

Interview with: JOANNA HOCHMAN

Holocaust Oral History Project

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Q: MY NAME IS CONSTANCE BERNSTEIN AND I'M TALKING TO JOANNA HOCHMAN AND WE'RE AT THE HOLOCAUST CENTER IN SAN FRANCISCO, ORAL HISTORY CENTER, AND IT'S MARCH 19TH, 1991.

NOW, I ALWAYS LIKE TO BEGIN THESE INTERVIEWS, BECAUSE I KNOW NOTHING REALLY ABOUT YOUR LIFE, SO I'D LIKE FOR YOU TO TELL ME SOMETHING ABOUT WHERE YOU WERE BORN AND YOUR FAMILY AND WHAT KIND OF HOUSE YOU LIVED IN AND YOUR BROTHERS AND SISTERS AND YOUR GRANDPARENTS, AND SOMETHING ABOUT WHAT WERE YOUR ORIGINS.

A: I was born in Vienna in 1918, April 24th.

I had one brother and we lived in Vienna partly and partly in the country *(Gemeinschaftsland)*, which is south of Vienna.

We had a factory there that manufactured alcohol and liquor and it had a big ranch with it. We had two partners in that venture, so we spent all the holidays down out there.

My mother was also born in Vienna. She was born in 1890.

My father was born in Hungary, and he was born in 1882.

And he died very young. He died in 1926 after an operation of -- an appendix operation. I was ten years old. My brother was 18 years old.

And he left us in opulent circumstance, my mother

and us.

But my mother was, you know, from the time of the 19th Century. She was very lost when all this happened to her.

Q: SURE. LET'S GO BACK BEFORE YOUR FATHER DIED.

Tell US SOMETHING ABOUT HOW YOUR MOTHER AND YOUR FATHER MET.

A: My mother -- they were distant related -- relatives. Sometimes my English doesn't get so hot, I have to remember.

They met when my mother was 12 years old and my father was 20. He came for a visit to Vienna. My father was a self-made man, he started when he was 14 years old. And when he was 20 he was already doing very well, and so --

Q: IN THE ALCOHOL BUSINESS?

A: No. He was importing grain. That's how he started and how he get into the alcohol business. As you know, alcohol is being made out of grain, mostly. Excuse me.

And so he met her, he saw her, at least that's what they told me. And he said, "This is the girl I'm going to marry."

And eight years later he did.

Q: BUT HOW DO YOU KNOW -- HOW DO YOU --
HE WAS FROM HUNGARY AT THAT TIME?

A: He was from Hungary. He already lived in Austria,

Austria was all together. Hungary, Czechoslovakia and all these, they were all Austrians. Not like it's now.

And so he was already working in Klagenfurt, which was the smallest city in Austria, and he had at the time already a very good business which is importing grain to Austria from Argentina and from all over the world.

And he had already at the time, I think, for the firm about three houses there which belonged to the company. He had a partner in that. He was -- he was a buyer. The other one was the seller.

I have to go to American terms, because, you see, I never looked at it from that point of view, but at least that's what they were doing. Very, very successfully.

My father had seven sisters and one brother and he married off the seven sisters. He managed to help them out during the years also, so, you know, he was a person who was really an entrepreneur and he was good.

All right? Okay. So he --

Q: YOUR FATHER WAS A REAL ENTREPRENEUR?

A: He was.

Q: SO HE HAD SEVEN BROTHERS AND SISTERS?

A: He had seven sisters, one brother.

Q: AND HE MARRIED OFF --

A: He married off the seven sisters. Not the brother.

I guess he took care of himself.

Q: WELL, WAS YOUR FATHER THE OLDEST?

A: My father? No, he wasn't. He wasn't. There was even actually one more child then that died, but I don't know anything about my grandparents on this side because they had died before I was born.

You see, I was the youngest on the side of my father's family. All my cousins, I had lots of cousins and they are all much older than I was. I was just by myself from this side, not from my mother's side.

Q: SO YOUR FATHER MARRIED AFTER ALL HE GOT -- HE MARRIED ALL HIS SISTERS OFF, HUH?

A: Yeah. I guess. I guess he did that at the time.

Q: DID YOUR SISTERS LIVE IN AUSTRIA?

A: His sisters, no, they lived in Graz. They lived in Austria, yeah. Two lived in Hungary, and the others lived all in Austria.

Yeah, but it was all Austria, like I'm saying, only after the World War 1 it got -- it changed, you know.

Q: UH-HUH. UH-HUH.

A: So before World War 1, my father, obviously he was a man who had good foresight, he bought this factory, you know, and with all the land with all of it, so during World War 1 they were -- he was able to, you know, to have enough food and to manage to survive very well. He had in that company -- he had the former partner plus one more partner.

I mention them because they come up in the history later on also, you see.

Q: UH-HUH.

A: So one of the partners was called Brown, and the other one was called Kraus, and they were all partners in this -- in this liquor factory and in this ranch. I don't know whether you would call it a ranch. It was a very, very big property which had everything. Which had two hundred cows and had pigs and had all this stuff, so it was really self-supporting, and during World War 1 there was Russian prisoners working there, which I don't know a thing about it because I was just born half a year before the war ended.

These are all -- this is hearsay, but I know it happened. I have pictures, but I didn't bring any of this, I didn't think it was interesting.

And my mother, on my mother's side, my mother was born in Vienna, and my grandfather on my mother's side was general director -- general manager, you would say here, of -- in Budapest in what's Hungary nowadays, and he -- it was material, clothes, clothes -- material for clothes, what would you call it? Piece goods, or whatever you would call it now.

Q: CLOTHING MERCHANT? HE MADE THE CLOTHES?

A: No. He made the clothes, uh-huh.

Q: UH-HUH.

A: And my mother had three brothers and one sister and they all grew up in Vienna, and actually my mother's side was more sophisticated, they didn't have a lot of money, but

they were more educated than the other side of my family, and it caused a lot of problems for me because it's already bad when people get married and you have to see to it when you have it in families that are related it's even worse, at least in my experience I felt that way.

Q: THAT YOUR MOTHER'S FAMILY FELT SUPERIOR TO YOUR FATHER'S?

A: Yeah, and it always caused a problem, because I looked more like my father's family than my mother's. Caused me a problem.

Q: WHAT WAS THE PROBLEM IT CAUSED YOU?

A: I always felt I didn't measure up to what -- I wanted to. So, anyway, I've overcome that in the meantime. It took me a long time. And so --

Q: SO THEY SAW YOU AS A PEASANT?

A: Not really, no. No, no. They always said I was shrewd enough to be a good business person, but it wasn't what I wanted. I wanted to be an elegant lady, you see, so, anyway, so it worked itself out, and then it was better this way, you see.

I was more successful that way than it would have the other way around.

So what else can I tell you about that?

Q: YOU SAY YOUR FATHER -- YOUR MOTHER'S FAMILY, THREE BROTHERS AND --

A: And one sister.

Q: AND ONE SISTER?

A: Yeah. And my grandparents. And I knew my grandparents on this side. My grandmother was a very nice lady. My grandparents did not live together. They had obviously not a very good marriage and so my grandfather lived in Budapest and my grandmother lived in Vienna.

And my grandmother had what you would call a very good and very well known delicatessen in Vienna; she worked there. And not when I was -- not when I was -- I don't remember her working there. It stayed in the family, but I don't remember her working there, I just know she did.

Q: BUT SHE WAS AN ENTREPRENEUR TOO?

A: She was. She had to be with five children and living alone. She was a single mother at the time. More or less, you know, my grandfather came every so often, but not all the time. He was not always there. Only when he got sick and before he was -- he died, he was living in Vienna again.

Q: HE CAME HOME?

A: Yeah, he came home. You see, these were different times, as you know very well. It wasn't like it's nowadays, but anyway, so that is as far as that goes. I don't know.

What else would you like to know about my family?

Q: I'D LIKE TO KNOW WHERE YOU LIVED IN VIENNA. I MEAN, OBVIOUSLY YOUR FATHER WAS VERY SUCCESSFUL. HE HAD A BIG APARTMENT.

A: I was born in Vienna. I was born in Vienna in the apartment. Where we lived in first, it was a very big apartment. It was in the second district where most Jewish people used to live still at the time. And it was a very nice apartment next to the Donau Canal. Not the river, but the canal, and next to a bridge.

It was a lovely place. Very, very nice. First floor, no higher than that. And it was very, very elegant, I always thought. It was very, very pleasant, you know. Very good memories of this time of my life.

Q: UH-HUH.

A: Till -- till my father died, than I grew up very fast, you know.

Q: RIGHT. YOU WERE BORN JOANNA, YOU CALL YOURSELF "HONEY" BUT YOU WERE BORN JOANNA?

A: Joanna Louisa.

Q: JOANNA LOUISA. IS THAT A TRADITIONAL -- I MEAN IS THAT A JEWISH --

A: It was my grandmother's name. No, it was not. Jewish would be Hanna.

Q: SO HOW DID YOU GET JOANNA?

A: Because I translated Joanna from German to -- to English.

Q: I SEE. I SEE.

A: When I became a citizen.

Q: I SEE. I SEE.

A: I kept the name exactly in tact only I translated it.

Q: I SEE. YES.

A: Cause it -- causes a lot of complications when you get into foreign names.

Q: YES. YES. RIGHT. SO, WELL, TELL ME ABOUT YOU LIVED IN THE JEWISH QUARTERS AND SO WAS YOUR LIFE VERY JEWISH?

A: Not at all, no. Maybe as long as my father was alive. We were keeping some holidays, which I don't have much memory of at all. And after my father died, no. We didn't.

Q: BUT WHEN YOU WERE A CHILD GROWING UP DID YOU GO TO --

A: We had -- it was -- no. We had religion. It was obligatory in Austria.

Q: DID YOU GO TO PUBLIC SCHOOL OR JEWISH SCHOOL?

A: Public school. Public school. Four years to public school.

Q: AND WERE THERE OTHER JEWISH CHILDREN IN THAT SCHOOL?

A: Yeah. There were quite a few, I'm sure. It was only girls, because we were not -- there were no boys in this school.

Q: BUT WERE YOUR FRIENDS MOSTLY JEWISH?

A: Yes, I would say so. At the time, yes.

At this time in my life when I was a kid.

Q: UH-HUH.

A: I didn't have too many friends. I remember only one friend and I didn't have more than that, when I was little.

Q: UH-HUH.

A: And than --

Q: DID YOU GO TO SHULE WITH THE FAMILY?

A: No. No.

Q: NO? OR CELEBRATE FRIDAY NIGHT SABBATH?

A: No.

Q: WHAT ABOUT ROSH HASHONA AND --

A: Yes.

Q: PASSOVER, AND THINGS LIKE THAT?

A: Yes.

Q: DID THE FAMILY COME IN FROM BOTH SIDES FOR JEWISH HOLIDAYS?

A: No. I'm telling you it was very difficult.

First of all, my mother's side was not very religious and not very Jewish oriented because supposedly we have some kind of non-Jewish person in our -- in their family history, you see. Some German, which I don't know. I don't know that whether it's true, it's just a hearsay.

So they were not very religious. They all never converted to anything or anything like that and they all married Jewish people, but they didn't -- they were not religious at all.

Q: DID THEY HAVE A CERTAIN ATTITUDE ABOUT THAT, ABOUT JEWS?

A: I think they wanted to be Austrians; they wanted to blend in. They were born Austrians, they were -- my uncles were of the military, they were in World War 1, you know, so they were lieutenants, they didn't feel like Jew -- that Jewish. I mean, they knew who they were, you see, but they didn't feel -- feel that that was the greatest mistake that they never thought about it, that it's still going on what's going on there, you know.

Q: THEY DIDN'T THINK OF THEMSELVES AS JEWS?

A: They thought they knew Jewish. They knew they were Jewish, but they -- it was never an issue. You see, where we grew -- where we had the factory, there was no other Jews besides us. There was nobody else, and there were not many people living there, but we -- that was totally integrated somehow, so it was not an issue there at all.

But, of course, you learned a lot of things. I, as a kid, I was observing all this, you know. I was -- sometimes very terrified about all the things that you heard. And you know the people came from Poland, a lot into -- Vienna after World War 1 and they were very different from the Jews in Austria.

