YOUR MOTHER'S MAIDEN NAME? 12 A: Yeah. Klein. 13 OH, RIGHT. NOW WHAT KIND OF RELIGIOUS LIFE? 0: 14 Okay. They were, first of all, they were very modern people, very A: 15 progressive, both my parents, being in the theatre business, you know. 16 And my father came out of a very orthodox family. My mother did not. 17 I grew up -- I went to synagogue, but it was a more -- it wasn't 18 really a reform; it was in between. They called it the (Gen ten straz za,) 19 named after the street where the synagogue was located, in the western 20 part of Berlin. And so I didn't grow up under very orthodox conditions. 21 It was strictly almost reform type. 22 Q: DID YOU EVER GO TO RELIGIOUS SCHOOL, YOU KNOW, ON SUNDAY OR WEDNESDAY, 23 OR -- WHAT KIND OF TRAINING DID YOU HAVE? 24 As a child? Yeah. I had to go to Sunday -- we had Sunday school in A: 25 our temple. 26 And then what was your schooling like, your regular day school? Q: 27 Okay. I had what we call -- I mean similar to grammar school. Four A: 28 years of grammar school. Then I went to what we call gymnasium.

which was the equivalent of -- I mean it's a high school, but we started out with Latin and Greek, because originally I wanted to -- or rather my parents wanted me to become a doctor, naturally. Never turned out. Never worked out that way.

But I had actually only eight years of school, because I was the only Jew at that particular school, and in nineteen thirty -- well, 1935, I was thrown out. See, we had what they called sexta, quinta, quarta, which is the first three school years of the gymnasium. And they -- then I had to leave. They just said: We don't want Jews in our school. So that was the end. It was called the -- the school was called Momsen Gymnasium after -- there was a famous poet and writer in Germany, Momsen. I think he was.

- Q: HARRY, TELL ME ABOUT BEING TOLD TO LEAVE THE SCHOOL. DID YOU KNOW IT WAS COMING? DO YOU REMEMBER THE DAY?
- A: Oh, yeah. Sure. Because, well, I was already almost 15 years old.

 And it was two years after the takeover by the Nazis. So, naturally, we -- I could see the handwriting on the wall. But in those days, naturally, you tried to stay in school as long as possible. Now, I know some of my friends went over to Jewish schools. We had a few in Berlin, but I never did. I just -- till they threw me out, stayed there.
- Q: WHEN YOU SAY YOU "SAW THE HANDWRITING ON THE WALL," DO YOU REMEMBER
 ANY SPECIFIC EXAMPLES OF ANTI-SEMITISM OF -- THOSE TWO YEARS?
- A: In our school or --
- Q: IN YOUR SCHOOL.
- A: -- in general?
- Q: AND IN GENERAL.

A:

Well, I mean I noticed it in our school, definitely, like I said.

Matter of fact, there were a lot of well-known -- children of Nazi
families in our school. Because it was a -- it was a very well-known
school in Berlin and a good school, so everybody liked to send their
kids there. Definitely, there was -- I even remember my teacher, one
of them, the Latin teacher, a Dr. Roche. I never forget that
name. And he -- right after 1933, he wore his swastika on his lapel,
and -- so I remember that. And he was the typical German tough guy.
I mean -- and he was definitely an anti-semite. So I don't know who
actually threw me out of school. I mean who made the decision, but
I'm quite sure he was part of it.

Q: NOW, WHAT WAS IT LIKE BEING IN HIS CLASS, YOU KNOW, HOW --

A: Well, naturally, this is hard to say now. I mean it's so long ago.

But I'm quite sure I wasn't very comfortable any more the last few months. I'm certain.

Q: AND, HARRY, WHAT HAPPENED AFTER YOU LEFT THERE? WHEN DID YOU LEAVE THAT SCHOOL, AND WHAT HAPPENED NEXT?

A: Okay. This was in 1935. My father at the time -- see -- that I would have to go back, because -- to -- like I told you before, the theater collapsed, and there was a bankruptcy declared, and my uncle left Germany, and my father, who was the manager of the theater, was responsible for the -- there was a certain amount of debt. And in those days it was a little different than today. Bankruptcy was, you know, was not a very -- you didn't just go on with your life. I mean he was very embarrassed about it, and he -- I remember he had to sign that he would make a monthly payment, because, I think, mostly it was a matter of all these actors had to be paid after the bankruptcy, and social security and all these things were involved.

And my father said he was going to pay it. So then he started all kinds of direrent business. He became a salesman for awhile and did all kinds of things, just so that we could survive. We had to give up our house. We had to move into a very, very small apartment. And then he said the best — oh — and a friend of his had an automobile repair shop, and he got in touch with him, and they decided the best thing would be for me to become an auto mechanic. And that's when I started as an auto mechanic.

Q: And when was that?

A: 1935

A:

Q: AND WHY DID THE THEATRE -- WHY DID IT GO BANKRUPT?

Well, they bought some political plays and decided to go all around—this was before 1933, shortly before, year or two — and my — they decided to buy a huge tent, a circus tent, and go all over Germany. And later on they wanted to go all over Europe, but playing variety shows. As a matter of fact, they were very similar to the Follies Bergere in France, in Paris. Very progressive type, I mean, risque type shows, but also — and well-known German actors started at the theatre, so it was pretty (inaudible) . . .

But anyway, the first show in that particular tent theatre, which was -- I will never forget this -- was a small town about two hours away from Berlin called Magdenburg, and they called the theatre the Theatre of the Five Thousand, because it had five thousand seats. So you can imagine how big. And the show was supposed to start on Easter day. And I remember, I was with my parents. We were all there when it started. And the mayor of Magdenburg, this town, who was -- later on we found out that he was already a -- a part of the Nazi movement; he belonged to it. And he didn't -- he started -- within a couple of days, in our newspapers, a campaign about the Jew James Klein. And we found

out that they hired some kids, and they would cut the columns of some of -- you know how a circus tent, the seats are going up; and they cut them, and part of it collapsed. We found out -- I mean we noticed it afterwards. We didn't know it before. And immediately he closed the show. And that was the end of it, because they invested so much money into this whole idea that they just couldn't continue. And then they -- apparently, they said, well, there's no sense in going on with it.

- Q: NOW, IN 1935, WHEN YOU BECAME APPRENTICED TO THE AUTO MECHANIC, WHAT WAS -- TELL ME ABOUT THAT. WHAT WAS YOUR JOB, AND HOW LONG DID IT LAST? WHAT WAS HAPPENING POLITICALLY?
- A: Politically? Well, I mean, now, I'm not quite sure. You mean in our family, or in general?
- Q: BOTH. BOTH.
- A: Okay. Well, number one, my father was a -- what they called a "Front Kampfer." I mean he was the typical proud German Jew. To him, Germany was the most important thing outside of his family.

 And he fought for four years in World War I, so, consequently, to him, this whole Nazi movement, this will pass; it won't last very long.

 It can't last. Not in Germany. So he -- some of our friends left Germany in those days already, and part of the family, but he said no. He had a cross which was given to him by -- during World War I, and so he was -- he said nothing can happen to us.

And the job I had was -- I mean I worked as an apprentice in -- at that point, I personally didn't notice anything. I mean nothing happened to me at that point, so I can't say that -- sure, I mean we saw the papers. We read the -- what they call the <u>Sturmer</u>, which was the famous Nazi newspaper. And they had several, but --

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besides, I was, you know, 15 years old, 16 -- by that time, 15, 16 years old. I was not -- I knew what was going on, but I was more interested in sports, because we still belonged to a Jewish sport club. And I was more interested in girls, also. So, I mean, so I can't say at that point that it was affecting me. And probably my parents were probably affected by it, but they didn't really show it too much to me.

0: AND WHAT ABOUT YOUR JOB? WHO WAS -- OR THE INTERNSHIP, RATHER, THE APPRENTICE?

A: Yes.

WHO WAS IT FOR? WAS IT FOR A JEWISH -- GENTILE? 0:

No. Gentile. It was an automobile repair shop. They were importers for French Peugot cars. Then they had some German cars. But I mean it was just a regular, neighborhood repair shop. So I actually learned for almost four years, and I -- in Germany you have to make an examine after four years' apprenticeship. Then you become a full-fledged journeyman. And I made my examine at the time, so I was, basically, a full-fledged auto mechanic, which, you'll find out later on, which saved my life.

WHAT YEAR DID YOU PASS THE EXAM? 0:

Α: 1938.

Q: ALL RIGHT. AND THEN WHAT HAPPENED IN '38?

Okay. First of all, in June, June 1938, my father was picked up by the Gestapo in Berlin and put into -- they took him to Buchenwald, the concentration camp Buchenwald. I don't know how you -- I mean we pronounce it Buchenwald, but it's pretty well known, anyway. And the reason was -going back to the theatre, because they picked him up because he -- they knew -- our family life was connected with the theatre -- and especially on account of some of the political jokes they made in those days. So he was picked up.

And my mother and I went with him to the police station. In those days they would take them to the police station. And then we had to leave. And we didn't see my father till April or May 1939. He was in Buchenwald. We had, naturally, a very tough time, because they confiscated everything we had. I mean the Nazis did. And we went on welfare. There was a Jewish welfare in Berlin. As a matter of fact, I remember — which was — see, in those days everything was so much more embarrassing, because some of my friends were very well off, and, all of a sudden, practically from one day to another, we were poorer than poor. No job, you know. Nothing. No money. And we moved into a one-room apartment paid by the Jewish welfare. And then we — actually, we tried to get my father — we tried to get him out of the concentration camp.

I remember that we were allowed to write a letter once a month, through the Red Cross -- German Red Cross, or International Red Cross -- and I think we got one or two letters from him, too. But he had a tough time. He -- they had to amputate his toes because he got blood poisoning when he came back. He only had, I think, one toe left on one foot. And it was -- apparently he had a tough time.

Q: WHAT ELSE DO YOU KNOW ABOUT HIS TIME THERE?

A: Well, they had to -- he told us when he came back -- I mean, first of all, he was a pretty heavyset man. He was a little shorter than I, but he was heavier. And when he came back, he was under a hundred pounds. I mean he was just as skinny as -- I still see him. And when he came back on a cane -- and he wasn't that old yet, really. He was -- at the time he must have been -- he was born in '83, so this was 30 -- 38 and 17 -- oh, 48, 50, 55 years old. And he looked like -- I remember, he looked like an 80-year old man. At least that's how I remember him.

So then he told us that they had to carry all these heavy rocks from

one place to the other. Everything by hand, you know. And very little food. And so that — but, I mean, at least he survived. He came out. And why they released him, we never found out. All of a sudden they released him.

And that's when we started seriously to think we have to leave Germany. And we got in touch with the -- well, I think it was a Jewish organization in Berlin. I think it was the -- I don't remember now which organization, but there was one. And we wanted to -- I think my father -- I'll be honest with you; I don't remember exactly. He got a visa to Shanghai. How he got it, I don't remember that. But somehow he got it. And he wanted -- he wanted to leave.

And we got a notice -- now this was in July 1939 -- that we -- in the meantime

Well, in the meantime -- by the way,/my father had to work at a -- for the railroad to -- it was a forced labor. And they had to put all these ties, you know, for the rails. He had to work. And it was very tough for him, naturally, but at least he would get a little bit money, you know, because -- so then he signed at the -- I guess for the Gestapo. They forced him to leave and said: Well, you have to leave by August the 20th, 1939. And we went to the -- this Jewish organization, and they gave us tickets, railroad tickets to go to Italy.

And from Italy we were supposed to go to Shanghai. And this was just a few days before the war started. The war started September the 1st right? And we arrived at the border station, which -- between Germany and Italy. And the German border police gave us -- stamped our -- I don't know if we had a passport or if he just had papers. No. He must have had a passport with, probably with the -- probably said "Jew." I don't know if they had it in there already at that point or when we came back. That, I don't remember. But, anyway, he had a visa to go to Shanghai.

And the Germans let us go. But the Italians stopped us and said, "No, we don't take any Jews anymore." And the reason was -- my father could understand a little bit. My father spoke several languages, so he could understand. He spoke fluent French and some Italian, and he could understand that they said, well, we don't know whether Italy is going to go with Germany or against Germany at that point. This was, you know, a few days before the war started. So he -- and they stopped us.

So we left the train. And we were -- I still see this -- we were -- my parents wanted to commit suicide. They wanted to throw themselves in front of the train, because they said: Well, if they send us back to Germany, we'll -- they'll put us into a -- in a concentration -- into a concentration camp again. And then we tried to -- somehow we got away from the station.

Now, mind you, this was -- it's called Brenner,
which is the border between Germany -- and it is probably about
7,000 feet high. And there was snow. And even in August, there was
already snow up there. And we tried to walk away from the station,
because we thought -- my parents said: Well, maybe we can just walk.

I mean, it would have been ridiculous anyway, but we started walking.
And all of a sudden, there was three or four Italian -- I guess border
police -- and they caught us and brought us right back to the German
border police.

And they took us back to Berlin. And, first, they put us in -- into prison, but I mean city prison in Berlin. And, coincident, happened one of the Gestapo men was a former friend of my father, back from, from the theatre time. He knew him. And he saw us, and he somehow released us. How, I don't know how he did it. But anyway, that's --

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As a matter of fact, that man was later on shot by the SA for helping Jews.

