By unare Friedner

on 4/2/85 in San Francisco. From Polano

A. My name at present is Fred Baum, and I am born in
Poland in 1921, October first. My Yiddish name was--is
(name); family name, Winterheim, is (name).

I was born in (city name); this is Congress Poland. It belongs to the state of Kielce. This was a little, small town; and it was known because it was down there a big penitentiary. And it was between--it's Congress Poland. All right, I believe that's enough.

My father's name was (name), of course; and my mother's name was Miriam (name), and from her house her name was Herzog. My father's father was a rabbi in a little town, Korswank. It's close to (city name). And my mother was born in the—in my birthplace, (city), and she—her father, they were settled down there from generations. Her father was a very well—recognized citizen between the Jewish community. They used to call him (something). As a matter of fact, because his father was actually the rabbi of the town, and they lived down there I don't know for how many generations.

- Q. Could you tell me a little bit about how many inhabitants there were; and at the same time, could you tell me where exactly Congress Poland is located? In what area of Poland?
- A. Congress Poland is mostly described as the central
 Poland. It's Kielce, you know, they like to say the state

of Kielce. It was one of the biggest states in Poland; and this is between, let's say, the biggest towns is Kielce, Radom, (city), Ostrowiez, and that's--it's not--it's in the middle. It's not east, and it's not west, it's close--it's closer to the west, but it's not entirely, it didn't belong--it didn't went in under the west.

Q. So could you tell me how many inhabitants, and how many Jewish inhabitants were there also?

A. In my little town it was, I will say, I will estimate it was about 250 families. I will say about 1200 to 1500 Jewish people. It was, of course, it was a mixture of people. It was Jewish people. They were occupied with merchants. They were tailors; they were shoemakers; they were carpenters; and they were furniture—they made furniture. It was people that they dealt with grain. It was people that they dealt with—had stores, from textiles, from grocery stores, (something).

And we went, we had, you know, the Jewish community had all the institutions, the little Jewish communities that a Jewish city, even a big one, will have. It had the free-loan association. It had free Jewish schools for children that they could not afford to pay.

They had, you know, it was called, you know, (something). In other words, in those days people, it was not a hospital in our town, so if a person got sick, it

was an association where they helped out the family to stay with the sick people; and it was every day—it was a different person took part. In other words, they stayed up the whole night like a nurse; and they had a privilege to collect, to buy medicine for less money at the pharmacy and whatever the people, if they could not afford, the people went naturally and chipped in and bought and helped.

And we had in our town, you know,

(something). It means, let's say, if a person come over,

stayed overnight or whatever. He didn't have anywhere to

stay. We had special quarters where they got free of

charge; and he had down there too, accommodations to get

tea or coffee free; and he slept over, one night or two or

three or whatever.

We had, you know, (something). It means a burial society where it was free of charge. People, it was a big honor to belong to this society.

And basically, we had, as I mentioned before, that we had that big penitentiary down there, and this penitentiary usually it was Jewish people too, paying time. And when it comes—when it came, let's say, a Jewish holiday like (something), Passover; or New Year's; or (something); or (something); or Hanukkah so the Jewish community went up, especially for (something) we prepared them that they will have to have every day a hot meal and

respectable food prepared.

And as my memory serves me right, it was always, I believe, about 100 Jewish prisoners there, and it was not easy for such a little community to provide food for them because the government didn't give any subsidy for this type of service. So the rabbi went around in little towns close by and collected food and collected money and whatever the need was, and so that we ample supply of food for these prisoners. And like Hanukkah or (something), we (something) and served them a meal. And let's say, in Rosh Ha-Shanah we went up to (something). We (something).

- Q. Now, I would like to ask you what kind of government it was at that time where you were talking of this event, and also what year, and at the same time if you can talk about the people in general. What was their feeling, vis-a-vis, the Jewish people?
- A. Well, basically, it was a government, a democratic government, in Poland in those time. And the Jewish people, of course, were permitted to do everything.

 Besides, always in Poland was an anti-Semitic country; but till the later years, until after 1933, Jewish people were—we were in a way afraid; but it was not any special, any special fear from the Polish people to the Jewish people. We dealed, we did business with them, we,

whatever they had in their heart, we didn't looked in; but it was an open society. Basically, the Jewish people; beside business, we didn't associate much with the Polish people; and we didn't have much in common with them.

I myself went to school, to--it was a public school where the Jewish people had to go too; and we--even with the students we didn't come in contact too much. In a way that they hated us, and they always made fight with us. But we were used to it; and it was not--they didn't, I mean it was not a harm; they didn't did special harm to us.

- Q. Why is it that people were not--I mean Jewish people, were not associate; or trying to associate with the people that were not Jewish; and why, vice versa, there was not such association? Also, if you can tell me more about the specific time lapse where this really happened.
- A. Well, the reason we didn't associate with them is just plain because our way of life was different, and their way of life was different. That's one thing.

 Secondly, we didn't have the same thing in common because, basically, the Jewish people, we always strive to, to live the Jewish way; and they were not from the Jewish faith; and this, I would say, this takes in the time from, as I recall, from 1929 to the liquidation when the Germans took the Jewish people out of the town in 1942.

- 1 Q. I just wanted to specify; you were born in what year?
- 2 A. 1921, October 1.
- 3 Q. Now, could you tell me, how far is your town from,
- 4 | like Warsaw or Krakow, which are major town in Poland?
- 5 A. Well, we are, I believe, from Warsaw about 125
- 6 | kilometer; or from Lodz, we are about the same amount.
- 7 And from Kielce we are 35 kilometer; Ostrowiez, we are 21
- 8 | kilometer.
- 9 Q. And could you tell me if you were in contact with
- 10 other Jewish community or whether, when you were small,
- Il you were going in trip, having vacations, and going to
- 12 | those major city to see the palace that were, for example,
- in Krakow or different demonstrations that from time to
- 14 | time was happening in Poland?
- 15 A. Well, basically, when I went--when we went for a trip
- or whatever, we basically went with our father (something),
- 17 when he went to the rabbi. My father was a (something).
- 18 It was all kind of dynasties. It was (something). It was
- 19 (something). It was (something). It was (something). It
- 20 | was (something). My father was a (something). So
- 21 | basically, for most of the time of the year, when he went
- 22 to the rabbi, he took us children with him; and as we had--our
- 23 | grandmother used to live in Ostrowiez; and (name) used to
- 24 live in Ostrowiez. So we didn't have much difficulty
- 25 | where to stay, so we always went with our father, and I

was in other towns. I was in Kielce; I was in Lodz; I was

2 in Warsaw because I was learning in a yeshiva, in a high-

3 | education school, Jewish school, so I learned in this town.

Q. How did you decided to learn, to go to a yeshiva, and

was it in a yeshiva, a big one? How many people were

there? Also I wanted to ask you the place where your

7 | father was bringing, you mentioned the name Ostrowiez.

Could you tell me a little bit more about the name, the

meaning of the name?

10 A. Well, what the meaning of the name Ostrowiez, I don't

ll know exactly what the meaning is. I read, I believe, in

12 | some place that it used to live down there a big landowner,

and his name was similar-like, and they named it after him,

this city.

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15 Q. Now, what about that yeshiva? At what age did you

decide to go to a Jewish yeshiva, and for what reason did

17 | you decide to do this instead of doing, like, engineering,

or any other kind of work? Were Jewish at that time able

19 | to go to university that were not Jewish university, but

20 regular university that was for Christian or (something)?

21 | A. The basic, the most up-bringing of the Jewish people

22 | in Poland, the majority were inclined to be learners,

scholars; and the education of college or more to speak,

24 | not Jewish education--like, or engineers or lawyers or

communication or commuters or whatever. This was not the,

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it was not known in this time so much, and what it was known, each parent and everybody, their dream was that their kids to grow up to be scholars in Jewish study. So that's the reason I went to a yeshiva.

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When I went to the yeshiva I was 14 years I went, my first yeshiva was in Lodz. I learned in the (proper name) yeshiva in Lodz for a time. It was, I would say, about 60-70 students; and I learned a time there; and the (proper name) yeshiva had a central yeshiva in Otwock. Otwock is close to Warsaw, and down there we learned more deeper learning, and it was for more advanced students, and I learned down there until the war came on. Yes, I would like also to ask you to describe me some of your day-to-day life like when you were in the yeshiva, when you were--were you living outside the yeshiva in a house? Were you renting? Maybe before the yeshiva, maybe can you give me an example of what was for you a day-to-day life when you were at home, when you were visiting your parents, or when you were at the place.

A. Well, basically, the yeshiva life was, it was certain kinds of yeshivas. But in this yeshiva they had quarters to sleep, and they had quarters to eat. But on Saturday we were designated to certain people to eat. In other words, let's assume, let's say I used to eat (something) by (name). He used to be the (something), you know, at

the rabbi of (something). And he was a very, very, nice

(something), you know, very respectable. And so we, the

management from the yeshiva saw to it that everybody

should have (something), a steady place to eat. So we ate

down there, I mean me, myself, at this space by

(something); and you had some other people, students; they

ate someplace else. And people kept to themselves as a

(something) that they can take home a boy from the yeshiva

for a (something) or what.

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Q. Well, could you tell me also, were you visiting your parents, or was it like you were going for the whole year? And also what I wanted to ask you is, were you, were you paid to go to the yeshiva, or did you receive some allowance, and what kind of money was it at that time?

A. Well, we basically came home twice a year. We come home from the yeshiva for (holiday name), for Passover, and we came home for New Year's, for Rosh Ha-Shanah, and we stayed until after (something). We didn't pay any fee to the yeshiva because the yeshiva was an institution that they collected money; they had some richer people that they supported them.

I received from home, I received every once in a while certain packages of, like, cookies and cake and some, some food. And like beside, you know, we received, like, jam or salami or baloney or some roasted chicken or

- whatever. We received it just to have it, and cakes and cookies.
- Q. Could you tell me what type of money was at that time,
 what was it called? What was the name?
- 5 A. The name of the money in Poland was zloty, called.
- 6 It was, they had a good money, but it was hard to get the
- 7 money. People didn't have the money, but the name of the
- 8 money is zloty.
- 9 Q. Was it, over there, was it, instead of having money,
- 10 was it most important to have things for trading instead
- 11 | than to have money?
- 12 A. No. It was people trade with money. It was not a
- trade for item per item or service for service. It just
- 14 | was for money.
- 15 | Q. So there was not like black market or anything like
- 16 | that at that time?
- 17 | A. No, it was no black market. Everything was
- 18 | obtainable for money.
- 19 Q. I would like to ask you when you were studying at the
- 20 yeshiva was there a time set to study the history of
- 21 | Poland and in what way was it taught? And what kind of
- 22 history?
- 23 A. The studying in the yeshiva was not that type
- 24 | actually of history. You automatically, you learned
- 25 | (foreign language) and Russian. You learned (something);

you learned (something); you learned (something). This was not a type, basically the history, not history, you learned when you were a (something) boy. And a (something) boy, what I mean to say is basically until you were 12 years old. But later on you just learn deep learning in the, how we say, the wish of the parents from the yeshiva boys, we didn't learn to become rabbis. We just learned to know, to be learning.

And later on if a boy came to his married age, usually he married and his parents or the bride's parents took him in his business or helped him to establish himself in business; or if he wanted to become a rabbi and he could, he had (something), he was capable, many of them went to be rabbis too.

But otherwise most often we went in the

trade business because as it was said and said again that basically, the Polish government or it was not their system that the Jew could be a lawyer or he could be a doctor or he could be whatever. And the engineer or an architect or, this type of jobs were very, very rare.

Q. Why was it that the Jew, Jewish person, couldn't access to the position of being in the government?

A. Well, this is a matter, I would say, I don't want to say that it was no Jewish people entirely in the government; but I would say a very, very small percentage.

