

INTERVIEW WITH JULIUS KURT KUPFERBERG

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JULIUS KURT KUPFERBERG: My name is Julius Kurt Kupferberg.

INTERVIEWER: And you were born...

KURT: I'm born September the 21st, 1907, in Berlin. My parents were poor people. My father was a tailor who worked for people for a company. Und my mother helped him a lot. But he makes not enough money to give us everything what we need for food and everything. We were six girls, and I was the only boy.

INT: Oh, really?

KURT: Yeah.

INT: Were you the youngest, or in the middle?

KURT: I was the last, before last. After me was a daughter, another girl.

INT: Another girl.

KURT: Another girl. He was thinking maybe he gets a boy, but a girl again.

INT: So you were the only son. Right?

KURT: I'm not the youngest, I am the only son.

INT: Right. So your family was poor. They struggled.

KURT: Yeah, he made money, but not enough for so a big family. But not long after I was born, I was four year old, the oldest daughter married. So she went out. Naturally, she went in her own building, her own house. So...my father came from Austria. Galicia. It belonged to Austria. And he was in the Kaiser and Konigliche Army for three years. He was a soldier. Und then after he was a soldier for three years, he married my mother, and they tried to live there, but it was not a living anymore, you know?

INT: In Berlin, or where?

KURT: In Austria-Hungary. And they tried to go to the United States. And they went with two girls. They had then already two girls. They went to Germany. You have to go over Germany to go to the Haven, you know, where the ships are, right?

INT: Right. The harbor.

KURT: So they came to Germany with two girls, und he had, my mother had uncles there, in

Berlin. And that they can't go to the United States. They came from a land where war was an epidemic. Cholera epidemic.

INT: An epidemic.

KURT: And they didn't let them go. They couldn't go to the United States. So they went to Berlin and rented an apartment there, and every three years another child was born. They had no help from their families. So then come the First World War. 1914. The First World War. And after the First World War, my father was right away, he wants to go helping his country, aber they didn't took him. He was already too old. They took only young people, not people in their fifties, or what. You know? Or the end of fifties. After the war, this piece of land, from Austria-Hungary went to Poland. And all the citizens from this land were Polish now. My father protested, but nobody could help him. He wants to be from Austria, no? Citizen, and then he was Poland. And he became a Polish citizen, and became a Polish passport, und after, when I was fifteen years old, I had to be a Polish citizen, too. At fifteen years you have to have a Polish passport.

And...in 1938, then in '33, did my wife told you, the Nazis came to power? Und I had a little store, a tailor shop.

INT: You did, yourself?

KURT: Yeah. First, my father had this, to be truthful. First it was my father's. He bought a little store. He made alterations on men's clothing, and on women's clothing, und they took on some cleaning, dry cleaning, you know. Someone picked up clothing. One came and brought it back. And we made a little bit money on this. And then he got old, my father got old. In 1929, he said to me -- I learned, in between, I learned to be a tailor. My father -- I was not so very happy with it -- but my father said, this is the best thing that you can do.

INT: You weren't too happy about it?

KURT: No, to be a tailor, you know?

INT: You didn't want to?

KURT: I had not much ability, too, because I was only in the community school, you know? Gemeinde schule, you know, eight years. And I couldn't, my father couldn't afford to send me in a high school, you know? That costed money in Germany. And he want to, he wanted to be somewhere.

INT: So he thought this was the best thing for you.

KURT: Yeah, and I was so dumb, I agreed, you know? And, but I couldn't go to higher learnings, experience. So after then, he got older, he couldn't see anymore. He had very bad eyes. So I took over his place. But this was a little store, und in the back were my father and

mother, und I, und my younger daughter living. The other was already married. The older.

INT: Your younger sister and you.

KURT: Yeah. Younger sister. Und then came the time that the Jews had to try to get out from there, from Germany.

INT: Well, tell me a little bit about what your family was like. What was your father like, what was your mother like, and your sisters?

KURT: Be like?

INT: Yeah, what were they like? What kind of people were they? Quiet people?

KURT: Yeah. Quiet people. And old-fashioned. They talked Yiddish. Und they both talked Yiddish. But not we, the Kinder, no. We talked Deutsch, we talked German to them.

INT: Was your mother, in terms of religious practice, they were Orthodox, your family?

KURT: My father was Orthodox, yeah.

INT: And your mother?

KURT: My mother war not quite so religious. Only she keeps Sabbath, you know, with the candles, and so. And a kosher, kosher house. Milchig and fleishige dishes, you know. (pause) And then come die Sachen mit die Polish citizens. They had to leave the land. Leave Germany. In Berlin, they took only men. From fifteen years up, and older. I was already in the twenties. Maybe I was already thirty. This was '38. 1938. I was already 30.

So one day in the morning they knocked on the door, "Open up! This is the Gestapo." You know what Gestapo is, right? And my father opened up. This was 5:00 in the morning. "Hnziehen. Dress yourself, and let's go." We don't know what to do, my father. He had to listen to them. Das waren welche Kerle (such guys). Two buildings, the Gestapo, with big shoulders, und I, too. I was already schon elder. I had to go, too.

INT: With all the men. All the men had to.

KURT: All the men, yeah.

INT: What happened to the women?

KURT: And andere, outside from Berlin, in andere countries, Hanover, Bavaria, they took only the women. Und put us on trucks, meinen Vater haben sie halb kaputt geschlagen (they almost beat my father to death), but he couldn't get up off the truck. He was already an older man. He was already in the seventies. And they brought us to a big Kasserne. You know what a Kasserne

is? This is a place for soldiers, where soldiers live.

INT: Like a barracks?

KURT: No, wahr not barracks. Were big buildings. Four, five, floors, und in the back wahr, in the insides one, a big place where the soldiers exercised. This was in Berlin already. Und they put us there, and the rumor was that we're gonna, that they'll send us all to Poland. Und I wasn't feeling very well. I couldn't talk Polish. My father a little bit Polish, but not much. So I tried to save my father from this. I had the feeling this is his end for him. So I went from one SS man to another, to a higher officer, und I was lucky. I was standing for him, like this. So I told him, "My father is in the seventies. 77 years old. And I think he can't do this, he can't go out in this age. He is a very, had a bad heart, and he can't make it," I said. So he listened to me. He didn't send me away. It was like a wonder. And I went to many, they didn't listen to me. "Bring your father here. Wo is your father?" I said, "There in the crowd, there." And I brought dem Vater, on a cane, and wie is so mein Vater. He told a man there, a soldier. He was an SS man. "Take this man, and bring him to the doctor." They took him away. I didn't know what's going to happen to him. I was waiting. Aber then was, it was already too late. They put us already in trains, und sent us to the Polish border.

The Polish border, we had to get all out, and the SS took over. We had to go in the woods, und they drove us there in the woods, and we didn't know where to go in the woods. And they start to hit us, we should go faster, faster, faster. And many elderly men and women, ja, and then when we came in the train, there was women such from andere places, you know. Und when we came in the woods, many had a little luggage. I had nothing. My father had nothing, either. They didn't say nothing to us that we should take money with us, or so...nothing. So we were, we went. Und they hit the people. They hit the people. You have to run in the woods. And many couldn't get up. Many older people couldn't get up. Und we heard schiessen you know? Shooting. We heard. They were shooting the people that was laying, they couldn't get up. They shoot them. I was very lucky that I saved my father from this, you know. That would be his death, running, with a bad heart?

So then we saw on the woods a little light, from far away we saw a little light. And the SS said to us, "This is your home now. You see the little light? You go there." This was a little house in the woods from the Grenz police, from the Polische Grenz. You know what Grenz means. Border. Border police. We came there, and a couple people went into this house, knocked on the door, and shout, the officer, the Polish officer, "We are Polish citizens, and you have to let us go in the next town." Und he said, "No! No. Back to Hitler! Back to Hitler!" We should go back. And we were on a train full of people. From around, six hundred, seven hundred people. Mothers with babies, on their arms. They didn't let us go. We shouldn't go further, and we couldn't go back. The SS shoots at us. So we were standing there in the rain, the whole night, without food. It started to rain, and we got wet. Terrible.

And in the morning, they called up in the town, the Polish soldier, or what it was, the Grent (border) police, and from the town, from the next town came police und brought us in the town.

INT: They took you back to town? Where did they take you?

KURT: To the next city. The city heisst auf German Bontschen. Aber auf Polish heiss es Baczin, oder nicht. Und they brought us to a big Stallung. Where a fair is in, where horses are in.

INT: Oh, a stable?

KURT: Horse stables. Ja, horse stables is the right word. There was straw in there, and we had to lay down there. Close the doors, and we were in the dark. In this stables, in those horse stables. And the next morning, nobody brought us something to eat. We had nothing to eat. After the third day, they came from the city of Poznan, came a Lastanto (truck) mit bread, and throw bread to us. And who was so lucky and caught the bread, he had something to eat, a piece of bread. And we couldn't get out of there. They didn't let us go in the land. In Poland. We had to stay there.

I was there ten months.

INT: In that stable.

KURT: Yeah. From October '38 till June '39. Und then, in between, there was a Aufruf (call), that people who went, want to go back to Berlin can go back. Only to liquidate their business. And I meldet (reported) myself, I said, "Yes, here I am, too from Berlin. And I want to go back." First I was thinking, when they let us out, I go to my sister.