DO YOU REMEMBER HIS NAME? 0:

No. Yes! Yes! Sure, I remember. I'm sorry. The name was (Mis rail is). But he was not Jewish. I mean he was -- yes, I remember that. And so then he -- they released us, and we were allowed to rent a one-room apartment. My father continued working for the railroad, continued his job. My mother worked as a maid, helping, you know, for another family. I think it was a family where the husband was Jewish, but the wife was gentile. And under the law, since my mother was apparently over 50 years old, she was allowed to work there as a maid.

And I got a job also. This was forced labor, but a mechanic -- at a large -- one of the biggest electrical companies in Berlin, which is called Siemens. They're still a big company over And I worked there as $\operatorname{--}$ first as a mechanic, and there. Siemens. then I supervised some -- there were all Jewish people in our hall there, in our room. I don't know how many. Hundreds of them. And I worked there -- I don't know if you have ever heard, there was a group of people in Berlin called the Baum Group. They did a lot of sabotage and, as a matter of fact, all of them were killed, shot by the Germans. And some of our people and I did this, too, helped them.

I was never involved in the actual sabotage, but we would be -go between. We would bring messages and all. So I was very fortunate again. That I -- And I worked there. Eventually, you know, we had to wear a yellow star.

Q: WHEN? DO YOU REMEMBER?

Well, this must have been, okay, '39, probably 1940, I would say it started. Then we were only allowed to buy food between 4:00 and 5:00

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in the afternoon. Jews were not allowed -- and there was a reason for it: because the Christian people and all the other people could buy in the morning when there was -- see, there was already a shortage of food, and they could buy food when it came in. The Jews had to go between 4:00 and 5:00, and there was hardly anything left or only the leftovers, so that was --

And everything was tougher. You couldn't -- I got a so-called passport to go to work. So, you knew exactly, you were allowed to go by streetcar or bus from your place, house, or from your apartment to work and back. That's all. And then I worked there till -- then the -- this was 1940, '41. I was still in Berlin. Then the -- well, then the bombing started in Berlin. And we were allowed to go in our apartment house into a shelter, but the Jews were on one side and the Christian people were on the other. We are not allowed to be together with them, but we were allowed to go in the shelter. I think it was more they were afraid we might use a flashlight or (laughing) -- anyway, and then it started, gradually, that people would be deported. We would hear about it.

I was engaged to a girl in Berlin at the time. She was deported in 19-- I think '41. Yeah. Must have been then. And --

Q: WHAT WAS HER NAME?

A: Olgasinski. Lottie Olgasinski. As a matter of fact, years ago, I tried to find out if she was still alive. I even wrote to all the different agencies. Never heard of her. I know she was deported to -- at the time I think Poland somewhere.

But, now, you would -- in these days, you would get a notice from the Gestapo. The notice, it was a postcard. And this postcard was actually sent by the -- from the Jewish organizations. There was -- the Gestapo would not call the Jews to be deported. They would let the Jewish

organization, which was at a -- at the -- well, it was -- the street was called (roza hum bowl ta stra za). I think that's where the organization was for all the Jews in Berlin. Like a central Jewish agency. And they had the files of all the Jews, and they would pull out so many cards for the next transport. And I had a friend there. And she called -- "called" me -- she talked to me three times, and she said, "Listen, your parents are now on that list," and she would always take that card and put it in the back, so that my parents wouldn't be deported.

I was, basically, at that point pretty secure. The job I had was called -- they called it -- it was an important job, because it was for war production. So they needed us at that point. So I was not -- I was not in any danger. But my parents were.

So then one day, apparently, she was -- either she was deported -- I don't remember what happened to this girl, and we got the -- we got the postcard that my parents should be ready for deportation.

Q: WHEN?

A: That was on October -- I know exactly. October the 13th, 1942.

I was that long in Berlin. And I didn't even have to go then. It was a matter of -- I went to the -- at this factory where I worked, you know, Siemens, and talked to the manager and said, "Listen, my parents have to leave. I want to go with them." So I went with them.

So we were deported on October the 19th, 1942.

Q: WHAT DID YOU DO IN THAT WEEK?

A: Well, we had -- we had this one-room apartment. I still see us -- everybody -- see, several Jews lived in one apartment together. They would all put them in one apartment. And we were the last ones in that apartment. There were three other families, and they were already

deported. So, actually, the strange thing about it is that we were told that we are being transferred to a work -- to a labor camp, and that we will -- if we work, we will get food, and everything will be okay. This was what we were told by all kinds of other people, and -- So, basically, those last few days, I remember, we were just thinking what to take along. I mean we had -- we didn't have very much anymore, but we took a few blankets, and I still see my mother making a big, like an afghan, you know, out of a blanket, so that she could -- because we didn't know where we are going, but she figured one should have warm clothes. Especially, it was in October, you know, so -- so this was probably most -- we didn't have --

See, what -- we were -- from our family, we were the last ones. Everybody else was deported. Or some of them -- one uncle lived in Israel, and we -- we were in touch with him. But we couldn't get out anymore. There was no way. So I am quite sure mostly we talked about what to take along. I mean that's probably -- But I mean, look, it's very hard to, you know, to remember exactly what we did. But it was very -- it wasn't, naturally, it wasn't easy. But I -- but we wanted to stay together. That was the main thing.

Q: AND THEN -- GO ON, HARRY, WHAT --

A: Well, then we were picked up by two Gestapo men. It was -- I remember it was about, probably, 5:00 or 6:00 in the afternoon. And they were very polite, just said, "Here's a card," and, "You have to leave now." And at the corner there was a big truck, and there were about, I don't know, 10, 15 people on that truck, covered. And they put us on that truck and took us to a synagogue. It was called --

That was the -- in Berlin, they would bring all the people to that synagogue. And from there, they would put us on the trains to leave.

But we had to stay at that synagogue for about two or three days. Yeah, that's right, because this was on the 16th we were picked up, and we stayed till the 19th. And on the 19th they put us on the train, and we left. I think it was called -- well -- the synagogue, (Rik ten straz za), whatever it was, the name of the street.

Q: WHAT WERE CONDITIONS LIKE IN THE SYNAGOGUE?

A: Well, it was -- first of all, they -- you had to go -- when you entered, the first thing, they were -- they would take everything you had away, except one suitcase. You were allowed to keep a suitcase up to 40 -- 40 -- no, 20 kilograms, or about 40 pounds, I think. That's if I remember it. And -- but you were not allowed to keep a belt. They would take a belt away from you. You were not allowed to keep a pencil or pen. In those days they had the -- not a ballpoint; they didn't have this yet -- you know, a regular pen. All kinds of things.

You see, the Jews in those days didn't have much anymore, because we had to give up our radios before, already, all silver and gold. This was few years before that, already, when one of the Nazis was killed, and we had to -- I think it was the one in France, but I'm not sure now exactly when it happened. So we had to take everything down to a certain point. And if somebody had a fur coat, they had to bring the fur coat in. If they had, like I say, silver. All jewelry. So we didn't really have anything. We, personally, didn't have much anyway, but there were some people who were rich. And they had to take everything down there, too. So whatever was left, they still would take certain things away from us. And we would get very little food. In those three days they never turned the lights off. We were all sleeping. They had taken all the -- I think all the benches out, so it was one big room, and we would all sleep on the floor.

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And then they took us to a train station, which is not far from there. And I mean it -- probably not more than a mile or so. They would march us over and -- and put us on those trains. Now, in my case, they were regular -- a regular train. But we were, in our compartment, about, oh, I would say 20 people. So the older people, like, I mean my parents, and there were some others, they would sit on the benches, but we would -- the younger ones, we would all sit on the floor. But we were not allowed to go to the outside, and the windows were all covered up with wooden -- I guess they nailed plywood or whatever against it so that we couldn't look out.

But still, I mean, we didn't know where we were going. And then we -- the train left, and I still remember they gave us each a piece of bread. That was still in the synagogue. We had to take that along, a piece of bread which was -- I mean a very small piece of bread. And nothing else, just bread and not even water. I remember that, because, why I remember it: About a day later they stopped somewhere, and they screamed -- always dirty language, naturally -- "goddamn pig Jews" and all. And some of them had to run out. There were -- apparently, there was a well, water well, and they brought some water in buckets. By the way, we didn't have any toilets there. We had to go -- there was a bucket. And, apparently, some of -- and that was the first time that I saw somebody getting shot. Because one or two of these people who were supposed to get water -- whether -- what happened, I don't know whether they weren't fast enough or what. Anyway, they killed them right there. That -- I still remember. That was the first time that I saw anybody getting shot. So, naturally -- and the reason why I could see it: In our compartment there were two girls and another boy about my age c maybe a little older, and, naturally, young people, we wanted to see what was

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going on. So one of them -- I don't know whether the girls or one of the boys -- had a knife. Somehow, he smuggled it in. And I still see us working on that wooden cover and carve out a little hole so that we could look out. And that's how I remember that.

I think it took three or four days on that train. And we arrived at a -- naturally, we didn't know where, but we arrived at a railroad station. And it was called Skirotava. Nobody ever heard of a Skirotava, or Skirotava, except somebody, apparently, had been in Latvia before, and he says, "Oh, this must be -- this is Latvia." So when we stopped all of a sudden there was screaming going on, you know. We saw -- all the doors opened, and now all these -mostly Latvian SS, I mean SS troops -- they were standing there with guns. And every one of them had almost like baseball bats, you know, long, round sticks. And they would scream in Latvian. And, naturally, nobody understood. But we knew what to do, you know, jump out. And, naturally, for the older people, they would just pull them out and throw them on the ground.

So that was how we arrived in Latvia. And then, all of a sudden, several cars arrived, and trucks, and the German Gestapo -- German storm troopers, SS men, all in uniforms. And they, naturally, screamed, all dirty language, and hit us, kicked us, and said, "All the men on one side and the women on the other side." Oh, and then we had to -- the young people had to go back to the train and clean the train up. So we had to clean all this. And I was -- my mother was with the women on one side, and my father and I were -- stood together.

And then they were starting to load all the women on those trucks.

And my father and I were standing there, and, all of a sudden, a -an SS man -- later on I found out -- as a matter of fact, I have all

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the names of all these people anyway -- a Dr. Langer, who was one of the -- later on we called him the Butcher of Riga; he was well known. He and a couple other guys with big dogs -- naturally, they were always running around with big dogs. And he called, in German, "Any auto mechanics. I need auto mechanics." So a lot of people walked up, naturally. And I didn't want to go. I said -- my father said, "Listen, don't be stupid. Why don't you raise your hand? Then you have a job already." You see, this was always -- we all felt as long as you have a job, you're okay. So I said, "No. I don't want to leave you here." And he said, "Come on, now. Go." And I had one of those satchels hanging here with some stuff, whatever I had, and I gave it to him to hold, and I went, and I raised my hand.

We were, about, I don't know about how many people. And there were older people and younger ones. And this Dr. Langer said -- looked around, looked at us, and he sayd, "You, you, and you." The three youngest, he pulled out, and all the other ones he sent back.

Any then my -- then my parents -- my father was also -- they put all the people on trucks. And they were killed the first day, right then, in a forest not too far. And the reason why I know it is that same evening, when I was at this -- when they took me to the garage where I worked, then from then on. They brought the clothes over. There was a big building, and they would collect all the clothes of the people, of the killed people, for the German -- for the families of the soldiers and SS men, and the whole Gestapo in Riga. And all the clothes would go to their families. And the Jews had to -- some people were in charge of that -- to clean those. And I saw -- I saw my -- not only my parents' clothes, but also pictures at the time we had, my father had with him, and the -- And then, later on, I talked to one of the drivers, because,

like I say, then I'll tell you that later. I worked as an auto mechanic there, you know, and he told me, "Yeah. That transport" -- we were about a thousand people in our -- about. And he told us, "Sure. They were all shot." So they all -- some were buried in -- I mean we know the area, because later on a couple times we had to go into that area, and we saw these mass graves. We didn't -- we could see that something happened there. It was all covered up, but I remember that. So that -- at least they didn't -- you know, this went pretty fast, I'm quite sure. But I was -- that was the end for them. So then I worked as an auto mechanic there. There were --

Q: AND --

A: I'm sorry.

Q: SO, HARRY, ONLY TWO OF YOU WERE --

A: Three.

Q: THREE OF YOU.

A: Yes.

Q: ONLY THREE OF YOU LIVED?

A: Yes. Yes, yes, yes. Yes. I even remember their names. There was (Koh nik er) and (Kar min). Those were the two. But as far as -- I heard later on that they didn't survive either. But I'm not sure about that.

And then — then they took me to this workshop, auto — this auto repair shop. They were in charge of all the Gestapo cars and trucks for the whole area there. And that's really what saved me. My first job was — I don't know if you ever — the reason — I'll be very frank with you. The reason why I wanted to — when I heard about this, this interview, the reason why I wanted to talk about it is because very little is known about the Riga area. Everybody is talking about Auschwitz, and Birkenau, and Theresienstadt, and all the well known — but Riga is not that well known. And yet, I remember they — number one, they killed 30, 000 Latvian Jews in practically one day.