- And it depends. I never seen a Jew to be a policeman. 1 2 never seen a Jew to be, you know, employed in the city hall. I never seen a Jew to be a teacher. It was, I 3 believe, that, as Poland was an anti-Semitic country, so 4
- 5 they tried to get by with the minimum, minimum that they could. 6
- 7 Was it, did the, how did they know that the person was Jewish? I mean, was it written on their face that, 8 okay, that person was Jewish; and he couldn't access in 9 government; or actually did they have some kind of 10 identification card where it was written, Jewish on it? 11 And also I wanted to ask--that's it.
 - To the question, how they knew that a person is Jewish, it's basically, first of all that most of the Jews were dressed different than the Poles. And secondly, at the, at the birth certificate was written, to what religion everybody belongs. You didn't have to display it if you are a Jew or not. But they knew it because, basically, most of the Jewish people were different dressed.
 - What, could you repeat the last sentence, you said the different address?
- They were different dressed. 23 Α.

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Dressed. But beside the dress, there was not 24 something that the Jew should carry, any identification 25

- that shows that he was this or that?
- 2 A. No, you didn't have to carry any identification, but
- 3 they knew it. And even during the war, when the Germans
- 4 | were trying to catch Jewish people to work, or to catch
- 5 them whatever reason. The Poles pointed out at them, that
- 6 he is a Jew.
- 7 Q. Oh. What, at that time where you describe me this,
- 8 | what was the name of the president? Could you give me the
- 9 name of president or the minister at that time?
- 10 A. Yeah, in this time before the war was name of the, I
- ll | believe, prime minister. Rigz Smigly. I will say you
- 12 | spell it, R-I-G-Z. Smigly will spell: S with a dot on
- 13 top, M-I-G-L-Y.
- 14 Q. Yes, and what was the name of the, was it the
- 15 | president, a king, or what was--
- 16 A. No, he was I believe, the prime minister, or the
- 17 | marshall I believe, they called him.
- 18 Q. Now, during the past, any generation that Jewish
- 19 people were in Poland, there were no government that were
- 20 at all sympathetic to Jewish people?
- 21 | A. Well, it was, I will say, in the time of Pilsudski,
- 22 they were sympathetic, but basically the style of
- 23 government were that the Jewish people were excluded,
- 24 | willingly or not willingly, for certain positions or
- 25 | certain jobs that they could not have.

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For an example I will say, it was a big factory in Starachovice. In this factory a Jew could not be employed, could not hold any job, and a matter of fact, let's say when they built certain buildings, and they need a glassman, and it was no glassman, a gentile. It was no gentile glassman. They had to hire a Jewish glassman. So, it was that he could not enter the factory alone. A guard or a policeman had to go with him.

- Q. And that was usual for also other kind of jobs beside this kind of factory? Was it the usually common things happening there?
- A. Well, it's a common, it was a common thing. I just brought up a glass because some other craftsmen, maybe they had gentiles too, but they never contracted a Jew except they didn't have the other way.
- Q. So Papludski, you said that was--Pilsudski--
- A. You spell it P-I--
- Q. Pilsudski. And in what year was this?
- A. Pilsudski died in 1934. In other words, I will say,
- I actually don't remember how long he was in power; but
- from my memory I remember Pilsudski. I remember.
 - Q. So after 1934 succeeded someone, someone else, I
- suppose. Was it a different policy into the government at
- 24 that time, a change of direction, vis-a-vis, the life of
 - 5 | Jewish people?

A. It was different, especially when Hitler came to

power. And he, he took possession against the Jewish

people, and as Poland is a neighbor of Germany they, they

took lots of things from them; and they had the feeling

that they can do, they can restrict to the Jewish people

more anti-Semitic things.

you go back?

- Q. Could you give me also, like I suppose, you come from several generation of Jewish person yourself being in Poland. How far back you can go, how many generation can
 - A. Well, I believe as I stated before, my mother was born in this town, (city name), and my grandfather and my great-grandfather, and his father was born there so, I will say that this is a history, I will say a history of more than 100 years.
 - Q. Oh, okay. I would like to take a particular day of what were you doing in Poland, like coming in the morning, what would you do the first thing in the morning, until the night? Where would you go, and where would you, what kind of food would you eat? And give me some little example.
 - A. Well, basically, when I was, as I said, when I was 14 years, I went to the yeshiva, so before we went to public school; and we went to (something). In the day, let's assume we got up at 7 o'clock. So we went to the

- (something). After this we come home, we ate some
- 2 breakfast, whatever we ate, let's say some bread and
- 3 butter or bread and jam and a bit, some coffee or tea, or
- 4 | summertime when in season we had certain greenery or
- 5 vegetables or whatever. Then we went to school. And at
- 6 school my mother (something) gave us some lunch to eat.
- 7 The lunch was basically some two pieces of bread or jam or,
- 8 and that's what was, like a sandwich.
- 9 Q. Could you tell me, I mean, to add more flavor to that
- 10 | information, the bread. What kind of bread was it? What
- ll | kind of jam? I'm sure it's not like jam or bread like you
- 12 | see in the United States. It's something much more
- 13 particular than that.
- 14 | A. Well, it was basically the national food that we ate
- was rye bread except for Saturday where we ate (something).
- 16 And we had jam like from plums, we had jam from pears or
- 17 | honey or butter, you know. Or a mix of jams. It was
- 18 | plums and pears and apples, and that's what it was.
- 19 Q. So it was homemade plum or you buy that, was it
- 20 | bought in the market that was in that time?
- 21 | A. It was certain times we made, if we didn't have it we
- 22 | bought it in stores. It was available all the time. It
- 23 | was the basic food eaten in Poland.
- 24 | Q. So could you tell me after school what happened?
- 25 During the school, you ate the sandwich, and what happened?

- 1 A. Well, when we ate lunch, so when--we start school
- 2 basically 8 o'clock in the morning, and we learned. Then
- 3 | lunch was, I would say, by 11 o'clock; and 11 o'clock the
- 4 | younger students like till the fourth grade or they just
- 5 learned till 12 o'clock, four hours. But the older
- 6 students learned till 2 o'clock. And we had all kinds of
- 7 | rehearsal; and we had, you know, we learned basically
- 8 | Polish and we learned, you know, we learned geography, we
- 9 learned mathematics, we learn gymnastic, and how you say,
- 10 you know from the ground and everything.
- 11 | Q. Tennis?
- 12 A. No.
- 13 | Q. Basketball?
- 14 A. No, you know from--
- 15 Q. Soccer?
- 16 A. We played ball. It was some kind of a football or
- 17 | whatever. Just football. This was basically the playing.
- We went, we had recess; and later on we went home.
- 19 Q. The recess was at what time? You had time to eat
- 20 your sandwich?
- 21 | A. Yeah. We had time to have lunch, and the recess was
- 22 about 15 minutes, and for lunchtime was a half an hour.
- 23 Q. Okay. So you have a recess for 15 minutes, and that
- 24 | was the time where you were eating your lunch, no?
- 25 A. No.

- Q. No, that was after. Now when you said you were learning geography, and history--
- 3 A. Mathematics.

- Q. --and mathematics. Could you give me what level of geography or history or mathematics--
 - A. We learned basically the geography, you know, we learned of Poland the geography to be known first. And we learned certain countries. We learned the geography from certain countries, like the neighboring countries. And history we learned. And we learned not, a bit of America or Asia or the Middle East countries, but it was not—the basic was, you know, the geography from Poland.
 - Q. But the history, from what year to what year of history was you taught; and at that time what, what was your age when you were in pre-school--I mean in elementary school? What kind of history were they giving you? And you thought at that time that history was correct or were there some kind of a political inference?
 - A. No, it was correct. It was, we learned the history of Poland. How they came to be of being. And there was what they fought all the years, and how they were divided and united later, and so forth. And to try to make us patriotic to the country of Poland.
 - Q. What about the history of the neighbor? Were they giving what view of, like for example, you were close to

- 1 Germany before the war. What view were they, what feeling
- 2 at that time the people when they were teaching history?
- 3 What was the feeling toward Germany or toward Russia?
- 4 A. Well, they basically didn't have a good feeling
- 5 | because Germany and Russia and Hungary, they always had
- 6 wars with Poland; and they split up Poland because Poland
- 7 was coming to be an independent country in 1920 or 1919.
- 8 And before it was about hundred years, it was under the
- 9 rule of Russia.
- 10 Q. So after you finishing your school, which was I think
- ll | you said about--
- 12 A. Public school. Yeah, I went to the yeshiva.
- 13 Q. No, what I meant is you were finishing school--
- A. Well, we went to (something), and we learned till, I
- will say, till 8 o'clock in evening, and we learned Jewish
- 16 | studies. We learned (foreign language) and Russian--
- 17 | Q. No, no. I meant, how much, what did you do at the
- 18 | end of the--when you were in the public school, what did
- 19 you do after you finished learning geography, history?
- 20 A. Well, we went home. It was the final day. It was
- 21 | the finish of the studies, and we went home. We came home;
- 22 | we ate basically, you know, our lunch or call it whatever
- 23 you want it; it was basically a warm lunch in winter. In
- 24 | summer we ate some summer food like, for instance, we had,
- 25 | you know, we had young potatoes with buttermilk, or

- whatever it was in season—to use in this country. And we went, later on after we ate we went to (something), and we learned till 7, 8 o'clock in the evening.
 - Q. Was it far, I mean, was it far away--the school from your, from your place? I mean did you have to cross all town or was it close?

- 7 A. Well, it was not too far. We, I believe the walkway 8 was probably about 15 minutes.
 - Q. And during those 15 minutes when you were going from that school, when you were in pre-school, to your home which, did they have a store? Did you stop to different store or window display, and look at it and--or stop to a place to buy candies and things like that?
 - A. No, we didn't stop, basically, we just went home.

 And many times we had to run home because we were afraid of our Polish students, that many times they fought with us and had a fight so we just went home.
 - Q. So you mean sometime when you were getting out from school there were Polish people waiting at the exit of the entrance, I mean at the exit and tried to make a fight with you and steal whatever you have from your bag or—A. No, I don't mean the grown—the citizens, the Polish, but basically all co-students. All co-people, you know, from the school. They many times, they tried to beat us up.

Q. And you couldn't do anything? You couldn't tell the principal of the school what was happening or tell those

that students were kind of doing some problems to you?

- A. Well, I don't know if we told the teacher about it or whatever because, basically, the way of life was just run away from them; and that's it.
- Q. And you never, you never when you were fighting, you were not able to reason that person, or is it because at that time you were too small to be able to even talk about, you know, about those subjects?
- A. Well, we didn't thought of it when we were small and we didn't have the idea, how to go by with it or what.
- Q. Now, so that was at what age when you finish your high school and then you went to the yeshiva; and when you finish the yeshiva, could you give me some information on that?
- A. Well, basically, I didn't finish my studies because the war broke out. When the war broke out I was about 18 and a half years. And so what I learned, I learned till, till I was 18 and a half years.
- Q. Yes, I want to go back a little bit. We forgot to ask, so you went home; I wanted to specify; and then you ate.

 During winter it was much hotter or warm, and during the summer it was much cooler stuff--food. Now, when you went home, did you go, did you talk with your parents; and what

- 1 usually were you talking about?
- 2 A. Well, I talked with them. They naturally, they asked
- 3 | me how everything is, how I learned and that's what was
- 4 | the--basically, if I had a good day and if I ate
- 5 | everything, and that's what was to talk.
- 6 Q. What was your parents doing at that time? Were there
- 7 | enough time to take care of you? For example, when you
- 8 | were with the family, were you the only child at these
- 9 | same times? I'm asking you a lot of questions.
- 10 A. That's all right. No. We were two children in our
- 11 | family. And usually, you see, it was--they had, as I
- 12 | mentioned, we been in the (something) business or in the
- 13 | textile--we had a textile store one time.
- 14 Q. So, yes, could you please restate the last question
- 15 | when we had to turn the tape?
- 16 A. What was the last question?
- 17 | O. The last question I wanted to ask you--let me--so you
- were at home with your brother and talking about school.
- 19 | Is your brother--was he much older, and also maybe you can
- 20 | tell me his name?
- 21 A. We were two children--me and my brother. His name is
- 22 (proper name), and here he is called (proper name), and he
- 23 | is younger than me by four years and he went--he was a
- 24 | smaller child--the younger one; and he went the same
- 25 | school, public school. He went to (something). And

- 1 | that's the way we were brought up.
- Q. Now, you said you have a family store in this street.
- 3 Was it the principal street of that village and--
- A. It was next to the principal street. It was one of the nicer of the central streets.
 - Q. So I suppose, because of the four seasons, you had to do--were you helping in your family shop; and also because of the four seasons, of course, you had different type of clothes, maybe you can describe a little bit?
 - A. Well. I helped my father because usually my mother was not in good health; and in order to do--to supplement us--it was hard to make a living.

