

Interview with VERONICA BERK  
Holocaust Oral History Project  
Date: 10/7/ 1990 Place: San Francisco, CA  
Interviewer: Evelyn  
Transcriber: Larenda Roberts

BEGIN TAPE 1, SIDE 1

Q: I AM INTERVIEWING VERONICA BERK IN EL CERRITO IN HER HOME. I'M DOING THIS FOR THE HOLOCAUST ORAL HISTORY PROJECT FOR THE HOLOCAUST CENTER IN NORTHERN CALIFORNIA. GOOD AFTERNOON, VERONICA.

A: Hi, Evelyn.

Q: TELL ME A LITTLE BIT, WHERE YOU WERE BORN AND HOW YOU GREW UP.

A: I was born in Hungary in a very nice, relaxed country atmosphere.

Q: WHERE IN HUNGARY?

A: I was born in Miskolc. Miskolc is in the center of Hungary, and we had a winery in the Turkeve area, and we spent a lot of time in Thecae. My father was director of a bank, and I was an only child, raised like an only child's supposed to raised [laughs], however was the custom to be raised at that time. Go ahead, ask me the next question.

Q: I'D LIKE TO KNOW A LITTLE BIT ABOUT YOUR EARLY LIFE; HOW IT WAS IN SCHOOL, IF YOU ENCOUNTERED ANTI-SEMITISM.

A: Actually, I really didn't my early years at all. Our friends consisted of Jewish and non-Jewish people. We grew up amongst them, and I knew that I was Jewish, but I did have governesses, and I ran to any church or temple, or wherever. My parents were not religious. One of my grandparents were, somewhat, were quite a bit religious. My mother's parents were not at all. So religion was never an obstacle in our life. But it also was never denied.

Q: WHAT SORT OF SCHOOL DID YOU GO TO?

A: Okay. I graduated from high school, but that also happened after the concentration camp, because I was taken to the concentration camp before I could graduate. However, I went back afterwards and made up the lost time.

Q: SO LIFE BEFORE THE GERMAN INVASION WAS FAIRLY COMFORTABLE?

A: It was fairly comfortable until I was about fourteen or so, thirteen, maybe. I was away in a private school --private gimnasium; actually, it was a Protestant school. There were about six or seven Jewish children. We attended Protestant and Jewish religious classes, and really, we didn't encounter much anti-Semitism. However, about that time, they

started the work commando, where they took the men--  
the Jewish men -- away.

Q: WHEN WAS THAT?

A: I think it was probably '42, '43, maybe '41; I don't remember exactly, because I was about twelve years old, or thirteen, and at that time, they took my father. Periodically, they left him out, and then there was another wave, and then they took him again, but being in his position, they usually let him out, because they needed him, and so they let him out.

But during that time, I know that frequently they were hungry. We were not -- we had everything-- but they were hungry, so we used to take food in, and I don't know, we just tried to do whatever we could. But that's the first time that the pressure of Judaism was felt by me.

And at one time, my father was brought with some other friends into the area where our winery was, and they had him work digging ditches in the same town. To me, it was terribly embarrassing, that I could see my father and his friends digging ditches. However, and that I never forgot, and I hope -- I don't think I ever will -- that he said to me, "You don't have to be embarrassed or ashamed. You have nothing to be

ashamed of. You're not doing this, they're doing this to us."

And from that day on, I remember I used to walk around with my head high and being very proud that my father is able to cope with it, and if he can cope with it, so can we. All my father's brothers, including my father, were very active in their own way in the underground. Matter-of-fact, later on, a lot of people escaped from Poland and Czechoslovakia. We did hear about atrocities, but we didn't know just what.

Q: DO YOU REMEMBER WHEN YOU FIRST HEARD ABOUT ATROCITIES?

A: It must have been around '42, '43, because some of our friends, relatives' families, all lived in Czechoslovakia --or lived, no, not in Poland, but in Czechoslovakia, mainly, and we heard through the grapevine. I remember horrible stories that they would do to the Jewish people.

Oh, I'd forgotten. There's my uncle, my mother's brother, who was a physician in Vienna, and he was at that time engaged to an aristocratic girl who wanted to marry him after the German occupation, yes. He didn't marry her because of being a Jew and

because of the German occupation, and he returned to Hungary. And he was telling us all kind of terrible things that were happening in Austria. That was about the same time, too, as we heard from Czechoslovakia.

But we did not know anything, or at least I didn't, of camps or any of that. However, a lot of people did escape from Czechoslovakia and Poland, and as far as I remember, as far as I know, our parents never asked their names. But I know that they had connection with the Hungarian government somehow, some officers, where they got the dog tags from soldiers who died in the front, and they gave them to these people. So they lived there with false papers, and they worked underground and helped them anyway they could.

We had, I remember, community kitchens that were not officially known, and the women went and peeled potatoes, and we kids went to peel potatoes, or what we had to do. So these people used to get a meal, and yet, it still was far removed from me personally. I didn't think it would happen. I felt very sorry for those people, but I didn't think it would happen to us. So...but life was not bad in Hungary,

really, and as I say, I was away in private school, and then in 1944, March 19th, the Germans occupied the country. I will never forget the morning, because we were notified -- I don't know, I was considered a little girl, so I don't remember who called my father, but they said that, "The Germans are flying in." I remember that, and of course, from there on, everything had changed almost. My parents -- I was still in school -- and my parents were down at the winery, living there, and it seems to me that they dug bunkers and stored food. They were always concerned about the Russian occupation, you know, coming from the east. Never did they consider that we'd have a German occupation. They were highly intelligent people -- considered highly intelligent, and they were well-informed; they were listening to the BBC. And yet, it was always, "It can't happen here. The Russians will come before the Germans." Of course, that, as I say, the 19th of March, 1944, the Germans came.

Q: WHERE WERE YOU AT THAT TIME?

A: I was in school.

Q: WHERE WAS THE SCHOOL?

A: I lived in a dorm in Miskolc. I lived in a dorm, and a few, probably days or weeks, I don't remember. Awhile later, just twelve, I had to go to my parents, just had to be with them. But I also remember by that time, Jews were not allowed to take the trains. However, one of my pals, school pals, he was about two years older than me, was also there in a boys' school. I was in a girls' school, and both of our parents were in the winery area, and so we decided that we are going home. And we took our uniform, you know, you wear uniforms, and we took the train, and we went back to our parents. So we were together.

Q: SO YOU COULD TAKE THE TRAIN.

A: I did.

Q: YOU JUST DID.

A: I just did. I mean, how could I get home? I mean, how could I get to my parents but take the train? So we did, yes, yes, and arrived all right, and that's how it began. So then, all of a sudden, around, what was it, April, first part of April -- I don't remember the day, but it seems like the fourth of April, or something close around that. The morning, at quarter to four or so, there was a knock on our place, and the gendarmes showed up.

Q: HUNGARIAN?

A: Hungarians, yes, who know us very well. And they said that they're giving us fifteen minutes to get out of the house. That's it. They were very polite, but they had orders. And then, I found out that we had the distinction to be the first Jewish family to be gathered up, period. Then they gathered the rest of them.

So, Mother, who still is very practical and does not lose her cool easily, asked them to leave the bedroom so she can get dressed, and she got ahold of some jewelry from her jewelry box, and threw it across -- just threw it across in the yard, in a garden. Because we had quite a large garden and rose garden, and all that. So we got that jewelry back, by the way, yes. I still have some of it.

So my father, who felt responsible for the family, he was totally in pieces, he just got dressed and got the papers that they wanted him to get. And I was in my room and got dressed, and I remember, I just felt I had to pack up something. I couldn't go and get the suitcases. I didn't know what to do, or what to pack, and so I got a sheet off -- just grabbed a sheet -- and put bread and sausage and



apples in it [laughs]. I made a bundle of it. That came in very handy for quite awhile, I think about three or four days or something. That was more instinct than anything else.

So then they gathered us up, and eventually, quite a few Jewish families, quote "the prominent" families, showed up first, and we were in a Jewish school. Oh, before that, they said that all the silver and jewelry has to be delivered, wherever, we had to deliver it. And quite a bit, I think, was gathered up and delivered. I remember something like that taking place. We also had some other things hidden. We had a very nice Protestant minister friend, and he hid quite a bit of our belongings that I had to carry up to his place, because I was inconspicuous, you know, I was fourteen years old.

Q: YOU DID THAT BEFORE THEY PICKED YOU UP?

A: Yes. Yes, yes.

Q: YOU HAD A FEELING THEY WOULD PICK YOU UP.

A: Well, we knew there was trouble. We didn't know they would pick us up, but we knew there was trouble. We heard those things from Czechoslovakia, that they're taking Jews, but where to or what happens, or that they take their belongings. So my mother felt that

she would rather have these people have it than anybody else, and they promised to save things for us. And quite a few of our friends, Gentile friends, did. They just did. I have things today, for instance, bedding that I put away, that they saved for us. I put it away as a memory. I don't use it.

So, well anyway, then we were in a schoolyard, and eventually, more and more people came. We still haven't seen Germans. We still were occupied -- they still were the Hungarians. And that night, some horse and buggies showed up, and they put us in horse and buggies, and they took us away. We didn't know where. We found out the reason they did that at night, because they didn't want to cause a big havoc, that people may not want the people to be carried away. Because everybody was not hateful. A lot of the peasants were, probably even later on more so, but a lot of them were not.

Q: COULD YOU TELL ME IN PERCENTAGES WHAT YOU....

A: No, I can't, I can't. I just was too young probably to get any -- I don't know. But I do know that even after we got to the ghetto -- well, okay, with the horse and buggy, we wound up in a ghetto.