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in order to make room for the German Jews, or other -- German, Austrian, and Czechoslovakian Jews.

Q: HOW WERE THEY KILLED?

A: Part of it -- part of them were shot, right then and there.

Because when the first group of German Jews -- matter of fact, my wife -- I met my wife in Riga. And when she arrived, she came from west Germany. When she arrived, there were still in some of the houses in the -- she went to the ghetto. I was only a very short time in the ghetto. There was a big ghetto in Riga. There was a Latvian ghetto, and a German ghetto. And when she arrived, there was still -- there was still food on the table where they had -- where they shot them, and then they just carried them out, or whatever.

The majority, I think, were shot. But then some of them probably were taken -- maybe they were taken to Auschwitz. I don't know. That, I couldn't -- I don't know. But when they moved -- when the first German Jews arrived there, there was -- everything was still the way these people left. And the -- like I said, the Latvian Jews -- there was about 20,000 of them -- were killed. And then the German Jews, and Austrian, and -- they were -- lot of them died of starvation. Some were -- in the ghetto they had a gallow. We watched them several times to hang people. Some of them died in other, so-called work camps. They were -- some of them were by the army, and some of them belonged to the Gestapo. Some of them were deported -- rather, not deported, but transferred from the Riga ghetto to other areas. There was -- one was called One was called West -- there was a women's Stutthof. camp in Germany. They brought them back. And they died there. And, you know, I mean, there was -- but there are very few survivors of the Riga area.

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There's a -- I belong to an organization in New York. It's called Survivors of the Riga Camp or Riga Ghetto. And we are now about, not more than 250. Probably all together there were about 800 --800 or 1,000 survivors. I think that's all. From all -- and I would say, all together, Latvian and German and Austrian Jews, maybe 40,000, 50,000 were there, and that's all that's left. And that's why it's not really well known, because there's -- I understand -- I have a picture with me of the entrance of the ghetto. I brought that along in case you're interested. And I also have a picture of myself, which was -- they took pictures of everybody, and when the Russians took over Riga, we had to leave, together with the German army, and they -- and I broke into the office and stole some pictures, and mine -- I found mine, too. So I have that at least, which I thought was, you know -- because so many, as you know, so many people say well, this never happened. So I can vouch for it. It happened.

- Q: GOOD.
- A: It sure did. Well -- oh, I'm sorry.
- Q: I WAS JUST GOING TO ASK YOU, BECAUSE I REALLY DON'T KNOW ANYTHING ABOUT RIGA --
- A: That's right. Very few people, really.
- Q: -- CAN YOU DESCRIBE IT?
- A: Yes. Oh, yeah. Sure. Okay. Number one, the most important thing was that people worked. As long as you worked, you would survive, or, rather, you felt you would survive. They killed a lot of people in between, for all kinds of reasons.

I mean I remember one of my very good friends -- you were not allowed to shave, because you were not allowed to have a razor blade. But if you -- if you were caught that you grew a little bit of a beard, they

would either give you 25 lashes, or -- it all depends how -- how the -- this particular SS man, you know, this guy, how he felt -- or he would shoot you. It sounds dramatic, and it sounds like I'm making this up, but that's how it was.

For -- you never knew. You know, people say you live from day to day, right? That's -- over there, you live from one minute to the other, because you didn't really know what's going to happen in the next minute. And if you -- whatever -- whatever -- if you didn't make a mistake. And that was it. So it was-- I lived for a short time in the ghetto. That was from around December 1942 till May '44.

- Q: WHEN DID YOU FIRST ARRIVE IN RIGA?
- A: I arrived in Riga on the 23rd of October, nineteen forty-- oh, wait a second. You are right. Wait a second. No. That's true. 1942.

 October 1942. In December I went to the ghetto. I -- yeah.
- Q: I'M SORRY. WHERE DID YOU LIVE FROM OCTOBER TO --
- A: In this particular automobile repair shop. We were about 29 automechanics there. Jewish automechanics. And the -- naturally. in charge was what they call the title of these SS men.

They are very -- they were not very high-ranked people. He was a -- a Schafführer. Now, a Schafführer, I don't even think -- might be a corporal, but maybe even less than a corporal. His name was Michelson. He was in charge of the repair shop. And we had all the well known people over there. I mean even Eichmann was at our repair shop at one time, when he was in Riga.

I don't know if you ever read the book by Forsyth, Odessa File?

- Q: YES. I DID.
- A: Okay. There is an article about Riga, about our camp. That's one

of the few books written -- part of it in there. There's a man named Roschmann. He -- I remember hundreds of times working on his car. Well, like I say, I have a whole list of these people, and they are all well known. Some of them committed suicide. Some of them got caught. Some of them are still around. Matter of fact, right now I think one of them is being tried in, I think in -- somewhere here in the States. So it's -- some of them are still around.

Q: WHO?

The -- there's a man named -- a Latvian -- the German A: title -- I mean his rank was an Obersturmführer, of the real high officials. His name was spelled A-R-A-I-S, Arais. He was well known. Real miserable SOB. And I understand that they never caught him. And -- and like I say, I have a list there of all kinds of people. And a man named Weederman. A man named -- this Dr. Langer, I think he was the one who -- basically, I'm alive today on account of him. But he was a real miserable man. A man named Sherwitz, who was -- later he was -- when he was pretty high official in Paris under the occupation. So I mean I have several of them, and this -the Survivors of the Riga Ghetto, this organization in New York, they are always looking for these people. And we got -- some of them got caught. Some of them went back to Germany, and nobody bothered with them, you know, and -- so, anyway, that's --

- Q: SO YOU SPENT OCTOBER TO DECEMBER, YOU LIVED IN THE AUTOMOTIVE BUILDING?
- A: Right.
- Q: AND THEN WHY -- WHY WERE YOU TRANSFERRED TO THE GHETTO? DO YOU KNOW?
- A: Okay. I wanted to better my conditions. This was -- you know, when you are young, you're adventurous, naturally. Even with what was

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going on there. So I decided I'd like to -- everybody told me how many people are in the ghetto, so I -- also, I wanted to see if there are some people I knew. Matter of fact, I met several from Berlin, and I wanted to see these people again, if there was a chance. So I told this -- the man who was in charge of our repair shop, this SS man, I said, "I don't feel so good. I have . . ." I don't know. Some pain or whatever. And there was a doctor in the ghetto, a Jewish doctor, Dr. Alfa Weiss. Matter of fact, I even have a picture of him. I stole that, too, at the time. And a couple of -- I understand -- I remember there was a Latvian doctor, and -- yeah, and two surgeons from Germany. But they all got killed, except this one Latvian doctor. survived, but he died a few years ago in Los Angeles. But most of the doctors were killed later on or died, you know. So I wanted to go to a doctor; that's what I told him. And, naturally, you couldn't just go. So I had to wait till one of the trucks to be repaired/go to the ghetto.

See, they had trucks going every day, because some people worked in the ghetto, some people worked outside; so there was a constant movement going on because, after all, there was a war going on. And you know, so -- so I went to the ghetto and went to the doctor. And the doctor said, "Yes. Yes. You have a --" I think I faked it -- gall bladder, you know, something. So, yeah, "You stay for a short while." And they gave me a room in one of the houses in the ghetto.

Now, the ghetto is part of the city. They had a fence around, and you had two entrances: One, there was a main street, and you would have to get into the ghetto through those gates. They had a ghetto police, which was Jewish. The man in charge -- I mean the Gestapo -- they had, naturally -- I mean they had a beautiful building there. They lived there, in the ghetto. But, basically, everything was handled by

a -- by Jewish police. Now, naturally, some of them were very nice; some of them were miserable, because they figured it would be to their advantage. So we had both, which is normal. Everybody wants to survive.

And that's where I met my wife, by coincidence. She was in the building, and I went over there one day and started talking to her. She was already -- no hair, you know, and I -- we just once in a while would see each other and talk to each other.

And then I got caught coming back from a job. Then, finally, I was still staying at the ghetto -- in the ghetto, but I felt better. And I got a job by -- but staying in the ghetto. But I would go out every day to this particular job. And --

O: WAS THIS A NEW JOB?

A: Different kind of job. But it was, also, as a mechanic. And the -then -- let's see. What happened there? Yeah. Coming back one day -see, we had very very little food. I mean there was -- we would try
anything to get food, because what you got in the ghetto was, usually,
it was when you came home from work. I mean, first of all, in the
morning you had to -- there was a huge area, and you had to -- everybody
had to stand, and then they would select the people for the job. And
then at -- when you came home, you would get either a couple of slices
of bread and a soup -- this was usually what they would provide.

And there were women in the ghetto, Jewish women. They would cook this for the people. But you couldn't survive on that. There was no way. I mean in the beginning, where people didn't have anything, that's how they died. The older people.

There were very few children. Most children were killed, because they didn't want children there. A few survived, but so few it's unbelievable. I don't think there are more than maybe 15 or 20 children.

I don't think there were more than that survived.

So you would get this -- you -- the way to survive was that you would try to steal something on your job. And then you would take a chance during the night, climb over the fence or what, and deal with some of the Latvian people. Now, that's how a lot of our people got killed, by this nightly trading. But everybody -- I don't want to say everybody, but the majority of younger people definitely took chances, because what else could you do? You weren't sure whether you'd survive anyway, so you might as well get something. So you would see if you could -- let's say one of the favorite things was a roll of yarn. Now, you would -- if you had a job somewhere where you could -- an army job or what, where you could get into the office somewhere or wherever, and you found some yarn, you would get maybe a half a loaf of bread for a roll of yarn. That was fantastic!

So anyway, I got caught once bringing some -- I had a loaf of bread, and I had a certain vegetable. I forget that, what it was. We don't have it here anyway. It's like a --

Q: TURNIP? RUTABAGA?

A: Well, similar to it. And a couple of potatoes. And I got this for whatever I traded it for. And I brought it in, and I was caught by — coming into the ghetto. See, you had to march up. There was a long road and the truck — they brought you back by truck from your job. But they would leave you up front, and you would have to walk into the ghetto.

Those trucks wouldn't go into the ghetto. And on one side was a Gestapo hospital. And those people, somehow they would always be at the window in the evening, the wounded soldiers. And, naturally, they hated the would would they always make remarks and scream, and, you know. And we were three people coming from our truck and walked up there, and the —

they were screaming and saying, "Hey, they got all kinds of food with them." They didn't know, but -- so the police at the gate stopped us, and we had to empty all our pockets. And, naturally, they found this bread. And so they put me in -- we had a jail in the ghetto. And then I was caught.

They brought me over to this commander of the ghetto, this (Rosh man). He was the commander. And he said, "Well, shoot him." And -- but they wouldn't shoot you right away, because they wanted, first of all, to inter-- to talk to you, because they wanted to find out if you would -- maybe there would be some deals; you would say: Okay. If you don't shoot me, I'll inform -- some other people, or --

So they put me in jail for three days. No food. Nothing. Nothing.

And brought me up to Roschmann again, to this commander. And he started talking to me, and he said, "Oh, I know you, don't I?" So I said, "Well, yes. I worked on your car many times." "Oh, yeah. I know you. Sure, Juden" -- Jew, you know -- "Levison." But at that point my name was still Levison. So he said, "Well, humm. Okay. You get 25 lashes."

And I had told him that I worked before at the repair shop, and he says, "You go back to Michelson," which was the commander. "I don't want to see you again in the ghetto." So then I got 25 lashes, which is not fun, believe me, is no fun. But it was better than being shot.

Then I went back to that repair shop and worked there. Oh, there are so many -- it's almost impossible to talk about all these little things. I mean one day -- you know, this day by day.

I got pneumonia once. I really got sick. And they wanted to take us from our place to -- this was a famous camp where they killed most of the people. They were -- it's called Salaspils, which is in Riga. Famous area. I mean a famous area. I mean if you talk to somebody who

survived, that area was unbelievable. I mean hardly anybody. And I had — I was very sick. And they took me there, because they apparently wanted to get rid of me, or whatever happened — wanted to do. And I had to march about 25 kilometers with some other people. And I was there for several weeks. That was one of those camps where they had people walking around with chains, and they had to bury the other people. And this was your job there, you know, to take care of the — to bury the people who died or were shot or what. And I survived that. See, when you're young — it's — when I look

back today, it's -- I always say it's amazing, but, really, when you

are young, you have a tremendous amount of resilience, and so --

- Q: TELL ME ABOUT THAT CAMP THOUGH. WHAT DID YOU DO THERE?
- A: Where?
- Q: NOT AT RIGA, BUT AT --
- A: You mean Salaspils?
- Q: YEAH.

A:

Okay. When we arrived there, it was half empty. There was still some women on one side, and there were very few people there. We never found out why they took us there. We didn't have a job at all. We were practically, day and night, just no — there was hardly any food at all. We were just lying there and doing nothing, but — and the — the only thing was, one day, one of the — one of the people got killed. And we buried him. But that was the only person in that camp I ever had to, to bury. Well, at that particular — I mean another camp was different, but at that camp — so I — at that point I didn't have too much — there wasn't for me personally, there wasn't — I didn't have anything to do with that. But some of our other people that I remember — well, and then I — then — what

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happened then -- well, Riga was taken over by the Russians.

