

WALTER FRANK

INTERVIEW WITH: Wilford Frank

Holocaust Oral History Project

DATE: May 15, 1990 PLACE: San Francisco

INTERVIEWER: Constance Bernstein

TRANSCRIBER: Irene Bernstein

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MS. BERNSTEIN: Shall we begin?

VIDEO OPERATOR: Yes, please.

Q. My name is Constance Bernstein, and I'm talking to Mr. Walter Frank at the Holocaust Center of Northern California. The date is May 15th.

A. 1990?

Q. 1990. Thank you.

A. Okay.

Q. All right.

A. Go ahead.

Q. All right. Mr. Frank, I'd like to begin by just asking you something about your background.

A. Okay.

Q. And your childhood. Where you were born, and tell me about your parents?

A. Okay.

Q. And the rest of your brothers and sisters?

A. All right. I was born in 1920, May 1920, as a matter of fact, just about seventy years ago, in Wiesbaden, which is now West Germany, it's near Frankfurt. My father was a physician, what was then called a (PRACTIGINAST) today it would be an internist, a family physician.

And two years after I was born -- I was the first-born, I had a little brother, that is I was told, the stork brought me a brother. In those days the stork brought you. And then I was told that, I asked my father "why did the stork bring me"? I was always thinking of number one.

And then I grew up in Wiesbaden, and I went to school there, to a folkschul, grade school, grammar school, I'd say, and then to the gymnasium, because I wanted to follow in my father's footsteps and become a physician.

I left the gymnasium in, after six years, and got a job and also went to a, another type of school, they trained you for trade and commerce, lectures in accounting, economics, sales and so forth, sort of compare it to some of the business schools here.

And I worked in a factory in Wiesbaden, a Jewish factory, that made medical equipment. I did that until November 10th, 1938. And Kristallnacht occurred.

Q. Okay.

A. And I, along with thirty thousand other Jews, was arrested and sent to Buchenwald.

Q. Okay. Let's stop there and go back. You've covered a lot of territory there.

How old were you there then, at that time?

A. Well, that was 1938. And so I was born 1920. It makes me eighteen and a half years old.

Q. So tell me something more about your childhood? Did you go to, well -- and your family, and your friends and your relatives. Did you have your relatives there?

A. Well, okay, let's go to the relatives. I had in Wiesbaden my grandparents on my mother's side, that is my mother's father and mother.

Q. And were they from Wiesbaden?

A. No, they were from Mannheim. In fact, my mother is from Mannheim, she was born there. My grandfather, her father, was a partner in a large department store in Mannheim. The branch is in Mannheim, (LUBIKSAT and DAMSCHTA and MISCHSTAT), and other cities in that neighborhood, called (OCHILT, OSHAT).

Q. Department store?

A. What's that?

Q. You said a department store?

A. A big department store, yes, a very nice department store. And he had retired. When I got to know him, he was already retired and living in Wiesbaden in retirement, with his wife. And we visited there very often. And I -- always a big thing to go visit grandpa and grandma.

Q. Did they have a big house?

A. They had a, they had the, the upper flat of a three-story building, which is still there. I was in Wiesbaden just about a year ago, and I saw it, it was still there. And they lived there very comfortably. I couldn't tell you today how many bedrooms they had, but I know they had a beautiful living room, dining room, kitchen, could have been one or two bedrooms.

Then I had in Wiesbaden my mother's sister, who was married to a man, who together with someone else owned a large, oh, what would you call it, stores selling perambulators, bedding, linens, that sort of thing. The firm was called

Hamburg and Wilde. This was Otto Wilde. And they had a son name of Max, Max Wilde. Max is in, now lives in Middletown, New York.

Otto Wilde died the day after -- he came home from from Buchenwald after Kristallnacht. He came home, was very sick for a year, went to the hospital, was taken care of by two German physicians, and died the next morning.

My aunt was deported on May 23rd, 1942. I discovered that last year when I went to Wiesbaden and found the Gestapo lists, that listed her as one of the deportees on that day.

And those were the relatives from Wiesbaden that I recall. There were other relatives outside of Wiesbaden. There was my grandparents on my father's side, who were living in Bebra (VAYPA). He was a native of Bebra (VAYPA), a small town in central Germany, it was a very small town, I'd say it's a village. But it was called a town because it was, had a very large railroad station.

Most trains going north-south or east-west in Germany had to go somewhere through (VAYPA), particularly freight trains. And so it was an important, what they called a (KANOTEN) point, an important railway center. And that's where he was from.

He, his parents were living there, they had a hotel, ran a hotel Jewish hotel, strictly kosher. And we used to go there in the summer, stay there two weeks, three weeks. Kids, my brother and I.

My father's one sister lived -- two sisters, as a

matter of fact, lived in ^{Bebra} (VAYPA), they had married there. Another sister lived in (ISEKNOK). And they're all gone. They were killed during the Holocaust. We don't know exactly where, Auschwitz probably. My grandparents died before things got bad, died before or shortly during the Hitler period.

Q. These are your father's parents?

A. And my father, my father and mother, my brother and I were able to get out of Germany after Kristallnacht and get to Shanghai. And that's the later story. We're not quite there yet.

Q. So you had grandparents in kind of a country, your father's parents?

A. My father -- they were in sort of a country setting, I'd say, small town, in which everybody knew everybody else, in which -- this is not just the Jewish population but other population too. My grandfather, Isadore, was very well-known in ^{Bebra} (VAYPA) for many years. He was a member of the City Council, sort of an unofficial conciliare, an arbitrator for disputes that you wouldn't take before the courts because the courts would take too long. The form is if they had a problem they would go to Isadore and he would fix it all up.

Q. Was this just for Jews, though?

A. No, it was. . .

Q. For everyone?

A. The Jews weren't farmers, in those days they were tradesmen. He would be the sort of arbitrator between one farmer and another in a dispute about a piece of land, a dispute about a cow dispute, a dispute about merchandise, whatever, you

know. And he was well-known in that area for that sort of thing, very very well respected. And good reputation.

I had a cousin who was born there, Ilsa, who died in Oakland a couple of years ago, and she wrote up a bit of a history of what she remembered from those days. I remember seeing it, of course meeting her in (VAYPA), where she was living until she got married, and left for the United States, sometime in the Thirties, '39, something like, '40, maybe, I'm not quite sure.

Yeah, those were the family members.

Then, of course, my father was well-known in the community, not just Jewish community, but community at large. But he was very active in the Jewish community. I'm not sure whether he was on the board of the (YIDDISHA MEIDEN) in Wiesbaden, but he was very active and he was always a man who got -- and in the synagogue, and -- he had a good, let's say, social position, as a physician, he was one of the busy physicians in town.

Q. How did he get to medical school from -- his father ran a hotel, is it?

A. His father ran a hotel. And it's interesting that you asked that. I have just been reading a book called (BERGER OF WEIDERWOLF) published by the Leederbach Institute, a collection of autobiographical material, diaries, et cetera, of German Jews from 1780 to 1945. It's a collection coming out of a larger work, four-volume work, that deals with that.

And they, they indicated there that the people in Seventeen Hundred, Eighteen Hundred area, early part -- late

part of the Nineteenth Century, the Jews were business people, they might be farmers, but were usually not. And they would always be trying to get their children to go into the professions.

And there was my father going into the professions. And he went, he went to borrow the money from his father, went to CHALLAH first. I think he started in Berlin for a while, medical school, and went to Wertsberg and graduated from the University of Bridgeport with a degree as an M.D..

And he told me, I remember that, that he paid every penny that he borrowed back to his father once he was in practice. He was in practice in Wiesbaden for a while, then the war broke out, and he was taken into the German Army, he was an officer, wound up as a captain.

Q. First World War?

A. First World War, regimental surgeon, (STOFSARST), staff officer. And he spent much of his time in France or in Russia. Those were the two fronts that he served at.

Now, a number of years ago, oh, this is probably twenty-five years or more now, I happened to talk to a physician at Keiser Hospital in Oakland, who was a dermatologist, and I was seeing him for some minor skin problem I had. And I detected a German brogue when he was talking. And so I let on that I spoke German too, and about my father, and we talked German, and my father was a physician.

And "oh, what was his name"? And I said "Dr. Fankenheim, which was our German name, Frank is an Americanized version of it, Fankenheim would be a bit of a problem in this

country.

And he said "oh, I, I met your father". And I said "well, what do you mean"?

He said "I heard, during the war, when I was on the Russian front as a physician with one of the German regimens, I heard that there was a very well respected and well educated physician, Jewish physician, who always traveled with a library. And I wanted to meet him, and I made it my business to get a couple of days pass, and I went over and I saw him, and that was your father.

Q. Isn't that something?

A. And we spent two days together. And then I went back to my regiment, and I never saw him again.

Q. That's -- how old was this doctor?

A. That physician must have been at that time in his early Sixties, late Fifties or early Sixties, I'd say. He would have been old enough to have served in the German Army, and my father who was born in 1882, he was probably in his Thirties, thirty-two when the war broke out, and this man must have been thirty, thirty-two, the same age, same age group. So they would get together. It's a small world.

A lot of these small coincides that I've run across, not just in that case, but in other situations too.

So he was well respected, he had a good practice. And we grew up in a medical atmosphere. My mother helped him in his practice to the extent that she took care of the bookkeeping.

She would also take care of the, the chemistry. In

those days you didn't send out to the lab if you wanted to check somebody's urine. You did it right in the doctor's office. And she would do that, you know, check it for albumin, and check it for sugar. You did a lot of tests you don't do anymore in that particular form. But she would do all that work.

She would assist him when there was a big problem, say, setting somebody's leg, she would assist him with the bandaging and the stuff that finally immobilized the break or fracture.

And every now and then I would help too, as I was getting older, and with the bookkeeping.

But my father was a very particular guy. He would -- in Germany, when you went on a bus, you got a ticket. It was punched, and it indicated the value, what you paid for it and so forth. He would collect those tickets whenever he went out visiting patients and didn't use his card.

And many times he didn't use his card. And he would collect those, and he would put them on a string so that he would have records for his income tax. Whenever there was an examination of his tax return, he had everything documented, but everything. If it wasn't documented, he would have not taken the deduction.

And that's probably where I got my early tax training.

But I remember when the income tax people came, the man from the (FENONZA) -- that's what it was called in Germany -- and he would haul out his strings with tape, "take this", and they said "that's okay".

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(Laughter)
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So he had no problem. He was a very, very very careful guy. He just -- a little story kind of illustrates that.

In Germany, when you went to the railroad station, you only got to as far as a barrier. If you wanted to go past the barrier, actually to the platform where the train arrived, you had to pay -- I don't know, a nominal sum, five or ten cents, or something like that, unless you were under five years old, then there's no charge, you know.

Well, my father -- I was in VAYPA during the summer and my father was arriving by train, a visit or something. And my grandparents or uncles, whoever it was, took me to the railroad station to meet him. I was just past five years old, it was in June or July. I was born in May, so five years and two months.

And as they took me to the railroad station, they told the guy at the ticket office, "he's under five"; and he said, "oh, okay, sure, no problem."

So in the evening, as they were sitting to dinner, somebody said, "oh, boy, we put something over on the railroad today, we took Walter to the railroad station, we told them he's under five years old".

And my father got up from the table, walked to the railroad station, just two blocks away, and apologized and paid five cents.

Q. What a man.

A. That was -- that's, you know, he wasn't about to do anything that was remotely bad, against the law.

Q. What a role model for you?

A. Oh, he was a role model, all right. Both my parents were role models, upright, upstanding, no, no fussing around, you do what's right.

Q. What about your mother then, how did she end up marrying your father?

A. Well, her sister was already married into Otto Wilde, the Wilde family.

Q. Yes.

A. Remember that?

Q. Right.

A. That's the man who owned -- that was a partner in the store, that Hamburg and Wilde.

Q. He just died in Oakland, you said? Or the son. . .

A. Otto Wilde died after he came out of the concentration camp.

Q. That's right, that's the son.

A. That's the other side of the family, the son lives in Middletown, New York.

Q. Right.

A. And so her sister was already married, and she was visiting in Wiesbaden -- or maybe living in Wiesbaden at that time -- and there was some kind of a party, and she was introduced to this Dr. Fackenheim. And she thought he was a great bore.

Q. This was the sister, your mother's sister?

A. No, no, it was my mother.

Q. Oh.

A. See, my mother's sister was married. And she introduced
. . . .

Q. I see.

A. . . .my future mother to my future father.

Q. Okay?

A. And my mother thought that this guy was something of a
bore, you know, no big deal.

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(Laughter)

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Q. Your mother?

A. But I think she changed her opinion. Because sometime
later then they got engaged; and in September 1919 they were
married.

And I still have their wedding pictures. They were
married in Frankfurt, a huge wedding, and a lot of people in the
usual photograph with the happy couple in the middle, and the
family and Mishpocken on the wife's side and Mishpocken on the
husband's side.

And the thing that puzzled me when I saw this
picture for the first time and studied it, the thing that
puzzled me was where, where the heck was I? I mean, I mean,
how, wasn't I at the wedding? I mean, family event, you know.

And then I figured it out, I figured it out, I
worked it out myself. I was standing behind grandpa.

Q. So at the time they couldn't see you?

A. Well, I mean, I couldn't see it; and my grandpa was a very tall man. And so I figured out that I must have been standing behind grandpa, and that's why you can't see me in the picture.

Q. How old were you?

A. Oh, I must have been six, seven years old, something like it, you know, when we -- before the age where you know more about these things.

And for a number of years that was my firm belief. And I would tell everybody that, you know, that this picture was hanging in our living room, "you see this picture, I'm behind grandpa."

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(Laughter)

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So I found that it was different later on. But for a long time that was my idea.

I still have it. And because it's those pictures I remember, you know, they're great treasures, and one of few things -- I mean, some of the few things that survived all the trips from Germany to Shanghai, Shanghai to Switzerland.

So that. . .

Q. How did your mother get to Wiesbaden, though? I know that your. . .

A. Well, I think her parents were already retired, and her sister was living in Wiesbaden, as I have told you, because her husband, Wilde, had a store in Wiesbaden. And this is how she

got to Wiesbaden.

My mother, as a daughter of well-to-do Jewish business people was sent to London for eleven months for finishing up. But this was a big thing, that the young Jewish people of means would be sent to Switzerland or France or England.

Q. How old was she?

A. Oh, she must have been sixteen, seventeen maybe, something like that. And this was a very strict institution or school where they were taught you how to behave like young ladies, you know. And they had these rules, no candy in the rooms, and it was that kind of stuff.

And, of course, they smuggled it into the rooms. And my mother told me one time there was a sudden inspection and she had all this candy in there. But she acted like she was fast asleep. Lying on the candy, it made it sort of a mess. But somehow they survived that.

And the things that happened to -- I guess they're happening today too, in similar situations, maybe at colleges. But. . .

Q. Had your mother planned to work at all, or was it just not. . .

A. No, I don't think so. She was never trained for working in the sense that she went to any kind of a school that would pay for any specific career other than a career as a housewife.

Q. Did she finish school?

A. She finished school, right. She, she went to school in Mannheim. And after finishing school, I don't know how far she

went, and whether she went to a gymnasium or some kind of a high school. But she went to the finishing school in London for eleven months. I think she had to come back, because war was threatening and -- so she had to come back to Germany.

She never did train for any kind of work. And I think the idea was that she would eventually marry somebody and -- a professional man; and she did.

Q. How old was she when she got married?

A. 1919, she must have been twenty-five -- twenty-five.

Q. Oh, that was an age difference, wasn't it?

A. Yeah, my father was thirty-seven.

Q. Wow, that was. . .

A. Yeah, she was late, he was late, and twelve years apart. He was twelve years ahead of her. And he was late because of his medical training. He was late because of the war which cost him another four years -- of course, not just him, but all the other people who were in the war, both sides of the, both sides of the frontier, both sides of the (SHUTZENKAR).

And so by the time he got back out and got settled, back in Wiesbaden, it was 1919. He was thirty-seven years old.

Q. Was it a big wedding?

A. Big wedding. And then they settled down in Wiesbaden at (BERN STRALZER SEEDEN), a house that was bombed during the war, it didn't exist anymore. Up in the third floor it's a huge flat, with two bedrooms, a dining room, living room, kitchen, and then the office part, office and treatment room, waiting room, very, very nice place. And this is where I was born, where later my brother was born.

A year ago I was in Wiesbaden with a group of Wiesbaden residents who were invited back by a program that they had been having for a number of years, invited us back, and at their expense, all expenses paid.

Q. And how did you find out. . .

A. Well, I had written to them before, I knew the mishpocken, and I wanted to. . .

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(Trouble experienced with tape)

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They paid everything, airport San Francisco airport, hotel, outings, cash walking around. So they really treated us very nicely. And one of the. . .

THE VIDEO TECHNICIAN: I have to stop a little bit. I'm having a little trouble with the microphone, and I need to take about five minutes to play with this.

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(Pause)

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THE VIDEO TECHNICIAN: All right. I think we're ready to go start up at any time.

Q. I want to explore a little bit about your childhood now, growing up. Okay?

A. Are we talking about. . .

Q. You were talking about last year, you said when you went to Wiesbaden?

A. Right, Wiesbaden. And I'm not going to tell you now the whole story about it. But there was one very old lady there

among this group of about twenty-eight Wiesbadeners, who went back.

And she, when she read my name, she said "I was in your house when you were born. I heard your mother scream". And I said "what were you doing there"? She said "well, I was working in the store, it was on the ground floor, and -- on the first floor, ground floor, first floor, second floor, this is the way they ran it in those days, and I was working there. And I was an apprentice, I was salesgirl, whatever it was. And I, I heard your mother, and then I heard the, that you were born. It was May 1920".

And she was not Jewish. She later married a Jewish man in Wiesbaden 1928, I believe, and they had a son, and she and her son were at this group there in Wiesbaden last year. She and her son wound up in Theresienstadt late in 1945 or early '45, late, the last days of the war, and managed to survive. So they were there.

And there was this woman that said she was there in the house when I was born. And it's, again, a small world.

Q. Yes, fantastic.

Well, let's go back to after your parents were born and -- after your parents were married and you were born and your brother was born -- he was two years younger than you?

A. Two and a half years, two and a quarter.

Q. The social life at that time, was it mostly with other Jewish families, do you remember?

A. It was mostly with other Jewish families, right. We had a housekeeper who was Catholic, so we celebrated the Catholic

holidays and all with her. And we celebrated Christmas -- we didn't have a Christmas tree or Chanukah bush, as you would call it. But we had presents for her, and she had presents for us, and we had a special meal.

But we also did Chanukah, because she celebrated that with us. And, of course, as I grew up, I knew quite a bit about what she was supposed to do and doing. And so the first Friday of the month, I made quite sure that she fasted, because that was a -- I don't know, our Jesus Friday, or something. I made quite sure she always read her Catholic newspaper. Kind of a showman^{shomer}, not just Shabbas, but a showman goyim.

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(Laughter)

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And -- but the social life was pretty much with either the family or other Jewish families in town, colleagues of my father's, or friends of his, or his lawyers, that sort of thing.

But it was a very, very good family life and, of course, Friday nights were always special, that's when we had the evening meal, which was major. Usually during the week we would have our major meal at lunch time, which was a German custom -- much more healthy than eating at night.

And at night you'd eat a sandwich and have a glass of milk, a cup of tea and cup of coffee. But at lunch you had everything from soup to nuts to dessert. But Friday nights, you had your main meal Friday night. And you had it in the evening, and it was always something special.

And I remember many of these Friday nights, particularly one when in the middle of the dinner the doorbell rang, and my father answered. And there was a man who was bleeding profusely, and he was drunk.

