### HOLOCAUST ORAL HISTORY PROJECT

INTERVIEW

of

ISABELLE KUHN

December 10, 1991

San Francisco, California

### **APPEARANCES**

Ms. Sylvia Prozan, Interviewer Mr. Richard Kirschman, Interviewer Mr. John Grant, Producer/Director

# TRANSCRIPTION SERVICES PROVIDED BY:

Richard Wasenius, C. S. R., R. P. R.
Wasenius Reporting Service
3309 Santa Maria Dr.
Waterloo, Iowa 50702

MS. PROZAN: This is the second interview with Isabelle Kuhn for the Holocaust Oral History Project in San Francisco.

My name is Sylvia Prozan. The second interviewer today is Richard Kirschman.

- A. Okay. Oh God. This is the beginning of my new life. I am lying there on the sofa. Oh, what am I going to do?
  - Q. That's fine. You are there in Prague?
- A. And I am sick and alone and I start thinking after two weeks -- Did I tell you how they brought us back to Prague?
  - Q. Why don't you tell it again.
- A. Yes. We were in Germany, in a small town in Germany. We escaped. Did I tell you that?
  - Q. Tell us again.
- A. Yeah. We were on a death march the tenth day from Birkenau. That was the camp after Auschwitz, working camp they called it. A business logger. We were in the midst of the wilderness in the woods, cutting Christmas trees and digging ditches for the enemy tanks.

There I am in a worse condition. Every morning naturally we stood appel. You know what appel means?

They counted us. We stood about three hours until they came to count us.

Well, that time was unbearable too. Although we didn't have the crematoriums there. But we were living in tents in the middle of the winter and those winters are so severe that they don't have them in America. They don't have such severe winters. It's Silesia. We are in Silesia. It was so cold.

Well my hands are still -- Everything was frozen.

My toes, my fingers and it was just running pus. And we were digging. And the Germans came to see if we are doing our work, you know. If they weren't satisfied they would hit those frozen fingers.

Well, we just went on and dug those ditches and went back to our tents in the evening. We looked like snowmen. We were just covered with snow and we had nothing but a blanket and one piece of clothing underneath. A man's shoe that we put straw in because they were too big, the shoes, and that's all we had on during the whole winter.

We arrived there in November from Auschwitz. This happened October the 23rd. We were standing appel. All of a sudden we see a lot of movement. You could see over to the freeway. Not freeway. Highway. And we saw a lot of movement, cars, wagons, horses moving. We look at each other and we think "God, what is going on?" It was a good feeling somehow. We knew there was something

happening.

And then the lookout who came to count us she said -- She announced that we are leaving. We are leaving this morning. We are each getting a blanket now she said. We didn't have a blanket each of us. We are each getting a blanket and we are going further into Germany.

Well, she didn't say where. They gave us a piece of bread, our daily ration, and off we went. We are standing there for hours. And then we started out on our journey a thousand of us. There were always a thousand people to a group, always thousand.

We left the tents, which was our home from

November to January the 23rd. December, January, yeah.

Two months. Three months. We were marching for ten

days.

Now during those ten days every evening we stopped at a barn and they had the tea urns and we made some tea and we went and dug out -- You see in Europe the peasants put away vegetables in the ground in order they shouldn't freeze and we dug out those vegetables and that was our daily ration. And then after we got our ration they locked us up in a barn. Not a stable. A stable is warm. But a barn is empty. There is nothing there. That's where they keep the wheat, you know. But there was

nothing there.

On the bare floor we lied down. Not a floor. That wasn't a floor. It was just ground. And those were our sleeping quarters. But after we were once locked in we couldn't go out to the bathroom or anything. So we just did it under us. It was unbelieveable what went on. And hungry and cold.

Every morning we got up and went further and further into Germany. The tenth day — The hunger was unbearable. When you are hungry you can't think of anything else but to get some food no matter what, just something. We were passing by. All of a sudden we saw a frozen cabbage field. I told this story. And we ran at this cabbage field, all thousand of us.

And the SS men who were guarding us, they had these big sticks that they were walking with. They came among us and hit us every which way with those sticks that we should get back into line. Everybody wanted to grab a cabbage first, you see, because that meant food. And I grabbed the cabbage from the ground, frozen cabbage, and the SS hit me in the back with this big piece of wood that he was walking with. It was thick like this (indicating).

When he hit me I fell to the ground and I couldn't get up. Three times I turned around and tried and tried.

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Finally I got up. But I was in such excruciating pain that I couldn't walk. But we had to get into line. We had to get into line. There was no other way. So we got into line and I told my sisters I cannot walk and I am going to stay back. I am in terrible pain. Well, the only one that was really with it was Lensie. She was in age next to me, but she was nine years younger.

She said "Well, if you don't continue I am not going to continue." She said "I can't do it by myself" because the other two, Elsa and Lillie, they gave up already in Auschwitz. They couldn't fight. Those were kids 17. They weren't 17 yet. Lensie said "I can't manage; I can't do it without you."

I said "Lensie, you have to go on because you are young. You go on. You have a whole life if you survive."

She said "I am not going." Because if you stayed back they shot you. There were so many bodies on the way you just had to step aside not to step on them.

Everybody who couldn't go, you know, was shot.

So Lensie said "No, I am going to stay back."

I said "You know what, Lensie, we have nothing to lose. Let's try to escape. Let's try it." I don't know how. I don't know how. The mind was working. As I say this, and I can't walk and I am in such pain, I say "You

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see there is a little house standing out on the road. I don't know what it is, but I am going to walk in there."

A little house, a little tiny house. I said "The whole line walks after me. If the whole line walks they might

not notice that we left."

Well, this was agreed on and that was like a turn. The SS men were in the front. The SS men were in the back but they were not in the middle. This was our luck. They didn't see us in the turn that we went into this little house. The whole line followed me. And that was a pig sty. Pig sty. Empty. The Germans, they evacuated, they were the ones leaving because they feared the Russians and they left way before us. Everything was empty. The town was empty. So there was -- This was a empty pig sty. There we were stooping. We couldn't even straighten out. I couldn't straighten out. I was so short, you know. There we were and we heard all the troops going by us by the thousands; they evacuated these They were marching all day long and there we were in this little stable, pig sty, and nobody saw that we escaped.

You see, they saw in front of us and back of us, but nobody would give away each other. That was somehow -- that's the way it was. Nobody would give away the other, you know.

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This was in the morning. I imagine it was in the morning because all day we were stooping there. Well, we had no time. All of a sudden it was starting to get dark and the steps stopped. There was nobody coming anymore. Because in the dark they would always find a place for all these people to shut them in.

I say "Lensie, I think we made it. They didn't find us, they didn't notice we are missing and we are free. I think we are free."

There were two other girls in this pig sty and they were from our country, Czechs also. We couldn't believe it.

We started out — We said "Let's slowly start out, look around what's out there." Now out there there was a small town. All in dark, pitch dark. The snow was this high (indicating). When we stepped out of the pig sty we fell into the snow to here (indicating). And it was a ditch. Over the ditch was the town. As we went we saw the dark houses and we broke into a house. We broke the window and one of the girls went in or two, I don't remember, and they opened up the door from inside and we went into this house where there were two beds. Two beds. The beds, that was something else. And there was clothes in the closets. They left some old clothing there. And we were bedecked, you know, thick like this

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with lice because for ten days we never washed. There was no possibility, nothing, to wash. At least in the camp we washed. You know, we ran out and put some water on us. Not soap. We never saw a piece of soap. But we did wash. Two o'clock at night I washed, you know. And here for ten days we never saw water. Just the tea they gave us in the evening. We were just thick. Thick with lice.

running water in the kitchen. We washed. Oh, we couldn't believe it, you know. And we put on old clothes, but it was clean. Clean to us. Everything was clean. We put on the clothes and whatever we found in the house -- You see, Europeans put away food, not like here in cans. They put it away in jars. Now it's probably cans. We opened the jars. There was pigs feet. There was, I don't know, just something to eat and we ate - The seven of us - Whatever we could put our hands on. And then we went to bed, seven of us in two beds.

I said, "You know, if it's only for this one night it was worth it." I didn't know what tomorrow brings, but I knew this was wonderful. Seven of us. We woke up in the morning. There was nobody there. We were on our own. But we didn't dare to get out of the house. We didn't dare.

At night we needed food again. So we broke into the next house and got some food. The third night, you know, we always found a place to break in and get food because hunger, when you are hungry, that's what I always say, people are hungry beware. They don't know anything but the hunger.

This was going on for about a week. Every night a different house. We got some food. We found food in the homes.

One day somebody knocks on our door and they say "We were watching you. We know you are here. They were Poles, Polish peasants who worked for the Germans during the war. They were also like we, but they were free, you see. They weren't in a concentration camp. These were gentiles. They said "And we are going to report you. We know who you are."

I said "How can you do that? You are not free people either. How can you do that to us?"

He says "There are some German authorities here.
We are going to give you over to the German authorities."

I talked to them. My sister Lensie says she never heard anybody talk like that. I begged them. I pleaded with them. "Please don't do it. The war will be over and we will be free, you know?"

No, no, they wouldn't listen. Well, finally they

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hay on the top.

did promise me that they are not going report us. But pretty soon -- Pretty soon we found out that they did.

And we ran up, what do you call that, where you keep the

MR. KIRSCHMAN: Hayloft?

A. We ran up and we hid there and the Germans knew where to look for us. They said "You come down one by one and if not we are going up to shoot you all."

They came with revolver out. Did we have a choice? We came down. There was a ladder and we came down. They took us into a school and locked us up, to the school house. No food, nothing. And then we were sitting there and — This was the tenth day of our freedom, so-called freedom. We were sitting in the school house and the night passed and in the morning we saw some strange soldiers. One of the girls that was with us yelled out. She said "The Russians are here. This is a Russian uniform." God, it was unreal, you know.

We ran and opened the doors. There were no guards because the Germans were guarding us, you see. No guards. Nobody was there.

We ran out into the school yard and there were the Russians. Well, naturally they hugged us, they kissed us. They evidently knew that we were prisoners, you

know. They said "You can go into any house, take anything you want." The Germans were all gone.

I couldn't do it. I could never take anything away that didn't belong to me. But the girls did. They went and they brought back bedding and they brought back towels and they brought, you know, things that we needed really.

So anyway, we were with the Russians. That was a new battle with the Russians, because the Russian soldiers came at night. During the day they brought us food. And they wanted us to drink with them wine. They were drunk. They were drunk all the time. They were behind the front. See, we were 20 kilometer from the front. Naturally they were drinking. Their lives was, you know, they didn't know how long. At night they came back and they wanted us to sleep with them. Those kids were such young kids, you know.

I started to fight. I started to fight the Russians, would you believe that, to drive them out. I just wanted to protect the children. Lensie said I was fighting like a lioness, and I did. I did. I got them out. I was hitting right and left, you know. I just wanted them out. Finally we could lock the door again.

This happened every night. They broke the door.

But then we learned they broke the door and we went out

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the window. We escaped out of the window. Excuse me. I am sorry. This was going on. We were under the Russians for three months.

This was a new battle to be fought. But they did feed us. We were not hungry anymore. And they wanted us to pay for it. The two Czech girls did pay for it. They were just right in front of us there. Two Russian soldiers attacked them. How we got away with it I don't know. I will never know. But we did. None of the girls were attacked. I mean none were raped. These two girls were.