INT: Where was she?

KURT: My sister married a Polish guy in 1936 or what. My one two years older than me. And in '38, he said the Polish citizens, they had to go, and he went with the train to Poland, and to his town where he was born.

INT: Was he Jewish?

KURT: A Jewish man, yeah. A Jewish man, and they had in zwischen (meanwhile) two boys. One boy was twelve, and one boy was nine, other eight. And went to Poland. We heard not much from her, from my sister. She became pregnant again, in Poland, my sister. Und she got a little, another boy. Und when I was there in the Grenzstadt, in the Polishen Grenzstadt, Zborzin (?), I was thinking, when I go out, and they let us not go back to Germany, I try to go to my sister, where she is. Und dazwischen kam dieser Aufruf (meanwhile came the call) that the people can go back to Berlin, when they had a business there, and can liquidate what they have, and so I was, shifted my hand, and the Polish government give us passports, Polish passports that we can go back to Germany, aber we can't go back. Can't come back.

INT: That you can't. You can or you can't?

KURT: I can't. I can't come back. So what can you do? Then I could take a train and go back to

Germany, to Berlin. And the year before, my mother died. And I tried to go to her Beerdigung (funeral).

INT: How did she die?

KURT: She died in a hospital. She had water in her whole body, water. When the water comes to the heart, the heart goes out. She died. She was in her seventies. So I came back to Berlin. Und my business was still there. And my father was living there.

INT: So your father was there.

KURT: There. And I heard the whole story, that they let him out. Last year they let him go home. I said, "You are so lucky. I am lucky, and you are lucky. You wouldn't have lived this through, what I went through."

So, in between, my younger sister, who was still living with us, married. Also in '38. Or '37. I forgot what year this was, and tried to get out. Her husband left already Germany. My sister's husband left already Germany and went to Holland. And she tried to be with him. Und when she went to the Hollandische border, the Nazis took her, und put her in a prison in Germany, in a prison, in Hanover, or where it was. Und then come the war, the Second World War, in September, September '39, und I got arrested. A Gestapo man came to the house again, und took me, not my father. Took me.

Und in the afternoon, they put us on trains, all the Jewish buerger, what were there, the Jewish citizens, and Polish Jewish citizens, and put us on the train to Oranienburg. Und when we came there, we had to go to foot to the concentration camp. A couple miles we had to walk. And our hands, we had to have behind the head like this, and we had to go. And the citizens from Oranienburg saw was gehen (saw us walk) and came, and they know that we were Jews, they throw stones at us. "Kill the Jews! Kill the Jews! Don't give them to eat! Don't give them no food."

INT: Was this in Poland? Where was this now?

KURT: In Germany. We had to go to the concentration camp, nicht weit von Berlin was a concentration camp. This concentration camp Oranienburg. It's around thirty kilometers from Berlin. And we had to walk there. But not from Berlin. They sent us from Berlin to that city. From that city, die heisst Oranienburg, and from there we had to walk to the camp.

So when we came to the camp, they put us, we had to take off our clothes, naked, and they put us in the Badeanstalt. (calls wife) Where the people bathed, took showers, you know.

INT: A bath house.

KURT: Yeah. (asks his wife how to say this in English)

MRS. K.: In the bathroom, the shower room.

KURT: Shower, was war nicht a room, this war a big hall, for maybe a hundred people could at one time get showers, you know? And we took showers. Was very cold water, you know, not warm water. And then we got clothing there. And what for clothing was it? Old German soldiers uniforms. They were maybe fifty, sixty years old, old uniforms, with high collars. Und on the collars were three hooks. We had to close the hooks. And they gave us shoes, old shoes, maybe thirty, forty or fifty years old, the shoes. Soldier shoes, with nails here on the bottom. Und then they put us in barracks. When we came to the barracks, we saw that the windows were closed with screws, so we couldn't open the windows. So they put us in the barracks. Every barrack had the two Fluegel, two Fluegel and in the middle was the toilets, unten war ein Fluegel und one B Fluegel.

INT: What's a Fluegel?

KURT: Rooms, big rooms, where you sleep in. But we came in the rooms, was nothing. Only straw. For laying on the floor, straw. And we had to be there. And the Block oldest, was a criminal, a murderer. How we know that he was a criminal, because he had a mark here on the chest with his number, and a green, three corner part here.

INT: Like a triangle.

KURT: Yeah, a triangle, yeah, in green.

INT: And that meant you were a criminal?

KURT: Green meant criminal. That they are criminals. And the SS came in, and told us we have to lay down on the straw, next to the criminal, they said, he should kill a couple Jews every day. Yeah. And he did it. What he had to do, he killed. He killed a couple Jews who were not so fast. When running not fast enough, or what. Und we were laying there in the straw, with the shoes, the leather shoes, also Kopf Kissen.

INT: That was a pillow?

KURT: Instead of pillows, the shoes for the kopf. So they said so that's what we should do, you know? And every person got a Decke, ...you know what a Decke is?

INT: A blanket?

KURT: A blanket, yeah. Everybody got a blanket. and no heat. There was no heat in the barracks. And we couldn't open a window, either, to have fresh air, you know? Many people war Bednasser, you know what that means? They made in the pants, you know?

INT: Oh, okay, they wet the bed.

KURT: Elder people, or the younger people who couldn't hold the water. Then they had to knock on the door to let them, he has to give the allowance to let go the people on the toilet. So what he did, he put in big Eimers, (asks his wife how to say this in English)

MRS. K.: Buckets.

KURT: Buckets, big buckets. I forget. Since I don't work anymore, I forget everything. Big buckets, and we had to make in the buckets. And when that bucket was full, we could go out and put it in the toilets. So after a couple weeks, my feet got wound from the shoes. My feet were not used to wear such a heavy shoes. Some people could wear them, but my feet were not for this.

INT: It didn't fit right?

KURT: I had wounded feet. Wounds. Wounds. In the back.

INT: Oh, wounds. It got sore.

KURT: Sores, yeah, sores on the legs. On the feet. On the feet.

(END TAPE ONE, SIDE ONE)

(TAPE ONE, SIDE TWO)

KURT: And so from one bone here to the other side bone, was a hole, like.

INT: A big hole from the shoes.

KURT: A big hole, like with water, not with water, with pus, and I couldn't walk anymore. So every morning we had Appel (roll call). We had to go on the Appelplatz. This is a big riesiger (huge) Platz (place), where all the haeflinge (prisoners), all the "Insassen," the prisoners, there were maybe fuenfzig tausend (50,000) oder wieviel (or how many) prisoners were there in dem grossen (in that big) camp. And the barracken had numbers, and you know where you have to go, where you belong to, and what barrack. And every morning, or in the evening, a couple of prisoners had to schlepp me on the Appelplatz, in a...in one of those what do you call? Die Decken (the blanket) on four corners, and I was laying there, and they put me up there. And after they count us, we could go back to the barracks. Other prisoners could go to work. They sent them to work outside the camp, too.

And then they put me... every day come an SS doctor, and looked at these people who were sick. And they brought me up there too, for him. Und every time he saw me he told me I would have to go back to the barracks. They had to schlep me back. And after a couple months, I got so, it got worse with me. I couldn't walk, because I had so much terrible pain. When I was standing up, you know, the pain was so strong. They had to schlep me every time on the Appelplatz. In the morning, and in the evening. When they counted the prisoners.

INT: It was like a roll call.

KURT: Like a roll call. Or however you say that. That nobody were missing or so. And one day I was lucky. The doctor, the SS doctor, looked at my legs, and said to our prisoners, "Bring this man to the Lazerett, to the Krankenbau (the building of the infirmary), where the sick people are."

INT: Like a hospital?

KURT: Yeah. Like a hospital. Two or three barracks, they were the hospital. And I came there, and they put me in bed, really like a human being.

INT: They treated you well there? They treated you okay?

KURT: They treated me on the legs, you know. One leg. This other leg was not so bad wie (as) this leg here. You can immer noch see the narben (scars), you know? The places that were, that had...and they treated me nicer in the hospital. The Pfleger (nurses), the person, they were prisoners, too, but they had white jackets on, and they treated the wound on the foot. And it helps a little bit. And when it got smaller and smaller, I don't remember how, wie long I was there, maybe four weeks, or five weeks in the hospital, it got so small that it was like this. Nur noch, like this, only two inches wide. So they throw me out, and they got me with sandals, nicht shoes. Not with shoes anymore, they gave me sandals, und I had to go back to my barrack. Aber I couldn't walk, because I always was in pain.

Und one day they sent all the sick prisoners away. Put us in big Guterwagen (freight cars), you know, the wagon, the trains, no windows, only on both sides little windows. (calls his wife)

INT: Like a...freight car, like on a train, a freight car?

KURT: Freight cars, yeah. There were no toilets, nothing in there. They put us (interruption). Jewish, maybe looked with big noses, you know. I didn't look like this. I was blonde. With hair, blonde hair. Okay, I had no blue eyes. But I didn't look not Jewish type. That was a vorteil (an advantage) for me. When I didn't look Jewish, it was better for me. You know. I was a Jew, you know? We became stars to put on here.

MRS. K.: I made a little lunch.

INT: Okay.