And so my father got him in, into one of the rooms, and he put him down, and he said "now, relax, relax, and just, and rest a little bit".

But this guy wouldn't rest. And he was rummaging the around the whole house, he was shouting obscenities, he was drunk.

So I was a little scared. And my father finally took him into his room and gave him a shot of some kind and calmed him down and then banished him out and sent him on his way.

And I was small enough to be very disturbed about that. And I still remember that. It's one of those traumatic things that you remembered. I'm not disturbed about it anymore.

Q. But at the time?

A. Then it was quite a scary thing, this guy hollering.

Q. Excuse me just a minute.

A. And making noise.

Q. Were you very religious? Did you go to synagogue?

A. Yes. We, there were, there were two major synagogues in Wiesbaden, two major communities, you might say. One was a, call it liberal conservative community, which was a large group. And then there was a smaller group which was very orthodox. And that group included, of course, a lot of the Jews who had come into Wiesbaden from Poland, Polish Jews. And those were the two

major synagogues.

The -- the other synagogue was an admissions barracks, very large edifice. The smaller one was the orthodox Schul and (CRECHRISTAS). And the Rabbi there was a Dr. Huntsburger.

Rabbis, of course, were all Ph.D.'s in Germany, they went to school, got their Ph.D., and they became a Rabbi. So the Rabbi was always Dr. Huntsburger, conservative, and the orthodox Rabbi was Dr. Lazarus, who I remember very well, because he was the one under whom I was Bar Mitzvahed. Dr. Lazarus was a Rabbi for the liberal Jew.

Dr. Huntsburger had a son by the name of Joseph, who emigrated to England -- this is another interesting story -- and then he was deported from England to Australia, became a Rabbi, became a Rabbi, And he, a reform Rabbi, and wound up his rabbinical base in San Francisco, Joe Asher, Temple Emanuel, he's now retired.

In fact, he's now quite ill. My old school friend they want to school together, he's in San Francisco. And his son is a Rabbi. And this is, I think, the sixth or seventh generation Rabbi, because a family of Rabbis going back, I don't know how many years.

And we were members in the liberal reform, liberal conservative -- today you'd call it conservative.

Q. Not reform?

A. No, no. Lot of Hebrew in the prayer books; some German, of course, but a lot of Hebrew. Reform has mostly, here in this country, mostly English, some Hebrew. There was a good dose of

Hebrew, a good dose of Hebrew prayers used in the service.

And we went there, of course, Friday nights, Saturday mornings. I wouldn't say that we went every Friday, every Saturday; but very often, particularly to the youth services, which (YUKEN GODEN) took place at least once a month.

And we went to religious instruction; because, of course, Germany, you couldn't avoid, because that was part of your regular school curriculum.

Q. You went to Jewish school?

A. No. No. In Germany, in those days -- and still today -- there is no separation of church and state. Therefore, in a Jewish -- in a curriculum of any school, there is a section that's called religious training. If you're Catholic you go to the Catholic section, if you're a Protestant, the two major faiths in Germany, you go to the Protestant's section; and if you're Jewish you go to the Jewish section.

And the trouble was that with the few Jewish students in Wiesbaden -- there were maybe three thousand Jews altogether in the population of then a hundred and sixty thousand.

All the Jewish kids were collected from all the schools, and they had their classes in the afternoon. Which was something of a bother for us; because while the other kids played football, we went to study Hebrew; terrible to study Hebrew, my God, what a language, my God, the grammar, and the Bible. It was terribly boring to read the Bible, this old stuff about people that we didn't really believe existed.

And I've changed my mind about them in time. I'm

very active right now in the Torah study movement at Berkley. But in those days it was a bit of a problem to go to the school.

But I, I went there, and I got my usual good grades, no problems. And I still remember some of the teachers, Dr. Liliental, Dr. Rapel, and others, most of whom perished in the Holocaust.

Dr. Lazarus was the Rabbi, was able to take a, a disability retirement. He had diabetes, he was a patient of my father's, had diabetes, was retired.

And a Rabbi, of course, was an employee of the state. And because he was retired under disability, he was not arrested during Kristallnacht, you see. A state employee on retirement, you didn't arrest him. That he was Jewish was not a matter. And he was able to go to Israeli -- then Palestine -- lived there for many years. I think he lived to see the state of Israeli established; and died in '49 or '50.

But he was a Rabbi in 1934 when I was Bar Mitzvahed. And I was supposed to be Bar Mitzvahed in 1933, in June, shortly after you're thirteen, okay. But that was right after the (MACHENTITE) the seizure of power by the Nazis. And things were very unsettled, everybody was nervous: "What are you going to do, are you going to Bar Mitzvah, not Bar Mitzvah".

And the Bar Mitzvah was normally a big affair, and normally my Bar Mitzvah would have been an affair of 500 people, a thousand people, I don't know what, family from all over, you know, from Manheim, from DAUSTRA, from VAYPA, from KASTLE, from ISLA.

And so "what are you going to do"? "We're not

going to have a big Bar Mitzvah, maybe we're not going to have a Bar Mitzvah at all".

And finally they decided, my parents decided, to have the Bar Mitzvah in January 1934, which was about seven, eight months later. And that Bar Mitzvah was very small, there were maybe thirty people, twenty-nine Jews, one goy, one nonJew, and that man was a representative of the the Gestapo, he was in the Temple. He wanted to make sure that the Rabbi didn't say anything that was offensive.

Q. Was he invited?

A. Of course not.

Q. He just -- he. . .

A. Well, the Gestapo was almost at every service. When you went to services, there was at least one Gestapo man in the audience to pay attention to what was being said. And, by God, if you said the wrong thing, off you went to Sachsenhausen and Buchenwald and Dachau,

Q. Tell me about the thinking at that time. This is '33. And can you tell me a little about what your parents were talking about at that time and what had happened, especially, and what their response was?

A. Right. The general -- I can't say what my parents specifically said, because I was too young to worry about them, and I was not included in these discussions.

Q. Just their feeling. . .

A. But the general idea of German Jews then was that "well, after all, we've lived in this country for hundreds of years", my family was traced back by some cousin of ours to the Twelfth

or Thirteenth Century, actually traced back paper by paper.

This guy from, this guy Hitler, he's from Austria, he's not even a German and nothing, I mean, he's talking big, he's got to do that, he's got to say all these things in order to attract attention; but he isn't going to do all the bad things that he's saying he's gonna do, because he needs the foreign support. And then, of course, German proverb (unintelligible). And so nothing's gonna happen, and the next election we're going to vote him out of office again, and it's not going to be too bad, and don't worry about it.

And -- and who could imagine that in a country of Goethe Schiller GIRTA, of SHILLA, of Wagner even, great musician -- of Brahms, that, that they would kill people by the numbers? Who could imagine that? I mean, incredible.

And then gradually things started happening. At one time the members of the B'Nai Brith Lodge were arrested, all of them, they kept them in jail, in a police jail for half-day or a day, couple of days, and released again. And that. . .

Q. When was that, do you remember?

A. About '36, '37.

Q. And the reason they were arrested?

A. They were members of the B'Nai Brith Lodge, they were Jewish. You know, there's no reason, there was no argument, you were Jewish; if you crossed against the light, you were arrested and wound up in the concentration camp.

Q. So back in '33, after. . .

A. But it was all -- let me finish, spin out that thought -- it was all sort of haphazard, and it usually happened to

somebody else. And when it happened, there was always the idea, Well, maybe, maybe he really did commit a crime, maybe he did commit a fraudulent bankruptcy, maybe he shouldn't have gotten that German girl in trouble, maybe he --a nonJewish girl, you know; maybe he really did sell merchandise that was not what he, what it was represented to be; maybe he should be in jail, maybe he deserved this. Those were some of the things that people thought at that time.

But it -- it really didn't hit home until November 1938. All of a sudden the Holocaust started. This was the start of the Holocaust. And thirty thousand Jews were arrested and businesses were smashed, synagogues were burned. You could read about it, you've got all the books here, you know what happened.

But that's when people started making massive attempts to get out. We were registered for emigration where the German -- with the American Consulate in Stuttgart, which was responsible for our part of Germany. In 1936 or '37, that's when my parents really made an attempt to get out before Kristallnacht.

I think some uncle of ours, who was an American, came to visit, and he apparently discussed it with my parents; and they decided, well, maybe you'd better get out of here.

Well, the quota for German naturals -- not German Jews, but anybody German born in Germany -- the quota for people born in Germany to emigrate into the U.S. was something like twelve thousand a year, maybe thirteen thousand, something in that neighborhood.

Our number, rating number at the, at the consulate, thirty-seven thousand something. It didn't take much of a mathematician to figure out how long we'd have to wait. And we couldn't wait.

So when Kristallnacht arrived, my father was arrested, I was arrested. He was in the concentration camp, I was in the camp. He was fortunate to be released after two weeks, but I was there for five months. They made an attempt to get out, and they, they picked the only place in the whole world where you could still go without having to ask for a visa, Shanghai.

Q. Okay. I'll get to that.

A. You want to get back.

Q. Yes. I'm interested in how it started, you see, because in 1933 your parents were saying, "well, maybe you shouldn't have a Bar Mitzvah"; and I'm wondering what was their thinking at that time, not to celebrate the Jewishness, or what?

A. The thinking was still, well, maybe it's going to blow over.

Q. But still they were concerned, they didn't want to have your Bar Mitzvah because it would be too obvious that they were Jewish or. . .

A. Well. . .

Q. What was the. . .

A. It was very -- you see, the Nazis took power in Germany in January 33. And those first few months were very turbulent. It was the Reichstag fire, there was a crackdown on the Communist Party, there was a crackdown on the Social Democrats,

there were some arrests of Jews that were targeted because they were journalists that had written against Hitler, or were lawyers and had prosecuted Nazis. But they were all isolated.

But there was a lot of turbulence and a lot of Nazis marching through the streets -- FACULSTIT -- I don't know if you know what FACULstit is, that's a torchlight parade. And that's pretty frightening, you know. And somebody said, "well, let's wait a little, it'll simmer down, it'll settle down, you know, it's not gonna be that bad, maybe as time goes on things aren't -- the soup isn't even going to be as hot is the story, you know, we'll vote him out of office, we'll have another election".

Q. So you had a small Bar Mitzvah. How else, during this time between '33 and '38 were you personally affected by what was going on?

A. Well, personally affected, I don't recall the details anymore. But more and more they cut down the, the extent of which my father could practice, until he couldn't practice at all.

Q. How did they cut that down?

A. Well, they passed laws, one law after another. I have at home a, a record that I brought back from, written record brought back from Wiesbaden that lists all the laws and the government regulations that were passed during the time, that cut down the amount of activities that physicians, lawyers, and engineers and architects -- but particularly physicians and lawyers, could do.

Q. Jewish physicians?

A. Jewish, Jewish physicians could do. And until they finally were told you can't, you can't practice any more at all, Jewish physician couldn't treat a German patient, a nonJewish patient. A Jewish patient could not be treated by a German -- by a Jewish physician unless it was a great emergency, and then there was only one physician in town that was qualified to do that -- qualified by law, not qualified by training.

And this, this was all gradual. This was just a little bit at a time. You see, if all this business of the, of the Kristallnacht event, if all that had happened in '33, the Jews would have been out of there, all of them.

But it was sort of gradual, and you kind of get used to it, and say "well, all right, okay, we can live with that; all right, we can live with that".

It's a lot of, in a lot of ways it was like things that happen in a family, generally someone gets sick, "well, it's terrible, but we can live with that; probably get better, you know". And when it doesn't get better; "well, we can live with that". It gets a little worse, well, you get used to it, it gets a little worse. The party that is sick becomes unable to walk; "well, all right, we'll put him in a wheelchair". But you live with it, you always adjust, you always adapt.

Q. But how could your father make a living after he wasn't able to. . .

A. Well, he was making a living of sorts until the living got smaller and smaller and smaller and smaller. And it wasn't until '36 or '37 that he finally decided, "well, maybe better get out of here".

He had a chance to get out of Germany in 1923, when he had an American patient who said to him "doctor, Germany is bankrupt, it just lost a war, they got all these reparations to pay. Germany is bankrupt, get out of it. I'll fix you up, I'll, I'll pay for your trip to America, I'll set you up in business as a physician, I'll guarantee you income for a year, introduce you to all my friends". He says "after one year, you make so much money you don't need me anymore".

And my father's thinking, "why should I, a German, an ex-German officer, a member of a German family which happened to be Jewish, who had been in Germany for years, with a new family, two kids, brand new kids -- one was two years old, one was brand new -- just set up his family in a beautiful town -- and Wiesbaden is a beautiful town -- gorgeous surroundings, gorgeous climate, why should I leave for America"?

Who went to America in those days? Somebody in the family who committed fraudulent bankruptcy, who got a girl in trouble, who committed something, that everybody chipped in SCHMERTISE, the District Attorney, "What, don't worry, get out of the country, don't worry about it, just send him to America".

And those were the people, of course, later on, who sent us the affidavits of support. I'm not saying that everybody who left Germany went to America with that kind of a -- but that's what happened. America was a country where they were sure, if you picked up gold in the street. But it was essentially a place where there was a lot of crimes, and gangsters. And there was sort of a Wild West California; my God, you mean you have to wear guns all the time, and you're

afraid of Indians.

You know, this was the picture we had of the United States.

Q. What about when you were in. . .

A. Perception.

Q. Sure, of course.

A. Unreal perception.

Q. I understand.

A. Yeah.

Q. When you were in school during this time, you were in a public . . .

A. I was in a grammar school first, and with which there was no problem at all about being Jewish. This was from 1926 to '30. And I was six years old, I went to grammar school, first grade, and I was there for four grades. Then I had to pass very stiff examination in order to qualify to go to the gymnasium. You didn't go to the gymnasium by the fact that you were alive and paid for it. You had to qualify to get in there. Here it's different. You are in high school because you live and breathe.

So I went to the gymnasium, which started at age ten, and it was an eight-year school. And there I was till nineteen -- from 1930 to '33. Of course, there's no problems because that was before Hitler.

And when Hitler started, things got a little sticky, you know. In the morning, they started in the school, the teacher come in, you're jumping up "Hi Hitler". And that's how you started the school day. And, of course, you didn't want to be left out. So everybody raised his hand, including myself.

And there were probably four kids, four Jewish children in that school, four Jewish students. There was Joel Asher, my friend, my brother, and one of my brother's friends who now lives in Frankfurt, retired from some job over there. And we were the only Jewish kids in that school.

And there were maybe eight hundred students in that school. The school still exists. I was there last year, honored guest this time.

And so things got a little sticky. We had the, some of the, what they call the KRISLIDER, the district leader of the Nazi party, he was sitting right next to me, and we were good friends, we played football together, no problems at all.

And then that, another time, a real big Nazi in the, in this particular grade, a fellow by the name of Meixner, it was an X, M-e-i-x-n-e-r, I still remember that, sitting next to me, and we were doing a test, math test. And he was a pretty stupid guy; I mean, friendly, but stupid. And somewhere during the course of the test, I was working away there, the teacher, Dr. Krisner, said "Meixner, don't copy Jewish work", you know, something like that. So Meixner, of course, you know, didn't look at my paper, he looked at his paper.

And after that was over, the teacher called me over, and he said, "you know, I didn't want to offend you, I wanted to show up this Nazi, big deal, he's a big Nazi, and he has to copy Jewish thinking, you know. I didn't want to offend you". He apologized to me. It was not a Jewish teacher, he was a German teacher. So I had relatively little problems in school.

We had one, one teacher who was teaching biology, chemistry and physics, I believe Dr. Boikner, he was an old Nazi, by that it was, you understood, someone who joined the Nazi party back in the early Twenties. And as a result he wore not just a swastika, but a swastika in gold. He was a big deal with those guys.

And he was a bit of a problem, because he was teaching the Mendelian laws of dominant and recessive genes, and all that good stuff. And, of course, he discussed the Jews, with all the recessive genes were in the Jews, and Jews were bad. And he demonstrated biological facts.

And I was sitting in the first row, writing it all down in shorthand, which I had already studied, you know. And he was very upset about that. But I'm supposed to take notes, you know, that day I was writing down all this stuff. So he was always giving me a bad grade. That's the only time I ever got a three minus, you know. One was the best, five was the worst grade, and three minus was pretty bad, from my point of view. I was always at least a two plus type of student. But he was the only one I was really having, in a remote sort of way, troubles with.

My fellow students, even the big Nazis, we were always friends. And what happened later on I don't know. I don't even know what happened to those kids. But I don't remember any specific problems. And I, I left high school because it was either that or they would tell me to get out, because they were trying to get rid of Jewish students.

Q. So when did you leave?

A. I was sixteen when I left high school, and went to, got a job as an apprentice, commercial apprentice, and then went to a, to a commercial training school, which is sort of equivalent to one of our business schools here.

Q. So you were forced to leave school when you were sixteen?

A. I -- let's put it this way, I left voluntarily. But if I hadn't left, I might have been forced a little later to get out. It was time to get out.

Q. How did you feel about that?

A. I didn't feel too good about it, but I didn't have much choice, you know.

Q. And your parents -- that was about the time when they started seriously thinking about leaving?

A. That was the time when they started thinking Maybe we're not gonna be here too long, maybe we'd better get out, maybe we'd better switch, maybe he's not going to become a physician, because we knew already then that I would not be able to go to college, to a university, because I wouldn't be accepted.

They had in Germany then something called numerous clouses -- they did a lot of things in Latin, which was fine by me, because I was studying Latin and Greek. So numerous clouses means that they cut -- it's a quota system; here we'd call it a quota system -- and they'd say, all right, the numbers are closed for Jews, so many Jews can go to college. And that number was smaller and smaller as the years went by, until nobody got to college. And so I, I left that school, but I switched to another school which was equally tough and equally hard, except in another direction.

Q. And they let you in, there was no quota?

A. No. They had to let me in since I was a commercial apprentice. And in those days -- and this might still be true today in Germany -- if you were an apprentice, you were protected by the Chamber of Commerce, which was a state organization. And you had a contract, which was signed and co-signed by the Chamber of Commerce, which an employer could not break unless you committed a terrible crime, stealing money, or some such thing, you know, or setting fire to the factory.

And your employer had not just a job but the duty and obligation to train you. Correspondingly, you got very little pay; I mean, you got fifteen marks a month the first year, twenty-five marks a month the second year. With the regular employer you'd get seventy-five to a hundred marks a month.

Q. So you were in that program for two years?

A. I was in that training, I was in there for a three-year period. But before the three years was out, Kristallnacht occurred, and that was the end of that.

Q. What about your younger brother, what happened to him?

A. Younger brother went also to the same high school.

Q. The gymnasium. . .

A. He went through the same thing, you know, two years behind. And he left school also. And he didn't do, he went along another year or so, but he left school also, and he didn't do anything until we emigrated.

Q. So tell me about that night, now, how did that happen, Kristallnacht?

A. Well, how it happened, of course, I can just repeat the story of Herschel Greenspan.

Q. From your point of view?

A. From my point of view?

Q. Yes, where were you that night, and what was your . . .

A. Well, that night I was in bed asleep. I was working in that factory, and I got up the next morning, and not knowing what was going on, I got dressed, I got up, I -- I think I had a bicycle, and bicycled out to the factory. And met an old -- at least to me in those days he seemed to me to be very old -- Jewish worker, fellow who worked in the factory, who said that the synagogues in Mainz and in Wiesbaden -- Mainz is just across the river -- were burning, and that there's a lot of riots, and some businesses were smashed and whatnot, and things were in bad shape.