Oh, there was another thing what happened to me. One day -we had a -- in a different kind of a -- there was a different workshop.

It was called "Lenta," L-e-n-t-a. And the commander of that workshop -the automotive -- I mean auto repair shop, his name was (Ap'er).

He came from western Germany or somewhere. And he was constantly
drunk.

That's another thing. You see, these people, most of the time were drunk, because they gave them -- there wasn't much food, not even for the Germans, but plenty to drink. So they always -- they were hardly ever sober. And so one day -- and they tried -- they wanted to make all kinds of jokes with their Jews. See they called us "their Jews." We were always -- in German it's "mein Juda" -- "my Jew." That's how they talked about us. Because, basically, we were the ones who saved them from going to the front lines against the Russians. They wanted to keep us. That was their way to survive; otherwise, they would have been fighting the Russians. So that was a very important -- "my Jew" was very important.

So one day he was drunk, and they were playing around -- they were always shooting and always -- and why it started, I don't remember. They decided we have -- we want to put the Jews in a coffin and close it up and see how long it takes till they knock at the -- at the lid that they can't survive. So they put me in a coffin, and I was -- I don't know how long, five or ten minutes, but it's a scary thing. You know, you don't know if you're going to open it. And you can't have any air in there. And then they open it up, and they, "ha-ha-ha," you know. Big -- was fun. I mean that's the kind of people they were.

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A:

So we had all these little -- the only reason why I bring it up is these were the little things which were -- from one minute to the other, you never knew what's going to happen. And they, again, they were -- all of a sudden they would be very nice to you for -- they would say -- oh, yeah, you know, "Here. I just got a sandwich. Here. Eat it." If you -- let's say I repaired a job. I did a good job. They would all of a sudden -- I mean these things.

Q: TELL ME MORE INCIDENCES YOU KNOW.

Okay. Well, for instance, in the ghetto one of the big things. right, like I told you, you had to stand in line in the morning to get your job assignment. And it was a huge area. And there, in the middle of it, was the prison. It was called -- well, Tin Plaza. In German it's Blech Platz, which is really, yeah, Tin Plaza. And behind there was a gallow. So many times, say somebody did something, ran away, or was caught stealing, was caught -- whatever reason. In most cases you would get either your lashes, and they would put you in jail; or if it was a more serious thing, I mean like running away or something like this, they would hang you. And that was right behind there. And in the morning -- usually, they would hang people in the evening, and they would hang there all night. And then in the morning, when you all came out, then you saw them hanging there. This was in the ghetto. This happened several times, I mean. What else can I think of?

Like I said, I mean people would -- Oh, we were in that workshop

I told you, the first one where I was. They had a Latvian foreman.

His name was -- in German it's (Pater), Peter. And every time you did something wrong -- now, something wrong could be you were supposed to put a couple of screws into a certain part and you didn't; for

whatever reason, you didn't do it right, the foreman of the repair shop, this Michelson, could call the -- this Latvian guy, Peter, and would say -- in German it's only "rauf" -- means "upstairs," because upstairs they had like a loft above there. And you would get beat. The guy was a powerful -- he was actually a former prisoner -- I mean for whatever crime he committed -- murder or whatever. And this guy was absolutely a sadist. So you would get -- he would take a -- he had a leather strap -- I still see this -- about this wide. That long. And he would put it in water. And when you get hit by a strap, a leather strap which is wet, it hurts ten times as much, and what happens is that immediately you would start bleeding.

So he would hit you -- and depend what your crime was, you know. So sometimes you would get only five or ten or whatever. And the bad part about it was that you had to take your pants off, and he would hit you, so that he could hit you between your legs. And he was good at it. And I -- this is one of -- I mean, I don't know if I want to talk about this. I suffered from that very much. I got cancer from it. It was -- my doctors found that that was the reason, because I got beaten so much at the time, and certain parts. But that's -- that's -- Well, no. I don't want to talk more about that.

Q: OKAY.

- A: So I mean, then -- now Riga was taken over by the Russians. And the Gestapo would take us to Lithuania.
- O: YEAH. WHEN WAS THIS, HARRY? TELL ME.
- 25 A: Okay. This was in nineteen-forty -- must have been '44.
- 26 Q: Did you sense that --
- 27 A: '43 or --
- 28 Q: -- sense that the Russians were coming?

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Oh, we knew. Absolutely. Oh, yes, because -- see, maybe not everybody, but in our workshop, when we saw these trucks coming back from the front lines, and we had to repair them --

By the way, that's another thing I forgot about. One of my jobs was -- I don't know if you ever heard of that -- we built trucks -- and they were closed like a van, and we would put steel plates on the inside, cover them. And they would put benches inside. We had to build all those. And then we had -- we built a contraption from the exhaust pipe which would go from both sides, would go into the van on the back, which was completely enclosed. And a lot of people would get killed this way. There was a lever up front where the driver was, and they could change it so that instead of, you know, that the exhaust fumes wouldn't go outside, and they would go inside. And I know several people who were -- they would just drive them from one area to another, and by the time they would -- and they would be killed. I built three of those trucks.

And, naturally, we -- see, the -- you know, there was something very interesting what they did. For instance, if they would -- say, let's say you did something wrong. Now this happened many times. They wouldn't kill you; they would say, "Now you name one or two or five people who should be killed," which was -- in a way was worse than anything else, because so many of these people, I mean, were really your good friends. And sometimes, you know, they -- they would do this. Which was another way of sadism, you know, that you, yourself, wouldn't get killed, but you name this guy or that guy, and you had to do that. Now, I don't know if this happened in other areas, but it sure happened in Riga.

Q: HARRY, WILL YOU TELL ME A LITTLE BIT ABOUT THE LAYOUT OF RIGA?

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YOU SAID THERE WAS THE CITY WITH THE JEWISH SECTION.
            Can I show you one picture?
       A:
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       Q:
            YEAH. THAT WOULD BE GOOD.
 2
             I brought it along because this was --
       A:
 3
       Q:
            WE WILL -- AT THE END, WE WILL TAKE A PICTURE OF ALL YOUR PICTURES.
 4
            Oh, I see. Okay. Yeah.
       A:
 5
            AND THEN WE WILL PUT IT IN AN APPROPRIATE PLACE.
       Q:
 6
       A:
            See, this is the picture I was talking about.
 7
                  (Showing picture of himself as a young man.)
 8
            OH, YEAH.
       Q:
 9
       A:
            See, I wrote this down. In 19-- in '44 I stole this, so we were
10
            still in Riga in the beginning of 1944. And I brought a picture
11
            along, if you can use it.
12
       Q:
            YES. ABSOLUTELY.
13
       A:
             I've made a copy of it, you know, because this, I want to, naturally, keep.
14
       Q:
             (BY MR. GRANT) OKAY. YOUR IDEA IS GOOD. AT THE END OF THE TAPE
15
            WE'LL SET UP A LITTLE EASEL AND --
16
            Then I'll show you those later on. But this would be the ghetto.
       A:
17
             (BY MR. GRANT) FEEL FREE TO REFER TO ANY OF THOSE AS YOU GO ALONG.
       Q:
18
            THAT'S FINE, TOO.
19
       A:
            Okay. Now, see, I mean it's a typical --
20
                  (Showing picture of a street.)
21
                  (Showing a second picture of a street.)
22
            Now, you can't read it, but it says on that sign here, both in German
23
            and in Latvian, that you get shot if you go over the fence there, see.
24
       Q:
            (BY MS. FEIBELMAN) GOOD. SAVE THESE.
25
       A:
            Yeah.
26
       Q:
            AND --
27
            See, now here's a group of people going to work. See? Now it --
       A:
28
            (Showing picture of a line of people in a street.)
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when you look at it, it's -- it could be -- it looks all very, very pleasant, you know. I mean it doesn't -- and yet it -- it's so hard to explain that a whole group of people walk through the city, and the people there, they were not very nice, believe me, the Latvians. I mean I know that Latvia is so much in the news right now, but as far as I'm concerned, I have no sympathy for the Latvian people, because they were not -- not just a few -- by the hundreds. Some of them were much worse than the Germans were, because they wanted to prove to the Germans, you know, how loyal they are. So it's -- I have no ympathy.

Q: LIKE WHAT DID THEY DO?

They spat at you. You know, I mean they couldn't get too close to you. The only time they would really be interested in talking to you, if they could -- spoke German. A lot of Latvians speak German and Russian, because, because they were close to Germany and to Russia. You know Russia occupied it in those days already at one time. And they are -the only time they would talk to you would be if you had something to trade where they would get something for it. You know, that was the thing. Otherwise, they were really -- and they wouldn't -- very few would help the Latvian Jews. There were some, naturally. I mean I don't want to say nobody. I'm quite sure there were. But they knew quite a bit about it. They knew what happened to the Latvian Jews. And I don't remember in all these years there that I met a Latvian -there were -- there were some German people in the army, for instance. They were not as bad as the Gestapo people, you know, in the German army. In the army, you see, there was always a difference. Some of them were bastards. But, I mean, there were some nice ones. At least when I say "nice," they weren't kicking you. But the Latvians, they -

A:

you could see the hatred of Jews. That's why I say when they're talking about today and the -- what's going on with Russia and -- they don't deserve anything better. Really not. But that's my opinion. I may be wrong. Right?

- Q: BUT IT'S YOUR OPINION.
- A: That's my opinion.
- Q: HARRY, CAN YOU TELL ME A LITTLE BIT -- I'M TRYING TO GET A PICTURE OF --
- A: If I talk too much, don't --
 - Q: NO. IF I TALK TOO MUCH YOU CAN SHUT ME UP.
- A: No. I mean I'm --
 - Q: THERE'S THE TOWN OF RIGA. AND THEN THERE'S THE GHETTO INSIDE THE

 TOWN AND THEN THE AREA WHERE YOU WERE WORKING IN THE AUTOMOTIVE SHOP,

 AND HAD TO LIVE THERE, WAS THAT IN THE TOWN OR --
 - A: Yeah. That was inside the town but surrounded by barbed wire.
 - Q: INSIDE THE GHETTO OR THE TOWN?
 - No, no, no. Like I said, I was in the ghetto only those few months. Otherwise, most of the time -- no, all the time, as long as I was in Riga, I was in one of those -- it was more or less like a building where we slept. There was a three -- two-story building surrounded by, by barbed wire. And they had a guard at the gate. Just like you would take a, a big house in our area here, and let's say a house about 10, 15 rooms -- that type of a house -- and they would -- we would have these -- excuse me -- double beds, which we built ourselves. You have seen them. It's typical for all -- just like in the ghetto we had that. You didn't have any real beds. You would take -- you would put straw into a -- like a potato sack, you know, that kind of material. And you slept on that and -- but there was the same in the ghetto, all around. We would build them ourselves, and they were

always two -- a double -- like a double bed, you know, up and down.

But I was surrounded by barbed wire all through the garage where I worked. And they would take you over the -- one of the Gestapo men would take you over in the morning. We had to start around, oh, most of the time 6:00, 6:30 or so and work till it got dark.

- Q: AND WERE THERE SEVERAL, IN RIGA, YOU KNOW, THERE WERE THE JEWS THAT LIVED IN THE GHETTO, AND THEN THERE WERE THE JEWS THAT LIVED IN BUILDINGS THE WAY YOU DID. WERE THERE SEVERAL BUILDINGS LIKE THAT?
- A: The thing is this: There weren't too many Latvian Jews left. See, like I say, the majority was killed. There were very few left in the Latvian ghetto, very few, and it was very small by that time. I don't know how many, but I don't think there were more -- I might be mistaken, but I don't think there were more than a couple hundred, 200 or 300, that's all. Everybody was either killed at the time, or they brought them to Auschwitz or somewhere, where -- you know, so there weren't too many Latvians left. There was mostly now German, Austrian, and Czechoslovakian Jews.

Q: AND DID MOST OF THOSE JEWS LIVE IN THE GHETTO?

A: The majority, yes, most of them. But then there were smaller camps.

One was called Kaiserwald, which was famous. One was called

ABA, which was an army work camp. One was called

Jungfrau Hof. I mean these are separate camps. They were like small concentration camps. Well, they were concentration camps that were separate, but the main reason was that these people worked there, and it was closer to, to the jobs they had.