KURT: Und...I was...I was lucky. Then one day they called for tailors. And I am a tailor. And they took three people from tzen oder elf, (ten or eleven) what raised their arm, they took three. Me and another two Jews. Und we had to put on the prisoner clothing, we had to put on the stars, and jeder bekam (everyone receives) a number. A number and uber die (on top of the) number, we had to put the stars. On the left side, on the chest. And we Jews were politische ("political") Jews, so they had two, three, three, Dreiecke, you said it before.

INT: Triangles?

KURT: Triangles, and we wear two triangles that made a Magen David out of it, you now? And we got a triangle with red and yellow. Yellow was Jude, and red war politic. Politische prisoners.

INT: So you were a political prisoner, too, also?

KURT: Political prisoner and a Jew.

INT: But you weren't a criminal. They didn't have a green thing on, too, so you weren't a criminal, also.

KURT: No. We were not criminals. We were in the politische action, Politische Jews, so zu sagen, or the Jews, when they came in concentration camp, were not criminals, they got a red spot. Then there were many with andere (other) colors. There were homosexual prisoners, they had a yellow spot, but not a Magen David. You know, aber (but) yellow spot. And a green spot were criminals. And this camp hiess (was called) Sachsenhausen, bei Berlin. The same camp, hiess Sachsenhausen. Before it hiess (was called) Oranienburg, aber then it changed the name to Sachsenhausen.

INT: So that's where you were.

KURT: Ja. In Sachsenhausen.

(break for lunch -- important parts of the interview seem to be missing here)

KURT: Couldn't open the window, and they were laying all on the floor.

INT: Who was now?

KURT: The all prisoners. They shouldn't sit down like human beings. They had to lay on the chest, in rows on the floor. Und the jackets hatten three hooks, had to be closed. You had the feeling, heavy jackets, heavy militarische (military) jackets, you know?

INT: Very uncomfortable.

KURT: Uncomfortable. And no air. No fresh air. Nothing, no window open. And we were sitting with the wet hands, and with the wet fingers, you could hold the needles what they give you, and so we were sewing on.

INT: That was your job, to sew on the stars? Was your job to sew on the stars?

KURT: We had to sew on the stars, and the number. Unter (under) the star came the prisoner number. And the SS came in every day. A couple SS came in and made exercise with the people.

“Aufstehen, Hinlegen.” (Get up! Lie down!) Up, down, up, down. And we were sitting on the window, and were sewing the letters. Und they didn’t touch us. Not to us. They saw that we are working, like, you know? You have the feeling what it means? Up, down, up and down? Maybe twenty times? And then they went out again. (dog barking)

Und at night we were laying on our sides auf dem stroh (on the straw), on the side. That’s were not enough room. When you were laying on your bed, you couldn’t lay on your back, you have to lay on the side, while the next man were laying to you with his belly on the other belly in the front of you, you know so tight.

INT: You were right next to each other, on top of each other.

KURT: If one wants, has to go out to make something on the toilet, has to go, with urine, he has to go to another room, too, where the Blockaelteste, the criminals were sleeping. You have to be quiet, not to make a noise. Nothing. You shouldn’t wake him up. Go to the toilet, and have to come in, and come zuruck (back to) the room, and wants to go to his place. The prisoners naechtiger tag. Da war kein Platz. Die Prisoners haben sich gleich so ein bisschen...es so gemacht, dass kein Platz mehr war fur den Mann. (There was no space. The prisoners immediately snatched that space away from the man.) They came from the toilet.

INT: There was no room for him, is that what you’re saying?

KURT: Yeah. Couldn’t lay down on the same spot again. Has to beg them, “Please, let me lay down. Please, let me lay down.” Terrible. Terrible. I was there in the hospital; I forgot to tell you something. This was the first year in Sachsenhausen. The prisoners were, the Pflieger (nurses aides), the nurses, like, you know what they told me, you know what he said? One said to me, and another: “You are very lucky that you are alive. If they looked at your leg in the back, at the grosse hole, in the wounded place, if you Sehne -- die Bander, die den Fuss bewegen. How you call this?

INT: Bending the muscles.

KURT: Yeah. And the nerves tell you when you want to bend your feet up and down or so, if the Nerven innen arbeiten (the nerves work inside), und this was all right. The Wunde war da, aber die Bander die den Fuss bewegen waren “all right.” Wenn die Bander von dem Eiter zerfressen gewesen waren, dann hatten sie mich “Killen” müssen. (The wound was there but the ligaments were all right. If the ligaments had been eaten away by the pus they would have had to kill me.

INT: So if your foot didn’t bend, they would have killed you, is that what you’re saying?

KURT: Yeah. If I couldn’t have bewegt (have moved), den Fuss anymore, you know? Up and down like this. Then they would have killed me. They had to kill me. They didn’t want invalids in the camp.

Ja, and then I was a year in Sachsenhausen. A whole year, I think it was. Maybe eleven months. They send all the Jewish prisoners, who were invalids, who couldn't work in there, sent them to Dachau. Dachau was the Invaliden-Lager, Lager for the invalids. Auschwitz was noch nicht hatte noch keine gas chambers, then. (Auschwitz did not have gas chambers yet) You know? Auschwitz, the camp Auschwitz. But just in the beginning. In the beginning of 1941 noch keine gas chambers (there were no gas chambers yet), nothing.

INT: No gas chambers, right.

KURT: No. Sonst hatten die uns gleich geschickt zum verbrennen. (Otherwise they would have sent us immediately to be burned.) Nach Auschwitz. So we were in Dachau. And Dachau, what shall I tell you? We get every week another shirt. And suddenly we became (got) lice.

INT: You got lice?

KURT: Lice. You know what lice is, nicht? Der ganze Korper starts to...(The whole body started to...) we scratched ourself, the blood was running from us, and the lice eat our body. Our blood and our body. Terrible. Terrible. So the ganze Block war voll verlaust (the whole Block was full of lice). When we took off the shirts, we were two weeks in that. We changed the shirts, we got new shirts from the laundry, and there were already, the eggs from the lice were still there. And the body heat, they came out and were lice. They eat us. Such a lice. So many, (German) they eat us.

INT: They were big.

KURT: And then one day they bestrafte us (punished), because we were full of lice. Als wenn es...was unser unser fault that we have lice. (As if it was our fault that we had lice.) And we came in an andere Barrack rein (we were transferred to another barrack)a. Ganz (very) primitive. We had to lay on the floor, do nothing, only to wash ourselves. Und they gave us only a piece of water soup a day. No bread, nothing. Nur (only) a little bit soup a day. I'm telling you... (pause)

And we had to work then. Then after a couple weeks, we had to work. And we had to work seven days a week. The whole camp had to work only six days a week, and one day, Sunday, they had quiet. They could stay in the barracks without work. Aber the Jews had to work. Seven days. And they killed right and left the Jews there. There were outside camp, were such draining Graben (pits). In the earth. So ungefaher (about) a meter deep, a little more than a meter, one meter or so down. And there was water in there, to make the fields wet, you know? So what they did? They throw the Jews in there, in this water.

INT: In the drainage water?

KURT: In the drainage water. This was sauberes (clean) wasser. You know, it was for the fields. And when they wanted to go out of the water, the water "ging" only bis "hierher" (reached only till here). If you were in there, es war nicht voll bis here (it was not full till here). So it was nicht full. If you want to get out, they hit you mit die rifle butts. Over the head. And then they fell in,

and ertranken (drowned), in this water. And I saw it with my own eyes. Wie (how) they killed the Jews.

INT: Just for no particular reason. Just, they felt like it.

KURT: Because you are a Jew! You are not a human being, when you are a Jew. So one day...they called my number. You have no name, you have only a number. An SS man, I have to go to an SS man, run like this, and the dogs bit, they always had two or three dogs, every SS man, and they bit us in the legs. And we have to stay like this. We have to say my number, and what barrack I am in. And then suddenly he gives me with a fist a "Haken" (hook to the chin) in the face, and I fell this way rein in the Graben (into the pit). In the wasser rein. Next to him war auch (also) a Graben with wasser. You know? I fell in, and I stand up, and get wieder out (get out again). And he was still there. And kaum war ich up (and I was hardly up), he gives me another Hak in the face. And I fell again rein in this Wasser. Three times he did it. And then he let me go back to the work, back to the Arbeit. He had me konnen killen rein in the water und ich war ertrunken. (He could have killed me, into the water and I would have drowned).

INT: Right. You could have died.

KURT: Yeah, I could have died. And he let me go.

INT: Why do you think he let you go?

KURT: I ask you, why?

INT: I don't know. Why?

KURT: I don't know. That's what I say. I always had somebody watching me. That nothing should happen to me. What's worse happened to me, like that. We had many things happen to me, but not like that.

INT: Well, you were saying before...

KURT: Aber, I saw it, I saw it. Wie (how) they killed the Jews there, in Dachau. Like ten SS men, and in the Graben eight Jews, and they tried to come out again, and they hit them over the head. Einmal, zweimal, dreimal, and then they couldn't go out anymore. They were in the water, and...suffocated.

INT: You were saying before you think one of the reasons...

KURT: And then noch one. I wasn't married. I wasn't married. This was good for me. Then Yiddische Manner (a Jewish man) sind rumgelaufen (ran about), they get crazy. They were thinking on their families, zu hause (at home). You know? They were thinking on their Frauen (wives), on their women and children, what happened to them? When they were in concentration camp. They run against the electric wire. Around the camp was a fence, aus electric, aus wire,

and war geladen mit (was loaded with) electric, electricity. So when you touch the fence, you get electrocuted.

