

Interview with

HELLA ROUBICEK

**HOLOCAUST ORAL HISTORY PROJECT**

**HOLOCAUST SURVIVORS**

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Q. IT'S JANUARY TWENTY-FIRST, 1990. MY NAME IS EVELYN FIELDEN. I'M AN INTERVIEWER WITH THE ORAL HISTORY PROJECT OF NORTHERN CALIFORNIA ORAL HISTORY CENTER IN SAN FRANCISCO.

TODAY WE ARE HERE IN BERKELEY IN THE LOVELY HOME OF LINDA PRANSKI; AND I'M TALKING TO HELLA ROUBICEK. AM I PRONOUNCING IT CORRECTLY?

A. Roubicek, I think it is. I always make a mistake pronouncing my own name, to the great dismay of my mate.

Q. HELLA, TELL ME WHERE WERE YOU BORN, AND WHEN WERE YOU BORN, IF YOU DON'T MIND TELLING US?

A. No, I don't. I was born June 26th in Frankfurt on the Oder, thirty miles east of Berlin, as the second child of my parents, who both were born in Berlin, and lived for all of their married life in Frankfurt until our departure from Germany.

Q. SO YOU WENT TO SCHOOL IN FRANKFURT?

A. I went to school in Frankfurt. I started my elementary school and the first two and a half years of gymnasium in Frankfurt-am-Oder until we moved to Berlin in 1938 prior to the preparations of immigration.

Q. SO YOU LIVED A PART OF YOUR LIFE UNDER THE NAZI GERMAN REGIME? TELL US A LITTLE ABOUT YOUR LIFE AS A YOUNG GIRL.

A. Well, awareness of the existence of the Nazi regime came fairly early. They weren't -- We were not too

many Jewish children at that time in the school, in the schools; and I remember being harassed in the later years around '37 by the youngsters. They were, I remember, farther back. They were -- Well, even before the Nazis took over, there were skirmishes in the streets. There were fights.

My father was a physician, practicing in Frankfurt, and was called down to give first aid because people had been beaten and attacked for no good reason, just provoked by Nazi hoodlums.

This was in the early years, and I remember that just looking down from our apartment; but, again, I was too young really to understand what was happening politically.

Going back to the time of my school, I think in 1937, it became clear that we were no longer wanted in the public schools; and I believe one of our teachers came home and suggested to our father and mother that it might be wiser to let the children move somewhere else in school; and it was at that time that we decided to. That was in '38, I believe, that we moved to Berlin and stayed with our grandmother.

Q. WAS YOUR FATHER OR YOUR MOTHER ORTHODOX?

A. No, not at all. Not at all.

Q. BUT YOU WERE BROUGHT UP IN THE JEWISH FAITH?

A. Yes, not religiously; but, certainly, there was no question that we identified as Jews, and we were.

Q. WHAT ABOUT YOUR FRIENDS AT THE TIME?

A. There was really -- my age group, there were two girls, I think, with whom I chummed around at that time; and this one girl, her name was Eva, she moved. I believed she moved to Berlin at the same time.

Q. WAS SHE JEWISH?

A. She was half Jewish, yes. Her mother was not, but she identified as a Jew.

Q. DID YOUR PARENTS -- YOUR FATHER CERTAINLY, BEING A PHYSICIAN, CAME IN CONTACT WITH A LOT OF NON-JEWS, I SUPPOSE?

A. Yes. Yes, and my father was one of these very dearly beloved country doctors in the town in which we lived; and I must say in spite of the very Prussian mentality of the town, he was -- his former patients, many of whom were members of the Railroad Union, Police Force, that type of thing, who stuck by him until the end.

And I think it was -- I'm getting ahead of the story, perhaps; but it was due really to the courage of one of the police who had lived in the house downstairs who got drunk one evening and made a -- when, after the tenth of November, when he was arrested with everybody else who had not already been, to give a -- make a speech in his behalf in praise of him. And it was through his intervention that he was not departed to a camp, but was given the option to leave within a certain amount of time.

And years and years later, we received still letters after the war from people who had remembered my father and had written, which was quite touching to see forty years after.

Q. THAT IS A WONDERFUL STORY. YOU HAD A SISTER OR A BROTHER?

A. I have a sister who was seven years my senior, yes.

Q. SO SHE LIVED WITH YOU?

A. She lived with us, and she was the very first one to pursue her emigration on her own because she realized she was the very last one in the upper grades in Frankfurt, then moved to Berlin; and from there, pursued her emigration to the United States.

We had a very distant relative, and she contacted her and left -- and was successful getting her Affidavit and packed her things and left as a nineteen-year-old alone on the third of November, 1938, and arrived in New York the day of the Kristallnacht; and it was largely due to her efforts later that all of us got out.

Q. WHY DID YOU MOVE TO BERLIN?

A. The main reason was the school, and my parents had always commuted back and forth between Berlin and Frankfurt. Their families on both sides lived in Berlin, both my mother's family and my dad's.

Q. WERE YOU A LARGE FAMILY?

A. No, there were the four of us, my sister and I and my parents in the immediately family. There were, well, it depends on what you call "large" anyway. On my mother's side, there were two aunts and an uncle and a grandmother. On my father's side was one aunt, his sister, and one daughter; and that was the immediately family.

Q. DID YOUR PARENTS DISCUSS THE THEN POLITICAL SITUATION WITH YOU CHILDREN?

A. Very little was discussed ever with us. Children weren't supposed to be -- They were stupid, to begin with; and most of these things weren't supposed to be heard, you know. "Money" and "politics" were dirty words.

First of all, the parents didn't know that much to begin with because they weren't that involved, and my parents in particular. I'm sure my dad was a very loyal, conservative German first; Jew second, and really did not -- I didn't think too much time was spent informing one's self about the political situation until it really came down upon us.

Q. CAN YOU RECORD AN INCIDENT PERSONALLY WHERE YOU CAME INTO CONTACT WITH ANY OF THE NAZI, THE BROWN SHIRTS, OR ANY ANTI-SEMITIC HAPPENINGS?

A. Personally? Well, the first one was -- not -- I, personally, was not attacked, but I was witness to -- was during the Kristallnacht in Berlin on my way to school; and that was, I think, my first real awareness of what happened.

I still probably didn't understand the implications of it, but I was aware that the Synagogue was burning, that on my way to the -- to school, the windows had been smashed. People were being beaten up on the street; and the merchandise was being trampled on, and there were truckloads of young hoodlums who came and were making ugly remarks and were involved in some fights. That was my one recollection of what happened.