And I decided, well, I have a job to do here, I'd better finish it up in case something happens. And then I got a phone call from my mother, who said my father was arrested. And they asked about me and where I was.

Q. Did they come to the house?

A. They come to the house for my father, the Gestapo. So then I decided, well, to finish what I was doing, and I was getting some kind of a shipment ready. And I felt it -- I didn't like to leave things half done. I wanted to tie up loose ends, get all the documents ready. Not that it mattered, of course, it's kind of silly thinking back on it. But this is the way I was.

Q. You had no idea, of course. . .

A. To this day I would do the same thing. I don't ever leave work behind as undone. I wanted to do it. So I did that. And I went home about, I guess, one o'clock, whatever -- oh, another thing happened. I would usually go to a little restaurant in the neighborhood to have a lunch, sandwich or a cup of coffee. They called me and suggested I'd better not come that day, they knew I was Jewish.

Q. How were you feeling about all this?

A. Well I was feeling a little bit apprehensive. And I went home, and I said, "well, what went on. And they said "well, they came", and they just said government orders, they arrested my father.

About two o'clock the doorbell rings, and there was the Gestapo, and said I was under arrest. And I said "well, what, what's going on"? Well, "government orders, I don't know anything about it", he says, "I just have orders to arrest you". He says "you'd better pack a few things, you might be away for a day or two".

So I packed a little suitcase, a little satchel, a few changes of underwear and a shirt, and I took my heavy penda coat along, and followed this fellow. And we walked -- I mean, I wasn't -- I wasn't handcuffed or beaten, or anything else. We just walked like two friends through the streets to the main police headquarters.

And there he took me upstairs, first floor or second floor, I think, I don't know where it was, opens the door, and then gave me a shove, and I went through the door and I was in the police jail. And there was -- and turned over to

the police officers. This was the general police.

So one of the guys said "well, what's your name"? And I told him. He said, "oh, yeah, we've got your father here". He was patient of my father. My father had a lot of police and firemen amongst his patients, so he knew many of them. He says, "he's in number twenty-three, we'll put you in with your father".

So they took me down to the small cell, and there was my father, and put me in the same cell. It was very nice of those guys. So we were there overnight. This was on the 10th, I believe.

On the 11th, in the morning, we were called out, and we were questioned by a Gestapo officer, who had a big list. And he asked me was I healthy, and I said "yes". "Are you really healthy"? I said -- I didn't know if I said "no, I had mumps, fever". But I said "yeah, I'm healthy". And he shrugged his shoulders, put checkmark after my name. Maybe if I had said I'm not healthy, maybe he would have said okay.

That afternoon they took us, called all of us out, put us aboard busses -- these are the busses that are normally used to take people around Wiesbaden to show them a good time. Put us on those busses, and there's this SS officer in the front with a big gun.

And they drove us to Frankfurt about an hour or so away -- today is twenty minutes with the Audubon. And there we arrived sometime in the late afternoon, this was in November, so it was getting dark, at the main railroad station. And there was a mob of thousands of people who were screaming "kill the

Jews, let's tear them apart, and let's. . ."

Q. This was on the street?

A. On the street, yes. And the SS made a path for us to get us into the railroad station rather than. . .

Q. How would of you were there?

A. Oh, a bus full of people. May have been thirty or forty people. But there were many busses. I don't know how many altogether. I don't remember anymore. I just remember the one I was on.

Q. From Wiesbaden?

A. From Wiesbaden. And they object -- their object, of course, was not to, to protect us from the mob, but they had orders to deliver us to the trains. And, of course, they didn't want to lose anybody. And this is why they protected us.

You see, this is again the German mind at work. Work was assigned, you see, they got thirty-three prisoners, and thirty-three prisoners got to be delivered. I -- I -- somebody gets killed or beaten or bloodied or whatever it is, they can't deliver thirty-three. So they had to make a way for us. But we had to pass through that yelling crowd. It was pretty frightening. And we were taken out to a platform, without paying the five cents.

- - -

(Laughter)

- - -

And there we were lined up. And there was a train waiting. And on the train it said "Weimar". And that's when we knew, Weimar was the city where Buchenwald was located. Weimar

is city of GIRDA. Weimar's a nice city, a beautiful city, and in central Germany, but a little bit outside of Weimar is a, a forest called Buchenwald, and in that forest they had built a concentration camp. So we knew that's where we were going.

Q. You knew about the concentration camp?

A. Oh, yeah, oh, yeah. Concentration camps were not a secret in Germany. In fact, I remember in 1935 or '36 reading in the papers a story about that, in the German paper, mind you, that those are camps in which people are trained for work and educated about the German government and the aims of the National Socialist Movement, made it nice, nice, nice, nice, nice sort of thing. But we still knew what was going on, because we had met some people who had been there and come back.

Q. Jews?

A. Jews. So we were taken into the train, put on board of the train, regular passenger cars, third class passenger cars -- third class is hard seats, second class is soft seats -- hard seats, this is what we traveled on usually, anyway, this wasn't any particular hardship.

And then we were had that anybody who opens a window will be shot. Anybody who sticks his head out of the window, shot. Anybody who tries to escape, shot. Every third word was "shot". We were given the rules. And then the train started to move.

And arrived in Weimar a number of hours later. We were told to get out of the car, Snell, Snell, Snell, and there was a book band, a gang of SS officers, SS men with steel rods and ribs, and they yelled at us "Snell, Snell, Snell, one here,

one there, against the wall, don't move, don't move, anybody move gets beaten".

And then we were put on trucks, and again we were given the rules, anybody that's -- shot, shot. Everything -- anything that you do that violates the rules AUSCHOSEN, AUSCHOSEN, AUSCHOSEN.

And in those trucks they took us up to the camp, which is about ten, fifteen minutes outside of the town. A little bit before the main gate, which has the famous inscription ^{Arbeit Macht Frei} HARBRECHT MECH FREIGHT "Work Liberates". I think you have a photograph out there of one of the camps at the SS gate. All the camps, all the concentration camps, had that.

A little bit further in that camp the truck stopped, we were told to get off the trucks and run again through a gang of SS who were beating up on us, into the camp. And there we ran into a scene out of, I guess, Dante's Inferno. There were thousands of people running around, being told to be here, to go there, to lie down on the ground, to get up. Nobody knew what was going on. You were either registered -- this was about two in the morning, middle of the night, search lights all over the place, machine guns, machine guns, barbed wire.

And there we were, and we probably spent, oh, we spent the whole night there being registered, being recorded, recorded again, told to go here, told to be there, not friendly like, yelled at, screamed at. I was, I was immediately separated from my father.

Q. Yes, I was wondering where, at what point were you with your father?

A. I was with my father up to that point. I lost him. I mean, there was -- I found out later that in this camp there were ten thousand nonJews and two thousand Jewish prisoners who had been there before this November 9 -- 10th, before Kristallnacht.

Q. So they were there. . .

A. Who were there for reasons not connected with Kristallnacht. Germans who were Communists, German who had, nonJewish Germans, Germans who had committed crimes of some kind, served their time in jail, and then were arrested by the Gestapo when they were released after serving their regular time.

People who had refused to do public works; for example, they, an insurance agent who was called up by the Gestapo, by the National Socialist Workers Party to work on a bridge project; and he would say, "well, gee, I can't do that, I'm an insurance agent". And they'd say "oh, is that right"? And beginning there he was in the concentration camp.

Social Democrats, Catholics, some Gypsies, Jews who had committed political crimes, Jews who had committed what was called RAFENSHANDER, sexual intercourse with a nonJewish woman, homosexuals. It was against the law in Germany, still is; homosexuals just arrested, period. Didn't need any political excuse, they were there.

So there were ten thousand, approximately ten thousand nonJewish German prisoners, and two thousand Jews, who had been there before Kristallnacht. And now we were brought in. And within the first week or so approximately ten thousand,

just under ten thousand Jews were brought into Buchenwald, imprisoned there, from, I'd say, ages fourteen to around eighty.

In Berlin they picked a whole school with all the students and everything, put them in the camps. And the confusion was indescribable. It was a regular camp, with regular buildings, permanent buildings, made out of wood, some made out of brick.

And then they'd separated, they had separated a portion of the camps with barbed wire, and in that separate portion they put up five barracks, one A through five A. It was the numbers, and those were the barracks that we had to live in. And the barracks had shelves, and we were living on those shelves. And I can spend probably a couple of days telling you what went on in that camp, but it wasn't very pretty.

But almost immediately after the, after the people got in, they started releasing people. Who were the first to be released? People who had immigration papers and were ready to go. They had people who had their American visa and their American shipping tickets; and -- in their pockets, who could go two days later, three days later. They were sent out.

And some people were sent out maybe -- they're not sure, because they were released, because they were German officers or German soldiers during First World War. That may have been the reason why my father was released after two weeks. And so releases continued.

My cousin was there, my uncle was there, Max Wilde and Otto Wilde, my cousin Max. Otto Wilde was released in early December, was sick already, went home, died the next morning.

Max Wilde went home, was able to emigrate in January '39.

I also met a cousin of my father's, whom I'd never met before, never met again, Julius Fackenheim, who had a son named of Emil. There is somebody, you know, Emil Fackenheim. Emil Fackenheim is one of the most famous Rabbis and sages in Jewish religion. Used to teach at Toronto, a Rabbi, now he's working at the University of Jerusalem. He's very famous, written book after book after book. A philosopher.

Well, Julius Fackenheim's father, he was a lawyer from Holland. And I met him in the camp. But very briefly, by chance. You meet people by chance. Because there's no way to make an appointment, there's no way to say "we'll meet at twelve o'clock under the, under the clock, you know". There's no clock, first of all, you don't have a watch. You mill around, you work up to here in mud. Sometimes you get something to eat, sometimes you don't.

So I met this guy. I said, "isn't your name Emil"? He said, yeah, I'm Julius Fackenheim, okay. He was released sometime in the middle of December.

About a week later my name was called on the P-A system, report to the department one. So if you had an order to report to department one, that meant that you go to the administrative section, which is okay. If they asked you to report to department two, that was trouble, that was the Gestapo. It was almost like the (Unintelligible) G-2 is intelligence, S-1 is administration, S-3 personnel, S-4 supply and services.

Same way in the German Army, the German SS. This was department one. I reported to the department one. And SS officer took me into a room, had me sit down in the chair, very comfortable; says do I know Julius Fackenheim? I said "yeah". He said do I know where he is? I said, "well, he was here, but as I recall he was released about a week ago". "Oh, is that right"? He said "where did he go"? I said "well, I assume he went back to his hometown of Holland".

I said, "well, why -- why you want to know"? And he says "well, we found a savings account passbook belongs to him, and we've got to return it to him by registered mail, we want to be sure it gets there".

Now, this is the same fellow who would have had no hesitation To beat Julius Fackenheim to death or shoot him for some infraction of the rules. But now Fackenheim was out of the camp, he was back among the civilian population, and they found his property, and the property had to be returned to him in good order. That's the German mind at work.

Q. Very strange.

A. It's crazy, you know. So he thanked me, and he told me to go back to other camp. And I went back to the camp. That was it. That was December.

Well, things went along, people were released, people were released. Finally there were about, oh, I'd say two hundred or so left out of the ten thousand, two hundred. And at that point they decided to liquidate that separate camp as those barracks one A through five A.

You might say that after that I had lived in that

suit that I wore when I was arrested. I had not once, not once taken that suit off me, or washed, or showered, not once. I was living in the underwear and the shirt and suit that I wore when I was arrested, for three months.

So they moved us into the regular camp. For the first time there we were given showers. And those were real showers, this was not fake. And we were not concerned -- we wouldn't have been concerned, wouldn't have known,, anyway when they told us to go into a shower.

Given us showers, and they cut off all our hair, all our body hair, that we had lice, really miserable. And we were given uniforms, regular concentration camp uniforms, the stripes; and the star, yellow and red in our case, which meant Jewish, political prisoner, and numbers. And for a while we were left alone.

When all the rest of the camp would assemble in the morning and then march out, outside the camp and work there, at various jobs, we were left alone. We'd walk up and down, you know, take our time, tell stories, play games. I remember one time when SS officer came down, he played with us.

But then somebody had an idea, Well, those Jews, they should be doing some work. So they started taking us out and put us to work.

Q. You had not been working before, even when you were in the other barracks?

A. No, no, never. Didn't work.

Q. So for three months you hadn't been working?

A. No. We would line up in the morning for roll call.

You'd line up in the unit for roll call, you'd line up for other occasions. For example, one evening we were just having our, quote, dinner, unquote, which was a salt herring and a piece of bread, no tea, and when we were told to line up for roll call.

We lined up. And there was a big gallows in the

You'd line up in the unit for roll call, you'd line up for other occasions. For example, one evening we were just having our, quote, dinner, unquote, which was a salt herring and a piece of bread, no tea, and when we were told to line up for roll call.

We lined up. And there was a big gallows in the middle of the parade ground. And they hung a fellow in full view of everybody. And -- he and another buddy of his had escaped the camp in July, I believe of that year, and his buddy was discovered after a big search about a day later, and killed right then and there.

And this fellow escaped to Czechoslovakia. And after they, you know, on September 30, he was discovered in Czechoslovakia, brought back, and was tried for murder, and was hung in front of, you know, right where we were standing there eating our bread.

You get very cold, for all, you know, "it didn't happen to me".

So we were, we were working, we were working, digging the stones out of the ground, digging -- with our bare hands, digging tree stumps out of the ground sometimes, bricks from one place to another. They were building barracks there, mercury barracks, and we were kind of helping along with some of the raw materials.

Q. This is after they decided that they should put you to work?

A. That's right. And then in 19, in late November, late -- late February 1939, the camp was put on a quarantine. I found out later that two days before the camp was put on quarantine

and completely locked up, no one was allowed in or out of the camp. SS police, nobody. The camp was sealed off. Two nights before that Gestapo had sent a release order to the camp, the camp, to the camp to get me out, because my parents were able to not just get a ticket to Shanghai, but they were -- for me, because the Gestapo wanted to see a Visa, they wanted to see a Visa again. The German mind, there's got to be a piece of paper.

My parents get me a Visa to go to England. Went to the Gestapo February 13th, something like that, 1939; the Gestapo said, "oh, great, your son will be released", sent my order. But a few days later the camp was put under quarantine. And we were told that typhoid fever had broken out. And we were inoculated once a week for three weeks, shots, subcutaneously, in the chest. And it worked. It worked.

And in April, April 12, 1939, the quarantine was lifted, and out of the last two hundred November Jews -- that's what we were called, the November Jews -- I was among a hundred and forty-four to be released and sent home. As far as typhoid fever was concerned, it wasn't typhoid fever.

In the Fifties -- and I read it in Time Magazine -- a, documents were discovered, they were conducting germ warfare experiments on the prisoners; and one of the experiments was, jumped the controls, and was spreading throughout the camp. That's why the camp was put under quarantine.

We knew there was a, there were two blocks, two buildings in the camp, which was surrounded by barbed wire, and we knew that people would only be taken into that but not come

out. Rumors would go around. But we didn't know what was going on. Later on I found out, in the middle Fifties.

Q. They were conducting germ. . .

A. Germ warfare experiments on prisoners.

And so in April 12, I remember very well then our block, feuer and SS officer named of Martin Garrett Summer made a speech, he said, "now you are going to go home, you are going to remember nothing happened to you in the camp, you weren't injured, you weren't sick, don't tell anybody anything about what you saw in the camp or what happened in the camp; because if you do, no matter when or where you are, we're gonna get you, we're gonna kill you". That was his farewell speech to us.

Again, in 1957 or '8, after I was home, at the time I seen a story published under the heading of "The Monster", story of an SS officer in concentration camp who was such a brutal guy, such a cruel guy, that even his own colleagues couldn't stand him anymore. He would do things like taking a prisoner and rubbing his back with steel brushes, and then pouring acid over it, then put the body under his bed. That's the kind of guy he was.

So he was finally sent to the Russian front, got injured there, became a paraplegic, went underground, and then surfaced after the war to claim a pension and get married. Arrested by the German police, was tried, charged with a thousand murders, was convicted of thirty murders, and sent to life imprisonment. Martin, that guy. And I heard last year from Buchenwald, which is now a museum, that he had died about three years ago. But I don't know where he died, whether he

died in prison or not. That was the guy -- still had his picture in Time Magazine. He looked just as bad sitting in a wheelchair, civilian clothes, as he looked in uniform. Just a bad guy, pathological.

I was released, anyhow, April 12, came home; April 13, took all day to process us and get us on the trains. Very interesting story there. Something that, again, shows the difference between the bad Germans and the good Germans.

We were taken from Buchenwald to Weimar railroad station on busses. We were taken through the rear entrance of the railroad station because we looked disreputable. Our clothes had been deloused, not pressed but deloused; we had our hair cut off, we looked terrible. We, some of us were, were starved, some of us were not. Just looked bad. So they didn't want us, to show us to the general public.

And we had instructions, "you do not use a D train", which in Germany is a very fancy sort of train, almost like an express train. "You do not go in the dining rooms, you do not go in the dining cars, you only go to regular", what they called the SONSUE, which is third class type of a train. Okay.

And when you go home, you report to the Gestapo immediately before coming home, before going to your house, you go to the Gestapo headquarters and report, okay. Okay.

So they dumped us in the back of the railroad station and -- the back entrance, and we stood around there, we didn't know what to do. And when the railroad police officer shows up, uniform, gun on the side, and immediately, in a Pavlovian reaction, we took our hats off and snapped to

attention. Because that's what we've learned in the camp, when an SS officer comes, you took your hat off and stand at attention.

The fellow took one look at us, he said "gentlemen", he says, "you're not up there anymore. Relax, put your hats on". He says, "I've just called the Jewish community, they gonna be here in fifteen minutes, half an hour. There's coffee and cake in the meantime. Anything that we can do for you, just let me know". He says, "also you were told that you could not use the express train, you could not do this, you could not do that. From now on, the railroad police is in full charge, has a responsibility of getting you home. If I tell you that you're going on the D train or going to the dining room, that's where you go".

And we thought the earth would open up and swallow up the sky. It didn't. There was a decent German. And sure enough, in a few minutes later, guys came in with rolling trains with coffee and -- and cake and -- I don't know what, to eat.

And I went home on the D train. And there was three of us in that compartment. And there were a bunch of soldiers, German soldiers, sitting in the compartment, same compartment. And they wanted to know where we were coming from, because we looked terrible, you know, didn't look like the regular civilian. And we were kind of noncommittal about that, because we didn't want to say we came from Buchenwald.

And he said, "oh, you probably come from the, what do they call it, labor service". There was a sort of a National Socialist Labor service type of thing, where German Jews --

German youth, not Jews, but youth, were sent out to do public works, get a little training, and then go back to their families, you know. "Oh, you probably from the labor service". Yeah, yeah, yeah, labor service. And we. . .

But then we arrived in Frankfurt. From Frankfurt I changed trains and went to Wiesbaden. Got off the train at Wiesbaden, and said to myself, "well, I got to report to the Gestapo first thing". But how do I do that? I mean, this is Wiesbaden. And Wiesbaden, at about eleven o'clock they roll up the sidewalk. Are they going to be there? Are they going to be awake?

I said, "let me ask a policeman". Well, next thing -- I didn't know, I thought I would find a policeman. So I walked from the railroad station to the main police headquarters, and rang the bell, nobody answered the door. So I said, well, I'll go home and see what happens.

I went home on foot, dragging my little suitcase. And my mother and my father were there. They had already moved out of our apartment, and they were ready to go, packed, everything ready to go. We were supposed to leave on the 18th, and this was the 13th.