It's funny, we were free for ten days and all of a sudden I got very sick. I didn't know what is happening to me. I had a high fever. I was delerious. One day -- Yeah. When the girls saw that my sickness worked so well with the Russian soldiers, when they saw me lying there in bed and I was a goner, they turned out from the door.

They said "She is very sick, you know." Well, we spoke Russian, we spoke Polish. We are Czechs, you see. The Slovian language, we could communicate with them.

They said, like they didn't want to have anything to do with us as a person. So they walked out. When the girls saw that this worked so well they all became sick. One of them put something on their neck, the other one on the teeth, the third one, well, my sister Elsa, she had,

I don't know how you call that in English.

MR. KIRSCHMAN: Abscess?

A. Abscess. Thank you. She went to the infirmary, to where the soldiers were, and they cut it open with a knife. She had to put a sling on her to hold her arm. And that worked. So when they came in they saw a bunch of sick people. They didn't like what they saw and they turned out and that worked for us. But at night the soldiers that came at night, we were in bed. So we ran out the window. They came in the door, we ran out the window.

They put us up in a room, the Russians, seven of us in one room. That was heaven, just plain heaven. They brought us food. The girls watched the cows out on the fields. You see the animals were left behind. People ran for their lives, but they couldn't take the cows along and everything. So there were the cows to be watched in the fields. So for that we got food. They brought us some bread, they brought us -- Milk we had from the cows. They were milking the cows, the girls. They learned to milk. So we were not hungry.

They brought us sometimes potatoes. Potato was the greatest thing, you know. In the camp we said if we could only once fill up with potatoes, only once, you know, that was the greatest treasure. So they brought us

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potatoes. They brought us bread. They brought us, not 1 2 ham.

- Q. Sausage?
- Some food. We were not hungry anymore. Α. That was going on for three months.

One day this Russian soldier comes in. I am all alone and I am deadly sick and he is drunk. I don't even know what is happening.

All of a sudden I feel he starts to kiss my arm up and down. I couldn't even move.

He says "You know, I am a doctor." He says "You have typhoid fevr. I am going to write you a prescription and send whoever you have with you, send them to where you can fill this prescription. "

So the girls came home and he left. The soldier The girls came home and I told them here was this doctor. He prescribed for me Quinine. The Quinine --Well, I was just gone, you see. I didn't even know. I was lying. I didn't talk anymore. I was just -- It was like I was in the air. When I told the doctor after I was liberated he said "Yeah, that was death." I was just how do you say it?

- Floating? Q.
- Yeah, floating. It was a very good feeling. A. That's all I remember. I was floating. That was for

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three days the girls said, three days. I never talked, I never ate, I never drank, I was just lying and they were terribly worried, Lansie especially because she was in charge then after I got so sick. She said "I was worried how am I going to bury you? I don't want to tell them that we are Jewish. We were so afraid to tell that we are Jewish." She says "That was my biggest worry."

So anyway, I didn't die and I survived that too.

Pretty soon it was spring, you see. From

December. No, January 23rd. The reason I know that
date, that was my first husband's birthday. As spring
came it was so beautiful. Spring was so beautiful there.

We saw flowers again and we saw green leaves and God, I

love nature. I couldn't believe it that we lived to see
that. Slowly I was recuperating and getting back my
strength. I went out and I made walks and I went to the
river. I put my feet in. It was living again. The
girls went. I was very weak, very weak and I tried to,
you know, eat. It didn't work very well. Anyway, my
feet were like sticks. No meat on it at all, like sticks
when I got out of bed.

And I watched so much the girls, it's very contageous. Typhoid fever is very contageous. As sick as I was, I took out -- They had an outhouse. I took it out myself every day as sick as I was that they shouldn't

#### ISABELLE KUHN

touch anything that I touched. I had a separate dish.

Anyway, these are details. I was very happy that nobody

got it from me.

So what if all nine of us got sick? All seven of us, I mean. Anyway this didn't happen. After three months, you know, it was spring and that was February, March, April. April. The soldiers come in and they say the war is over. It was April the 8th.

First we heard Roosevelt died and that was a terrible shock. Terrible shock. The soldiers told us the news. After awhile, I don't know how long in between, I think a week or what, the war ended. And they said the war is over.

Well, that was wonderful, the most wonderful news.
We stayed two more weeks because we had no way of leaving.

The soldiers told us they are going to take us back to Prague on a truck and deliver us to the West Canalis Square. I don't know if you have ever been in Prague. That is the most beautiful square. The most beautiful square. I have never seen anything more beautiful. There we are after so many months. Everybody was carrying something. Everybody had a bundle. Something found a loaf of sugar, a sugar loaf. They thought that was the smallest bundle and I couldn't carry

because of my back and my typhoid fever. I was so weakened. I carried that and that was very heavy for me. Very heavy.

Anyway, they saw us off these soldiers and they saluted us with 12 gunshots when we left. In style, you know.

And then we traveled, I don't know how long. It didn't make any difference to us. You know. They put us on a bus to go and then we were to go. Nobody was waiting for us. It was getting late. I don't know. We met somebody who said there is a Red Cross, there is this, there is that, they are taking care of the refugees, because the refugees were coming back from all over, the ones that survived. They did put us up in an apartment. So we had shelter. But we had no food. You could only get food in Prague if you worked. You could only work if you got a job. Then you got some coupons to buy food.

Well, we found out on the street, everybody was on the street, who came back to find each other - Everybody was looking - We found out that our very best friend and Emoric's cousin, who was a doctor, is in a hospital. I don't know, we got in touch with him. He provided us with food. He had access to food from the hospital. So every day the girls went there. I couldn't walk. The

girls went there for food and brought it back to me in a little container.

That day when I heard the radio it said that there is going to be a big parade in Prague, our liberators will march. And I was thinking what it's going to become of my life.

All of a sudden it went through my mind that

Emoric is going to be among those. I didn't hear from

him since 1939. His mother didn't know about him because

we were enemies, you see. He was on the western front

and we were on the eastern front, you see. We never

heard from him. That day I just felt that he will be

here.

Now he was my childhood friend. All my life he was my friend. I thought if he comes back, he is going to help me. As I think about this, I think I told you the girls arrived with my food and they say to me who do you think is here?

I said his name. Kuhn Emoric. That's in our language. And he walked in, would you believe that? He walked in. Well, that meeting was unforgetable. He was in love with me all his life. He said that's why he survived because he always thought of me. And he heard what's happening to the Jewish woman. He says he didn't care if the whole Army went through. He said he just

wanted to find me.

Anyway, there he was. My hero. We just didn't want to separate. It was a meeting not to believe. He right away was in charge. Right away he took over. He said "I am going to help you. I will get the girls jobs. I will see that you have food."

You know, I was married to another man. I said
"But you know I am married."

He said "Sure." He knew my husband too. He said "Sure. I will take care of you until he comes back." We didn't know who was coming back. Anyway, that evening he brought us food. He got the ration from all his buddies, all his buddies. They got rations for the parade, you know. They gave everything to him and he brought it to us. There was food on the table, cans. That was the best food we could dream of, you know.

The reason I always emphasize food is because that was so important to eat. You see, we were so hungry.

Anybody that came into our house was always fed. We had a small apartment. But that was the address to everybody from our area. That was the only address. That's where everybody came. We always had food on the table. Emoric saw to it that we shouldn't be hungry anymore.

The next day, yeah, I have to tell you this. I had no clothes. I had a size 40 shoe on. I had a skirt

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and a blouse that the girls sewed up from bedding.

Emoric said "Try to get out of bed."

I said "I can't."

He said "I will help you."

So I put on that skirt and that blouse and the shoes and we went to a friend. He took us to a friend, who he use to know in Europe. I know him too. He was a big shot at the ministerium.

He right away got a job for Lensie, you know. Anyway, this man helped us a lot. And then he took me there. I couldn't walk. But he made me walk. couldn't get on the tramway, what do you call?

> Q. Tram?

Α. I couldn't. But he lifted me up. And put me, set me there. He took me along. He wanted me to live again.

You know how Emoric found us? I have to tell you this. He was coming in for the parade the day before. He was hanging on. He came in with the last street car from where they were stationed to Prague and he was hanging on the streetcar, you know, outside like here on the cable car, you know. This woman who recognized him from our town, gentile woman who lived in Prague, she recognized Emoric.

She said "Emoric. Emoric, get off." You know, he

jumps off. That was the last streetcar for the night because ten o'clock everything stopped and it was war. Everything stopped.

She said "Come onto my house and you can sleep there and I will tell you about everybody. I know about everybody who survived." She was a gentile woman. She knew about me. I didn't see her, but she knew.

She told him I was alive and she told him his cousin was alive, the doctor, and that we go there for food every day. And he should look him up. She gave him the address of the hospital. That's how Emoric was there when the girls came for the food the next day because he arrived there and the doctor said, our friend Louis was his name, he said "Wait, because the girls will be here."

Anyway, it was such a coincidence. He didn't want to come to the parade. He is not a parade man, you know. He didn't want to go to the parade. He wanted someone else to go. They said no, it's your turn to go and you are going to go. The coincidence is what I am talking about. There he was in Prague to meet me, you see. From that day there was a big turn in our life because he took care of all of us. All of us.

MR. KIRSCHMAN: Were you still seven?

A. We were still seven. But the two Czech girls left because they were home. You see, that was

their home. Prague was their home. So they left. We were five of us then.

MR. KIRSCHMAN: From March from the pig sty?

- A. From the pig sty. Yeah.
- Q. What happened after he put you on the tram?

  He put you on the streetcar?
  - A. To take us to his friend.

Well, you know we were in a civilian house again. This friend said he will help us. He got Lensie a job. He said he will help us. Elsa went to college. She right away went to college, Elsa. She was going to graduate that year from gymnasium, but see she was taken in May and she was going to graduate in June. She was admitted to medical school. In Europe it's different, you know. She was admitted to school, to medical school.

Life started to get normal. Emoric came that evening. He brought me home from this friend's house. We had food and Emoric stayed over. For a soldier to sleep on the floor it doesn't matter, you know. It didn't matter where we slept. He stayed over and he said to me "I will take care of you from here on."

He knew I was married, but he brought us everything. Everything he could get a hold of for us. He got some cigarettes from his buddies. You know, the soldiers always got cigarettes. He went out the next day

with me and got me clothes. I was the first girl dressed up. I was the oldest and the sickest and I came home in a beautiful dress and trench coat, in a turban for my hair, because I had no hair, and shoes to fit. Shoes I

had. You have no idea what that meant.

Then he got all the soldiers, you know, his buddies, and all the girls got clothes. All the girls. He got cigarettes for them and that was black market. For cigarettes you could get anything after the war. And the soldier in uniform had entry everywhere. They let a soldier in, you see. They were the heroes. So a big turn.

- Q. Now this is the summer of 1945?
- A. This is the summer of 1945. It's May the 29th. May the 29th. Two weeks after we arrived to Prague.
- Q. When did you start thinking about your husband?
- A. All along. We were waiting. We were waiting. People were coming back. We knew our parents were not going to come back, because when we were in Auschwitz, and they separated us. I told you the story on that. We were standing appel the next morning. It was May. The snow was falling. That is how cold it was in Silesia where the camp was, Auschwitz. As we are

standing there in one piece of clothing, our

Blockhostess, she was Jewish, but she was there already four years and they were very hardened. Very hardened.