My father used to go to the--how you call it--to close by little towns where they had the--like a market day. It used to be that each town used to have his market day. The market day that I mean to point out was where people came together. It was the Polish people and Jewish people. They brought in all kinds of merchandise and we stood in the market and we had special--special (something). It's a kind of a designated place. You pay to the city--let's say like, for certain shop for the state and it can--people from the, from the vicinity and from the darker culture people and from the small villages; and it was a market day, and people bought and sold and spent money so I helped.

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point?

was little towns close to us and let's assume--you know, it used to be we had our market day in our little town on Wednesday. It was a little town close to us. They had--it was called (city name) in Polish language. In Jewish it was (city name). They had the market day on Monday. And it was a little town close by us, (city name). They had their market day on Thursday. So far that when the Jewish holidays came out in the market day so the market day didn't have so much a function because there was nobody to deal with because the Jewish people didn't brought their merchandise, and nobody was desecrating the holiday or whatever.

I went with my father for this type and it

- Q. So that was like a market where there was a lot of clothes and a lot of food and everything, and people were passing, and that was also the same in the winter, and so it was the same in the winter. Now, that was when you were much younger. But then when you were in the yeshiva, your parents were not any more help. Was it difficult for them?
- A. No. They made it because my mother used to go many times. And if not, my father took somebody to help him.

 Q. What was the style of that time of people wearing clothes or what kind of color were they using at that

- A. Well, the Polish people--the Jewish Polish people-we used to wear mostly, I will say, respectable clothes.
- But we wear long clothes, like today you say a long coat;
- 4 and some maybe used to wear like a semi-long coat; and we
- 5 | had basically different type of hats; and we wore--and for
- 6 | Saturdays we wore different clothes. We had--our hats for
- 7 | Saturday were different, how you--
- 8 Q. Now you said there was a difference of clothes of
- 9 | what Jewish people were wearing, difference of color,
- 10 difference of type of clothes between Jewish and also
- 11 non-Jewish, and also I suppose during summer was it
- 12 different than during the winter?
- 13 A. Well, we wore as I mentioned, long clothes like a--
- 14 like a short jacket, it was a longer one. The colors were
- 15 basically, you know, not in the most light picture. It
- 16 | was basically darker colors; and we wore sweaters in
- 17 | wintertime or whatever, or heavy jackets, heavy coats, and
- 18 long stockings, and heavy boots. We used to wear like the
- 19 Russian caps for winter. You know, nice and warm with
- 20 heavy cotton. In summer we wore lighter clothes.
- 21 Q. How much a cap or that kind of clothes was costing?
- 22 | Could you give me some prices on like, for example, a sock,
- 23 | a shoe, a pen--how much was it costing?
- 24 | A. Well, basically a pair of stockings used to cost 50
- 25 | groschen. This was a half a zloty. Or a suit cost, I

- will say, about ten zlotys, or a pair of shoes cost about
- 2 ten zlotys. I--a shirt maybe cost two and a half zlotys
- 3 and a cap used to cost, I will say, two zlotys or three.
- 4 | So it depended in the quality, and of course, for grown-
- 5 | up it was a little higher because it was bigger.
- 6 Q. And that was in what year?
 - A. This was in the years, I will say, between '35 to '39.
- 8 Q. So there was--there was--was there inflation at that
- 9 | time, or was it pretty much stable question of prices and
- lØ also so there was not much difference of clothes from year
- 11 to year; it was mostly pretty much the same?
- 12 A. No, it was not no inflation. It was pretty much a
- 13 | stable market.

- 14 Q. What about the clothes? Was it like always the same
- 15 | type of clothes? Were they some kind of design people
- 16 | that were trying to change the way--the way people were
- 17 | trying to dress or it was always the same type of clothes
- 18 | whether it was winter or summer?
- 19 A. Well, I will say that the people they could afford,
- 20 of course, they had different type of clothes like in the
- 21 bigger cities. But, basically, in our little town I
- 22 | didn't see much of a difference between one year or the
- 23 other. It was, people tried to dress accordingly and
- 24 respectably.
- 25 | Q. You said in the big city, they were wearing different

clothes. Now you told me you went to Lodz. You went 1 maybe to Krakow or Warsaw. Could you give me your first 2 impression, as a child or as a grown-up, of those cities? 3 Well, those cities it was different type of peoples. 5 I knew Lodz very good. In Lodz, basically, it was a richer people; and they had the highest standard of living; 5 7 and it was poor people that they struggle for a living. And--but the way to find meanings of life, it was a 8 9 struggle in the whole of Poland because, basically, it was 10 not any--the standard of living in Poland--it was a poor 11 country. But what was the life of Jewish people compared from 12 0. small town to a big city? Did you--were you able to make 13 14 friend peoples in the big city easily? What was the 15 feeling about? Well, the--regarding friends in the big cities, and 16 the peoples that I associate, I always made friends. 17 18 always had, you know, people in my age. We had friends. 19 And the people in the big cities, the richer people lived in a higher standard. Even in my little town, you had 20 categories of people where they made a living easier. One 21

made easier than the other. And naturally, they lived better. Their homes were better. But in the basic system it was everybody—it was a living. Everybody made their living accordingly.

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- Q. When--I would like to ask you, did you went to Krakow
 and was in Krakow or in Warsaw a place of the town
 separate from like a ghetto-type of things, and what was
- 4 the number of people at that time?
- 5 A. I never was in Krakow. I was in Warsaw, and I was in
- 6 Lodz and--this is the bigger cities that I was in Poland,
- 7 | and it was--Jewish people didn't live separated. They
- 8 | could live, basically, in any neighborhood that they
- 9 | wanted. But automatically it was a Jewish concentration
- 10 where people, Jewish people, lived in certain places more
- 11 together. But it was not--it was not designated a ghetto,
- or whatever. We didn't know about this thing.
- 13 Q. So there was in one particular area a more
- 14 | concentrated Jewish people. You don't know what
- percentage of the population? Was it, for example, in
- 16 Warsaw, how many Jewish people were there?
- 17 | A. Well, in Warsaw before the war, I would say it was
- 18 | about 300,000 people, if not Jewish people. And the
- 19 Jewish people concentrated, you know, in certain--as I
- 20 said--they could live anyplace. But the most of the
- 21 Jewish people lived in the (something). It was a very,
- 22 | very, you know, business street (something) in Warsaw.
- 23 | And around the neighborhood this was mostly where Jewish
- 24 people, I would say, lived.
- 25 Q. What was--was it the people, the Jewish people, that

- was living there? Was it in big building? Was it houses?
- 2 | Could you give me some information about the way of life
- 3 they were leading?
- 4 A. Well, usually it was big buildings; in a building
- 5 | could live 40, 50 tenants or maybe more; and the way of
- 5 life is--was most like everybody could afford.
- 7 Q. And how much did cost? For example, were you renting
- 8 | for yourself? Were you renting when you were in Lodz or
- 9 in Warsaw or were you going to a friend's or a hotel when
- 10 | you were visiting those place, and how much was it costing,
- ll | the rent?
- 12 A. Well, I never rented, not in Lodz and not in Warsaw
- 13 because, as I said, I was in the yeshiva; and if I had to
- 14 be in Warsaw, I went by a friend because I could not
- 15 | afford to go to a hotel.
- 16 Q. How much was it costing at that time?
- 17 A. A hotel, how much it costs, I don't know.
- 18 Q. Okay. Now, you finish--at what age did you finish
- 19 your yeshiva?
- 20 A. I said before, I learned in the yeshiva until the war
- 21 broke out, and it was when I was 18, 18 and a half years
- 22 old.
- 23 Q. And where were you? Were you still in Lodz or in
- 24 | Warsaw at that point?
- 25 A. I was in Otwock in this point when the war broke out.

1 This is close to Warsaw.

- Q. Also, were Jewish people or yourself--were you able to go to other country to visit other places?
- A. Basically the (something) you could. If you had the
 money to obtain a visa or a passport, you could go. But
 we have to take in concept that it was not so as today,
 where in ten hours you can be—let's say you are in
 California; and in ten hours you can be in Israel, or in
 hours. But if somebody wanted to go someplace, he had
 the means to go, he could go.
 - Q. And at that time no one were thinking to go to Israel?

 No one came to ask you whether you wanted to stay in the

 East in Poland?
 - A. Well, everybody wanted to go. But it was no place where to go. One, for the—for the monetary situation people didn't have money; and secondly, they didn't have a place where to let them in. Like my father, he made many tries to go to Israel; and his only ambition was to go to Israel; but he could not have—he didn't have an entry; they didn't let him in.

One time it was happened that they permitted a certain number of Jewish people--rabbis--to go to Israel to become rabbis so my father (something) himself to be as a rabbi to go to Israel. But almost the time that he supposed to get his visa, they discovered this thing, that

- this thing was not--it was a fiction--a friction. It was not sincere. It was not true, so he could not go.
- Q. But, there was no--I mean at that time of course, it
 was Palestine. Is there--was it the government that
 didn't let him go in Poland, or was it the government in
 Palestine which was on the different--the British mandate
- 7 that they didn't want to let them go, and what year was it 8 happened?
- 9 A. Well, it's just when my father tried, it was, I will
 10 say, between '34 and '38; and it was not that the Polish
 11 government—the Polish government let the Jewish people
 12 out. It's only he didn't have an entry visa to Palestine.
 13 It wasn't in the British Protectorate, or mandate, and

that's what happened.

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- Q. So, there was no way--I mean each time that you felt that there was--I mean your father felt there was a possibility to go to Israel, and he thought the visa was good. Each time it seemed that it was not good.
- A. What was it? Exit, you know. Well, as I said, I mean, they could go out; but they didn't have the entry visa to go to Palestine; and it was all the time he was struggling, my father, to leave Poland. But he could not come, so the war broke out.
- Q. Was he doing it by himself or was it like a Jewish community that was trying to help him?

- A. Well, it was organizations, basically. Each town had an organization. Like, as I mentioned in the beginning, you know a time I didn't make this point. It was—it was organizations that they belonged to the (something). It was the orthodox type of people. It was (something). It was (something), and it was some other organizations, and
- visas to Palestine as much as they could, if--if it was
 possible. If I remember correctly, that from our little
 town, went to Israel--today what's called Israel--in those

days just four people from our town went to Israel.

everybody--each organization tried to--tried to gain exit

- 12 Q. So for 25, 225 families, only four?
- 13 A. 250.

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- 14 Q. 250. Four people were--
- A. Four people. One family was--they took with them two
- 16 children. They are still in Israel. She is-her name is
- 17 (proper name), and she got grandchildren and
- great-grandchildren. Oh, in one family was a brother and
- a sister. Their name was (proper name), and his sister I
- 20 don't remember the name. And he is still alive. He lives
- 21 today in Jerusalem.
- 22 Q. How come this family were able to go and none of
- 23 | your--of those people that try? Was it--did they go to
- 24 different organization? What organization they were able
- 25 | to go?