My mother said, "yes, the Gestapo told us to report to them immediately, they're worried about you already, why, where did you go"? So she threw a coat over her nightgown and called a taxi, and she and I drove down to PALING PLAZA, which is where the Gestapo was located.

And I, while she waited in the taxi, I went up to the door, I rang the bell and rang the bell and rang the bell.

Finally a guy opens up (indicating). I said, "well, I'm so and so, I'm supposed to report in, I've come back from Buchenwald, and I have orders to report to you immediately. And I said I had papers from Buchenwald".

And he said "oh, are you the guy we've been waiting for"? I said "yes". He says, "well, you could have waited until tomorrow morning, you're two months late, anyway". And I said "well, I had orders to report immediately. I didn't want any trouble". He said "Well, come back tomorrow", he says, "I'm tired". So I said. . .

Q. How do you explain this?

A. I don't know. I don't know. People are people, you know, they're not machines, they're not always as bad or as good. . .

Q. But how do you explain this attitude?

A. The guy was asleep.

Q. Instead of keeping you in the concentration camp for five months. This has got to be crazy.

A. Kafka.

Q. Yes, it's kafka.

A. Yes, it's kafka, that's what it is.

Q. And the policeman at the railroad station, how do you explain him? He knows what's going on just up the road in the camp?

A. Of course he does.

Q. And then he's so nice to you guys. I mean, it's not sensible.

A. More and more you get stories out of Germany, out of

Austria, out of Poland, of nice Germans and nice Austrians and nice Poles -- not many, but there were. There were plenty of them, they just didn't speak up.

Q. But you call him nice?

A. This guy was nice, as far as I'm concerned. There was a fellow who could have made our lives miserable. He was in the railroad station, because he had the authority, he was a police officer. Somebody stood there and didn't take his hat off fast enough, he could have picked up the phone and have us rearrested.

Q. But he didn't say anything.

A. And he called us "gentlemen".

Q. But he tolerated what was going on right down the road?

A. Exactly.

Q. That was. . .

A. He was scared.

Q. Still, you thought he was nice, was nice to you?

A. No, he was. What can I do?

Q. No, the question isn't how do you. . .

A. It happens here too, you know.

Q. It what?

A. It happens here too.

Q. Yes.

A. Except there's people that don't say anything. A black is beaten up in Bensonhurst, you know, people say "well, it's Bensonhurst, it's not west side of the park, you know, it's Bensonhurst, what do you expect, it's Brooklyn, you know, it's the Bronx, what do you expect. Me in Westchester County, why

should I worry about that?" Same thing, same attitude.

Now I've gotten very philosophical about it.

Q. You what?

A. I've gotten very philosophical about it, you know.

Q. I'm just. . .

A. You can get mad, you get mad but -- you don't get mad, get even, you know, that's probably the better attitude.

Q. Well, tell me about that, about how you developed that?

A. Well, over the years, you know -- I mean, I guess in those days, to give you an example, when the war was over somebody asked me "do you want to go back to Germany, would you ever consider going back to Germany"? This was in 1945, '46, after I found out what went on, you know, when we were in Shanghai, you know, learned what was going on in Germany, how six million Jews killed, my relatives killed.

And I said "the only way I ever go back to Germany is with a machine gun". And I believed that. And I have gone back to Germany twice.

Q. Without. . .

A. Without a machine gun. And I met Germans who were very nice. I met Germans who were maybe not so nice. I went to the opera last year -- we got opera tickets free, no charge, we saw the Bolshoi from Moscow, putting on Mazurski play, Mazurski opera, gorgeous. That was the only time I was uncomfortable in Germany. Why? All those German opera-goers, our age or older, in smoking jackets and tuxedos, button-up, quite formal. Was that the guy who took my aunt to the railroad station? Is he one of the guys? Was he in the Gestapo?

The people who forty-five fifty years old, what the heck, you know. I was mothered, fathered, while I was there by two Germans, two teachers, one teacher in the gymnasium teaches French -- teaches Latin and Greek and ethics in the gymnasium where I used to be, the other one teaches French there. Both of them Germans. She told me -- were, she's, I guess, maybe forties, he maybe a little older at that time, they were living together, then in time they got married, both of them Ph.D., high level teachers.

She told me that she found out, to her horror, that her father was in the SS. And she is horrified by it. And she was absolutely devastated. She was born in Peru, and she -- Child, I think her father was a German abroad, but he was in the SS, where he was in that foreign country, he was probably not physically involved in the killing of Jews because he was always out of the country. But he was SS.

And the idea the, that horrified her. This is the type of Germans you meet today.

You meet others, you meet the people who are members of the party called the Republicanus, the Republicans, which in Germany is a rightwing neonazi group, anti-Semites; because they don't play much in anti-Semitism today, they are anti Turks and anti Arabs and anti foreign workers. They're always going to be anti something, always going to look down on somebody, always going to be a level, like in the concentration camp there were levels, there were gradations, there were classes.

Lowest class was the Jew. Then there was the

Gypsies. And there were homosexuals. They were all different levels. And the highest level in the camp was the criminal, the guy who committed some crime, thieves, murderer, they was put in the concentration camp, they were the guys who were the trustees because they were considered to be politically at least correct if nothing else.

And they were the capos, they were the guys who were running the Jewish section until sometime in December 1938 when, one evening, the commandant made a speech over the P-A system, said they had discovered that a coffee and alcohol smuggling ring had been operating in the camp, that smuggled coffee and alcohol into the camp. Those things were restricted, prohibited. And it was SS men who were doing it. SS men who were doing it.

And he said they had been arrested, and they were now present in the camp. And they didn't deliberate on it either. And as a result he trusted the Jews more than the Germans. This was an SS officer. And from that point on every Jewish block had its own Jewish supervisors instead of the German supervisors, because they didn't trust the Germans anymore.

Again, kafka, you know. How do you, how do you explain it? You don't explain it. All you could do is report it, that's what happened.

Q. Let me ask you about what happened to you during that time. You left, you know, you left in November, a young worker -- not a worker, a young man who was working?

A. Who was trying to make a career.

Q. Trying to, right, develop a career. And suddenly you were just taken out of that world and you were transferred to a nightmare?

A. Right.

Q. And you come out of that five months later. What happened to you, to you during that five months?

A. Physically?

Q. Physical and psychologically?

A. I don't know that much happened to me psychologically. When you're that young itself, eighteen, eighteen and a half, you're very resilient -- usually. I'm not saying this as a generalization, I'm not saying everybody is resilient. Some people break down. I didn't. And I, I was glad to get out, I was happy to get out of, within days I was on the high seas leaving Germany, come over to China to a new life, whatever that meant, hoping to get to Shanghai for just a few days so then I would go to America. It turned out to be eight years, not just a few days. But looking forward.

And while I was scared at times while I was in the camp, I mean, this is a place where you never knew in the morning whether you'd see the evening sun go down. And you knew that, but you get even used to that. You lived with that. And it's never bothered me. I've never felt, as so many people do, guilty that I survived and others ^{didn't} different.

I've never felt hesitant about talking about it. I've talked to the students at the University of California about it. I've done this sort of thing before, not in this formal a setting, not in a televised setting; but I've talked

about it and I've written about it. And I've never hesitated to tell people, if they've asked me; when other people, they can't verbalize it, they can't bring it out.

So it may be -- it may be I'm my own psychiatrist, and I probably have a fool for a client -- well, it might be that I have built a capsule around me, and I'm not looking too deep into me. And that may be why I was able to survive, I was able to make it, and to think about it, and not to shy away from that thought.

But specifically why I survived is there was -- I had a girlfriend, and she had gone to Argentina just a few days earlier. In fact, the day that she left -- she was Polish -- Polish parents -- the day that they left for France and then for, shipped to Argentina, that day the Gestapo came to arrest them and take them back to Poland. This was an attempt by the German government to arrest all the Polish Jews in Germany. They did. Anybody who was Polish was shipped to the Polish frontier And pushed across the frontier.

And a lot of these people didn't survive that, because it was bad weather, and the Poles wouldn't take them, the Germans wouldn't have them. They're sitting there in this no man's land.

And we were very much in love, and we had, you know, this -- today I don't know whether it would have lasted, but in those days we were, you were gonna get married, and that's it, and live together forever, and all that, and that's it, and grow old together. And I just had this whole idea, I've got to see that girl again. I've never seen her again, but I'm

in correspondence with her. She's married, she's a grandmother, I'm a grandfather.

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(Laughter)

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Q. But you kept in correspondence with her?

A. Well, for a while I wrote to her love letters and all, and she wrote back. And then I got my "Dear John" letter in Shanghai. And she was, she'd met somebody else, and I suppose it was okay, very nice chap from Berlin, and they got married. And then I stopped corresponding. Not much point in it.

And then we had a brief exchange of letters after the war, when I was in the United States, through my cousin Max was in touch with her. And that stopped.

And then a couple of years ago I had a call from a chap named of Newman in Reno, long distance call, who said that he had a letter from an old friend of his in Argentina, who used to live in Argentina for many years, and she wanted to take up some contacts with our friends and whatnot from Wiesbaden. And so he wanted to know could he give her my address.

I said "what's her name"? He said "Well, Esther Doris Gerniche. Do I know her"? I said "yeah, I think I do". And I gave my address, and we started this correspondence. And we've been in touch off and on ever since. And -- but that's one of the things that kept me going. You had to get out to see that girl again. Not that girl, my girl, you see.

And then these things you have to hook on to somebody, that gives you hope. Because if you give up hope in a

situation like that, that's it, might as well walk up to the electrified fence. You're probably not going to get there because they shoot you before you hit it. But that's what a lot of people did.

Q. Lot. . .

A. A lot of people committed suicide.

Q. Running for the fence?

A. Well, all kinds of ways: Cut your wrist, go to the fence, or try to go to the fence and then you go through the control zone and the guys from up there yell at you "halt", ba-ba ba-ba ba-ba, one more body. So quite a few people passed on that way.

Now, where were we?

Q. How did you change? What happened to you?

A. I don't know that I changed physically. In fact. . .

Q. You must have lost weight?

A. No, I was just going to come to that. I went into the camp, I weighed a hundred and eighteen pounds -- this is German pounds. You add about ten percent, that gives you to the American weight, because the German pound is five hundred gram and the American pound is four hundred fifty-three. So I went in the camp and I weighed hundred eighteen pounds and come out and weighed a hundred and thirty.

Q. Now, how do you figure that?

A. Very simple. The food we got was mostly water. And I was just waterlogged, you know. It was mostly liquids, you know, soup, soup, soup, soup, soup. They had a huge thing of water, and they throw in, I don't know, whatever it is, pork,

meat, some second and third grade, you know, stuff that was not passed by the health department and they sent it to the camp, and they would cook a meal out of it. And if you're hungry you eat it. And so all that you had there was mostly liquid. And that builds up.

Q. Did you lose it right away?

A. I lost it fairly quickly. That's one of those funny things, I weighed more when I came out than when I went in. Because while they didn't feed us well, they didn't really starve us either. That is, we were on starvation rations as happened much later, just didn't get either good food or plenty of it. But it was, well, you could exist on it.

And the chefs, if you call them that, in the camp, were actually ex-Viennese chefs from good restaurants, and they knew how to cook. About the only bad thing that I remember was the first hot meal I got two days after I got to the camp. And all of us got it. It was some kind of whale stew, very fatty stuff. And we were starved. And we just scarfed it down. And I managed to get another helping, and what they call an NOSHLOCK and another helping. "Oh, that's great", you know.

The next day the whole camp came down with diarrhea. The whole camp, all of us. And there were no latrines. And this was the clothes we lived in for three months.

And very interesting, I got a book the other day, Berger of Weiderwolf from the ^{Leo Baeck} Leederbach Institute, it's, these are biographical, all biographical stories, or stories told by children of people, Jews, German Jews from 1780 to 1945. And

there's one piece in it by a fellow name of Hans Berger, from Wiesbaden, who was in Buchenwald. He describes his experiences in Buchenwald. Hans Berger, by the way, happened to be my boss in the factory where I worked. I knew him very well. He disappeared in France, he and his whole family disappeared in France after the war. He was in the camp for three months.

And he reports that a mass of people were milling around and so forth. And he came across a man lying on the ground, semi-conscious, and six other Wiesbaden people standing around him. And that was Dr. Fackenheim, my father. And I didn't know that story.

And he had in his pocket, Berger had in his pocket a little bottle of mouthwash. And so he was able to get my father's lips wet and let him smell the mint. And he was finally able to revive him and get him up again. And they were holding him up because this was roll call time. And they were standing there four hours.

And all around them the people were collapsing and yelling "doctor, doctor, doctor, doctor". And my father, as weak as he was, would go around, drag himself around with that bottle of mouthwash, which he got from Berger, trying to help people, until the SS came and told him to knock it off or they would beat him up.

I didn't know that story because I was separated from him. I just happened to get that thing. And how did I get -- how did I happen to get it? The ^{historian} story in the Buchenwald ^{museum} -- sent me the story -- he typed it up, he copied it out of the book, gave me the name of the book. And I wrote to

the Leederbach Institute, and for twenty dollars, whatever it was, they sent me the book, which was published in Germany, by the Leederbach Institute. Small world, they find out these things.

Berger went to Belgium and France later on, lived there during the war, and disappeared somewhere during the war. His brother Fritz, I saw twenty, twenty-five years ago, down in Southern California. He ran an obedience, a dog obedience training school. I don't know if he's still alive. I just saw him once, when I was down there on some professional activity.

Q. So somehow you lived through the experience?

A. So I lived through the experience. And I wouldn't say I wasn't touched by it. But I also picked up a philosophy so that you can't get too excited about anything, because I'm living on borrowed time. By rights I should have died, cashed in my chips, whatever you want to call it, when I was eighteen, eighteen and a half.

What's more, this was not the only time the Germans tried to kill me. We haven't started to talk about Shanghai yet.

Q. Oh, I didn't realize that you were hunted in Shanghai?

A. I wasn't hunted. Let me tell you the story. In the summer of 1942, at that time Shanghai already completely under Japanese control. Shanghai, up to the outbreak of the war in the Pacific, was a town in which a part was operated by the Japanese state landing party, and another part was international settlement which was run by the International Consulates. One part was called the French Concession, which was run by the

Government of France, was under French control. And about eighteen to twenty thousand central European Jews had managed to get to Shanghai and were living there or existing there. Not many of us were living, many of us were just existing hand to mouth, day by day.

Some people had a business, some people had nothing. We had newspapers, we had theater groups, we had synagogues, plenty of them. We had homes, we had hospitals. I was working on one of the committees that helped refugees get established, to help them interface with authorities. We had, we had loan funds, interest-free loan funds, interest-free loan society in San Francisco, to help you establish a business.

War broke out, all of that collapsed. All of a sudden the Japanese took over the whole town. Nothing much happened to the Jews for a while. And in the summer of '42 -- we didn't know that until after the war -- summer of '42 Otto Mysinger was sent from Tokyo to Shanghai. Otto Mysinger had the rank of colonel in the SS. Before he was assigned to the job of chief of police at the Tokyo German Embassy, he was a Gestapo chief in Warsaw, responsible for the deaths of one hundred thousand Jews. And he had earned himself the nickname "the Butcher of Warsaw".

He was sent to Shanghai where a couple of people, one fellow named of Norman, one fellow I forget his name -- but I'm sure you have a book in your library that has the story -- and he was meeting with the, that section of the Japanese naval police, or Navy, that was in charge of Jewish affairs.

Because about twenty-six thousand Jews, six Russian

Jews, eighteen to twenty thousand European Jews, about eight hundred Iraqis. And there was a Jewish affairs section. And he met with the section.

And he said "look", he says, "those Jews, you can't trust them, they give you nothing but trouble, look what happened in Germany". He said, "I'll tell you what you do", he said, "you got a couple of ships in the harbor, why don't you come in Rosh Hashanah in the fall, surround the synagogues, arrest them when they come out, take them to the ships, take away their clothes, throw the ships out to sea, cut the rudder cables, and let them drift there, and a couple of weeks later send out a gunboat or two and sink the whole mess, very simple, clean, no worries.

"And if you don't like that, take them up to the salt mines, up the Yangtze River. Mr. Norman, from Bergen-Belsen, can tell you how to feed them so that they're good for maybe two or three months of good hard work for the Japanese Empire, and then that'll take care of them. Also, natural way, you know.

"If you don't like that idea, I got another one. We'll establish a concentration camp for you in a little island down the river, and you take them over there and you let them volunteer for medical experiment, like the nervous system resistance to pain, stuff like that". He said "Mr. Norman, from Bergen-Belsen, he's an expert on that, he can tell you how to do these things".

The meeting broke up without any decisions. And one of the men at the meeting was a Japanese vice-counsel by the

(name of SHIGO MITZO SHEBATA. And he went to a little park that was nearby the meeting place -- I've been there many times -- and he sat on the bench and he said to himself "have we, the proud Japanese people, sunk this low to listen to this sort of stuff, let alone to entertain the idea? Is this what we're fighting a war for? We? Tell them".

And then he sought out some Jewish friends that he had -- this was Friday afternoon -- and he said "look, we've got to have a meeting right away, something terrible is going to happen to you. We've got to have a meeting. We have to discuss it".

(And the man he talked to said "well, that's all good and well, but it's Shabbas, and we can't have a meeting now". He said, "but it's terrible". He said "I'm sorry, it's Shabbas, you've got to wait". "No, you can't wait". He said "I'm sorry".

So he found another fellow, who was not quite as fond of Shabbas, and they had a meeting. And it worked. He gave the word to the Jewish leadership in Shanghai, and some of the men that were there, and they got busy. It took six or eight weeks, at great danger to all the participants, until they finally got word of that plan to the prime minister in Toyko, I believe his name was Tobo or Tojo. And that man sent a wire to Shanghai and said "keep an eye on the Jews, keep them under control, but don't touch them".

(One Japanese vice-counsel saved the lives of twenty-six thousand people. If he hadn't been there I wouldn't be here today. The story is told in two books. One is

Japanese Nazis and Jews, by David Krantzler. Another book is called The Frugal Prayer by Rabbi Marvin Tokai and a woman name of Swartz, S-w-a-r-t-z, she's apparently the journalist who helped him write it. Tokai is a Rabbi in Tokyo. He reads, writes, speaks, Japanese fluently, and he found those documents in the Foreign Ministry archives after the war.

I don't know where Krantzler got his story. If you don't have those books; they should be in your library, I would imagine they are. The Krantzler book is, I don't know if it's still in print. The Tokay book was issued in second edition. He was in San Francisco two or three years ago. He spoke at Temple Emanuel. I heard him there, and I talked to him. And I saw him again in New York, at a meeting of Shanghai Jews.

Q. So you have read an awfullot about that time?

A. Yes.

Q. The Germans and Japanese?

A. That's right. See, one of those things that's been happening as the Holocaust period is recorded is very little has been written about the Shanghai experience.

Q. Tell me, after you got back from Buchenwald, your family left five days later, right, to go to Shanghai?

A. Yeah.

Q. It was about when you were eighteen or something?

A. Yes.

Q. And, I mean, your mother must have been just. . .

A. Well, we were all uprooted, just like anybody else.

Q. But to see you all right, I mean that she must have been . . .

A. Well, yeah. I mean, I remember ringing the doorbell, this was about one thirty, two in the morning, you know, after having been on the train all day, all afternoon, all evening. I ring the doorbell, and my mother yelled out "Walter, is that you"? And my father fell out of bed he got so excited. And then they came to the door. And, of course, usual reception.

And my mother, the first thing I said is "look, I have instructions to report to the Gestapo, right away". This is again my nature of doing things that I'm told to do, do them right now, not later. And she said "yes, that's right, they told us they were worried about you", her words, "and they told us to get you over there right away. I'll call a taxi".