Q: WHERE?

A: In Satoraljaujhely. Anyway, that's in Hungary.

Q: HOW FAR?

A: About 35 kilometers or 50 kilometers -- no, about that, I don't know. And, let's see, how did it go? Okay. So more and more people came in the ghetto from all over the area, not just from the winery area, but from all over, quite a distance. And seemed like a lot of friends came together, you know, people knew each other.

Then they had to open up a quote "Jewish hospital," because a lot of people were old and sick, and et cetera, and a lot of Jewish physicians were in the ghetto. So they vacated a school that was used as a school before it was a ghetto area, and opened a hospital there. And we all volunteered to work in the hospital. I remember my first surgery that I assisted, at the age of fourteen [laughing]. By candlelight, flashlight, you name it. It was a hernia, it was an old gentlemen. Everything went fine during the operation. I only fainted when it was over, so that was okay.

Q: BUT THEY HAD MEDICINES?

A: Very little, yes. The doctors, you see, that's what I'm trying to say, the doctors had connections, the

people had connections, yes, didn't have all the medicines, didn't have everything that was needed, but managed, still managed. And the patients who they were operated on, and there were not many, only the most important cases they 'd take, consider. But people felt it's better now than wherever they take us. They didn't know, we didn't know where they're taking us. So like this old gentlemen, as I say, he had a hernia. So he said, "Well, it should have been done long ago, but now let's do it before they take us who knows where," you know, these kind of cases we had. Well, anyway, then they let a few people, including my father, go out of the ghetto with --I don't know where they got horse and buggies -- but the peasants gave them horse and buggies, to gather up food.

Q: HOW WERE YOUR ACCOMMODATIONS IN THE GHETTO? HOW DID YOU LIVE THERE?

A: Lots and lots of people in one room. I don't know how many. I mean a lot, like fourteen, sixteen, I don't know. A lot of people. But I do not remember arguments or fights, I really don't. I remember we were with friends, the families' friends. And I think everybody was more heartbroken, more scared,

more unhappy, but -- and felt empathy for each other. But I don't remember anybody fighting amongst each other, which couldn't be the case today probably, you know. And we shared, I remember that. We really shared. Values have changed a lot. I remember my mother saying, and she said it later on, too, that, "All these years I was giving bread to the poor. Now I will give cake to the poor." So it was, you know, this type of atmosphere. So anyway, Father and some friends got out of the ghetto and gathered up food, and the food was given to them by peasants, by other friends, by stores, by whoever, whichever, and they came in with horse-and-buggy loads of food.

Q: DO YOU REMEMBER YOUR PARENTS TAKING MONEY OUT, MONEY WITH THEM OUT OF THE GHETTO?

A: No, I don't remember, but I do remember them burying it in the ghetto. That I remember, because I helped bury jewelry, bury money -- I'm jumping ahead, because when we came back and we went there to find it, I think that's the only new building that was built in that area, was on that area where we buried [laughing]. It's an apartment building in that area. Never had an apartment building, you know, few stories high, except now. So that was the end of

that. So we were in a ghetto about a month, three weeks to a month, or maybe longer...maybe longer, yes, because I had my birthday in a ghetto. So after that, they took us to Auschwitz.

Q: HOW?

A: How? The usual way, in the wagons, in the, what do you call them?

Q: CATTLE CARS?

A: Cattle cars, yeah. As a matter of fact, I remember I wrote to one of my childhood friends that, "We are in a ghetto," where we are, and he was at that time I think in the military already, and he came back to the ghetto to try to get us out. I found that out later. And he wasn't able to, because we were just being put in the cattle cars. Because he had a uniform on. I could see him; that is, we could see him. I don't know if he could have gotten us out, but he did try. And we could see -- by that time, the Germans were there.

All of sudden, the change was taking place and the Germans were there. So I could see them pushing him away, we could see him through the little opening. But we were in the cattle cars, and I don't remember how many -- I blocked it out.

Q: OF YOUR FAMILY THERE WERE....

A: No...how many people from our family, no. Because in the meantime, they brought my Grandma in, and that's all four, actually, my mother's mother...And we were in there about three and a half days. I don't remember what we had to eat. I don't even remember if we had anything to eat. I think I blocked it out. I do remember trying to get air, I do remember looking through little openings, trying to guess where we are -- of course, we couldn't -- and there were buckets for other purposes.

And then we arrived to a place... where, how can I describe that sight? I'm sure many people described it. Lots and lots of chaos, lots and lots of people, and people with stripes -- that's how my impression was. Lots of people with striped outfits, everybody was screaming, everybody was hollering, except those people with the striped outfits. Instinctively, I am sure we knew they were Jews. We never thought of jail or anything of the sort. We instinctively just looked at them and you could tell. I don't -- we just did.

Q: HAD YOU HEARD THE NAME "AUSCHWITZ" BEFORE?

A: No. Never, never. However, when we worked in the hospital, there were some people who escaped from Czechoslovakia, who escaped from Poland -- Jews-- who were caught and taken into the ghetto. And one in particular, he had the hiccups. We heard him hiccup, constantly hiccuped, I don't know from what. And he used to say that, "None of you will live through it. None of us will live through it." That horrible things there were happening. But never the word "Auschwitz." And never detailed what is happening.

And I used to think then that I have to live through. What do you mean, I won't live through it? I have to live through it! You know, when you're that young and healthy, you don't think, "Well, I won't live through something."

So anyway, back to Auschwitz. We didn't even know it was Auschwitz, but... we just stood in lines. They took Grandma away immediately, and there was another friend of ours with us, and she had a little baby, oh, about a year and a half or a year old, a year and a half. And they grabbed that little kid and put it in an old lady's hand, and I still see that little kid screaming, "Mommy, Mommy, Mommy,



Mommy." I mean, in Hungarian. And reaching out, and nobody could grab that kid. I mean, you know, certain pictures stay with you forever and ever.

And one of the people with the striped outfits said -- and he wasn't German, but he spoke German-- and he said, "Stand in the outside line," to me. I don't know why, but I did, and then we were the five in a row. And they took the men aside, to the other side, and my father said, "Take care of your mother." That's the last thing he said. And Mother was always, you know, very beautiful, very society-oriented, but very nice. Very nice. Very warm, giving. And Father adored her. That's all there is to it. They had a very happy marriage.

Q: DO YOU KNOW HOW OLD THEY WERE AT THE TIME?

A: Of course, of course. Mother was 36 and Father was 44 when he died, so he must have been -- no, Mother must have been 35, because a year later, and Father was 43. And he died when he was 44. So anyway, that was the introduction to Auschwitz we got. Eventually, the selection was over, and we got into the barrack. And I remember there was a relative of mine, and she was expecting. And they were saying-- that was evening, that was night.

It was unbelievable, it was an enormous area, seems like thousands of people, and the Germans and the dogs -- it was just unbelievable. And they said something that whoever was expecting should -- would get milk. And I remember her going forward, and they took her away. We never seen her again. Later we found out that all of these people were gassed, but we didn't know it. So that was a lesson: Never volunteer for anything, no matter what. And we decided, we'd just -- going to stay gray. Mother's description, "Stay gray." Inconspicuous, in other words.

Q: YOU WERE WITH YOUR MOTHER AND GRANDMOTHER OR YOUR GRANDMOTHER...

A: Grandmother was taken immediately. She was taken...

Q: Actually, there were just your mother and....

A: Yes. But actually, Grandma was only 56. So she was not an old lady, not today. So yes, Mother and I. And we realized or heard or whatever, that you're not supposed to be mother and daughter, because they will separate you. So we didn't. We didn't say anymore that, "We are mother and daughter," but we stayed together, thick or thin. Even to the bathroom, we tried to go together.

So that was an unbelievably horrible night, and of course, then we went through the hair-cutting procedure and the spraying with DDT, and all of that. I don't --I remember it, I see it, but all I remember is that unbelievable fear. Just so unbelievable, because it was so clear that there is nothing we can do, and we are totally at the mercy of our quote "enemy." And they came with the whip, and they shouted and they screamed, and the dogs, it was dreadful.

Well, anyway, we stayed in Auschwitz some weeks. We got one piece of clothes that they gave us. And we didn't work. It was hot, it was dusty. We just sat around. Sometimes they took some people to do an hour's work or a few hours' work, but we really didn't work.

Q: DID YOU HAVE THE COUNTING, WHAT THEY CALLED THE AU PAIR?

A: Yes. Yes.

Q: WOULD YOU DESCRIBE THAT A LITTLE?

A: Well, we had to stand five in a row, in a line, and we always had the same five. Actually, there were more in our group who were friends than five. And most of the time, I had to stand in front. Probably

because, who knows? I don't know. Later on, I figured because I was healthier than most of them, but at that time I didn't know it yet.

Then we decided we'd alternate, somebody else stands in front, just to be fair about it, because they were always selecting people. Like it started-- not always, periodically -- they'd take every tenth or every seventh or every fifth, or started backwards or forwards. I don't know, some did come back. Some never came back. Sometimes they just took them for work this way. Other times, obviously to the gas chamber. But we didn't -- we knew about the gas chamber. We could smell the -- we could smell the crematorium, the smell, we could see the gas chamber, the flames. We could -- we knew what was going on by then. Besides, people were talking. So anyway, after awhile, some weeks later, they put us in a transport to Plaszow.

Q: TO WHERE?

A: To Plaszow, that is the outskirts of Krakow. What was interesting, for one day before we got in the transport -- of course, we didn't know where we were going, but they still -- again, we went through a selection, selectation. And then we lost --did we

lose her there or later? Yes, our rabbi's wife and one of her daughters. And the daughter was only fifteen or sixteen. Absolutely beautiful, but she had a pimple or something on her back.