- 1 A. Well, they went, it was the British--the British
- 2 government permitted certain amount of people to go to
- 3 Israel each year; and the people, they had to make
- 4 | themselves worthy of going. They had to prepare
- 5 | themselves to go to (something). But (something) means to
- 6 prepare themselves to do all kinds of work, whatever it is;
- 7 | that they will not fall to the government if the
- 8 government has to support them; and they went, and they
- 9 | were lucky. They were from the (something). They were
- 10 | lucky that they got exit visas. Not everybody that went
- in (something) was lucky enough, even he had (something)
- 12 to get exit visas.
- 13 | Q. And what organization were you belonging from?
- 14 A. Well, we belonged to the orthodox--a (something)
- 15 organization.
- 16 | Q. And what was that organization, I mean?
- 17 A. This organization was the--you call it today, the
- 18 | strict orthodox organization; and their aim was to go to
- 19 Israel and to build an Israel according to the Torah and
- 20 to the strict laws and regulations.
- 21 Q. And besides--that's what your father was belonging,
- 22 but what about yourself? Were you belonging to a youth
- 23 organization, also with different aims?
- 24 | A. When I was a younger boy, I belonged to the--it was--
- 25 | the name of the (something). It means the younger

generation. I believe, if I'm translating it right, it's
like the younger bloom from the (something)—the
youngsters.

together when you were in Poland that still alive, I mean, beside those four people? Do you know other people that's-
A. Well, I know other people that they emigrated to other countries, for instance, to Brazil, to Canada; but the people from my age, I will say, we remained. After

Do you know about friends that you were playing

- the war we were only, I will say, around between 20 or 25

 people from our little town survived. The most of it, 25,

 about 25.
 - Q. 25. So the British didn't want to let you immigrate, and at that time did you--which was in 1936, '34, '38--between '34 and '38--you tried to emigrate to Palestine. At that time did you know that something was going to come up that it was not any more safer for you to stay in Poland?

 A. We knew that something is coming up. It was brewing, the war was brewing. But we never imagined that it's going to come to such a stage where it's going, another like Germany will fold Poland and will try to erase the
 - Q. Well, how did you know that? What kind of information did you get that the war in 1934—in 1934 you wanted to emigrate to Palestine because there was some

Jewish people and not to be left--not one.

- kind of resentment that something was coming up. What
 made you lead to that information? How did you get that
 information?
- A. Well, the reason why we wanted because we always felt

 strangers in Poland. We always were treated like second-class

 citizens. This is one reason. The second reason—the

 economic reason was, it was how to make a living; and we

 were trying to—or my parents—were trying to bury

 themselves; and that's the reason they wanted to emigrate.

 Could you give me any information regarding—how did

you finally decide that the war was coming? How did you

get such information in 1934?

- A. Well, Hitler come to power, and he instigated, you know; and he took away from the Jewish people all the rights; and the Nurnberg laws were enforced and all kinds of stuff. And—it wasn't—we knew everything, and so basically the Jewish people, you know, they tried to emigrate; and we didn't have the place where to go.
 - Q. So you mean that there was information that was in the radio, or I suppose in radio or newspaper, that was given that such event was happening and was going on in Germany; and that was in 1934. Such information was given, such a time?
- A. No, it was not exactly in '34. Because in '34 it still was in the, I will say, in the miniature stage. But

- basically, in '36 or '37 we knew; and we felt it; and the anti-Semitism in Poland was getting more and more, bigger
- 3 and bigger. For instance, as they demonstrated against
- 4 the Jews not to buy in Jewish stores. Not to patronize
- 5 Jewish businesses, and so forth, and so forth.
 - Q. And that was still before the war, I suppose?
- 7 A. Yes, this was before the war, right.
- 8 Q. And but, what--what make the government, which was
- 9 not into the domination of Germany at that time, to listen
- 10 to Germans?

- 11 A. Well, it is not the point that they listen because
- 12 | the Germans talk to Poland. It's only that it gave them
- 13 | in to Poland. As I mentioned, they always were
- 14 | anti-Semitic; and they figure it, you know, they hear
- 15 | what's going on in Germany. So they--they were more
- 16 | stronger, they used more stronger anti-Semitism.
- 17 Q. Now, how come now that Poland was starting to do this?
- 18 | Now Germany were doing that. How come at that point you
- 19 didn't flee when you felt that, you didn't go to another
- 20 | country beside Palestine which at that time was into the
- 21 | domination of English? Why you didn't go to another
- 22 | country?
- 23 Q. Well, we didn't have any relatives in America. We
- 24 | didn't have any relatives in other places. And that's the
- 25 reason that we didn't go; and as I mentioned before,

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but it never came to a point where it will be said that

Poland was always anti-Semitic against the Jewish people;

- they are going to--to eradicate the Jewish people or
 - whatever. We lived with them for centuries like this.
 - Did you feel frustrated that none of the country in 0.
- the world you could immigrate it, and none would accept a
 - Jewish people? Did you felt revolted?
 - Well, I will say this, I didn't understood exactly; Α.
- 9 but actually it's going to come to us; and I didn't had
- the picture so clear that this type of--this type of 10
- 11 happening is going to happen to us. So we lived like
- day-by-day living, and we didn't--we didn't know exactly
- 13 that it sure going to be a war in those earlier years--
 - '34, '35, or '36, '37. And we heard everything that's
- going on in Germany, but we didn't -- we thought that this
- 16 was not going to happen in Poland because Poland is a
 - different country.
 - There was no Jewish organization or meeting for in 0.
- case of such things that would happen which -- what would
 - you do in such a case, and also were there some kind of
 - preparedness in case if Poland was going to be invaded?
 - It was organizations. But it was, if I am right, I Α.
 - didn't believe that it was ever thought that it's going to
- come to a situation like it came.
 - Q. And no one came to say anything in favor of leaving

- your stuff, your places, your money, whatever you own and 1 2 go away as quick as possible?
- (proper name) organization where (something). He was the

Well, it was as we know in those days, was the

- leader and he warned the Polish-Jewish people of Europe to 5
- leave Europe and leave everything, that it's actually said 6
- 7 that it's too many Jewish people in Poland. But many
- people, you know, said that he's not talking right or many
- of them didn't listen to him; and the basic thing is it
- 10 was no place to go.

- 11 And so he didn't provide you with any answer to how
- 12 people would go if they leave everything, how they would
- go and in what way? 13
- 14 I don't believe that the question was if the people
- leave everything. They could take with themselves, you 15
- know, certain amount--I don't know how much the 16
- 17 restriction will be, but what they could take with them.
- 18 But the thing, as I said, it was no country to let them in.
- 19 Like in 1939, or whatever, it was a conference in French.
- 20 Yes, it was a conference in Avignon. 0.
- Avignon, right. That's what I mean to point out, and 21
- 22 it was other kinds of countries, and it was only two Latin
- 23 American countries that they permitted. I believe a.
- 24 restricted amount of Jewish people to go in. And like the
- 25 Australian delegate said, as they don't have any

- anti-Semitism in Australia; and they didn't want to import it, for instance, or many other countries; and this is how
- 3 the situation was. By the end of the line that the Jewish
- 4 | people didn't have the place where to go.
- Q. Was there another conference beside the Avignon conference?
- A. It was another conference in Bermuda. I believe it

 was in 1944 and this was--this was--this conference

 achieved only, if I am right, to establish a War Refugee

 Committee. But to--to the rescue of Jewish people, it
- Q. But, before the war was there any other conference where the German also participate to find what was
- 14 the--going to be the solution to the Jewish problem?
- A. I think it was, but I'm not too much familiar at this point.
- 17 Q. So, what can you--

didn't have much effect.

- 18 A. It was, I believe, they made up with the Germans;
- that the German people will not let out youngsters to
- 20 Palestine; and I believe that before the war England
- 21 permitted a certain amount of young people to go to
- 22 England.

- 23 Q. That was still a limited number which could be
- 24 | counted almost on your hand. Now, everybody--so after
- 25 hearing that no one wanted to accept, and they had

conference to agree that they would not move Jewish people, and knowing that at that time, what makes you feel? What did you felt?

- A. Basically to say, I didn't--I was not familiar, and I was a youngster, I was not familiar with the situation so much and what Jewish people in general felt, my thinking is that they didn't thought that it's going to come to such a catastrophic situation as it happened.
- Q. But now that you know the fact that of that history that they could have changed all nature of the war; that if they would have taken Jewish in different country maybe they would not have had so many eliminated. How do you feel about now that they were not able--those government decided to not let Jewish people come into their places?

 A. Well, I believe that this was Hitler's cards. He saw that no country wants to take in Jewish people, so he felt that he can do with the Jewish people whatever he wants.

As a matter of fact, I heard after the war from the Jewish brigade that they took part in the Second World War. They had a—they had a meeting in one of the camps after the liberation, and they said after Hitler—Hitler sent out the two ships from Romania. Struma and Patria was the names of those ships, and those ships were circling the seas for many, many months; and nobody let them in. So the final thing was that Hitler torpedoed

- those ships, and most of the people sank into the ocean;

 and as he saw nobody cares, so he felt that he got an open

 card to do with the Jewish people whatever he pleases.
 - Q. So that makes you feel angry about that, I suppose?
- 5 A. Well, of course it makes feel angry, but this--I knew this after the war.
 - Q. Now, you said the war broke out, and could you tell me--you said in what places were you, and what were you doing and how did you heard about the war breaking out?

 A. Well, when the war broke out, I was in Otwock. As I said, I wasn't in the yeshiva. And one of the first bombs fell in Otwock. It was on a Friday morning, and then the war started. So Sunday, we heard, you know, that the .

 Germans are bombarding, you know, all the cities and
 - Q. To the east in what direction?

everything. So we run more to the east.

A. It was in the direction to Lublin; but as we run, the faster they run. So to each little town we came by it was bombarded, and it was burning, and it was—so we run so about, I will say, about four days. And we saw that it's no solution to this running so we went back to Otwock.

And in Otwock we were until after (something). And the Germans were down there, and they did actually certain—they made some—they caught some people to work, the Jewish people in other kinds of stuff and everything. But it was—

it was bearable.

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We thought that it's going to be just a--for a temporary situation. After (something), you know, it was after (something) most of the yeshiva boys--everybody took his few things, whatever he got; and we walked home because it was no communication. We went by foot home; and we went, I will say, about four or five days; and we organized something to eat. It was hard to get it, and we came home.

And as we came home, the--it was say, the same procedure, the same procedure--they caught Jewish people to work. They did with them dirty work and nothing paid, and many cases they beat people. They shot some people for no reason at all or whatever, and this thing went on for a time.

After for a while, I will say, for a number of months, they—they formed a Jewish committee. The Jewish, they called it the Judenrat. And they made, let's say, you know, the leaders from the Jewish community. They appointed them to be leaders of the Jewish people.

- Q. That was the Germans that did that?
- A. Yeah. It was -- it was a Jewish Gemeinde, a Jewish

 Judenrat before. But, no, they--the Jewish--the Judenrat-the Jewish committee had different functions. They had to
 obey the functions or listen to the functions, what the

1 | German people told them to do.

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- Q. Could you tell me also, so you--the trip back home.