And people discriminated against that, they didn't want them, because they thought they bring anti-Semitism and then -- very well aware of anti-Semitism since -- I don't

know -- since I can think, probably.

Q: I GUESS THAT'S WHY --

A: That's why I don't -- not -- in general. In general. I never wanted -- for instance Pesach was for me a nightmare holiday because I always heard about the stories about the pogroms, you know, people went through, you know, because of this holiday when they said the Jews were drinking Christian blood and all that, so, Pesach is not a holiday for me. Always still up to now I am very -- I'm going to Pesach dinner, but I'm still not -- you know, I don't want to hear about it because it was so scary to me.

Q: UH-HUH.

A: So I had my eyes wide open. I guess wider open than most people, and that was -- made it harder.

Q: AND SO THIS ANTI -- THIS FEAR OF THE POLISH JEWS BRINGING ANTI-SEMITISM INTO AUSTRIA, THIS WAS THE FEAR AMONG THE JEWS THERE?

A: Yes. Not among me. I mean, I never thought about it, I didn't think the Hassidim were especially beautiful to look at the way they went in the streets, and I didn't know what they wanted to prove, and -- you know, two days, so but it never bothered me where anybody came from, I didn't think it should, but other people were very worried about it.

Q: AND WHAT ABOUT YOUR FATHER'S FAMILY? I MEAN,
HE --

A: My father's family didn't live in Vienna, they lived in a small town. I don't know what they did so much. They all had businesses there. And they lived in a town where they were mostly non-Jewish, you know.

Q: UH-HUH.

A: And where my father started his business was also in a place where there were very few Jews in Klagenfurt.

All these places there were very few Jews because mostly they were in Vienna.

Q: UH-HUH.

A: Which was the capital.

Q: SO YOUR FATHER WASN'T VERY RELIGIOUS EITHER?

A: What I remember, not too much. Not too much, no. Not too much.

As a matter of fact, one of my cousins whom I met in Vienna years later said to me he would -- and I can't believe that my father said that -- that people should just all integrate because it would solve the problem, and I can't believe he really said it, but we talked about it because we talked about what people believe in, you see, and this cousin then was the Austrian Consul in Israel, to tell you everything, and he mentioned that and I thought, well, I have never heard my father say that. I was too small. I was too small, you know, to be able to tackle these issues.

Q: WHAT WOULD MAKE YOU THINK YOUR FATHER NEVER SAID THAT?

A: I don't know. I can't believe it. I just -- it seems so farfetched for the person he used to be. He was not religious, maybe. I am not religious, but I know who I am very well, and I would never change it, you know. Because I believe in who we are, but religious I'm not. I would lie to you.

Q: AND SO YOUR FATHER'S PARTNERS WERE NOT JEWISH?

A: They were. They were. But they all were not very religious. I think they all wanted to blend in, if you ask me.

Q: BECAUSE THEIR NAMES WAS BROWN AND --

A: Brown, and the other one was Kraus.

Q: KRAUS.

A: Yeah. His children live in this country still. They all got killed in Auschwitz. Not all of them, but the Kraus, Barons, and one of the children got killed in Auschwitz. And but their children don't want to admit who they are. They don't -- they don't even want to be Jewish, so they live here, and I meet them and I talk to them, but the opinions in this are totally different, you see.

Q: UH-HUH.

A: So we kept the friendship up through all these years and that's a long period of time.

Q: AND BROWN?

A: And Brown, they went -- I went later on to Uruguay and South America and they died both, so they saved

themselves. My mother died in Auschwitz also -- that's what makes this -- that's the hard part. I can talk about myself, but I cannot talk about the other parts so well.

Q: SO WHEN YOU WERE GROWING UP, AT ANY RATE, THERE WAS NO FEELING -- I GUESS EVERYBODY FELT LIKE THEY WERE INTEGRATED INTO THE AUSTRIAN SOCIETY AND ACCEPTED AND --

A: Somehow, somehow. I always -- I was always wondering about whether we were different, you know, because I went -- we had servants in the house and I grew up with not with my parents so much, I grew up as with somebody who took care of me, and some of those were of course Catholic, so I went to the church with them and I was wondering why we -- we are different from this, you know, all these things that people wonder about in their growing stages, but I guess I never got many answers for that, you see, because at the time children were -- you were not --

If I see what people do nowadays in order to make children's lives better, what they talk about, I am amazed at all the mistakes that were made then.

Q: PARENTS MADE --

A: If you -- consider that they were mistakes, I don't know. We grew up all right, regardless. Sometimes better than others.

Q: BUT THEY DIDN'T TALK TO YOU ABOUT THOSE THINGS IS WHAT I WAS GETTING AT?

A: They didn't. They didn't. Well, at least mine

didn't. We never had any -- that I recall, never any conversations about these things when I was little. So I tried to figure it out myself.

Q: AND YOU HAD -- YOU SAID THREE BROTHERS?

A: One brother.

Q: ONE BROTHER. SO IT WAS JUST THE TWO OF YOU?

A: He was eight years older. We never even grew up together because he had his -- you know, it was too much of a difference.

Q: SO YOU WERE -- PRETTY MUCH ALONE?

A: I was alone. Yes, I was pretty much alone. Only when I went out in the country where we had the factory, I grew up with the kids of this partner of ours, and they were all boys. So it was -- it was difficult. I had to at least establish my position there.

I did. I did. I think I did a good job of it. I tried to --

Q: IT'S A GOOD THING YOU WEREN'T THIS SOPHISTICATED LADY YOU --

A: That's why I'm saying I wouldn't. I wouldn't. I couldn't. I couldn't afford to.

Anyway, it was always, you know, it was very nice and I'm in touch with all of these old friends of mine, you would be surprised, you know. It's amazing that we kept in touch after all these years and all the wanderings around the world we did.

Q: IT IS AMAZING.

A: But it is -- I feel very good about that part of my life. And about them. Them too. So, I mean, no matter what they -- how they develop.

So what else can I tell you about this?

Q: WELL, OKAY, SO WE'RE UP TO YOU WERE TEN WHEN YOUR FATHER DIED?

A: Ten years. Ten.

Q: AND HE DIED FROM AN APPENDECTOMY?

A: He had -- he died from embolism. He had three embolisms after he had this operation. He was ready to go on vacation and get out of the sanitarium or hospital, which is the same thing, and he was ready to take a vacation. He never took many vacations and to take it a little easier. And he just died.

I remember I made him a drawing before -- the day before, two days before, and he gave me ten shillings, and I went and I bought a book and I kept the book all the years I was -- it was one of my possessions which I got out of Austria, and than I gave it now to one of my nieces so it should stay in the family.

Q: UH-HUH.

A: So that was, you know, I thought he was going to come home and go on vacation. My mother came home and said -- and was crying and crying, and I said, "Don't cry. Everything is going to be fine. He seems to be doing very

well."

She said, "No, Honey, he just died."

And that was tough, because I had to try to take care of her, you know. I wasn't going to lose her also. It was tough.

Q: UH-HUH. UH-HUH. SUCH A SHOCK.

A: It was a shock. I never considered that it was so tough on me until I spoke to a psychologist who said to me, "Tell me, Honey, did you never feel sorry for the little girl, you felt sorry for everybody else? Why didn't you feel sorry for you?"

I said I never -- it never occurred to me.

Q: SO YOU TOOK CARE OF YOUR MOTHER?

A: I tried. I didn't -- I thought I have to.

Q: UH-HUH. UH-HUH

A: How else could I? I mean, you know, I just tried my best.

Q: AND YOUR BROTHER, HE WAS THERE?

A: He was there. He had already a girlfriend since he was 16 years old, and he was very much, you know -- he was very busy with his life already at the time. So, it was me who was there at the time.

Q: UH-HUH. SO WHAT HAPPENED, THEN, AFTER YOUR FATHER DIED WITH YOU AND YOUR MOTHER?

A: We got the -- you know, we got a new partner into the firm who married the daughter of Mr. Brown.

Actually, my father had brought him into the firm, and things got a little difficult because he made my mother a silent partner and things got -- he didn't treat her right at all the way I always thought she should be treated. We had plenty of money. That was not the issue. He cut down her, of course, the money, but we had -- we had plenty, we had very good life. I mean, it would not be the right thing to complain about anything like that, not materially.

And then we moved out of this area where we lived and we moved into the 19th District. My father had bought a house before he -- before he died, two years before he died. That was a big house. It had four den apartments and it was lovely, and it was a totally different environment.

Q: WHY DID YOU MOVE?

A: My mother wanted to move into that house and she had moved her mother into that same house. Just before we were going to move my grandmother died, so nothing worked out the way it was planned, you see, so it was a lot of shocks. I was about 12 or 13 around that time. I loved my grandmother. She was a very nice lady. And it -- it was a very nice life. Sometimes now even when I want to feel really protected I go back right to that time. It was great. It was good.

Q: SO YOU AND YOUR MOTHER MOVED INTO --

A: We moved in there; my brother, too. So we all lived

in a very beautiful apartment, in a very beautiful house. It's outside, like you would say -- what would you say it would be? Like roadside or something like that? But it was not a single house, it was -- apartment building.

Q: UH-HUH. SO BUT YOU SAID IT WAS VERY DIFFERENT FROM WHERE YOU HAD MOVED FROM?

A: It was different. My mother wanted me to go to a different school. At that time I went to private school. In the inner city of Vienna, in the First District, and I tried, but I didn't like it, so I went back. I took the streetcar and for one hour in the morning I went back to my old school because --

Q: YOU ONLY TRIED THE NEW SCHOOL FOR ONE HOUR?

A: No, the new school maybe for a day, two days. The people were very, very snobbish in that school, you see, and I didn't care for that, so I went back my old school, which was also -- people were also -- some were snobbish, but there were at least some that were not and halfway normal. It was expensive anyway, it was a -- private school is expensive even in Vienna then, and Trudy, the one that's volunteering here, she went to the same school, only she's eight years older than I am, seven years older than I am.

And it was very good. I liked it. I felt comfortable, you see. I was not an outstanding student, but I was all right and I learned English there and that's where

I got it from, and I learned it pretty good.

Q: UH-HUH. SO YOU WERE IN PRIVATE SCHOOL?

A: Yes. Eight years I went to school there.

Q: EIGHT YEARS, AND SO YOUR GRANDMOTHER DIED WHEN YOU WERE 12 OR 13?

A: Uh-huh.

Q: SO YOU WENT TO THIS SCHOOL UNTIL YOU WERE HOW OLD?

A: 18.

Q: UNTIL YOU WERE 18. NOW, WHAT YEAR WAS THIS?

A: 1936.

Q: 19 -- OKAY. NOW, AT WHAT POINT DID YOU BEGIN TO FEEL OR DID YOU BEGIN TO FEEL ANY PRESSURES ON BEING JEWISH ANYWHERE IN YOUR LIFE?

A: In high school. I had a big fight with a girl who was -- was a Nazi, you know. I remember that. And I remember out in the --

What it was about?

Q: YES.

A: About being Jewish.

Q: SHE ACCUSED YOU OF BEING JEWISH?

A: No. I don't know what exactly brought about. It was just what you would call a rumble here or something like that.

But I knew, of course, that in the country there were -- there were only Christians there and most of them -- I knew where their position was, you see. There were

different political parties in Austria so you could tell very easily where people were positioned and you felt that, you know, when I was 13 and 14, there were always travelers in Austria, political travelers, analysts, you know.

Q: UH-HUH.

A: So if you knew where to look, you knew what was going on.

Q: NOW AT WHAT POINT DID YOU BECOME AWARE OF THAT, THOUGH?

A: I would think when I was 13. 12, 13. I started reading books about the Russian Revolution then, you see.

Q: UH-HUH.

A: And I think I knew a lot more about politics than any other time of my life because I was -- you know, I was really looking at it.

Q: UH-HUH.

A: And besides they were shooting, there was shootings between the left and the right in Austria.

Q: UH-HUH.

A: And of course the Nazis were the underground.

Q: UH-HUH.

A: And if you knew where to look for them, you could see it.

Q: DID YOU KNOW WHERE TO LOOK?

A: Yes.

Q: WHERE DID YOU LOOK?

A: Where did I look? In -- Outside in the country where they drew the insignias on the walls and, you know, they wore openly brown shirts and swastikas and all these things. Sure, I knew where to look.