For instance, this -- my wife worked in, for quite a long time in a -- for the army. They had to clean the uniforms from the front lines when they came back. People got killed you know, and they would

1 bring the uniforms back by trucks, and they had to clean them. 2 And then they would repair them, and they would then give them back 3 to the army, you know. Q: NOW, THE PEOPLE WHO WORKED IN THE WORK CAMPS, DID THEY LIVE IN THE 5 GHETTO, OR THEY LIVED IN THE WORK CAMPS? 6 Again, no. In the work camps, they lived in those camps. Yeah. Yes. A: 7 Q: OKAY. I'VE GOT THE PICTURE THEN. 8 Yeah. That was separate. They weren't really in the -- most of them A: 9 were not in the city of Riga; they were out on the outskirts, on the 10 outside. There were I don't know how many camps they had in the 11 surrounding areas. There was a camp for, if I recall it, for 12 Hungarian people. There were only Hungarians there, if I remember. 13 There were -- I don't know. I mean there were several different camps. 14 OKAY. NOW, I WANTED TO HEAR ABOUT WHEN YOU STARTED TO SENSE THAT THE 0: 15 RUSSIANS WERE COMING. 16 A: Oh, yeah. 17 Q: HOW DID YOU, YOU KNOW, WHAT CHANGED? HOW DID YOU HEAR ABOUT IT, FIRST 18 OF ALL, AND WHAT WAS HAPPENING IN YOUR DAY-TO-DAY LIFE? 19 A: Uh-huh. Well, first of all, like I said, we heard it from these 20 drivers of the trucks, and because -- let's say we had to repair a 21 truck, and the driver was standing there. Well, naturally, they would 22 start talking to each other. You would -- see, you know, under those 23 circumstances you are very -- you do your job, but at the same time 24 your ears are open. You always want to hear what's going on, so you 25 were fairly well informed. Even so, we never saw a newspaper or any-26 thing, you know, but you more or less -- and when we heard that the would 27 Russians/come closer, naturally, we were -- somehow we would -- I 28 mean it would give us a lift morally. But at the same time, there was

Q: WHEN?

something which in one way we didn't like it. And then again we were happy about it. The Russian -- the Russians would bomb.

See, Riga has a big harbor, and they had a tremendous amount of ship traffic. Troops and everything. So they would bomb the -- the harbor quite often, and we -- many times we had to work in the middle of it. I have a -- I was hit by a -- right here -- hit by a shrapnel (indicating place on his leg). I mean fragment of a bomb.

One day on one of the ships -- unloading -- we had to -- once in a while we had to unload ships or load them. We did this, too. I mean you never knew from one day to another what kind of a job you had, so once in a while even an auto mechanic had to unload a ship. So I got hit once. So they would bomb -- the only problem was, I don't know how they ever won the war. I mean that sounds like a joke, but they hit everything except the areas they were supposed to hit. They were -- we made jokes about it. I still remember that. I mean the bombs would be next to the ship, on both sides -- hardly ever would hit the ship. So what I meant, in one way we were naturally very unhappy that they would -- we never knew whether we're going to get hit or not, and that's another thing. I'll tell you in a minute what happened to us, but the -- at the same time, we were --

It seems like that the Russians came closer and closer. So we figured: Well, if we could only survive; because maybe there is a chance now. Why would they be already that close to Riga, you know, this was the -- so we always felt that way. And then one day when they -- we had to leave Riga, because it was -- they came closer and closer and occupied it.

A:.. Well, this must have been middle of '44, I imagine, because this

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picture is -- that's when we left, either -- I'm not now -- I should have brought it along. At home I have a list of the dates, but I didn't bring that along. But there is -- it must have been in -- probably in May or June of '44.

And then they took us to Leibau, which is a town. It was now in the news in Lithuania when they had all these things against Russia now, you know, when they wanted to -- I don't know how it's called in -- Lithuania, and that's -- and we worked there, again, mostly taking care of bombed houses, clean up the area. I didn't work as an auto mechanic anymore. That wasn't necessary anymore, because this was now all on the way back now.

Now the retreat started, see. And one day we were in our -we built ourselves an air-raid shelter by digging a whole trench and
putting trees over it to -- just for our people there. We were -I don't know in that -- by that time, maybe a couple hundred people
left. And one day we were in that shelter, and the shelter got hit,
and 13 people got killed, including . . .

(TAPE NO. 1 ENDS. TAPE NO. 2 BEGINS.)

- . . . told her, naturally, about it, but in general I don't talk much about it. And it's sometimes to me now, it's like it isn't really my life; it's what -- it's like reading a book, you know, because it's so long ago. And I mean, I never forget it, but still it's not real. I know there are many times when sometimes, you know, people ask you, and --
- Q: I COULD TELL IN THE BEGINNING WHEN YOU WERE TALKING THAT IT WAS AS THOUGH YOU WERE READING A BOOK OUT LOUD TO ME.
- A: Yeah.

28 Q:

Q: AND THEN AS -- AND THEN IT SEEMED TO CHANGE, SOMEWHERE, AND YOU SEEMED TO BE MORE LIVING IT.

A: Well, because certain things, you know, you -- it's -- oh, many times

I dreamt about it, you know, and these things. And you really never

forget it. It's -- but it's still -- see, when I left -- when I

arrived -- I mean after I was liberated, I decided this is part of my

life -- but I don't want it to take over my life -- that from now on,

I'm going to be -- just remember all these things constantly. I

didn't want that, because I figured it would hurt me more. And I have

to -- you know, it's -- it's a new life now. And so I -- and that's

really how I become, because I know some people --

We went to New York a couple times and met some of the people, naturally, from Riga. And we talked about it. You could see some of them are mentally -- never recovered. And I made up my mind at the time in order to, you know, survive, you really have to -- the word "to forget about it" is not the right word, because I really -- I didn't forget it. But you put it -- you block it out. That's the word. You know, I blocked it out.

- Q: DID IT HELP THROUGH THE YEARS THAT YOUR WIFE, YOU KNOW, WAS FROM THE SAME BACKGROUND, THAT SHE KNEW?
- A: Oh, yeah. Oh, absolutely, yes. We are now married 43 years. And it definitely -- because it's so many times there are certain things which we just look at each other, and there are certain things. If somebody talks about certain things, you know, and you know exactly what the other person is thinking. That's -- oh, yeah. Definitely. Uh-huh.
- Q: MAZEL TOV ON 47.
- A: Forty-three. Let's not overdo it now.
- Q: MARRIED IN '47.

- A: Yes. It's 43 years. I think we did all right.
- Q: HARRY, I WANTED TO GO BACK TO THE RUSSIANS.
- A: Oh, yeah.
- Q: NOW, WHAT HAPPENED? YOU TOLD ME YOU HEARD THROUGH THE DRIVERS --
- A: YES.
 - Q: -- AND YOU HEARD THE BOMBS --
- A: Yeah.
 - Q: -- AND YOU WERE UNLOADING AT THE DOCK.
 - A: Right.
 - Q: WHAT ELSE? WHAT THEN?
 - A: Well, I mean we never -- we were never -- see, before the Russians entered, we -- we left. They took us away from there. The only thing we did was -- Riga has several bridges. And I remember we had to -- they took us on a job once, on one of the bridges. Apparently, they had -- they attached some of these detonators to the bridge so they could blow it up. And I remember we had to bring some of the stuff out to -- we had to load and unload this -- whatever it was.

 I mean they had steel cables and all this, you know, and we had to bring it over to the bridge. That was shortly before -- but that was about all I remember, because we never saw a Russian, naturally, because they took us out.

We had to drive some of the trucks back to -- to this town,

Leibau, in Lithuania. And the Germans took everything they could

get hold of. I mean the trucks were loaded with -- all of a sudden

there was so much food, it was unbelievable. Canned food. What

they -- you know, they took it all with them. And we had to take it

back -- naturally, we didn't get it (laughing). That was -- and

then -- but that was about all I remember, you know, of the end of Riga.

For us there was -- I mean we weren't really that much affected by it, since they took us back. But they did take a lot of Jews from

the -- from the ghetto -- took them -- but that was -- no, that was before already. They took them to other camps in -- outside of -- some of them went to -- I'm quite sure, went to Auschwitz. And some of them to this camp in Stutthof, which is in Germany. But then I don't know too much about it, because, like I say, we were a smaller group of people.

Q: AND WHAT HAPPENED TO YOU ONCE YOU GOT TO LIEBAU?

A: Okay. Like I said, we worked there mostly on bombed areas. We had to get the -- some street work, you know, so that trucks could get through, and tanks, and, you know, the whole army had to get through there. So we did that kind of work.

And then, shortly after, we had this -- when we were bombed, and these people got killed in our shelter, then we were told this is the end for us in that area. And one day they told us -- the Gestapo told us, "Okay. Tomorrow morning all of you go back to Germany."

So we -- we -- you know, you never know what that means. It could mean you get killed or what, because nobody really believed anything. But then there was a ship there. And we had to load the ship first of all. All kinds of -- they put on armaments. I mean some tanks and some guns and everything, and it was all -- the holds, you know, inside. And then they covered it all up. And then they took us and put us on that ship. In the morning, one of the other ships leaving was torpedoed. And, naturally, we were kind of scared, all of us, because you never knew, you know. You didn't know what could happen.

So they -- we left. And we were supposed to go back to a small -- they told us, "We take you to a camp in" -- in north Germany. But then they changed that, for whatever reason. We never found out. And they took us to -- you've heard of the town of Hamburg? Okay. And we arrived there after four or five days.

And they put us in a prison, a regular prison called Fuhlsbuttel. It's a famous prison in Hamburg. And this was the time when they had all these heavy bomb -- when they bombed Hamburg so heavily, you know. Thousands and thousands of people were killed. But our prison was never hit.

Now, we were always talking about this. We always had a feeling that the -- those were mostly the -- either Canadian or American pilots, and we always felt that they were told -- they knew exactly the area, knew that this was a big prison. It's a huge brick -- brick -- surrounding brick-walled prison. And they were apparently aware of it, that there were a lot of prisoners in there. So never once.

And we worked there. One of the jobs we had was to -- the soldiers had to pick up the cartridges of the -- the bullets, the spent bullets. They had to bring them back with them, because by that time Germany was so poor on raw material they had to -- and we had to segregate them, copper and -- and I still see this: mountains of it. I mean it's unbelievable. Millions of them. We did this every day. As soon as they would bomb Hamburg, we would have to go and -- ourselves. They would never put us in a -- in a shelter. We just had to stay on ourselves. But this wasn't really -- this was still not too bad. I mean it was better than Riga.

And then one day they -- oh, and women were separated from men -- different cells, you know. Then one day we had to -- they would take us out and said, "Well, you are leaving now. And we are taking you to another camp. And then we had to march four days and four nights. Hardly any food. Really hardly any food. They gave us some bread and some jam, a little bit, and that was it for the four days.

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Q:

And we -- and constantly being bombed. There was, you know, just -- and they took us to what they called a work camp, but it was actually an extermination camp. It was called Kiel Arbeitslagen. Kiel is a town right at the waterfront in north Germany. And that was the last camp -- this was now in '45.

And we, we arrived there. And by that time I had typhoid fever, and I was so sick. It was unbelievable. I mean, really, I was — felt like I wanted to give up. And then they took us to this camp, and they — we worked there. Even though I was sick, I still had to work; because if you said you were sick, that was — might as well forget about it. That's the end of it. And then we stayed there for a while.

And one day they said, well -- oh, and there were Polish officers in that same camp, prisoners. And one day they shot all of the Polish officers. All of them. There were I don't know how many. There must have been there 150 or 200 of them. They killed them all. And the same day -- oh, excuse me. I have to go back. While we were marching from Hamburg to this town, Kiel, all of a sudden, we see these white trucks coming with red crosses. And they passed by. And later on we found out that -- you have heard of the Swedish guy who got killed, Folke Bernadotte? Well, he saw us, and he made a deal at the time with Himmler. Himmler was the man in charge of the -- in Germany, you know. Well, you must have heard. Made a deal with him -- EXCUSE ME. YES?

(THERE IS A KNOCK AT THE DOOR.
THE TAPE IS TURNED OFF AND THEN
TURNED ON AGAIN.)

A: He apparently made a -- he made a deal with Himmler to let these women -- all these women he saw -- let them go, and whatever deal

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they made, that we don't know, but we heard later on that this is how it happened. And, naturally, we didn't know anything about it.

So now we are in that camp. And several people died there. And then they shot all these Polish officers. And that same day the man in charge of our barrack -- we were in separate barracks there, so many people to each barrack -- came over to us and said, "You know, you guys, you are lucky. Tomorrow morning you are free." And, naturally, nobody believed that, expecially after what happened -- we saw all this, you know, with the Polish officers. And during the night they -- by the way, we wore striped clothes, you know, striped uniforms. Most of us had that, and, if not that, then we had a big white cross painted on the back of our clothes, if you didn't have the striped clothes. And we had to get rid of all our clothes. And there were -we had to take -- there was a huge room there, a whole barrack full with dead people. And we had to take their clothes and put them on. They were civilians they had killed. So we had to put all those clothes on, because they had, apparently, for whatever reason -- I mean you never -- it's so hard to understand when I look back. All these things were, you know, strict-- it's like reading a book. And we had to put these clothes on. And in the morning, all of a sudden -this was May, May the lst. It was a week before the war ended in Europe; the war ended I think the 7th, May 7th.

And here are these white trucks coming with the red cross.

And all the Swedish drivers jumped out, and they said in broken

German, "You are free." This -- well, it's unbelieavable. This is -
and the first thing is they gave us food and all this, which we hadn't

seen in so many years. And then they took us to Malmo in Sweden.

And then -- yeah --

Q: HARRY, CAN YOU DESCRIBE WHAT THAT WAS LIKE AT ALL?