Q. WHEN YOU CAME HOME THAT DAY, DID YOU DISCUSS IT WITH YOUR PARENTS?

A. I made a call. The moment I got to school, I called my mother to alarm her to the fact that this was not an ordinary day. No one had turned on the radio. No one knew in our house, at least.

So I was probably the first one to find out because I had -- I left early to go to school, and let her know that she should please get in touch with her mother, with grandmother, and my dad. And so this was -- I don't recall much what happened after that; but it certainly was not an ordinary day. In school, everybody was -- this was a Jewish school in Berlin.

Q. OH, IN BERLIN, YOU WENT TO JEWISH SCHOOL?

A. Yes, yes.

Q. DID YOU GRADUATE?

A. No. No, it would have been the equivalent of the third, the change from third to fourth year in gymnasium,

gymnasien, as you probably know.

Q. SO WHEN DID THE QUESTION OF EMIGRATION COME UP?

A. It came up immediately after my father was arrested because he was given an ultimatum. They let him out, and under one condition, that he better pursue his emigration and get the heck out of there within a reasonable amount of time, I guess within two months or three months. So he pursued the -- the only alternative other than China, which was Cuba.

And so he wrote to that same lady, a distant aunt in the United States, and asked her if she could provide a, an Affidavit for him; and it was, I think you also needed some money deposited in the bank, and I think she agreed to do that, which was very, very nice, not knowing us, whether we would ever pay it back.

Q. TELL US ABOUT YOUR FATHER'S ARREST.

A. Well, the police came in the morning. I was not present. This is according to the story they told us. He came in the morning, together with someone who had already been arrested from the Jewish community; but my father didn't look.

He thought they were both policemen. He couldn't understand what had happened, why they arrested him because he was a good, law-abiding citizen; and as they were walking along, they (frisked) him in Frankfurt. They came by the very store whose owners were the parents of my young friend,



Eva; and they -- the policeman told him, "Well, Doc, why don't you look over there, what happened. It's nothing personal." It's just everybody who was around was arrested.

So he was taken to the, to the City Jail and was kept there, I guess, for a week or so, whereupon, he was one of the few who were released with the stipulation, as I mentioned before, that he would emigrate within a given amount of time, two months or so.

Q. WHO WERE THE PEOPLE WHO ARRESTED YOUR FATHER?

A. The police. This was the local police; and many of them, they were very, very nice to him. Many of them had been his clients for years; and as I mentioned before, my father was very dearly loved by his -- and respected by the -- in the community; and he was very fortunate.

Q. WOULD YOU CONSIDER YOUR FAMILY AS BEING WELL-TO-DO FINANCIALLY?

A. I would say that we had been comfortable, yes. We were not raised as such. We were always raised with the idea that we were going to the poorhouse the next day.

Q. THRIFTY?

A. Yes, and there was never enough money to buy, certainly no luxury for children, and the food was very -- certainly anything but luxurious. It was adequate, but certainly none of us ever grew up with the idea that we were more than just comfortable.

Q. SO NOW YOU'RE IN BERLIN, AND YOUR FATHER HAS BEEN

RELEASED, RIGHT? HE HAS BEEN RELEASED FROM JAIL?

A. Yes.

Q. YOU PURSUE YOUR EMIGRATION NOW?

A. My father's, not ours yet, yes.

Q. JUST YOUR FATHER'S?

A. Yes, just my father's because the women were not in immediate danger. He had to get out. So my father -- my sister left on the third, arrived on the tenth in the United States, and then she worked feverishly to help my dad to get out; and they managed to get a -- get him a permit to go to Cuba, which was then one of the few last places open, other than Shanghai.

Q. WHERE DID YOU GO FOR EMIGRATION TO GET THOSE PERMITS OR VISAS?

A. I think through the Cuban consulate in Berlin. It must have been. I'm not sure.

Q. YOU WEREN'T TAKEN CARE OF BY THE JEWISH AGENCY OR SOMETHING?

A. I don't believe so. I don't believe so. My father still left on his international passport.

Q. OH, HE HAD AN INTERNATIONAL? TELL ME ABOUT IT.

A. I mean he still had his, a valid passport, which way -- which then was later removed by the Germans.

Q. YOU MEAN HE STILL HAD A GERMAN PASSPORT?

A. He still had a German passport, yes, without restrictions and without the "J" printed in there, which

came very shortly thereafter, I recall. Thirty-nine, I believe that happened.

Q. RIGHT. THAT WAS IN 1938 WHEN YOUR FATHER LEFT?

A. Right. Yes, yes, he left, I believe, still on his normal passport.

Q. SO WHAT DAY DID HE LEAVE?

A. He left at the end of December, end of December, 1938, yes.

Q. HOW DID HE GET TO CUBA?

A. Via, I believe, the Hapag Line.

Q. BY BOAT?

A. By German ship. Iberian, I believe, was the name of the ship. I'm not sure.

Q. AND YOU --

A. And we stayed behind; and as soon as my father was able, he sent permits, which were then considered good, legal emigration papers. They were for my mother and me, as well as for his immediate family. That is for his -- my grandmother, for my aunt and my cousin, their daughter.

So there were five for which he took the deposit money that had been deposited, put in the bank. They cost, I believe, something like two hundred dollars a piece, the permits; and later, as we found out, were considered invalid and just not acceptable.

So all of us got permits, and as soon as feasible. That must have happened somewhere around February or so that

we received these. I no longer remember. And the first opportunity that we would have to leave was on a special voyage, which was scheduled for the thirteenth of May, 1939, to Cuba, for which my mother and I booked passage.

My aunt and my grandmother and my cousin were to follow later. Two of them never made it, and the cousin finally still got out to the States just shortly after the war broke out in 1940-something; but my grandmother and my aunt never made it.

Q. WHAT HAPPENED TO THEM?

A. Grandmother was, died in Theresienstadt, I think, and my aunt was transported to Auschwitz, as far as I know.

Q. WHEN DID YOU HEAR FROM THEM?

A. My sister, I think, found that out when she went to Germany, I think, with her husband, the Army of Occupation in Germany after the war.

Q. SO YOU LEFT IN '39 --

A. Mm-hmm.

Q. -- ON THE BOAT?

A. Mm-hmm.

Q. TELL US ABOUT YOUR DEPARTURE.

A. Well, the special trip, that was a one-time voyage which was scheduled for refugees only by the Hapag Line with the, by now, infamous St. Louis. A ship that was normally used for luxury cruises was made available for that one particular trip to Cuba; and there were nine hundred, I

guess, thirty-nine passengers, many of whom had been released from concentration camps under the condition that they would leave, similar to my dad's release from jail at the time.