INT: So some people died that way.

KURT: Many dis gemacht (did this). Suicide. In der Dunkelheit (in the darkness) they went out and touched the fence with the electricity. And in the morning, when we went up, they were hanging in the fence. Dead.

INT: Did you ever feel like doing anything? Did you ever feel that way?

KURT: No. I was alone. I wasn't married. I had no children. I was thinking on my father and on meine Mutter. Dann hab ich mir gedacht: Sind doch schon hoch (Then I thought: They are already in their late seventies) in their seventies. What can schon happen to them?

INT: You were worried about them. You were worried about your parents.

KURT: Yeah. Aber, nicht, I had no wife and children. This had (German) They worrying among the family, you know?

INT: Were you worried about your sisters, and what happened to them?

KURT: Yeah. The sisters were all of them married. Und eine went to South America. Nach Buenos Aires, no, Rio de Janeiro. The elteste. The zweit elteste war married to a goy, to a Christian, und so she was under, she was...

INT: She was okay. They didn't bother her.

KURT: Yeah. Yeah. No one bothered her, because she was married to a man, and that man war an Aryan, you know, a goy. Die dritte daughter war married to a goy, to a Christian. And in '43, es war ihm nicht mehr angenehm (he was no longer comfortable), to be married to a Jewish woman. And he wants to get rid of her. So what he did? He called the Gestapo. You know what Gestapo is. He wants to get rid of his Jewish wife. What can I do.

INT: This was your brother-in-law?

KURT: Yeah. Yeah. So they said to him, "We have something." The war was on, nicht? The Second World War, and everything was rationed. And jeder hatte Karten. (Everybody had food stamps): bread rationing cards, meat rationing cards, you know. So what they did? They had a plan to put in her handbag, when she went working in the Jewish...(interruption)

I forgot where she was. If she was working. Anywise, they put in her handbag, she left her handbag somewhere laying, and they put in bread stamps, such rationing cards, bread stamps. Einen dicken Haufen. (A whole lot of them). This was illegal.

So when she came out of there, they arrested her, and opened her handbag, and shouted, “Here, look what you have!” She said, “I didn’t put it there.” And then sagt, “You are a liar. In your handbag you have the bread stamps. Hunderte (hundreds of) bread stamps.” Put her right away nach (to) Auschwitz, and vergast her. Meine Schwester. (My sister.) She was only 30 years old, 30, 35, oder what. Aber, (German). When I was outside from the camp, came out from the camps, you know, when I came home to Berlin, and he came to visit me...

INT: This brother-in-law? This guy came to visit you?

KURT: Yeah. Yeah. This was my brother-in-law. I know that something must have happened.

MRS. K.: No, Kurt, excuse me, we visited him. He didn’t visit you.

KURT: Er war auch einmal bei uns. Bei meiner Schwester, die Schwester, die mit dem goy verheiratet war. (He was once in our place. At my sister’s house. The sister who was married to the goy.) When I came back from the concentration camp, in 1945, and er kam (he came), and wanted to see me, and I told him what happened there in the camps, they don’t know. I told him. And he start to cry, terrible to cry. It was his wife. He cried on his wife. He knows that she is gegangen nach (went to) Auschwitz. Aber dass er Schuld hat, dass sie nach Auschwitz kam, das hat er nicht gewusst. (But that it was his fault that she went to Auschwitz, he did not know.) Erst nachher hat mir die andere Schwester, die mit dem goy verheiratet war ertaehlt what happened. (Only afterwards my other sister, who was married also to a goy, told me what happened.)

INT: Did you know at that time when he came to see you what had happened to your sister?

KURT: No. Yeah. I know that my sister was in concentration camp.

INT: But you didn’t know he sent her?

KURT: Das habe ich nicht gewusst, aber sie haben mit dann ertaehlt. (That I didn’t know, but they told me then), when I was free, and I came back to Berlin, as a free man, you know? They told me what happened to her, that she is dead, and she came in the gas chambers in Auschwitz. But he got killed, too. They made a, they made somebody...

MRS. K.: He was a diamond handler.

KURT: He was handling (dealing) with diamonds.

MRS. K.: He was handling diamonds, and he was clubbed to death on the street, also by a burglar, by a thief. But he got what he deserved.

INT: And your other sisters? You had more sisters, right?

KURT: What?

INT: You had other sisters, too. What happened to them?

KURT: They went to Poland. I told you I went to Poland, want to go then to my sister mit die drei kids (with the three kids). All dead.

INT: They're all dead.

KURT: Killed. The Nazis killed them. The father and the mother, meine sister, and three, drei kinder. The oldest son was already fifteen or sixteen.

MRS. K.: Didn't she get a fourth one in Poland?

KURT: What?

MRS. K.: She got one in Poland, one child.

KURT: Ja, Ja, drei Kinder. Zwei (two) from Berlin. Ich versteh nicht, warum die sind nicht gegangen nach Russia. (I don't understand why they did not go to Russia.) So viele Jews aus Poland...(So many Jews from Poland...)

MRS. K.: But you really never saw the list. You really never saw the list anywhere listed. Maybe the children **do** live in Russia. You never saw the list.

KURT: It's possible that das eine lebt (that one of them lives). Aber, I never heard from them. We never heard from them.

MRS. K.: This is why I say that there is much more than six million. There are people, whole families.

KURT: Eine went nach New York, married her husband, a Juedische man, Margolis is her name, and she wohnt (lives) here, she wohnt nicht weit von...(lives not far from) Washington.

MRS. K.: (?)

KURT: Oder in Florida.

MRS. K.: No, she came back from Florida.

KURT: Yeah, she was in Florida.

MRS. K.: Yeah, but she's in a nursing home near Washington.

KURT: Yeah. And eine Schwester wohnt (one sister lives) in Buenos Aires.

INT: One was in Buenos Aires...

(END TAPE ONE, SIDE TWO)

(TAPE TWO, SIDE ONE)

KURT: Mein Vater hat gewohnt noch in seinen Haus allein und dann haben die anderen, die verheiratete Schwester, die mit dem goy verheiratet war, hat gesagt: (My father still lived in his house by himself and then the others, my married sister who was married to the goy, told him:) “Daddy, you have to go in the old age home. In the Jewish old age home.” And she had him ueberredet (talked him into it), you know? She suggested to him that maybe this was the best thing. And one day in ‘43 kamen the Nazis an und haben Juedischen personen aus dem old age home genommen, reingeput in ein grossen Wagen, (came the Nazis and took all Jewish people out of the old age home, put them into a big truck, closed the doors, put in the gasses from the motor. That killed them all.) close the doors, reingelast gasses from the motor. Das hat sie alle gekilled.

INT: This is your father?

KURT: My father, yeah.

INT: And your mother? How about your mother?

KURT: My mother died a natural death in a Jewish hospital, in ‘38.

INT: Before you were telling me that, the reason, I asked you why you think you made it, why you survived, and you said, what did you tell me?

KURT: I said I must have an angel over me. Who saved my life.

INT: You said something about because you helped your father.

KURT: Because I saved my father, auch wenn er nur five Jahre langer gelebt hat (even if he lived only five years longer), (?) aber I saved him from going nach Poland, he would have been killed in the woods, before I came there to the city. So wie ich es gesehen habe (As I saw this) with my own eyes, I saw this. Wie Leute (how people) got killed in the woods from the SS men. Sie sind nicht so schnell gelaufen. (They did not run fast enough.) In the woods. Viele sind gefallen uber die Baume, Baumstumpfe. (Many fell over tree trunks.)

INT: So you think because you helped your father, that might have helped you?

KURT: Das war was ich gutes getan habe, an meinen Vater. (This was because I did something good for my father.) Because when I wouldn’t do nothing, he would have maybe been dead, we would have been gekilled in the same evening. In the woods. Going to Poland. So hat er noch gelebt five years. (He still lived for five more years.) Das war mein verdienst. (this was my merit). Waren auch nicht herrliche years, aber er hat gelebt. (These were not wonderful years,

but he lived.)

Weil I went from one SS officer to another, my father can't go to Poland. He is very sick, and an old man, and had a bad heart, and he's half blind. And I was lucky. Mehrere (several) SS men wollten gar nicht mich nicht anhoren. Aber der, eine hat gelistened to me. (Several SS men didn't want to listen to me, but one listened to me.) "Where is your father?" I said, "Here. Nicht weit von hier." (not far from here) "Call your father, he should come to me." And I called my father, and he came an on his cane, you know. And when he saw my father coming, he said to the policeman next to him, "Take this man to the doctor." And he went away with my father. And from then hab ich nicht mehr gesehen. (I never saw him again) Aber then, noch a couple months, hab ich er gehert, (but after a couple months I heard) and he's still alive, and he lives in our apartment.

INT: But you think that might have helped **you**, the fact that you helped your dad.

KURT: This was my Belohuung. My reward. Weil (because) I saved my father. When I wouldn't do nothing, he war ungekommen (he would have died). In the same evening, in gehen in the woods, nach Poland rein.

MRS. K.: He couldn't see at night.

KURT: He was 77 years old.

INT: Is there any other reason you think...

KURT: Er hat wonderful feeling gehabt, afterwards, that I saved him.

MRS. K.: And then also, he wasn't married.

INT: He wasn't married.