A: Well, you know, it's really -- after so many yeras, it's hard to -- really hard to. It's -- I'm not enough of a poet to put this into -- that's how you should really -- the only explanation would be if somebody would be on his deathbed, and all of a sudden he would be told, "You're okay." I think that would be the only -- and even that is -- it was too long and too many things which -- that's why so many older people couldn't survive. The younger people could because, you know, when you are young there's always a certain amount of hope. And I'm quite sure that Americans in Japanese prison camps, they must have felt the same thing when they were released, you know. Young people always hope. And that's the only way I can explain it. It's --

But I must say this: I was so sick that I'm not sure that I really understood what was going on. Because then when we arrived in Sweden they put me in quarantine because I -- on account of the typhoid. And then I got hepatitis on top of it. And so I was sick for quite a whole. But I survived that, too. But it's -- you are coming back to your question. I really don't, at this point, I -- I couldn't explain it. It was overpowering, but -- it's too long ago to really feel it, you know?

Q: DID YOU BELIEVE IT?

A: No. None of us. Matter of fact, we -- that I remember. We were on those trucks, and I remember that none of us said this is -- we are free. We still thought this is just another thing -- they are going to play another game with us and take us somewhere, till we actually -- Oh, I remember the first time we noticed it was -- they put us on a train, and we went to Copenhagen. And this was several days before

Q:

HOSPITAL IN SWEDEN?

and then they take you over.

the war ended. And the German troops -- see, Denmark was occupied, right? And the troops were standing -- the German troops were standing at the station but didn't do anything anymore because it was -- the war was practically over. And here were thousands of Danish people. They were screaming and applauding when our train came through. And the train stopped, and they would throw candies and -- I mean that's the first -- that's exactly when we knew -- when we found -- when we started to believe this is freedom. They were absolutely fantastic. Yes. I still remember that! Um-hum. AND AFTER IT -- HOW LONG WERE YOU IN THE HOSPITAL? YOU WERE IN THE

A: Yeah. Yeah. Well, first of all, all of us were brought from Malmo.

First we came to Malmo, which is a town closest to Denmark. I mean there is a ferryboat going over, and the train goes right on the ship,

And they put us into tents. And the first thing was we had to go through -- got sprayed with all kinds -- you know, they were afraid of -- we were all full of lice and you know, naturally, this was -- and we got new, clean clothes, and everything else was burned.

Then they took us to a rehabilitation -- yeah, rehabilitation camp. And it's called -- well, it wouldn't mean anything to you -- Smalandstenar. It's almost in the middle of Sweden. And we were supposed to recuperate there. And then they put me in a hospital in quarantine for a while. All together I would say about a month. And then I gradually recuperated and went back to this camp where all my friends were, you know, all the surviving people. And then after a while they took us to another camp. I mean these were all beautiful -- the Swedes were fantastic to us. I mean they were --

you couldn't get better food and clothing and everything.

And then I remember the -- then I tried to get in touch with some of my relatives. I tried to find anybody. The only ones I found was this one uncle in Israel. And I thought, Well, maybe I will go to Israel, because I didn't know what's going to -- then, would gradually, people/leave from Sweden. They would have -- find relatives. You know, this was -- the HIAS would work, and, you know, all these Jewish organizations: World Congress and, you know, all these organizations, they worked for us. Gradually they would leave.

My wife went to England. She had a sister in England. We wanted to get married in England. England was in those days, was very, very bad. And I mean they — it's hard to understand today, but we requested — my brother—in—law in England, who is an Englishman, I mean born Englishman, he went to the Home Office over there and tried to get me over to get — so that his sister—in—law could marry, that we could get married. And they said, No, absolutely not; we let only close relatives. You know, mother, father, daughter, sister.

So we — there was no way. They wouldn't. And we told them we were both together in a concentration camp. No. Nothing doing. So that was a big shock. And I worked in Sweden as an auto mechanic for almost two years.

And then I -- I found a friend in Bolivia, in South America.

So I wrote to him; and he sent me the papers to move to La Paz,

Bolivia. And then I took Lottie, my wife, over, and we got married in La Paz, Bolivia.

And then we waited till we could get the papers to go to the United States, because we -- that was our dream. We wanted to go to the United States. And I remember the consul in La Paz, Bolivia,

1 the American consul. He was the most wonderful man you can imagine. That man, he -- he was actually the one who said, "Two young people like you should go to the United States, and I'll do anything for you." And, really, I mean, I didn't -- you know in those days you 5 had to have an affidavit, or you had to have -- somebody had to 6 guarantee. They had to put -- matter of fact, I think they had to 7 put \$50,000 in escrow or put it -- you had to have it in order to --8 in those days it wasn't easy to move from one country to the other. 9 And he helped us quite a bit with all these things, you know. And --10 Q: WHAT WAS HIS NAME? 11 A: Walker. He was the consul in -- I don't -- we -- matter of fact, 12 he visited us two or thee times when we lived in San Francisco, and 13 all of a sudden he disappeared, and I really don't know what ever 14 happened to him. Well, he might have -- he was quite a bit older, 15 so he might have died. 16 Q: WHAT WAS HIS FIRST NAME? 17 I think it was John, but I'm not hundred percent sure now. A: 18 AND ANOTHER THING I MEANT TO ASK YOU: WHAT WAS YOUR WIFE'S MAIDEN 0: 19 NAME? 20 A: Berger, B-e-r-g-e-r, Berger. Lottie Berger. 21 And then I have a -- then we have a daughter who -- but she was 22 born here in San Francisco. Jeannie. 23 Q: HOW OLD IS SHE? 24 A: Thirty-eight. 25 SO TELL ME WHAT HAPPENED ONCE HE -- DID YOU GET AN AFFIDAVIT, OR HOW Q: 26 DID YOU GET IN? 27 A: Okay. Yeah. I had a -- first we got an affidavit and -- not an 28 affidavit -- how was this now? Because I remembered we were supposed

to go to Cleveland, Ohio. And Mr. Walker said, "Listen, you don't want to go to Cleveland, Ohio. Winters aren't too good there." He said, "You want to go to California." And I, you know -- and it just so happened that I had a friend who -- also a survivor of Riga -- who had an aunt in Oakland. And he wrote to me, to Bolivia, and he said -- well, he can't -- he doesn't -- I mean he is fairly new here, too, and he doesn't have enough money to send me an affidavit, but since he has a job he could get me a partial, if I could get one, you know, somewhere else, too. And then I found another friend and two -- actually these two friends together sent me the affidavit.

And we went to Oakland, California, and we stayed there for about a year or so. And then I got a job in San Francisco and -- and we moved to San Francisco.

- Q: WHEN YOU CAME FROM LA PAZ, DID YOU TAKE THE BOAT TO NEW YORK, OR AROUND --
- A: No. The boat went through the Panama Canal and back -- and first they had to go through and back again, because we had to take -- we had to change ships in Panama. And then we arrived at San Pedro, California, which is southern California. No, we never came through. No, only the west coast.
- Q: AND WHEN YOU GOT TO AMERICA, WHAT WAS IT LIKE?
- A: Oh, well, I -- till this day, I feel it's God's country. I mean that sounds like a cliche or sounds like -- but for us, it really is.

 I mean where else -- you know we came here -- matter of fact, we arrived here with -- we promised a couple in La Paz -- they gave us the money for the trip. That was \$1,000. And we promised them to put it here in a bank for -- they had a bank account here, and we promised we're going to put it here. Now, they trusted us with -- a thousand dollars was a lot of money in those days. And I remember

we paid that off in, I think in one year. We didn't do anything else, just paying this off. And we didn't -- I mean -- the first jobs we had was -- I worked at a gas station pumping gas. My wife had a job telephoning -- she spoke -- by the way, she spoke English very well for the simple reason that she lived in England after the war. And in La Paz she worked as an English teacher at the American Institute. I didn't speak one word. No. I mean "yes" and "no," but that was all. Matter of fact, this sounds like a joke, but it's the truth. I got this job at the gas station, and somebody comes over and says, "Give me two --" in those days -- "two bits worth of ethyl.' And I knew "Ethel" is a girl's name, you know, "Ethel." And "two bits," I didn't know what "two bits" are. I remember calling my wife: "Tell me what are two bits." Never forget that.

- Q: THAT'S GREAT. "TWO BITS OF ETHEL."
- A: Yes. No, to us, really -- we had really -- I mean in a way a wonderful life in the States. Both of us had to work, naturally, and -but no complaints. I got sick several times, but that can happen
 anywhere. So it's really -- couldn't ask for a better life.
- Q: HARRY, AFTER THE PUMPING GAS, WHAT WAS NEXT?
- A: Oh, well, then I worked at a job in a chemical company, working -we had to glaze -- put a glaze coat on bakery pans. We had to do
 this for Kilpatrick and Liendorf and these bakeries.

And then I got a job as a warehouseman at Sears Roebuck. And I stayed with Sears for 25 years. All right. From that job, then I — they gave me a job in the store as a salesman, and I worked in the — selling appliances. Then they — and my wife started with a trucking company and became quite a high executive in a major trucking company.

1 Q: WHAT IS THE COMPANY? 2 Α. The company is now out of business. It's O.N.C. Oregon - Nevada -3 California Trucking. But they're out of business. And then I -let's see. Yeah. And then I worked -- was with Sears till -- in 5 San Francisco -- till they closed the store. There was the store on Mission Street. 7 And then I opened my own -- I had a little gift shop on Irving 8 Street in San Francisco. And I did this till three years ago, till 9 I retired completely. And --10 Q: WHAT WAS THE NAME OF THE SHOP? 11 **A:** Gifts by Harry. (Laughing) 12 Q: WHERE? WHAT NUMBER? WHAT NUMBER ON IRVING? 13 Twenty-- oh, my God -- twenty-two or three Irving Street, I think. A: 14 The 2200 block, between -- yeah, 22nd and 23rd. Um-hum. And so, 15 I mean this was -- and my daughter started with a -- had a summer job16 with the Bank of America, and she is now vice-president of the Bank 17 of American. So that's -- knock on wood -- another success story. 18 0: MAZEL TOV. 19 Yeah. Thank you. Really, that's why I say I -- turned out to be a A: 20 wonderful life. 21 Q: DID --22 A: I wish my parents could have seen it. 23 Q: I'M SURE THEY SEE, IT. 24 A: Yeah, well --25 I'M SURE THEY SEE IT. I'D LIKE TO ASK YOU A LITTLE BIT ABOUT THE Q: 26 EFFECT THAT THE WAR HAD ON YOU, ON HOW YOU SEE LIFE. 27 A: Well, I -- I am an optomist. I always was. So I'm -- otherwise, I

wouldn't sit here today. Like I said, I mean I have talked to other

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people, and they -- they just -- mentally, they couldn't take it and survive all the misery. But somehow I -- I was always optomistic.

I -- I can't really say that I -- I don't give up very easy, and that's why I feel I -- I am a survivor; because, believe me, like I said,

I have had, during these 40 years now, I mean I was six times in the hospital. I had many operations. And still I always recovered and -- because I told myself: No, you don't give up. You don't give up.

So I really -- you know, I hate to say this; it sounds like I'm bragging, but it's not. It's just -- I feel I am an optomist, and I'm strong enough to survive a lot of things. Probably a lot had to do with being in camp. Maybe that gave me the strength. But on top of it,

I -- I have to admit it, I have a wonderful wife. I have a beautiful daughter. And that helped quite a bit. They helped. I have a very strong wife. So, you know, so the combination is there, and that's --

- Q: WHAT ABOUT THE WAY YOU RAISED YOUR DAUGHTER, JEAN?
- A: Jeannie.
- Q: JEANNIE.
- 8 A: Uh-huh.
 - Q: DO YOU THINK THAT YOU RAISED HER IN A CERTAIN WAY BECAUSE OF THE WAR, YOU KNOW, CERTAIN THINGS?
 - A: We talked about that. And probably, if we would have -- let's say we would have been -- I mean under normal, for us, normal circumstances, whether in Germany or in America, but whichever country, we probably would have brought up our daughter different. But now, I don't know whether we did this, or this is -- or it's just plain luck, but we are very, very close with our daughter. We can -- we always could talk about everything, and she said this so many times. We are very open about everything, and that helped quite a bit.

But probably a lot had to do with the whole bckground, so that we -1 2 we -- it wasn't so much that she was like a daughter; she was more 3 like -- especially with my wife -- those two are, I mean, absolutely 4 fantastic. They are -- practically every day they're talking, even 5 though my daughter lives across the bay. And she said many times 6 that might have something to do with it, with our background. She 7 also looks at things a little different than maybe somebody who would 8 have been brought up under normal circumstances. 9 Q: CAN YOU GIVE ME ANY SPECIFIC, LIKE VALUES, OR THINGS THAT ARE DIFFERENT? Well, look, she went through the '60s. I say all her friends -- I 10 A: 11 remember they were in our house. They were smoking pot all the time. 12 She tried it. She didn't care for it. I'm quite sure she must have 13 done it a few times. I'm certain. She was a young person together 14 with her friends. But she got through all these times. I mean she 15 was never, not once, in trouble. Not once. She always found good 16 friends. And so I think she -- no, as a matter of fact, I know she 17 is all right. 18 Q: YEAH? 19 A: Very much so. She is very, very courageous, very -- this sounds like 20 a doting father, but it is, you know, because we talk about these 21 things, and I know she is really good. She had a problem, too. 22 She was married for 10 years, and she is right now in the process of 23 a divorce. But not -- that's her husband's fault. 24 Q: ANY CHILDREN? 25 No. As much as we wanted grandchildren. But I think at this point **A:** 26 this is just the right thing. It's better. But then she is also a 27 career girl. Her career is very important to her.