Q: SO SOMETHING CHANGED VERY DRAMATICALLY FROM WHEN YOU USED TO GO TO THE COUNTRY AND THINGS WERE --

A: It didn't for me. The country was wonderful for me. I had a friend there who was not Jewish. His parents were aristocrats and he lived in the castle where we had the factory, and if you want to call it we had a very young romance going. And I can tell you that we still are corresponding nowadays.

Q: REALLY?

A: And we are still good friends after 60 years. He wrote to me the other day I think we should try to celebrate the 60 years now that we know each other.

Q: OH, HOW WONDERFUL.

A: He became a doctor and -- has been working till now that he's 75 years old. And --

Q: IN EUROPE?

A: No, in Europe. He's not Jewish; he never left.

Q: UH-HUH.

A: But we discussed the subject later on when we met. He came over here to San Francisco and then I went back to Europe.

Q: UH-HUH. SO GOING TO THE COUNTRY WAS STILL NICE FOR

YOU?

A: Oh, it was very nice.

Oh, I could see the signs everywhere. But, you see, the grownups didn't look for the signs. They were social, they were Austrians and they had generations and generations of being there, and if you read some of the books about Austria before, you know it was always anti-Semitic, but nothing happened, you know. If you read or some of these books you know exactly what went on, but people didn't take it so seriously. They thought, okay, this is anti-Semitic, they don't like us. So people don't like you here either, but you're not going to start worrying all the time about it, right?

Q: UH-HUH.

A: So that's the way it felt, if you're born in America three generations, you won't start thinking about -- maybe you will if you occupied here, but I don't think that everybody would think about it.

Q: UH-HUH. BUT YOU SEEM TO HAVE BEEN --

A: I've been thinking. Oh, yes, I was thinking.

Q: VERY YOUNG.

A: I did.

Q: THAT'S INTERESTING.

A: I was thinking. I had lots of problems then because my brother and I decided to leave Austria before Hitler came, you see, and we tried to convince our partner to give

us some money and my brother got a visa to Argentina and he wanted to leave. And our partner wouldn't give us the money. Which was ours. And so he couldn't. And he had two little children at the time. He had a two year old and a three months old.

So when Hitler came, he had all his papers, though, you know, visa and passage and all that.

They took him right away and they took him, I don't even know where they took him, and -- I don't remember that. And he had to sign that he was going to leave Austria immediately. Otherwise they would have kept him in jail and probably sent him to Dachau or something, and he signed and he left I think about -- beginning of April. Hitler came around in March 11th and my brother must --

Q: WHAT YEAR IS THIS NOW?

A: That's 1938. And my brother left in 1938, I think, in April. I can't tell you the exact date. He left with a hundred shillings. That would be, if it's a lot, ten dollars nowadays, with two children and with everything, and with his wife, and went to Argentina.

Q: WHAT WAS THE -- WHY WOULDN'T YOUR PARTNER GIVE HIM THE MONEY?

A: Because he was a very bad person. He was a bad person. He was -- he was a Jew. He was a very bad person. I've never forgiven him for all the things; I couldn't.

You see, I'm saying I'm nobody to forgive anybody, I

have to understand, but this is the one person I -- cannot forgive. I mean, I cannot forgive a few others, but this I cannot forgive, you know, because of course my mother's life -- because of course it shattered my brother's life and all that, so.

Q: NOW YOU SAID THAT YOU AND YOUR BROTHER DECIDED TO LEAVE AUSTRIA?

A: We decided --

Q: TELL ME ABOUT THAT. TELL ME --

A: Because we had very good friends who were not Jewish and they said, "What are you still doing here? You should be going."

Q: THIS IS WHEN YOU WERE 16 OR --

A: I was older than that. I was 19.

Q: UH-HUH.

A: "You should be going. Leave now. It's getting very dangerous. It can't last long."

Q: THIS IS 1937?

A: '37. 1937. And so we discussed it, my brother and I. You have to think that I was a minor, I was a minor by law, and I was not taken seriously by other people also.

So when we decided that my brother and I, he could go, he could do whatever he wanted, so he was first to try to, you know, get his papers and all that. And which was very lucky, really, in a way.

And then when I came to my mother and I said -- I

had a boyfriend then. I had a boyfriend and actually it was my fiance. We were supposed to get married in 1938 in June.

And so I said, "Look, we want to go, too."

So everybody jumped on me, the whole family, that I'm such a bad daughter, I want to leave my mother, and I don't care about anything.

And I said it's not that, I want to get out and I want to take her afterwards, if you see how things are over there, because there was still time, you see.

Q: WHERE DID YOU WANT TO GO?

A: To Argentina. To Argentina. Actually, my father wanted to go to England in 1927. He wanted to leave Austria. He must have really had very good visions, but he never made it, see.

Q: WHO WERE THESE IN THE FAMILY? YOUR UNCLES?

A: My uncles, and of course the partners, and everybody what a bad person this -- this girl is, she wants to leave her mother, and that was really not the issue at all.

Q: WHAT DID YOUR MOTHER SAY?

A: She wouldn't hear of it. I had an invitation in 1936 to come to New York from an American friend of mine.

And I wanted so badly to go, and my mother said, "No, you will never come back if you go," and I didn't.

And a year and a half later I had to go anyway.

Q: NOW YOUR MOTHER WOULDN'T HEAR OF IT, BUT WHAT WAS

HAPPENING TO YOUR MOTHER IN TERMS OF HER AWARENESS OF WHAT WAS GOING ON? THIS IS '37.

A: My mother, after my father died, when I was about 12 years old, my mother met a man whom she -- I think she loved dearly for many years. He was non-Jewish, and he never married her, and then he left -- he dumped her like -- you would say -- for another woman, for a German -- when Hitler was coming -- for a German woman, because, of course, it wouldn't have worked out, you see.

Q: WITH A JEWISH WIFE?

A: Yes, a Jewish wife. My mother had more money than he did. I don't know why they made it so hard on themselves. You know. I really liked him until the point came where he just didn't want to continue with my mother and she was in terrible shape. And I tried to go and reason with him about that. I was still, you know -- at that time I was -- had the illusion that you could reason with somebody about feelings.

Q: HOW OLD WERE YOU THEN?

A: I was 18.

Q: AND YOU WENT TO HIM AND YOU SAID, "WHAT'S THE MEANING HERE?"

A: Yeah. I remember that so clearly.

Q: WHAT DID YOU SAY TO HIM?

A: I said, well, you know, "Why are you doing this?" And, "You were so happy and my mother's such a beautiful

woman. And what's going on with you?"

He didn't tell me it's somebody else. No one would tell you that. It was to no avail that I did that, you know. But that's the way it was, and of course with all these things it shifted also more and more and more away from being so Jewish properly through this whole thing -- I don't know, you know. I don't know.

Q: UH-HUH.

A: And he just left her. That was so sad. It was really sad. But he paid his price, so I'm not worried about him at all.

Q: WHAT HAPPENED TO HIM?

A: What happened to him? He married some -- he didn't marry the woman he left my mother for, he married a nurse and she couldn't stand living with him, she jumped out of the window. So --

But don't think I didn't take care of him after the war. I still sent him some packages because I felt so sad.

Q: YOU SENT HIM PACKAGES?

A: Yeah.

Q: WHY?

A: Because I felt sorry for the man. I always felt sorry for everybody.

Q: EVERYBODY ELSE?

A: Yeah. My husband gets still so angry with me because I'm still the same way. I probably would do it over

the same way. Sure, I sent packages to the other people, but they were good people, you know, in Austria, the ones that were telling me to leave and the other one that's still my friend.

Yes, I send him packages, I must admit it. It was maybe stupid, but I felt better this way. I thought my mother would certainly want him to have it.

Q: SO YOUR MOTHER --

A: To eat.

Q: YOUR MOTHER DIDN'T WANT YOU TO LEAVE OR DIDN'T WANT TO LEAVE BECAUSE SHE WANTED TO BE THERE WITH THIS MAN?

A: No. That was already out. That was finished. She wouldn't want to leave --

Look, before Hitler came we had -- we had elections. Okay? We had elections in March of 1938, and I said to my mother, "Please, mother, come with me. We go to Switzerland." We go to Switzerland, but we don't have any money.

I said, "Okay. We take your jewelry. We go out to Switzerland. We sit in Switzerland and we look at the elections and we're going to see what's going to happen."

She said, "No, I have to be here. I'm an Austrian and I have to vote. I'm going to vote. I'm not going."

Q: THIS WAS IN '38?

A: That was in '38.

Q: WHEN HITLER WAS ELECTED?

A: No, Hitler was never elected. Von Schuschnigg was elected and he was -- he was a social, whatever that means in this country, as a party. He was a very decent guy. Austria was invaded by Germany.

Q: UH-HUH.

A: I mean, not that they were unhappy about it, they were very happy about it, they wanted it.

Q: SO IN THE ELECTION THE CHRISTIAN SOCIALISTS WON --

A: And then the Germans marched in.

Q: AND SO YOU HAD WANTED TO --

WAS THIS WHAT YOU WERE AFRAID WOULD HAPPEN?

A: Yeah.

Q: THAT THE GERMANS WOULD COME IN?

A: Yeah.

Q: YOU WERE THAT AWARE OF THE --

A: Yes.

Q: THE POWER OF --

A: Yes, ma'am, I was. I was. It was tough for me to sit there and wait. Because I wasn't God Almighty to be sure that it was going to be that way, you know.

Yes, I knew. I was sure.

Q: BUT DID YOU FEEL THERE WAS A LOT OF SUPPORT IN AUSTRIA FOR HITLER WHEN HE WOULD COME?

A: Yes. Absolutely. The Austrians were worse than the Germans.

Q: BUT YOUR MOTHER?

A: She didn't see --

Q: SHE DIDN'T SEE THIS?

A: No, she didn't. I think she didn't want to see this.

Q: SO THERE YOU WERE IN VIENNA.

A: There I was.

Q: DURING THE ELECTIONS, AND THEN WHAT HAPPENED?

A: Then on the radio -- came a message on the radio where Von Schuschnigg abdicated and then the German troops marched in.

Q: THAT WAS IN APRIL?

A: That was in March. That was in March. I don't know, it must be the 13th.

Q: SO WHAT DID YOU THINK WHEN THAT HAPPENED? WHEN YOU HEARD ON THE NEWS THAT HITLER WAS MARCHING IN?

A: I was not afraid, if that's what you mean. Not for one minute. I thought what could we do? What would be the best way to -- to do something. What's going to happen? There was no atrocities that much as it was later on. There was not that much known about it. You see, we knew Dachau existed, but everybody closed its eyes to it.

Q: WHAT DID YOU KNOW ABOUT DACHAU?

A: That it was a concentration camp.

Q: FOR?

A: For Jews mainly, and then for politically -- dissidents.

I have to sometimes search for words, I hope you don't mind. They come out the right way.

Q: WAS THERE ANY ATTENTION TO --

A: I was just saying this morning to my husband I still can't understand why all these grownup people never paid any attention to this. They could have taken their money out, they could have done a lot of things. They should have seen it coming since 1933 when it happened in Germany.

Q: UH-HUH.

A: But then Germany, it wasn't so bad at the time. You see, there was still people there and they could take their monies out and they could still live there. It didn't come as fast as it came in Austria.

Q: ALL RIGHT. SO YOU HEARD THE NEWS AND YOU SAID, "WHAT CAN WE DO"?

A: What can we do?

Q: AND THEN WHAT?

A: And then we didn't do anything. We wait -- we waited.

Q: WERE YOU STILL IN SCHOOL?

A: I was study -- It was already after I finished school, I went to work in my father's -- he had bought a pharmacy from one of five uncles and that had a wholesale drugstore -- druggist operation.

I hate to say drugs nowadays.

But it was pharmaceutical drugs. And my brother was

supposed to study pharmacy and he didn't want to, and I didn't want to go back and study Latin, so I did the next best thing, I went in there and I took a druggist course in Vienna, and I studied and I worked, which was also not the current thing at the time, but my mother said there --

She was way ahead of time. She said, "Times will come that a woman has to know how to defend herself. I didn't know anything about your father's business. I didn't know a thing about anything. You have to learn something, you have to be able to defend yourself."

And I did. So I worked eight hours and I studied.

Q: UH-HUH.

A: And I still was riding the streetcar every day about an hour to the city.