 Could you give me--how was it?
- Well, the trip back home was basically, we went by 4 Α. 5 foot. In many cases we took a little horse and buggy or somebody had a -- we met a horse and buggy; we gave him some 6 7 money; he took us for a certain number of places. 8 Germans were--it was already occupied Poland at this time, 9 and it was Germans all over, but it was as--we pushed 10 ourselves through because it was lots of people. 11 were running away from one place to the other, and no--12 everybody went back to their home place. So they -- and as I said, the Germans didn't know the difference between a 13
 - Jew or a Pole. So they didn't--basically, they didn't make any difficulty for us to go home.
 - Q. Why make it--why did it make you decide to go home and not to go away to a different direction than where the German was going, in the opposite direction?
 - A. Well, first of all, if you mean to say why we didn't went to Russia, or whatever. In this time, as I said, I was a young boy. I didn't know what it could be happening, and I didn't foresee that this thing was going to happen, and I went home. And basically, the life was not so pressing; it was—it was bearable. It was livable, I will say, to a degree. Because the thing to be bad for the

- Jewish people didn't start all in one time, especially it
 was right when the Germans took over Poland. They had to
- 3 establish themselves and set foot in it.
- 4 Q. When you went back at home, what did you talk with
- 5 | your family? What did you say to your mother, to your
- 6 brother, and father?
- 7 A. Well, it was nothing to say because we just had to
- 8 live in the situation as we are. And as long as their
- 9 life was in a way, that your life was not endangered -- we
- 10 were used to a life, like to be suffering. Let's go this
- 11 way.
- 12 Q. At that time, you were, what was your age?
- 13 A. My age was close to 19 years.
- 14 Q. And your father knew that the reason he wanted in
- 15 | 1934 to go to Palestine is because the he didn't want to
- 16 | live that life anymore. Now that war was in Poland, what
- 17 | was his feeling at that point? Did he have something that
- 18 he wanted to do?
- 19 | A. Well, his feeling was to emigrate. But as he didn't
- 20 have a way to emigrate, so he wanted to do it, but he
- 21 | could not do it. It was nothing to do.
- 22 Q. And at that time did you talk about a plan of action,
- 23 | I mean of what would you do now that you're occupied by
- 24 | the German? What was the fear or things that might happen?
- 25 A. I would like to give you a briefing, basically, that

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when the Germans occupied Poland, it was not like we hear today that is happening in Afghan, Istan, or it happens in some other countries where people revolt against occupying—occupying country or whatever. Because first of all, to be familiar better in the situation, it was not that you—Waffen, let's say, you know—arms—were not obtainable in those days. Like today you can buy it for money or you can obtain it by—by storming a magazine from arms or whatever.

And a fact to it, we can say it--let's take the Polish people after Germany occupied Poland. not much revolt against the government, where the Polish people, they were more, more at their home. They had more footage, and they didn't did it either, and the Polish people didn't did much of the revolting, even they were more at home; and they had more footage; and I will say, that even the rest of the western European countries didn't did much revolting like French or the Netherlands or Belgium or Denmark; or until the later years they got organized. They did something, but in the beginning nobody revolted. First of all, that the rigor from the German people and the German army was so strong that for any little darts that they had it was no other penalty but that death by shooting. So everybody was afraid.

And later on after the Germans got settled,

and they organized with us--they, they gave orders to the 1 Judenrat, to the Jewish leaders, you know. First of all, 2 it was to register how many Jewish people there are and 3 the names of everybody and the names of children and everything; and they restricted, naturally, the Jewish 5 people to less rights than the Poles had; and they caught 6 7 Jewish people more to work and gave them dirty work; and they start, you know, from time to time to shoot somebody, 8 9 but it was in miniature way. It was not in a mass killing. Later on in years, you know, and as everybody had 10 something, we still were at home. We sold whatever we had. 11 12 It was hard to make a living because they took away from 13 the Jewish people. The Jewish could not have any store, any ways of earning a living, a livelihood. 14 15 So your store was taken away, and that was right by 0. Passover, or before Passover? 16 17 Well, this was, I will say--I will say it was the end of the first winter. Let's say it was 1940, in the middle 18 of 1940. I will say May, June, or whatever; and they took 19 20

of 1940. I will say May, June, or whatever; and they took it away and a little bit of--of merchandise, of course, we were hiding. But whatever we sold it was in the black market. It could not be in the open and everything got scarce, and they initiated coupons for everything.

Whatever a person had to buy, you had to have coupons; and those coupons were given mostly not to Jewish people--it

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l was not given those coupons.

Later on they organized a Jewish market just for Jewish people to buy, like, groceries; and we had coupons. You had the right to buy, let's assume every day so and so much bread and so and so much--some other stuff. And they caught us to work and again the same thing.

Finally, the Jewish Gemeinde, or the Jewish community leaders, came to a settlement with the Germans that each Jew will work, of course, not paid--for nothing--so and so many days a week and so and so many hours a week; and basically, it got calm for a while. Let's assume I work two days a week for nothing or whatever, or somebody else the same. And--but this thing didn't last too long. Every day was different--different orders to squeeze in to the Jewish people.

- Q. What--they were assigning special work, like military work, or was it like regular work?
- A. It was to help the army. It was to clean; it was to—it was regular work, not anything professional—not anything that it was a regular type of work. Until later on it was, I assume it was 1941 or whatever, we were allowed to be written up to go in the—in the—to do the factory ammunition work.

As I mentioned, I'd been later on in Starachovice because my father, he-before the war, two

years, as he had a difficult time to earn a living in my little town, (city name), he moved to Starachovice; and in Starachovice was a big factory. It was about 10,000, 15000 people working in this factory. It was a factory that they produce ammunition mostly for the Polish government, and they had good jobs and everything, and the city of Starachovice was more affluent with livelihood, and it was easier to make a living. And my father—he was a good merchant, and he built himself up fairly good.

So later on they assigned us to the those factories, and they paid us a certain amount of money.

And we worked in this way.

Q. How much money were they paying you?

A. I cannot remember how much they paid, but we were getting an amount—a substantial amount of money that it helped us to live. It was a bigger part of money that we could, let's say, let's assume they gave us maybe about 60 percent that we needed to like, live. If we needed, let's assume \$50, they gave us \$30—or 30 zlotys. So it helped us.

But before they took us again--yeah, I omit something. We were, as you might know, in Poland didn't have good roads, and the German machinery--when they took over Poland, they had to build up the highways and to make them wider and make them more efficient and more

- better. So they took the Jewish people to do this work to
 widen the roads, and we were getting up, you know, early
 in the morning, I will say 4 o'clock. And they took us
 out for 30 miles away, and we worked until 7 or 8 o'clock
- in the night. And of course, we were suffering, you know;
 and we didn't have, you know, any hot meal; and it was
- 7 cold. It was wintertime, until this time, and the name of 8 the company that undertook this thing was the Hasag.
- 9 Q. What was the Hasag? What was the name?
- 10 A. H-A-S-A-G, Hasag Company. It's a German firm.
- Q. But okay, now, when you were working in this company,
 German company, did you not thought of making sabotage or
- anything like that to destroy the occupants?
- 14 A. No, we didn't thought of it, and we didn't thought to
- make sabotage. It was not, it was not feasible; and it
- will not be achievable either. It will only cause--if I
- will make sabotage, I will be shot on the spot. And
- 18 | that's the reason that it was--it was not--we were not
- 19 told of it; and we were not organized for it, because
- 20 basically, we thought the war was going to be a short time;
- 21 and we will live through. And later on, as I said, we
- 22 worked in the factories. We worked in the factories for a
- 23 | number of time, with pay. And--
- Q. In the factory what--could you give me some detail
- 25 | information of how--what were you doing in the factory?

- A. In the factory where I was working, they melted iron ore; and we made from this iron ore—they made iron.
 - Q. For what?

- A. The iron was used for--for war purposes, like to make
 ammunition and to make, you know, let's say, you know,
 cars or whatever--all the kinds of parts, what they did
- 3 Q. It was raw material.

from the iron.

- A. That's right, raw material. That's right. Then we did this for a number of time, and we went home after work, and we had the right to go to work by ourselves and other kinds of stuff. We were like the Polish workers, but we had lesser pay; and we did, of course, the harder work. The Poles did the easier.
- Q. But were they not at that point--did you not feel like you wanted--there was no organization right now to get Jewish together to do something about this or to try to--to think about something else--to prepare for yourself that maybe something might be much worse coming for Jewish people?
- A. Well, to this effect I just want to bring you a story.

 As I mentioned, my father dealt with lots of people from
 the factories that they worked. My father was an orthodox

 Jew, and he was wearing a beard and everything. It was
 hard for him to go to his clients and he introduced me to

- 1 | this clients, to his clients.
- 2 | Q. What kind of clients? What do you work for?
- 3 A. He sold goods to these people, and he knew them. So,
- 4 as the war broke out and he had--he could not go to his
- 5 | people, to his customers; and because it was--he didn't
- have an open store. He just went and showed them samples
- 7 and sold them. So anyway, as I will say, a peddler,
- 8 maybe, in the American language.
- 9 Q. So he was like a peddler, but was he selling to
- 10 Jewish people or to Christian people too?
- 11 A. No. He sold basically to gentiles. Yeah. And
- 12 because no Jewish people were permitted to work in this
- 13 | factory, as I stated before; and he recommended -- he got me
- 14 acquainted with his customers; and as I was a young boy,
- 15 | it was easier for me to smuggle in to his customers, you
- 16 know, certain merchandise what they needed. And they give
- me money, and I make made a good profit. Of course, this
- 18 | was not legal.
- And my father came to me, and he said to me,
- 20 | "(proper name), maybe we should go flee to Russia,"
- 21 because those days lots of Jewish people went, fled to the
- 22 | east to Russia. And I said to my father, "Listen." I
- 23 took out a bunch of money from my pocket, and I said,
- 24 Dad, what is wrong here? It's nothing wrong. We will
- 25 | live through the war, and as we expect that the war is

going to take a short time, why run away?" We didn't have it so bad.

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And so let me go back to my basic thing. So this thing was going on that we work for pay for a number of time. Later on they didn't pay us anything. They stopped paying us and we had—must go to work for nothing, for no money. But we still came home. We still had a home. So, whatever everybody had he sold, and we somehow existed, to call it.

And it was other kinds of Jewish denigrations during 1940 until 1942, when they took all the Jewish people out. It was, for instance, they one time, they run out the young people and told them that they have to come and they took him to Lublin. And Lublin, it was a kind of a--of a work that they did down there with coal--loading or unloading coal, shipping--I don't remember what it was. And of course, the Jewish committee did lots of effort to rescue, to bring home back people; and they succeeded. And every time it was all the time, every day it was a different--a different order for the Jewish people. Many people they took, they asked to give them this, to give them this, to get from the Jewish community lots of money.

- Q. They were asking money. How much money?
- A. Contribution money. I don't remember the amount, and

they collected from the Jewish people. Of course, everybody had to give; and if not, they said they were going to shoot so and so many people and so and so many things.

And later on they restricted us to a ghetto; and the ghetto, basically, in Starachovice was not like to say the Lodz ghetto or the Warsaw ghetto. You still could meet gentiles, and somehow we lived. We existed.

Until the dark day came where they took out--took the Starachovice people, as it is known they started from Warsaw, you know, let's say, by I believe it was by June. They started to round up the people from Warsaw, and they took them to Treblinka or some other death camps or death--death places.

- Q. At that point did you know about this camp, or was it pretty much publicized?
- A. No, we didn't know. We didn't believe that the—
 that they take the Jewish people to annihilate entirely;
 that it was a mass—a mass—a mass order to kill every Jew
 and Jewish child and Jewish women, not to leave nobody.

 We knew it's no good. But we didn't believe that. But—
 Q. I wanted to ask—no one did tell you that—or no one
 did escape from the camp and said such a things was
 happening?
- A. In those days, we didn't--we didn't know, nobody was

aware of it. I will say so, that nobody was aware what is happening. Maybe it was people that they escaped, but it was not believable and this--this was the--the explanation--one of the explanations. We thought they take us to work someplace, or whatever, but it is not an item that they

kill the people.

So in those days when they took all the people from Starachovice, as I said, I was employed at the factory; and I had a--a permit to work and everything, so they--this was--they called out that everybody--it was about 6 o'clock in the morning; and everybody had to go out from their house and to come to the market place. And if somebody didn't went so fast or somebody tried to hide or whatever, he was shot on the spot. And this day when everybody was out, they called out, you know, the people that they got permits to work, to go on one side; and the people that they didn't have, they were not occupied, to go on the other side. So naturally we went on the side where we had the permits to work; and we stood down there for a number of hours; and it was, as I recall today, it was a hot day. And we stood and stood and stood.

Later on they took us to march down, they built in Starachovice a camp. It was actually two camps. One of the camp was the name, Myoofka (phonetically), and one was the Shellnitsa (phonetically). The department

where I was working was belonging to the Shellnitsa (phonetically), and the way to the Shellnitsa (phonetically), I believe it was maybe about 2,000 people that they had permits to work or around this figure. So when we came up to the Shellnitsa (phonetically), it's a place where the Polish government before used to train soldiers or would-be soldiers to train them how to use ammunition.