The ship left Hamburg in, on the thirteenth of May, 1939. There were already rumors that Cuba was going to restrict immigration by Jews. Anti-Semitism was wide spread at that time, not only in the United States, but in Cuba likewise, which was at that time almost a colony anyway of the United States.

There had been a lot of unemployment, discontent, et cetera, but whatever the reasons, the -- but these rumors that the restriction would take effect immediately was not taken seriously.

In any event, the Hapag let the ship run out with almost a thousand people. As we were -- it was a very lovely trip. Nothing was missing. It was, even though it was a German ship, people behaved very civilized.

There were all -- They all had been instructed by our very wonderful captain, who became a hero after the war -- even before, actually, for, as I shall mention later, because he did his level best to save his passengers at the risk of, you know, being at least reprimanded by the German Government.

As we approached, we were getting closer to Cuba, rumors were flying that there may be difficulties with the

landing; but people were talking about this; but it was not taken too seriously.

As we reached the Port of Havana, about twelve days, when was it? About the twentieth, the twenty-second of May, we got there at dawn and where the -- the ship tied up outside the harbor. People were getting ready to go through the regular immigration line; but ours seemed to be quite a bit of delay; and people began to wonder what was happening. Nobody could get off. They said, "Oh, well, you know, things will be taken care of." But they weren't. And it turned out that the Cubans had refused to let us in.

First, we thought, well, some more documents, this and that. But the hours became days, and we stood in this harbor for almost a week.

In the meantime, negotiators had come from the United States to negotiate an admission of the refugees; and, apparently, there was a stalemate. No one got on. No one got off the ship.

The day after we had arrived, all the relatives came out in little, the little boats to come up close to the ship to communicate with their relatives; and this was a daily occurrence. Sometimes they came twice a day, three times a day, and shouted down from up, and everybody tried to make himself heard. So it was bedlam.

All of us were being assured that all that could possibly be done is being done and we will get there, just

be patient and optimistic, et cetera.

Well, after about six days of this, the mood on the ship began to deteriorate, to put it mildly. Particularly, there was panic among those who had signed that they would never return to Germany because they knew what fate awaited them, were they to go back. And there was no choice. We were on German soil.

In addition to that, I think it's also -- I should mention we carried Gestapo on that ship, and we also had -- that was openly known, and then there were a couple of spies, also, because Cuba was a, sort of a good listening station for the Germans to find out what the Americans were doing in a potential -- potentially explosive situation in Europe, were they to go to War.

To make a long story short here, after six days in the harbor and negotiations back and forth, the Cubans decided they weren't going to leave us there. They had almost a few times reached an agreement; and then they rescinded on it. It was a question, I think, primarily, of money.

In any event, one day then, the order came that the boat had to leave the Cuban waters and go out into the international zone and await any decision there. So after this, we left; and we left like royalty. This, the exit from that ship, had to be seen to be believed; and that I remember very clearly.

Throngs of people were running along the shore. I mean, there must have been thousands; and the boat was being accompanied on both sides by harbor police and whatever. I mean, we left, you know, if it hadn't been so tragic, it was something to behold the way we left out into the -- to the international zone.

Our captain, in the meantime, was trying his level best to calm, on the one hand, the very upset passengers, to try to get, have discipline among his crew, who were beginning to get very angry and frustrated because they didn't get any shore leave, and were beginning to show hostility towards the passengers for which he said he will not stand, and at the same time, try -- he was aware what was happening.

So he was thinking of all types of alternatives, what can he do with his cargo? And he assured everyone that he will try almost anything to save his passengers, not to take them back to Europe, to Germany.

So one of the contingency plans was to put us down at the coast of Florida. Of course, what happened was the Americans got wind of this, and they immediately sent out a coast cutter and a couple of airplanes to make very sure that we weren't going to be dropped there.

By the way, that little scene -- this is a parenthetical -- was re-enacted this summer on the fiftieth anniversary of this reunion. So we left the American waters.



And the next thing was, "Where can we go?" There were -- America steadfastly refused, and I think this is one of the truly black marks in American foreign policies and, particularly, I think, also Mr. Roosevelt's foreign policy or whatever you may call it. He, I guess, was too chicken to risk his reputation for a few hundred Jews.

The irony of the thing was, of course, there was -- there really -- it would not have been necessary to change the immigration laws because all -- just to let us in six months earlier because almost everybody on that ship, with very, very few exceptions, had an Affidavit to come to the States.

As it turned out in the tragic events that followed, all but very few died when we came back to Europe. All right. I'm getting ahead of the story. The Cubans -- Yes, the captain was negotiating, I guess. The Dominican Republic came up as a possible haven, temporarily. That turned out to be no good.

So finally, we set the course towards Europe. What was he to do? So slowly, but surely, we were heading home, quote, unquote. And every few hours, there were new developments posted on board ship. You can imagine what went on during that time. People were just desperate. There were several suicides, attempted suicides and so on, which is not unexpected.

As we were going towards -- about seventy-two

hours before we were due back in Hamburg, England, France, Holland, and Belgium declared themselves willing to share the passengers.

And so it was that on the 19th of June, five weeks after the departure, we landed in Antwerp and debarked there, leaving the first cargo, which we were the first to get off, those of us who stayed in Belgium.

Then the ship went on to Liverpool, I believe, to let the other contingent that was meant for England debark there.

And the ones who went to France, I think went by train, and those who went to Holland, I think were also picked up in Antwerp, and that was the end of the voyage.

Captain Schroeder revealed later to us that if this would have failed, the negotiations with those four countries, he had a contingency plan to run the ship aground in the British Isles and just say, "Here we are." But he was determined not to take us back to Germany.

So this was, in short, just in brief, the story of the St. Louis. In numbers, tragically, very few survived. Some eighty people were killed on their way over in 1940 when the ship ran on a mine. There were eighty passengers there. Some escaped from Holland -- from Belgium, I believe, when the Germans invaded, and they were caught and shot.

The only large contingent, relatively large, out

of nine hundred, I believe, it was about two hundred or so in total, total that survived; and those were the ones who had gone to England, mostly.