Q: UH-HUH.

A: And, well, I had met my -- my husband at the time.

Q: YOUR FIANCE?

A: He --

Q: HE WAS YOUR FIANCE? YOU WERE GOING TO GET MARRIED?

A: We were going to get married. Yeah, we were going to get married, June, so when this happened, when all these people -- and my brother was arrested and my brother left --

Q: OH, WHAT HAPPENED TO YOUR BROTHER? WAS HE ARRESTED AT YOUR HOUSE OR --

A: At his apartment, yes. It was in the same house; he lived in the same house.

Q: I SEE. AND WHAT HAPPENED THAT NIGHT?

A: Well, then he was arrested and he was -- he signed that he was going to leave and not take anything with him, he was released.

Q: HE WAS ARRESTED BY?

A: By the S R. I think it was the S R. Could have been S S. I don't know exactly. Because I wasn't there.

Q: WHAT WENT ON IN YOUR MIND WHEN YOU FOUND OUT YOUR BROTHER WAS ARRESTED?

A: I was worried sick. I was worried sick about my brother. He was only away for a day. I was worried sick about my mother because my mother couldn't take these things, you see, I knew she couldn't.

I was really worried about my family tremendously. And I was not afraid for me because I thought nothing's going to happen to me. That's stupid, but that's the way I was thinking. I can take care of myself.

And so my brother left. He left immediately. My mother gave him part of the jewelry and he left immediately. He had a very hard life ever since. He died a few years back, but he had a tough life. And he was a very good person.

And then we had -- the next thing happened we had five S R people coming into our apartment searching the apartment.

Q: FOR WHAT?

A: For valuables and everything else.

Q: DID THEY FIND ANY?

A: We had -- my mother had all her jewelry not in the safe which we had in the house, she had it just in wherever clothes were -- you know, under the bed and so forth, so they didn't find that. They opened the safe.

See, my mother
they didn't find that.

They opened the safe. See, my mother was naive. She had no idea what all this was, what was happening. She couldn't take it. She was in bed.

She was -- When she had trouble, she had -- she got migraines and she stayed in bed. And I was home and we had a maid there, and we had a dog. We always had a dog. And my fiance was not there. Nobody was there, only the three of us and the maid's boyfriend.

Suddenly they come to the door and there's five S R in uniform, with a swastika and all that. And they come in and they want to search the place, and my mother gives them the key to the safe, which I already wouldn't have given the key to the safe -- to the safe in the house.

And then we had hidden money. We had money in the house for one reason only, because I was going to get married. When my mother was going to buy me some clothes and some things like that. So we had money in the house and we put the money all in books in between the sets. We had

read all this before, you know. This comes all from way back the Russian Revolution, with what people did with money and hiding everything.

Q: SO WHERE DID YOU HIDE THE MONEY?

A: In the library in between the books. But my mother told them.

Q: WHERE THE MONEY WAS?

A: Part of -- yes, she did.

And so they got -- they didn't get all of it. They got some of it, and they --

Okay. They stayed there and they were searching all over the apartment. I think they stayed with us for about six hours.

Q: MY GOODNESS.

A: Uh-huh. But in the meantime my fiance came and my youngest uncle came, and I don't know who else was there. And, you know, I don't know what my family thought about me or what -- I always was in the middle of the bad parts of things.

Anyway, I was sitting -- we had a huge easy chair there, and I was sitting in that easy chair, and my uncle comes and he had some dollars -- he had changed some money because he was ready to leave -- and he gives me this money and shows me I should put it under my seat and, you know, they could have -- just taken me out for that, you know, and take me with them because this was forbidden stuff, so I

was sitting on the money and that wasn't even all, he asked me to give it back to him, and they are lucky they didn't see that because one of the men was just standing there, was playing with his gun like this, and I had read about this also in these books that I used to read, and so I was watching him.

I said, "Really, it's true what people write about all this revolution, about all these people who are, you know, try to do this to you to scare you. I'm not going to be scared."

Q: WHAT WAS HE PLAYING WITH?

A: It was a gun.

Q: OH. UH-HUH.

A: You know, just to try to threaten you.

Intimidated. I was not going to be intimidated at that time. I was so young. No, I thought, "Well, nothing is going to happen."

Foolish, but I was not -- I was not for a minute afraid, really. I must say that, and I don't know how, you know, because I wasn't. So everybody else was afraid enough already.

Q: SO YOU HID THE MONEY. YOU GAVE IT BACK TO HIM?

A: I gave it back to him. I was so furious at him. I was so angry, because I thought if they see this they are going to take me away, because, you know, this is something forbidden. He should never do such a thing.

Anyway, all my uncles left very soon after that. One came to the United States and the other one went to Czechoslovakia, and I got married in the meantime also.

Q: WHAT DID THEY FIND IN THE SAFETY DEPOSIT BOX? HAD YOUR MOTHER AT LEAST TAKEN THINGS OUT?

A: They didn't find much. Maybe a little money, not much. We didn't leave much in there.

So when they all left -- you won't believe it when I tell you, because I remember it -- you'll think I am making it up, but I am not.

When they left my mother was so, you know, she was for law and order. She grew up that way. So I said, "Oh, how lucky they didn't take all the books out, they didn't find all this cash that we had," which was very lucky because we lived off that for a long time. All this cash they forgot. She says, "You have to go down to the station and give it to them."

Q: SHE SAID --

A: I said, "I'm going to -- Before I do that, I'm going to throw it into the fire right here, into the stove, because I'm not going to take the money down there. I won't do that."

And of course, fine, we didn't argue for a long time, it just stayed. We just kept the money. We lived off that money. We couldn't get any money from the firms anyway for months and months and months. We had to live, you know,

off something.

Q: WHY COULDN'T YOU GET THE MONEY OFF THE FIRMS?

A: Because it was all blocked. Immediately. Nothing.

Q: HOW ABOUT YOUR PARTNERS? DID THEY GIVE YOU MONEY?

A: Very little. I mean very, very little. They gave some, probably. Maybe -- They all had money, I tell you. They all kept some money and I'm sure they didn't take it to the stations down there and they didn't have any -- anything like we had. They didn't have anybody come in like we had.

Q: UH-HUH. SO YOU GOT NO MORE MONEY FROM THE BUSINESS?

A: Not at the time. Then very slowly we got enough, you know, for some living expenses.

Q: WHAT MADE THE DIFFERENCE?

A: You see, I cannot be --

We took a man who was supposed to take care of all our business, he was a German, because all the Germans came in and all the Germans want to oversee, you know, to take whatever they could from the Jews and make it German properties, so we took a fellow who came over there and he took over the companies and then you could get some money out. That was the only way to do it.

Q: SO A GERMAN --

YOU SOLD THE COMPANY TO A GERMAN --

A: No, we didn't. We just had him -- he just was running the businesses; we didn't sell it. Everybody wanted

us to sell it, but we didn't sell it. We didn't sell.

So far -- so now we got -- Where did we get to?

Almost May 1938.

Q: SO THE S R CAME IN IN MAY OF '38?

A: No, they came in April.

Q: IN APRIL. YES. YOUR MOTHER, WAS SHE JUST SO AFRAID OF THE AUTHORITY?

A: I think she must have known she was going to die in Auschwitz because she was so afraid like nobody else. She was terribly afraid. She was terrified.

Q: SHE PROBABLY --

A: She was always terrified.

Q: HOW TO COPE WITH ALL THIS?

A: No, she didn't know how to cope. She didn't know how to cope before with a lot of things and she didn't know how to cope with that situation. Not everybody could cope, you know. People that were older couldn't cope. Younger people had it easier.

Q: WHAT?

A: The younger, you know, were the better off in some areas, because people in their forties and their fifties at the time were much older than nowadays and they had lived there forever and they had worked hard and they had their money, and they were more worried about the money than their own safety and that's what killed a lot of people.

Q: YES. YES.

A: And so that was very sad, and I mean it's really sad that it had to happen that way. They just -- you know, it didn't have to be. It didn't have to be this way.

Q: SO YOUR BROTHER HAD ALREADY LEFT --

A: All my uncles left. All my uncles left. Uh-huh.

Q: SO YOUR MOTHER'S FAMILY JUST LEFT?

A: My mother's family left.

Q: AND SHE STILL DIDN'T WANT TO GO?

A: No. So, you see, but the brothers had arranged for her to get married to a cousin again. In Czechoslovakia. And she did get married in August '38 to this cousin who I didn't even know, we all didn't know. It was a second cousin.

Q: SHE DIDN'T KNOW HIM EITHER?

A: I don't know whether she knew him. You see, I don't know whether she knew him. I never asked her. Maybe I asked her, she told me, I don't know.

She was very, very -- could only be just by name or something like that. He was a banker. He had money outside. Everything. He was a widower, he had lost two children and his wife, and so my uncles came to him and they promoted this marriage, and my mother got married to him, and she was the happiest person in the world when she left Austria. And she got a Czech passport and I was even happier.

I gave her away and I was even happier. I was

happy, I thought she was safe. I thought she would go away, you know. Her brother sent her a visa from the United States. He was there already. And I thought they were going to go to the United States. But they didn't.

Q: SO YOUR MOTHER WENT TO LIVE IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA?

A: Went to live in Czechoslovakia. I stayed in Vienna with my husband.

Q: RIGHT, BECAUSE YOU HAD GOTTEN MARRIED IN JUNE.

A: My marriage --

Q: TELL ME ABOUT YOUR MARRIAGE.

A: I brought you my first husband's picture so you can see when I got married.

Q: DID YOU HAVE A BIG WEDDING?

A: No. It was raining and we went to the temple and we went with the umbrella and we made it very small so nobody would give us a hard time.

Q: WHAT DO YOU MEAN GIVE YOU A HARD TIME?

A: Well, you know, the Nazis were all over the place. Temples were burned; temples were damaged. Who wanted to be in a temple at that time? You wanted to be far away from it. It was not a good place to be.

But nothing happened. We got married. His parents lived in Salzburg. And my husband was an economist. He had his P H D in Economy, and he was trying very hard to find a job.

It was very difficult in Austria, you know, for a

young man to find a job. That was before Hitler. And then after Hitler we -- nobody worked. I lost my job. I mean, I had to give up my job immediately, my studies; I had to quit everything.

Q: BECAUSE YOU WERE JEWISH?

A: Yes.

Q: AND HE HAD NEVER BEEN ABLE TO GET A JOB?

A: He had a job. He had to give up his job because his company, it was a Jewish company, folded immediately there.

Q: IMMEDIATELY AFTER HITLER CAME?

A: Uh-huh. So we were -- we were -- what we did mostly was to study how we could get out in the best way and what we could do. And I couldn't get out because all our monies had never been separated after my father died and I couldn't get what they call , which meant you had to have all your taxes, special taxes, paid that they put on us, you know, in order to be able to leave, and in order to get a passport.

Q: AND YOU COULDN'T GET THAT PAID?

A: I couldn't get that.

Q: WHY?

A: Because I did -- that was 120,000 shillings and that was a heck of a lot of money then.

Q: SO THESE WERE TAXES ON YOUR --

A: Well, if the Jewish people wanted to leave we had to pay this. But, you see, I had to pay for everybody else

because I had to pay for my mother and for my brother and for myself. That's why it was very hard.

Q: SO YOU HAD TO PAY A HUNDRED HOW MUCH?

A: 120,000 shillings.

Q: SHILLINGS TO YOUR MOTHER TO --

A: Not to --

Q: TO LEAVE THE --

A: No, I had to pay this to, like, what you would call the I R S here in order to be -- that I can get out.

Q: RIGHT.

A: That was after my mother had left already. That was all new laws.

Q: SHE DIDN'T HAVE TO --

A: No. She married a Czech. She got a Czech passport; she married a Czech. She immediately became a Czech citizen. She didn't have to pay anything.

Q: YOUR BROTHER?

A: My brother, there was no law like that.

It's true.

Q: THIS IS A NEW LAW?

A: He's looking at me.

It's true, it was that way. It happened in the strangest way, you know.

Q: SO WHEN YOU WANTED TO LEAVE --

A: I couldn't.

Q: YOU HAD TO HAVE 120,000 SHILLINGS?

A: Yes. And after that I had to pay out to the ,
I had to pay another 5,000 Reichsmark also, so, you know, it
was a lot of money.