She said "Do you see that smoke going up? Those are your parents going up in smoke."

Well, you know, you can't believe it. I mean the human mind just can't. You can't. We thought they are out of their minds. But we felt the stench, you know. They were burning day and night. There were four crematoriums. And we saw the flame. We knew our parents weren't coming back. You see the older people did not survive. Well, my mother was only 50. But that was old, I guess. So we were not expecting our parents back. But I was expecting my husband back. Emoric knew it.

I said "You know, I am married."

As time went on I found out some people who were with him together in Mauthausen. That's where he died of typhoid fever. After the war so many died because they were so weakened.

My uncle came back, who was my age almost, he said "I saw him die. He was with me." So we knew he is not coming back.

After a few weeks, that was after sometime. We were so terribly lonely, both of us. He didn't have anybody and I didn't have. So we decided we are going to

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get married. It wasn't easy to get married because you had to have a certificate that your husband died. I don't know, but they did let us get married. Not in Jewish.

## Q. Civil?

A. In civil. So we got married. Pretty soon because it so happened that, you know, they scared us all the time. From where we are that's Russia now, you see. They are coming and they are going to gather us up and take us back to Russia. Now we didn't want to go back to Russia. We are not Russians, but we knew the Russians. We were so afraid because we knew what the Russian soldiers were like. We didn't want to go back home.

One day we went to a camp near Pilsen. That's where my husband was stationed, not far away, and we were again staying, sleeping in bunkers, three like in the camp and getting ready to leave Czechoslovakia and go to these D.P. camps. You see, D.P. camps in Vienna they had them, in Germany, and we were ready to go.

I think, well, before I leave I have to call Emoric. I did get in touch with him. I don't remember how. At his base. He left his base that minute when he heard from me. I sent him a telegram. There was no telephone. I sent him a telegram and I told him where I am. He received that telegram.

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He said he was lying on his bed. He didn't ask anybody, just the way he was. He said on a motorbike and he was there in no time at the camp where we were gathered.

He said -- We talked it over. That's when we decided we are going to get married. If I am married to a Czech soldier they cannot remove me from Czechoslovakia. So this is how we married so fast. Emoric said I talked him into it.

- Q. Shotgun wedding.
- A. That's when we married, a civil wedding. We right away applied and we had to wait a few days.

I went home to Prague and then -- No. No.

Emoric never left. Never left. He came back to Prague
with me and we went back to Pilsen and we got married.

He didn't ask for a permit to leave his base. Nothing
was important to him, only me, that he shouldn't lose me.

We got married and he came back to his post.

He told who was in charge, you know, he had to report. He told him what happened and he said to him, his officer, whoever was in charge, he said look, if you got married that's enough punishment. I am not going to punish you. Because he could have been court marshalled. He left without leave of absense. He just left. He said "I couldn't think of anything else, just that you are

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back home.

Never.

leaving" because I told him where we were. Anyway, we came back to Prague. So did Elsa. You see Lensie and the other niece wasn't with us anymore. They went back home to see if they can find something. I never went

First of all, I was sick physically. I was sick in every which way. I just couldn't see myself go back home and face the emptiness there. I thought "What does it all mean to me if there is nobody there any more?" I never went back. You see, I had things dug away. I didn't care. I just didn't. Nothing mattered. Just life. I couldn't face what I left behind. My parents, my brother and all my relatives, God, such a big family; I lost so many people. There were eighty people, close relatives. They were big families. I stayed in Prague.

I had grandparents in Pittsburgh Pennsylvania.

Emoric sent them a telegram from his base. There was no communication. There was no postal service or anything.

You couldn't write to America, you see. He sent them a telegram from the Army saying we are alive and saying that we want to come to America. Do you know that pretty soon we got affidavits. My grandparents were very old.

They weren't very well to do because they lost everything in the depression and they couldn't make it back. They were too old. They sent us everything, my grandparents.

They sold their war bonds and they brought us here.

So you know, that was quite a luck. It was big luck. After a year, we lived in Prague for a year, Emoric, myself and Elsa. After a year we arrived in Pittsburgh Pennsylvania.

- Q. How did you travel there?
- A. By boat. We came from Sweden. We came from Sweden, from Goteborg, to New York. We traveled a long time.

MR. KIRSCHMAN: How did you get to Sweden?

- A. We flew or did we go by train? What was in 1946? God, do you know I can't remember. No, we went by train. Sure, by train.
  - Q. Was that from Prague?
  - A. From Prague we went to Sweden.

MR. KIRSCHMAN: Who went?

- A. Emoric, Elsa and myself, the three of us.

  MR. KIRSCHMAN: Who from your family stayed?
- A. Lensie. But she wasn't with us anymore.

  Lensie went back home because, you see, we were three kinds of children. Minadinaunsala, do you know what that was? I was my mother's, Lensie was her father's. We are not really sisters, but we grew up together so we are real. Elsa was the child between them. I had a brother who never returned. So Lensie had a sister who survived

back in Siget. She lived in Siget. You know where Elie Wiesel comes from. She very much wanted Lensie to come home to her and she did. And the niece too, Lillie, who lives in Texas now.

Anyway, what I wanted to tell you about my coming to America, I was here as a little girl with my mother.

My mother was a widow. She was a widow at 19. And I was nine months old. We survived the first world war in Europe. My history is not so simple, my background. My mother was so young. There was a big war. And there was nothing to do with in Europe in a small town for a widow with a child. It's not like here that you get married again.

In those days, you know -- My grandfather was here in Pittsburgh Pennsylvania. He left before the war by himself and he left his family back in Europe. But they had no -- They never had any communication because the war broke out. There was a big war for four years.

That's way before your time. So after the war they got in contact and my mother said, she wrote my grandfather, who was her father-in-law, that we all want to come to America. He sent us -- They were seven. We were two.

Nine ship cards to America. That was in 1921. Is this important?

Q. Yes, please.

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A. 1921. What was I? Seven years old. We arrived. My mother, well, there was a lot of work to be done. She went to Prague and got, you know, there was so much work to do. My mother, she really -- I don't know how she did it, but she did it. Got everything together and nine of us came to America.

Q. Who?

A. My grandmother, with six children, and my mother with me. That was quite something too. Did I confuse you?

- Q. No.
- A. I bet.
- Q. Tell us when the ship landed in New York.
- A. In New York. We came through Ellis Island, you know. When they show Ellis Island I was there.

I was just at a party at the old age home. I am very involved with the Silver Avenue Home. I am a volunteer there. They had this show for the Hanukkah. It was Ellis Island. It was quite an experience.

Anyway, what I want to say I was there and when we arrived a few days my grandfather, who I never knew, arrived. He left my grandmother pregnant in Europe. But the war broke out. Me, I was just born and he left. He was lucky he left before the war broke out. This is how we all came here. All of a sudden he appears. I

remember so well. He was a very nice looking man. He met the nine of us in Ellis Island and brought us back to Pittsburgh Pennsylvania. He had a place for us to live.

As a matter of fact, he had three houses. He worked and he invested his money in real estate, which he lost during the depression. Anyway, that was the beginning of our life in America. My mother went to work. She got a job at the old age home, the Jewish old age home in Pittsburgh Pennsylvania, which was very lucky because she knew no English. She didn't speak English.

She couldn't take me along. I stayed with my grandmother and the six children. I was the seventh.

For four years I stayed with them. My mother, I would go to see my mother on weekends, on vacations. I was the only child they would allow to stay at the old age home.

I happened to be very good friends there with the superintendent's child. We loved each other. This is how I could stay with my mother. No children were allowed.

Anyway, this is how we stayed in America for four years. But my mother was so homesick, she was so terribly homesick for her sisters and her family.

Sisters and brothers. She had eleven at home. They were 12 children. She wanted to go back home. Which was insane to go back to Europe in a small town from America,

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you know. But she did it. Then when she came back she got married.

In the meantime there was a widower, Lensie's father, across the street from us. They knew each other before. He became a widower. She was a widow. They got married and we stayed there in that small town. That was the end of my life. But it was the beginning for my mother. It was not an easy life to adjust to six sisters. She married a man with six girls. And a stepfather.

I somehow never held it against my mother because she was so young. I never was a child really. I was always grown up and I understood that my mother had to get married. She was too young to stay alone. Because we were friends, my mother and me. We were so close, so very close. She told me everything. I don't remember being a child. I was her confidant. She got married and I had to understand that it's her life.

She told me before we entered -- Before I entered that house. She said "You see, you are not going to be my little girl anymore because there is Lensie and Bobbie. Lensie and Bobbie they were two smaller sisters. They are going to be my babies and not you anymore." She made me understand that it's a new life and I have to support her in it. She said "You are not going to make

me any difficulties, are you?"

I said "No." But it was hard. That was a turning point in my life.

In America I loved America. I loved the freedom here. This is what I want to bring out. The freedom. I went to school and the teachers, I had such a good relationship with my teachers. My teacher told me, she said. She knew I was an orphan. My mother never came to anything and I was in every play and exercise. I was right in front all the time from Europe. I was a very lively child. I don't know how I kept like that but I did. That's what kept me going, you see. I never lost my love for life. I never did.

She said, you know, "I am going to help you through college. I will stay beside you."

You know, it was such a good world for me. Not that my grandparents home was anything to be happy about. My grandmother just came from Europe and had to adjust to American life. It was very hard on her and six children. It was not an easy life. But I don't know. I just kept going. I just did my thing and I enjoyed life in America. I was such a happy child. After four years my mother took me back. I wasn't a happy child then, but I made the best of it. That's when I met Emoric, you see. Mymother was married that is where Emoric comes from and

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my grandparents. So I met Emoric and he became my best friend and his sister and I had a home away from home at their house. His mother loved me. I could always go to their house.

When my mother got married she would say "Any time you want to come my home is open to you." It was very good. Very good. Friends. That's how how Emoric became my life long friend. So America never went out of my mind. This is what I want to come back to. In the concentration camp I always thought if I am going to get out of this I am going to come to America. I don't want any part of Europe. Just live in freedom. And that's what I did. I never went back home. I never got settled.

Emoric could have gotten a business, because he was a soldier and they had all kinds of advantages. They gave them businesses, you know.

I said "No, I don't want to settle in Europe from where they threw us out; they didn't want us here. I never want to settle in Europe." I had one aim, to come to freedom, to live in freedom and I made it. I came back as crippled as I was, I came back to America.

- Q. What do you remember about your arrival here, the day you came back the second time?
  - A. The second time? Emoric had some relatives

who waited for us in New York. We stayed a few days in New York. Then we came back to Pittsburgh Pennsylvania. By train. It was only trains. Sure. I put on my most beautiful smile. I thought everybody is going to be at the train waiting for us because I knew all these people. Nobody waited for us. Not one soul. So we took a taxi. We all could speak English, you see. My husband was in the British army, Elsa learned English. We didn't have difficulties with the language very much. We came back to my grandparents' house.

My grandparents were in a very bad way. They lost everything and they lived with a daughter in one house in Pittsburgh Pennsylvania.

# Q. Your aunt?

A. My grandmother. My aunt. It was a three bedroom house. They put us in the laundry room in the basement. They put us up in the basement. Laundry was going day and night because she had three children.