Q. I HAVE A COUPLE OF QUESTIONS HERE.

A. Okay.

Q. YOU MENTIONED IT WAS A QUESTION OF MONEY WHILE YOU WAITED IN CUBA.

A. Ja, I think if the Americans had offered, I think the amount of money, as a guarantee that these people will be no burden to the Government because Cuba, remember, was not a country -- was only a transit country. You could not work there officially.

So you had to be sure that you had enough money to be supported, and that money had to be raised from somewhere by someone. So the Jewish, the Joint Distribution Committee, I believe, and some other Jewish organization from the States were going to take care of that; but they were haggling, I think, about numbers.

Had they said, look, here is the money, instead of saying, well, they demanded five hundred thousand, let's say, and they said, no, four hundred thousand will do, it might have worked.

Q. YOU SAID THAT MOST OF THE PEOPLE, THE PASSENGERS ON BOARD, HAD AFFIDAVITS?

A. That's correct.

Q. SOMEBODY VOUCHING FOR THEM IN THE STATES --

A. That's correct, yes.

Q. -- TO SUPPORT THEM SO THEY WOULDN'T BE A BURDEN TO THE UNITED STATES, RIGHT?

A. Right, but you see, the ones who had the Affidavits, they went to Cuba because they couldn't wait it out in Germany any longer. They had Affidavits to come. We did, too; but things were getting pretty bad in Germany, and Cuba was just the waiting place.

Q. RIGHT. YOU HAD THE AFFIDAVIT, BUT WHAT YOU WERE ACTUALLY WAITING FOR WAS YOUR IMMIGRATION NUMBER; IS THAT CORRECT?

A. That's correct. The number was not up yet, yes. Yes, yes.

Q. BUT THAT VARIED FROM COUNTRY TO COUNTRY OF ORIGIN, DID IT NOT?

A. That's right, yes, but most of them were from Germany, --

Q. RIGHT.

A. -- some, Austria, and some came from other countries.

Q. NOW THE SECOND QUESTION, --

A. Yes?

Q. -- HOW WERE YOU SELECTED WHEN THESE FOUR COUNTRIES DECIDED TO TAKE YOU? HOW DID THE SELECTION TAKE PLACE?

A. I think it was mostly arbitrary; but personal requests, if they had, were -- relatives who had requested

that people be let off there were respected. So even though they said two hundred here, two hundred here, it was eeney, meeney, minie, moe, I think.

But in instances where you said, "I have a sister in England; I'd like to go there," or "I have relatives in France" or so on, they were particularly anxious to have that because those people then would no longer be the burden, also, on the Jewish -- on the welfare system of that country, you see, because if the relatives vouched for them, it would be one less responsibility.

Q. SO THERE WAS NEVER A SITUATION, LET'S SAY, WHERE THERE WERE TOO MANY PEOPLE WHO ASKED FOR THE SAME COUNTRY?

A. No, I think that went very fast. Holland, I think, said we will take two hundred thirty or whatever. Belgium about the same. England about three hundred, and France, similar. So it was also somewhat proportionate to the population, I guess.

Q. SO YOU OPTED FOR WHAT COUNTRY?

A. For Belgium.

Q. FOR BELGIUM?

A. Yes, because I believe it was largely because my uncle, my mother's brother, was in Luxembourg; and I think he had requested that. I'm not sure whether that is actually the reason we came there or whether it was by arbitrary --

Q. YOU WERE THIRTEEN THEN, WEREN'T YOU?

A. Right, ah-ha.

Q. DID YOU HAVE A LOT OF LUGGAGE WITH YOU? DO YOU REMEMBER?

A. Well, personal things. That is all you took, you know, what ships's coffer, these huge --

Q. HEAVY TRUNKS DID YOU HAVE?

A. -- cabins. Yes. Yes, we had a couple each, I think, but that is all our possessions we had. Money, none. You had, what was it? Three dollars or something. You had some money that you could spend on board ship, and actually in dollars, I think we had three dollars, whatever it was. There was no money at all. So that was --

Q. SO YOU DISEMBARKED IN ANTWERP?

A. In Antwerp and then went to Brussels where we stayed, rented a little room at someone's house; and I think twice a week or twice every month, the welfare -- you picked up your welfare check or something. I don't know how that worked. I forgot, but the Jewish community, I think, took care of part of that, and there was something like the (Folkes Kuche), public kind of kitchen.

Q. FEEDING PROGRAM?

A. A feeding program of some sort, and I think my mother got a few dollars from her brother. It didn't amount to much, but he did finally pay for or helped to pay for our passage when we left. Yes, I should get ahead then with the story.

Q. GO AHEAD.

A. We were among, I think, about -- among the first and certainly not the last, but among the last who made it in 1940. Our dad came. My father came to the States, and so we had priority. Our number came up, and so we left in -- from Rotterdam in February, 1940.

Q. THAT WAS BEFORE AMERICA CAME INTO THE WAR?

A. That was before America, and it was six weeks before the Germans invaded, right.

Q. HOW DID YOU COMMUNICATE WITH YOUR FATHER IN CUBA?

A. By mail.

Q. THAT WAS EASY?

A. Yes, we got mail from Cuba to Belgium, yes.

Q. AND HE -- WHEN DID HE LEAVE CUBA?

A. He left in December, so he was exactly one year in Cuba, from December, '38, to December, '39; and we followed to Chicago in 1940.

Q. I NOTICE YOU HAVE A COUPLE OF BOOKS AND DOCUMENTS HERE.

A. Well --

Q. WOULD YOU LIKE TO PICK THEM UP AND TELL US ABOUT THOSE?

A. There were, I think there have been several books that have been written about the St. Louis. It caused quite a stir at the time. I think the papers were full of that event, and the story appeared serialized. The first one I

saw in the (Standel), 1950, a German magazine in the early 1950's, was called the Dies Rote J, The Red J, which had to do with the "J" that was put into every Jew's passport at that time.

This is one. [Shows book] This is the -- There are two books by the same author. The first one was called Not a Blessed Land, Kein Gelabtes Land, which came out -- let's see -- in 1961.

Q. THAT IS A GERMAN BOOK?

A. That is in German, yes. And the sequel to that came out not too long ago, and that was, I believe, last year, actually. Just a second. When was that? It doesn't say when it was reprinted, but it is fairly recent because it's an update on this one. It's called the Voyage of the Damned.

There was a British or an American book that came out of the Voyage of the Damned, and it came out on the thirtieth -- thirtieth or thirty-fifth anniversary. I believe it was in 1974. '74, so that would have been the thirty-fifth anniversary of the St. Louis, by Thomas and Witts, called the Voyage of the Damned, on which the subsequent film was based; but this one came out later.