So we went over there.

Q. Yes.

A. Where I told you.

Q. That's straining --, well it's not straining, of course, that -- did you learn to be so obedient to authority in the camp too?

A. Not so much obedient to authority, as if I have a job to do, I do it. It's not a question of -- it's more inner directed. It's not because someone told me to, I know this has to be done, I might as well get it done.

Of course, in Germany, if you're told to do something, you'd better do it. This is even true today. I mean, even in a nice sort of way. We were over there, my cousin and I were over there together in Wiesbaden last year. And he's the kind, he's a bachelor, he's never married, and he's always in correspondence with people.

So he's been in correspondence with the chief of the German -- call it, it's not CID, it's the German CIA, BUNDUS CRIMINALAT, which is headquartered in Wiesbaden. Sometime early last, early in '89 or late in '88, a German police officer or two were killed when one of those radio bombs blew up, the kind of thing that was used to blow up that airline, Pan American airline. They found one of those radios. And somebody messed around with it. And a police officer got killed.

So my cousin wrote a letter from -- to the head of the German CIA then. And so he was invited to that fellow when he was in Wiesbaden, and he got invitation to come and visit him.

And the guy who received him said, "Mr. Weil, nice to see you", he said, "let's take a look at your dossier". He said, "We know all about you", and he pulled out his file. And he knew all about him. You know, that's German police, they know all about him. They have him down on a list. Very efficient.

Q. What happened to your brother during this time? Was he taken to the camp?

A. No. My brother was sixteen at the time, and he wasn't taken to the camp. This was all very individual -- it varied from city to city, what happened. In the city of AUCHEN, which is on the Rhine, it's north of Cologne, as I recall -- I'm not quite as good in geography as I used to be -- in the city of AUCHEN, every Jew that was arrested by the Gestapo was put through a rigorous physical examination by a physician.

And one man was told that he had diabetes. And he

said he didn't know about it. He says "oh, yeah, we checked your urine, you've got diabetes, you'd better go home and see your doctor about it and do something about it". I mean, before they send the people off to concentration camps. Of course, he wasn't sent off because he was sick. It varied.

In other cities they'd walk in with guns and they'd shoot people. A little town further up on the Rhine, they walked in, a husband and wife, in bed, and Gestapo came in, lined them up, and shot them. Didn't even arrest them, just shot them. It varied.

Q. So your brother. . .

A. Was not arrested.

Q. Was not arrested?

A. Was not arrested. He was somewhat traumatized. He hid under the bed all day long until he finally relaxed a little bit.

Q. All day long when?

A. When I was arrested.

Q. Oh, yeah.

A. Yeah. And that's what I was told later on, by my mother. I wasn't there. And we all went to Shanghai together.

Q. What about that trip? How long does it take to get to Shanghai?

A. The trip took a month. We left Germany on the 18th of April, and arrived in Shanghai the 19th of May, a month and a day. And from Bermahaven we went to Rotterdam, where we got off the boat, went to Birmingham, England -- sorry, Southampton, England. We were not allowed off the boat. The British were

very -- went to Genoa, Italy, where we were allowed to walk around.

Then we went to Port Site, ^{Said} through the Suez Canal to AIDEN to Bombay, Singapore, Manila -- in Singapore we were allowed off the board, in the Philippines we were allowed off the boat. In Hong Kong we were allowed off. And then in Shanghai we were kicked off. And that's it. And there we were, with two dollars and fifty cents in our pocket.

Q. Two dollars fifty cents?

A. Ten marks, that's all we were allowed to take out.

Q. So what happened to you?

A. The money that they had on board the ship, which we could spend on the ship, hey, cigars, photo equipment, anything, anything we want; then it's locked up on the ship, sent back to Germany. On board the ship we were rich.

Q. Why wouldn't they allow you to take your money out?

A. Oh, the Germans, you were not allowed to take out anything, except ten marks in cash. And if they felt like it, they would send whatever you had left after that to maybe wherever your foreign address was. So we were fortunate to get some of our money out afterwards, it was about six, eight months later, we got a transmittal through one of the British banks of what was left of our very, very small fortune.

We didn't have much of a fortune, to begin with. Then there was a big fine that was levied on all the German Jews because of the big murder in Paris by Herschel Greenspan, which caused the Kritallnacht events. Then whatever we took out of Germany in the way of clothes we had to pay a hundred percent

duty on that. And my father took out his equipment, we had to pay a hundred percent duty on that. And so your money shrank, in a lot of -- what you might call a lot of "legal" ways.

And then what was left, including the money that was sent back from the unused money, spending money on board the ship, was sent back in the blocked accounts, and those blocked accounts were transferred to us finally on the rate of six cents on a dollar, six pennies to the mark. So my parents got out about two hundred pounds, English pounds, and that was it.

Q. So what happened to you when you got off?

A. Well, we got off the boat, and we were safe, we were saved by the committees that were established there. We were put on trucks, taken to camps, refugee camps, and boarded there overnight. Then immediately my father got busy and found a room that he rented for my mother. He didn't want her to be in a camp, a camp-type atmosphere. The camp, this was not a concentration camp, but strictly a refugee camp, pretty bad.

So we put her into a room in the neighborhood of the camp. And then we were in that camp for a couple of weeks. And my father was able to rent an apartment in the same building that the camp was in, the embankment building at the creek. The building is still there. I was there a few years ago. And got the apartment, and we were able to get some furniture out of Germany, also very fortunate, and set up housekeeping there.

Q. Was, did that come on the ship with you, you mean?

A. It came on a separate ship.

Q. And where did your father get the money to rent the apartment?

A. I don't know. It couldn't cost much. The whole project was owned by a Jew, a British subject, a baron who died in California many years later, a very wealthy man, he owned a lot of industry, owned breweries, he owned cotton -- owned, I don't know. Later I worked for him.

And so we were able to get the apartment. And I don't know what the financial affairs were. And so he set my father set up a small practice. He said I ought to do this, go to the City Council, I am a physician, here are my qualifications from Germany, here is my M.D. certificate from BIRDSBURG; and they said, "okay, you're in business". No test, no nothing. It doesn't mean that he was making lot of money, because there was a lot of competition. Almost every other refugee from Germany was either a physician or a lawyer. Maybe not quite so much. But this is what happened.

And I got a job in the laundry, which is where I started my accounting career, a Chinese laundry. True. I was the clerk. I had to run the adding machine, ten-key adding machine. I had to learn Chinese.

Q. Really?

A. Oh, yes. I had to deal with the trick drivers, coolies they called them, who delivered laundry and dry cleaning and collected the money, or brought back the signed bill so that we could record them in the accounts receivable. And I would check their money and count it up, and made sure it tied up and everything. And if it didn't, I would have to discuss it with them in Chinese, of course, and use the proper adjectives -- and conversational.

For example, if the guy didn't bring back the right change, he would discuss with him the question about whether his parents were ever married (unintelligible) you call him a bad name, and he would call me something. And this was in fun, you know. This is how I learned Chinese.

Q. So you didn't take lessons, you just. . .

A. No, you learned it. And the other language which I didn't know, which I needed very badly there, was English. I learned French, I learned Latin, I learned Greek. And then when my girlfriend was going to Argentina, I learned Spanish with her. But English I never learned. So I come to the country in which English is the main language outside of Chinese, of course, and outside of French in the French concession of Shanghai, which I had learned. So I had to learn English.

Q. How did you learn English?

A. I bought detective stories, I listened to the radio. And detective stories, of course, you want to know how it came out, you got to read. And this is how I learned it.

And I happened to be fairly fast. Listen to the radio whenever I could. I got the language -- speak it, of course, at my job. I had to speak English. There was nobody who understood German there. The people I worked with were either Portugese or Russian or English or Chinese. So if I didn't speak any of those languages, German wouldn't help me a great deal. So I learned some Russian, I learned some Portugese, I learned some English, I learned some Chinese, and then I learned a lot of English.

By six months after that job I was, became very

ill, I had dysentary, one of the problems you pick up there. I was in the hospital for six weeks, lost my job. And I went back to the fellow who got me the job in the first place, a wealthy businessman who ran the committee that helped people get settled. And he said "why don't you go work for me". And that's what I did.

And I worked for him first as a sort of a go'fer, and very quickly somebody discovered that I spoke better English than anybody else in the shop, because all the people working there were either from Berlin or Vienna or Germany someplace, Austria.

So I was promoted upstairs to his private office as his personal secretary, number two personal secretary, he had another personal secretary. And I was writing for the newspapers, and I was helping people go to the police and go to the consulate, act as interpreter. And I worked there as an accountant.

And we had a thrift shop helping refugees sell their goods for a reasonable price, so they wouldn't be taken advantage of. And I was keeping the books for that.

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(Interference static)

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(END OF TAPE)

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1

2

Part 2

3

Walker Frank.

4

June 14, 1990.

5

Interviewer: Constance Bernstein.

6

Q. MY NAME IS CONSTANCE BERNSTEIN. I'm

7

TALKING TO WALKER FRANK. IT'S JUNE 14, 1990, AND WE

8

ARE AT THE HOLOCAUST CENTER IN SAN FRANCISCO.

9

A. Right.

10

Q. OKAY. WELL, NOW, WALKER, THE LAST TIME I

11

SAW YOU WE WERE JUST LEAVING GERMANY. I THINK YOU

12

HAD JUST COME BACK FROM -- YOU HAD BEEN TAKEN AWAY.

13

A. I was in a concentration camp.

14

Q. RIGHT. FOR HOW LONG?

15

A. I was in a camp for five months.

16

Q. THAT'S RIGHT. AND YOU HAD JUST COME BACK

17

AND YOUR FAMILY WAS GETTING READY -- WELL, THEY WENT

18

TO CHINA?

19

A. Left.

20

Q. THEY GOT THE BOAT. SO CAN YOU TAKE US FROM

21

THERE?

22

A. I'll take it up from there. I just want to

23

put in one correction to something that was said the

24

last time. I mentioned the * Bundescriminalamt, in

25

Wiesbaden, the German police office, the National

1 Police Office. And I said that's the equivalent of
2 what we have in this country called the CIA. I got
3 my letters mixed up. It's the equivalent of the FBI.
4 It's the law enforcement agency that covers the
5 entire Federal Republic of Germany, and I suppose
6 today it will cover both Germanies. But with that
7 correction, let's go back to organization -- this is
8 April of 1939?

9 Q. I JUST WANT TO -- I REMEMBER VERY
10 DISTINCTLY WHAT YOU SAID ABOUT THE POLICEMAN ON -- AT
11 THE RAILROAD PLATFORM --

12 A. Yes.

13 Q. -- HOW HE TREATED YOU LIKE A GENTLEMAN. I
14 THOUGHT THAT WAS -- WELCOME TO COME OUT OF THE
15 EXPERIENCE AND STILL BE ABLE TO TELL THE GOOD GUYS
16 FROM THE BAD GUYS.

17 A. Well, it was in a way a shock to come out
18 of the very rigidly structured environment of the
19 ^{Buchenwald}*Bundwalden. Probably, rigidly structured is a
20 euphemism for what goes on there.

21 Q. RIGHT.

22 A. And to stand at the platform or one of the
23 back rooms of the railway station in * Weimer and
24 find a man in uniform with a swastika on the uniform
25 and say "Don't worry about those guys." And "You do

1 what we tell you," and "We have made arrangements
2 with the Jewish community to bring coffee and cakes
3 for you," and "Don't take your hats off every time I
4 say something. Just relax. You're among friends."

5 Q. AMONG FRIENDS?

6 A. They used the word friends, but he just
7 treated us as nice people. He was a nice person and
8 we just weren't used to that sort of thing.

9 Anyhow, we went home. I think I told you
10 about an incident in the train where three or four of
11 us, all looking like vagabonds in our clothing,
12 unpressed clothing and our hair shorn off, and we
13 were not accompanied, but in the company of a bunch
14 of German soldiers who were also traveling on the
15 train. And they wanted to know where we were coming
16 from. And we were a little bit scared, nervous,
17 maybe, about telling them we were coming from a
18 concentration camp. So we said, well, it's some sort
19 of a labor detail. They said, "Yeah, yeah. The
20 Voluntary Labor Service." The *
21 fiberlicorhabenstence. They understood that and that
22 was fine with them. They didn't bother us anymore.

23 Yeah. We went from Weimer straight through
24 to Frankfort, where most of us got off -- all of us
25 got off the train, even the ones that had to go on,

1 because you had to change trains there. It was a
2 major transfer station.

3 Q. WAS THERE A WHOLE BIG GROUP OF YOU FROM
4 YOUR HOME TOWN?

5 A. No. From my home town I was the only one.
6 I was the only one going to Wiesbaden.

7 Q. YOU MEAN AFTER YOU CAME BACK FROM THE CAMP?

8 A. That's right. That's right.

9 Q. I THINK WE CAN JUMP TO, WE TALKED ABOUT
10 YOUR MOTHER SEEING YOU AND HOW SHE REPORTED TO THE
11 POLICE AND EVERYTHING. SO LET'S TAKE THE STORY UP TO
12 WHERE YOU AND YOUR FAMILY ARE LEAVING.

13 A. Okay. I come home on a Tuesday, I believe,
14 or Wednesday, Wednesday, and first thing I had to do
15 is buy on whole set of new clothing because nothing
16 fitted me. I put on weight, which is a bit unusual
17 for a concentration camp. Later on that didn't
18 happen. It was mostly water, though, that I
19 eventually lost, from the constant soups they fed us.

20 And we were all packed and the following
21 Monday we got on a train in Wiesbaden and went to
22 *Bremerhaven in Germany, northern Germany. And then
23 boarded a ship on Tuesday, the 18th of April, 1939,
24 my father, my mother and brother and I.

25 We did have one more passage, one more

1 ticket for my mother's sister, but she insisted that
2 she would want to go the United States. Her husband
3 had died, I told you that last time, the day after he
4 came home from concentration camp. Her son had
5 already gone to the United States, was already here,
6 and she didn't want to go to China. She wanted to go
7 to America. The trouble is, she never made it. She
8 was deported on May 23rd, 1942, and we don't really
9 know what happened to her.

10 But there we were, the four of us. At the
11 last minute my father was pulled out of the line by
12 the Gestapo and body-searched for money that he might
13 be wanting to smuggle.

14 At the time the law was that you could not
15 take out more than ten marks per person, which was
16 the equivalent of about two dollars and fifty cents.
17 But he had no -- no money on his body. He wasn't a
18 kind of guy that would do anything that would be a
19 violation of law, even if it was an unjust law. He
20 just wouldn't do that.

21 So he came back and we boarded the ship and
22 the ship left Germany. It was a German boat, German
23 crew, German captain, with one Gestapo on board.
24 That was the purser. And the boat left and went to
25 Rotterdam as the first stop.

1 Q. WERE THERE A LOT OF JEWS THAT WERE LEAVING
2 ON THAT?

3 A. There were several hundred refugees on
4 board the ship. There were other people, Germans,
5 there were Swedes, Swiss, Americans, some British.
6 It was mixed.

7 We were traveling first class. That was
8 the only passage we were able to get. It's not that
9 it was our choice. We would have gone steerage, if
10 that had been available. The only thing that was
11 available was first class passage. And we were
12 living for the next four weeks like prisoners,
13 passengers.

14 We had a lot of money that could be spent
15 on board the ship, but anything that wasn't spent at
16 the end of the trip was sent back to block * {TKA}
17 cancer, Germany. So we were living high on the hog.

18 Champaign, wine, every day. My father
19 smoked expensive cigarettes. I shot roll after roll
20 of film. I had my camera with me. Whatever there
21 was in the way of luxuries that you could buy, we
22 did, because we had the money and it wasn't -- it was
23 worthless because it would be sent back to Germany.
24 We couldn't use it in Shanghai, anyway.

25 Q. AND YOU COULDN'T SMUGGLE IT OFF?

1 A. No. All you did was sign for these things.
2 It was charged against that account; and whatever
3 wasn't used up went back to Germany. Eventually,
4 some of the money was transferred to Shanghai, but at
5 the rate of about six cents on the dollar, which
6 doesn't mean anything.

7 So we went to Rotterdam. We were able to
8 get off the boat, all of refugees. We went to the
9 Jewish organization in Holland. This was before the
10 war. This was still an independent country, and we
11 got a little bit rice and handshakes, and "good luck,
12 fellows," and we went back on board and we went to I
13 believe South Hampton, England, next stop.

14 The British wouldn't let us off the boat.
15 They didn't trust. They were afraid we might stay in
16 England.

17 Next stop, Genoa. Down past the coast of
18 Spain, Portugal, past Gibraltar, on to Genoa. Genoa
19 we were allowed off the boat. Interesting city.
20 Walked around a little bit and went back on the boat.
21 Next stop was Port Said and the entrance to the Suez
22 Canal. There again we were confined to the boat.
23 Then we went through Suez Canal to * Haden, again
24 confined to the boat; to Bombay, again, under British
25 control. They wouldn't let us off the boat. And in

1 Bombay it was to Singapore. Singapore was the first
2 port we were allowed off. And from Singapore to
3 Manila. Again, we visited Manila, walked around
4 there. Very hot, very sunny, very bright. Our first
5 real taste of the tropics. To Hong Kong, where they
6 again permitted us to visit Hong Kong, travel around
7 and some of the organizations.

8 The Jewish organizations in Hong Kong took
9 us on under tow and showed us around, and we went up
10 to Victoria Peak, which a typical visitors place to
11 go. Any time you go to Hong Kong you go up to
12 Victoria Peak; and then to Shanghai.

13 Now, on the boat it was interesting. The
14 captain was a very decent guy; and what he could do
15 to make our life easier, to make this last fling, as
16 it were, nice for us, he did, in a quite sort of way.

17 For example, the rule was that in a German
18 movie house the Jews had to sit separate from the
19 Germans. It didn't say a word but it had to be
20 separate. So what did he do? We had movies every
21 night in the main lounge, and so the Jews were
22 sitting separately from the others right in the
23 center. And the Germans who had to be separate from
24 the Arians, they sat way over on the side. Not so
25 good seat, you know. You're better off sitting in

1 the center.

2 Swimming, the Germans and the Jews were not
3 allowed to swim together. So, alright, Germans swam
4 from 6:00 in the morning to 11:00 and the Jews swam
5 from 11:00 to 4:00, when it's nice and warm, you
6 know. And of course, who was there to protest?

7 There was a certain amount of cabin hopping
8 going on, which I, at my tender age, didn't quite
9 understand at the time, but I heard about it and I
10 know now more about it. And so the captain called
11 one of the Jewish passengers and said, "Look, if this
12 has to come to my knowledge officially, I have to
13 make an arrest and take the person back to Germany;
14 and you know what that means. So you better tell him
15 to cool it, you know. The purser is Gestapo." And
16 so everybody cooled it. It's the kind of guy he was.

17 I heard much later on, I'd say, nine or ten
18 years ago, from somebody I met who was an editor of
19 Jewish News and World Report, that he also knew the
20 captain; that he also traveled on that boat in
21 another -- at another voyage, at another context. It
22 was an American; and he heard that the boat was
23 interned when the war broke out, not interned but
24 taken by the Japanese when the war broke out, and
25 then converted to troop carrier and freight carrier,

1 there that the boat was sunk by either American or
2 British bombers and the captain went down with the
3 boat. And he also confirmed that he was a very nice
4 decent German, somebody that Rabbi Shuas* would call
5 a righteous gentile, a guy who -- and the crew -- the
6 entire crew acted that way. They were international
7 people. Sure, they were Germans but they were used
8 to international persons, international trade; and to
9 them this business of race and Arians and non-Arians
10 didn't mean anything. Didn't mean anything. The
11 only bad, in quotation marks, guy on board was the
12 purser.