Q: BUT 120,000 SHILLINGS, WAS THAT A GREAT DEAL IN
TERMS OF --

A: It was a great deal -- it was a great deal of money
at the time. It would be nothing nowadays, but it was a
great deal of money then.

Q: AND EVEN THE COMPANY, I MEAN, YOUR FATHER'S COMPANY
DIDN'T HAVE THE MONEY --

A: Oh, we had the money. It was frozen.

Q: OKAY.

A: It was frozen, so, you know, what did I do? We had
to put our minds to something, we had to find somebody, I
wanted to get a passport, I just wanted to have a passport
because I could get a visa -- I had a visa to Argentina
which my brother sent and it -- it lost being valid after a
certain amount of time and he couldn't afford to renew it so
I had no visa, I had nothing.

So I had a very good friend of my husband who went
to Yugoslavia at the time and there was a Uroguayan Concert
in Yugoslavia who must have been Jewish, because he issued
visas to a lot of people, Jewish people.

Now I had to get this visa into a passport. I
didn't have a passport because I didn't have my taxes paid.
So we found a guy who got me a passport. German passport,

with a big "J" in it. For my husband, too. Though Austrian passport. And what we did, we took a chance, we mailed the passport to Yugoslavia to that friend of ours and he got us a visa and we got the visa back with the passport and everything, which was totally illegal because I was not supposed to have it.

Q: HOW MUCH DID YOU HAVE TO PAY TO GET IT?

A: A lot. You see, I was trying to figure out how much money it was and where I got the money from, and I have a hard time remembering. We somehow managed to do it. I cannot tell you how it happened.

Q: UH-HUH.

A: Because we had still maybe -- we had money in the house, more than I thought. I don't remember. And my father-in-law had some money also, you know, because he had his own business in Salzburg. He was a lumber -- in the lumber business. So --

Q: AND YOUR NEW FATHER, MAYBE HE HAD SOME MONEY?

A: He had money, but that was never -- he had the money in New York, he had money in Czechoslovakia, but we never approached him for any of this.

Q: WHY NOT?

A: I don't think he could have sent it. It never came. It never crossed my mind. It never crossed my mind, to tell you the truth.

Now that you mention, we might have, but I never

thought about it. I was so glad my mother was well. She came back once to Vienna to visit and she told me she was so happy, and that was all I cared about at the time. Uh-huh.

And then, well --

Q: SO YOU GOT YOUR PASSPORTS IN THE MAIL?

A: I got the passports in the mail, but I couldn't leave because -- I didn't have -- hadn't paid my taxes, and if they would have caught me with it, I would have gone to jail. Probably not to jail, you know, someplace.

And so with all this time passed -- time passed, we came to November 1938. And I wanted to leave. And we got the visas for our partners and for the director of our factory and everybody else, and these people didn't want to leave, because they didn't want to leave their money, and I couldn't leave because I couldn't get my -- to get out.

So, but all of this, you know, the 10th of November came, and you know what that meant in Vienna and in Germany; all over the place.

Q: TELL ME WHAT IT MEANT TO YOU. WHAT HAPPENED?

A: What happened to me? I stayed in Vienna in our apartment with my husband and with a cousin of mine who had married the daughter of our partners, so before I stayed in the apartment and we -- the maid and her husband stayed in the apartment.

And my husband tried to reach his father in Salzburg and they told him that they had taken his father into

custody.

Q: WHAT PROMPTED YOUR HUSBAND TO CALL UP HIS FATHER IN SALZBURG?

A: Because he heard that -- that people were being arrested, on the radio; we heard the radio. We had radios at that time.

So my husband lost his nerve and he ran out into the street and he was gone.

And sure enough maybe an hour later they knocked at the door, two S R, people, and, "Where are the men?"

And we hid my cousin.

Q: WHERE?

A: We hid him in one of the maid -- the maid's room, and the maid and the husband stayed there and they said they lived there, and this was their own, so they wouldn't go in because he had this big swastika on for this occasion and he was trying to protect us, you see.

Q: THE MAID'S --

A: Husband. Uh-huh. And so they took us, my friend and myself, to one of their barracks where they collected all kinds of people.

This friend of mine became very -- she lives in Bucharton, and that's the one who doesn't want to be Jewish, you see. I think she lost her nerve there.

Q: SO WHAT HAPPENED --

A: And we were -- for a whole day we were in this

barracks.

Q: BARRACKS WITH HOW MANY OTHER PEOPLE?

A: OH, lots. Lots of people.

Q: HUNDREDS?

A: I would say so. Maybe 200.

Q: UH-HUH. AND --

A: And they gave us an easy job. We were good looking girls, you know. We were very nice looking at the time. They gave us the easy jobs to sort bottle caps and things like that, and the old women were washing the floors.

And this --

Q: THIS WAS ALL WOMEN? THEY PUT ALL --

A: I don't remember. It was mostly women, I think. I don't remember seeing any men. And so my friend and I, we were always very good, cleaning up for our mothers, so we said, "We're not going to look at this. We are going to do the floors."

And we told the guys, but we told them very -- you know, without being afraid, we said, "We are going to do this and the women should sort the bottle caps."

And we did this. We did this all day long. We carried buckets and we did this, and we didn't know how long it was going to be, we had no idea, you know. We didn't know whether they were going to keep us a day or two or whatever.

So, but in the evening they released us, and they

said, "You did a very good job."

And I remember what I said to the guy, I said, "Well, I hope you're not going to think you're going to pick us up tomorrow again for this work."

I remember that.

Q: SO WHAT WAS THE PURPOSE OF THAT?

A: To punish you. To punish you for the death of, you know -- the shooting in Paris at the time.

And they -- they took everybody -- they arrested everybody, all the men.

See, when I came home, my husband didn't come home, my husband was arrested. He didn't come home for a whole week.

Q: WHEN HE RAN OUT, THEY CAUGHT HIM IN THE STREET?

A: Uh-huh. And my husband didn't look Jewish at all. Nobody in the world would ever have thought that he was Jewish, but they asked for identification.

Q: AND WHERE DID HE GO?

A: He was -- he was desperate, he just --

Q: I MEAN WHEN THEY CAUGHT HIM?

A: Oh, when they caught him?

When they caught him, they took him to the in Vienna, and I think the men stood there for three days without being able to sit down in their coats, and there they were.

And then they were transferred somewhere else. I

didn't know that at the time, you see.

And then they were transferred somewhere else, and from there they were dispatched either to Dachau or to some other place, or they were let go.

In the meantime, when I came home and I didn't find my husband, the next day I went to the [redacted]. There were thousands of people at the [redacted] in Vienna.

What would you call that here? I don't know. That would be the Jewish organization.

Q: OKAY.

A: Which was at a temple, next to the temple. There were thousands of people, because they had locked up people's apartments and taken their keys away and people were out in the street, and they had taken, like, in our building on the second floor they had thrown out all the furniture that belonged to the people, including the pianos and whatever.

And people were looking for their relatives.

Where were they?

And it so happened that I had been dealing with a fellow who was an SS ober strum [redacted], the high echelon, very high up there.

Q: HOW WERE YOU --

A: I was dealing with him to get my income tax, my taxes, organized.

So when this happened, I went to him, and I said, "You can have whatever you want. Just get my husband out of wherever he is and try to find him. I have no idea where he went."

So it took a whole week.

After a week, he told me where he was and everything, you know, the guy told me all these things.

After a week, they put the people -- they had different doors where they sent the people. Some were sent to Dachau and some were sent back out in the street, and some were sent to prison, I think.

And the father of our best friend who had gotten us the visas was sent to Dachau then. And they released my husband that day.

Q: WHY?

A: Because he had -- because this guy had intervened. It cost money.

Q: HOW MUCH? DO YOU REMEMBER?

A: I don't remember. I don't remember. I think he wanted me to write over my -- the whole part of our factory, which I didn't do. We had sold our house at the time already. That's where the money came from.

Now I remember.

I should never have done that, but we did. I didn't care about money, I just wanted everybody to be safe.

And so he had the passport and he had the visa, so

he had a legitimate reason that he was going to be released, and this guy intervened and he had to sign that he was going to leave in a week. And he did. And he came home and his leg was hurt and it took a long time to heal for that. That came from the trucks they had loaded him up on.

And then we -- we couldn't leave in a week because I still didn't get my taxes. And we were sitting there and there we were really concerned. How we are going to get out now? Because we had to leave. We knew we had to leave. We couldn't stay.

Q: NO. AND BEFORE WE FIND OUT HOW YOU FINALLY DID LEAVE, YOU SAID SOMETHING ABOUT THIS WHOLE EVENT, NOVEMBER 10TH, HAPPENED BECAUSE OF WHAT HAPPENED IN PARIS.

CAN YOU EXPLAIN WHAT YOU MEANT BY THAT?

A: That -- that -- What was his name? My God, you know, the memory is not as good -- who was shot in the German Embassy. You must have heard about it, that the was one of the most famous events.

Q: SURE, THE

A: And that was -- that was because they shot a German diplomat, I think, in Paris.

Q: UH-HUH.

A: I don't remember his name. I would have to lie to you. Maybe Trudy remembers it, because it was really something one should remember, but I didn't care for Germans that much to remember their names, you know.

Q: UH-HUH.

A: So anyway, that was -- that was why it happened, and they arrested practically everybody, and then they started sending people to concentration camps and they started really playing rough, very rough, you know. I mean, they were rough before that. You couldn't sit in a park on a bench or that you had to -- they made people clean up the sidewalks and all that, but that was child's play compared with --

Q: CLOSED ALL THE BUSINESSES AND --

A: Yeah, businesses, break, everything. You know, which shouldn't -- This was nothing, compared to what happened later.

Q: YOU WERE SITTING THERE --

A: Sitting there between -- between the wall and the hot plate.

Q: AND -- OKAY.

A: And so I got this guy, the one that got my husband out, and I said, "Okay, we want the -- you want the factory so badly, my part of it" -- I could only do it with my part of it, you know -- "I'll see what I can do, but let me do something first, let me deposit the shares of the factory for security with income tax so that I can get out."

It wasn't all my idea. I'm sure we had talked it over. I would lie to you if I told you everything I did was only my idea. It was my husband and I. We discussed all

these things, and his father.

So they agreed, okay, they were going to -- the shares were worth more than that. So they agreed they would give me this paper which I waited for so many months; that if I deposited the shares, they would give me the paper.

Q: FOR YOUR TAXES?

A: And in the meantime we had to pay the 5,000 apiece for taxes for this murder in Paris. They put this tax on everybody who --

Q: YOU AGREED TO --

A: Deposited the shares. I got my papers, and so now I was supposed, you know, to sign over part of this property to this man, to this .

And I was not ready to do that really, because I thought why should they offer me all this? We had paid him for everything. So I thought why should I?

So the minute, you know, that it was Christmas 1938 and the guy went away to Switzerland and I got my papers, and the minute I got my papers I took off.

Q: SO YOU WERE SUPPOSED TO -- YOU PUT YOUR SHARES ON DEPOSIT?

A: Yeah.

Q: AND YOU GOT YOUR PAPERS?

A: And --

Q: AND THEN YOU NEVER SIGNED THE SHARES AWAY?

A: No.

Q: AND YOU LEFT?

A: I left. I left. So, you know, it was maybe not the nicest part of -- but I thought whatever they do, it's not so nice, so why should I do this, you see.

Q: RIGHT.

A: And it didn't only belong to me, it belonged to my brother and my mother. It wasn't worth anything anyway after the war, so it didn't make any difference. Just a matter of principle.

Q: SO YOU DIDN'T GIVE THE SHARES --

A: No. It was enough that I sold them a house in Vienna and we lost that and that was really a big property, you know.

Q: YOU --

A: I sold it, yes, I sold it. I sold it because we needed money.

Q: RIGHT. BUT THE HOUSE YOU WERE LIVING IN --

A: That was the house.

Q: YOU DIDN'T SELL THAT?

A: No.

Q: OH, BECAUSE YOU HAD THAT HOUSE YOU LIVED IN ORIGINALLY WHEN YOU WERE A YOUNG GIRL?

A: Yes. We had the other house we kept in the country, we kept that house.

Q: OKAY. SO YOU HAD A HOUSE IN THE COUNTRY AND YOU KEPT THAT AND YOU HAD SHARES IN YOUR --

A: The factory.