Q. THEY ARE BOTH, I NOTICE, THE SAME AUTHOR?

A. It's the same author, yes. This was done in the sixties. This preceded the -- this one preceded, and also the Thomas and Witts.



Q. BUT YOU TOLD ME -- WOULD YOU TELL US ABOUT THIS PICTURE HERE? [Indicates book cover] THAT IS INTERESTING.

PRODUCER: Yes, if you can hold that book, just set it in your lap.

[Displays book.]

A. It's interesting. The woman on the bridge is my mother; and they have used this particular picture of her standing on the bridge, pointing down. It happened that she was fortunate enough to meet my father on the bridge, and he was -- it was for just a moment or so, he could come up and deliver a pineapple for me, which I had requested.

I wanted to see a genuine Havana-grown pineapple. So he was able to come up to the bridge; and, for some reason, mother was pointing down, and this picture was used to commemorate the whole --

Q. VOYAGE?

A. -- voyage and is, can be seen in gigantic format in the Yad Vashem in Israel. It's that particular photo that they chose.

PRODUCER: Was that taken by a news photographer who was there for a newspaper or by some bystander who took a snapshot?

A. I have no idea because this was already -- These are all the same pictures that have been used over and over again. They already were there in '55. This must have been a photographer who was there. It couldn't have been

news. You know, they -- I think it must have been part of the ship's because these were readily available for the first articles that were written, all the same pictures reproduced over and over.

Q. YOU MENTIONED YOUR FATHER WAS ABLE TO COME ON BOARD?

A. Not on board, just up to the bridge. He just - he was just able to meet her there for a second. She's standing -- well, if you are technical about it, but he came with these -- they came with these little (ba/to/moosh) and came up to the ship everyday, but they weren't normally allowed to get on the ship. So it was just a very special favor that she could, you know. For one second, he came up; and they embraced; and my dad delivered the pineapple for me, I guess.

Q. DID YOU KNOW OF ANY OTHER CASE WHERE THAT HAPPENED?

A. I don't, but it may not have been that, you know, unusual. I don't know. It just -- It's interesting that --

Q. VERY TOUCHING STORY.

A. -- this was the one thing that survived.

Q. WHAT DO YOU HAVE HERE?

A. These are, [shows documents]. I have lots and lots of documents, and there are reams of documents about the St. Louis. It's also in the Annals of the Holocaust. I mean, there's correspondence yea thick [indicates

measurement with hand] on the matter of the St. Louis,  
correspondence between the American Joint Distribution  
Committee and the Cuban Government and between the Hapag  
and --

Q. THE GERMAN SHIP?

A. In Havana and Hamburg, all on behalf of this ship.

Q. HOW DID YOU GET THOSE?

A. Well, these happened to be ours, but I have a -- I  
Xeroxed a stack yea thick [indicates measurement with hands]  
from the Annals of the -- which can be found in any  
university library.

Q. IS THERE ANYTHING SPECIAL YOU WOULD LIKE US TO  
KNOW ABOUT THEM?

A. Well, this -- No, I think what would be  
interesting, possibly, is the -- [holds up papers]. These  
are the permits you see that were given and were sold for  
two hundred dollars; and they turned out to be not worth a  
penny because the Cuban Government said this was illegal.  
This was not done with the approval of the Immigration.  
These are copies here.

PRODUCER: Can you hold one of those up,  
please, for a moment?

Q. JUST MAYBE IN FRONT OF YOU. IS THAT ALL RIGHT?

PRODUCER: That is perfect.

Q. I NOTICE THEY ARE ALL WRITTEN IN SPANISH.

A. Yes.

Q. FOR THAT DOCUMENT, YOU PAID TWO HUNDRED DOLLARS?

A. For a document like this, one paid two hundred dollars.

Q. TO THE CUBAN GOVERNMENT?

A. To what we thought was the Government. They divorced themselves, of course, from this and decided, unless you had a visa, none of this is valid; and a visa was unobtainable in those days. It required a minimum of five thousand dollars per person deposit, and that was like having twenty thousand, thirty thousand dollars. You couldn't conjure up that much money from anyone. Who would do that?

Q. IF YOU HAD NOT BEEN ABLE TO COME UP WITH THE MONEY FOR THE CUBAN VOYAGE, WHAT WOULD HAVE HAPPENED TO YOU? THE RICH CAN MANAGE TO ESCAPE, AND THE POOR WERE LEFT BEHIND, MORE OR LESS, RIGHT?

A. In a sense, I think that is true, yes.

Q. ONE NEEDED MONEY, EVEN TO GET OUT?

A. That's right. And since -- And no money -- well, no money left Germany. This was the -- This was not paid by us. We couldn't pay for it. It was paid by an aunt, a lady whom we didn't even know.

Q. IN YOUR CASE, YES.

A. In our case, an aunt by marriage, an American woman who had no idea who she might bring to the shore here; and she helped all of us to get out. I mean, she -- you

know, we could have been sitting on our fannies and decided, "Well, Auntie Clara, you better support us."

Q. TRUE.

A. You see? But that could have happened easily.

Q. SO YOU CAME TO NEW YORK?

A. We came.

Q. YOU LANDED IN NEW YORK?

A. We landed in New York, and then went to Chicago, yes.

Q. WHERE DID YOU MEET YOUR FATHER?

A. In Chicago, because my sister was in Chicago, and our -- that aunt was. That is how it happened. The Affidavit-giver lived in Decatur, Illinois.

Q. AND SO YOU WERE THIRTEEN AT THE TIME. SO WHERE DID YOU GO TO SCHOOL?

A. I went to school in Chicago. I went to high school as soon as I had learned enough English to manage to understand; and in those days, they did not give ESL classes either. You had to pick it up one way or another, and you did. So --

Q. TELL US A LITTLE BIT ABOUT YOUR LIFE IN THE UNITED STATES.

A. Well, I went to high school for two years in Chicago, and then I went to, started University the following year and worked my way through most of it. In 1949, I accepted my first teaching position at the

University of Kansas, and then gradually migrated westward, and ultimately landed in California; and I have been a teacher almost all my life.

I have taught anything from college to, but primarily high school through many years; and in 1955, I came to -- to Berkeley for the summer. That was from Washington State, and spent the summer at the University of California, where I met my husband, who had just arrived from Canada several months earlier; and I moved then from Washington State to the Bay area; and I guess I have been here ever since.