Well, anyway, I will come to that; that came later. I'm jumping ahead of myself. I haven't thought of this for all this time. Anyway, we got, they put us in another camp in Auschwitz, in another section. And there, people had clothes. I mean, regular clothing! And they had scarves, and they had clean rooms, and they had a table. It turned out that it was a different part of Auschwitz, and this is how it was. We never knew anything about it, but that's where our transport went from.

From that part of Auschwitz did our transport go to Krakow. There we worked for many, many months. I don't know the time. I'm sorry, I don't know. We stayed in barracks where the Jewish cemetery used to be, the old Krakow cemetery. And we worked in a quarry, breaking stones. Don't ask me for what, what they planned on building with those stones, I don't know. And one day, somehow, Mother got into the sewing group. They asked who could sew. Mother never sewed in her days, in her life, but she

volunteered, and they took her and they didn't take me. So she was in where they brought in the -- from the front -- the dirty, bloody uniforms, and they had to be mended.

And then, they were looking for somebody who knew anything about woodworking, carpentry. And I volunteered for that [laughing]. And somehow, I got into the carpentry shop. Didn't last long, but I tried. I don't even know what you call it, they-- we had to, what you call that when you smooth knobs?

Q: A LATHE?

A: I don't know. Smooth knobbed wood? You know...

Q: POLISH?

A: No, sand it, not sand it, but...

Q: TO SAND?

A: No, not sand it, it was a machine that you had to use. Well, anyway, it didn't last long, but at least that was inside, see, and Mother was inside, too. But most of the time, we worked in a quarry. And that was cold, but we had our barracks, and we slept again on those big -- well, about sixteen of us in a room. In Plaszow, yes.

Q: WHAT ABOUT FOOD?

A: Food, we got some kind of a soup every day. We got some kind of a soup with coffee in the morning. It wasn't coffee, it was hickory, or whatever that was.

Q: CHICORY?

A: Whatever, I don't know.

Q: CHICORY, YES.

A: Chicory?

Q: YES.

A: Okay, whatever it was. And we got a piece of bread, I think one-fourth of a loaf of bread. And in the evening -- the bread we got in the evening. Anyway, on a bridge or a bed, or what shall I call it? Where we slept.

Q: A BUNK.

A: Well, it's a bunk, but huge. A lady was with us who was expecting. And somehow, we were able to hide it. But then the baby came, and they couldn't hide it anymore. So they took her away, and she had to watch how they killed her baby. And... a lot of things were absolutely horrible. However, personally, I was never beaten. A lot of people were. We were scared to death of the kapos, needless to say. And there was one -- there was also a bunker, and in the

bunker, they used to do whatever they wanted to do to the people who they took down to the bunker.

And one day, this couple who seemed to be really nice and wasn't really Polish, spoke a perfect German instead of the Polish-accented German, took me and said, "We are going to the bunker." And again, the fear, that's all I can say. And they took me down to the bunker, and I don't know, I don't know what got into me, but I have never been exposed in my life to really bad, bad, bad people. You know?

So I said to him that, "Please don't do anything bad to me. You want me to work harder, I will." And he said, "I didn't want to hurt you." Says, "You are just over, totally overworked, you're going to collapse. I wanted you to be here awhile." Well, the quarry is not the easiest place to work. We carried these big stones and broke the big stones.

So anyway, he started telling me about his life. He was from Plaszow in the factory, had a wife and a son, and his name was Howard Alexander. And then I told him, "I am with my mother." And I rested about, I don't know how long. My mother almost died because she got it through the grapevine that I am in the bunker. And took me back, and then went to Mother.



And from that time on, periodically, he brought us extra food. So then, all of a sudden, we -- oh, while we were in Krakow, I was in a quarry, and Mother was, Mother was working in the sewing shop. They brought in all these people from the city of Krakow, and they tortured them, something horrendous. Some people said they were gentle, some people said they cut Jews, some people said political, nobody really knew who they were. Some were -- we could hear the screams. It was horri -- unbelievable. And then, they had to go up the hill, and they were shot to death. They had to go in the...

Q: PIT?

A: Pit, yeah. That they dug, we didn't have to dig it, they dug it. I never seen the pit there myself. Every time that something like that was going on, if I possibly could, I didn't go that way. I don't know. Again, survival instinct. I remember when the moon came out or the stars, I used to look at that, because it was nice. It was peaceful.

So then, we knew that the Russians were-- somebody was coming. We could hear bombing and shots and everything. When the bombing was going on, didn't bother us. We were glad that they were

bombing. And then, it was again that we were supposed to be transported, we are going back to Auschwitz. Well, by that time, we knew if we going back to Auschwitz, that's gas chamber. I mean, by that time, we were well-educated.

Oh, yeah... before that, I don't know what happened. They got angry at us, and they put us, some of us, in a barrack that was flea-infested, unbelievably. It was like poppyseed. For some reason. It was one night. But you could just brush the fleas, I mean just like that [brushes arm]. Of course, what we, how we were bitten is another story, but somehow we lived through it.

So then, came that thing that we are going back to Auschwitz, and I was in a group going back to Auschwitz. Mother was still working in a sewing shop. And we had a curfew, I think it was when the transport was getting ready, was 5:00 or something like that. It was winter, it was fairly dark by then. And we had a chief kapo, we called him "The Snake." I don't know his name, because they never introduced themselves, so how would we know? And he was horrible. And he said if anybody comes out of the barracks after that time, he will kill them. And

Mother did come out of the barrack and went to him, and said, "My daughter is in the transport. Let me go with her." You can't imagine what heroism that took, because he was so cruel. He was so cruel. And he said, "Run," and had the gates opened where we were, and they were, there was electric, not electric, how you call the wires?

Q: BARBED WIRE.

A: Barbed, yeah, I can't think of it now. There was all that barbed wire and the ditch. And the barbed wire was in a ditch, so we could not escape, of course. And they opened the gate for Mother, and he said to her, "Run." And Mother was sure he will shoot her from -- in the back. And she fell in a ditch, and she tore her arm here. And of course, it got infected, needless to say. So when they put us in a transport, again, the cattle car and so forth. I don't know how long we were in there, that I completely blacked out. All I know is that Mother's arm was getting worse, and we had to get rags from our outfit and tie, tie it, and do the best we could with it.

And when we arrived to Auschwitz, that's when the rabbi's wife, yeah. Then they took her away and

her daughter away, and they sort of ran back. It was night, it was always night, it was always the dogs, it was always this horror, screaming. Anyway, they ran back, Moritza, the daughter, ran back to our group. Okay. Well, somehow they noticed it, and they did another selection, a complete selection all over again. I don't know how many people they took out, but Moritza was out again, and she and her mother got killed -- went to the gas chamber.

And then, morning came, and we were going through the gate again, back into Auschwitz. And we didn't know who these people were, except that they were SS. And at that time, definitely, I had to be in an outside line, because Mother was, well, her arm had to be hidden somehow, and she was naked. So it had to be, you know, like this [demonstrates], going straight, and other people.

And as we went, this man said, sort of -- we stopped, and he sort of pointed toward Mother. He didn't send her away yet, he just sort of like this. And I said to him, I was only 14 years old or 15 years old, see. "I give you my word of honor, I will work for her, too." Word of honor, big deal. And he did like this [gestures], said, "Go." Later on, I

found out it was Mengele. They said, "How could you?" If you don't know, you don't know. I mean, just plain dumb, just don't know. If I would have known who he was, I would have probably been frozen.

Q: HOW DID YOU FIND OUT IT WAS MENGELE?

A: There people were talking, you know, people like-- people are talking. "This was Mengele, this is this, this is that," you know. So we were together again. Then we stayed again in Auschwitz for awhile. Don't know how long, three weeks, two weeks. And my best friend's friend and her mother stayed behind. We grew up together, we, we were together all the time. And they selected us again for a transport, Mother and I. Oh, no, no. What happened was periodically, they chose people to go to the kitchen to get the food, and we were already selected for the transport, and from that transport, they selected some people, and that was my girlfriend's mother. And she went to the kitchen to get the food, and I think she stole supposedly some potatoes, I don't know what. But they beat her to death. And my girlfriend never came with us. All I found out, that she died. She just didn't want to live anymore.

So then we went to Markkleeberg, which is outskirts of Leipzig. There, we at least got a coverall, and we worked in a Junkers factory. We made, supposedly made, airplane parts, tiny little airplane parts. We worked sixteen, eighteen hours a day, stayed up....

END TAPE 1, SIDE 1

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BEGIN TAPE 1, SIDE 2

A: ...so there, we were only fourteen or fifteen hundred woman, sixteen to twenty in a room. Regular room, but it was a storm barracks. Most of our overseers were woman; there were some men. Our obersturmfuhrer was our obersturmfuhrer. Actually, considering some of the obersturmfuhrers that we heard of, he wasn't really that bad; he didn't beat us. And in the factory itself, it wasn't unbearably cold, because it was inside, and we worked on machines.

Some of the SS woman were better, others worse. The overseers, I'm talking about. However, in the factory itself, the immediate supervisors were from Holland and Belgium, who were anti-Nazis, young men, only men, and they were taken away, but they were Gentiles, and that was like forced labor. So they

were our immediate supervisors; the SS was just wandering around, but they had nothing to do with our production. And... what was his name, I couldn't-- it was an engineer there in the factory, I can't think of his name.