13 So we arrived in Shanghai on May the 19th.
14 Nice trip. Months and a day. And having been first
15 class passengers on board of the ship, we got off the
16 boat and were poor as church mice, all of us.

17 Q. YOU HAD \$10?

18 A. Ten marks. Not dollars. Ten marks.

19 Q. EACH OF YOU, THE FOUR OF YOU?

20 A. Together, we had the equivalent of about
21 \$10.

22 There were trucks waiting for us that were
23 operated under the aegis of local committees which we
24 weren't familiar with.

25 It was hot. It was muggy. We were loaded

1 on the trucks. Our bags was taken to a go-down.
2 That's not an English word. It's a Indian word; and
3 it means warehouse. And we were taken to refugee
4 camp. We were taken to a camp in the embankment
5 building, which was a large apartment house on * shoe
6 {KHRABG} creek, and the camp itself was in the
7 basement.

8 My father looked around and immediately
9 made an effort to get my mother out of that rather
10 miserable facility. And so he was able to rent a
11 room for a few Chinese dollars. It didn't cost much.
12 That much money we had. And he put her into that
13 room. So she was at least spared this business of
14 living in a camp.

15 And the three of us, my brother, myself, my
16 father, we lived in that camp for a little while.
17 And then he --

18 Q. WAS IT FULL OF JEWISH REFUGEES?

19 A. Yeah. It was a camp for Jewish refugees.

20 What was happening was that every week
21 hundreds of refugees poured into Shanghai. All
22 together, in a period of I'd say a year or so, maybe
23 a little more, 18,000 refugees. Of course, they had
24 to be housed someplace. So the local people, local
25 Jewish organizations, organized a number of refugee

1 camps, on *Sharfon Road, on Ward Road, in the
2 embankment building, on Alcock Road. All of
3 Shanghai, particularly in the area called * Honqui,
4 which was in the eastern part of Shanghai. And they
5 had warehouses, they had factory buildings that were
6 empty, and they just set up beds, double decker,
7 triple decker beds. Very primitive. But it was a
8 place to be, a place to be taken care of. And then
9 they set up kitchens to pass out food. So the people
10 had something to eat.

11 They established hospitals, first aid
12 stations. A lot of the refugees that came in were
13 physicians. My father was. And so they had more
14 physicians than patients in some areas. Lots of
15 physicians. They had more lawyers than courts, too.
16 Lots of lawyers there.

17 And so people first went into these camps.
18 Some of them, like my parents, were able to get out,
19 using their initiative, using what little resources
20 they had. My father was able to rent an apartment in
21 the same building that the camp was in, on the third
22 floor, on, what would you say, a two room apartment,
23 a bedroom and a living room. The living room became
24 his office and there was a kitchen and a bathroom.
25 There was a nice balcony. It was a comfortable

1 place. And fortunately for us and for him our
2 furniture arrived. The Gestapo had permitted it to
3 go out and it came through and with the exception of
4 some medications and some medical equipment that the
5 Gestapo, we assume, removed from us. Almost
6 everything had arrived that we had send out. So we
7 had beds, we had room, we had furniture, we had
8 dishes and chairs and whatnot.

9 My father was able to set up an office. He
10 had himself cards printed in English and Chinese. He
11 had a very friendly Chinese gentleman translate his
12 name from Dr. ^{Willy} ~~Elliott~~ ^{Frankenheim} to * Forvew Wilham.
13 And it meant something very nice in English. That
14 was very tricky thing, too. A lot of people had
15 their names translated into Chinese for business
16 purposes, but if you didn't get the right translator
17 you came out with someone that didn't sound too nice.
18 But here it's gentle and charming or something,
19 whatever it meant, and he set up shop.

20 He went to the city council. The municipal
21 counsel in Shanghai, which was in charge of the
22 particular area we were living in; and they said,
23 "Okay. You're a physician. Where did you graduate?
24 Here are my documents. *Reichberg, Berlin. Okay.
25 You're in business. Sign here." That was it. There

1 were no tests, no examinations, ^{no} ~~for~~ fees, even. And
2 so he was -- he was able to start a very small
3 practice. It never amounted to much, but he made a
4 few bucks.

5 We registered with the committee which was
6 called the International Committee for Reorganization
7 of European Immigrants in China, the most of were
8 Jews, European immigrants, because there were a
9 number of people that weren't Jewish, who were also
10 coming out, who were half Jewish, they were
11 Protestants, they were Catholics who were married to
12 non-Jews. So the Committee avoided the term Jewish,
13 this particular committee.

14 We registered with them, and I was
15 introduced to the honorary secretary, a Mr. Paul
16 Como. Como was a Hungarian who lived in China
17 practically all his life. There was some connection
18 with us in the sense that his mother died and was
19 buried in Wiesbaden, where we were from. So of
20 course, that already made us a little closer. He had
21 been deported from Shanghai after World War I as an
22 enemy alien, because after World War I, Germans and
23 Hungarians were on the same side and the British had
24 won the war so he was the right side of the law. He
25 was friendly with British and he was -- in fact, he

1 was a Hungarian, honorary counsel for a while, but
2 import and export. And he decided to help immigrants
3 at the time, and he set up this committee which was
4 financed by a British Jew named Sir Victor Sasson,
5 committee to help people to find jobs, to sell their
6 belongings through a thrift shop, to contact, to
7 interact between refugees and the city council, or
8 the foreign counsels, if they need is or the courts.
9 He set up a consultation board to mediate disputes,
10 rather than having them go to courts, Chinese courts,
11 have them mediated by European, German Austrian
12 lawyers. He set up a milk fund and a cold fund and a
13 school fund, to collect money to purchase milk, which
14 was very expense situation and rare in Chinese and
15 purpose coal to send kids to school, in fact,
16 eventually organized a school, separate Jewish
17 school. So I went there.

18 Then he arranged for me to get my first job
19 in a Chinese laundry. That was the beginning of my
20 accounting career. I was an accounts receivable
21 clerk, and I started to learn English. I learned
22 Chinese. I learned a little Indian. I learned how
23 to say good morning in Indian. That's the only thing
24 I learned. I learned some Portuguese, some Spanish.
25 I had a smattering of languages.

1 You got to understand that Shanghai was a
2 rather polyglot place, international community. It
3 was an international community. It was a culture
4 shock to get there, to be there, to arrive there, to
5 go into the city. I mean the street signs were in
6 English and French and Chinese and in the French part
7 of Shanghai, what they call the French concession,
8 everything was French. The uniforms of the police
9 was French. In the international settlement was all
10 English.

11 And in approximately in the international
12 settlement was Honqui, which I mentioned earlier,
13 that was occupied by the Japanese, since the
14 Sino-Japanese war in 1937; and there a lot of things
15 were Japanese. The Chinese spoke a hundred different
16 dialects. There were Indians, Hindus and {SABGDZ},
17 who spoke their language, and practiced their
18 religions and had their customs. The Chinese had
19 their customs. The British, there were maybe 1,500,
20 2,000 Germans in Shanghai. Maybe 6,000, 8,000
21 Russians. I don't know how many Portuguese, large
22 Portuguese community. It was completely different.
23 Some of it that we had never even dreamt of, you
24 know.

25 You got to remember that going to Shanghai

1 for a German Jew was -- it was less conceivable then
2 for you to today think that maybe one day I'll go to
3 the moon, because you've been to the moon. (Shoe like
4 a [positively/policy] {HRAPB} wind [due/do] shrine
5 inner (that's Yiddish)). Meshuginah, you know, crazy.
6 Who goes to China? But there were we, in China.

7 So I got my job in the laundry and learned
8 Chinese. I talked to the coolies every day that --
9 truck drivers, call them coolies, that delivered
10 laundry and dry cleaning and delivered the money for
11 it or brought back the signed receipts for people who
12 paid on the account once a month, and I would check
13 the money and I would check the receipts; and God
14 help this poor guy if that didn't match, if that
15 didn't balance. I would start discussing with him
16 his parentage, all in good fun. I would question if
17 his father was married, you know, all in Chinese.

18 Q. REALLY?

19 A. Yeah. It's customary. This is what you do
20 there. You probably do it in English, a rough
21 environment. This was a rough environment. These
22 were very rough and tough people. These were low --
23 lower economic circles, workers, who work by the
24 sweat of their brow.

25 Q. SO THIS WOULD BE THE WORST THING YOU COULD

1 SAY ABOUT HIM, THAT HIS PARENTS WEREN'T MARRIED?

2 A. Of course. Of course. Then he would call
3 me something bad, you know and laugh. And then,
4 okay. Go away, I'll see you tomorrow. Tomorrow he
5 brought the right sum of money and I praised him.
6 And this is how you learn Chinese.

7 Q. HOW OLD WERE YOU AT THE TIME?

8 A. I was 19.

9 Q. YOU WERE SOPHISTICATED AT 19?

10 A. Yeah. It's something different. This is
11 not the kind of high ^{polite} ~~plight~~, high society type of
12 environment.

13 And we had a lot of fun there. And you
14 learn things. You learned questions that you
15 shouldn't ask. For example, I never ask, even in
16 fun, a Chinese what he thought the weather was going
17 to be like. You never did. And there is a very good
18 reason for it. I saw it again confirmed the other
19 day in, of all places, in a science fiction magazine,
20 Isaac Asimov Science Fiction Magazine, that same
21 story, which confirmed it. What happens is that in
22 Chinese mythology the only one that knows what the
23 weather's going to be like is a turtle, right? And
24 if you asked a Chinese what do you think it's going
25 to rain tomorrow, you're suggesting he's a turtle.

1 That's an insult. You don't call him a turtle. I
2 don't go around calling people pigs in this country.
3 And there, to call him a turtle is an insult. You
4 didn't do that even in fun. I mean, I might question
5 whether his parents were married or his grandparents,
6 for that matter, but you never asked him what the
7 weather's like. One is fun and one is joking around,
8 one is kidding, you know, one is pulling the leg.
9 The other is the slap in the face. You learn it very
10 quickly.

11 I remember something getting back to this
12 business of cards. His name is Picard and he had his
13 name translated to Pigu; and that was a very dirty
14 word in Chinese. He didn't know that. Pigu. I
15 don't know what it meant. I forget, but Pigu is
16 close to Picard. It was Austrian, I believe.

17 Anyhow, I worked for the Chinese laundry
18 for six months, and during that period I picked up my
19 first tropical disease. My father was working as a
20 physician. My brother got a job as an importer,
21 exporter with a Russian gentleman in Frenchtown. And
22 I picked up my first disease, amebic dysentery. It
23 was very hard to diagnose. The systems are very
24 simple. You have diarrhea, violent diarrhea. And
25 you have to take the specimen to the laboratory in a

1 hurry because the bacteria died very quickly when
2 they cooled off. And so by the time you got it to
3 the laboratory, the laboratory didn't find anything.
4 They finally diagnosed it in December of that year
5 and I was immediately taken to Shanghai General
6 Hospital, where I spent the next four weeks. I mean,
7 here you got a couple of shots. Maybe you spend
8 three days in the hospital and four days at home and
9 you're fixed up. It's antibiotics. That was before
10 antibiotics. They had just the conventional
11 medicines, which were slow and which were more
12 palliative and symptomatic in nature rather than
13 actually treating the disease. And so I was in China
14 general hospital for four weeks. I got out, rest up
15 at home another three weeks.

16 And then I got a letter from my Cathy
17 laundry, my employer, saying, "Well, too bad, but we
18 had to fill the job, but thanks but no thanks." So I
19 went back to Mr. Como. I said, "What do we do now?"
20 Como said, "Well, let's see. You speak English
21 pretty well. Can you write English?" I said, "Oh,
22 sure." He said, "Well, okay. Why don't you work for
23 me?" And I got a job for him as a gofer for that
24 committee. "Go here. Go there. You go for this.
25 You go for that."

1 The third day in he sent for me and he had
2 a letter to the editor, which was one way to
3 communicate with the public, letters to the editor to
4 in the North China Daily News. And he had drafted
5 something and he said, "Why don't you write it out
6 all the way and see what it looks like?" And the
7 thing was an appeal for funds for the milk fund.
8 Rather than calling in the journalist and have him
9 write it up. You wrote it up yourself. Then you
10 sent a letter to the editor and the editor would pick
11 it up and sometimes even write an editorial to go
12 along with it. It was a small town sort of thing,
13 you know. Sure there were millions of people, but it
14 was a enclave, surrounded completely by China; and it
15 was pretty much like a family.

16 So I wrote that up and I took it upstairs
17 to him then he looked at it. Then he says, "Well,
18 why don't you go and work for me as my secretary."
19 So I was quickly promoted to his second secretary.
20 He had one secretary, a lady from Vienna, Lisa
21 Altura. So I became her assistant and I became the
22 secretary working right in the anteroom for
23 Mr. Como's office. So we were the secretaries
24 working right in the anteroom to Mr. Como's office.

25 So I made a quick career there. And from

1 then on I wrote most of the stuff that went into the
2 North China Daily News, appeals for funds and this
3 kind of thing. And also on a more general nature, he
4 would write a letter to the editor complaining about
5 the symphony concert, or whatever it was, you know,
6 and I would write an answer to that under another
7 assumed name.

8 We kind of worked together, you know. So
9 he might complain about recorded symphony concerts,
10 records, because it isn't like a live concert, and I
11 would write back saying, "Yeah, but the records,
12 nobody coughs, nobody rustles the papers," and so
13 forth. So we had a good time doing this sort of
14 thing.

15 And along our way I learned how to improve
16 my writing. He would always critique it and help me
17 and straighten out, be sort of an editor; and I
18 learned a lot from him. We became very close
19 friends.

20 The friendship lasted until he died in
21 Santa ^{Cruz}Cruse, California here. He, a short while
22 after I came here to California, he left China along
23 with his wife. His two sons were already in the
24 United States. And he retired in Santa Cruse, and my
25 wife and I visit it him many times. He became older

1 and eventually he died. We stayed friends all the
2 way through. He was a wonderful man.

3 The committee that I worked at had an
4 interesting policy as far as salary's concerned.
5 Everybody got the same pay. Didn't matter what you
6 did. The lawyer, the consultation board, the gofer,
7 the fellow who sorted the mail. There was only one
8 difference, Mr. Como. He got nothing. No pay. He
9 devoted practically his whole day to running that
10 committee. He would run to his office in the morning
11 for a few hours, that's his own office, to do some
12 importing, exporting. He would be there in the
13 afternoon for maybe a half-hour. He spent practical
14 all his time, seven days a week on that committee.
15 And what were the thanks he got? When the Japanese
16 took over the city, when the city war broke out, he
17 was arrested by Japanese. And they claimed he was a
18 spy, he stole money and all kinds of stuff. They
19 finally couldn't prove anything so they let him go.
20 But he was a -- if there is such a thing in Judaism
21 there as a Saint, he was. He was very respected by
22 all the people that worked for him.

23 We had lawyers for the consultation board.
24 We had accountants. I became an accountant again. I
25 was running the books for the thrift shop. That was

1 a store that we ran on Nanking Road, where people
2 would bring their merchandise, their silver and so
3 many things they were able to get out of Germany.
4 Maybe a camera, maybe a set of books, Chinaware,
5 anything at all that had value. And rather than
6 throwing it on the open market where they might not
7 get anything, bring it to the thrift shop. Either
8 sell it outright and or put it in on consignment.
9 And the thrift shop would take maybe 30, 35% of the
10 sales price, which was enough to pay for the thrift
11 shop and for the staff, for advertising, and any
12 money that was left over would go back to the
13 committee for its operations, for milk, coal, school,
14 whatever it was. And so this was one way to help
15 people get as much as possible out of their
16 belongings when they were trying to sell it.

17 So I worked for the committee for a number
18 of years. I got to meet a lot of the other refugees
19 that were registering at the committee. *Practically
20 had to register at the committee. If you didn't
21 register you weren't in Shanghai and if you want to
22 be -- there were other committees operating there.
23 There was one committee that dealt primarily with
24 food and housing, and they were probably our largest
25 sister organization. They dealt with the camps.

1 They dealt with the kitchens. They dealt with
2 hospitals for refugees. And our committee was more
3 an administrative type thing, the courts, the
4 consulates, the city council and a few charitable
5 type operations like milk, food, coal fund, school
6 fund.

7 And then, eventually, we built a school
8 with the help of a man by the name of Cadury, Sir
9 Horace Cadury. He financed a lot of that. And that
10 school ran classes. I don't know now how high they
11 went, but they started with the first grade. I think
12 they went through sixth or eighth grade. I'm not
13 sure. The committee, my committee, the one I worked
14 in, also built a creche and a kindergarten and
15 operated that.

16 Q. WHAT ABOUT YOUR BROTHER AND YOUR FATHER AND
17 YOUR MOTHER, HOW ARE THEY SURVIVING?

18 A. Well, my father continued to work as a
19 physician and make whatever little he made there. He
20 built up a small practice from people in that
21 apartment house. The apartment house had, I think,
22 eight floors and something like 20 apartments on each
23 floor. It was a fairly big operation. And we picked
24 up friends there and people would come in; mostly
25 people in that immediate neighborhood. Some

1 refugees. He was not the center. The apartment was
2 not the center of where the refugees were living. It
3 was at the edge of *Honque. Most refugees, most of
4 the 18,000, people were in Honque. Some were in
5 Frenchtown, some were in the international center.
6 But the bulk were in Honque. And we were at the edge
7 of that, so they didn't come to us. And there were
8 so many physicians there. The competition was very,
9 very stiff.

10 My mother kept house. She was a housewife.
11 She was doing the cooking and cleaning and looking
12 after us and making sure we were in clean clothes and
13 so forth.

14 Giving an incident out of her life, She was
15 shopping and, of course, when you did go shopping for
16 food, or for anything for that matter, you had to
17 bargain. There were no fixed prices, you see. You
18 ask, "How much is this?" X dollars. And you have
19 offered one fourth of that, you know. Then, after a
20 while you get the prices. So she went shopping one
21 morning for food. This was in February, and she's
22 arguing about the price of vegetables or rice or
23 whatever it is, nine cents a pound, and she offered
24 five cents a pound and, well, no, nine cents a pound.
25 Already start this shoppers know. And the man

1 immediately dropped the price to eight cents a pound
2 without her asking for it. She said, "What's going
3 on?" He said, "Oh, first snow in New Year, very good
4 luck." Everything in the market went down about 10%,
5 automatic. You had to get used to that idea. I
6 would buy, I remember have that very vividly. I went
7 to buy a pair of shoes, Nanking Road, the main
8 business street, it still is today. It's like I'm
9 trying to think the market street of Shanghai. And
10 you walk into a store. In those days, at least, show
11 windows are show glass. You walk into the store.
12 The stuff is all over the place. There is no
13 salesman, "Can I help you sir?" You look around, you
14 walk around, you pick this, you pick that. You look
15 at, it looks like my size. You try it on. And once
16 you decide on what you want, you go to somebody and
17 buy it.

18 So I found a pair of shoes that I liked
19 that fitted me and they had a Chinese price tag
20 hanging on it. So I went to the nearest clerk, call
21 him that, maybe he was the owner, and I said, "How
22 much is this pair of shoes?" I spoke pidgin English.
23 "How much this pair of shoe?" This isn't really good
24 English. You wouldn't ask in San Francisco.