Q. LIVED HAPPILY EVER AFTER, SO TO SPEAK?

A. So to speak, yes.

Q. DO YOU HAVE CHILDREN?

A. Yes, yes.

Q. HOW MANY?

A. Yes, we have a set of twins, --

Q. OH, WONDERFUL.

A. -- two girls, and they were -- they are going to be thirty this next year.

Q. HAVE YOU TOLD YOUR CHILDREN ABOUT YOUR LIFE?

A. Oh, yes, they know. They know, I think, quite a good deal about my background, their father's background, and -- and they have, in recent years, shown considerable interest in all of those and are very anxious to see that some of the information be preserved --

Q. WONDERFUL.

A. -- for this.

Q. SO YOU HAVE ALWAYS TALKED FREELY WITH YOUR CHILDREN?

A. Oh, yes. Yes, yes, and my husband also has told them, when the occasion arose, about his experiences, and so they are quite well informed.

Q. YOU TOLD ME BEFORE THAT YOUR HUSBAND WAS BORN IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA?

A. Yes, he was born in Prague, and of a Czech father, a Czech-speaking father, and his mother, who was born in the Sudatenland. So he grew up bilingually as so many Jews in Czechoslovakia have.

He went to school there and through university, and I think he was deported in '41 with his mother to (Lodz), and then had an odyssey of about four years through the -- some of the worst concentration camps of eastern Europe; but he survived; and he survived pretty much intact, which is amazing, with a strong affirmation of life and an ability still to enjoy, but surely not without damage.

Q. I HOPE THAT WE WILL BE ABLE TO INTERVIEW YOUR HUSBAND ONE DAY.

A. I think he will, if he is in the right frame of mind. I'm sure he doesn't -- won't object in an informal setting. I think he has no objection to doing that.

Q. DO YOU WANT TO PUT ANY MORE QUESTIONS?

PRODUCER: Yes. I have one more question, and you may have -- You may have talked about this. I have to -- I tune in and out a little bit because I have to worry about other things. You may have talked about this.

Could you give us some sense of what the day-to-day life was like on the St. Louis for yourself? I mean, what happened in the morning when you got up and through the day? What was an average day like, or was there no such thing as an average day?

A. Well, of course, I mean, on the way over, it was a real party mood. Let's face it. People weren't missing a thing there. It was all very lovely. Good food. Good service. All the amenities that you have on a nice ocean liner.

And, as a child, I was also certainly not aware of anything missing. I had a good time. It was constant. I went swimming. I played with other people. The food was wonderful.

It was the anxiety that was imparted, I think, on the way home which, in retrospect also, I can just, you know, barely remember because I -- I believe it isn't too unusual, although I always felt that my case was an unusual one; that I was so totally unaware of so many things at that time, and was it because I was so obtuse, or was it the norm



that kids were kept in that state of mind and that one didn't even -- it didn't even occur to one to ask appropriate questions.

And, my God, you know, when I look today at my little granddaughter at four, she is more aware of what went on around her than I was at age twelve and thirteen; and I wondered if this was an unusual phenomenon that I was either, that I was so backward or that I was deliberately kept that way, and you knew of nothing.

You were oblivious to all sorts of -- you were also not brought up with the sensitivity towards other people; and I mean, when I think back on all of this, how could one not have understood?

So much of what I remember is also -- I'm piecing it together from hearsay, but if somebody asks me, "How did you feel, honestly?" I -- I am at a loss to really reproduce because I also do not remember being in touch with my feelings, and I don't know whether this was something unusual or very -- or something that was common place.

Q. I HAVE HEARD THAT NOW SO MANY TIMES. IT MUST HAVE BEEN THE GERMAN UPBRINGING, THE WAY THE PARENTS KEPT THEIR OFFSPRING COMPLETELY IGNORANT.

A. Completely ignorant in every respect, and totally -- but I must say in all due respect, I think that my parents were ignorant also in so many ways and -- and did not make any attempt to inform themselves.

PRODUCER: Of course, in retrospect, it's all much more portentous than it may have seemed at the time.

A. Yes.

PRODUCER: At the time, people may have been hoping that it wasn't going to be this portentous.

A. Ja, I mean, that is something, that you sit down with kids, and nothing was ever discussed with us. Money, money affairs, you don't discuss it. If you don't have any, that is fine. If you do have any, you don't acknowledge it.

If somebody died, I remember we were not allowed at the age of ten or twelve to go to my grandfather's funeral because it's too upsetting for a child; but at the same token, I wasn't allowed as a ten-year-old to go to my cousin's wedding because children would be disturbing, you know.

Q. SEEN BUT NOT HEARD?

A. Seen but not heard, right. I remember hurtful -- I mean with great hurt today in retrospect that the last day when we came to Belgium, my family, my mother's family was on their way to Chile and we were -- it was my, the eve of my birthday; and my uncle said cold-bloodedly, "Well, the kid can take a sandwich and go to her room, and we go out for dinner." I mean, who would do such a thing today, you know? And this was not uncommon.

Q. HAVE YOU BEEN BACK TO GERMANY?

A. Yes, yes.

Q. WHAT WERE YOUR FEELINGS?

A. Well, you know, it's sort of both attraction and revulsion at the same time, and it's -- I always have to go back like a doggie to sniff it again, and I'm still not cured.

It has always been something that I haven't finished. It's something that has attracted me and repelled me at the same time; and somehow or other, I thought, well, if I go and really -- I'll finally have enough of it, and it hasn't -- It hasn't quite happened.

But what I'm after has very little to do with people because it's the search still, sort of, in the pristine sense for the smells and the tastes of your childhood, which you haven't quite -- you haven't finished. There's something unfinished there. It has nothing to do with people really.

Q. A CERTAIN FORM OF NOSTALGIA?

A. Yes, oh, yes. I would love to go back to Frankfurt, just in the fog, but I don't want to see anybody; but I like to smell the Oder Dam and walk there somehow, and I don't know what I would feel there; but I remember the first time I went back, it was -- when I visited in Northern Germany, in Bielefeld with an exchange student of mine; and I saw that old, you know, these old red (buckstein) --

Q. BRICK?

A. Those big brick buildings of which my school was built also; and for absolutely no good reason, I started bawling like, you know, I mean a building?