Well, I was still happy to be in America, you know. That's where I wanted to be.

Emoric -- My mother's old friend. My mother use to have friends in Pittsburgh. He got my husband the first job. He was working. Emoric said, you know, I heard of an apartment. Apartments were so scarce, terribly scarce after the war. He gave me the address.

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He phoned me from his business. He was working in a grocery store. He says "Try to get that apartment."

I went down and that apartment was rented. That was on Parkview Avenue, near Schenley Park. I never forget that. The lady, the owner of the house, she was a Yugoslavian woman. Lovely, lovely person.

I said "Mrs. Greenberg, I need this apartment so much. We just came from Europe." I told her our situation. "And we are in a laundry room. And please, please give me this apartment."

She said "I can't. I already accepted a deposit."

I said "Give it back to them and tell them your relative arrived from Europe."

You know, she did it. God was good to me. That's why I believe in miracles; I do. That was a miracle to get an apartment after the war. It was. You know, they were not to be had. Soldiers were coming back from the war. So she put us up on the third floor in Pittsburgh Pennsylvania. That was heaven, just sheer heaven. It was hot in the summer, cold in the winter but it was home. We were alone. Emoric came home every day. He was the happiest person in the world. You never seen anybody so happy. We had nothing. It was a furnished apartment. We didn't want anything. Just each other. And this is how we lived there for a year and-a-half.

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Then Elsa got a scholarship at U.C.. U.C.

Berkeley. Elsa is very bright, very bright girl. She came to California. She bombarded us with letters, cards. She always sends beautiful cards. She said if we are doomed to live we might as well live in California.

And we left without anything. We had no money. Emoric's friend came too. He lived in Chicago. We came to Berkeley. We arrived to Berkeley.

My sister Elsa was already sick then. She didn't recover from the concentration camp. She still is a very sick girl. But she was going to be a doctor. She couldn't make it. She became a psychiatric social worker. Has worked for years here and got married to a psychiatrist. After seven years they got a divorce. What else is there? That was such a set back in her life that she never did recuperate. She worked for many years and then she gave up on that too.

- O. Is she alive?
- A. She connected with your organization here in the way that she sees somebody in Palo Alto. It's a social worker, a psychologist, that help people who are sick like Elsa.
- Q. What do you remember about the trip from Pittsburgh to Berkeley?
  - A. We came by train, Southern Pacific. It took

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a long time to get here. I don't remember now. Twenty-four hours or so.

We arrived to Berkeley. Elsa was waiting for us.

And we got a room with kitchen privileges. Emoric

couldn't get a job in Berkeley. All the jobs were taken

by students. So we had to move to San Francisco. We

wanted to stay in Berkeley. We just loved Berkeley.

We arrived December 1st, 1947 and the roses were in bloom and people were watering their lawns. We couldn't believe it. We never saw anything like that.

from here. We are going to stay." So we had a hard time, okay? We didn't have it easy. But we never, never asked for any help nowhere. Always on our own, we always made it on our own.

Emoric walked the streets of San Francisco, the hills, by foot from door-to-door he was knocking for a job. And do you know how he got his first job? Should I tell you?

Q. Yes.

A. I was lying on my back, because I was in pain all the time. And then I was already wearing a brace. The doctor in Pittsburgh Pennsylvania, when I told him "Doctor, this is no life for me to be on a mattress all day." He said "What are you complaining,"

he said. "You live on borrowed time." He died a long time ago and I am here.

So anyway, as I was still sick, oh, God, I wanted to bring out something very important and I lost my -- .

Yeah. How he got his job.

I was listening to the radio all day. That helped me a lot with my English, you know. Because I forgot a lot. I came back as a child of eleven. Anyway, I listened to the radio and I hear this program on. I don't know if you remember. No, you can't remember. You are too young. There was a sidewalk reporter in front of the Owl drug store. There was an Owl drug store on Venice Avenue.

Look, you are smiling. You remember. He said, you know, any problem you have you could come to him.

I called up and I got an appointment on the sidewalk, with the sidewalk reporter, and I told him that we are from Europe. I told them shortly our story and we are survivors and we want nothing, my husband only wants a job. That's all I am asking for.

I came home to my apartment, which was a furnished room with kitchen privileges again. Bad. Bad. I got six calls from America people. That's how big the American people's hearts are, you know. I believe in America. They had six people called me to offer jobs for

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my husband. He had a job the next day. They told me he should come here and here and he will have a job. He did.

This is how we started our life in San Francisco.

From there on it was always better. We always bettered ourselves, but we were always so happy, no matter what.

It was just a good life. For me it was freedom. That's all I wanted, freedom.

Naturally, my husband was with me. You know, the love I got from him made up for everything. You know, he just adored me. No matter what. I had no hair, I was bent in two. He said to me you are always the same. You never changed. Now he says it too and I am so old already.

He says, anywhere we go, he says to me "Who do you think was the prettiest?" I said "I am glad your eyes don't change."

Anyway, this was our life. Slowly we always improved our lives. He became manager. Pretty soon he became manager of the store he got his job in. And then we saved money. We saved our money. We saved up in seven years \$7,000.00. We bought into a market.

- Q. A food market.
- A. Food market. That's where we made our first money. Eight years he was in the market.

I said "Emoric, you have a good head on your shoulders." He is very smart. He is a good businessman.

"You don't have to make your livlihood with your energy, with your strength. You make your livlihood with your head, with your brain."

I knew that he could do better. Well, first he tried real estate. He didn't like it. He said too many lies. Too many lies. I wish he would have stayed with it. Anyway, in short we bought a business that is California Concession Supply. It was on Golden Gate Avenue. We supplied movie theaters with everything that you see in the theater lobby, machinery.

## Q. Food?

A. Yeah, everything. Popcorn and the drinks and everything, supplies, all the supplies. He bought this business. It was a wholesale business.

I said to him, you know, "Emoric, I would very much like you to work only five days because I don't want you to work on the Shabbatt. I wanted to observe the Shabbatt. I come from a religious background. I have a kosher house. I need it. I have a need for it. That's my tradition. I hang on to it. I don't give it up. I have Passover, everything, like at home. Emoric doesn't have a religious background, but he goes along with me. He is good about it. So we bought this.

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I said "I really would like to observe the Shabbatt. " And we bought this wholesale business and there is no Saturday, no Sunday. Emoric quadrupled it and more. I knew he had the brains. He made it so big, you know, and he is not as good at English as I am, and I am not that good. He contacted people that you wouldn't believe, theater people. It's a different breed, you know, theatre people. He had the nerve. He could call people on the telephone. He could sell them merchandise. Right away a new theatreman came to town, he got in touch and took him to lunch and did business. He was so confident. It's true, I gave him a lot.

He said without me he couldn't have done it. always said "You can do it, I know you can do it."

They were big business in Europe too, his mother and him. He did it. He said because you always believed in me. And I did. Anyway, he did it. That was already later in life. Until then we had to struggle. Like everybody else in America. Somehow we always bettered ourselves. Always. Here we are. He is retired now ten years.

- What about the other members of your family Q. who survived?
- My other members? My mother had three Α. brothers in Isreal. Two of them were almost my age.

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Those were the only three who survived out of 12 children. One of them was in Isreal. He is still alive. He is younger than me, my uncle. Two of them, one was older, two years older and one was my age. They both died. Three years ago. They died of cancer, both of them. They went through a lot, an awful lot. Everything. They settled in Isreal. I really didn't have any other family here.

- Q. What about Lensie?
- A. Lensie? Lensie came here. I don't know who interviewed. Maybe you. I don't know. She lives in Hillsboro, has two children, a sick husband, very sick husband. You know, we are all up in age.
  - Q. And Elsa lives where?
- A. Elsa lives in San Francisco. Elsa is alone. It's unbelieveable, but we were so very close, Elsa and myself. Hitler won out. We lost each other. It's unbelieveable. We have no relationship. She is so alienated, she is so alienated from me and I was the one, and she knows I saved her many times in the camp. Many times. Because she gave up and I always pulled her out of things that she would have been gone a long time ago. After the camp she said "Do you think I am thankfull to you that you saved my life? I am not."

MR. KIRSCHMAN: What do you think she meant

by that?

A. She would have rather died. She would have. Elsa had no luck. But you make your luck, you see. I don't believe in that. I believe you do it yourself. Elsa didn't do it. She always got into things that weren't good for her.

- Q. Is she a bitter person now?
- A. Yes. She is a sick person.
- Q. What about Lillie?
- A. Lillie is also a very sick person. The two of them, they never recovered. They never recovered.

Only Lillie got married to a man who is, who was in Europe and she wasn't religious at all, Lillie. This man adored her. Adored her. He was a widower. He lost his wife and two children, I think. Very bright, nice looking man.

He married her and he is very good to her. No matter what she does it's fine, you see. She watches television all day. She has no interest, nothing. She has two children though. Two children that are married and they have a lot of knockouts out of the children.

- O. Where does she live?
- A. In Dallas Texas. Her husband is very well to do. She was lucky. She found a man who cared for her very much. Everybody said that's not for her, but she

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wanted to marry him. She knew he is going to take care of her, you see, and he does. This just like I knew Emoric would take care of me. I knew I could trust him.

After I was getting better I had another suitor or two and he was a doctor and he was from our area. He says I should come with him to the D.P. camp and we will come together to America. He had so much money. God, he carried this, you know, this safe under his arm. Very, very wealthy man. He says "Look, we will have a good life."

I said "But I am sick. You know I am sick."

He said "I am a doctor. I will take care of you."

I didn't trust him. Emoric had nothing, only the uniform on his back, and I knew he will take care of me all his life. I knew that. So that's what I chose. You see, I believe in making your own luck. I do.

Even now I don't know if this belongs here. In April they discovered I had a lump and it was -- Well, at first it wasn't malignant and then they discovered, they sent it through pathology that there is some malignancy. But it didn't spread. It was non-invasive, okay. I went to an oncologist and she said I need radiation treatment. I didn't accept it. I said I am going to Stanford. I told my surgeon, who operated on me, I said "Doctor, I want to go to the top, to the best. Please advise me

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where to go. I said I want to go to Stanford."

He is a Stanford graduate and he knows all the people at Stanford and he sent me to the oncology department there. I found doctors that are outstanding. They are human beings, not only doctors. They cared so much. I spent half a day there. They said you don't need any radiation. You are just going to be on the pill. It's called Tomoxaphine. This is a new pill out that prevents it from spreading. It prevents from getting more cancer. I want to believe it. Okay, I want to believe it.

I went to the radiologist because I already had an appointment in Burlingame. That's where I live. The radiologist, he was just the finest person. He also teaches at Stanford. He said "You don't need radiology. You will be all right."

You see, if I would have stayed with the first oncologist I would have gone through hell and maybe she would have sent me for chemo too, you know. Here I am, I am okay, but the thoughts have to be healthy, you see.

They told me at Stanford if I am going to deal with it and not let it get to me I am going to be all right. I should not worry about it, that I am going to survive this.

I said I know I will because I survived so much

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and I am not giving up so easily. I am going to fight this too and I did. I went to the top, you see. And I took their advice of the Stanford people, okay?