25 Q. BUT YOU ASKED IN ENGLISH?

1 A. You ask in pidgin English, "How muchee?"
2 So a sort of Indian, English, Chinese combination.
3 "How much is this pair of shoe? On, this very, very
4 good shoe. Very good shoe. This pair shoe \$22.
5 \$22." I said, "Oh, that's too much, too much money."
6 I turned around and put them down. He come. Said,
7 "Oh, no. No. No. 21 and a half. 21 and a half."
8 Down fifty cents. Well, I said, "No. No. Too
9 much." I walked out of the store. He comes running
10 after me and drags me back in the store. Back and
11 forth. Back and forth. We got it down to \$16. Then
12 I point to the price tag, which I read before. It
13 said and I said ***. I switched to Chinese. "This
14 says \$11. Oh, yeah. ***, " you know, Chinese. I
15 sure. Sure I know Chinese. \$10. I paid \$8 for
16 these shoes. Now, if I paid \$22 for those shoes, he
17 would have felt bad. He would have felt like
18 stealing. He expected me not to pay \$22, even if he
19 asked it. That's how you start. And the whole fun
20 in this business is the back and forth, you know. I
21 ask 22 and he answers ten and so forth, and you meet
22 somewhere in the middle.

23 Q. WHY DID YOU START OUT IN PIDGIN ENGLISH?

24 A. Because I wanted to see what happened, you
25 see. I didn't want to say that "I'm going to pay you

1 \$11 or \$10." I made like I was stupid, a foreigner,
2 after all, what do I know from Chinese. I was
3 wearing a European suit. Mind you, this is before I
4 was able to buy a suit there. He could tell I was
5 not a local person. I would be stopped on street by
6 rickshaw coolies offering me a ride. What they would
7 say, "Why you go Berlin? You want to go Berlin?"
8 That might be dumb. They may be rickshaw coolies but
9 they're not dumb. But they knew that I had a
10 European suit on. "You want to go Berlin? Berlin?
11 Vienna? Vienna? You want to go Vienna? Three
12 dollars. Three dollars, you know. Very, very
13 cheap." You going to say, "How much? Three dollars.
14 Three dollars," you know.

15 Q. TO BERLIN?

16 A. Well, I mean, if he had known where it was,
17 of course, he would have charged more, five dollars,
18 probably.

19 And so this is what you did. You bargained
20 for everything. Except street cars, that was a fixed
21 price. Postage stamps, that was a fixed price.
22 Drinks in the Honque, what is the Shanghai Club, I
23 think, Shanghai Club, it was the largest bar in the
24 World. That was biggest of it. I never seen the
25 place, I couldn't afford it. That was fixed. But

1 everything else you bargained for.

2 Q. DID YOU ENJOY BEING IN CHINA?

3 A. You getting into the emotional aspects of
4 it. The first day I walked around Shanghai I said to
5 myself, "I'm not going to stay here. This place is
6 filthy." The streets were filthy. The air smelled
7 bad. I don't want to go into a lot of detail of what
8 the air smelled like but it didn't smell good.

9 I walked down the street, this is the first
10 or second day, and there is a police patrol coming up
11 the street with their guns out. Not just in there
12 hands, but like so. So I said, "My god. What's
13 going on? Is there a robbery?" They were just
14 walking like this, if somebody fired at them they
15 didn't have time to draw their guns. That's the kind
16 of city it was. Talk about the wild west. This was
17 wild forest.

18 And since we had not only paid for our
19 tickets for Shanghai, but under the law, in Germany,
20 under the ruling of Germany we had to pay our tickets
21 back to Germany, just in case we weren't accepted by
22 the port of destination, which happened sometimes.
23 Remember the St. Louis, the boat? It left Germany
24 and no country wanted to accept them? They went to
25 Cuba. Cuba didn't -- no. The United States, they

1 sent them back. So in case Shanghai wouldn't accept
2 us for any reason at all, the Germans wanted to be
3 sure that our passage back to Germany was paid for.

4 Of course, once you go back to Germany,
5 that's it. Back to concentration camps. So we had
6 money.

7 And I said to my parents, you know, "I have
8 this visa to go to England, which you don't have.
9 Maybe I ought to go back to England." After all we
10 have our -- we checked with yes, sir {SERZ} hatch
11 {KHER} light, which is the shipping company, German
12 company, and they said, "No you can't do that. You
13 can't use that money to go to England because, then,
14 what happens if they don't accept you in England?
15 Then, if you've used up all your dough?"

16 So I never did leave Shanghai to go back to
17 England. I stayed there until I finally left for the
18 United States. But my first impression was, this is
19 no place, terrible. It was hot. It was muggy. You
20 were constantly perspiring, particularly since we
21 were wearing these heavy European suits and the work
22 I was doing, I didn't particularly care for that.
23 This was not what I was really -- what I planned for
24 my life.

25 Q. YOU HAD PLANNED TO GO TO THE UNIVERSITY?

1 A. To become a physician.

2 This was a culture shock, future shock you
3 might call it culture. This was the culture shock
4 that effected a lot of people. I got over it rather
5 quickly. So did my brother. So did my family. But
6 there were other people that came there that were a
7 lot of older than I was that had been very successful
8 merchants or very successful business people in
9 Europe, and came there and they just couldn't pull
10 themselves out of their blue funk they were in.

11 I remember when I was working for the
12 committee, we would have one client, if you want to
13 call it that. He was a man that had just never
14 gotten out of the depression that hit him when he got
15 to Shanghai. I think I was living in a camp. Living
16 in one of those double-decker beds. That was where
17 he lived. That was it. He never had the energy, the
18 initiative, to get up and go to get out of that
19 place. And I would bring him once, twice, every so
20 often, let's say, every three months, bring him some
21 money so he could buy a toothbrush, toothpaste, maybe
22 a package of cigarettes, a just a few extras, a few
23 things that he could not afford. And he was just --
24 he was so demoralized and he just couldn't get out of
25 that. And there were a number of people like that.

1 There were a number of suicides, people that just
2 couldn't make it.

3 On the other hand, there were people who
4 made it, who set up a little business, a bakery. A
5 lot of people learned in Germany how to make ties.
6 For some reason that was the supposed to be the big
7 deal, tie making.

8 Q. TIES? YOU MEAN LIKE --

9 A. Ties. Yeah, ties.

10 So they set up a shop to make ties. Other
11 people made shirts. Became tailors. One guy set up
12 an operation to make soap, and he was very successful
13 with it. Made a lot of soap. Sold a lot of it, made
14 good money. Some people started -- one guy started a
15 newspaper. People organized little theater groups,
16 people organized cafes, restaurants, bars,
17 nightclubs, not the kind of nightclubs you have here,
18 but in a dim sort of way. But they -- and some had
19 the initiative to try to get into the commercial,
20 industrial, economic life of the city. One guy
21 became a embezzler. One way to make a living. Sure.
22 If was he was caught, he went too jail. But by and
23 large they there were quite a few people who were
24 able to make a living of sort.

25 Now, as people came in to Shanghai, and

1 this was all before the war broke out, the European
2 war. People started living again. They were able to
3 finalize their papers to go to either Australia or to
4 some cases to Palestine, and many of them to the
5 United States and -- but they left. It was a
6 constant turnover.

7 And then the war broke out in Europe, which
8 did not stop the trips to Australia or the United
9 States, particularly, or to Palestine, for that
10 matter. So that continued. Until the Pacific War
11 shot and froze everything in China; at which point
12 there were probably 17, 18,000 people, European
13 refugees in Shanghai, from Austria, from Germany, a
14 group of Poland.

15 Q. YOUR FAMILY NEVER WANTED TO GO ON TO THE
16 United States OR TO --

17 A. Yes, of course. Of course. All of us were
18 there only for a few weeks, quote, unquotes. And of
19 course, we went to the American consulate immediately
20 and brought him all our papers and we wrote on to our
21 contacts in the United States because our objective
22 was to go to the United States, and China was only a
23 intermediate point. We did not realize then that
24 we'd be there eight years, my brother and I, or that
25 my parents would die there. But you know, if you

1 know the future, then you can plan for it. But you
2 don't know. If I knew what was going to happen
3 tomorrow I could probably make a lot of money in the
4 stock market. And if I'd known that I was going to
5 be there eight years I would have studied Chinese in
6 a much more formal way than I did. And I would have
7 come here after eight years with a very good
8 knowledge of Chinese and Japanese, and might have
9 gone into the foreign office or some such work or
10 into export or import, whatnot. We never figured
11 we'd stay there that long, but we made every effort
12 to get out. But it was difficult. We were still
13 under the German quota, which was always subscribed.
14 Poles -- Poles quota was -- which was just a little
15 nothing. It didn't matter what nationality you were,
16 the question was, where were you born, and that
17 determined the quota in those days under the
18 immigration law in effect then. So we, like
19 everybody else continued our efforts to leave
20 Shanghai, and those people that were lucky enough
21 to -- were successful to be successful, left. This
22 was the turnover that I mentioned. Well, we weren't.
23 Our quota number was too long. We were in Shanghai
24 from 1939 until '41 the war broke out. We might have
25 been able to get out in late '41 or early '42, but no

1 more.

2 Q. WHAT HAPPENED WHEN WAR BROKE OUT?

3 A. We knew that things were getting sticky.

4 There was lot -- we were reading the same newspapers
5 or the same stories in the papers that you were
6 reading in United States. And Paul Como told me, you
7 know, it doesn't look very good, but we were stuck
8 there.

9 December 7th, 1941, which was December 8th
10 here, during the night, this was from a Sunday to a
11 Monday, in Shanghai -- I remember I was out that
12 Sunday with a friend of mine, who were taking me to
13 some sort of a Jewish dance or whatever. I was
14 there. I didn't have a girlfriend. I was just
15 sitting around, listening to the music. I came home
16 about 11:00, 11:30, went to bed. We were living in
17 the exact building in that apartment where my father
18 had his office; and I was awake at about 2:00 in the
19 morning from gunfire, machineguns, cannons; and since
20 I was at that time a member of the Shanghai Volunteer
21 Corps, which is another story I haven't gotten into
22 it, which sort of a paramilitary organization of
23 Shanghai itself, which was called out during times of
24 civic disturbance or present conveniences {TEUF}
25 disturbance, we were in British uniforms, armed with

1 rifles, and revolvers and whatnot; and I immediately
2 called the Shanghai Volunteer Corps headquarters to
3 see what was going on. That was a problem. I
4 couldn't get an answer. Then I called the North
5 China Daily News, which was the major newspaper in
6 Shanghai. Then, no answer.

7 I looked out the windows, I saw the flames,
8 fire and smoke, and I couldn't make out what it was.
9 Well, the thing died down again. I figured "Well,
10 what the heck." Went back to bed. Next morning I
11 get up and turned on the radio, station I always
12 listen to was XHMA, an American station, Carol
13 D. Hawker was the broadcaster, sponsored by Maxwell
14 House Coffee, good to the last drop. And there was
15 an announcer, not Carol Deorcha, who had left
16 Shanghai a couple of weeks earlier, because since we
17 got stick, the Japanese had a price on his head. He
18 said they read a proclamation by the Japanese
19 commander, the commander of the naval landing party,
20 whereas war has broken out between the United States
21 and Japan, da da da; and that's how we knew war was
22 on.

23 I looked out the window and all of the area
24 I saw barbed wire and soldiers.

25 Q. WHAT WAS THAT FROM?

1 A. Japanese.

2 Q. THE JAPANESE HAD INVADED SHANGHAI?

3 A. The Japanese were already in Shanghai.

4 They had in 1937 taken over that part of Shanghai
5 called Honque, during the Chinese-Japanese war. So
6 they were already there. All they had to do was move
7 forward, physically, just cross the bridges, move
8 into the international settlement, move into the
9 French concession.

10 Q. AND THEY MOVED IN WITH THEIR TROOPS?

11 A. And they moved in. They moved in.

12 Q. SO SHANGHAI WAS OCCUPIED WHEN YOU WOKE UP
13 IN THE MORNING?

14 A. Shanghai was occupied. We were under
15 Japanese control, and they were friends with the
16 Germans; and that means the Germans were in control,
17 also, at least we thought. We knew there was Gestapo
18 in China because there were some indications. There
19 were some funny murders going on. Some people
20 disappeared. These were not Jews, but Germans; and
21 we were a little nervous about that. Maybe to say a
22 little bit is a euphemism, quite nervous. Anyway, I
23 heard later on, on that day the Germans decided that,
24 "A hah, we are in charge also." And they put out
25 there flags, they put on their uniforms and the

1 swastika and hit the streets, and the Japanese
2 stopped them and tore off the flags from their cars
3 and tore off the emblems from their uniforms and
4 passed the word that "The only flag in Shanghai is
5 the rising sun and the only uniform in China is that
6 of the Japanese army and navy; and you guys better
7 get off the street." And that was the end of that,
8 as far as the Germans showing the flag is concerned.

9 Apparently, there were some instance of
10 Japanese desecrating German flags, and not by burning
11 them either. Those were stories that we heard; and
12 as far as I know, they were true. We heard from
13 pretty reliable sources.

14 Anyhow, I went to work, having to cross a
15 bridge over the Suchow Creek, and there were Japanese
16 sentries, but they didn't yet stop people. And we
17 were all pretty shook up. We were in shock. We went
18 to work. We were sitting around and talking. There
19 isn't much going on. There wasn't much traffic; and
20 after a few days things kind of simmered down to a
21 semi-normal routine.

22 There was a movie that was popular here
23 two, three years ago about that time. I forget what
24 it was. It was based on so-called autobiography of
25 somebody that lived in China at the time. I forgot

1 the name of the movie.

2 Q. THE LAST EMPEROR?

3 A. No. It was not The Last Emperor. At the
4 same time The Last Emperor was shown that was shown
5 too. I forgot the name of it. But it showed
6 Japanese troops storming the city and a lot of
7 shooting going on.

8 Q. I REMEMBER THAT.

9 A. You probably remember that. And a guy
10 looks out of probably the Cathay Hotel and he sees
11 the riots and people being beaten and all.

12 Q. AND HIS HOUSE IS OCCUPIED?

13 A. Yeah. And none of it happened. None of
14 it. None. It was very quite. They just took over
15 the city and clamped down. That's all. Everybody
16 was still walking around. Every now and then, for
17 the first few weeks, there was suddenly when there
18 was might be called a political assassination, some
19 Chinese would walk by a Japanese sentry and would
20 suddenly pull out a gun and fire at the sentry and
21 disappear, melt into the ground. They would lock up
22 a part of the city to try to find the guy. But that
23 was all that happened.

24 Then they issued orders to the all enemy
25 aliens, British, the Americans, anybody at war with

1 Japan, to give all up all their cameras, their
2 binoculars, their radio, this type of thing. Then
3 they issued a general order that --

4 Q. DIDN'T YOU HAVE TO DO THAT?

5 A. I was not their enemy. I was not British.
6 I wasn't American. I was German, quote, unquote.
7 Well, I wasn't even German anymore. The German
8 government had, prior to that, sometime in 1940, I
9 think, issued a decree, a law, that said any Jew that
10 who had left Germany was now stateless. Technically,
11 politically, we were stateless refugees, not German.
12 But the Japanese figured we were Germans. And they
13 classified the British and Americans as NBA's and
14 issued red armbands to them. They had to wear red
15 arm bands. So on the streets you could see this guy
16 is a bad guy, enemy alien.

17 But they issued a general order that
18 everybody will to give up their short wave radio.
19 Nobody was allowed to listen to short wave radio. So
20 we would listen to short waive radio on the QT, and
21 if you know somebody had a short waive radio in the
22 closet or something, and we would listen to KGI in
23 San Francisco, William Winter broadcasting the news
24 from San Francisco. And so we would learn very
25 quickly how to interpret Japanese and American

1 reports. The Japanese would report that they had
2 sunk 20 American ships and shot down 40 American
3 airplanes; and then we would listen the William
4 Winter news and it was exactly the opposite. So we
5 didn't even have to listen to William Winter anymore.
6 We simply took the Japanese news and transposed the
7 nationalities. We knew what was going on. The news
8 agency was Domei, D-o-m-e-i, Domei News Agency, and
9 they were the ones who issued all the news.

10 The only other foreign news that we could
11 listen to in Shanghai was the German newscasts, which
12 are, of course, friendly to the Japanese, and Russian
13 newscasts, Soviet Russian newscast, XRVN, The Voice
14 of The Soviet Union. All the stations in Shanghai
15 had an X in front of it, XRVN, XCDN, which is a
16 British station.

17 Q. BUT THEY BROADCAST IN RUSSIAN, DIDN'T THEY?

18 A. No the Russian station broadcast in
19 Russian, in Chinese, in German, in all kinds of
20 languages, in English and -- not in German, in
21 English. They wouldn't speak German, but in English.
22 And of course, they were sensitized to post to some
23 extent, but at least you could get a good clear
24 picture of what was going on in the Russian front.
25 That's how the Germans were moving forward and they

1 were being stopped and were turned back. That was
2 available from the Russian station.

3 You know, so many memories flood in on you
4 as you discuss all this, you don't know what to say
5 first, what to report on first, because it all
6 happened, and a lot of it happened simultaneously.

7 And so the British then were interned. One
8 day they are told to show up at certain collection
9 points and they have sent into internment camps. And
10 gradually, in 1942 they shipped them home. They
11 exchanged them for Japanese that were interned in the
12 United States.

13 The Japanese classified all the foreigners
14 in three categories, the enemies as people were,
15 nationalities that were at war were enemy aliens,
16 enemies. The people that were friendly to them,
17 Italians, Germans, they were friendly enemies. And
18 the people that were neutral, like the Swiss, like
19 the Spanish, like the Portuguese, they were neutral
20 enemies. But they were all enemies, you see. So we
21 were neutral enemies, I suppose.

22 Something interesting happened I remember.
23 I mentioned earlier I was a member of the Shanghai
24 Volunteer Corps. And in January, 1942, this was a
25 month or so after the war broke out, the Japanese

1 ordered a census taken, everybody in Shanghai. They
2 wanted to know who was there because they wanted to
3 know how to organize food distribution and whatnot,
4 and for possibly other reasons. And to do the census
5 they used the regular police, regular police being
6 off the street. They wanted somebody on the street
7 besides their own crews, which were not that many, to
8 keep law and order. So they called out the Shanghai
9 Volunteer Corps. Here was a city occupied by the
10 Japanese during the war, the Pacific War, where the
11 street was patrolled by people in British and
12 American uniforms. Again, it's something out of --
13 maybe out of a Kafka novel. I think I mentioned
14 Kafka last time.