And one day he said to Mother that, "You know, I am not a Nazi. I am an engineer, and," -- oh, yeah, I know. He wanted somebody to clean his office, and that's what he said, that he -- he was telling Mother that he is not a Nazi, and he would like to help as much as he could, and asked, said that he will ask for somebody to clean the office. And he asked for Mother. His office, that is.

Q: WAS HE GERMAN?

A: He was German, he was German. It starts with "H," I can't think of his name now. Yeah, but nonetheless, he was -- he helped us. And Mother cleaned the office, besides working, of course. After she cleaned his office, she came out and worked at the machines. But whenever he could, he left something out for us. If it was an onion, if it was an egg, if it was -- whatever it was. And he told Mother that he cannot give it to her, but every time -- any time something is there, certain place, that's what it is

for. And he walked out of the office so Mother can take it.

Then we had a Dutch young man, as I say, on forced labor, and he brought us onions. Where he got it, I don't know, but he did bring us onions. So then came '44, yeah. We worked in a Junkers factory, we had that long piece of clothes; then we got very smart...

Q: ONE PIECE OF -- I'D LIKE TO KNOW HOW YOU WERE DRESSED.

A: Of clothing; coverall, one piece of coverall and wooden shoes.

Q: THE SAME SHOES YOU STARTED OFF WITH OR...

A: No, no, started with our own shoes, and then I think we got this wooden (lotches) in Plaszow. You know, the Dutch, the Holland (lotches)?

Q: YES.

A: It was terrible to work for us, it was terrible to work or walk in.

Q: NO STOCKINGS OR SOCKS.

A: No, no. But then, in Plaszow, we got different kind of wooden shoes. They were sort of ankle-high, and... yeah. Actually, we even had a canteen where we, if we did more work than production was required,



we got little tags, little tickets, and we could get soap powder, some kind of a soap powder, and what else... those wooden shoes and God only knows, something to that effect.

It was very important to them that the production should be high; however, in every box of work that we got, that we had to work, there were a lot of (ouches), bad ones, because we were not trained, first of all, and secondly, we were not that ambitious, and thirdly, it was dark, because the building was bombed and no light. Aside from that, it was all, how shall I put it, the walls were barricaded with wood, because they had nothing anymore to have light with. So we worked quite a bit in the dark.

Q: COULD YOU SIT?

A: We -- I couldn't, but some machines required that you sit. So anyway, then came '44 Christmas Eve, and Fred, one of the Holland or Dutch fellows, said that, "I have a gift for you." It was water to take a bath, to wash, warm water. Well again, I left a lot of things out. First of all, most of the people spoke Yiddish. Very few of us spoke whole Dutch. So the ones who spoke whole Dutch could communicate a

lot better with the people; that included the overseers. So there was a relationship to some extent.

Second thing is, Mother insisted that no matter how cold it was, had to wash, and no matter how many hours we worked. And in a washroom, drips of water only, because otherwise, the pipes would freeze, so they let them drip, drip, drip. We had to wash in that, like it or not. And that was it.

And I say "we" because in our room in a barrack, there were about three ladies who were older. The rest of us were younger. I was the youngest, but nonetheless, they were in their twenties, so -- early thirties or late twenties. And in charge were the three older ladies. One was my mother, then another friend of hers who also had her daughter with her, Hanash, and then an attorney friend of my mother's. And those three ladies gave us orders, and we better listen. And so we washed.

Then, when we went to bed, cold bed, we slept together, two people, because we had a straw sack on the bunk, and another straw sack over us. And would you believe, our three ladies insisted that we take that darn coverall off, put the seams together, and

we had to put it under the straw sack. And every morning, that had a crease like this [demonstrates], for moral booster. Then we had to recite two or three, like it or not, no matter what we had to do it, we were playing -- no matter how tired we were, we had to play certain games where you had to think. It's just how it was. That was expected of us, and it seemed to us that it was dumb.

Q: YOU WERE ONLY AMONG HUNGARIANS?

A: Yes. They were in Plaszow, they were -- I mean, not in Plaszow, Markkleeberg, out of Leipzig. They had some partisans, French partisans, because we are right in the woods, and they had partisans outside. And periodically, they come all the way down to our camp and told us about news and told, sometimes, they even threw newspapers in. There was no gas chamber there.

You see, there were fifteen of us, so they took chances, a lot more than any place else they could have. So anyway, we knew certain things that was going -- so back to work, so back to the Christmas Eve. Fred said he had warm water to wash, and I was trying to wash myself, not undressed, at least I don't think so; I don't remember that. And I got

caught by SS woman. And when we got back to the barracks Christmas morning, then she made-- actually, I wasn't the only one got caught, it's about four or five, or how many of us were caught.

Q: WHERE DID YOU HAVE THAT BATH?

A: It wasn't the bath; he brought in the bucket of warm water from somewhere. To the machine, to the machine where we were working, you see. And so we had warm water to wash in. I remember I stuck my foot in it, but I don't remember anything more or, you know, I know I had the coverall on, so I must have pulled it up or something.

Anyway, we got into the barrack, and they made us undress, and stay in snow. Not naked, we had something on. I remember having something on. But I remember also not having my pants on. Oh, to start with, while we were working there in the machines, we were using certain sandpaper, certain type of sandpapers, and we figured it out, that if we washed those sandpapers in the solution that was running through the machines, the sandpaper part came out, and the material stayed. There was a material. And I remember we made panties out of it.

Q: A SORT OF CLOTH.

12.0  
A: Yes, sort of thin cloth, and we made panties out of it, and some people even tied it together and made a bra out of it, who needed it. And we also made hankies out of it. So anyway, we had to stand in the snow that morning, Christmas morning, from the time we came back from work until about three or four hours, but then the obersturm and (INAUDIBLE), and his wife and grandchild are getting ready to go to church, and they knew me because I had to interpret periodically for him. And he asked me what I did, and I told him that I washed. And he mumbled something and went in, and then his wife looked up, and she must have said something to him because he said, "That's enough of that, you go back to the barrack," all of us. So that was end of the punishment.

Q: YOU STILL DID NOT TELL ME ABOUT THE PUNISHMENT.

A: Oh, we had to stand in the snow.

Q: HOW LONG?

A: Well, we came back about seven or eight o'clock in the morning, and until about eleven or so, maybe ten-thirty; I don't know. We had no watches, we just looked at the sky. But around that time. And that's when they came out, they were -- they looked like

they're going to church, they were all dressed for church. And either the obersturm or his wife, whoever it was, but definitely she looked out, and she must have said something to him, because he came out and says, "Go back to the barracks." So that was the end of that punishment. And of course, in the barracks they were rubbing us to get the circulation back and so forth, and fortunately, nothing else happened, except heavy frostbite in this area, in my leg area, but could have been a heck of a lot worse than that.

Q: WHAT ABOUT YOUR MOTHER?

A: Mother was not caught, she wasn't washing at the time, and she was in the barrack. Everybody went in the barrack, because we were -- I remember then we worked through all night, we worked through all night at the time, and we came back. 'Cause that's how we were washing, because they brought water in the evening, and it was morning when we came back from work. So anyway, that was Christmas.

Q: 1944.

A: '44, going on '45. Well, yes, '44, yeah. So we had one horrible SS overseer, a woman, who we were scared to death of, and Mother just reminded me when she was

here last time, that she never heard anybody getting such a slap in the face than I got that night. And I didn't even remember it until she mentioned it, when she caught me washing.

Q: WHEN SHE CAUGHT YOU WASHING?

A: Yes.

Q: WHAT NATIONALITY WAS SHE?

A: German, they were all German, they were all German, those people, the woman. We thought the men were too, but it turned out one of them wasn't. So anyway, then we expected somebody to occupy us. We could hear the shots going on, and the bombing was going on, and everything was happening, and then they took us on a hunger march. But by that time, it was interesting, because we knew the war must come to an end, because the SS was very restless, and frequently we noticed that under their coats, the SS woman had civilian clothes on.

Q: HOW WAS SHE DRESSED OTHERWISE?

A: In uniform. An SS coat, SS uniform. It was winter.

Q: THE WOMAN HAD THE SAME COATS AS THE MEN HAD?

A: Yes, yes, the military. But we noticed that frequently they had civilian clothes under the coat, which has never happened before, and all the signs we

watch for. So anyway, we went on a hunger march. We marched sixteen days... on our feet, and through Germany, all the way down to, I mean, from Leipzig all the way down to Theresienstadt.

Q: HOW MANY OF YOU?

A: Well, we started out at fifteen hundred. I don't know how many of us arrived. Oh, before I go on to that, I have to tell you, we had a baby. We had a baby. And the lady didn't know, supposedly, that she was expecting. She was not in our building, she was in another building, and one night, she was -- we heard one evening this horrible screaming. And the screaming was so bad that they -- all of a sudden, the obersturmfuhrer showed up. And the result of the screaming was a baby, and the lady insisted that she didn't even know she was expecting. So...

Q: MAY I ASK YOU A QUESTION?

A: Sure.

Q: THAT WAS 1944, RIGHT?

A: That was 1944.

Q: HOW LONG HAD THAT LADY BEEN IN THE CAMP? DO YOU KNOW THAT?

A: Must have been the same length of time as we were by that time.



Q: SO OVER NINE MONTHS?

A: I don't know, come to think of it.

Q: I JUST WONDER HOW SHE GOT PREGNANT.

A: I don't know. She got pregnant before, maybe. Wait a minute. If she -- no! Because if she was deported in April, and that was December...

Q: THE SAME YEAR.