I thought it over and I thought this is the best for me. I just want to tell you that you make your own life. I don't know what is going to happen. I don't know. But I am 78 years old and I lived a pretty good life on and off, you know. I had sickness and all. I always had somebody with me. Emoric always supported me.

- Q. What about your back injury from the war?
- A. That is still there. I still wear a support. I still wear a support. I wear braces for years. For years. I still have them. But I don't put them on anymore because I swim every day.

I wanted a pool. More than anything else in my life, okay? I said if I am going to swim -- because the swimming was very good for me. Once I was going to have a big operation on my back. I was already set up for an operation. I told the doctor, "Doctor, I want to go home."

He said "But you are set up for an operation."

I said "I don't care. I want to go home and try

it on my own because my life I saved many times and I

want to try again."

Do you know that in a year I was wearing one of

those braces that you couldn't move in. I couldn't drive. It's called a royalty brace. You make it to fit your body. I wore that brace for a year. I started to swim in the swimming pools in San Francisco. Larson's. I went by bus. I could hardly get on the bus but I went. Every day I swam. I believe in that.

I told Emoric the only thing I would really like in my life is a swimming pool. And I swear by it. I don't wear braces anymore. Rain or shine I am in that pool in the morning. You have to do things for yourself.

Now Elsa can't do it. She can't do it. She is not capable. Well, Elsa is my biggest tragedy in my life. Should I tell you? Because Elsa I loved so much. There wasn't a person in this whole world I loved more than Elsa. She was my little sister, my first human being that belonged to me from the same mother. I adored her. We had such a wonderful relationship. Until the war was over.

I always have a feeling, although she never admitted it, that because I got married she felt I let her down. I had this feeling. We never discussed it. See, I didn't belong to her anymore. I think that's where it all started. She didn't like my husband. She never liked him. And he was so good to her. He was so good to her. He bought her everything that he bought me.

I got a suit, she got a suit. I got shoes, she got shoes. Everything I had she had. He knew her since she was a little baby, you see. He remembers when she was born. He knew how very close I am to Elsa. Elsa was like my child.

- Q. What is the age difference?
- A. Thirteen years. My mother got married when I was 12 and Elsa was born within a year.

each other. There is no one left. But I can't get close to Elsa. It's impossible to approach her. We helped her in every which way. Every which way. With school. She already got therapy then.

- Q. Does she have physical consequences?
- A. No. No. No. She doesn't. Not from the camp, no.
- Q. What about your father's siblings in this country. Aunts, uncles?
  - A. My real father?
  - Q. Yes, your real father.
- A. I don't have anybody here, but I have some in Los Angeles, cousin's. They are doing very well and I see them periodically. I have in Connecticut. They came to see me not long ago. They spent three days with us. But they are far away. I don't see them that often. So

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you feel you are alone. God forbid if something happens to Emoric; there is nothing left.

MR. KIRSCHMAN: Do you have family back in Europe?

- A. No. Emoric has a sister in Carlsbad, No. but she never wanted to come to America. She was afraid of America. The hard life.
  - Did you ever return to Europe? Q.
- Oh, yes. We were there last year. A. to see her. After they became democratic. We were back once while they were communist, you know. We felt very uncomfortable there so we never went back. We felt like we were watched all the time. Being Americans you were afraid. So we didn't go again. But now we were back there just a year ago. It's going to be two years in July.
  - Would you ever go back to your home? Q.
  - To live? Α.
  - No, to visit. Q.
  - No. I never went back. I never had the desire. Never. It was a new beginning and I needed all my strength for my new life. I couldn't go back. And I think I did the right thing. This was my decision. husband went back.
    - First of all physically I wasn't well enough to

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travel after the war and then emotionally too I wasn't ready to face that loss.

MR. KIRSCHMAN: When you went back two years ago where did you visit?

The sister in Carlsbad. But we didn't live Α. there originally. We lived with Emoric in Prague for a year. We came to Carlsbad. That's a beautiful resort. It's a health spa. I took all the --

### MR. KIRSCHMAN: Vapors?

- The baths and the water. It was really very good for me. He did too.
- Q. What is the most vivid memory you have, the most vivid memory you have of all that happened?
  - A. All that happened?
  - 0. Yes.
  - After or before? A.
  - In the concentration camp. Q.
  - In the concentration camp? Α.
  - Q. And before you were liberated.
- Well, my most vivid memory is when they A. separated me from my mother. That was the most terrible thing in my life because we got off that cattle train and all of a sudden we found ourselves only the women. Germans separated the men and separated the women and the children went with their mothers and grandmothers right

away to the cremetorium.

My mother was sent to the right, I was sent to the left. The right meant the cremetorium.

When we got off the train my mother said to me "I am scared" and my mother never would say anything like that to me. She said "Please, don't leave me. Don't leave me."

I had talked to her. I said "No, I am not going to leave you." There was this man standing, who was separating us with a stick. He was pointing right and left. He sent my mother to the right and me to the left. I went up to him. He stood there like a God. That was Mengele. I said to him in German "Please, let me go with my mother. I am a married woman too." I looked very young at that time.

MR. KIRSCHMAN: You were thirty-one?

A. Thirty-one. I said "Please, let me go with her. I am married." I thought they were separating the married.

He looks at me and he said gunstulaffen. That means can you run. Run. And he pointed to the left.

And that's when I saw my mother leaving all by herself.

That feeling I will never forget in all my life. That was the most dreadful, the most painful that I ever experienced.

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And then well, many times in the camp when there were selections with Mengele -- How I escaped that was something, you know. When I heard he was coming I jumped into a hole where there was rainwater. I jumped into a hole like that and I was hiding until the selections were over. When I came out I was wet, wet. It was in November. There were no clothes to be gotten. I had to stand up at appel the next morning. There was no place to dry the clothes. They were on the floor.

In the morning before appel somebody threw a package of clothing over the fence. It was an electric fence. And there was dry clothing in it. That was another sister. She can't even come here, you see, she is so sick. Another step-sister, Bobbie. Her name is Bobbie. She is also very sick. She has, you know when you don't eat? Anorexia.

- Q. Where is she living now?
- A. In Burlingame all alone.
  - MR. KIRSCHMAN: You have six step-sisters?
- A. Six step-sisters. Three of them survived and three of them died. Lensie, Bobbie and Helen survived. Three of them died. They didn't get a chance.
  - Q. Who are the three that died?
- A. The three, one was Lillie's mother. Lillie. When they took her mother she never spoke again. She

never spoke again, Lillie. That's how sick she got. But her mother gave up in Auschwitz right away. She didn't want to go on fighting.

Auschwitz. They couldn't do it. She said this is the hell of hells. I never forget that expression. This is the hell of hells. I can't do it. They took her, they selected her to the cremetorium. They took a truck every day, not once they came and picked up people who were not, you know, who weren't going to survive, who gave up. So she died. Lillie was left behind with us. She never spoke, Lillie, for months she never spoke. Her mother left her, you see. And then there was Rosie. She was the oldest. She was in front of me she went with her daughter. Her daughter was much younger than me. She went to the right. Mengele pointed to the right. Mother and daughter. Daughter was only 18. There is no answer to these things. Why he told me to run for my life.

MR. KIRSCHMAN: You knew it was your life?

A. I didn't know at the time, no. But now I know. What difference did it make to him? Well, I don't know. They said blond people did have an advantage. Well built. He liked well built women, okay. That's what they said about him. I don't know if that was true or not. But every time there was a selection I passed.

I passed.

When there was a selection you put one piece of clothing on your left arm and you had to pass by him, you know. If he okayed you fine, if you passed you were lucky. If you didn't they took you in one of those trucks, the covered trucks. I am still afraid of a covered truck. I am always afraid what is underneath, you know? When I see those trucks.

MR. KIRSCHMAN: Tell me about the clothing.

- A. The clothing over the left arm. The other arm you had to hold up to see if there is any, you know, sores.
  - Q. What, if anything, else were you wearing?
  - A. Pardon me?
  - Q. Were you without clothing?
  - A. Without clothing, stark naked all the time.
  - O. In the winter?
- A. Nothing. There was just one dress to pull up. We had no underwear.
  - O. Over the left arm?
- A. And right arm we had to hold up like this. If he saw anything, you know, if you had pimples, that was the end. That was the end. Many people had diphtheria. Elsa had diphtheria. Shall I tell you a story about Elsa?

Q. Please.

A. She got diphtheria. They announced in our camp that everybody who has a fever, doesn't feel good should report because there is diphteheria epidemic and we will all be exterminated if we don't report the one that's sick. Elsa was broken out here (indicating the chest). She was broken out. I knew it was diphtheria. Not diphtheria. What do you call that?

- Q. Pox, chickenpox?
- A. Diphtheria is in the throat.
- Q. Chickenpox?
- A. No.

MR. KIRSCHMAN: Small pox?

A. No. Anyway, it's contageous. We were 12 of us on this, what do you call it? There were three of these.

Q. Bunks?

A. Bunks. We were on the top bunks. 12 of us. I was with Eva. I don't know. I am sure you know Eva. I was with Eva. We still are very good friends. Her two sisters were with us. We were four of us, that's seven. Then there were four more. Twelve of us. We had one blanket. When one turned everybody had to turn at night. The shoes were under here (indicating under her head). The shoes were under our head. That was our pillow.

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I said to Lensie, "You know Elsa has the sickness.

I am not going to report her and I am not going to let
her report. Because our life isn't worth much anyway.

We don't know which minute it's over. I am not going to
give up Elsa. I am not going to do it. I am not going
to let her."

Elsa wanted to report because Elsa is very conscientious, you know. I said "No." Lensie agreed. Nobody knew among the twelve of us that Elsa was sick. And do you know she stayed alive. Then Elsa got this terrible -- You know, people got and they had to run?

MR. KIRSCHMAN: Dysentery?

A. Terrible dysentery. She couldn't stand up. She couldn't stand on her feet. I was holding her up until we were counted. Then she had to stand on her own feet. They would have clobbered her to death if somebody couldn't stand on their feet. Elsa was so sick she was dying. Elsa was dying. Everything was running from her.

I used to go out two o'clock at night, get washed and I would meet these men. The Polish Jews who came to clean our toilets.

I said to them, you know, "I have a sister who is deathly sick and please help me." There were coal pills around. You couldn't get them. I said "Would you please get me some coal pills and safe my sister's life?"

They said I should be here the next night at the same time. We weren't suppose to walk between -- If they saw us from where they watched us, the tower, they shot us. I don't know how. I went. I went. They gave me the coal pills and Elsa started to take them and she got better. I didn't care. I didn't care. I just went.

The same way I got food. You see, you couldn't survive on the food you got in Auschwitz. You couldn't. It was impossible. It was a thin soup. It was a piece of bread. The way we survived is we worked. Eva got us into one of those places that the food came in. Not food. Oh, dishes. We had to sort out things. We had to sort out things. We had to sort out things. Also pillows with feather in it. Those pillow cases were beautiful. They were made out of satin, silk. You see, those people who came from France, from Dania, from these, you know, advanced countries. They brought beautiful things with them.

When you arrived to Birkenaugh they took
everything from you. You were just naked. Your hair
went. Everything went. We were sorting that merchandise
out. Among that merchandise we found sometimes even a
little food. But we also find these beautiful pillow
cases in which the feathers, you know — We let out the
feathers and we cleaned the pillow cases and we sold it
to the people that had food. Those were the people that

were in charge of food. Those were the people that were there already three and four years. They had a post, you see. They had the best. The best. They had food to eat. They were fat like this, you know?