This place, it was a place--it was like a mountain. In the middle it was empty, and it was two mountains. They took us in it and in this part, the leader it was (name), the name, or (name). They called out that everybody, that got any possessions, gold, silver, money, or any rings or jewelry or diamonds to give it out.

Q. Before you go further, could you tell me that at that time why you were required to wear a star, like?

A. Yeah. We were required to wear an armband. It was-- the armband had a star, of course. This was starting, I will say, in 1941.

- Q. What was the reason they did that?
- 21 A. The reason was to identify that I'm a Jew.
- Q. And what happened to those that were not wearing, I mean?
- A. If they caught somebody that is Jewish, and he didn't wear, his punishment was to be shot on the spot.

- 1 Q. And that also, you wear that also in the ghetto?
- 2 A. Yeah, we wore this in the ghetto too.
 - Q. And in the ghetto there was not any kind of revolt
- 4 like they did in Warsaw?
- 5 A. No. Basically, as I mentioned, that the ghetto in
- 6 | Starachovice was not a sealed-off ghetto. We still could
- 7 | see gentiles. We still--it was not legal, but we still
- 8 | could talk to gentiles, and we still could come in contact
- 9 | with them.

- 10 Q. When you were in those ghettos, why you didn't try to
- 11 get help from the gentile to kind of have a resistance
- 12 | kind of thing to get armament or something?
- 13 A. I will say regarding this case, it was not any
- 14 organization lined up with the gentiles, that the Jewish
- 15 | people should ask them for help. Basically, one reason,
- and I believe this is a major reason--because we didn't
- 17 | trust the Poles. They could (something) to the Germans,
- 18 | and if this thing will be known to the Germans, the people
- 19 | that they will ask them surely will be shot and their
- 20 families too.
- 21 | O. So, let's get back to the camp, to the place of
- 22 armament where before they were training Polish soldier
- 23 beside that—beside answering me such question were there
- 24 | also Jewish soldier in the Polish army?
- 25 A. Yeah. It was in the Polish army it was lots of

Jewish soldiers. They served in the army. Of course,
they were not treated as the Polish; and the Polish, let's
say hierarchy, didn't give them full respect. But as
citizens of Poland, the Jewish people had to serve in the
army.

- Q. And now, you, I suppose now you are--right now let's go back to that. You enter to that place where people were training; and then they ask you to give all the money. That's the commander of the German troop and you said you don't know quite his name.
- A. It was (name), or (name). And of course, lots of people give the money; and my dad and my brother, they were with me together. We were together. And he asked me what to do. We had some amount of money, and I said, "Give it to me." And I hid it in my shoes and everything, and thanks God I went through. I passed and nothing happened to us.

So we were down in the Shellnitsa

(phonetically) camp; and this down there, I will say, if

it was hell in the world was this one of the toughest

places to be. First of all, it was not organized.

Nothing was there available. And in a short, short time

people got typhoid and many people died.

- Q. You said people get typhus, and they die.
- A. Yes, they die. There was no cemetery, no hospital,

- no medication and nothing. And, basically, they took us
 to all the heaviest work that's possible, and we were not
- 3 used to this type of work, and we were beaten, and
- 4 denigrated, and what not.
- 5 Q. And that was the soldier itself that were doing the beating?
- 7 A. Well, it was many of them. It was t
- A. Well, it was many of them. It was the Ukraines, and it was the Germans, and it was the leadership. Of course,
- 9 the command was to do those things to the Jewish people.
- 10 Q. Where those Ukrainian came from? I mean, they were
 11 not German--were they German?
- 12 A. No, they were not German. But they took the
- 13 Ukrainians when the Germans start the war with the
- 14 Russians in 1941, I believe in June was it. And they had
- 15 | many of them that they registered to help the Germans, and
- 16 | they knew that the Ukraines are not friends to the Jewish
- 17 | either, and so they took them; and they served as a kind
- 18 of a--they carried Waffen--you know, ammunition--and they
- 19 | were treated better than the Poles, and so on. The
- 20 | Germans trust them to a certain degree. They were not in
- 21 | the front. But they helped them regarding, you know, local
- 22 | things to do.
- 23 | Q. So, and do at that time people from the outside,
- 24 | meaning Polish that were not Jewish, knew of what was
- 25 | happening at that point?

- A. Yes. They knew because we came in contact with them.

 We worked in the factories and the Polish people saw us.
 - Q. And they saw all the beatings and all that was happening inside that camp?

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- A. Well. They didn't saw what is happening in the camp, but they saw us in the factory because in the factory we came in contact with the Polish people.
 - Q. So, now, could you tell me more about the process of the Ukrainians that tried to beat—I mean they beating you and what was, did you have barracks where you were sleeping, or was there places that you were located to sleep inside that camp, and what was a day life in that camp?
 - A. Well, the day's life was we had barracks. Of course, the barracks had in the beginning straw mattresses, mattresses that they were filled with straw. And, basically, the winter started, and we were not prepared because we didn't have the proper—we didn't have clothing, and we didn't have—and it was the first winter.

This was the winter of 1942, and it was lots of people became, got typhoid and they organized, as a matter of fact, they organized some hospital, call it this way. And it was people in this hospital because they didn't want it that somebody will get--will get--somebody will catch one from the other, typhoid. So they made the

hospital in one night. (Name), his name, he came down, and he took out all the people.

I had in this time typhoid too, but my father (something), he had the feeling that something is going to happen; and he took me out from the hospital and took me to his barracks; and this way he saved me. And (name), he shot everybody from the hospital. So, this was the one thing, and the people got sicker and sicker and sicker, and in a time they made another hospital, and the same story repeated itself. He came and he shot the people.

So then it was--this was the whole winter, and it was a miserable winter--lots of people died. And at the Myoofka (phonetically) camp it was in a way better because he was a very, very rude man. And down there they had a different leader. So it was better.

- Q. In a way was it better? You said he was ruder, much stricter.
- A. Well, he just—he was it looks that he was more a Jew hater or whatever, and down there, the guy was not so bad. That's it. Because basically, he didn't have orders to shoot, or to a certain degree, to denigrate the people so much. And he did it.
- Q. It's a new place you're talking about right now.
- A. This is the place where, after they took out all the

Jewish people, they took us to this camp Shellnitsa (phonetically). This Shellnitsa (phonetically) is located in Starachovice. It's about, let's say, 3 miles or 4 miles from the city. And they had barracks down there for us and as I said, they had straw mattresses and we, you know, we--we suffered very, very lots--lots of people died.

So it came--I will say in the spring of 1943, they moved us together at the Myoofka (phonetically). Yeah, let me bring out one point. It was one time a case where in the middle of the night he came into the camp, and he said it was maybe lo'clock or two or whatever. The guy, the (name), the leader; and he said everybody should to go out, and we didn't knew what it is and everything so everybody--it was lots of sick people in the camp. The camp was on top of a hill, and we had to walk down the hill, you know. And this place, and we had to stay in a line, and we stood down there for a number of hours and people cried and everything. We thought maybe they going to take us to shoot and other kinds of stuff, and we didn't know what's happening. And finally, after a number of time, they told us we can go back.

So in the spring of 1943, we moved down to the Myoofka (phonetically), and it started to be a little better. It was not exactly spring, the beginning of

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spring. But in Poland the beginning of spring is still too cold. And what it happened then, it was a bit better, to a certain degree. In this time they took from the-from the Jewish, yeah. Let me make a point.

In those camps everything, it was the Jewish management to a certain degree. They took, so we had, you see, the Jewish management, let's say, whatever you call it in the camp. And it was Jewish police that they—when we went to work, they went with us, and when we came back, they came back. But they didn't went alone. They went with the Ukrainians because they took us to the factory, and by this they took some Jewish police to Lublin.

Q. What do you mean by Jewish police?

- A. In camp it was, let's say, the policeman. He called up everybody. Let's assume we had to go to work at 7 o'clock.
- Q. How did he become policeman? I quite not understand.
- A. Well, they had, the name was policeman. They didn't have any ammunition. They had just had a rubber stick, you know. The—the order of the day was, let's assume he went, it was other kinds of factories; but it was in the same place. Let's say it was a factory to melt iron ore. It was a factory to make the compounds to ammunition. So he had his command. Let's say he had the people that they

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were designated to work at the melting factory. Let's assume he had 60 people, so 8 o'clock in the morning he called up the names: (name), (name), and so on and so on; and if somebody was not, he made a mark that the guy is absent, you know. And later they called him, they want to know why, the reason he's absent. You know if it was a legitimate, the right reason, you know, he—but if he didn't wanted to go to work, you know, they could do with him lots of things.

So anyway, they took those police to Lublin. In Lublin was the camp Maidanek, and Maidanek was the name of a camp. And they took them to this camp, and they unloaded, the truck, I believe, if I am right, three big trucks and they brought lots of clothing—clothes, you know, and shoes and shirts, underwear and everything. And at this time, you know, in—they distributed to everybody—not to everybody, but to most of the people some clothing because our clothes got already worn out. We didn't have anything to change, and it was dirty and filthy.

So this helped us lot. Beside the point we found in these clothes many gold coins, diamonds, rings, because the people were hiding underneath, you know, underneath the lining in certain places. And this, as this thing came to the camp, the people start to live a little better. We sold it to the gentiles. We got, you

- know, we smuggled in bread. We smuggled in butter. We smuggled in, let's say onions or whatever. Food.
 - Q. Where did those clothes came from?
- 4 A. Those clothes came from Maidanek, as I told you.
- 5 | They killed the people in Maidanek because Maidanek was a
- 6 | very, very big camp where they annihilate the Jewish
- 7 | people in Lublin.

- 8 | Q. Annihilate with what? You mean they annihilate?
- 9 A. Annihilated, they killed them.
- 10 Q. Oh, alienate.
- 11 A. Alienated, yes. They killed them, and as they killed
- 12 them, you know, they took off their clothes, or the people
- 13 | had to disrobe themselves. So they got the clothes, and
- 14 we got the clothes, and these clothes helped us lots.
- 15 | Q. And you could see on the clothes the blood of the
- people that was killed, still blood on the clothes?
- 17 A. No. Because they were not blooded because as they--as
- 18 | they--they (something). Before they killed the people, they
- 19 told them to take off the clothes.
- 20 So this thing went on, so as a matter of
- 21 fact, I remember today, my father (something), you know,
- 22 he had contact. He knew the guys from the Jewish leadership,
- 23 and he told them, you know, "(Name), my children are going
- 24 | naked, and I am naked. I need--give me three coats," and
- 25 | he told them, "Listen, come later." He came later.

still remember this today. He gave him three coats, and we just were newborn people. We covered ourselves with 2 those coats and everything. Because all whatever we had to be covered was dirty and filthy, and we threw away even 4 5 the straw mattresses because they were full of lice.

Lice? Q.

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So this--it start, I will say, a new situation, Yeah. and a new type of -- it was, I will say, a spark of sunshine; and we worked, and we were used to the work. We knew the work. But beside the point it came all the time, it came certain things. They took some people. They took in one time a hundred people and took them and killed them at-what's the name of the place? They took out 120 people, yeah, they killed them at the (something). (Something) is the name of a place in Starachovice located, and they never come back. One quy just escaped and he came back and he told the story what had happened.

- 0. So what did happen?
- 19 They shot all the people down there and buried them Α. 20 in (something).
- How did they shoot them? 21
- 22 A. They shot them with the -- just with the armament, 23 with the rifles.
- 24 And what about the reaction of the German? Were they--25 what was their reaction?

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reaction was? They killed people like flies anytime.