A: Nine months, there you go. So anyway, she didn't know. That's what she said. Nobody could imagine that she didn't know, but that's what she said. Because that's what went through the whole camp, that she didn't know. Anyway, the obersturmfuhrer did not get rid of this baby. [pause] He -- they took her to the hospital, they took her to the hospital, and supposedly, she came back, but the baby supposedly was not killed. What happened to the baby, I don't know, but she came back alone.

Then we had another baby, and that lady knew that she was pregnant, and that baby was hidden in the camp, because we had medical office, a medical room, or how shall I say. And the doctor was Yoja, Yoja. We called her "Auntie Yoja." And she hid the baby.

Q: THE DOCTOR?

A: Yes. And the baby was hidden between barracks, between people, but in the medical office, the baby was hidden as long as it could be. But I don't know, one day before we went on a hunger march, before we went to Theresienstadt, the obersturmfuhrer found out, and he said something like he's sending her to the hospital, that he does know about the baby, but she cannot go on a march where we are going. We didn't know where we going, but she could not go. Now we were sure that they killed her; however, later on at home I found out they were both alive.

Q: AT WHAT HOME -- WHEN YOU SAID "A HOME."

A: When I got back to Hungary. I found out they were both alive. So, through the grapevine, through this "she says, he says" type of a story; however, they said that they did take her to the hospital, and by that time there was such a chaos in the hospital, and the hospital was a hospital, so they didn't kill them. So you see, what a lot has to do with that? It's unbelievable.

So anyway, we went on a hunger march, and for sixteen days, and we got once in awhile a raw potato, once in awhile they made some soup somewhere, I don't know where; some big barrels showed up. But most of

the time, we got a raw potato, like every twenty-four hours, sometimes thirty-six hours, whatever. I remember one time we went through a town, and they had milk containers. Early morning, it was. We marched a lot early morning. During the day, they didn't march us as much. We stayed most of the time during the -- well, once in awhile, they marched us day, but most of the time evening. We stayed in the woods in the snow. We slept in the snow. We slept again in a robe, and alternating who is outside to keep each other warm. And anyway, we found these milk cartons.

Q: THEY WERE CARTONS?

A: Milk containers. Containers of milk. You know, those metal containers?

Q: OH, THE METAL CONTAINERS, YES.

A: Yeah. And I know we broke into them and stole the milk, drank the milk. At the time, we were in a village, and they... were shooting at us. That was daytime. The Allied forces were shooting, because we were -- the troops, the German troops to what, Berlin, and we were sort of covering -- they were camouflaged, and we were on the side marching toward Theresienstadt. Opposite direction. But

nonetheless, we were visible while they were camouflaged.

Q: DID YOU KNOW YOU WERE GOING TO THERESIENSTADT?

A: No, but we -- we didn't know where we were going, we just knew we were going, and anyway, they were shooting, and there was a horse and buggy, but without the horse, and I don't know what happened to the horses. And we hid under the buggy, about five, six of us. And Mother all of a sudden said, "Only our heads are covered, they can shoot us in our back or in the derriere. This is no good to hide." And she saw a sign and said Gaststatte [German word for inn], and that was burning, and we ran in a Gaststatte, regardless.

Q: INTO AN INN.

A: Into the inn, yeah. And somehow we found the food chamber, the pantry.

Q: THERE WAS NOBODY AT THE INN?

A: They all ran out, because it was burning, but we ran in. And we found the pantry, and in the pantry they had eggs, they had cherry comfort, they had a man's shirt -- I mean whatever they had there, we tried to take it, and we had these coveralls, you know, and everything went into our pants, anything we could

find. And we came out wobbling low, that the scrambled eggs almost [laughing], because mind you, the cherry jam with the jar was right in with the raw eggs! Whatever we could.

Anyway, we ate them. We shared it, not because we were so generous, probably, but if we wouldn't have shared it, they would have beaten us, I guess [laughing]. We shared it. But anyhow, we had that, we had that; I remember that so clearly.

So then we continued on a march, and we arrived to a meadow. It had snow on it, but it was kind of nice meadow, and there was a creek, and that's where we were resting. And Mother and I went to the creek -- it wasn't far -- we could walk in that area to get some water. It was ice water, but it was water. And a German came, and he said that this range or farm or what is his, and he would hide us. And so the five of us who stayed -- who were friends and stayed in the same row during appelle, all that time, went over.

My mother is the type who people love to talk to, warm up to very easily; they just do. And so we went over, and he had a --where the -- on a haystack. He took a ladder and he said we should climb up and

stay up on a loft where -- on the top of the haystack. And we did. And all of a sudden, he came back and took the ladder away, and went toward the Germans. We could look out, you know, it was -- we could look out. And he went where the Germans were, where the whole group was. And so it is obvious that he is reporting us. So we jumped off of that darn haystack; it was scary, to say the least, you know, here again amongst your enemies in a strange land; and all of a sudden, this old SS man came. And he-- oh, Mother knew him.

Q: IN UNIFORM?

A: In uniform. He was one of our guides. He used to talk to Mother, and he used to tell Mother that he didn't want to be in SS, that they just grabbed him, and he is too old for all this, and so forth. So he said, "Oh, it's you people, and I have to take you back!" when he recognized that it was us. And he says, "Well, I tell you what, which way did you get here?"

And Mother said, "This way, through the creek." And he said, "Well, I came from this direction, because he reported you." Says, "Go back the way you came. Try to stand in the line in the appelle,

because it's an appelle they're counting. And I will take my time coming back, and I will tell them I looked all over for you, and I couldn't find you. If they recognize you, they will shoot you."

So we went back, we got back in our line. Eventually, the old SS man showed up. I mean, he was old. He was in his fifties, to me he was old. And he said he couldn't find us, so they had the German look for us -- you know, we had to stand there in appelle -- he couldn't recognize us. We looked all alike. You know, we all had our hair cut, it's all the same coveralls, didn't recognize us. That was another of those lucky breaks, or whatever. So then we went and somewhere in the fields where we slept, we found rubers.

Q: BEETS.

A: Beets. Three beets we had. And we carried those darn beets; it was, we wouldn't part with those beets or eat them for anything, because that was security. And we arrived at Theresienstadt, and then the SS told us that we are going to the gas chamber.

Q: THEY TOLD YOU ACTUALLY.

A: Yes. "You will be gassed here." And we are standing again in appelle inside of Theresienstadt, but the

gates were still open, so part of the group was still outside. We were, I don't know how many of us were, because a few of them were shot during the hunger march -- not many of us. However, we'd seen a lot of their bodies -- mans' bodies more than womans'.

Q: YOU WERE MEN AND WOMEN MIXED THEN.

A: No, we were woman only, but on this march we seen bodies who they must have shot before we marched. So anyway, we didn't lose terribly many woman, actually. We helped each other, and we were in fairly good shape, considering, because we worked in a factory, so they had to give us enough to sustain us. And we kept clean and all that.

Q: AND YOU HAD SHOES?

A: And we had those wooden...

Q: OR CLOGS, YEAH.

A: ....wooden, yes, shoes. So anyway, we -- there we are with our beets, and we are going to the gas chamber, and Mother says -- I'm trying to translate it -- "Well, we have to eat the beets. This is the time to eat the beets." And so we ate our beets. We were so gloated, it was terrible -- later, later, not immediately. We were sicker than you can imagine,



but we ate the beets. And something was wrong with the gas chamber.

Q: IT WAS IN THERESIENSTADT?

A: It was in Theresienstadt.

Q: THEY HAD GAS CHAMBERS?

A: They had gas chambers, they had gas chambers. Later on; at the beginning, they didn't. And -- at least, that's what they told us, that those three are the gas chambers -- it looked like a cellar, and they said, "Those are the gas chambers." I never been in there; I don't know, but that's what we were told.

Anyway, it went kaput; it didn't work, and we were not put in a gas chamber, but in a barrack close to it. That's what we were told. I never checked it out, because -- but that's what we were told. And Mother said, "Now they are not gassing us," and we ate all the beets. And she was serious about it-- you know, it just struck her, and we at that time didn't laugh about it. You know, at that time, we felt, "Oh, my God, we have no more beets!" I know it sounds illogical, but that's how it was.

So we were in Theresienstadt, and we found out-- okay, then other people were coming, man and woman, other people were coming, and we were always asking

people if they know anything about my father. And finally somebody came and said, "Yes, he is coming from Rehmsdorff. We are people from Rehmsdorff, we were so many and so many, but we only are about seventeen now, but yes, he's coming from Rehmsdorff."

So we were all -- God, we were so elated, the three of us will be together again, and then we found -- how was that? All of a sudden, we found my mother's brother in Theresienstadt also, and then he got -- yeah, we found my mother's brother, and he said to me, "Your father is not coming. Your father is dead. However, so-and-so didn't want to tell Mother," whoever it was who said that Father was alive. And I didn't tell Mother for awhile, and Mother was always talking about how great that Father is coming, how lucky we are, "Thanks God, the family will be together, at least us," and all that.

Finally one day, I said, "Mom," I couldn't take it anymore, and I said, "Father is not coming. Father is dead." And Mother went off her rocker totally. Totally. For days. And after that, we volunteered -- oh, and in the meantime, her brother got smallpox. So we volunteered in the smallpox

hospital. Mother went to med school at one time, before Grandpa decided that she shouldn't, it's not ladylike. So she worked in surgery in that hospital, and I was accepted to work with the smallpox patients. They were all man, and it was (stairway) across the street, and that's where the hospital was. And we volunteered, and we worked there. It was dreadful, because I couldn't come out; I had to stay there with them, because it was smallpox.

However, my uncle pulled through, and then he become something like the police chief amongst the deported people, the ones who came there. And Mother got better; then we found another cousin, who's now also in Canada, and we decided -- oh, and then the news was that the Russians want to take us to Russia, the ones who worked in the hospitals.