I had people in this barracks working for me, my cousins who never returned. I gave them half of the profit. Whatever they got I gave them half and we got half and we got bread, we got marmalade, we got whatever our ration was. We got more because we had this supplement, you see. This is how we survived.

Now somebody else would never have gone that time of the night. That's when I did my business.

MR. KIRSCHMAN: How did you get the pillow cases out?

A. On our bodies we took them out. From the place that we worked in. Eva got us all into that job, thank's to Eva. She was very beautiful, very tall and very blond and Eva somehow she got in. She was standing out, you know. This man selected her, this German that she should head this. It was where you keep merchandise.

## Q. Warehouse?

A. Yeah, a warehouse. We worked in the warehouse. We let the feathers out. They didn't say anything. We sold the beautiful, it was like silk damask. These girls made clothes for themselves out of

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that. There were seamstresses there. For food you could get things done. You know, food was everything. I got the extra food for us, for what we stole out of the warehouse.

And I did the business at night. I brought the pillow cases, I got the food that they got for the pillow cases they sold the day before. And that is how we That's how we survived Auschwitz. This is the l ived. truth.

MR. KIRSCHMAN: You brought the food back to the barracks?

- To the barracks and we had that exra food. Α. MR. KIRSCHMAN: You ate it quietly, I assume.
- Quietly. Quietly. Very quietly. We even A. had once silk, what you cover yourself with.
  - Bathrobe? 0.
  - No. A.
    - MR. KIRSCHMAN: A shirt?
  - What you sleep in. A.
    - MR. KIRSCHMAN: A sheet?
  - Blanket. Comforter? Q.
- Comforter. A blue. I took it out of there. A. We covered ourselves, the twelve of us with that. We were so nice and cozy. One day we had to go. We always

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had to go to be sterilized, to get clean, you know. They took us to one of those places where they gave us a shower and they how do you call it?

MR. KIRSCHMAN: Decontaminated?

A. We lost everything. On a day like that we lost everything. Everything we saved up.

MR. KIRSCHMAN: While you were gone somebody came and stole?

A. We had to take out everything. We couldn't leave anything on our beds, on our bunks, because they would find it and we would get, you know. We had to start all over. One day that comforter, I didn't want to lose, you know. That was so precious to me. A blue silk. I remember it. I went to the next barracks, where I had my cousins. They were not going to go that day for this program to be --

#### Q. Deloused?

A. Deloused. We got other clothing and they were full of lice. I brought it over to them. This blockhostess, she was Jewish. The Jews did the dirty work, you know. She saw me coming in the door. She took that comforter away from me and gave me a good slam in the face. That's the only slam I got really. She took it away from me. It wouldn't have hurt her.

(At this time the deposition was recessed)

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MR. KIRSCHMAN: The food you were able to produce at Auschwitz went to the twelve. Who did you share it with?

A. Eva had her separate source. Eva and her family. So it was Lensie, my sister, Elsa, Lillie and myself. The four of us.

Eva had many camp source. She was very good in getting things, you know. She was very much alive, Eva. She was young, energetic. She was more energetic then than now. I don't know.

MR. KIRSCHMAN: The food, you ate it right away, you couldn't store it?

> We couldn't store it. A.

MR. KIRSCHMAN: It would disappear when you left the barracks?

- We put it under whatever we wore, a dress. We put it underneath. And we carried it with us. We always saved a little bit. That was the thing to do, to save a little food.
  - What was the food? Q.
- A. Bread. Bread, marmalade, butter. It wasn't butter. It was, you know, something. Sometimes we get a little salami. Those are the things we had for extra.

MR. KIRSCHMAN: How do you suppose they came into the camp, such things as salami?

	1	A. Pardon me?
r <del>(</del>	2	MR. KIRSCHMAN: How do you think salami came
	3	in the camp?
	4	A. That was in the ration. The woman who
	5	bought the material from us they had extra food because
	6	they were in charge of the food. They were the ones that
20	7	served us, you know, in our bowls. Ten of us ate from
	8	one bowl. We didn't have a separate bowl. Well, don't
	9	ask. Okay?
	10	These girls gave us the food, you see. They gave
	11	us the rations. These girls had a lot of extra food
	12	because they took the best of everything for themselves.
	13	I mean that was known.
	14	. MR. KIRSCHMAN: Where did you eat?
	15	A. Where did we eat? In our
	16	MR. KIRSCHMAN: In your barracks?
	17	A. In our barracks.
	18	MR. KIRSCHMAN: The food was brought to the
	19	barracks?
	20	A. In big containers it was brought.
	21	The girls went. They always picked out big,
	22	healthy girls, you know, and they brought the containers,
	23	big containers.
(	24	MR. KIRSCHMAN: There was one bowl for the
	25	ten of you?

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A. For ten people and then later we got our You know, it was unbelieveable how we lived. Like animals.

They were not close to the barracks. They A. were in different building. Just the toilets. There was running water there too, in Auschwitz. Most days we had no access to the toilets and we had to go.

MR. KIRSCHMAN: Where were the toilets?

#### A ditch? 0.

No. At the door we had this big, you A. know, container and we each had to go there if we had to go. You know, the stench was unbearable.

Then there were people who took that out ever so often, you know. There were days when we couldn't leave the barracks at all. We couldn't even go out because there was a danger. You know, some days the airplanes flew right above our head. The airplanes.

MR. KIRSCHMAN: Whose airplanes?

The American airplanes. We thought for sure A. they were going to be free. They were so close that all the barracks were shaking, you know. They came down so They knew what was there. They couldn't have not known, you know. We thought, oh now, now. We didn't mind how many lives are going to be lost, you know, if they threw bombs. We didn't care. Just as long as

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somebody is liberated. They flew over our head and they stopped, they went away. We could never get over how the world stood still. We couldn't get over that. Doesn't the world know what was happening to us? The world knew. The world knew. Nobody cared.

So there were days like that. If there was any danger of somebody coming close, something like that, we couldn't leave to the toilet. We couldn't leave, you see. So we had to do it there, right there in the barracks.

What should I tell you? During the night we couldn't leave. We weren't suppose to leave when I left.

That wasn't suppose to be when I went out. But I did it.

Life wasn't that precious. You just did things.

MR. KIRSCHMAN: The guards were in the towers?

A. Yeah.

MR. KIRSCHMAN: Did the guards patrol the camp?

A. They patrolled us, sure. That's why they were in the towers day and night. Day and night. They never saw me leave, I guess. I was such a little person. Maybe they didn't even see something is moving. So on days like that we couldn't leave.

And then when there were selections, you know,

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they wouldn't let you leave. You shouldn't escape. But I escaped. I did. I ran for my life because I knew I am not going to make it. I was already rundown, terribly run down. Lost a lot of weight. I didn't have that much to lose. I was never heavy. They always worried about me, my sisters. If I passed they were satisfied because they were heavier than me. So there were many days we couldn't leave.

- Q. Were you ever sick?
- A. I wasn't sick, no. Never got sick. I never got sick. Just after the liberation I got typhoid fever.

  Never got sick.

MR. KIRSCHMAN: How long were you in the camp?

A. A year.

MR. KIRSCHMAN: A year?

A. A year. That's between Auschwitz and the working camp where we were cutting, we were digging ditches and cutting Christmas trees.

MR. KIRSCHMAN: You say cutting Christmas trees, were these actually sent to Germany?

A. To Germany.

MR. KIRSCHMAN: To be used to celebrate Christmas?

A. Sure. Sure. We were cutting these

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Christmas trees, girls, women.

- Q. What tools did you have?
- A. What?
- Q. What did you use to cut the trees?
- A. We had -- I don't know why we didn't kill somebody really. I guess we didn't have what it takes, you know. We had a saw.

MR. KIRSCHMAN: I think you have what it takes. I think it just would have been danger.

A. I think I could have killed. I really do.
But it was risking our own lives. So we didn't do it.

After the camp all of us -- I was depressed too for a long time. I had therapy with Emoric and all there were times I couldn't do it by myself.

- Q. You said that you had lost 80 -- You have lost 80?
  - A. Yeah.
  - Q. Family?
  - A. Yeah.
  - Q. Can you tell who they were?
- A. They were my grandmother's 12 children. Her children were all married and had children. And then there were cousins, you know.

And then from my father's side, again a big family. Also married and they had children. They are

all gone. They are all gone. Nobody came back. So few of us came back.

My three uncles came back and they were Ukraine.

I will write it down one day. I never did write it down.

But I know. I figured it out once. Once or twice or three times how many are gone.

My grandmother had relatives. You see we were in contact with her sisters. You are a big family. It's not like here that you don't know about each other. In Europe you are in contact, families are close, there is a warm relationship. Here people don't need each other as much, you know. We always needed our relatives. They always cared and we cared. Somebody was sick we were there. It's a different world. But you get use to it. You get use to being alone.

MR. KIRSCHMAN: Has the family received, those of you who survived, any reparations?

A. You see I was very unfortunate. This is one thing I didn't do for myself. I will tell you why. I had a lawyer, he was Czechoslovakian. He wasn't good. He didn't even do it for himself. He never got any restoration either. He would tell me that. "It's not only you."

I got \$300.00 for Auschwitz and I got \$300.00 for my injury. Now I should have gotten that a month, you

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know, for my injury because it's a life long. I was incapable of working for many, many years.

Well, I got a doctor from the German counsulate.

A doctor interviewed you. This doctor's name was Dr.

Heitfelt. Dr. Heitfelt I found out later was a Nazi.

The German counsulate employed him as one of their doctors.

# MR. KIRSCHMAN: Where was this?

A. Here in San Francisco. In Westport over here in an office. Maybe he still has it. He was younger than me, I imagine.

A friend of mine, German friend of mine, found out about his background and found out that he was educated during the Hitler era and he was a Nazi. So when I was interviewed by him he asked me questions. And I told him what happened in Auschwitz and he said "I didn't know about that."

He said that my back ailment he put in his report,

I was born like that. He gave a report. He just gave me

such a bad time, you know, like he didn't believe

anything that happened.

I said, you know, "In front of my eyes little children were killed. They were thrown to the wall in front of my eyes. They were used for targets, shooting. In front of my eyes."

How can you forget those things? He didn't believe it. And I was getting sicker and sicker and I was getting more depressed.

That's when I had to go to a psychiatrist.

My husband said "I don't want any of this. I don't want you to get sick. I don't want any money from them. I don't want anything. I just want you out of this."

But that was wrong, you see. I should have fought for it. Why should I leave it to the Germans, you know? This was coming to me. It was coming. But I didn't have what it takes. I didn't have it. Sometimes I didn't have it, that fighting energy, you know. I didn't always have it. So I gave up on it.

Emoric said "Don't go anymore." I didn't go. But I should have fought it to the end. I should have gone through Germany. People went to Germany, you know. I never put my foot on German soil, would you believe that? I traveled, we traveled a lot. Never did I go through Germany.

I said "No." I never went back to Budapest. I said that soil is soaked with Jewish blood. I can't go there. They were shooting people into the Danube Budapest. The Danube was sick with Jewish blood. That city is such a beautiful city. We use to go there in the

winter to the theatre, the opera. It was a beautiful city to go to. I never went back. Never. I don't want to go back. I would always see somebody in the street that was that age and I would think maybe he was the one that murdered my parents because they were murderers, the Hungarians.