Well, their reaction, what was to say what their

- 3 not in Starachovice, They killed them someplace.
- So there was no, no feel of quilt or anything like 4 0.
- 5 that. It was like something they liked to do?
- Sure. Who thought of a felt of quilt? They didn't
- thought of felt of guilt. It was their daily life.
- day it was something happening. If it was not to the big 8
- numbers, it was a smaller number. I believe I omit one 9
- thing. In Starachovice the day when they took out the 10
- 11 Jewish people, you know, in one place it was cold and
- (something) the (something); it means his house. 12
- 13 killed 150 people in the day. And this was the day when
- 14 they took out all the Jewish people when the (something)
- 15 was.
- 16 So this thing happened, and in one daytime
- they took a number of people, I do not know, and they 17
- 18 killed them close to Radom. The name of the place is
- (something). And they brought back the clothes, of course, 19
- 20 we knew what had happened to the people. So this thing
- 21 went on for a number of time. And finally this went down
- 22 until, I will say--I will say until close to--they sent us
- away to Auschwitz. 23
- 24 I forgot to bring a point of interest.
- 25 was in 1943 or 1944 that--it was even a kosher meal for

- Passover. It's not said in the sense of the word that it
 was kosher.
 - Q. Kosher?

- 4 A. Kosher, but it was the sense that it was not
- 5 (something). In other words, not leavened bread was in it,
- 5 that the Jewish (something) tried to accommodate the
- 7 | people that they wanted to eat not bread--that they cooked
- 8 them, let's assume, potatoes with borscht or some other
- 9 type of food, even (something) meat.
- 10 Q. The commander, which was German at that time, didn't
- 11 say anything about that?
- 12 A. He didn't have to know because it was no different.
- 13 He knew that they cooking, you know, they maybe cooked
- 14 (something) and kosher dishes for Passover. But the basic
- 15 | food was no ingredients of leavened bread, of (something).
- 16 | Q. And that happened only one time?
- 17 A. I am not sure that if this was in '43 and in '44, or
- 18 it was in '44 alone. I don't remember, or in '43 alone.
- 19 | I don't remember.
- 20 Q. And did it happen only once?
- 21 A. I don't remember if it happened once or twice. Of
- 22 | course, we (something), let's say, like Rosh Ha-Shanah, we
- 23 (something) the holiday prayers after work; and Yom Kippur
- 24 | we (something) too. I believe that I never worked in
- 25 | Starachovice on Yom Kippur, but other days we worked, and

1 I always fasted in Yom Kippur.

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So this thing went on until 1944. Before they took us away to Auschwitz they built a big camp again in the Shellnitsa (phonetically), and everybody they liquidated the Myoofka (phonetically) camp. We all went up there.

They took, as I mentioned, it was two camps--the

- Q. What do you mean by "they liquidated the camp"?
- Shellnitsa (phonetically) and the Myoofka (phonetically)
- 10 camp. Now they built back at the Shellnitsa
- (phonetically) a big camp. I don't know the reason, and they made one camp only for the Jewish people.
 - Q. There was another camp for also, for other people?
- 14 A. For Jewish people. It was two camps, but now they
 15 made one camp and--
 - Q. That, how long did it--how long did you stay there?
 - A. Basically, we were in this camp from I believe June or July--July, 1942 until I believe August, 1944, we had been in Starachovice. Or in the Myoofka (phonetically) or
- 20 in Shellnitsa (phonetically), but this was Starachovice.
- Q. And during that time they were still beating? They
 were still--what kind of job were you doing at that point?
- 23 Still in the metal work?
- A. No, in this time I was in a different job. I did--I

 put in--they brought, I will say, today it was about 8

inches of 8 inches, you know. The long--long pieces of metal from Sweden or from (something). I believe, yeah, the (something) factory and we cut this thing and put out of it for the tanks or certain armaments and this by--it was actually my father's job, but as I was a young boy, and he was naturally older than I am, so I talked to the foreman. He was a Pole, and I told him, "Listen, how is it if I take this job, my father's job, and let my father do the job what I'm doing?" So he agreed to it. So this is--this was my job. I did it. And so we worked this until number of time, and we got used to it, and it was, I will say, basically the--to call it somehow--"a get used situation." So this went on until, I will say, until 1944; and I would like to take back one thing.

As I mentioned as we were in Starachovice after the--the leader from the Germans, (name), shot all the people from the hospital; and my father--I--my father pulled me out miraculously and the day after, I don't know how my temperature was or whatever. But it was not such a thing that it should be any sick people in camp. So my father (something) and my brother to many happy long years, they hold me under their arms and took me to the factory; and in the factory, I will say, I worked just like a non-recognizable sick man. So because it--if I will be recognized that I am sick to a certain degree, I will not

be there anymore. I will not be here. So this is a recollection today to the other part.

- Q. Also, I wanted to ask you, what about your mother?
- A. Well, my mother passed away before the war, but I had a stepmother; and she naturally, she was taken away, when, you know, when they—when they took away all the Jewish people, she was taken away too.

And we worked down there until 1944, in July or the beginning of August. And it was an episode that we supposed to go, I believe if I am right, it was like a (something), they told to take us away from Starachovice. And we were already out in the wagons, and I know they came that we had to go back, so we went back. We thought that the Messiah is coming or whatever. But the next day, they—we had to, they took us away.

At this time it was an episode. We had actually in Starachovice another small place where Jewish people used to work. It used to be a--how they call it? So, one episode where they had, as I said, a third place where it was a small Jewish camp; and this was located in (something), and (something) is a Polish word where they cut the lumber to different sizes and they--in this night, in particular, the light had to be out because they were afraid maybe somebody will escape or whatever; and they brought the people from this little camp to our camp

because they wanted to ship away everybody at one time.

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And one lady she is—she still, she is, I believe in North Dakota. I met her in Washington D.C. at the holocaust gathering, and she pulled out a gun from the German leader, and she was—she said to everybody, "Let's make an uprising or whatever, because, you see what's going to happen." They—they—I think they didn't know that we are still there in the barracks or whatever. And it happened so that she was took away and she kept this gun for the whole night, and finally she surely should will be shot if he will caught in this minute, but we bribed them not—I mean the Jewish committee, whatever, bribed them. And she gave him back the gun, and he let her alive, and she's today alive. She lives in North Dakota. She got six children, I believe.

And then, as it was, they thought many of the people escaped in this night. It was some kind of a makeup, I don't know even until today, that the gates were open for a certain time, and many Jewish people escaped.

And many escaped through different ways, and many of them got shot, and many of them got hurt, and many of them got killed by the Polish people. And most of them didn't survive. It survived a few, like (proper name). He lives today in New York. His brother, (proper name), he lives in New Jersey, and many, a few more people.

And they took us away. Of course, when they took us away, we naturally didn't know where they take us; and we drove away, I believe, it took us a night; and in the morning we came to a place, and this was, unfortunately, it was Auschwitz, Bergenau (phonetically). And they took us down there in Bergenau (phonetically), and right away they separated men from women. In the same token, those camps in Starachovice, we were men and women. The younger women they took to work too.

us, and they took us and gave us a bed. They didn't made any selection. Because due to the fact, all the Jewish committee made something with the leader, the German leader, that we will not go through a selection or whatever. And they give us the striped clothes like, and they give us tatoos, and my number is today A18792. It's A18792, and my brother got a similar number, and my father had a similar number too.

And we didn't, after we got in they cut us our hair, and we didn't recognize one or the other because we never wore any separate camp clothes. Even in Starachovice, we wore civilian clothes. And we were down there, and I believe that the same day we didn't have any food in our mouths; they didn't give us. We just were hungry until the next day. The next day they give us some

food, and we were at the--it used to be called the (something), and we were down there. We got up, I will say, 4 o'clock in the morning; and it was no place to do--to relieve yourself. It was a place where we had to walk quite a number of time, and it was full all the time because it was lots of people, and the accommodations were not made for this thing.

And during the whole day, we just carried stones for a number of miles without any purpose; go with the stones, let's assume, from east to west and from west to east. And we walked so around the whole day. This was for a number of days.

I don't know exactly how long I was in Bergenau (phonetically). I was not too long. I will assume it was ten days. And I was with my father and brother there too, and they asked everybody—one time they called us out and asked everybody what kind of a profession he got. Well, I said I was a (something) operator. It means I work for heavy machinery or whatever.

My brother worked in Starachovice. He used to cut the big metal with a torch to mark how much should be cut. And when he came to Bergenau (phonetically), he was afraid to say that he is a welder; and so he didn't say anything. But later on, thanks God, he gave me the right idea and the right time. I went and pulled him out

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from this barrack where he was designated as not capable to work and pulled him out and forced him to say that he is a welder. And down there was a Jewish (something), and he beat me up for it. And I don't accuse him for anything because if he will not beat me up, maybe he will be shot. So it's better that I took a few punches from him and saved my brother and saved him. So finally my brother said that he is a welder, and he—they give him a tatoo.

Unfortunately, my father said that he is a bricklayer. And my father usually, he knew this to do. He thought that if he's going to say this, this will be a big plus on his side. But it looks they didn't need any bricklayers, and he remained in Bergenau (phonetically). And since this time, we never seen each other. If I took notices from people, that they saw him either the end of December, 1944. And presumably, he is lost like many of our millions, brothers and sisters and children, whatever.

Then, they took me and my brother. We went to Bergenau (phonetically). No, we went to Buno (phonetically). In Buno (phonetically) it was, I will say, in this time when we came was still Polish gentiles; but as we came, they got rid of him, and they took him in another camp or whatever, and the camp was remained, I believe it was 10,000 or 12 just Jewish--Jewish slave labor. It was strictly Jewish slave labor.

I was designated to certain types of work but later on I--somebody told me that it's good to work by this guy. It was a (something); he was a German Jew, a (something) Jew, a (something) Mensch. And I told them that--that I am a good worker, and I would like to work under his command. So he said okay. I will take you tomorrow. He went in to the office where they relocate the working people, and he said, "You are under my command. You go with me." And I worked by him a time, and he tried to do for us lots of good things. He tried to give us extra food and everything.

- Q. What was so special about being a (something) and how was he good?
- A. I will come to it. I will come to it. And we had basically a good time. I mean, basically, it was better to work for him. So this thing went on until, I will say, until the middle of (something). It's roughly, I will say, close to two months or a month and seven weeks.

Then my brother comes to me with a story that they're going to send him away. He doesn't know where he goes. And as I heard this, I went to a (something). I knew that I am separated from my father. Now I'm going to be separated from my brother.

So anyway, I went over to this (something). His name was (proper name), and I said to him, if he can

do me something good. I told him the whole story that they are going to send away my only brother, and he said, "Let me see what I can do for you." He went in the Schreibstube. As I said, this is the office where they designate the people, and it took a while because we didn't have too much time because they didn't notify you 24 hours ahead or whatever, and he said, "I cannot make it that he should to stay here, but I can make it that you going with him." And I said, "Do you know where we go?" because every going could have lots of translations. It could mean that you go to the oven to be gassed, and he said to me, "I don't know where you're going. But I will tell you one thing: you are not going to be--to go to the stove." He knew this for sure. He said, "You're going to go in a place where you will have clothes to work, and you will work in the warm. It's not going to be cold to you." And I've made up my mind; I'm going, and I

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went. So they sent us to a (something). This is 5 kilometer close to (city name). We worked down there, and it was true. We were—we had the factory close to us. And we had about two-minutes walk to the factories, and this meant lots because you didn't get so much wore out in the cold and in the snow and whatever. And we worked down there. We worked mostly to buy parts of airplanes to supply. And we worked down there until, I will say, until

the end of December, 1944.

By the end of December, yeah, I will like to bring backwards a little while. In Buno (phonetically) we were, the Allied commandos bombarded the A. G. Factory. In Buno (phonetically) we worked at the A. G. Factory. Why, in English it's A. G. Factory. Why I bring back this point is to prove that the Allied forces knew exactly where we are and where we been. And with this bombardment they killed lots of Germans. They did lots of damage. And, of course, they killed lots of Jewish workers, slave workers.

So, and we were (something) till, almost the end of December. By the end of December, they, we knew that we going to go away. We didn't know where. And so, it was—it was a kind of disorder, and we got in in the kitchen, and in the kitchen I got, I was lucky. I took two loaves of bread; and we had something to eat. In the way we ate it, and I give not the whole bread, but almost a whole, I give to friends of mine, and the rest I had with my brother.