Q: NOW YOU GOT LIBERATED ALREADY.

A: Oh, yeah, I'm sorry.

Q: YES.

A: I'm sorry.

Q: IT'S ALL RIGHT.

A: So yeah. So one night, we were again -- they were barricaded, and that was -- we got told we were going to be gassed.

Q: YEAH.

A: And all of a sudden, there was this enormous noise, and we looked out through the openings of the barrack, and we didn't know what it was. All of a sudden, some -- it was just noise, and people were jumping across the street from the roofs and from the -- not from the roofs, out windows, men. We were again all woman. And we didn't know what was going on. We thought they're being killed, or who knows what.

All of a sudden, somebody broke open our door, and the Russians came in and freed us that night. And what happened, the man across the street went berserk, and some of them just jumped out of the windows and so forth. They just went berserk when the Russians came in. So that's when we found my uncle.

Q: WHERE YOU AFRAID OF THE RUSSIANS?

A: Yes. Yes. Actually, after they came in, they gave us three-day -- or everybody -- free looting. You know, you could go wherever you wanted to. We didn't know how to do that, so we didn't do it. However, somewhere along the line in one of the stores -- all the glass was broken, everything was broken in. That

was in Leitmeritz. It's a town outside of Theresienstadt.

And we got some kind of a bedding linen, a roll of bedding linen, and that was again just like the beets; we carried them all over -- all the way back to Hungary, for that matter. So -- oh, during that march, we were undressed one night, when they had that enormous bombing, and we heard later that they had 110,000 people dead.

Q: IN DRESDEN, YEAH.

A: Yeah. Somehow or other, we were in the outskirts of Dresden, and we were just laying on the snow, and I remember reaching under me, and something soft was there. That was a coat.

Q: A COAT?

A: A coat. And I had that coat all the way to Hungary. It was too small for Mother, but it was okay for me, so I was able to have a coat. I'm just jumping from place to place right now.

Q: OH, IT'S ALL RIGHT.

A: So anyway, well then, we were freed by the Russians. Yes, we were scared of the Russians -- we were scared to death of the Russians, but actually, they were very good to us. They were very careful what they

fed us with, contrary to a lot of the Americans, who didn't think of that, and they really wanted to be very good to the people and fed them. The Russians give us potatoes and cream of wheat and soups and so forth, so we were not sick. We were not sick. We were able to maintain our, you know, the food. So anyway, then we worked in a smallpox hospital after the -- we were freed.

Q: LIBERATION.

A: Yes. And that's when my uncle got better, and he said -- oh, and then the plan was that the Russians were going to take us to Russia. It was a big honor. And we were not going. So my uncle made us some slips -- give us some slips of paper that we can go into town to get some straw, and he came with us, and we escaped Theresienstadt.

Q: I DON'T UNDERSTAND THE PIECE OF PAPER.

A: It's just -- well, you see, you couldn't get out of Theresienstadt. Theresienstadt was closed. The Russians actually didn't let you out either.

Q: OH.

A: Only for looting for those three days, but after that we couldn't just come and go as we pleased.

Q: I SEE.

A: You had to have a pass to be able to go out to town for what, for what purpose.

Q: A PASS FROM THE RUSSIANS.

A: A pass -- somebody in authority.

Q: THE RIGHT MAN.

A: And my uncle was by that time the chief of police for the Heiflinger.

Q: OH, FOR THE INMATES.

A: For the inmates, yes.

Q: I SEE NOW, OH.

A: Yes. He got better, and he...

Q: HE WAS ABLE -- HE HAD AUTHORITY TO...

A: He had authority to get us our pass, and so he came with us, and that's how we escaped Theresienstadt, so that we didn't go to Russia. Then...

Q: IT WAS MAY BY THAT TIME, RIGHT?

A: That was May.

Q: MAY, YES.

A: That was May, yeah. So, yes, we were still in Theresienstadt, the eighth of May when [inaudible]; that's when the war was over.

Q: RIGHT. WHERE DID YOU GO THEN?

A: Well, we tried to get on various trains to get back to Hungary, but of course, the trains were not

running, and sometimes there was a train, sometimes there was no train, and eventually, we climbed up and we went for awhile; then the Russians took the caboose, or they took the train away, or whatever they did. We were on the road forever and ever, it seems to me, two or three weeks.

Q: WHAT ABOUT YOUR CLOTHING?

A: Nothing but what we had on.

Q: DID YOU WEAR THE STRIPE?

A: No, no.

Q: YOU WERE NEVER IN STRIPED CLOTHING?

A: I was never in striped clothes. We had a coverall. During Theresienstadt, my uncle found somehow, I don't know how, a white dress for me with blue polka dots, and I had that. I don't remember what Mother - Mother was a gray dress, some kind of a gray something, dark gray.

And eventually, we got somewhere, and we were trying to get on top of the train. The trains were full of people and animals, and you name it, I mean anything. Everything was trying to move, and of course, no food. And we got -- my girlfriend and I with our bale of -- with our linen, we got on top of the train someplace, at some point, and Mother, my



uncle, and another friend couldn't get up anymore. We couldn't pull them up. The train left. So there were we two kids together. She was three years older than me.

Anyway, that's it, on top of the train. That's how we arrived to outskirts of Vienna eventually, but it took us forever. But in Vienna, my parents and my grandfather had friends, and amongst them was Ralph (Vittenburg), who used to be a friend of my grandfather's. So I didn't know anybody else; I had to find -- of course, the Vittenburgs didn't exist by that time, and my girlfriend Alice and I, we had this enormous...

Q: PACKAGE.

A: ...package of linen or whatever, and I remember one night, we climbed up on a tree, linen and all, and stayed all night on a tree, because we were afraid of the Russian soldiers [laughing].

Q: IN VIENNA.

A: Outskirts of Vienna.

Q: OUTSKIRTS.

A: And the next morning, we went into the police headquarter. We just have to go somewhere, and we figured we'd go to the police headquarter. And lo

and behold, there was a young Jewish man who was in charge of something, and we were...

Q: AUSTRIAN?

A: Austria. Austria. Yes, yes. I don't know where he was, but he was back home already. And he put us up at his place, and he had a bathtub and he let us have a bath, and he kept us two or three days. We were waiting for my mother, my uncle, and the other friend. But they didn't come; they just didn't come.

Q: DID YOU EVER TALK TO YOUR MOTHER IN CASE YOU WERE SEPARATED, WHERE TO MEET?

A: No, we had no place to -- well, yes, in a way, because I knew that if Mother shows up in Vienna, they will go to Vittenburgs, but the Vittenburgs didn't exist. So anyway, we stayed there two or three days, and that was heaven. I mean, every day we had a bathtub if we wanted to.

And he was giving us food from somewhere -- he didn't stay, he stayed somewhere else. He let us have his place, and then we had to go back, we had to leave for Budapest. And he was trying, I don't know why or how, but he was trying to make some arrangement for us, but he couldn't get us on a

train. I mean, we just had to get back on the same routine, taking our linen and get on a train.

So eventually, we saw a train that had one section with people who we thought were Americans, because they had uniforms on, American uniforms. The rest of the train was loaded -- with goats and people and whatever. And so we climbed on a train, on that wagon, and asked if we could, well, stay. Now mind you, I don't know how we asked, because we only spoke Hungarian and German, definitely not English.

However, we found out that these were not American soldiers, these were Turkish and Greek young men, also from camps, who somehow got ahold of American uniforms, and as American, the Russians couldn't read anyhow, so they made out some sort of a little papers for themselves, and they got themselves this section of a train, and that's it.

So they of course let us get up and be with them, but we had no papers. And the Russian soldiers needed papers, even if they turned it upside down. So they decided that we'd just share a paper, and I don't know anybody else's name except that the one I shared it with was Kohen Sham, and he was Kohen and I was Sham. I couldn't -- wouldn't recognize him or--

nothing else except they allowed us to go in the train with them.

Periodically, the train stopped, the fellows went in the next village to try to get some food. One time a few of them were away, and lo and behold, the train was leaving. So we had to stop the train, because we told them Americans are -- by the way, they didn't speak good German either, but the two of us did. So we had to tell them that the Americans are in town, in the village, so they stopped the train until the Americans came back.

Well anyway, in return, when we got into Hungary, we had to see to it that they get food and all that, and by that time, Hungary actually had the (joint), which we didn't know of course, but by the time we got into the Budapest, they already had a (joint) there, and so we took him, we found out where some organizations are, and we took him there, and we never seen him again, but they were already taken care of in Hungary. But that's how we arrived in Hungary.

Q: DO YOU REMEMBER WHEN THAT WAS?

A: That was in early part of June.

Q: Forty-five.

A: Yeah. Late May, early part of June. So then we went to, back to the winery... I stayed in Budapest for awhile, but I couldn't find anybody except....

END TAPE 1, SIDE 2

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BEGIN TAPE 2, SIDE 1

A: ....So those lady probably wasn't quite old, but it seemed to me that she was quite a bit older than me, so -- and we found her barricaded in her house, amongst a bunch of furniture, totally, totally, crazy. I don't know what she went through. She did recognize me, but she was so frightened, she was sitting on top of all the furniture on something. It was an unbelievable sight. She was the only one who I found. And anyway, then we went on to the winery where my grandparents' house was. And...

Q: WHERE WAS YOUR MOTHER?

A: She was still over. My mother came much later. Well, what happened was that my mother had a sinus infection or something that she got during the hunger march, and in Vienna, when she and my uncle and the third person finally arrived to Vienna, which was quite a bit later than I did, and since my uncle was a physician, they tried to find a doctor, and Mother

had to go in a hospital, SS, as that hospital may have been.