See, we were occupied by the Hungarians at the time we were deported. We were Czechs. Then during the anschlass Czechoslovakia was divided up and we became Hungarians and that's when our tragedy started. They took away our livelihood. They said we are not going to kill the fish. We are going to take the water out and they are going to suffocate on their own, which was true. People didn't have a livelihood. But everybody helped each other. It was a world like that in Europe.

And then the men, our men, they started to take our men into forced labor. In 1940 they took our men already. My husband was never home. He was always in forced labor. And that was lucky yet because they didn't send them out to the Ukraine. He was in the area and he always came home. Then these Hungarians — What I want to point out, like my father, my stepfather, he was — he was ready to go to shul on Friday evening. On Friday evening all dressed up. They came and they said "Your sidewalk isn't clean. Come and clean up your sidewalk."

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They dehumanized you. They did all kinds of things. My step-father was really a leader in our town. He was a civic leader, he was president of the shoal. They humiliated him. They did it on purpose. Those were the Hungarians, not the Germans. Hungarians didn't have to learn from the Germans. They were Jew haters from a one.

So I never went back to those countries. I couldn't.

Lot of my friends did. Lensie went back, my sister. She got so sick she could hardly wait to get out of there because her husband wanted to go. She never went back. She said "I was so afraid they would keep me there." The fear came over her, terrible fear.

I said "That's why I never went. I would see in everyone of them murderers and how they took our businesses away, you know." We had, my husband had an office. He had to close it. It was not to be believed what they did.

But we always had some funds and some extra.

There were people that were very poor and didn't. So it was four years living under the Hungarian regime, which was very hard. And then the ghetto, when they took us to the ghetto -- Did I tell you that? They took us out like criminals. Like criminals. In wagons, all the horses and wagons were hired to take the Jews out of our town, all the towns, and they put us in the ghetto.

Thirty people in one room, our place where we stayed. The men were in the temples because they were interrogated every day, beaten. They were interrogating them to get the money out or whatever they have hidden. Some people did hide things.

I had, but nobody knew about me because I was at my parents' house.

On Passover, my husband was in the Army. So they didn't know. I had Napoleons. You see we had our money in Napoleons. I don't know if you know what that is. Gold ducats. Hundred. That was big money. That was big money. We had it in the basement, in the ground.

MR. KIRSCHMAN: Of your home?

- A. Never found it.
- Q. Is that still buried there? You had buried something?
- A. That's what I buried. I didn't. My husband did. He told me after I left where it is. If I come home that I should know where to look for it. I never went home. But my husband went and I told him exactly where our basement was and where it was buried. My uncle was home, one of my uncles. He was very close to me. They never found it. They were digging the whole night.

Well, may be someone else found it because people were digging, you know. They knew.

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The temples, you see what they did to all these wealthy Jews? They right away locked them up in the temples. When we were taken to the ghettoes, we never were with our stepfather again. My husband was in forced labor. He had a band. They were not in uniform, the Jews. They did all the dirty work, you see, the Jews did all the dirty work. He was a journalist. And he came one day to the ghetto, but he couldn't come in. Just to the fence. We were fenced around.

He said, "I found a place where I can hide you."

He said "I was in a nunnery." Did I say this? "I was in a nunnery and I am going to pay them and they are going to keep you here until the end of the war."

I said to him "I can't leave my mother. My mother is all alone now. My stepfather is in jail in the temple. Every day they are interrogating him. My mother needs me." I was her support. I didn't leave. I could have. That's how it was in Europe. Not everybody. Some people did run away. I couldn't leave my mother. She depended on me so much.

Things turn, you see. When the child grows up the parents depend on the children. There were a lot of things that could have been different. But I am not sorry. I am not sorry. I always stood by her. When I left -- When I came home for the holiday, Passover, I had

some money in my glove, you see, as I was traveling. I had some dollars. Dollars were always good to have. My husband always saw that we have dollars, hard currency. I gave them to my stepfather to put away. Do you know after we were liberated they found that money hidden? It was dug in our basement. They found it.

- Q. The found the dollars?
- A. They found the dollars for me. My sisters found it and they sent it to me to Prague.
  - Q. Do you remember how much it was?

A. Yeah. It was \$80.00. But that was a lot of money in Europe, you know. That's the money we had when we came to America. I had that money. I had other money too. Oh, my God, you know, this doctor who wanted to marry me? He was kind of family. He was leaving to the D.P. camp to Austria. He had a lot of Czech money on him. You couldn't use the Czech money if you left Czechoslovakia. It was worthless. So he left it all to me. Ten thousand Krona. That was a big sum of money. And we lived on that for months, you know.

God, somehow miracles happened. Miracles happened. Always something good happened in my life, I must say that. And we survived. We survived. There was always something good. Now too. Still.

I could have had all this with my breast. I have

it. I am confident, I think I am going to survive it. I
want to believe it. I want to believe it. I am not
giving up.

Q. What are your thoughts about the Germans?

A. I despise them. I don't trust a single one of them. I am so afraid. I am full of fear. I am so full of fear right now, what is happening there. I am afraid they are coming back. Here too. I don't feel as secure. I don't. I am afraid because once you live through that you don't have confidence like you people, Americans; you don't believe that can happen. But we do. We are fearful.

We get together we talk about it. What are we going to do now, we are so old, all of us, and we are so comfortable in our homes. I don't trust them. I never did.

when the Berlin wall came down I was crying. I knew that's the end. I knew it. And so many Jews were so happy, you know. I couldn't understand it. I said "Don't they know?" I guess not.

I could never have children, you know, because of my illness. I had an abortion in 1949. That's when I started -- I had to have help. But now -- Well, I was very unhappy. I was unhappy I couldn't have children. But now I think maybe it was for the best. I have those

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thoughts. I am not leaving anybody behind to suffer. did it all. Maybe I am wrong, but, yes, I never forgave them. Never. Never. And I don't trust them. things they didn't have to do, you know? They didn't have to beat a woman to death in front of our feet because she couldn't stand appel. She didn't have to be beaten to death, you know. She didn't. We saw so many things like that. Cruelities, such terrible cruelities.

Once Lensie stole some potatoes, my sister. This beautiful woman, who was counting us, she caught her and she gave her a slap. A slap in the face.

Lensie said to her, she was the most beautiful woman. She was so beautiful. Lensie said to her "You are so beautiful. I don't think you could hurt me. "

Do you know she didn't hit her anymore. So what if she took two potatoes, three potatoes? She wanted to share it with us.

They did things that wasn't called for. kicked people with their boots to death right in front of All that was happening in Auschwitz, what they did to young people. They experimented on them. We knew they were taken for that purpose. We never saw them They selected the best of us, the most beautiful, again. the most healthiest, for experimental purposes. So how can you trust a nation like that?

Although, our German friends, the German Jews they will say this is a different generation. Our German friends who didn't go through the camp, who were here before.

I said "You just don't know because you weren't there. You don't know. You are talking about something you never experienced." What is that to read or to see? It's to experience it. Only who lived through it.

You people are very understanding. Because you are selected like that, that I can talk like that. Do you know I never talked to anybody about this? I never do because nobody cares. Nobody cares. So why should I talk to people who don't care? I don't. I never wanted to come here. I was asked already years ago when you started. I don't want to. I just don't want any part of it. I am through. I just want to live my life in peace. But finally I came.

When Lensie came and Eva came and they said you should. You should. You are part of this. We were together. So I came.

- Q. This fear that you have now that something might happen, can you describe the fear?
- A. Oh, it's terrifying. I am afraid we will lose our homes like we did, afraid we will lose our security, like we did. I am afraid it shouldn't happen

again. I am. I know I shouldn't say that to you people, but I am afraid. My husband isn't afraid like I am because he didn't live it through. He is not, not like me. Sometimes he is, when we read articles, you know, on what is happening. He says "Well, only you can feel it like that because you lived through it." He understands.

But you see people who didn't live through it don't know. They really don't know. No matter how understanding. I see those beautiful Jewish children and I fear for them.

- O. Which children?
- A. Well, Eva has grandchildren, my sister has grandchildren. They are beautiful Jewish children, so beautiful those children. And bright. And those are the kind of children that were exterminated. They were just as beautiful and just as bright and just as precious.

So you know that screams that came out of there never in my life will I forget those screams. When I hear screaming I get shook up all over. I still do.

Because I hear those screams when they locked them up.

- Q. In the cremetorium?
- A. You could hear them. You could hear them.

When they came in from Lodz, from Poland whole transports came. A train full. They didn't even give them a chance. They never got into Auschwitz. They took

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them straight to the cremetorium. Straight. I remember Yom Kippur day. We did not eat on Yom Kippur. Even there. We saved our food for the evening. Do you believe that? We still believed, you know.

I don't know why I still do. I guess that keeps me going. A whole train load, they marched straight into the cremetoria. We were outside and outdoors. We were very close to the cremetorium at the time. They moved us around, you know. Those screams on that Yom Kippur day I can't forget. They were crying to the last minute. You heard them. How can you forget that? You can't.

what should I tell you? It's within you and you can't be free of it. You can't. It stays with you. You try to make a life for yourself. You are grateful that you are alive.

Sometimes they ask me "Do you feel guilty that you are alive?" I said in the beginning I did, but then I thought I fought for it. I fought for it. I deserve it. I put on a great battle for it. I didn't give up. And I didn't feel guilty anymore. I worked it out with myself.

So I try my best to make a life for myself. I did.

I don't want to make my husband unhappy. He doesn't deserve it. I always have to make him happy. I always think of him. I can't do that to him I always

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say. I can't do it to him, you know. And that's what gives me strength. I can't because he did so much for me. God, he did so much for me.

He took me to the best doctors in Prague, to the best doctors. Never gave up on me. He was with me all the time. How can I -- I can't repay him with making him unhappy. I can't do that. He is very happy. But these terrible experiences, you know, they don't go away. They just don't go away.

MR. KIRSCHMAN: Did you have occasion to talk with people in the camp who were themselves forced to work in the cremetoriums?

A. In the cremetoriums, no. We never contacted people like that. After, I don't know how, it was said there in Auschwitz that these people never come out of there. That at the end they throw them in the fire too, in the ovens. Do you know in Prague we met — We met some people that worked there. They burned their own. They put their own. I don't know how they got out. I really don't know. But they did. But not in Auschwitz. We never had contact with people like this. No. They were there and we were somewhere else.

MR. KIRSCHMAN: Did you have contact with any guards who exhibited any touch of humanity ever?

A. German?

Q. German or other people.

A. We were once in a camp, in Auschwitz. They moved us around, as I said. They are the Wehrmacht. The Wehrmacht weren't like the SS. They were a little bit more humane. They talked to us sometimes. They even talked to us.

One of them said you know, when I get out of here
I am going to write a book of everything that I saw here.
I remember that. One of them said.

Now they didn't give us food. They didn't give us food, no. Eva got that job, but that was a German, I think he was -- You see, they were political prisoners there. German political prisoners. They had a badge. They had the jobs that were responsible jobs. One of those gave Eva that job to be head of this warehouse. That's how we got in and that's how we got our extra food. But other than that, I don't know.