Q: AND THEN YOU WENT TO SWITZERLAND?

A: No, we went to Italy. We went to Geneva.

They gave us enough money so we could land -- we had a tourist visa to Uruguay; we couldn't get a regular visa, tourist visa, for six months,

Q: UH-HUH.

A: And we had to have a certain amount of money, which was exactly \$750, which was a fortune at the time, that the government had to give us in order to land there. And they gave it to us. They were so glad to get rid of us that they gave it to us from our money, not their own money, but -- they freed our money. They freed so much in order to be able to get rid of us. That was it. That was it. So we had more than some other people. We were lucky. That way we got that.

Q: SO WHAT WAS YOUR TRIP OVER LIKE?

A: Oh, the trip was fabulous. I went first class. We had first class tickets.

Q: WHY?

A: Because they wouldn't let us land otherwise.

Q: UNLESS YOU HAD FIRST CLASS TICKETS?

A: Uh-huh.

Q: WHY --

A: Because they were, you know, they sent refugees back. I'm sure you're aware of it, how many refugees got

sent back; not from Uruguay.

Q: NO.

A: So the trip was wonderful. The trip was wonderful. I mean, we were always thinking about what's happening, you know. I mean, you cannot just turn around and forget it. I remember I was in the street looking over my shoulders, you know, in order to see whether somebody was going to tell me to move on. And when I went to the movie house, I was thinking, "Are they going to come in and say, 'You can't sit here, you have to leave'?"

And all these things happened.

So it wasn't like you are carefree or anything.

It was just a beautiful trip and everything was wonderful and then you got to Uruguay where you don't know the language and you cannot live very well, because you don't have a lot of money. You have to think about that and the worst is you don't know the language. You just can't start working on something and get into an embarrassment which you would never believe. I went into something that I never dreamed of. It was very nice, but it was something totally different.

Q: NOW FROM THE VERY BEGINNING YOU AND YOUR BROTHER DECIDED YOU WANTED TO GO TO ARGENTINA. WHY THERE? WHY NOT ISRAEL FOR EXAMPLE?

A: I never thought of --

Because I still think the same thing. I don't want

to tell you what I'm thinking.

Q: WHY NOT?

A: Because I always think like people are sitting in a trap in there.

Q: IN ISRAEL?

A: Yes.

Q: YOU THOUGHT IT WAS DANGEROUS?

A: Yes. Yes. Yes.

God -- it should never happen the way I pictured it. That's -- that was never -- I never thought about it.

Q: EVEN AT THE TIME?

A: Even at the time. My cousins all went to Israel, lots of them, and most of my father's family lives -- is in Israel, I mean once that Hitler left.

No, I never wanted to go to Israel. I've never been to Israel. Because I always think people put them in a trap there and one day the trap is going to close and everybody is going to be dead and I don't want to think that.

You know what I thought now when the war was on? I was really thinking this was -- this was the end of everything. I don't want to comment on that that much because I know how much people believe in it and feel for it and I feel -- I feel only the pain of it.

Q: WHAT ABOUT THE UNITED STATES? YOU DIDN'T WANT TO COME TO THE UNITED STATES?

A: Oh, yes, I wanted to come always to the United

States, because I had the big dream of freedom, equality and liberty.

Q: BUT WHEN YOU --

A: Since I was 1, I wanted to come to the United States.

Q: BUT I THOUGHT YOU ALL AGREED TO GO TO ARGENTINA?

A: Because we couldn't come to the United States. They didn't want us.

Q: UH-HUH.

A: We had to go where -- If you think that I thought of going to Uruguay because that's where I wanted to go?

I didn't know -- and Uruguay was wonderful, it's a wonderful country, it is democratic, it has everything that you would want to. It had very bad times, it has a very bad economy because it's a very small place, but it was -- the people are the nicest people one could picture. They were never against -- they were never anti-Semitic in Uruguay.

I have very good memories of it. I didn't live there very long, only three years, but --

Q: SO THIS IS -- DECEMBER 1938 --

A: '39. January 1939 I arrived in Uruguay.

Q: OKAY. WHAT HAPPENED TO YOU THERE? WHAT DID YOU ALL DO THERE?

A: Now you're getting to the messy part of my life, because my life started getting very messy.

When I lost my footing, you know, that -- being

with the family and all the terrible thing. My main interest was I wanted to get my mother out. I was trying to convince her to come to Uruguay, but she thought that this was a Godforsaken place where we were, you see.

I couldn't convince her that it was a nice little town and that modern buildings and all kinds of things.

So that was one of the things, and to get a permanent residence, which took also, you know, money and efforts and --

I don't want to tell you about lines that you can stand in. People complain about lines. The lines you stand if you have to go through bureaucracy in South America.

If you don't pay somebody to do it for you.

That you can stand there for a long time until you get -- into an office, until you get something done.

But we got papers, we got papers, we had residency, we got everything. We worked it out.

Q: AND YOU --

A: But they were very difficult times, you know. We couldn't make money; it was almost impossible.

It was so difficult.

It was not expensive, but it was -- it was very difficult.

Q: SO THERE'S NO WAY YOU COULD WORK? YOU WEREN'T WORKING IN URUGUAY?

A: I was working, oh, yes. I was trying to learn

Spanish. I knew about three words when I got there. And I knew the words that one shouldn't use down there because that was all I had learned from a professor of the University of Madrid in Vienna, and I knew I was going to Uruguay, I was trying to pick up some of this language.

I knew French, so that helped.

But for six months I went and I took care of children. First with some English children, and then with some children whom I taught French, and then when I taught French nobody spoke a word of any language, only Spanish, and I lived in the house and I picked up Spanish. After six months I spoke Spanish as well as I do now, and I can write it perfectly well, you know, better than many people who go to school there.

And then I went and --

Q: YOUR HUSBAND TOO?

A: My husband was not working. My husband was --

We had a big problem there, you see. He was a very young man, his parents were with us, his parents came on the ship with us -- we took his parents, we took our partner on the ship. He came with us. And they all -- they all came to Uruguay, lots of people came to Uruguay, that is, to my husband and myself.

And his friend.

And so we had a very -- we had a very difficult time.

This marriage didn't last forever either, because we had such difficult times, you know. It was a totally different story from what it had been.

I tried to work all the time. He didn't.

We had bought something in Europe, a patent, you know, for -- not paint -- you do it nowadays with a spray tool to fix up the walls. That was a patent that a Jewish engineer had invented in Germany and we wanted to make a money transfer like that from Europe to South America, and we brought an engineer over that we did have, that's the good thing we did about it, but we never got the equipment, and so we had invested quite a bit of money in that, and he was waiting for that, and I wasn't waiting because I thought we will not be able to make our money last that long, you know, so I worked and made some sweaters, designed some sweaters and I went out after six months and I went to sell the sweaters to the Company in and I sold some, but it wasn't -- not a good business.

I took a job then. I worked in a dress store, selling clothes.

All my life I ended up in the fashion industry where I've never even studied anything about it. I know more about the fashion industry than about most things.

So that was -- it was a very tough time, but, I mean, we were very lucky that we were out. There were lots

of other people, same type of young people from Austria, we stayed in a big group there.

It was the best time I would say in my life because everybody was the same. Everybody had no money. Everybody was -- everybody was friends, nobody was envious.

It was -- from a human angle, it was the best time, I would think. That sounds very stupid, but, you know, it was really true because -- people had all these worries, people were concerned, you know, about Europe, about the families, everybody had the same problems, and then people unite.

Q: SO THERE WAS A COMMUNITY OF YOU FROM AUSTRIA?

A: Yeah.

Q: SO YOU WERE WORKING BUT YOUR HUSBAND WAS WAITING FOR --

A: He was waiting. He was waiting.

Q: FOR THE DEAL TO COME THROUGH?

A: Then he got a job. He got a job after awhile. He was -- he was not very successful in all of this, enterprises. That he -- he was not -- you know, he was a big boy still, he was 25 years old. I mean, I see my grandchildren they are 25 years old, they are kids. We were old compared, but he was still, you know, he was much younger than I was, I guess. I was 20, but I was old -- old twenties.

Q: UH-HUH.

A: So that depends. So I don't know what else I can tell you. I was out already, so that was lucky, and I waited then seven years to bring my mother until I found out that she was killed in Auschwitz.

Q: TELL ME ABOUT THAT. WHEN YOU WERE --

A: Then I have to go into my private life and I don't think you want to go into that.

Because I got divorced and I remarried -- I married for the third time. 40 years. For the third time.

The third time is 40 years, but the other times didn't last so long and they were not good, you see.

Q: UH-HUH.

A: The first marriage ended because it was really -- it was just not the right thing, we were just not right for each other.

And the second marriage I married a fellow who loved me tremendously and wanted to do everything for me and I -- couldn't feel anything, at the time, and when I married him he got very successful and he made tons of money and then he got totally impossible, he was a manic-depressive and I didn't know about that, but I have a son who is a manic-depressive and I learned in a hurry the last few years.

And so we had two children and it just was the most terrible time -- I had everything that you could buy for money, but nothing that you really wanted, so it lasted five

years. And we got divorced and I met this fellow I married to who is a very good guy who should come in and tell us his story because it's much more interesting than mine.

Q: DID YOU MEET HIM IN URUGUAY?

A: No, I met him in Argentina at the Viennese party. Somebody had the great idea to give a Viennese party after all these years in 1951, and that's where we met. And it's been -- great. It's been great.

Q: THAT'S WONDERFUL.

A: It's been great. He's going to be 80 years old next month and 40 years since -- Sunday it was 40 years that we met. So it's been great. I had a very -- I was a very lucky person. We had tough times you wouldn't believe, but we had such good times and all my life I can only really think that I was very lucky.

Q: WELL, NOW WHERE WAS YOUR MOTHER? I MEAN WHAT HAPPENED TO YOUR MOTHER DURING THIS TIME?

A: Well, I only know by hearsay. I cannot tell you. We corresponded until 1943 via Switzerland, because she left -- she was in Bratislava, which is on the south end of Czechoslovakia at the Hungarian border.

Most of the population is Hungarian there, anyway. And so they -- they left the city because they thought that in World War 1 troubles were only in the cities, people had troubles in the cities and not in the country, but they went to Budapest first, they went to

Budapest and they were afraid in Budapest, so they went out into the country to hide. I don't know where in the country.

This is all of the story I can tell you because after the war and after all this, the youngest brother of my mother's husband came to Argentina, he was the only survivor of the whole family. He came out of Auschwitz. And he told me what happened, and so they were hiding there.

They didn't want to leave. They didn't want to leave because my mother's husband had still his parents alive and they didn't want to leave the parents.

That's why they all got killed. So they stayed there and supposedly they were picked up out in the country, and my mother was shipped back to Bratislava first and then to Vienna and from there to Auschwitz, and I don't even want to think about what that meant because I know exactly what it meant.

And then when she was in Auschwitz, they were all there, obviously, and she got killed, she got -- they got killed. She got killed in June, on June 17th, 1944, just really before the war ended. And --

Q: HOW DO YOU KNOW THE DATE?

A: Because I was told the date. They have some memorial for that, you see, for them.

I am not even sure whether it's correct, you know, I can only tell you what I heard.

Q: UH-HUH.

A: Because I wanted to go right back and see what happened then. I had my kids very small at the time. I couldn't -- and I never forgave myself for that, for not going back and just killing all these people then.

Q: IN 1940 AFTER THE WAR?

A: I've never forgiven myself for that, but I guess there's a lot of them, people like me running around.

Q: YOU MIGHT HAVE MISSED.

A: Huh?

Q: YOU MIGHT HAVE MISSED A FEW.

A: I might have missed a few, but I would have been glad even to catch a few of them.

Q: UH-HUH.

A: And, you see, if I wouldn't have had the children, I probably would have really gone on and done these things, but I was pregnant with my daughter when I heard that my mother got killed.

And for seven years I couldn't even talk. I waited seven years and for seven years I think I couldn't even bring myself to say what I -- I couldn't. And it was never gotten over it, never.

I got over losing our money and losing everything and losing the nice life I had. That has never bothered me, but that I could not let go, get over, and that's something nobody can get over because you feel so helpless.