IT'S WONDERFUL YOU WERE OPEN WITH HER. IT'S SO UNUSUAL.

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Q:

SO MUCH COURAGE TO BE OPEN.

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A: No. I agree with you, sure, but that's why I said before I don't know if we were just lucky, or -- but I don't know.

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Q: HARRY, WHAT ABOUT RELIGION AND GOD? WHEN -- AFTER THE WAR, WHAT ARE YOUR BELIEFS?

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Well, first of all, I -- I always believed in God, hundred percent. But I am not -- I am what they call a "three-day Jew." I go to the High Holidays and, you know, and once in a while in between, but I mean I'm not going every week. That's -- may be wrong, but this is my belief. I still -- if I talk to somebody, or so I always say, I'm -- if we talk about it, I'm Jewish, and that's -- but I must say this much: In camp, you also, you see a lot of things which are -how can I explain this? There were a lot of -- we had a lot of very Orthodox Jews who wouldn't even eat. They would rather die than eat something which -- because it wasn't kosher. On the other hand, some of them -- and I hate to say this -- but I know; I have seen this. A lot of them, in order to survive, put other people to death. In those days nobody -- you know you would say, "Well, everybody wants to survive," but I remember -- there are degrees how far you go. So I was sometimes -- and not just me. I mean after the war we were also -- after we were liberated, we talked about this many times with other people, and there were a lot of these people they were very, very orthodox; and, yet, they were very, very selfish. And that's -- which is very upsetting, naturally, you know, and --But this doesn't change my belief in God. I mean that's --

Look, we all know. I mean if we start really thinking about it,

then you would say, Well, if there is a God, how come all this --

how could this happen, right? Why? I know that my parents weren't --

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they probably weren't the best people in the world, but they weren't any worse than other people; so why would they have to die, and I'm alive, or Mr. So-and-so and Mrs. So-and-so, so you -- but this -- I never -- my belief never changed -- in God. But I'm not a practicing Jew. That's --

Q: I HAVE ANOTHER QUESTION FOR YOU I FORGOT TO ASK. WHEN DID LEVISON BECOME LAWTON?

Oh, okay. This is one of the -- well, when we were liberated and in Sweden we were still -- my name was still Levison. When we arrived in the United States -- we got married in Bolivia, I was still Levison. We arrived in America; I said to my wife, "When I was a child" -- when we started talking about this - that's one thing I never mentioned: The name Levison in Germany was definitely a Jewish name. And many times I remember the minute I mentioned the name, automatically there was, you know, I was -- people knew I was Jewish. So I -- when I arrived in America, as much as -- now here I was liberated now, and this seems to me it's going to be a wonderful life in front of me. And I said, If I ever have a son, I don't want my son -- you never know what the future brings. And I said I will change my name so that my -- if I have a son, that he doesn't have to go through -- just the minute he mentions the name -- because I was so bitter, so hateful, if you would have known me. Even with always being so optomistic, but I was hateful. Oh, I hated the Germans in those days. And I felt I should -- shouldn't do this to my -- now maybe I used this as an excuse. Maybe I, myself, wanted a different name for myself, because I was afraid. I never really admitted it to myself. But this might have -- you know, might have been too. That's when I took -- when we took out what we call the first papers here, and

that's when I changed it. But I wanted to keep my initial, and I felt my father would forgive me for that. But, again, I'm not hundred percent sure that there wasn't a certain amount of selfishness involved, bu know. So then I had a daughter (laughing), and the name didn't mean anything.

- Q: GOD GOT YOU BACK.
- A: That's right.
- Q: SO YOU WERE BORN HEINRICH?
- A: No, Heinz.
- Q: HEINZ.
 - A: Well, the reason why I changed the name Heinz, because I -- when we arrived here, right in the beginning, I still remember that there was the advertising, Heinz 57 varieties, the -- the canned soup and vegetable, and I was afraid they might kid me about Heinz, so I changed it to Harry.
 - Q: WHAT DID YOU DO WITH THE -- WITH YOUR HATRED OF THE GERMANS? HOW DID
 YOU GET OVER IT?
 - A: Well, in a way I'm not over it yet. Matter of fact, when we were in Berlin, we had -- you heard about these invitations Germany gives to former people. And we went on those -- they had a seven-day trip to Berlin. And we went there couple years ago. And at one of the luncheon meetings -- there were about, I would say about, probably, 400 Jewish people there in Berlin at that time, and at our table at the luncheon there were two senators from Berlin. They were sitting at our table, and we were talking about it, and I -- we were talking about this whole relationship now between how we feel about it, and I said I'll be very frank with you, if I meet somebody on the street, and he is about my age or older, I -- this might have been the person

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who killed my parents. But the younger people I just cannot see blaming them, because then I put myself on the same level with Hitler. I hate, you know, just because they're Germans, and you can't go through life hating, you know. So I -- but there is definitely a certain amount of hatred left. Oh, yeah. I don't think I will ever -and I don't really want to get rid of it. And it -- it's -- I remember we had at our synagogue, Sherith Israel, when they had the Crystal Night -- you know we had -- and the rabbi, Rabbi Wiener -- I don't know if you know him -- he and the cantor asked me if I could say a few words, which I did, about remembering the Crystal Night in Berlin. And afterwards they had some of the students -- some of the kids, we were talking about it, and we brought this up, and I -- that's why I say it now, again, because that's what I said at the time. It's something you -- you will never forget these things, and you will -there is a certain amount of hatred, but it's not enough for me to go on hating.

Q: THAT'S WELL PUT. I WANT TO ASK YOU ABOUT KRISTALLNACHT. YOU WERE STILL IN BERLIN?

A: Um-hum.

Q: AND WHAT HAPPENED:

A: Well, they -- I had, at the time I had a job -- that's another job
I had -- together with a friend, and we were supposed to go to work.
We usually had a bike and usually went by bike. Now this was
November, 1938, right? And we went to work that day on a bus, or
streetcar -- not bus, streetcar. And we saw all the -- the store
windows were all broken, and they had, with white paint, painted
over: Jew pig and, you know, all these slogans they had. And our
synagogue -- first of all, our synagogue was burned to the ground.
That was -- as you probably heard, they -- practically

all synagogues, they put fire to them, which -- the synagogue wasn't far from where we lived at that point. And we went to work. And when we arrived there -- our boss was Jewish, too. This was a printing outfit, and so it was another type of job I had for awhile. So we decided there's no sense in staying here, and we disappeared.

And my -- see, as I told you before, my father was put into the concentration camp, Buchenwald, in June '38. So it was only my mother and I at home. So I went home and told my -- and I don't even know how we heard all these things, but it seems like under those circumstances, this is -- the grapevine is so fantastic -- it was in no time we found out that they're going to pick up Jewish men. So I decided -- I went home and told my mother I am disappearing for awhile. And I took my bike, and I left Berlin. And for three days I hid.

I found some people I had met before, and I stayed with them,
Christian people. And after three days the whole thing was over.

I mean they picked up thousands of Jews, put them in -- there was
a -- a couple of concentration camps near Berlin called

Oranienburg, and this is where -- and then later on, I guess,
they went to Theresienstadt, where -- you probably heard of

Rabbi Beck, Leo Beck, who was the Jewish leader there.

And then I came back, and I continued working. But those three days I -- and it was miserable. I mean all the Jewish stores were vandalized, and people were picked up.

Q: DID YOU HEAR THE, YOU KNOW, DID YOU HEAR THE GERMANS ON KRISTALLNACHT DOING THE BREAKING OF GLASS AND FIRES?

A: Well, the fires, we saw at our synagogue, because we went over there.

And the rabbi we had, a rabbi, Dr. Swazenski, who later went to

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America, and he was in Wisconsin somewhere, as a rabbi, and died there 10 years ago or so. He -- we went over to the synagogue. And we saw the synagogue burning. And the fire engines -- I will never forget this -- they were protecting the neighbor houses, you know; they put water on the houses next to it, but not on the synagogue. They let the synagogue burn. There is a book. It's called in German Wegweiser durch Berlin, which means almost like a hell to Berlin. And it shows all the synagogues before and after they were burned. I mean if they could get pictures of it. Quite a number. I have this book at home, so one could see it in that book. But it was -- so that's the only one I saw actually burning, but I don't know how many synagogues were burned in Berlin.

THERE WAS ONE OTHER THING I WANTED TO ASK YOU, HARRY, AND THAT IS Q: TO WHAT DO YOU ATTRIBUTE YOUR SURVIVAL? DO YOU THINK IT WAS LUCK?

Well, definitely a combination. I mean, a certain amount of luck. I mean anything, you can always say luck. But also, when I talked before -- being an optomist had a lot to do with it. I wanted to survive, and I -- you know, see all these things, those little things come back. I remember in the ghetto one day -- you remember I told you I was faking I was sick. And I remember I was -- it was a sunny day, because so many times now I like to -- I like the sunshine, you know, I like to go out and go in the water -- swim or -- I like the sunshine. I remember nine -- there was a patch of grass like a meadow, and for a short while I -- why I had to go there, I don't remember, but I remember lying on my back. I never forget -- this is one of the little things one never forgets -- and there was a tree above and the green leaves against the blue sky. I never forget. And somehow this gave me -- I mean it sounds really, like we say in

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German -- we say "kitsch." Kitsch. But this gave me -- somehow

I felt I'm going to survive this. Just looking at those green leaves
against the blue sky. And I never forgot that.

Q: I BELIEVE YOU.

A: That's one of the little things. But otherwise, sure, luck has a lot to do; because when they selected me, I could have been with my father and go on that truck. And there were many more times.

Q: AND WHAT ABOUT ISRAEL? HOW DO YOU FEEL ABOUT THE STATE OF ISRAEL?

Okay. Israel. I've been there, like I told you. I have a cousin I think it's an unbelievable country. It's fantastic. It's -- gave all of us -- well, I'm not talking about other people. Right now I'm only talking about us survivors -- gave us a -- something to hold onto after -- later on, you know. I mean not in the beginning, because there was only Palestine, right, but later on. The only thing is what I have seen when I was there. It was really too short a time to really -- I mean to make up your mind about something. You shouldn't do this in a short time. The problems they have in Israel, a lot of these problems are self-made, made by the people themselves. They are very -- and that's the bad thing to say "they," because, after all, they are our people, too. But too many of the people are very, very arrogant. I know this when I was over there. Probably a lot was to do with all these years fighting and -- I mean there is a reason for it. But, again, what I told you before about the very orthodox people in camp, I have seen

My cousin took us into the very orthodox area. And we made that mistake, driving in there, and somebody threw a rock at us. It was on a Shabbos. Okay. It was -- I have to admit we made a

the same thing. It happened to us.

mistake. We didn't think. But this is -- I'm just afraid that they will -- they always will have internal problems. Not even talking about the Arabs; this is a different story. I mean what they did -- what the people did over there is unbelievable. There's no doubt about it. I mean -- but I'm just afraid that a lot of them are their own enemy, and that's very discouraging, because they have enough problems with the Arabs and, you know, I mean -- you know people always say you should learn from history.

Now, in Germany they had, what? They had another Weimar Republic. I don't know if you ever read about how Hitler, how he could come to power. I think they had 23 or 25 or 30 parties. Every little thing was, was a party, you know, so they could never be united. Well, in Israel, in a way, they have the same problem. I mean this is, again, that's my opinion. I may be completely wrong. But I think they are — they have to iron out their own internal problems first.

- Q: WHAT ABOUT GERMANY AND REUNIFICATION AND EASTERN EUROPE? WHAT ARE YOUR THOUGHTS THERE?
- A: Well, naturally, we are always afraid of a united Germany. No doubt about it, because the -- Germany will be the most powerful country in Europe. But then there's -- it's a different generation now.

 Again, that would be the same thing, what I said before: You can't go on all your life hating, so, consequently, you have to give them a chance, too. I -- I'm quite sure -- I mean economically there's no doubt about it, they're probably the most powerful country in Europe, right? I mean the Germans are that way. They are -- that's part of their life and their upbringing. But I don't know. It's -- I just feel that the world has changed so much. You can watch so much

 more today. I mean the world is basically so small today that you can see what's going on. It's different than 1933. That's how I feel. So countries like, you know, the neighborhood -- I'm not even talking about the United States, but the countries over there can watch it much better. And I don't think -- but maybe I'm wrong, but I feel this couldn't happen again. And, sure, they will be a very powerful -- I think we have to worry more about it over here economically, because they are -- their products are A-1, you know. They might be our competitors, and we should watch that.