KURT: Viele (many) children, denken nur (think only about) on themselves.

MRS. K.: And he did not have children. When one was married and has children, somebody told me, somebody told me, oh, God, right away after the war I met, he saw my father in Auschwitz. And he was standing on one place, and always cried, "Mein Kind, Mein Kind."

INT: Your father?

MRS. K.: My father, ja. This is what this man told me. He said, "Mein Kind." When you were not married, it was easier, somehow.

INT: Because you weren't worried about...

MRS. K.: Not a girl. Not a girl. A girl worries about her family. But a man worries about his

wife and children. Not so much, he wasn't married. This was a big plus, I think. Don't you think so, it was a big plus?

KURT: It was a big plus. I didn't have nothing to think about, what happened to my wife.

MRS. K.: He's a good man. You know, after the war...

KURT: I told you a lot of Jewish Manner went there and got suicide, and then they went to the electric wires, and killed themselves.

MRS. K.: He was from the Americans, of course, I'm glad for this. But the people who were so long in concentration camp, he asked them in a horrible way. But I mean, now I say of course they were right, because there were so many people other than Jews who were actually Nazis, you know, after the war they were Jews. But at this time, you don't know about them. But they treat with them, I mean, they really ask him so many terrible questions. He was crying. How many Jews he killed. And he had to bring out...this is for the Americans.

KURT: He is still alive, after six years concentration camp. He must be a Ges...

MRS. K.: From the Americans.

INT: The Americans were asking you these questions?

KURT: Im Consulate. American Consulate.

MRS. K.: Before he came to America. They were asking him for many days, and also you know, we didn't...

KURT: I told him where I was, in concentration camp.

MRS. K.: Don't forget, we, I have to say "we" because...

KURT: "No, you were in concentration camp. You are still alive. How many Jews have you killed?"

MRS.K.: And he had a military coat on.

KURT: I start to cry when I heard this.

MRS. K.: He had still the same coat on what they gave him after the liberation. A military coat, and also shoes, military shoes. He didn't have private shoes on. And so they thought...

KURT: I had to bring two letters from other prisoners, that said good for me, that I was only a gewoehlicher (regular) prisoner, kein kapo, you know what kapo is, and I was only a

gewoehulicher prisoner, simple prisoner. And that I killed nobody. They were with me together.

MRS. K.: Those cried, the witnesses.

KURT: I had to bring them two letters to Consulate.

MRS. K.: They are both, he had to bring four, not two.

KURT: Four?

MRS. K.: Yeah, but those two, where we went to, I came with him, of course. They were, they were also married to Christian women, and he was the editor of a newspaper, a very big man. He was an editor of a newspaper, and he said, "You married this man?" He said to me. "A **wonderful** man. Do you know that he saved so many people?" I said, "My husband never told me that he saved people." "But we know. What he did in Kleiner." He **still** is not talking about it. Ask him. I mean, this is what they told me. And the other one, didn't he write poems? Not this one. This Werner Lohner. He was...

KURT: Yeah. Write poems. Der eine hat poems geschrieben. (that one wrote poems)

MRS. K.: Yeah. And he also said, "Your husband went to the klein Lager, where they were, and he threw food in there." He told me, he never did.

KURT: Denn we had in Buchenwald, we had Russishe prisoners from the war. They put them in concentration camp. These were Russishe soldiers.

INT: Russian soldiers?

KURT: Yeah. Eine Gemeinheit (meanness). You know? To put Russische soldiers. Die gehoeren nicht (they didn't belong) in a concentration camp. Die gehoren in a gefangenen Lager, yeah, but nicht in a concentration camp. And then they killed them, so many of them, because only that they give them nothing to eat.

INT: They didn't want to feed them.

KURT: Weiter nichts. (Nothing else) Only they killed them. Not with their hands or nothing. They died for hunger.

INT: They didn't feed them. They just didn't give them food.

KURT: Give them food.

INT: What were you thinking while all this was going on? What did you think about all of that? How did you feel?

KURT: Andere kenn sein crazy. Others waren crazy geworden. (Others could have gone crazy.)

INT: What, that they were crazy, or that this was crazy? What were you thinking when all this was happening, and you were living in the camp?

KURT: We had no thoughts anymore. Our brain was dead. We were nur (only) animals. Menschliche (human) animals. Die denken nur an (They think only of) sleep and of food. That's all.

INT: So you weren't thinking about...

KURT: No, no thoughts anymore. We had no name. We had only a number. Nobody called you Mr., Herr so and so, Mr. so and so, right?

INT: So your family was pretty religious, right, that you came from?

KURT: Yeah, yeah. Not meine Mutter (my mother) so much, but my father. We went two times in the synagogue. Not far from where we lived in Berlin, nicht weit von us, a couple minutes away was a little synagogue. My father went in the morning and in the evening.

INT: What did they teach you about G-d? You know, what did your father say to you about G-d and religion?

KURT: Sure, sure, that's what we saw in the home. The parents taught us and talked to us. Then we went to a religious shul. As Kinder. We were in a religious shul.

INT: Were you wondering at all when this happened about G-d, and how could G-d let this go on?

KURT: Yeah, sure.

INT: You thought about that.

KURT: We were thinking on this, too, sure. And viele (many) didn't believe on G-d anymore.

INT: Who didn't?

KURT: Viele (many) Jews.

INT: Yeah. How about you?

KURT: I wasn't so...I was thinking on it too, aber, not that I'm going to leave my religion.

INT: You weren't thinking about leaving your religion?

KURT: No, no, I wasn't thinking on it. I was thinking on G-d, why You do this to us, you know? (pause)

INT: So your wife was saying after the war, you gradually came back to believe in G-d again.

KURT: Yes. I came on Wednesday back to Berlin, on a Wednesday. And the next Friday night, I was thinking, I want to see if I find other Jews. Meine sister war (was) nothing to me. She was married to a goy, you know? Okay, she let me into her apartment, and I had a bed and could sleep in there. Aber, she had keine Judische zelen mehr gehabt. (But she did not have a Jewish soul anymore.) She was like a goy.

INT: So after you came out, you went to Berlin, and you went to synagogue.

KURT: Yeah. I was looking for a synagogue. On Friday night, I was thinking: Wo geht a Jude (where does a Jew go) when I wants to go see other, meet other Jews? I went to a synagogue. Maybe I, maybe I'll see other Jews. So the first Friday night, I went out from meine sister's apartment, in Berlin, and I went to the next synagogue. This synagogue.

INT: The one in the picture, here?

KURT: Yeah. In der Wetzelstrasse. And I come in. A nachtiger Tog. The synagogue was bombed, bombed, was in ruins from the American fliers. Bombed Berlin, you know? Bombed the synagogues too. So I was standing there. Where shall I go now? Wo (where) shall I look for a third other one? Shall I go home? So I was talking to myself, you know, thinking. Shall I go home now, or look somewhere else, aber I knew in the neighborhood wahr nur die eine synagogue in Berlin. Suddenly I hear singing. From far away. Jewish synagogue songs. "Lechah Dodi Likras Kallah. (sings) What one sings on Friday, on Sabbath, you know? And I went after the sound. Behind the broken synagogue was a little chapel. A little house, a chapel. And I opened the door, and there was sitting maybe thirty people on Friday night. And they all stared at me, looked at me, stared, looked at me, I had on mein arm, I had from Kah-tzet (KZ = concentration camp), der name Buchenwald, you know. Buchenwald. They looked at me, and I looked at the Mentschen. Other Jews. And then I looked. The Manner sassen (the men sat) over on one side, und the women sassen on the other side, in the middle was an aisle...higher. I looked at this woman there. On meine Frau. (At my wife) Like an angel face. I didn't, I had no feeling, feeling I had, aber, I had not den Mut, the courage, the initiative, to go over and talk to her. I didn't know how to talk to a woman, after six years in concentration camp, I never saw a woman. I didn't know how to talk to Menschen. And I saw my neighbor, my Judische neighbor next to me, der gebetet hat (who prayed). Hab ich ihm gezeigt, this woman da. (I pointed at this woman there). Do you know this girl over there? I said, Ja, I know her. Can you introduce me to her? Denn I am afraid I can't talk really to girls. And I told him that I was six years in concentration camp, and I am the first week back here in Berlin. And after the service was over, he took me on the hand, and went to her, to my wife, and introduced me. I told her my name, and so. And she talked to me a couple word, and so, and I walked next to her, where she was living, and said, "Good Shabbas, good-bye," and that was it. She didn't talk much to me, and I couldn't talk much to her, either, because I didn't know what to talk.

And the next Friday night we saw each other again in dem little Temple. And so started our (laughs) our...

INT: Your romance.

KURT: Yeah.

INT: What was there about her that made you want...

KURT: She was so beautiful. She was so beautiful. Und tall. Not a little one, but she was a tall girl. Nice dressed. She was living bei goyim, by Christian people. They saved her. She was illegal by those people. The last two and half years. Two and a half years. And she worked for them. They had a store with leather goods. And she was sewing there, leather.

INT: So you were six years in Dachau?

KURT: I was six years in concentration camp.

INT: Oh, all together, right?

KURT: Ein year in Sachsenhausen. One year in Dachau, and four years in Buchenwald. I was only one year in Dachau, one year in Dachau, only. They sent us to Buchenwald. I was thinking they sent us maybe zum vergassen, you know, to the gas chamber, nach Auschwitz. But they didn't send us, they sent us back to Buchenwald. I worked hard there, yeah.