So that's the story. I think that's all I can tell you. I think it's not very much, but --

Q: OH, NO, NO. WAIT A MINUTE, WHAT ABOUT YOUR BROTHER?

A: My brother and I, we were always together. He was in Argentina and I was in Argentina and I moved up here and he moved up here and we always -- we were -- we got along wonderfully well. He was a wonderful guy. He was not aggressive like me, he was sweet. He was my mother's son, you see. He was the sweetest man. He is -- he died here, very young, 63 years old. And he's survived by a huge family which is partly non-Jewish because he has -- he had two kids in Argentina and one got married to an Argentine girl of Spanish descent, and he has great grandchildren. I am in touch with most of them, so they all are very nice people.

Then he has one daughter, the youngest, he got also -- He got also divorced and remarried and this daughter lives in Washington D C and works for the Brookings Institute and she is the one who is interested in family history. She collects all the photographs that I have of the family, because I do have some, you know, some very good ones of the whole family on my mother's side and over the years and all that.

So he's dead a long time. He's dead about -- 20 -- no, 17 years. But he stayed here. He's dead 17 years, but we've been very good friends.

Q: DID YOU MOVE FROM URUGUAY TO CALIFORNIA?

A: No. To Argentina first.

After the war -- You know, during the war we could not move. We couldn't move with a German passport because Uruguay was against the Germans, but Argentina declared against the Germans only the very late stage of, you know, of the war.

Well, Uruguay was always --

And so the battle of the *Corrientes* when they were sinking the German ship was the greatest day of my life and when they sank themselves.

All history, you know. It sounds really -- that is not possible, it's so much history, but we saw.

Because then we saw the South American history which was also --

Q: SO YOU WENT TO ARGENTINA WITH YOUR THIRD HUSBAND?

A: No. No. I met him there. I met him there.

Q: OH, THAT'S RIGHT. THAT'S RIGHT. AND YOU HAD TWO CHILDREN THEN?

A: I had already two children.

Q: DID YOU HAVE ANY CHILDREN BY THIS --

A: No, I couldn't. I would have liked to, and he had one daughter. He was divorced also. He had one daughter, so we've had it tough with the kids, but the kids all get along and they love my husband.

My husband was really the -- even my grandchildren

said the other day to me, "Why didn't you marry Opie first before" -- because that would have been much better.

I said, "I wouldn't have had you."

"Oh, yes you could. You could have had us just as well with him. It would have been much better for us."

That from my 25 year old twin grandsons here.

So -- so I guess in the end I did the right thing, you know. I guess I did. And I've never regretted that. I don't regret anything, because, you know, I don't regret my first marriage, because I would be dead if I wouldn't have gotten married, because I would never have left. So I think everything had it's place in my life. Some things more than others. And I've become very philosophic in my old age about this.

Q: TELL ME ABOUT THAT. THAT'S ONE OF THE THINGS THAT REALLY INTERESTS ME. HOW THESE KINDS OF EXPERIENCES AFFECT YOUR LIFE AND THE KINDS OF DECISIONS YOU MAKE ABOUT THE WORLD OR HOW YOU --

A: I'm very, very disgusted with the world because if I look at television and see all these people doing the same things all over, all over again to each other, and they have been doing it before we ever were born and -- I'm disappointed in the human race. I know that there's some wonderful people around, but I think there's too few of those and too many of the others.

Q: SO YOU'RE --

A: I'm just --

Q: YOU'RE DISGUSTED WITH THE WORLD?

A: I mean, not with my life, but with general --

How can you not be disappointed when you see what's going on in this world? If you are not a concerned person, then maybe. If you are bland or something. But I'm not -- I've never been. I've always been concerned with other people since I was little, and it bothers me, and I'm also concerned that I was believing in all this equality and liberty and it's wonderful to look at it from far away and when you come close and you look at the politicians, you get disgusted.

And that will never change; the world has never changed.

The human animal is just not the best in the --

I think animals are better sometimes. It's bad to say that, but that's -- if you want my opinion, that's my opinion.

Q: YOU SAID SOMETHING ABOUT YOUR CHILDREN. HOW HAS THIS EXPERIENCE AFFECTED THE WAY YOU'VE DEALT WITH YOUR CHILDREN?

A: Very badly. I've spoiled them much too much. I wanted to give them everything.

First of all, my daughter was born just after my mother died. I gave her all the love I had for my mother and on top of it what I had for her. That was too

much. Too much.

Q: HOW WAS IT TOO MUCH?

A: Too much for a little girl to take, I guess.

Q: WHY?

A: I don't know. We've been always the greatest friends. Only lately we have -- she has had --

She's a very headstrong person, and so am I, so -- but we love each other very much. So -- it's been good. It's been good. I can't say that she was rebellious as a teen-ager. I can't say anything like that.

My kids are very good kids, but they have great problems. They have great problems. They have problems because they had a father which I should never have given them, because he was really very sick and my son is having great problems with that.

And I guess I was also a nervous person when all these things happened, even if I didn't show it. They were there. The problems were there.

Q: THAT'S WHAT I WAS GOING TO ASK YOU. IF I WERE TO ASK YOUR CHILDREN HOW WERE THEY AFFECTED BY HAVING A SURVIVOR AS A MOTHER?

A: I'm sure they were affected. I'm sure they were. They were affected -- their nerves were affected. Their security was affected somewhere. They were affected.

Q: WERE YOU ABLE TO TALK TO THEM ABOUT IT?

A: Oh, definitely. They know all these things. I did since they were little. I've been trying to explain to them what happened, and sometimes -- they know exactly what happened.

I don't know whether they attribute their problems to this, you know, but I'm sure some of it comes from it.

Not my grandchildren already. These are already, you know, born in California -- born and raised in California is already lucky. You don't -- you're so far away from everything, you don't even think about it.

Q: BUT NOW, I DON'T GET A SENSE OF HOW THIS HAS AFFECTED YOU. I MEAN, YOU WERE ALWAYS VERY INDEPENDENT MINDED AND GROUNDED AND OUTSPOKEN, BUT --

A: I wasn't always like that. I was very shy. I started -- when I started working here, I learned a lot about that.

Q: YOU SAY WHEN YOU STARTED WORKING HERE? BUT I THOUGHT ALREADY IN GERMANY YOU WERE OUTSPOKEN WITH THE AUTHORITIES AND --

A: I was -- I was. Maybe I didn't see myself like that at the time. But I think I did, probably. You're right, probably.

Q: IT SOUNDS LIKE YOU WERE YOUR FATHER'S DAUGHTER.

A: I was. I was. I look exactly like one of his sisters and I know I was my father's daughter. Much as I tried to hide it.

Q: BUT I'M WONDERING IF THESE EXPERIENCES THAT YOU HAVE BEEN THROUGH HAVE AFFECTED YOU IN YOUR LIFE IN THE WAY -- I KNOW YOU'RE DISAPPOINTED, BUT I BET THAT STARTED -- YOU WERE ALREADY AS A YOUNG GIRL LOOKING AT THE WORLD AND SAYING, "HEY, WHAT'S GOING ON HERE?"

A: I was.

Q: AND AS AN ADULT SEEING THIS.

A: I was, but, I mean, how can you change human nature? Can you change human nature?

Q: NO. I WAS JUST WONDERING IF YOUR PERSONAL EXPERIENCES HAD IN ANY WAY PSYCHOLOGICALLY AFFECTED YOU OR TRANSFORMED YOU OR CHANGED YOU OR MADE YOU -- HOW WOULD YOU SAY -- YOUR EXPERIENCES AFFECTED YOU IN TERMS OF BEING A MOTHER.

I KNOW YOU LOVED YOUR DAUGHTER SO MUCH, BUT --

A: I loved my kids.

Q: BUT DO YOU WANT TO --

A: Sure. I wanted to protect them. I mean, how can I -- I protected them as best I can. I would protect them now if I could.

Q: SURE, YES.

A: You want to know how I felt. You see, when I went back 30 years later to Austria --

Q: YES --

A: My uncle moved back to Austria.

Q: YOUR --

A: My uncle. He moved back to Austria from Philadelphia to Austria and I wanted to see him, I wanted to see my father's grave also, and before that I never wanted to go.

So I wanted to go back once at least and I went with my husband and we showed each other all the places where we had lived and where we had done things and it was a great trip.

But I met this friend of mine that I was telling you about that I knew from when I was 13, and he was -- he became a doctor and he's really a very good human being, and we met in Salzburg, and he sent me some -- a huge bouquet of flowers welcoming to the old country or old country or whatever, you know, I don't know what you would say for that.

And he came to Salzburg and his brother, too, to greet my husband and me.

And then he said something to me: "Honey, how could you not be embittered with all these things? You're not at all bitter. How could you not be with all the things that happened to you and with all the things you lost?"

Because he knew exactly.

I said, "I am not."

The only thing that affected me was my mother's death. The rest is -- I write it off to experience.

In my life I couldn't have been, you know, going

around the world like I was and meeting all these things and learning so many things that I would never have had the opportunity.

I look -- You see, I look whether the glass is half full, not half empty, the old cliché, so that's what I am doing, and that's because survivor's technique, you know. Survivor first. You have to survive mentally first in order to be able to do it. You can't dwell -- I cannot dwell on all these sad things all the time.

I know about them and I hurt for them, but I cannot dwell on them.

Q: DO YOU KNOW -- ARE MANY OF YOUR FRIENDS SURVIVORS?

A: The friend that had you call me is an American friend of mine whom I met in the building I live in now. We made friends three years ago. She's from St. Louis. She has absolutely nothing to do with any of this. She's a mench, you see. She's interested. And my husband and I, we became great friends of her, we talked to her, and I guess that we gave her the idea she wanted us to write the story of our lives because she finds it fascinating, the stories that happened afterwards and what we did.

And I guess that was her way of making me talk about it, because she knew she couldn't make me make a tape on my own. So I mean this is one -- I have mixed friends. I don't have all Jewish friends.

Q: FROM AUSTRIA?

A: I have -- the daughter of the director of the factory lives here. She's married to the Dean of Chemistry at Stanford who is also a Jewish man from Vienna who came over to this country in 19 -- when he was 14 years old, and he's -- an eminence in his field and he's been going to Israel and he's got the Wisemen Prize and God knows how many prizes, so she did very well in her second marriage, so she -- she's one of my Austrian friends and the others passed away. My friends were mostly older.

And then I have some German friends. I don't have too many friends here. My friends are all over the world.

Q: YES, I UNDERSTAND.

A: Most of my friends are in Argentina because I lived there when I was in my twenties and my thirties and so, you know --

Q: HOW LONG DID YOU LIVE IN ARGENTINA?

A: 22 years.

Q: 22 YEARS?

A: I have to cut this short, I am sorry, but my husband --

(At this time some photographs are shown on the video.)

Q-2: IF YOU WILL TELL US WHAT WE ARE LOOKING AT AND THE YEAR AND WHERE IT WAS TAKEN?

A: I don't know exactly when it was taken. Probably 1936 or 1935.

Q-2: OKAY. AND THIS IS --

A: This is in .
It's called Villa and is my maiden name,
so --

Q: THAT WAS YOUR SUMMER -- YOUR COUNTRY HOME?

A: Uh-huh.

Q-2: YOUR COUNTRY HOME, OKAY.

Q: THAT'S WHERE YOU WENT TO THE SUMMERS?

A: My parents built that. There is still

Q: THAT'S HUGE.

A: It was big, yeah. It was a lovely house. Very
lovely.

Q-2: HERE AGAIN, IF YOU CAN TELL US WHAT THIS IS,
PLEASE?

A: This was our house in Vienna and that was in 23
() and 19th District. That was -- it had
14 apartments and we lived in an apartment on the second
floor on the left side from this picture.

Q-2: OKAY. THIS AGAIN IS THE SAME APARTMENT BUILDING?

A: Same building, yes.

Q: AND ONE OF THESE WAS YOUR APARTMENT YOU LIVED IN?

A: Yes.

Q: IS THAT WHAT WE'RE LOOKING AT NOW?

A: That's right.

Q: THESE WINDOWS ARE IN YOUR APARTMENT?

A: No, it would be over here.

Q: OH, OVER. SO IT'S OFF FRAME?

A: Yeah.

Q: I SEE. OKAY.

A: I don't know whether I am going to give you this one, because my brother who also divorced, I don't know whether --

This is my first husband [redacted]. We got married on April the 26th, 1938.