So, we went, and we--they took us in, of course, in wagons, open wagons; and it was winter; and it was cold. And we arrived in Mauthausen. We arrived in Mauthausen. We came down; we were frozen, and we were cold and everything. And they, the way to walk to

Mauthausen, it was, it is off a mountain that they camp; and we walked in, I will say, in every meter, or in every two yards or whatever, stood a German and a German soldier or whatever, with their rifles out like we will be the biggest -- the biggest war mongers or whatever, and we worked down there. As we came, they served us hot coffee, where it gave us a big lift, and we sold down there. called them the "fire commando." It was a bunch (something) strong boys, tall boys and everything.

bed. They give us a haircut. They cut our hair in the middle, and on both sides it was left. And we took a shower, and after this, we had to walk about three or four kilometer. They locked us in, in a barrack, without any clothes, just like you were born. And it was cold, and we stood and stood. And I will say we stood the whole night, until the next morning. The next morning they gave us underwear, and we stood naked, and we were cold so that one stood against the other to be warmed up. Later on they give us a T-shirt. Later on they give us a pair of pants. So I believe that this story until we were full-dressed, according to them, maybe took two days.

And we were in Mauthausen, I will say, about a week's time. Later on they took us to (camp name).

(Camp name) is--

1 0. What did you do in Mauthausen? What was so special 2 about that place, and what was the structure of that camp? 3 Well, the structure of the camp, I will say this, I cannot -- I cannot recollect. My memory doesn't let me. I don't remember exactly what it was the structure because 5 due to the fact that I didn't do any physical work in 6 7 Mauthauser. It was just a camp for me, go-through camp; but we knew and heard that it was one of the worst and one of the most--most harsh camps. So we were down there, then later they took us to (camp name). (Camp name) was 10 11 one of the harshest camps too. It's located, it's in 12 Austria. When we came to (camp name), they told us we are 13 going for vacation, and actually in a way, it was true. They give us to eat. They kept us in the barracks. 14 15 didn't went out for an appeal. They counted us inside, 16 and we slept longer, and this took a few days, maybe five 17 or seven days. Later on, they took us out; and they took 18 us in wagons, of course, and trains, you know, the kettle trains. And we went, we came down to Germany, or Hanover. 19 20 It's Hanover-Linden, actually.

Q. That's West Germany?

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A. West Germany. Yes, it's West Germany; Hanover, West Germany. As we came down there, we had down there some barracks; and it was of course, you know, stood up guards and everything; and we were in, and we worked down

there. And we worked by airplane ammunition too, or airplane parts; and many times the Allied forces bombarded this camp, and this camp was a very bad camp too. We worked down there 12 hours a day. It was two shifts, night and day. I worked all the time in the day, and when we came home we were hungry. When we went to work we were hungry. They give us a little soup in the factory. But it didn't have much nourishing for 12-hours work, and it was far away from the factory, and in this point we didn't have practically no shoes to work, and our feet start to get swollen because of the lack of nourishment.

And we were dirty, of course. Not clean.

We didn't, I will say, that we didn't change a shirt for months since. And we went on with our daily routine, and down there in Hanover it was bad (something), old gangsters, that they were in the camp for years and years. I remember today that it came down a (something), a guy, one guy. He became later (something); that he met the other guy's friend, and one was the name Jacobi. The other guy, I don't remember.

- Q. Why was he bad? What was the reason that they were bad? I mean they were Jewish, no?
- A. No. Those (something) were not Jewish, no. And let me bring a point. I thought I got this in my notes. If we talk about Jewish (something), I studied this thing in

my mind for number and number of days and nights and hours, and I came to the conclusion that it was not such a thing, a bad Jewish (something). We have to take, to deal in this thing in the circumstance and the conditions and terms.

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For instance, I will say, I will go back to
Starachovice. One time it was an appeal. And the German—the
German, let's say, leader, was down there, the ones that
he shot so many. He shot the hospitals and everything,
and it stood a young boy. I will say the young kid was 12
or 13 years; and the Jewish leader went over to him; and
he said to him, "Should you stay here?" And he gave him
two (something) in his face. "Why you don't go to the
last line?"

I will say that people can read from this two things. One will say, "What did he have to do with this child? Why he beat him up?" But I see in a different prospect in this. I believe that with this thing, he saved his life. Due to the fact, if he will stay the front, the German leader will take him and maybe shoot him.

Q. You mean there was a--the symptom--there was that (something) there was also the German people nearby?

A. Yes. The German people were nearby it. Oh, sometime a (something) will beat up, you know, another Jew. Maybe

with his beating he saved him his life because the German, the German S.S., or whatever, didn't beat him anymore. We have to think in this terms and not accuse anybody, and let nobody think no matter how many books he will read, or how many stories he will hear, or how many notices he might have; that I came to the conclusion that no Jewish Juden (something) or no Jewish committee was in the ghettos, or no Jew is to be persecuted or judged or bring out any judgment against him. Because those people, they didn't have peace by themselves, and not everybody could withstand the (something). After he came to the point where he became a Juden (something) or a (something), or whatever, he could not be good to everybody.

For instance, I will bring a point. The same Jewish leader, the Juden Lagerfuhrer in Starachovice, he wanted to take my father away, so my father told him, "Listen, I got here two children. Leave me alone." He let him go. Or my father needed him some clothes. The guy give him because he knew him. And let's bring it to a point of thinking too. He said as long as you had in those camps where you know it was still, let's assume, Starachovice camp. It was the majority of people were from the city of Starachovice, and one knew each other. Automatically one helped the other because they knew who you are, or whatever.

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So what I mean to bring out I will not permit, and I will not give (something), and I will believe that everybody should to think over if he could withstand, but if he will be in this situation; and of course, the future generations led one half, five brains instead of one. They cannot imagine the tyranny and the suffering and the denigrating what the Jewish people went through. It was certain places, of course, where Jewish leadership said, "If you need ten people to go to take him to shoot him or kill him. You got me and my family four. And the rest you have to take by yourself." But not everybody could do this thing. And let's, everybody before they come to a conclusion, not to make any judgment of no Jewish (something) or a Jewish Judenrat and say that the Jewish people collaborated, helped the Germans kill the Jewish people. God forbid.

In Hanover, so we had other kinds of bombardment, and so it was one day, almost before they thought to take us away, they digged a big ditch--a big--and we didn't know actually for what this is; but we could think of it. And this was, I will say, about the 6th of April, 1945, and they said, "Who wants to go will go. Who can will go. Who cannot go will remain here." And--Q. What do you mean by that?

A. Will remain in Hanover in the camp at the place. And

so, many of them, they start to give food for the ones

that were going. And I remember today that one--one-one

3 (something), he was from (something), and he changed his

4 mind. He wanted to go, and he pushed himself for his

5 portion of bread, and he was shot by the German leader.

So, we were out it was, I believe, it was a Friday evening--

- Q. Excuse me. You said German lady.
- 8 A. Leader, leader.
- 9 Q. Oh, leader?

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- 10 A. Yeah, German leader. So it was a Friday evening, we
- ll left the Hanover-Linden camp, and we marched. We didn't
- 12 know where we go. We didn't know where we will go.
- 13 Anyway we marched. We went the whole night and right away,
- 14 | you know, We had to do--to relieve ourselves, and we could
- 15 | not because they didn't stop for anything so what we did, you
- 16 know, as we were marching a few hundred, you just sit down
- in the middle and did it whatever you can. And many of us
- 18 got shot and killed and beaten up.

19 I remember that it was some people that they

20 took some food from the--from the leaders, from the German

21 | commanders, the S.S., whatever, the soldiers--some food.

22 And later they discovered--they shot them on the spot.

23 And we walked. We did not have any food. Nothing. We

ate grass from the earth, and we ate some snow if we found

25 | we went through. We didn't went through the normal, normal

way. They just took us through zigzagged ways, through the roots and other kinds of stuff. Maybe they didn't want that the civilian people see us, or whatever.

And I believe we went out, if I am right, about 500 people or so. And we came about half, because the half got killed in the middle of the way; or they could not work anymore; and they shot them, and so on and so on.

So we came to Bergen-Belsen. It was in a Sunday. As we came to Bergen-Belsen, I saw from my eyes a stack of bodies. I will not exaggerate that it was more than two stories high, and we could smell the smell from dead bodies. And as I looked in this, I said, "I believe we went through so much that I'm doubting if we will make it." So we came down; we didn't head down there. No barracks. Nothing. No place to sleep. The windows were broken in those barracks. People laying down and dying by the hundreds and by the thousands.

So the next day or the second next day, they took us; and as they saw that the Allied armies are coming closer, they took us. And two people, we had to drag a dead body. How did we do it? We took belts and pulled down a belt and each arm and each hand from the dead body and two people pulled those dead bodies to a big grave; and in a number of days, the corpses were less than we

came in. But, yeah, and at this type of work, at this type of work-- (To interviewer) Is it comfortable for you to sit?

So as this thing went on they distributed in those days, you know, they had 20,000 loaves of poisoned bread, and they wanted to distribute this bread between the people. And it was down there one doctor. He worked for the S. S., but evidently it looked that he didn't agree with them everything, and he prevented this bread to be distributed. And thanks to this, you know, I believe we didn't get poisoned. Then, the English army—

Q. May I ask you, how do you know about those bread that was poisoned?

A. We were told after. Yeah, and as a matter of fact, this doctor worked later with the people, and he was--he was a trusted man, in other words, it looked that he was a good man.

And we were liberated. This was by

lo'clock, April 15. In the Jewish calendar it was the
second day of (something). And if it's written in some
books that Bergen-Belsen was liberated at 3 o'clock, this
is right too, because close by it was the army barracks
where lots of people were--been down there too. And they
were liberated about two hours later. As the liberation
looked, is (something). How do you say (something)? Got

wanted? Let's go this way, that a Jew, a (something) Jew, he announced the liberation. And he said in other kinds of languages. If I am right, it was about 15 languages that he announced the liberation. The liberation by itself, usually if a person is liberated from a jail or from someplace, usually his emotions are very high, and he is happy. And, of course, he is out of his bondage, and so on and so on. But, unfortunately, we were liberated, but we still had our sorrow on our faces because we seen we didn't have nobody. And we were liberated sick, naked, dirty, undressed, hungry.

When I was liberated, my weight was 75 pounds. I will say 75 pounds, right, 75 pounds. Yeah. And I remember today we were liberated by 1 o'clock, and by 4 o'clock we received small cans of pork and beans. And we received some crackers. Of course, this is army food, and as we people ate this, as our system was very delicate, so everybody—the whole camp, and the same token we were liberated, I will say about 40,000 people in Bergen-Belsen. Everybody started to have diarrhea, and people got sick, and many of them heavier and many of them less.

So the army, the British army put up, you know, a temporary showers so the people can take a shower; and we found some kind of magazines where we could take

some clothes; and we clothed ourselves; and we dressed up.

But, in a few days, all those clothes and everything was

dirty because the sickness what we had.

And lots of people died, unfortunately, after the liberation. They seen the light; but they died, due to the fact because the Allied and the British armies, they didn't knew what kind of people they deal. They thought that the prisoner probably is a healthy guy, and they give him healthy food. They were not prepared for a situation like this, and the people died like the flies. So that after the liberation, in Bergen-Belsen died over 20,000 people. They buried them in mass graves. They were not able to bury them individually.

So later on they took us in hospitals. It was army-made hospitals. And they took us, I remember today, to a place I don't know where it is. And they washed us and bathed us and disinfected us; and they give us, they didn't give us to eat because they realized that we cannot start and eat like normal people because our system is sick. And they gave us to eat. We had been in the hospital, I will say, about six months. In those six months we got better and better. We screamed at the soldiers. We screamed at the army, at the nurses, because they didn't give us food. But, basically, they realized that we cannot eat the food; and we didn't

understood this thing. So after this it came, so the summer, by the end of the summer, we start to be a little bit more in shape, and we start to look at (something).