INT: What did you do in Buchenwald?

KURT: Als in a Jewish Barrack.

INT: What did you do in Buchenwald? What did they have you doing in Buchenwald?

KURT: I shlepped stones on my shoulder. Stones. There was a Steinbruk (quarry), oder wie man das calls (or how you call it). A lot of stones went there. Drunter zu gehen. Downstairs. Outside the camp. And we had to schlep stones.

INT: That's what you did every day, all day, seven days a week?

KURT: Yeah.

INT: Did you have any friends, did people get close to each other?

KURT: Yeah, a little bit, yeah. We went close to each other. But the closest one, I went to Paris after the Liberation, and hat geheiratet ein Christian Maedel. (and he married a Christian girl). Einmal, zweimal (once, twice), he wrote me zweimal a letter, and sein name war (his name was)

Bugeleisen. He came from Leipzig. He was a nice guy, yeah. Aber ich horte (But I heard) nothing from him anymore. Maybe er lebt nicht mehr (Maybe he does not live anymore), I don't know.

INT: Well, did people make friends of each other there, or everybody kind of like was sort of to themselves?

KURT: Yeah, so long as you were there, you were friends. But then when you were free, you were a person again. You took your friends that **you** like, what **you** want to have. Not the prisoners, you know? You had your own, your will now, again. Your will.

INT: Right. How you think, you said when you were in the camps, you felt like not a person, you were...

KURT: No, like an animal.

INT: How do you think that came back to you, your sense of you as a human being, as a person? How do you think that happened?

KURT: The love to my wife made me zuruck langsam (turned me again into) like a human being.

INT: That's very nice.

KURT: Yeah. (pause)

INT: Do you ever think about, or worry, that this could happen again, what happened?

KURT: I tell you, the anti-Semitism is so gross now, it's **unbelievable**. Every day, die Hetze gegen (the hatred against) the Jews in the newspaper. Every day. What they say against the Jews, what they are. It's unbelievable. Und die Welt Schweigt again. The world has said nothing. Anstatt hier es zu verbieten. (Instead of forbidding it.) And the Ku Klux Klan gennt herum wieder. Er ist obenauf. (is running around. It is on top of things.)

INT: So you do worry about the anti-Semitism here, now?

KURT: Yeah. That it's going to happen again. Die Welt lernt nicht. (The world does not learn.)

INT: How do you feel about the unification of Germany?

KURT: I hate it. Dadurch kamen die ganzen Nazis, kamen da. Die Nazis, die unter den Kommunisten gelebt haben. (That's how all these Nazis surfaced again. The Nazis who lived under the Communists.) In East Germany, you know?

INT: You don't think, that's not a good thing?

KURT: And then they went together again. Germany were in two parts. Now they are again together. One part now. The anti-Semitism is bigger and bigger. Aber I get a nice pension from Berlin for my years in concentration camp.

INT: You do?

KURT: Yeah. A nice pension. My wife, too, gets a pension.

INT: So that helps. I mean, it certainly doesn't make up for what happened, all the loss of life.

KURT: Yeah. In Dachau haben mich die Lause gefressen. (The lice ate me.) In Buchenwald, they couldn't. Suddenly they called my number. In January '43. I came back from the Arbeit (work). In mein Barrack. Mein number.

MRS. K.: But you know, Marian, when I think about it, and I think about, there is in us, in **us**, not only in me, in us is a feeling...this is not ungrateful. I mean, I'm not completely, I'm a very grateful person, I think. But toward the Germans, when I hear: this one saved and this one saved, and this one saved, first of all, you hear now more about saved people than killed people, which is completely wrong. And I do not have...

KURT: Lotte, lass mich mal me ende erzahlen. (Lotte, let me finish.)

MRS. K.: Oh, I thought you'd finished.

KURT: No.

MRS. K.: Excuse me.

KURT: My number wurde gerufen. Geht ja nicht nach Namen, nur Nummer. (My number was called. Only numbers mattered, not names.) Me and other two, I think it was. We were together three. But eine sent they home again. I don't know why. You have to come in the Krankenbau. Da wo die Kranken werden behandelt. (where the sick people are treated.) We had to come. So we went there. So you have to stay here now. They're going to make medical experiments on your body.

INT: Oh. That's what they told you?

KURT: Yeah. Why us? Why me? The block had 250 people! 250 other Jews. Why they took me? This was January the fifth, my Mutter's (mother's) birthday. I never forget this day. January the fifth, 1943. They made medical experiments on our body. They put eine fleck typhus, spotted fever, auf English, Flecktyphus, typhus, in unseren arm, mit dem Zeug. Nach eight days we were sick. High fever. They treated us very nicely.

INT: They did?

KURT: We had to lay in bed. You couldn't stay near me. And all prisoners, and the SS couldn't come in to us. Und outside every day died 300, 400 people von der Kalte. (from the cold) We were not dressed for winter. They saved my life. When I didn't come to this group, where they made experiments on our bodies. We were outside, maybe died in der Kalte (in the cold) outside. The winter from '42 to '43.

MRS. K.: But many died during the experiments, too.

KURT: What?

MRS. K.: Many died from the typhus, too.

KURT: No, no, das waren nur wenige (this was very few). The fever was so high, that many prisoners' heart couldn't stand it, you know? They died from the high fever. Fourteen days I couldn't eat, not a little bit. And doctors came from all over Germany and in weisse Kittel (in white gowns) doctors who studied on our bodies. Der Flecktyphus, the spot typhus, the body swells near the body gets swollen, and on the skin spots, darker spots. That was Flecktyphus, spotted fever. The whole thing, the Germans sind rein nach Russia (entered Russia) in the war. (German). The German army. And many got typhus. Many soldiers died, hundreds of German soldiers died on typhus in the war, in Russia. So they were thinking, we have to do something. We have to find a medicine to save our soldiers. So they came up with the idea, we'll take the concentration camp prisoners, and make an experiment, and try out, and when they're going to be alive, then they are saved, and we take their blood from them. (coughs) They take our blood, from the prisoners, when they came out alright from the sickness.

So I remember this so exactly. Wie (how) the SS doctor hat uns reingemacht die Krankheit. Wie er came in mir ist ihm the scalpel...rausgefallen aus seiner Hand. Und er wollte es noch catchen. Und hat sich irgend wie verletzt an der Hand. (How the SS doctor put the disease into us. When he came to me the scalpel fell out of his hand. And he wanted to catch it. And he injured himself at his hand.) You know? On the hand. They said loud, so I heard it, "Now I'd better put gloves on." And I was waiting dass er soll mir das reinmachen (that he should put this into me.) And he put on rubber gloves and infected me. Und da hat er sich angezogen und hat mir die Krankheit reingemacht. Auf'm Tisch war so ne Buchre. (On the table was a little tin can.) It looked terrible. Da hat er das knife eingetouched und reingemacht in meine skin. Dann haben sie es verklebt, dass wir sollen es nicht touchen, und genau eight days later we got sick. (He dipped the knife in it and put it in my skin. Then they taped it so that we could not touch it. And exactly eight days later we got sick.)

INT: And some people died?

KURT: And I came out alive.

INT: You came out alive.

KURT: And draussen in der Kalte in the cold, and outside, outside unsere Barracke, where the guinea pigs were, war nothing. We were warm, we got good food.

(END TAPE TWO, SIDE ONE)

(TAPE TWO, SIDE TWO)

KURT: And then they said, “My G-d, (German) Jewish blood into our Aryan soldiers. (German)”

INT: Oh, did they give it to them, or they said they couldn’t give it to them?

KURT: No, because from Jews. They took from the anderen (others). (?) from 200 prisoners, funfzig (50) Jews, funfzig homosexuals, mit die gelbe (with the yellow signs) signs, und funfzig were criminals, and funfzig were politic.

INT: Right. Political prisoners.

KURT: They throw the Jews out. In May, they throw us out.

INT: They threw you out? Because they couldn’t use your blood.

KURT: No. This was ...das musste so sein. Die anderen sind still dortgewesen. Die haben anderes ausgetried an denem andere sicknesses. (It had to be that way. The others were still there. They tried out other diseases on them.)

So they put us for zur Strafe (for punishment) in the Steinbruck (quarry). We had to go down deep in the earth, unter freiem Himmel (under the open sky) and to take stones and take the stones and bring them up and put them all on a hill, you know, put them together. And suddenly, von dem (because of) working, after so long time, meine alte Wunde (my old wound) on the foot broke open.

INT: The old wound?

KURT: The old wounds on my foot broke open. And started to bleed. And I went to our foreman, you know, to a kapo, and took off the shoe, and showed him mein leg, wie es blutet (how it bleeds). Er hat gesagt, “You go out. You go home.”

INT: So where did he send you?

KURT: Zuruck zu (Right to) my barrack. Ich soll nicht mehr arbeiten. Ich brauch nicht mehr zu kommen denn in den Steinbruck. Ist es ein Wunder Gottes aus dem Steinbruck (I shall work no longer. I don’t need to come anymore to the quarry. Isn’t it a miracle of G-d -- from the quarry) I came out alive. As a guinea pig, I came out alive.