And she told me later that the surgeon must have been an anti-Semite, because he said to her, actually operated on her sinuses, drained her sinuses without any pain medication, and she said that was the most horrendous pain, but it had to be done. So that's why Mother came later, Mother and my uncle came home later. I don't know, about two-three weeks later. So that's how it was; then we started life back home.

Q: I HAVE A FEW QUESTIONS REGARDING THE NUMBER THEY GAVE YOU WHEN YOU ARRIVED IN AUSCHWITZ. WHEN DID YOU FIRST GET YOUR NUMBER AND HOW?

A: I don't know when. All of a sudden, we just had to stand in a line, and they give us our number. And mine, my number, was on my lower left arm, but my mother's, since she had this terrible sore, hers is on her right -- upper right arm. She had such a terrible....

Q: DOES SHE HAVE A SCAR FROM...

A: She has a scar. She has a bad scar.

Q: FROM THAT ACCIDENT SHE HAD.

A: From that, yeah, yeah. But somehow or other, we managed to heal it. I don't know what we did. No

medications, but somehow or other it healed. It took a long time.

Q: I NOTICED YOU HAVE ERASED YOUR NUMBER.

A: Yes, I did. It bothered my husband a lot, even though that he was Jewish and a physician, and that-- but he said every time he looks at my arm, it bothers him, and so it has been removed.

Q: WHAT WAS HIS BACKGROUND?

A: He is an American Jew, he was raised here already, and actually the family was from Rumania, but he was born here -- Midwest.

Q: HOW LONG DID YOU STAY IN HUNGARY?

A: Well, I finished school, I went back to school. I wanted to actually become a physician. And we had hard times, we had hard times because my father was dead, and we had to make somehow a living, and we did, we worked it out. That's another long story.

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And then I had an -- my grandfather's brother in Philadelphia, who was a very wealthy man, and I thought I come to Philadelphia to him. So eventually, we heard all this milk and honey thing, you know; Americans own, and Americans (INAUDIBLE) so that I come first, I get out of Germany first, and then Mother will follow, because at that time, we had

to escape from Hungary. So that's a whole different chapter, because I have to escape from Hungary, too.

Q: WOULD YOU CARE TO TALK TO US ABOUT THAT?

A: In a way, but not at length, because what happened was -- it was nine of us, and we didn't want our parents, or whoever, took care of us, because not everybody had parents from the nine of us, but we all belonged to someone. And we wanted to go out of Hungary, and of course, you couldn't go legally.

Q: WHAT YEAR WAS THAT?

A: Forty-six. So we went to a social, and we never went back home, so that our parents or family or whoever we belonged to, could report it that we didn't come back home. And actually, we stayed in Budapest, outskirts of Budapest, for quite awhile, quite a few days, until they were looking for us. And then when we figured that the coast is clear, we walked from Hungary all the way to Austria. It wasn't quite that simple, but that's a long story and that's enough of that.

Q: WELL, I WOULD LOVE TO HEAR ABOUT IT, IF YOU CARE TO TALK ABOUT IT.

A: Well, we stayed in one of the maid's -- a house that belonged to one of the maids that we had...



Q: IN HUNGARY.

A: In Hungary. And then we found somebody who showed up the area of the border, where we could theoretically cross the border. We had some jewelry, and whatever we had -- we did get back quite a bit of our jewelry. And so we stayed in a town in Hungary one day, at the border town, and it was in a burned and bombed-out synagogue, and waited for the evening so that we can march and leave Hungary.

And there was a little boy about eleven or twelve or so, he'd just run in there, and he said, "I know what you want. I know you are leaving the country, and I want to go with you." And we said, "You can't." He says, "Fine, now report me to the police." [laughing] And he was a little Jewish boy; I don't know where he came from, but he came with us, he did cross the border with us.

So anyway, evening we tried to cross the border, and we -- by foot -- and with our knapsacks and whatever we had, we did leave. However, it was raining, and we threw away almost everything, because when things get soggy and heavy, and when you go through the hills in the mud, you eventually get tired of carrying anything. But anyway... and at one

time, we were very close to being caught. We were laying low in the winery in the mud. Somebody lit a match to see what time it was, and we didn't realize we were so close to the border -- not to the border, but to the Russian watchman, or whoever they were.

Q: THE GUARDS.

A: Yeah, the guards or watchmen, whatever. And so they came after us. On horseback, with the dogs. But because it was raining, I suppose -- that's what we heard later on, because we could see them, they were not far, and they went back -- that because it was raining that the smells may have integrated somehow, that they did not, the dogs didn't catch us, and they didn't catch us.

So then we just continued marching, and eventually we got somewhere where it was, when it was early daylight; we didn't know if we were in Hungary or Austria or where. So two of the people from our group decided to go into the next village and find out, and it turned out that we had already crossed the border, but still not in -- far enough into Austria, even though that Austria had all the four powers at that time -- I mean, Vienna had the four powers. So they got a peasant, a man, with a donkey,

and the donkey. And for so much jewelry, whatever we had -- part of it anyway -- he was willing to take us on the donkey wagon into Wiener Neustadt. Once again, Wiener Neustadt.

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Q: YOU HAD TO GO THROUGH THE RUSSIANS (INAUDIBLE)?

A: Yes, yes. So a few of us had to lay flat on that cart, and then they put some straw on top, and then some of the fellows pulled it and dragged it, and that poor donkey had to carry us into Wiener Neustadt, to the train station. And at the train station, he had a relative -- I think it was his brother-in-law, the train master, or what do you call them? The station master. And we had to pay him, too.

However, he hid us in the back of the building -- he lived there, actually, and he was baking -- his wife was baking bread, and she took us in, dried our clothes, give us bread, and he was entertaining the Russians in the other room. But he was hiding us in a back room until the next train came. And he give us tickets to Vienna, and we boarded the train at different areas, so that if they catch us, we shouldn't be all -- I don't know how they would have caught us, because if they catch one, they would have

gone through the train, but we didn't think of that. However, we did make it into Vienna. We did make it into Vienna, and there we went to the Americans. So that's how it was, in a nutshell.

Q: AND THEN HOW LONG DID YOU STAY IN VIENNA?

A: Not long, only until they checked our identify and who we were, because they had to check because at that time, it was a lot of spying going on and all that, so they...

Q: NINETEEN FORTY-SIX, RIGHT?

A: Yeah. And then they put us in a (INAUDIBLE) hospital or something that they had there, and then they took us to (Enz), next to Linz, and we stayed there for awhile.

Q: (INAUDIBLE)...THE BORDER?

A: That's right, yeah, they took us there.

Q: AND WHEN DID YOU COME TO THE STATES THEN?

A: The States....'47. Forty-seven, yeah.

Q: SO YOU STAYED IN AUSTRIA FOR AWHILE.

A: I stayed in Austria, yeah.

Q: DID YOU HAVE TO STAY IN A D.P. CAMP?

A: Yeah, yes, part of the time.

Q: AND YOUR MOTHER?

A: Mother never made it out.

Q: NO.

A: She still is in Hungary, and she comes and visits, but she never made it. So about that, but in going back -- way, way back to Plaszow -- that was a hell-hole, that was terrible, because -- I forgot that; I didn't even think about it anymore, that we worked all those ungodly hours in a quarry -- they always had the bloodhounds.

Not just at the quarry, but mainly at the latrines, so if we went to the bathroom, and they'd just send the bloodhounds after us. It wasn't particularly after whoever, because they didn't know who was staying or how long they were staying, but there were umpteen, umpteen, umpteen holes -- like twenty-five holes, or how many -- I didn't count them, but lots of holes, and a latrine on both sides. And they'd send the bloodhounds after us. A lot, a lot of people were torn, a lot of people were bitten. I wasn't -- I was very fortunate. It seems to me, a few times I was in when the bloodhounds were sent in, but somehow I was able to climb up on a pole. There used to be poles there, you know, connecting poles. And then they called the bloodhounds out. They

thought it was very funny. As I said, we had a lucky break.

Q: ALL IN ALL?

A: No, we were very fortunate in many ways, and if Father would have lived through, we would have -- at least would have had our own little family.

Q: WHEN YOU DECIDED TO LEAVE FOR THE STATES, DID YOU TALK TO YOUR MOTHER FIRST?

A: Mmm-hmmm, of course.

Q: YEAH.

A: Of course, of course, that was agreed on.

Q: SO YOU CAME TO THE STATES WHEN?

A: Forty-seven.

Q: NINETEEN FORTY-SEVEN.

A: Yeah.

Q: WHERE DID YOU GO?

A: Went to San Francisco.

Q: RIGHT AWAY.

A: Mmm-hmmm, right away.

Q: WHERE DID YOU MEET YOUR HUSBAND?

A: In Germany.

Q: IN GERMANY?

A: Yea.

Q: BUT YOU MARRIED IN AMERICA?

A: Married him in Germany.

Q: OH, YOU MARRIED HIM IN GERMANY.

A: Yes, yes.

Q: SO WHAT YEAR WAS THAT?

A: That was '47 also.

Q: OH, SO YOU CAME WITH HIM?

A: He was there, and I came with him.

Q: OH, I SEE.

A: My life in American was very hard, and I really don't want to talk about it.

Q: WHAT ABOUT YOUR CHILDREN? HAVE YOU EVER TOLD YOUR STORY TO YOUR CHILDREN?

A: Not in detail. It was never a secret; we did talk about it. Incidents, yes, but not from the beginning to the end, no; I have not. However, I don't know if this tape is going to be available for me.