Some Poles were there also. They were there for years that had access to food and they would help out some of the woman, but there was a price. Not everybody wanted to pay that price. Because you could get pregnant, you know. But there were women who paid the price, they were so hungry.

MR. KIRSCHMAN: Did you know any women who got pregnant?

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A. Yes. Yes. She was liberated. She didn't get pregnant, no. But she had an affair with one of the guards. Not guards. He was in charge of something, you know. Good to know him. He had access to food. What was it all about? Food. Just food. Just to eat. She came out. She came out of it. Very beautiful woman. Very beautiful. We never really came in close contact with the Germans, you know. They just counted us and selected us and kicked us.

- Q. The people who directed you, who told you what to do were not Germans?
  - A. Jews. Jews.
  - Q. Tell me about those.
- A. They had everything, all the positions they had Jews. There was a blockhostess.

### MR. KIRSCHMAN: The barracks?

A. Every thousand people, there was thousand people to a barracks. There was a blockhostess. She was one of those there already for four years. They told us they built these barracks. They came to Auschwitz when there were no barracks yet.

They had positions, you see. Position was where you could get food, extra food. They did all the dirty work. They worked for the Germans because they were afraid for their own skin. They did what the Germans

wanted them to do and more.

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Do you know that among the men, there were capos. You probably heard about capos.

They were head of that barrack, you know. They were so vicious. They were so vicious, those capos. know a man very personal, a friend I would say. He never went back to Isreal because he was afraid they are going to recognize him and they are going to kill him on the street. They did that, Isrealies, you know. If they recognized somebody who was one of those capos, who was so very cruel to the Jews. They did such a job you wouldn't believe it. To save their own skins they did anything, the capos.

MR. KIRSCHMAN: How did you recognize a capo?

Well, first of all we weren't with the men. We were separated. The men just came to screen our toilets. That's when we had access to men. Now a capo was the head of -- Every barrack had a capo. They had helpers, you see. The blockhostessa was the woman. Th ey were head of ours. They had helpers. They were the ones that had access to food, but they were cruel. didn't care anymore. They had no human feelings. said "You were in your warm beds when we were already here. What do you think this is? A sanitorium?

a concentration camp."

You know, these children 16, 17 years old, they were crying. They were crying. They couldn't control themselves.

I remember the first appel. They were cold, they were hungry and they said "Well, what do you think you came here for?" And they were starting to tell their stories. So they were very hardened. They were so hardened. They didn't care for us.

MR. KIRSCHMAN: Did they wear the same clothing you did?

#### A. Pardon me?

MR. KIRSCHMAN: Did they wear the same clothing you did?

A. No. They had better clothing because they sold the food. They had seamstresses who made clothing for them out of this material that we sold them.

# MR. KIRSCHMAN: They ate well?

A. They ate well. They were all fat. That was the main thing was to be fat, you see, because there you had the strength. If you had enough on you could survive. That was the thing. To put on weight. None of us put on weight. We all lost. We didn't have that much.

Well, it was tough, tough going. You had to fight

for your life every minute of the day. You couldn't give up because there was always something happening. They didn't let you just relax. They called you for work to do something and you didn't know where they were going to take you, if you ever come back, if they are not taking you to the cremetorium, you know, because they lied a lot. They lied an awful lot.

Some people they took out we never saw them again. We didn't know for what purpose they select people. You had to be careful.

All of a sudden I see Elsa is selected. She is in a group. I pull her out fast before they count them.

When they count them you couldn't get out anymore. But some people just went. When they were called they went.

We never did. We never did. We always somehow escaped, you know. We didn't believe them. We didn't trust them.

We didn't know where they were going to take us.

When they selected us to go, this was the last.

They were emptying Auschwitz out. You see, they were emptying it out. They were leaving. That was in November 1944. They were emptying it. We had to go. But we weren't sure they weren't taking us to the cremetorium, because that cremetorium was burning like hell, you know. Four of them. Constantly. Fire, fire, day and night. So we weren't sure.

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Elsa didn't want to go. She was so afraid that's where they are taking us. All of a sudden she got fearful. She said that's where they are taking us and they didn't. They took us to Birkenau. Birkenau was the place where we dug the ditches. We dug the ditches for the enemy tanks, can you imagine?

Q. How tall were you?

A. I was four eleven. When my husband, who wasn't my husband yet, he invited me to the barracks and he wanted to feed me because there was no food. So they were out in the country. He rented a room for me. There was fresh milk there, you know. A small town. There were eggs, that I didn't see an egg. And bread. He brought me food and tried to build me up. One of his buddies -- And I ate with the soldiers in their dining room. That was a treat, you know. That food was to me Heaven.

One of them looks at my hands and he says no wonder Hitler lost the war. With hands like that you want to win a war? So we never forget that. He was so cute. So this is how my life started.

- Q. I wanted to touch on one other thing. You mentioned in the camp babies being thrown against the wall.
  - A. That's right.

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	1	Q. Can you elaborate?
_(	2	A. Used for target shooting. Sunday afternoon.
	3	Was it Sunday? I think so. They just shot them.
	4	MR. KIRSCHMAN: Children that were coming
	5	off the trains?
	6	A. Yeah. Well, I don't know where they got
	7	them. They caught them, I am sure.
	8	MR. KIRSCHMAN: This was the SS?
	9	A. The SS. The SS were murderers. You see
	10	that's why I say they did things they didn't have to do.
	11	Nobody would have known if they wouldn't have shot those
	12	children. Well, anyway, it was hell on earth. Hell.
	13	You had to watch out every minute for your life, every
	14	minute.
	15	If you weren't alert You know, I think that's
	16	why we survived. We were alert. And we helped each
	17	other.
	18	Eva left before us. She was selected. Well,
	19	actually it was very good. They slept in beds. Can you
	20	imagine in beds?
	21	I never forget that when they told me. They had a
	22	bed, a bunk for themselves. I said Eva, "No."
	23	She said "Yes, we did." They worked in a factory.
(	24	Q. When is the first time that you had a bed
	25	for yourself after you got out?

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Only they put them in alive right away.

	1	A. Only in Prague. Oh, when we escaped. When
	2	we were under the Russians we had a bed.
	3	Q. For yourself?
	4	A. Yes. A sleeping place. We didn't have
	5	seven beds. Some of us slept together. I slept alone
	6	because I had typhoid fever.
	7	MR. KIRSCHMAN: Where was the bed Eva had?
	8	A. Eva?
	9	MR. KIRSCHMAN: Yes.
	10	A. That was after Eva left Auschwitz.
	11	MR. KIRSCHMAN: I see.
	12	A. I don't know where she was. Was she in
	13	Riga? I don't know. I don't know which town.
	14	Somewhere. I don't remember what she told me.
	15	She left with the transport that we very much
	16	wanted to get into because we wanted to stay together.
	17	We were cutoff. Just like this. Five hundred and that's
	18	it. Well, that was a terrible experience to be cutoff
	19	and to be separated because we were together. Things
	20	were getting always harder and harder. We had no source
	21	of getting food, no way. It was no people coming in, no
	22	food. It was already towards the end. Not many people
	23	came already towards the end. But they did. They did
( .	24	come. What am I talking about?
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didn't come into the camp to work. They put them into the cremetorium right away. That's when Eva wasn't with us anymore. They did that before too. But then full transports they just went straight.

- Q. At the time that you were leaving Auschwitz, the transports were still coming in?
- A. When we were leaving, I don't know. They were still coming in before we were leaving. After we left I don't know what happened in Auschwitz. But you know people survived in Auschwitz. I know somebody who survived Auschwitz. I am sure she was here. Julia is her name. Rochfried. I don't remember. She lives here on the avenues. She survived in Auschwitz. She even lectured on her experiences. She was much younger than me. She was able to do that. Gloria Linum I am sure you know. She comes from the same country we do. She really does wonderful work. So I think that's about all I have to say. If you want to ask any questions?
- Q. I wonder each year as you, the anniversaries of different events come up -- which hits you the hardest. The anniversary of the day you were taken?
- A. The hardest is when we left our homes. That was the most terrible experience.
  - O. Passover is worse?
  - A. Passover. Passover is always a very

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depressing holiday for me. When we left our home, we left our parents' homes and we were taken to the ghetto.

That's where it all started. Separated from our mates.

And then the other worse was arriving to That's undescribeable. That's undescribe-Auschwitz. able. When we lost everything. Everything. naked, without hair, without anything. One piece of clothing. Only our shoes were left. Our shoes were left for awhile. And then I had to -- like the biggest treasure. When we once -- They selected us for transport. You see they fooled us many times. And we went and we had to take our shoes off. You wouldn't believe it. But that was my biggest loss. My shoes were gone. That's when I got the first time a man's shoe. My shoes were the shoes that I ice skated in, high shoes. They were such comfortable shoes and I couldn't get over I lost those shoes. The shoes meant so much. You think it's a trifle, it's nothing. That was my last possession, my last possession of my past.

So Auschwitz, arriving to Auschwitz and losing my mother and I saw all piles of clothing. You know, we had to throw everything off and throw it on one pile. I thought my mother was taken to a place like this too where they shower you and shave you, take your hair off. I thought how is my mother ever going to find her clothes

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among all these clothes? I was worried about her, that I am not there.

The mind, the human mind can't -- How should I say? You can't -- It's impossible to imagine what happened there. You can't. They told us our parents went up in smoke, but you can't believe it. You know the Hungarian Jews are worse than we. We used our head right away. We right away knew that we were in trouble and we The Hungarian Jews believed it. have to fight. said that's impossible that they should burn our parents. How can that be? They didn't believe it. They were so gullible, so naive. And we told them.

One of my cousins was taken in front of my eyes there. She didn't believe it that they are taking her to the cremetorium. Beautiful young girl. Just beautiful. How can you forget these things? How can you forget? You can't.

So many people you lost there in front of your eyes.

One of my aunts, who was pregnant in the camp and he let her in pregnant. They let her give birth to the child right there. The child was born dead. And she died too in childbirth. She hung on there for a while, for two, three days. You saw the child dead, you saw her dead, spread out there in the yard. How can you forget

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	1	these things? You can't. You just can't.
(	2	There is so much terror, so much terrible things.
	3	Only you try to shut it out, you try not to think about
	4	it. Because you would go crazy if you would always think
	5	about it. You would lose your mind.
	6	MS. PROZAN: Thank you, Isabelle.
	7	A. Thank you for listening. I hope you get
	8	something out of this.
	9	MR. KIRSCHMAN: It's important.
	10	A. It's important to have it.
	11	MR. KIRSCHMAN: It's important to have it.
	12	A. It's important. That's why I came.
(	13	MR. KIRSCHMAN: There are people who say it
	14	never happened.
	15	A. Yeah. And it's important for us to have
	16	evidence.
	17	MR. KIRSCHMAN: Real evidence, the human
	18	face.
	19	A. To people that it happened to and it
	20	happened. Very much so. I wish I could do more, you
	21	know. I wish I could do more really to make this
	22	evidence live. The generations after us should keep it.
	23	MS. PROZAN: You have.
( ,	24	MR. KIRSCHMAN: That's what you have done.
*	25	A. That's what I want to do. That's what I

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 1	wanted to do. If you need me in anything, you know, to
2	be of help, I am here; just a phone call.
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