Q. YOU DIDN'T CRY FOR THE BUILDING?

A. No. No, of course, not; but what was I crying for? The lost childhood, I suppose, that all of us -- but it is looking for something, and I'm still, of course, paradoxically, also in the business of propagating German language and culture, which, for better or for worse, has always put me in contact with -- the word, "questionable," isn't right, but with people of doubtful elements always because my next question was always, "Where were you at that time?" You see?

And I have hung around German Departments at times when -- during the war and experienced things that were absolutely outrageous in Chicago. We harbored an old Nazi there who was an American who had gone, defected and gone over, too, did spy work for the Germans; and then Northwestern University had the gall to hire this guy.

PRODUCER: Is he still alive?

A. I would suspect he's a survivor. He put enough kids in the world after he came.

PRODUCER: What's his name?

A. Sittler.

PRODUCER: Could you spell it?

A. S-I-T-T-L-E-R. Walter Winchell went on the air at

the time and said "Mr. and Mrs. America, --" Remember Walter Winchell? "-- there is this guy, Edward Sittler, rhymes with Hitler." He was a Nietzsche specialist, no less; and he had the gall; and right after the war, 1947, he was brought over. They gave him a carte blanche to testify.

Q. WHO IS "THEY?"

A. The American Government, and Northwestern University hired him. Only after he appeared after putting -- I don't know how many kids into the world, all American citizens, of course, -- they began to research his past a bit, which became somewhat embarrassing for them because they never looked at his record; and when he finally, you know, applied for his raise, the I-don't-know how-manyeth, they began to be a little bit suspicious of Mr. Sittler, who had the gall to come with, you know, short leder hosen.

Q. THE LEATHER PANTS, BAVARIAN STYLE?

A. The Bavarian style. I mean, even in the mid-west, which wasn't exactly enthusiastic about the war against Germany, even they got riled up. He would come to class in these things, and the guys had just come back from the front, you know, and who needed that kind of thing? So this was also a little vignette out of my student life.

How come -- what was I doing in the German Department? That is another question, of course. Well, the answer was I needed to have a job which would be productive

as quickly as possible; and it was easy for me to do that; and they offered me a T.A.ship there; and so I could do my job. And in any event, that is what happened; but this, too, is a paradox.

PRODUCER: What are your feelings about that, the fact that, professionally, you teach German culture and language in the context of your experience?

A. It's all right. I mean, it is -- I have a great deal of appreciation and actually some love for certain bits of German poetry and writing and language, in spite of it. It just depends; and then at the same time, I mean, there's ambivalence. There's no question about that, and I mean you can't help but be ambivalent about it, and it bothers me when I hear certain people speak German. It doesn't bother me when others speak it.

Q. I MEANT TO ASK YOU. AT HOME WITH YOUR HUSBAND, DO YOU EVER SPEAK GERMAN?

A. We do. My husband says only in emergencies now. I mean, we do it for fun and when we want to impart a certain feeling or some such thing.

For the most part, we communicate in English, and he does not. He claims, of course, his German is not adequate. His German is as good as mine. He was raised bilingually; but he'd just as soon, after his experiences, forget it. He said it should be a dead language anyway.

Q. WHAT ABOUT YOUR CHILDREN? HAVE YOU EVER  
CONSIDERED --

A. Well, they have, unfortunately or fortunately, or for better or for worse, they have mimicked, of course, their father's feeling toward this and said, "Well, it's an ugly language anyway." But whatever the feeling may be, that's all right.

Now, what my feeling is, it depends on the setting. Right now, I'm in a position where, first of all, I'm retired.

Secondly, I'm teaching the language to a group of people where I don't have to weigh every word that I speak; and I can make certain commentaries on what I feel is relevant and don't have to worry whether I'm, you know, dealing with half-grown kids and weigh every word that I say.

Q. THEY ARE ADULTS, IN OTHER WORDS?

A. Yes, yes.

Q. I HAVE ANOTHER QUESTION. COMING BACK TO OR GOING BACK TO THE PLACE WHERE YOU WERE BORN, HOW ABOUT YOUR -- YOUR HUSBAND? HAVING BEEN BORN IN PRAGUE AND WITH THE RECENT HAPPENINGS THERE, DO YOU THINK HE WOULD FEEL LIKE GOING BACK?

A. So far, he has said -- it may change, but so far he has said that he would like to preserve his childhood memories and not disturb them.

He left Prague in 1950, and not under the most opportune -- I mean, not under the most, the best conditions.

However, he has never harbored anything any negative feelings towards Czechs particularly, except some of these bureaucrats in the government, he wanted to escape from anyway.

Q. SO HE DOES NOT HAVE THAT FEELING ABOUT HAVING GROWN UP THERE?

A. Oh, he does not, no. I mean, right now, he is very clear that he doesn't, for the time being. Some friends of ours are just going back. Our neighbor, who's Czech came to him. He is a friend of Havel's, and "How about it, Frank? Would you like to go?"

And he said, "Right now, no. Maybe a little later." I mean, that doesn't mean he isn't interested in what is happening; but he's -- it was sort of -- He was fairly mortally wounded, and it didn't happen to him when he was a youngster. He was a grown man. My husband is quite a bit older than I am, so --

Q. HE MAY CHANGE HIS MIND?

A. He may change. Oh, yes, maybe -- He reads anything that is available. He also, by the same token, he never shies away from going to any new film or presentation on the subject. The Lodz Ghetto, when that came up, he was among the first ones to go because he wanted to see what



they had done with it. He spent two and a half years there.

Q. WHAT IS HIS PROFESSION?

A. Originally, he's an attorney by training. He has never practiced law again. He's a businessman. We have a little store in Berkeley.

Q. OH, GOOD. I HAVE TO COME AND VISIT YOU.

A. Yes. So --

Q. IS THERE ANYTHING ELSE YOU WANT TO TELL US OR WE MAY HAVE FORGOTTEN, A LITTLE STORY OF YOUR LIFE, ANYTHING YOU CAN THINK OF?

A. No. I mean, some of this doesn't hang together too well, but I guess they are just vignettes. Mr. Sittler's story has very little to do with the St. Louis.

PRODUCER: Well, I don't know about that. I think they are connected.

Q. I THINK SO, TOO.

A. But --

Q. WELL, I CERTAINLY ENJOYED INTERVIEWING YOU, HELLA.

A. Thank you.

Q. A VERY INTERESTING STORY.

PRODUCER: Is there anything you want to say, Hella?

Q. ANY MESSAGE FOR US?

A. A message? I'm not good at messages at all.

Q. ANYTHING YOU WANT TO SAY?

A. The moral of the story is I -- I had a very -- For

me, the reunion, to get back to the St. Louis, was a very wonderful experience, to meet some of these people fifty years after the fact.