I was in Dachau. I was hanging on chains. On chains here. Zusammen genbunden die Hande (the hands tied together). Then I had to stay up on a little, little Stufe (step). The other end from the chain, he put over on top, on a balcony to a ring, and then he took the little stool away, and I was hanging on chains. Like this. Mit ausgelenkten Schulffen (dislocated) shoulders, you know? I was hanging in the air, on the chains. Here un die Handgelenke. Und wir haben geschrien alle for pain. Und die SS ist gesessen und hat gespielt karten. Und wer zu laut geschrien hat, sind sie gekommen und haben gegeben mit den Fussen einen stoss und man ist hin und hergeschwungen an die chains. Das war eine Stunde. (Here around the wrists. And we all cried of pain. And the SS sat there and played cards. And whenever someone screamed too loud, they came and hit him with their feet, and one swang from side to side on the chains. For one hour.) You have the feeling that you're going to die, any minute.

INT: Did they do this for any reason, or just because?

KURT: They wrote unser number down. (?) The whole group von Juden. Wir wollten alle. I didn't do nothing. Zweimal, the same thing. Maybe a couple months later, I had the same thing. Eine Stunde (one hour) hanging. Und noch ein anderer Grund (and another reason). And this hanging was always in the woods, outside the camp, on a tree. And you have to open up your jacket, the buttons up, and here the hosen auf (open) here, on a chain, and you have to breathe, damit (so that) you can breathe, and the cold air in winter, you got a bad cold. And you died hanging there. And not only hanging, they hit you. They hurt you. Geshlagen auch noch mit den Gewehrkolben. (They hit you with the rifle butt) Suddenly they changed their mind, and put us in the Bade anstelt (bath-house) in a big hall.

MRS. K.: In the bath house.

KURT: Bath house. You know?

INT: And you still have dreams about it.

KURT: Then, when they let us down, every minute, we thought we were hanging thirty, or thirty-five people in einer Reihe (in one row), and we were hanging. Nicht bloss einer alleine. (Not only by himself). And then came the prisoner, und hat untergestellt zuruck die little chairs that one konnte stehen drang. And bis er kommt zu you (and put back the little chairs that one could stand on. And till he comes to you,) you couldn't stand it. And then we went home, back to the Barracken, with the hands like this. You couldn't drop the hands nach to the front anymore. Your hands were on here, so sind wir gegangen zuruck in the barracks. (We went like this back ot the barracks.) And in the barracks, haben uns die anderen Mitgefangenen die Arme massiert, und massiert und massiert bis we could take langsam take the arm wieder in the front. Da came life wider rein. (And in the barracks the other prisoners massaged our arms, massaged and massaged till we could take slowly take the arm again in the front. Life went into them again.) In the muscles, you know?

INT: Did you do that for yourself, or did someone else help you?

KURT: I couldn't. We couldn't. We couldn't move the arms.

INT: So some other people helped.

KURT: Yeah, other prisoners in the Barracken. Massiert unser arms (massaged our arms). So long till we could feel life wieder (again) in the arms, and we could take the arms wieder (again) to the front. So waren die Hande still hinten. And they massiert so lange (Like this the hands were still in the back. And they massaged so long) till they came alive in the arms. And I had this two times. But the second time, I knew already what's going to happen. Then you aren't so afraid anymore, you know? Beide tiul war ich unschuldig. (Both times I was innocent.) I didn't do nothing wrong.

INT: Your wife said you still have dreams about these things.

KURT: Yeah. Once in a while.

MRS. K.: All the time.

KURT: Yeah. Mit the Jahre (As time goes by) it goes away. I told her when I came out and I went free, you know, I went to a doctor, and I said, "I have nachts a dream that I am still in concentration camp. What can I do? I have so wonderful wife, and nice child, and I'm so happy, and nights, when I sleep, I dream that I am again in concentration camp."

INT: What did the doctor say?

KURT: You have records maybe, zu hause (at home), play nice music before you go to bed. Sing a bisl (little) song. I said, Okay, I'll try to. Ich soll haben mehr (I should have more) entertaining, so I forget a little bit. But nothing helps. And today, (nach) after so many years, wieviel Yahres ist es hier? (How many years have passed?) Fifty years? From '45, about 50 years. I dream very often that I am still in concentration camp. And then I wake up and say, Mein Gott, bist du denn crazy? Liegst hier in deinen bett (You are lying in your bed), und hast dein eigenes Haus (and have your own house), and this schone Fraue (and this beautiful wife). And es geht nicht weg. (And it does not go away.) (pause)

I don't like to talk about it so much, you know, because it makes me wieder (again) remember alles, you know? Not everything about it, most of it. (pause) And I came out alive.

INT: Well, how do you think you came out? How do you think you got through it... all?

KURT: I don't know. It must be someone, this is my thoughts. Excuse me. This is my thoughts. That somebody was watching me. Oben. Where I learned my wife. Warum hat der Tod mir gegeben ich soll suchen andere Juden in Berlin. (Why did death (G-d) make me look for other Jews) I should go look for other Jews. If I wouldn't have gone to the temple, I never would have met my wife.

INT: So it was meant to be, huh?

KURT: Ich stand for dem Tempel, dem zerbrochenen Tempel und dachte: wohin geste jetzt? Sollst du geneh home, "home". Ich war nicht (I stood in front of the temple, the destroyed temple, and thought: where do you go to now? Should you go home, "home." I was not) very happy by my sister, you know? After I went through and sie war verheiratet zu a goy. Still war es dode meine, nicht wahr? (and she was married to a goy. Still this was my sister, right?) But I wasn't very happy. Ich war vier Tage in Berlin. I said, "Geh, look for other Jews."

INT: And then you started to come back to life.

KURT: Yeah. The love to my wife made me a mensch again.

INT: Yeah, that's what he said.

MRS. K.: (Laughs)

INT: And you were so beautiful.

MRS. K.: (Laughs)

KURT: Ich hab gedacht ein Angel sitzt dort. (I thought an angel was sitting there.)

INT: An angel.

KURT: My wife, the angel.

INT: Well, she thinks you're one, too.

KURT: Ich hatt mich nie getraut alleine zu geben zu ihr. Ich hatt es nie gewagt. (I never dared to approach her on my own.)
You know what is gewagt? I would never von myself gone over to her and talked to her. I didn't know **how** to talk.

INT: But you told someone else.

KURT: No teeth in my mouth.

MRS. K.: He was by...

KURT: In Buchenwald... oder wo war's in Sachsenhausen -- no, in Buchenwald -- they hit me so in the face, the SS, that I lost my teeth. Broken. Everything broken in there. I don't need teeth. In K-Z (concentration camp), you don't need teeth. We have nothing to eat. Only a little bit water soup, right?

MRS. K.: This boy who introduced me to him, he was...

KURT: Still our friend.

INT: Oh, he was?

KURT: Yeah.

MRS. K.: And he is very religious.

KURT: I'll show her the picture von ihm (of him).

MRS. K.: And he bentscht us also at the party. I didn't know. It was not talked about. But he gave a big speech that he was the one, and he knows my husband one hour longer than he knows me. Than my husband knows me.

(Pause)

INT: Okay, so last time after we talked you weren't too upset, you said?

KURT: I was upset?

INT: You weren't upset, or you **were** upset?

KURT: No, I don't think so.

INT: No, not too much.

KURT: The years and years forget, make everything a little bit more, not so like it was.

INT: Yeah, fifty years later.

KURT: It's a healing process, right? Yeah, and so...I tell you for me, it's, I'm born in a very poor, nicht very, aber poor family. We were seven children, six girls and I was the only son. So my mother naturally -- maybe it's natural -- preferred me before the girls, you know.

INT: She seemed to prefer you?

KURT: Prefer me over the girls, in bezug auf (in relation to) food.

MRS. K.: Hello, darling! (interruption)

INT: So we were talking about your family, and you were the only boy.

KURT: I was the only boy. My mother always put something away for me. You know?

INT: A little extra?

KURT: Hide it from the other children. Food, I mean. Mein father was a tailor. I'm a tailor, too. My father taught me, nicht taught me to, but said it was better this way. Then I'll help you. I grow up as a child in the First World War. The First World War started in 1914, and went till 1918. Und food was rationed in Germany. So everything was with mit Harken (with food stamps). Bread and fleish. Meat. Everything got so and so viel (full) of stamps for the whole week, and when they were gone, you didn't have nothing. You couldn't buy bread without it. So mein sisters were older than me. They could eat more than we children, right?

INT: Were you the youngest one?

KURT: I was the second youngest. A sister came after me, younger sister. Three years younger than me. So when we got nothing really to eat much. The main food was soup. Potato soup. The whole week we had potato soup at dinner. Und what could you do? Only Friday. Friday we ate a piece of meat oder what. And this came (?) that I was used to be hungry, and go hungry to bed.

INT: To bed?

KURT: As a child, schon (already), you know? I begged my mother, "Please, Mama, give me a piece of brot. (bread)" She said, "Mein Kind, I can't give you. We have nothing." So I went very often hungry to bed from the little soup. What is soup? Not much power to...

So then I grow up and later on I had a little store, a tailor store. I made alterations on men's clothing, and women's clothing. I shortened sleeves, you know, like this, or shortened the collar when it wasn't sitting right, and so. Und das ging (And that went on) so till...alterations I made, and cleaning, I took on clothing for cleaning. Und give it away and it came back to me, and I...

So...after that, then the Nazis came on.