Q: YES, IT IS.

A: It is? Then I would like them -- but it's never been a secret, not from my children, not from my grandchildren, but I never wanted them to have a guilt feeling or be responsible for whatever happened to me, and I feel very lucky, because any time I ask them, they say, "No, Mom, you never made us feel guilty, or feel that we have to prove anything

because of you going through what you have." So I'm very glad that this is how it is.

Q: YES, YOU ARE VERY FORTUNATE.

A: Yeah. But I also never talk much about it. I think about it, but not terribly much either. I just feel... it's just one thing I had to go through in life, but everybody has something to go through.

Q: HOW DO YOU FEEL NOW HAVING TOLD YOUR STORY IN DETAIL?

A: Frankly, the same as before [laughing]. You know, it's been forty some-odd years. So -- and the fact that my father told me not to be ashamed, it has nothing to do with me -- I think it's the best thing he ever did for me. Because no matter what they have done or whoever hurt me, I never took it personally, I always felt, "Hey, you're the one who is doing this; I haven't done anything." So I was able to sort of emotionally stay healthy. I didn't realize it then, I do realize it now.

Q: COMING TO SOMETHING ELSE, ABOUT WALLEMBERG -- RAOUL WALLEMBERG.

A: Yes.

Q: DO YOU KNOW ANYBODY WHO WAS RESCUED BY HIM?

A: Yes, as a matter of fact -- not directly, but indirectly rescued by him, yes. But I had nothing to



do with Wallenberg. Wallenberg, I think, came later, yeah.

Q: JUST THE FACT THAT YOU ARE FROM HUNGARY, I WONDERED IF YOU KNEW...

A: Yeah, I do have a neighbor who I think had something to do with Wallenberg, directly or indirectly, yes.

Q: YOU READ IN THE PAPER THAT HE MAY BE ALIVE, DID YOU?

A: Yes, yes. Wouldn't that be fantastic?

Q: IT WOULD BE AMAZING.

A: I think now, they might let him free finally, under Glasnost. [pause] What a horrible story. You see, that's even a lot worse story than any camp story in my book. Because there was somebody who was trying to do good and was doing good, and the life-long punishment.

Q: DO YOU FIND THAT YOUR EXPERIENCES HAVE MADE YOU MORE RELIGIOUS, LESS RELIGIOUS, OR NEUTRAL?

A: Probably neutral. I remember that I felt I don't want my children to ever go through anything like that. I would never change my religion, but I also don't brag about it. My children were raised in Unitarian, but they're perfectly aware of their Jewish heritage. My daughter has a Jewish husband, but my son has a non-Jewish wife. The family gets

along very well. We actually have no problems. We celebrate what we feel like celebrating, when we feel like celebrating it [laughing]. We celebrate -- eat the Passover. Easter, not very much, except for the Easter egg hunt for the kids. We do celebrate Christmas, but I have Christmas at home -- not the birth of Jesus, but as the holiday of peace, probably. And also Hanukkah. Sort of a mish-mash. But it works for us.

Q: DID YOU FIND THAT KNOWING GERMAN AS FLUENTLY AS YOU DO HELPED YOU IN THE CAMP?

A: Oh, enormously, enormously. Helped a lot of people, actually. I never thought about it until this second, because it was Yiddish -- it would have been kind of difficult, because I remember one time the obersturmfuhrer saying that, "You speak such a (INAUDIBLE). How come the others don't?" And I don't know, spontaneously, my answer was that they're from a different part of Hungary. I would never have come out with that, that they're speaking Yiddish. I just instinctively knew that I shouldn't say that, because I had no time to think about it, most likely. So it did help, yes.

Q: BECAUSE THE WAY I UNDERSTAND IT, THEY ADDRESSED YOU BY YOUR NUMBER, RIGHT? IF THEY ADDRESSED YOU AT ALL.

A: I don't remember them addressing me by my number. Ever. Don't know if they -- I think it was more like, "You, you."

Q: YOU.

A: Yeah. I don't remember anybody ever -- the number was here, they couldn't even see the number. How could they address us?

Q: BY A PIECE OF PAPER.

A: Well, you think they had a piece of paper and looked at who you are, which number you are? No, no.

Q: WELL, SOMETIMES I HEARD BEFORE FROM OTHER INMATES, EX-INMATES, THAT THEY HAD TO LEARN THEIR NUMBER IN GERMAN. THEY DID NOT SPEAK A WORD OF GERMAN, BUT THEY HAD TO LEARN THEIR NUMBER IN GERMAN.

A: Oh. That could be. I have not experienced it. Of course, I do -- did know my number.

Q: YEAH.

A: That's of course -- but, no, it was always "Du." I don't remember anybody calling my number for anything. Definitely no name, but...

Q: ARE YOU IN GOOD HEALTH NOW?

A: As it goes, yes. We all have some problems.

Q: DID YOU EVER GET REPARATIONS AT ALL?

A: Yes, I do get it. I do get it.

Q: FROM HUNGARY?

A: From Germany.

Q: OH, GERMANY.

A: Yes. Hungary doesn't give it. In Germany, they do.

Q: AND YOU HAVE BEEN BACK, OF COURSE.

A: Yes, quite often. To Hungary, you mean. Yes. And I have a few friends, very few of them, who lived through it, but even the ones who lived through it are out of the country. However, I do have some Gentile friends who I grew up with. I don't feel as close to them, naturally, as I do to my Jewish friends, but they're still friends, even visited me here. But they were children, too, at the time.

Q: I UNDERSTAND YOUR MOTHER CAME AND VISITED YOU.

A: My mother was here fifteen times.

Q: BUT SHE STILL GOES BACK TO HUNGARY. SHE LIKES IT THERE?

A: That's her home, and she doesn't speak English, and she's independent there, while she couldn't be independent here, and she has her friends, as few as they are. But she goes out of her house, and they know her, yes.

Q: WHAT DO YOU THINK WILL HAPPEN NOW WITH THE EASTERN BLOC, BEING THAT IT SORT OF STARTED IN HUNGARY, IN A WAY?

A: I think the Eastern Bloc will develop economically tremendously, a lot of possibilities. I mean, who am I to -- that's my opinion, of course. But there is room for so much growth in that area, and the people are hard-working. Regardless that they say that they for the next forty years, they didn't know what work is. But when those people come here, they learn that very fast. Amazingly fast. So they will learn that there very fast, too. Especially if there is -- if you don't work, you don't eat. That's a good lesson to learn fast.

Q: IS IT TRUE, OR WAS IT TRUE RATHER, THAT WHEN THE HUNGARIANS BECAME REALLY NAZI, THEY WERE WORSE THAN ANYBODY ELSE?

A: I don't know how anybody else was, but I know they were horrible, the ones who really become Nazi. Also, it was not just have-nots, like in this country; it's more uneducated people who--superstitious people, a lot of superstition. And look what they're doing now, like between Rumania and Hungary. That is not a Jew against a Gentile; that

is Rumania and Hungary. And there's just an inbred hatred, and it seems like people don't have to the wisdom to overcome it, and how to acknowledge the fact that we all have the same pain, and we all hurt. And none of us are better than the next fellow. And I think that's really the problem about that, but yes, they were terribly hateful.

Q: HAVE YOU BEEN BACK TO GERMANY?

A: I have to stop in Germany most of the time -- not most of the time, but whenever I go to Hungary, frequently I have to stop in Germany. I do not like to stay in Germany -- I leave as soon as the next train, plane, or whatever transportation I'm taking. However, I took my granddaughter on a tour of the Rhine, because it's so beautiful. But I took her to Europe, and then we went on the Rhine, on the way to Frankfurt.

Q: HAVE YOUR CHILDREN BEEN OVER TO HUNGARY?

A: My son has not been. Hopefully, next spring he will. He was in the Marines when my daughter went. My daughter was, yes.

Q: IS THERE ANYTHING YOU HAVE FORGOTTEN TO TELL US OR WE HAVE PASSED OVER?

A: I am sure lots of it, but if I would remember it, I wouldn't have forgotten it [laughing].

Q: NO, YOU'RE THINKING OF NOW; I MEANT TO SAY THAT ANYTHING THAT...

A: I am sure, I am sure. I don't dwell on it much anymore. Of course, we are all under the influence of our background. The fear is the worst part. I still have certain fears that I am controlling it, but it's an emotional thing. For years and years in the United States, I used to be totally bewildered of any authority, any authority figure. It didn't have to be police necessarily, anybody with authority. Because anybody with authority has hurt me, except my parents, so....

Q: AND AT A VERY EARLY AGE, SO TO SPEAK?

A: Yes. Yes. However, they did give me the background that --I remember my father used to say, "You know right from wrong, and even if you do wrong periodically, and if you will do wrong, you still know it deep down, that you shouldn't, or that it is wrong." So I was trusted on that line, and that helped me also a lot in this country. He was very wise, when I think about it now.

Q: WELL, VERONICA, I REALLY APPRECIATE THAT YOU SHARED  
YOUR EXPERIENCE WITH ME.

A: Well, I guess everybody has some experiences.

Q: OH, YEAH.

A: And I thank you for your time.

Q: AND I HOPE THAT YOUR CHILDREN WILL GET TO HEAR THAT  
TAPE, BECAUSE I'M GOING TO GIVE YOU A COPY, OKAY?

A: Thank you. Actually, my granddaughter, my oldest  
granddaughter, is asking quite a few questions.

Q: MMM-HMMM. WELL...

A: So this will help.

Q: IT WILL HELP. I HOPE SO. THANK YOU VERY MUCH.

A: Thank you, Evelyn.

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END TAPE 2, SIDE 2