And it was interesting to see that, almost without exception, they had all become contributing members to society; and surely, I think, in retrospect, nobody would have had to have to be afraid to take these poor refugees in because they all, I think in their own way, had made a worthwhile contribution to the United States; and they never became a burden to society.

And the Kissingers and many of the -- the Einsteins and the, for that matter, Thomas Mann, who was not a Jew or any of this wave of immigrants, has contributed enormously to American technology and to -- in the sciences and the humanities, wherever you look.

PRODUCER: But, unfortunately, that probably wasn't really the issue at the time, was it?

A. Well, the Americans were always afraid that they would. The argument was -- It was an issue because they said they would be a burden. We have a Depression. This was the argument. We have a Depression. We can't accommodate any more refugees. That was the point, but these people really worked hard and --

Q. THEY WERE ALL EDUCATED?

A. And they are all -- I mean, I think they were proportionally, -- it's phenomenal, I think, of that group

of immigrants, how many became not just successful, but outstanding members of society.

PRODUCER: Maybe you could tell us a little bit more about the reunion here. This might be interesting. What -- Were there any surprises for you?

A. Well, you see, all of us obviously who got together, with one or two exceptions of people who were in their nineties, were all -- the rest of us were all children, and none of us remembered the other; and here we are fifty years after the fact.

Most of us were from, ranged from six to twenty, right? And there were about thirty of us in Miami that got together from all different walks of life, but there were the successful businessmen; and they are doctors and the teachers and professors and researchers and lawyers and God knows, chemists and whatnot, all from that very small group of people there; but, aside from the success, it was a very warming experience, too.

There were truly new friendships created. Some of us call one another who, you know, didn't know. Somebody called me the other day. The man lives on the peninsula, just wanted to say hello.

And our host in Miami has on several occasions, for the holidays, called; and I thought that was very, very nice.

The other thing that has happened is, you know, the Captain's nephew, the only survivor of his family, came for the first time. Here is a German, and no idea -- he didn't know what hit him.

He's a young fellow in his, oh, in his late thirties, an artist; and is the only surviving member of Captain Schroeder's family; and he was invited to this reunion in Miami; and he was so touched by all the honors that have been involuntarily bestowed upon him, you see, since he is the closest one.

He didn't even know, and it was a very new experience. This man had never seen a Jew before, let alone been in a temple in Miami. He comes from the border country of (Flensburg) which is up in Denmark there; and here he was. One of the people from the ship, -- and he lives in San Francisco, -- had invited him and gone with him through other parts of Florida; and now he has invited him to come here to San Francisco this coming year.

So -- and I have invited him, also. I said, if he wants to come, he is certainly welcome to stay at my house. He sent packages of stuff from Germany. Among them was the book, reams of Xeroxed materials about his uncle that he had dug up, which I thought was awfully nice of him. So I gave him a call not long ago and just thanked him for all of the trouble he had gone through.

So it was a very nice, very nice experience; and I

think it was a very educational one for him.

Q. DO YOU THINK THIS COULD HAPPEN AGAIN, EITHER HERE OR IN GERMANY OR ANYWHERE ELSE?

A. I wouldn't want to predict. There certainly is room for concern.

I mean, in Germany, if you are referring to the present situation, I think many of us, and we don't have to be Jews from Germany to feel that way; but there is certainly an apprehension about seeing a reunited Germany that quickly, particularly in view of the fact that East Germany has never gone through any purge and has jumped from one dictatorship into the next without the intervening years of democracy.

They have had absolutely no experience with any democracy, right? Quite different from Czechoslovakia --

Q. TRUE.

A. -- because the eastern -- East Germany is -- and also with that hinterland with -- where all of the militarism arose and the agrarian area, it's a -- It's always been the much more conservative part of Germany. I don't know how well they can deal with a democracy immediately after, what is it now? Eighty years of dictatorship? Not that much, but --.

Q. WHAT ABOUT ANTI-SEMITISM IN GERMANY?

A. Oh, that's rising a little bit, and I'm sure it's there until that old generation dies out. I'm not sure that

that would be a by-product also. Ja, I would be a little apprehensive about it.

Q. SOME PEOPLE MAINTAIN THAT THE YOUNGER GENERATION OF GERMANY WON'T HAVE A CHANCE TO BE ANTI-SEMITIC BECAUSE THERE AREN'T HARDLY ANY JEWS LEFT, AND MANY OF THEM HAVE GROWN UP WITHOUT EVER HAVING SEEN A JEW.

A. That is true, but the greatest anti-Semitism has always been in areas where there haven't been any Jews. In the agrarian countries that, the hinterland in most countries is where the -- well, they used to call it the "benevolent anti-Semitism."

Do you remember, the mild? Like the old aristocracy. I mean, they tolerated the Jews. They would never become violent, and they didn't agree to this because this was against their dignity, not because they liked the Jews, but it wasn't dignified, right?

The military, the other stuff, I mean, these guys were scum. I mean, it was a matter of class. The Nazis were scum. Because this was aristocracy, and an aristocrat doesn't lower himself, he doesn't demean himself to handle things like this. That doesn't mean that he would necessarily be very chummy with Mussolini, right, or that he would refrain from making some appropriate digs.

PRODUCER: So you think the German aristocracy is equally anti-Semitic?

A. Oh, they always have been, with very few

exceptions.

PRODUCER: We have heard a couple of stories in the last year of aristocratic people hiding refugees.

A. There have been, but they are the exceptions. The military certainly has always been, as I said, the so-called benevolent anti-Semitists.

Q. It's a dormant kind, which is not too noticeable?

A. Ja, I mean, you're polite, but you know you're here and I'm here, as almost like the racial kind of -- it's the same sort; but these people would not have -- they didn't condone Hitler's methods, certainly; but they didn't stand up against it either. I don't know. I don't have the answer for that.

I remember my brief visit in 1954 when I was back in Germany for the first time, and I went to East Berlin, and they were just having a -- a demonstration against (Hoys), the re-election of (Hoys).

Q. THE PRESIDENT?

A. Yes, and they were marching there, and the loud speakers, and it was as though I had never left. The uniforms had changed from brown to blue. That was the only change I could discern at that time; and I thought, gee, just woke up.

Q. DANKE SCHON. SEND US YOUR HUSBAND --

A. All right. All right.

Q. -- FOR HIS STORY.

[At this point, the transcript is concluded.]