15 Q. RIGHT.

16 A. There were we in British uniforms, in
17 American uniforms -- I was in a British uniform --
18 with revolvers, with rifles, with bayonets, patrolling
19 the streets. Well, unfortunately, first or second
20 day of this thing, which lasted about two weeks, one
21 of the people in what I believe was a Jewish company,
22 a separate company in the Shanghai Volunteer Corps
23 which consists only of Jews, a Jewish company --
24 There was also a Japanese company, there was a
25 Chinese company, there was an American company,

1 signals company, which was the communications outfit,
2 that was in -- we ran telephone lines and whatnot,
3 signals, with lamps, with flags and with wig-wags and
4 whatnot. And somebody in the Jewish company dropped
5 his rifle. Normally, that is no big deal, but the
6 rifle went off. You know, he dropped it. So the
7 Japanese got nervous and they said, "Okay, you have
8 to turn in all your ammunition." So there we were,
9 armed to the teeth, no ammunition. So we were
10 patrolling the street. And this was very cold. This
11 was during the winter; and every now and then we
12 found something suspicious. Like one night I found a
13 parcel in one of the lanes of the street; and when
14 you found on parcel, you're always worried about a
15 bomb being in it. So I called my sergeant. I was a
16 lance corporal, British army type of a rank, low
17 rank. I called my sergeant and said, "Here, let's
18 take a look at that parcel." And I put a bayonet and
19 fixed the bayonet in my rifle. I slowly started to
20 open the strings around the parcel. Fortunately, it
21 wasn't a bomb. It was just a dead baby. Sort of a
22 shocking thing if you were in a city in the United
23 States and talk about it. And this was Ho Hum. In a
24 city in which every morning they picked up 20 or 30
25 or 40 bodies of people who froze to death in the

1 street, picking up a body was no big deal. So we
2 called the police station. They sent a truck out,
3 picked it up. And during the night, of course,
4 sometime around midnight, we would go up to the
5 Japanese sentry huts, and there they were wearing the
6 Japanese uniforms and we in our British uniforms and
7 American uniforms, and we'd flag down an itinerant
8 noodle seller. They were walking through the streets
9 with their bamboos and their little stoves and the
10 noodles bubbling, boiling away there; and we'd buy a
11 bunch of noodles and we'd share with the Japanese
12 sentries. And to the extent they spoke English or
13 Portuguese or Russian, and some of them do, some of
14 them did, we would chat with them. They'd show us
15 pictures of their families, and "This is my son and
16 this is my wife and this is my parents," and we'd
17 show whatever pictures we'd have, and then we'd shake
18 hands and we went back to our job and they went back
19 to their job. And again, in the middle of the war,
20 they were the symbols, if you will, uniforms of enemy
21 soldiers, with you were sitting down very friendly
22 like. It shows how silly war is; isn't it? It's
23 only when you get 100,000 people on both sides that
24 you have a war. But if you have two people or three
25 people, it's no war. So that's one of the memories

1 that comes back of those days.

2 Well, that lasted a couple of weeks. Then
3 they ordered us to turn in all our equipment and all
4 our guns and all our uniforms, and the last time I
5 wore on british army uniform and walked around with a
6 45 on my side and a 303 Lee Enfield, that's what we
7 had in those days, on my back, and went back to the
8 Committee. The Committee was allowed to work.

9 Then the Japanese naval landing party came,
10 and Captain Inasuka, who was in charge of Jewish
11 affairs, he came in with 46 people, 46 soldiers, one
12 day and arrested all of us. Mr. Como was arrested
13 and taken to the fourth or fifth floor of the
14 building, where they had a hotel. He was put in a
15 hotel room and kept there for, I forget, four to six
16 weeks. So sort of diplomatic arrest. They didn't
17 even lock the door. They just throwed him in and
18 leave. And we were told, the staff was told, to show
19 up for work or we would be (noise). So we showed up
20 for work. Why not? We would be working anyway. And
21 they put in a group of auditors to audit our books
22 and see that we had really stolen all their money
23 that they claimed we had stolen. And of course, we
24 hadn't stolen anything. There wasn't anything to
25 steal in the first place. There wasn't that much

1 money there. And the audit committee reported back
2 to whoever it was and the -- we kept working but
3 without Japanese supervision.

4 And in the meantime I was introduced to one
5 of the Japanese officers, a Captain Enui, I believe
6 it was, something like that; and he tried to recruit
7 me to work for the Japanese naval secret police, I
8 can help my fellow refugees if I worked with him. I
9 kind of made excuses, "I'm not very good at that sort
10 of thing," and so forth. And so he finally said,
11 okay, okay, he wasn't going to hire me. You couldn't
12 really turn him down flat because he might have taken
13 you out and shot you. He was nice to me. He was
14 related, from what I found out later on, to the
15 emperor himself, and quite a wheel in the area. So I
16 got out of that sticky wicket, which was pretty nerve
17 racking.

18 Anyhow, I continued working for the
19 committee until finally one day I decided it wasn't
20 anything more I could do, and I got a job with
21 Mrs. Altura, my first boss at the Committee. You
22 know, she was a secretary to Paul Como and she was my
23 boss in a away; and she had opened a little
24 haberdashery in French concession. I went down and
25 started work work for her. She was the manager. I

1 was the assistant manager. All chiefs, no indians.
2 The whole store was probably half the size of this
3 room here, you know. And we were selling shirts,
4 either off the shelf or made to order, pants,
5 handkerchiefs, ties, socks, whatever men needed in
6 the way of clothing. I worked for her for a while.

7 In the meantime my father had become ill
8 with a problem that nobody could really diagnosis too
9 well. He first had what seemed like a heat stroke.
10 This was in 1942, in the summer. He had been out
11 visiting a patient of his and he come back and he
12 went to sleep and cannot -- when he woke up he wasn't
13 responsive. He didn't -- he responded to a question
14 five, ten, fifteen minutes later. Kind of a delayed
15 reaction. I had called in one of his colleagues and
16 he said, "Well, it's a heat stroke. He'll get over
17 it." And he did get over it. But a few months later
18 he began having problems with his vision. It was
19 like a curtain was being drawn over his eyes, every
20 day a little more. He called in a Chinese nerve
21 specialist, a brain specialist we call them, a German
22 Nazi or Arian eye specialist, the big eye specialist
23 in the far east, who came over right away, and no
24 questions asked, no fee, nothing; examined him and
25 prescribed something. They couldn't figure it out.

1 And gradually that got worse and he died several
2 months later.

3 I found out a number of years ago by
4 discussion with a surgeon here, now they know what
5 happened. A blockage in the carotid artery, which
6 stopped blood from going to the brain, part of it,
7 and blocking nerves, which today could have been
8 fixed in a very simple bit of surgery. But in those
9 days they didn't know about these things.

10 And so that left my mother, my brother and
11 I. In the meantime, in 1943 -- Oh, in 1942 the
12 German government sent *Courinell Otto Meisinger to
13 Shanghai. Col. Meisinger, that was a Gestapo rank.
14 He had be the Gestapo chief in Warsaw. And earned
15 himself the sobriquet of the Butcher of Warsaw. He
16 killed hundreds of thousands of Jews in Warsaw. He
17 was transferred to the German embassy in Tokyo as the
18 internal police chief. And in the summer of '42, he
19 and two other Germans, a fellow by the name of Von
20 *Putcama and another chap, name was Newman, Neuman,
21 he was sent to Shanghai to discuss with the Japanese
22 naval landing party, and particularly the section in
23 charge of Jewish affairs, what to do with the Jews in
24 Shanghai. And he suggested to the Japanese, "Don't
25 trust those Jews. They're very dangerous people. I

1 tell you what you ought to do," he says. "Coming are
2 the high holidays, in another six, eight weeks, Rosh
3 Hashana. And when they come out, after services, you
4 just pick them up, load them on a freighter that you
5 have in the harbour, the two freighters, old rusty
6 ships; take away their clothes, tow the thing out to
7 sea and let them drift there for a while; and then go
8 out and sink the whole mess, you know, just torpedo
9 the ships. And if you don't like that, take them up
10 to the salt mines, up the Yangsee River. And we can
11 tell you how much to feed them every day, so they're
12 good for two or three months worth of good work for
13 the Japanese government, digging salt. And if you
14 don't like that we have another idea. You establish
15 a concentration camp on a little island down the
16 Wangpoo River. And what you do there is, you put
17 them on to the camp and let them volunteer for
18 medical experiments, like on the human nervous system
19 resistance to pain. Mr. Neuman here, who's from
20 Bergen-Belsen, who's the former commandant there, he
21 can tell you how to do all that. He's an expert in
22 that field."

23 The meeting broke up with out any decisions
24 having been made. And one of the participants at the
25 meeting, a gentleman by the name of Shigamitsu

1 Shibara, he was a Japanese vice counsel, and I met
2 him on a number of occasions, went to a little park
3 and sat on a bench and thought about the meeting.
4 And he said to himself, "Have we proud Japanese sunk
5 this low to listen to this stuff, to even consider
6 it? I mean, this is what we're fighting a war for,
7 to take civilians and treat them this way?"

8 He had a few Jewish friends. He met the
9 first one -- He went to see the first one of them and
10 he said, "We have to have a meeting right away.
11 Something terrible is happening. I got to tell you
12 about it and you got to do something about it." And
13 the fellow said, "I'm sorry. It's Erev Shabbas.
14 It's evening of Shabat and we cannot have a meeting
15 now. We got to wait until after Shabbass. You can't
16 have meetings on Shabat." So he says, "But it's
17 terrible." He says, "I'm sorry. I can't do it."

18 So he went to another fellow who was not
19 quite so Shomer Shabbas, that's the expression for
20 careful of Shabat, and he called a meeting. And
21 Mr. Shibara reported that whole plan to the Jewish
22 leadership. And they got busy and working for six to
23 eight weeks, and a danger to their own lives, they
24 were able to get that story to Tokyo, to the foreign
25 minister, who turned around and send a wire back to

1 the Shanghai, saying, "Keep an eye on the Jews. Make
2 sure they don't get into trouble, but don't touch
3 them."

4 Mr. Shibara saved our lives. He saved,
5 conservatively, 26,000 lives that day.

6 The story didn't come to light until in the
7 middle '70's, when he a rabbi, name of Marvin Tokaya,
8 who was stationed in Tokyo, who spoke and wrote and
9 spoke Japanese and read Japanese fluently, he found
10 the story in Japanese archives. In 1976, I believe,
11 the Jewish community in Tokyo honored Mr. Shibara for
12 his actions at a Passover dinner. He died a year
13 later.

14 That's why I'm here. That's why I can tell
15 you this story now, because Mr. Shibara had a
16 conscious.

17 Q. I UNDERSTAND THAT THE GERMANS SENT SUCH TOP
18 COMMANDERS TO SHANGHAI TO DEAL WITH THE JEWISH
19 PROBLEM. WAS THIS A MAJOR CONCERN?

20 A. They were planning to wipe out all the Jews
21 in the whole world, not just in Germany but in the
22 whole world. If they won the war they would have
23 done it. And so here was a group of Jews who were
24 under Japanese, meaning German, control. Why not
25 wipe them out, too? They were wiping out community

1 after community in Europe. Here was another
2 community they were able to attack. After
3 Meissinger, who was hung after the war, wasn't doing
4 much anyway in Tokyo -- he was police chief at the
5 embassy and there wasn't that much to do, and they
6 sent him to Shanghai to try to do that. Nice people.
7 And so what they did instead of the carrying out of
8 the plans that Meissinger had advocated, in February
9 of 1943 -- (bad tape) -- that all stateless refugees
10 in Shanghai must move into what they call a
11 designated area, which is English for Ghetto, and
12 cannot leave that area unless they have a pass.

13 And as a designated area, they designated a
14 15 or 20 block, I can't tell you exact size, in
15 Honque, where most of the Jews were living, anyway.
16 Now, that doesn't mean that all the other people
17 living in that area had to get out, Japanese,
18 Chinese, Portuguese, whatever, Russians. No. It
19 just said, "You go and find yourself someplace to
20 live."

21 And so they ^{squeezed} seized 18,000 Jews into Honque,
22 in many cases families of three and four and five and
23 six people living in one room, six, eight families in
24 one building with maybe two bathrooms, this sort of
25 thing.

1 We, in our family was able to, fortunately,
2 get an apartment ourselves. We were very lucky that
3 way. We had a two -- almost three room apartment,
4 two bedrooms, one living room, a kitchen and a
5 bathroom, in a lane which was primarily occupied by
6 Japanese. There were two buildings, one was a four
7 unit flat the size -- apartment this size. One was a
8 four unit building which had Jewish refugees in it,
9 and there was another one which was a two story
10 building with three units with, I believe, refugees
11 in it. And all the other people in that lane were
12 Japanese. That's where we were able to move to.

13 Q. HOW WERE ABLE TO GET THAT?

14 A. I still don't know how it worked. As far
15 as I recall, there was a gentleman living -- family
16 living in the same apartment house we were in, name
17 of Frankle, and they were very friendly with my
18 parents. My father was already dying, and died in
19 March of '43. And they were able to get an apartment
20 for themselves and an apartment for us. There was
21 another family, name of Brown, that also, they were
22 associated with Frankle in business. So the three of
23 us were able to get these apartments. The fourth
24 family was a name of Bisher, who were Austrians. The
25 man, Mr. Bisher, was running a large paper factory in

1 Shanghai, and his son went into the business and now
2 is in Australia. In fact, he was here last week,
3 visiting. They come here once a year.

4 Q. And you see them?

5 A. Oh, yeah. Oh, yeah. We're still friends.

6 And so we were able to get into the
7 district and have relatively comfortable living
8 quarters, compared to many of our friends who just
9 lived in miserable conditions. I won't say living in
10 holes, but squeezed together, no privacy, this sort
11 of thing. It was really bad.

12 The sanitary facilities were bad. We had
13 regular flush toilets. You know, this is something
14 that was unheard of in many parts of the city. Of
15 course, you couldn't drink the water. It didn't
16 matter, I told you that earlier, you couldn't drink
17 the water in Shanghai unless you boiled it first.
18 Drinking the water right out of the tap was like
19 committing suicide.

20 So we lived in that apartment, and I was
21 able to get a pass to leave the designated area.
22 They had set up check points and they checked you as
23 you came in and out; and Jewish sentries there,
24 internal sort of a police force. And I had my pass,
25 always valid for three months for the entire city.

1 And I went to work because I was working in the
2 French concession, which was about eight, nine miles
3 away. So every morning I took my bicycle and
4 hotfooted it out to my job. Came back every night.

5 My brother got a job with the internal,
6 call it, camp police. It's really kind of a internal
7 security force for the refugee camps. You had to
8 have somebody to help people who collapsed, or to
9 prevent fights, or to prevent theft. Unfortunately,
10 some of those things happened, even within the Jewish
11 refugee camps. So he was a member of the camp police
12 for a while. It was a job where you got very little
13 pay and you got food; and that was primarily why you
14 got it.

15 So we had to mouth kind of continued to
16 exist in that environment. There were lots of things
17 happened during the war. The Japanese organized a
18 civil defense force, civil air defense force, in
19 which my brother and I were members. We had arm
20 bands. And since we were, quote, officers, we had
21 two red stripes on the arm bands. Some people had
22 one red stripe. Some people had no red stripes at
23 all. And they had all these ranks. And with all
24 these Indians and chiefs, we were chiefs. And all
25 refugees shared it. We had blackout preparations.

1 We had first aid squads and rescue squads and fire
2 fighting squads and the fire fighting squads were
3 equipped with the latest fire fighting equipment,
4 buckets. That's all we had, buckets. Still, you
5 know, metal buckets and, you know, we learned how to
6 throw water on the fire. You know, you have to learn
7 how to use a bucket. You can't just pour it like
8 this. You can't get that close to a fire. The
9 theory was just you throw the water as far as you can
10 and the water goes out, the fire goes out.

11 And as time went on the U.S. Air Force
12 would fly through the Shanghai defense area and there
13 would be aerial warnings and they'd be on their way
14 to *Cauming, to other cities that were occupied by
15 the Japanese, to bomb them. And we would be called
16 out. Air raid sirens would howl and we would rush
17 out in the street with our uniforms and whatnot, with
18 our armbands, but that was our uniform, and towel
19 around a neck. In case of smoke, you cover your
20 face. And we had a big nightstick, in case we have
21 to break a window. And we had ropes, in case we had
22 to go up somewhere. That was our equipment. And we
23 be out there in the day or night and kind of do our
24 job. This is in between our regular day time jobs.
25 And that went on for a number of years.

1 Then, once in a while, there would be an
2 airplane go by and drop a bomb outside of Shanghai.
3 But the city itself, until July the 17th, 1945, we
4 didn't know it then but it was bombed once before the
5 war was over, when there was an air raid. I was
6 working in my job at Frenchtown, at my haberdashery.
7 We heard the sirens. Police station was next door to
8 our store and they had a siren on top. It was a heck
9 of a racket. And we do what we always did when there
10 was an air raid warning, we put the challis, the
11 wooden challis in front of the store window, and we
12 would haul out our lunch. It was a quarter after
13 twelve noon, and have our lunch. Of course, nobody
14 was in the street, anyway. There wouldn't be any
15 business. I just stuck my head out the door to see
16 what was going on, and I saw planes going in and out
17 of clouds and I wondered if I ever would meet any of
18 those guys flying in any of those planes; and the
19 chances, what was it in those days, 180 million to
20 one, 190 million to one. And then we heard this
21 roaring thunder like, (noise).

22 And the phone rings and my brother's on the
23 phone and he says, "Boy, they clobbered the
24 district." I said, "Anything happened to us? No.
25 Just a lamp came down on our house, but we have a lot

1 of houses burning, we have a lot of people injured,
2 we have a lot much casualties. You better get on
3 home and help out with trying to control things."

4 Q. SO IT WAS BOMB, A JAPANESE BOMB?

5 A. American bombs. These were American air
6 raids. After all, they were the Chinese on the
7 street and they saw the plans too. They said
8 (Chinese language), "American airplanes. Great.
9 Great. Hurray."

10 Q. THEN THEY GOT BOMBED?

11 A. They got bombed. Still no raid. After
12 all, they were on our side, you know. And the
13 Japanese didn't like the Chinese either. So the
14 Chinese were very happy about the American airplanes
15 coming over and.

16 Q. AND BOMB --

17 A. And bombing the city, even though they lost
18 people, and we were happy. After everything was
19 done, after the dust had settled and the fires were
20 out, we had lost 31 people. Dr. Cardack, the head of
21 the Jewish Community Organization was dead. His
22 assistant, 31 others, a lot of people injured, some
23 of them very badly. A lot of homes gone, a lot of
24 property destroyed.

25 I took my bicycle and I bicycled back to

1 the district, to the Ghetto, and then I got off the
2 bicycle and carried it because there was glass all
3 over the furniture, houses burning, a hand, a head,
4 just a mess. The only air raid I've been in, the
5 only air raid I want to be in. And we cleaned up.
6 It took us two days, put out the fires, pick up
7 people, bury people, kind of straighten out stuff.

8 In the early '60's, I guess, I was at a
9 board meeting of the East Bay Chapter of the
10 California Society of CPA's. I was the treasurer,
11 the secretary-treasurer. It was the vice-president
12 and it was the president, bunch of members of the
13 Board of Directors. We were having a meeting. We
14 were having breakfast at the time and kind of talking
15 about all of kinds of things and I told them about my
16 Shanghai story; and this one fellow, a
17 vice-president, a good friend of mine, another CPA,
18 said, "Oh, I know Shanghai." I said, "What are you
19 talking about? Were you there after the war?" He
20 said, "No. I wasn't really there." He says, "I flew
21 over it. I bombed it." I said, "Was that on July
22 the 17th, you bombed by radar because of the cloud
23 cover, about noontime?" He said, "Yeah." I said,
24 "You bastard. You damn near killed me."

25 He was the lead pilot. And a few, maybe a

1 year later, his firm merged in with us and he's been
2 my partner and good friend ever since.

3 Q. SO YOU MET ONE OF THE PILOTS?

4 A. Then, after this -- there is small world
5 department. After he joined our firm and looked at
6 our client list, kind of acquainted himself with who
7 were our people and pointed to a name on a list of
8 tax lines. He says, "Is this fellow my age?" He
9 said, "Yeah, he's a little older than you." "Is he
10 in finance?" I said, "Yes. He works in Pacific
11 National Bank, on Montgomery Street." He said, "A
12 huh. Navigator."

13 Then, a few months later -- Then, a few
14 months later we went on to San Diego for annual
15 meeting of the the California society. By then he
16 was the president and I was the vice-president. He
17 took his wife alone long. My wife stayed home with
18 the kids. And he said, "You're going to have dinner
19 tomorrow night with Dolly and me." I said, "Okay.
20 Fine."

21

22

(Tape continues)

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