- Q: WE MAY HAVE TO MOVE BACK TO GERMANY IF THE ANTI-SEMITISM HERE GETS
 TOO BAD.
- A: Well, you will never -- there will always be anti-Semitism. It's -- it's -- you know, we are -- I think most people are not true to themselves. Most -- because, basically, everybody has a certain amount of prejudice. There's no doubt about it. Again, as far as I'm concerned. We all have something or somebody we don't like. But there's only one thing to do: to watch out for it, and every time something happens, one has to -- you can't just go out like that (putting his hand over his eyes).
- Q: HARRY, WHAT VALUES -- YOU SAID THAT YOU'RE A THREE-DAY JEW --
- A: Yeah.
- Q: -- BUT WHAT VALUES DO YOU THINK YOU GOT FROM JUDAISM?
- A: Well, I think I'm a much more tolerant person than -- and I think this has something to do with my Jewish background, as far as I'm concerned. I see that not everything is black or white; it's -- there are a lot of grey areas. And I mean all these things sound like cliches, you know, but it's really how I feel. So -- and I think that a lot has to do with being a Jew. I don't -- because I notice

it so many times with all the problems today. When I really -- when it -- you know, read the paper, watch television, and you see, whether it's abortion or whatever, you know. And I feel I am more tolerant of a lot of things because I've -- because I'm a Jew and my background, my parents, the way I look back so many times. Even -- well, after all, I was 22 years old, so I wasn't a little child when they died. And I remember we talked very openly about a lot of things, and I think this has a lot to do with it. Even so, I'm not a practicing Jew, but I think it has something. Really.

- Q: I'VE ASKED JUST ABOUT EVERYTHING I HAD THOUGHT OF, BUT I JUST WANTED

 TO ASK YOU IF YOU HAVE ANY WISH FOR THE FUTURE.
- A: For --

A:

- Q: FOR YOURSELF OR JEWS OR YOUR DAUGHTER'S GENERATION, YOU KNOW, FOR THE WORLD.
 - Well, that all fits together really. For my daughter, definitely. I told her so many times: Don't be so prejudiced. Be more tolerant. That's one of the things. That's why I brought this up. For the Jews you mean just all over the world, or what? As far as I can see, the problems Jews have will be the same problems in each country, whatever problems they have over there. Nothing I just feel, like I said before, the anti-Semitism will not disappear. Because as you can see, there are hardly any Jews left in Poland, and the Polish people are very you know, even now, even today, in a way there is a lot of anti-Semitism. So I don't think this will change. Otherwise, for myself, well, I just want to stay healthy for a few more years, and, you know, together with my wife and my daughter. That's, really, I mean, you know, when you're 70 years old, you don't it's naturally, you think more about it.

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            I WOULD NEVER THINK YOU'RE 70.
       Q:
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            Oh, ves. I turned just 70, June 16th.
       A:
       Q:
            CONGRATULATIONS.
       A:
            Thank you.
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       Q:
            IS THERE ANYTHING ELSE THAT YOU -- THAT YOU WOULD LIKE TO SAY, OR
 6
            THOUGHTS THAT CAME UP THAT YOU WANTED TO TALK ABOUT THAT I MIGHT NOT
 7
            HAVE ASKED?
 8
      A:
            Well, I think we covered probably -- the only thing, like I said
 9
            before, when -- the only reason why I thought this might be a good
10
            idea was because I felt there's so very little known about Riga.
11
            And I thought -- I don't know -- have you been in New York at all?
12
            Or did you interview only in the Bay area? I see. Because in
13
           New York, naturally, there are, like I say, there are some -- more
14
            survivors, and they probably -- they probably do the same thing over
15
            there. I don't know, but I imagine. There's much more of them.
16
      0:
            THERE IS, YOU KNOW, THERE'S THE ARCHIVES AT YALE. AND THEN I KNOW
17
            OF ONE GROUP. LANI WOULD PROBABLY KNOW OF GROUPS IN NEW YORK.
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                MR. GRANT: Holocaust Oral History Projects.
19
               MS. FEIBELMAN: YEAH, YEAH.
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               MR. GRANT: There's one on Long Island, isn't there?
21
               MS. FEIBELMAN: THAT'S RIGHT. THERE'S ONE ON LONG ISLAND.
22
      A:
            And they're building one center in Washington.
23
            IF YOU HAVE ANY NAMES OF PEOPLE IN THE BAY AREA THAT WE SHOULD BE
       Q:
24
            CALLING, ASKING IF THEY WOULD ALSO LIKE TO SHARE --
25
      A:
            Well --
26
                MR. GRANT: Let's talk about that off camera. But I would
27
            definitely like to get some ideas from you.
28
      A:
            Well, yeah. I would have to think about it, because --
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                MR. GRANT: Maybe after we've finished the interview, we can
 2
            talk about that.
            IS THERE ANYTHING ELSE YOU WANTED TO TALK ABOUT?
       Q:
       Α.
            Really, I think everything was covered. So I think this is -- I
 5
            don't think I have anything to add to it.
       Q:
            THANKS.
       A:
            You were a wonderful interviewer. You made it so easy for me.
 8
       Q:
            YOU WERE WONDERFUL. YOU KNOW, I COULDN'T STOP. I WAS HOPING I'M
 9
            NOT TIRING YOU OUT.
10
            No. That's not -- but I thought maybe I talked too much.
       A:
11
       Q:
            NOT AT ALL. I LOVED EVERY WORD. SO THANK YOU VERY MUCH.
12
       A:
            Thank you.
13
       Q:
            YEAH. IT WAS -- YOU KNOW; YOU HAVE SUCH A WONDERFUL WAY OF TALKING.
14
            I -- YOU REMIND ME SO MUCH OF MY FATHER. HE'S A -- MANNHEIM --
15
            BOTH OF MY PARENTS.
16
            Oh, I didn't realize that.
       A:
17
       0:
            YEAH. THEY WERE BORN THERE IN '22 '24.
18
       A:
           But you were born here
19
           I WAS BORN HERE. CINCINNATI. THEY HAD COUSINS IN CINCINNATI WHO
       Q:
20
            SIGNED THE AFFIDAVIT. THEY SIGNED THREE AFFIDAVITS, SO MY FATHER
21
            CAME OUT AND HIS PARENTS. THEY BROUGHT HIM OUT, BECAUSE HE WAS THE
22
            ONLY SON. AND THEN MY AUNTS DIDN'T GET THE AFFIDAVITS. YOU KNOW,
23
            THEY WERE DAUGHTERS.
24
      A:
            Oh, I see.
25
            SO --
       0:
26
      A:
           Yeah.
27
      Q:
           AND --
28
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A:

So what year did they leave?

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        Q:
              THEY LEFT '39.
 2
              Oh. So also that time, just before the war.
        A:
 3
              YEAH. AFTER KRISTALLNACHT THEY REALIZED IT WAS TIME.
        Q:
 4
              Oh, I see. So they lived in Mannheim?
        A:
 5
        Q:
             MANNHEIM. AND THEN MY MOM WAS BORN NEXT DOOR, AND THEY HATED EACH
 6
              OTHER. SHE WOULD STAND ON THE CORNER AND SPIT AT HIM BECAUSE HE HAD
 7
              A BICYCLE, AND HE WOULDN'T GIVE HER A RIDE. AND THEY MOVED TO FRANCE
 8
              AND LIVED UNDER CHRISTIAN NAMES IN THE ALPS. AND SHE WAS IN THE
 9
              UNDERGROUND.
10
              Really! Oh, she was in the underground.
        A:
11
             YEAH. SO HE --
        Q:
12
        A:
              So are you using your parents' name, or were you --
13
             MY FATHER'S NAME, FEIBELMAN.
        Q:
14
              Oh. That's your father's name.
        A:
15
        Q:
              THAT'S MY DAD'S NAME, YEAH. HER NAME WAS LEVY, AND THEY CHANGED IT
16
                         THEY CHANGED THE "E" INTO AN "O," AND "V" INTO AN "N,"
              TO LONG.
17
              AND "Y" INTO A "G." YEAH.
18
        A:
              Uh-huh. So you're -- well, you're lucky, too.
19
        Q:
              OH, YES. SOME DAYS.
20
        A:
              Well, look, it could have been completely different.
21
        Q:
              YES.
22
        A:
              One -- in those days --
23
        Q:
              YES. THERE WAS A LOT OF LUCK. THERE WAS A LOT OF LUCK. HARRY,
24
              IF YOU WOULD LIKE --
25
                  JOHN, DO YOU WANT TO SHOOT THE PICTURES?
26
                  MR. GRANT: Yes. I would like to do that.
27
              Okay. So what is this?
28
                  (Picture of a street is shown, with figure walking on sidewalk.)
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	1	
1	A:	This would be the main street between the two ghettos in Riga.
2		On the left side is the German ghetto. On the right side would
3		be the former Latvian ghetto. There's naturally, there's the
4		barbed wire all around the ghetto, which is part of Riga. It's
5		it's part of the town.
6	Q:	(BY MR. GRANT) OKAY. DO YOU KNOW THE NAME OF THE STREET, OFFHAND?
7	A:	I'll be honest with you, no.
8	Q: .	(BY MR. GRANT) OKAY.
9	A:	Not on this particular picture.
10	Q:	(BY MR. GRANT) ALL RIGHT. AND THIS ONE IS?
11		(Picture of narrow way with barbed-wire fence on left is shown.
12	A.	Okay. This is, also
13	Q:	(BY MR. GRANT) THIS IS, ALSO THE RIGA GHETTO?
14	A:	Okay. Here. That's just another the ghetto is on the right
15	•	side. Again, it's the same thing, actually there is the one gate,
16		as you can see, and the I'm quite sure that this is reversed
17		now. On the right side is the German ghetto, and on the left side
18		is the Latvian ghetto.
19	Q:	(BY MR. GRANT) ARE YOU SAYING THE NEGATIVE WAS FLIPPED OVER WHEN
20	'	THIS WAS PRINTED?
21	A:	No. It's just from a different by the way, these pictures
22		originally were taken by Germans, and we just got them, you know,
23		by stealing them.
24	Q:	(BY MR. GRANT) OKAY. YOU REFERRED TO THAT EARLIER IN YOUR
25		INTERVIEW, RIGHT? OKAY.
26	A:	This would be the entrance to the ghetto. If you can move your
27		camera over.
28		(Picture of street with fencing is shown.)

1 That's right. Like that. On the right side, this big building, 2 that was -- as far as I remember, was the Gestapo hospital. 3 this would be the entrance into the ghetto. 4 Q: (BY MR. GRANT) OKAY. OKAY. AND THIS IS? 5 (Picture of street with barbed wire and sign is shown.) 6 **A**: That would be the German part of the ghetto. And I don't know if 7 you can pick up the sign, but it says that in German and in 8 Latvian: "Anybody who is climbing over the fence or getting near 9 the fence will be shot." 10 Q: (BY MR. GRANT) CAN YOU TELL US THE STORY OF THIS PICTURE HERE? 11 (Picture of young Harry with the number 56 on his chest shown earlier is shown again.) 12 13 A: Okay. Everybody in the Riga ghetto had to have his or her photo-14 graph taken for the -- for the archives of the -- German archives. 15 Shortly before we left Riga, I broke into the office and took --16 went through the files, which were all over the floor, and found 17 my picture plus pictures of some of the people -- some of other 18 people. But I didn't bring those along. I just brought this along 19 so that you can see. Now, at that -- this was taken -- the picture 20 was taken in 1943, beginning of '43. 21 Q: (BY MR. GRANT) AND THIS IS JUST A COPY OF THE SAME THING? 22 A: And, naturally, we had to -- in those days we had to wear a star. 23 The number is not a number we carried. This number was strictly 24 for the picture. In other words, I was number 56 they took. 25 But underneath -- it's hard to see on that picture, but there is 26 the yellow star. And later on we got these striped clothes, and --27 or we had a big white cross painted on the back or our clothes. 28 (BY MR. GRANT) OKAY. THIS IS AGAIN? Q:

1		(Picture of a long line of people in a city street is shown.)
2	A:	It's a group of people from the ghetto. But I don't remember,
.3		naturally, which group it is. Whether they were coming back from
4		work, or they just brought them in from a transport, that I don't
5		know, because I don't recognize anybody. I mean it's such a small
6		picture. So I really don't know, but, as you can see, there is a
7		guard on a bike.
8	Q:	(BY MR. GRANT) On the far right there?
9	A:	Um-hum. That's right. And usually they had one in front, one on
10		the side actually on both sides, and one in the back. But some-
11		times they were short. And the interesting part is very few people
12	:	escaped for one single reason: Riga is surrounded by wilderness.
13		You couldn't survive. Everybody knew it. And you didn't speak
14		the language. So what would you do?
15	Q:	RIGHT. WHERE WOULD YOU GO?
16	A:	Where would you go? Because the Latvians wouldn't hide you. No way
17		That's
18	Q:	(BY MR. GRANT) OKAY.
19		(VIDEOTAPE NO. 2 ENDS.)
20		
21		# # #
22	·	
23	·	
24		I hereby certify that the foregoing is a true and accurate
25		transcript of videotapes of the July 18, 1990, interview with Harry Lawton conducted by Anne Feibelman for the Holocaust
26		Oral History Project.
27		Loveth isner Town
28		Janet Wiener Teman, Registered Professional Reporter