Q-2: AND WAS THIS TAKEN BEFORE OR AFTER YOU WERE MARRIED?

A: That was taken, I think, after we were married.

Q: HOW OLD WERE YOU?

A: Twenty.

Q-2: OKAY. PLEASE TELL US ABOUT THIS?

A: This is my brother, [redacted] and his first wife Rosie [redacted]. They got married in 1934. That's 1934. That's a wedding picture.

Q: PICTURE OF YOUR MOTHER.

Q-2: TELL US ABOUT THIS PLACE?

A: This is my mother in Bratislava in her apartment. I have never been there.

Q-2: AND HOW OLD WAS SHE AT THIS TIME?

A: 48.

Q-2: SO WHAT YEAR WOULD THAT MAKE THIS PHOTOGRAPH?

A: 1938.

Q: IN HER SECOND MARRIAGE?

A: UH-HUH.

Q: SHE'S VERY BEAUTIFUL.

A: She was. She was lovely.

Q: SHE IS.

Q-2: THIS IS YOUR MOTHER AGAIN? '48?

A: Yeah. Uh-huh. I just brought it because -- what I did today was just have memory, not for anything else.

This was also a good picture, but I don't know -- I lost --

Q-2: THIS IS YOUR MOTHER AGAIN?

A: That's also in Bratislava. That is the top of this -- you know that one you showed before. This is this picture.

Q-2: OH, I SEE. OKAY.

A: More or less. I think it's that one.

Q-2: OKAY. GREAT.

A: Okay.

Q-2: OKAY. ANY TIME.

Q-3: OKAY. I'M REALLY CURIOUS ABOUT THE MAN WHO REFUSED TO GIVE YOU AND YOUR BROTHER MONEY WHEN YOU WANTED TO LEAVE. WHAT HAPPENED TO HIM?

A: He went to Uruguay. We got him a visa also. I mean, he got a visa and he lived in Uruguay quite happily for a long time with the money, because he couldn't give money out, he didn't leave us money, but he took money out and he made a good business for himself there and he lived

very well.

Not until the end -- though in the end sometimes justice catches up with people -- because in the end he lost his money and then he had lots of troubles. I can't even say that I am sorry, because this man was really, you know -- he was a bad person.

He said I was the worst person in the world. That's what he said about me. I could only return the compliment.

Q: WAS HE THE ONE WHO YOUR FATHER HAD HIRED?

A: My father introduced him to our partner's daughter.

Q: BEFORE YOUR FATHER DIED?

A: Yeah. He had no idea. He was a broker. He was a broker in -- you know, my father was on the produce -- what do you call it? Market. Like, you know, where they trade all grain and all that.

That's where he had met him, because he was a broker there, and so -- he managed -- you know how marriages were made not only in heaven but made by people -- and it was unfortunate for us and my father, if he would have lived, it would never have affected us, but this way it did, you see.

So -- why did you ask that question?

Q-3: I WAS JUST CURIOUS WHETHER HE GOT HIS COMEUPPANCE IN AUSTRIA.

A: No. He lived very well. Until he was about, I would say, end of his sixties or seventies, but his wife

committed suicide and his mother-in-law committed suicide, so you can imagine that he was not the best person to live with.

Besides that, they had problems also stemming from way back from their families, suicide was running in their family.

At that time one didn't know this genetic research and all that stuff. So that's -- all I can say about this.

Q-2: CAN YOU TELL US HIS NAME?

A:

Q-2: I HAVE A COUPLE OF QUESTIONS --

OR DO YOU HAVE ANOTHER QUESTION?

Q-3: NO, THAT WAS IT.

A: Go ahead, John.

Q-2: MY UNDERSTANDING IS THAT AFTER THE WAR THERE WERE A NUMBER OF NAZIS THAT WENT UNDERGROUND AND EMIGRATED TO SOUTH AMERICA, FOR EXAMPLE, OR ARGENTINA.

A: , you mean.

Q-2: I WONDER IF THESE WERE COMMUNITY PEOPLE THAT YOU KNEW IN SOUTH AMERICA, HAD ANY INTERACTIONS WITH ANY OF THESE NAZIS THAT CAME IN THE SECOND WAVE, OR IF YOU CAN ENLIGHTEN US IN ANY WAY AS TO WHAT HAPPENED HERE?

A: No, they didn't. Some of the people who wanted to do something during the war already and wanted to enlist, like my husband and a few of my friends, couldn't do this, and went underground, you know, and worked for either the

F.B.I. or -- this kind of groups to try to track people down there. Give information about submarines in the area and all this.

But that they did this kind of work, I think the Israelis who need the credit for that. I don't think the Argentine Jews did much for that. Not to my knowledge at least, you know.

They live down there in a golden cage because Argentina was a prosperous place and people made very good money in general. The refugees did quite well, and they had very little problems.

Even so, all these people say that there was a lot of Nazi activity, you didn't feel it that badly. Only one incident once at a birthday party which reminded me of Austria, you know, because some guys came to the door and there was a group of people called *the group* which were Nazi down there. But the people helped track people down. Not that I recall, but it's possible, because, like I said, see, my husband worked also underground during the war and so maybe that's why he doesn't want to talk about it because nobody really knows it, only I do, and so he probably doesn't want to give away anything. He worked for the States Department, State Department for the United States, so -- you know, so I don't think he would want to talk about these things.

And that's one of the things why I love him because

I respect for him that he at least did something.

Q-2: WAS THAT AFTER THE WAR THAT HE DID --

A: No. That was during the war.

Q: DURING THE WAR?

A: Uh-huh.

Q-3: IS THAT WHAT ALLOWED YOU TO COME INTO THIS COUNTRY?

A: No. No. No. They gave us a visa three times and I couldn't leave because of problems that I had with my ex-husband and my children, I couldn't take them out from Argentina.

But he had also friends at the time, you know. In the embassy, and he lived in Bolivia, he did this from Bolivia. You see, he couldn't get any so he lived in La Paz, Bolivia. And you should see his spread, it's very different, very exotic. And so he went to Argentina and I know that he filed reports about lots of things because he did work after the war, so -- and I think that's why he wouldn't probably want to discuss these things now, but I'm very proud of him for that. Since I didn't do it, at least somebody did it. You know.

I wish I would have done it, done more, but we were -- you know, we were just -- I think we were devastated in a way also, we just had such a hard time to get your life in order. Which is a bad excuse, but it's true.

Anything else you would like to ask me?

Q-2: YES, A COUPLE OF QUESTIONS.

YOU MENTIONED THAT YOU HAD MANY MEMORIES OF ANTI-SEMITISM FROM YOUR CHILDHOOD.

COULD YOU TELL US WHAT YOUR EARLIEST ONE OR TWO MEMORIES WERE OF ANTI-SEMITISM?

A: I really -- I can't say, because -- I felt it. I cannot -- it wasn't something that happened to me, I could feel it around me. Let's put it that way.

You see, I had the opportunity out in the country much more so than if you had it in Vienna, because in Vienna there was a big amount of Jewish people living. It must have come from that they lived in -- in -- they all lived in that second district and everything was in there and you were surrounded by Jews, so how could you feel it that much, but out in the country you could feel it.

Q: WHAT FORM DID IT TAKE? CAN YOU REMEMBER ANY PARTICULAR INCIDENT? JUST ONE?

A: I can tell you about one time when they shot into our garden when they had the political trouble there and we left in a hurry from that place.

That was just showing from that house.

But that was always between the factions. It wasn't directed directly against us that I could say, you know. I can't say this.

But I can tell you at least one thing after the war, John. I went back there and I went to the restroom in one of these places where you -- in an Inn or whatever you want

to call it. I went to the restroom and you saw the same big swastikas you've seen there all your life, and that was after the war.

Q: THIS WAS IN VIENNA?

A: That was outside in the country. Not Vienna.

Q: WHAT YEAR ARE WE TALKING ABOUT?

A: Now we're talking about 20 years ago. Exactly the same. Exactly the same. I wouldn't want to be there. I sometimes miss it tremendously, the country, you know. I miss it because it's beautiful, but I wouldn't want to be there. When I saw that, I was invited in the castle at that time, you know. We stayed in the castle that belonged to my friend's mother's, she knew my mother from before and everything, and so when we came back she invited us to stay there. And when I -- and I was very glad to see them all again, and when I went into this place I said to my husband, "You know, I am ready to turn around and leave because I just cannot look at this anymore."

And I would never have gone back if I wouldn't have been successful. I was very glad I was successful.

And I met our former bookkeeper there who was a Nazi all her life, and she came up to me. I just couldn't stand the woman ever. And so she came up to me and said, "Oh, you know, it must be terrible that you had to leave and that you had to go so far away."

And I know that

-- that's

our partner's daughter -- couldn't stand it, that's why she killed herself.

And I said, "Don't think for one minute it was not a very good thing for me because of all the things I wanted to see in my life."

Q: YOU WOULDN'T GIVE HER THE SATISFACTION?

A: I told her just -- she could have just dropped there as far as I was concerned. She had taken away part of one of our -- the yards and built herself a house on it and things like that.

And we had a maid that put up the swastika next to our house when we first lived there. You know, it's millions of memories that I could tell you.

I cannot pinpoint it when I felt it, John. I know that it was there whenever -- since -- probably since I was breathing I felt it. I don't know.

What do other people say? If I can ask a question?

Q-2: YOU ANSWERED THE QUESTION. I JUST WANTED TO GET --

A: Tell me, what do people say about that?

Q-2: OH, SOMETIMES THEY'LL RECALL THEIR LIFE AS SCHOOL KIDS BEING CHASED HOME FROM SCHOOL AND ROCKS THROWN AT THEM AND BEING CALLED NAMES, AND --

A: No. You see out in the country people like -- they liked me because I was really -- I never had a problem with them. But in the -- in the school we had problems. We had sometimes. But that -- I wasn't near so young. I was

maybe 16. That was not a childhood memory. Childhood memories always that I remember all these horrible stories about that we drink the blood of the Christians and that is something that -- you know -- I can't understand how somebody can come up with stories like that. But I have learned in the meantime what people can do.

So is that it? You know everything about me now?

Q-2: WHAT WAS THE -- DID YOU TELL US YOU HAD A BUSINESS CAREER IN THE UNITED STATES?

A: Oh, yes. I had a --

Q: OR IN ARGENTINA?

A: No. In Argentina I worked, but I didn't have a business career. But I did pretty well, here.

Q: WHAT WAS YOUR BUSINESS IN THE STATES?

A: I worked for Fritz of California, like I told you, which many people -- like I told you, which many people that come here I'm sure worked for because they had a lot of refugees. They had refugees from Poland, from Russia. It was like the melting pot. Fritz -- I wanted to write a book about that company. Really I did, from the day I walked in until the day I walked out, but I'm not good in writing. I am too lazy, and it was very interesting.

It gave me great satisfaction. You could do a lot of things in my position. In the end I could do lots for people. And it was good.

It was -- The owner was very nice, very good to

work with. Reminded me of my dad. He was very brilliant. And -- it was -- you know, we had people from China, we had people from Japan, we had people from everywhere.

And it was so interesting to -- you know, to get them all together and make it work together. At least it was interesting to me.

That was not the interest of the business. The interest was to do -- to make money, but it was a sideline for me, and it was good, you know. It was really --

Q: WHAT YEARS --

A: I retired eleven years ago, so 19 -- what was it? 1980. I worked after that, see, but not in the same business, but I was 62 when I retired. It was great fun. Because I started with a small job like that and I really went up. It was fun.

Q-3: HOW MANY YEARS WERE YOU WITH THEM?

A: 16.

Q-3: OH.

A: 16.

Q-2: WHEN YOU FINISHED, WHAT WAS YOUR TITLE AND YOUR RESPONSIBILITIES?

A: MY responsibility, I was general office manager, but I had a much bigger --

I remember my husband always said I was a great eminence. I was behind the scenes and I liked that

better.

I never wanted to be a vice president because they got fat all the time. And I could do whatever I thought was right, so I had always their trust, so it was very good for me, really. I really enjoyed it.

So that's it. You got the person. More or less.

Q: YES. WE NEED TO GET YOUR HUSBAND.

A: I don't know --

(Conclude videotaped interview of Joanna Hochman.)