INT: How did your family find out about what was going on with the Nazis, and anti-Semitism?

KURT: We had there a radio.

INT: On the radio.

KURT: Everybody had a radio. And then we saw it. We saw it on the streets, what happened. The Nazis marched around in uniform, and hollered, "Wenn das Judenblut vom Messer spritzt. (When Jewish blood squirts on the knife)." When the Jewish blood from the knives run down, "denn gehts uns noch mal so gut (then we will be doing even better)." And it's very good then. And it means, "Kill the Jews," you know?

INT: Right. When Jewish blood flows, that's a good thing.

KURT: Yeah. That they were singing this. “Wenn das Juden blud, the Jewish blood from the knives.”

INT: But how about before that, did you hear things? You know, before the Nazis came into your town, did you hear about it other ways? Was discrimination happening before?

KURT: No, no, no.

INT: It was like suddenly they were there?

KURT: What?

INT: It was like all of a sudden?

KURT: They were there, but the government was a Republican government, also (that means) democrats, you know? And they did nothing to the Nazis.

INT: Was your father allowed to stay in business, or did they take the business away?

KURT: Yeah. My father was in business, and then I took over. I was 22 years old, when I took over his business practically. We had a little store, and...it was not too bad. Aber then kam the Nazi era. Hitler went to power, und the first what he did, he hatte the Kristallnacht, and everybody hears about it, the Kristallnacht, where they hit the Jewish stores and so on. But they hit mostly big stores. The department houses, and the, you know? Und they wrote down on the windows, “Jude,” and Haken Kreuze (swastikas). And they demolished many stores, and threwed everything on the street. And then one day was a boycott of all the Jewish stores, and for every Jewish store was a Nazi staying in uniform, and didn’t let nobody in.

So this business went down the drain, practically. People were afraid to go in a Jewish store, and to give something, give them work, or to buy something. And then, in...’39...there was the Juden Aktion.

INT: What was that?

KURT: Eine Juden Aktion.

INT: A Jewish action?

KURT: Nicht, against Jewish. Und...

MRS. K.: This was on the 26th of October, 1938.

KURT: Right. So they took...

MRS. K.: 26th of October, 1938. And they took all the men who were, he is **born** in Berlin, but

not his father, who were not German citizens.

KURT: Who were not German citizens. My father was Polish. Aber...

MRS. K.: In Germany, you are this what your father is. Not what you are. In America, wherever you are born, this is what you are. Not in Germany. It goes after the father. So he was, although he was born in Berlin, he was not a German citizen.

KURT: My father was from Austria. Und this part von Austria, nach (after) the First World War, was going to Poland. So suddenly he was a Polish citizen. And he went to the Austria Consulate, and he begged them, "Please, I was a soldier in the Kaiser und Konigliche (Polish) army, in the Army, in the Austrian army. Why should I be a Pole now? I want to be at least an Austrian. I am born." "We can't help you."

INT: Who did he go to?

KURT: To the Austrian Consulate in Berlin. Berlin war die (was the) capital from Germany, you know, where we were living. So waren alle consuls, and everything was in Berlin. Und they couldn't help him. So he was a Polish citizen, und after fifteen years, when you are fifteen years old, and a man, not a girl, then you are automatically the same what your father is. We had to have passports, Polische passports, and trotzdem (even though) I couldn't speak one word of Polish.

So one day they came in the morning, 5:00 in the morning, knocked on the door, "Aufmachen!" Open it! And I opened the door, and da war (there was) the Gestapo. Und "Andziehen," put on your clothes and come with us. They took my father, and they took me. And they brought us with the Lastautos (trucks), took us to a big Kaserne (barrack). A Kaserne is a place wo (where) Militar (military) is, soldiers live and exercise, in the back von the buildings, they took us there, and they let us down, and there were hundreds and hundreds upon hundreds of Jews there already. Und I thought to myself, "I have to do something. Maybe can I get my father free." Then my father was in the seventies, half blind, and could hardly walk on a cane, and I went from one soldier, SS, or what it was, to the other. And I was lucky. I talked to an officer, and I told him, "My father is an old man, and a bad heart, and I hope he could go home again, because he wouldn't stand it, die Strapazen (the strain)." So he said to me, "Where is your father? Bring him here." This war good, and I brought my father. Soon, my father on a cane, and he said to a soldier, the officer said to a soldier, "Bring this man to a doctor." So they took my father away. I never heard nothing from them. I heard nothing from them.

INT: So you didn't know where he went.

KURT: Where he went, if they let him go home, or what. Jedenfalls (In any case) I don't. And they sent us to Poland.

INT: Do you know what happened to your mother and your sisters?

KURT: No. In Berlin, they took only men.

INT: Only men.

MRS. K.: And this was called the “Polisch Aktion.”

KURT: So we came to the Grenze (border), to the border city, and they said, “Come out here, and you go here through the woods, then you find your home, to come to your hometown.” Von anderen (from other) cities were women with little babies sogar (even). Only from Berlin they took men. Polish men. And other cities in Germany, they took whole families. So long as they were Polish citizens. And we went through the woods, and the Nazis took over. And they start to hit us with canes, or with the rubber sticks, we should run. We should run. And I was thinking, “I am lucky. My father is maybe home already, oder what. That he wouldn’t over live this alone. this running, and this hitting.” I saw many elderly men, who was running, and they hit them over the head, and then they fell, and then they hit them again, until he went up again. Many old men never get up. They hit them so over the head, that they lost the...

So when we came da zu der Grenzpolice station. In the woods was a Grenz, from the Polish government.

MRS. K.: Border police.

KURT: Border police, yeah. And we went in there. This waren around thousand people, we were. Und many could speak Polish. Then they went into this Grenz police, border policeman, and sagt, “The Nazis throw us out. Please bring us to the next city. We don’t know how to go here, in the dark, in the woods.” And he said, “No, no, no! Back to Hitler! Back to Hitler!” We should go back. And we couldn’t go back, because the Nazis sie stehen (they stand) in the woods and didn’t let us back. So he said, “You have to wait. Till the morning.” So they let us stay in the woods, and most of the people, they had not a bite to eat since they went out of the house, 5:00 or 6:00 in the morning, and the rain starts to fall, and the children were crying.

So in the morning, he called up the next Grent city, and there came soldiers, Polish soldiers, and brought us to that town. Und they put us in big horse Stallung (stable), where horses are.

MRS. K.: Horse stables.

KURT: Stables. Horse stables.

INT: That’s where they put you?

KURT: What?

INT: That’s where they kept you.

KURT: Yeah. And there was straw, laying straw, and we should lay there. They brought us

nothing to eat. Nothing. We were laying there three days. Three days. Then came the first truck with bread, and throw bread down from the truck to us. So at least we had a couple bitten of bread.

MRS. K.: And the town was Spatzyn.

KURT: Yes. This Stadt is Spatzyn.

INT: Is that the name of the town?

KURT: The town. The Polish city. This war before it was mal (once) a German city. Bentschen. A border city. Aber the citizens were alle Polish. You couldn't go nowhere. Only in the town. Und then nach ungefahr (after about) nine months...

INT: You were there nine months?

KURT: I was there nine months, or ten months, I think.

INT: For ten months.

KURT: Till June. Till June the next year. From October '38, October '38, till June, '39.

MRS. K.: Eight months.

KURT: Eight months, so ungefahr (about that long). I don't know.

(END TAPE TWO, SIDE TWO)

(TAPE THREE, SIDE ONE)

KURT: Berlin. Gave us passports, Polish passports, and auf (on) the Polish passports was written, "You can go, but you can't come back."

MRS. K.: This is very important.

INT: You can go home...

KURT: We can go back to Germany, but we can't come back. So I come back to Berlin. In between were mein, my mother died, in the Jewish hospital. Und I couldn't go to the...(sighs)

INT: To where?

MRS. K.: Funeral.

KURT: To the funeral, yeah.

MRS. K.: She died of a broken heart.

KURT: Yeah. Ich war the only son, and she hat besonders (has especially)...

INT: How old was your mother?

KURT: My mother was 72 when she died. 72. My father was an year older.

MRS. K.: Thank G-d she died.

KURT: So I came home, in the store, everything was gone, nothing left, but they had vorrat (stocks of) material, and so on. But I saw my father, at least.

INT: Were your sisters all there, still?

KURT: My sisters were all married, already. Most of them were married. I didn't tell you this. Most of them were married. Two sisters were married to Christians. Not to Jews, to Christians. And they were good to them. Why do you shake your head?

MRS. K.: They were not good to them.

KURT: They were good to them.

INT: Who, the husbands?

KURT: They were good to them. Till Hitler came on, I guess.

INT: Who was good to them?

MRS. K.: Their husbands were good to them.

KURT: Their husbands, yeah, were good to them.

INT: Oh, okay. But not the government.

MRS. K.: No, not the government. One Christian was very good. Always.

KURT: Yeah. The other was good, too, till Hitler came on.

MRS. K.: The other one saw to it that she was taken to the Auschwitz.

KURT: My sister was terrible hollering of the Nazis, loud, and he was afraid that somebody could hear it. So...

MRS. K.: One sister went back to Poland.

KURT: Yeah. One sister was married to a Polish Jew, and went, a couple months before I was in concentration camp, they went to Poland. So when I was in Poland, I wanted to go to my sister. She was living on the other end, near the Russian border, in a town. But they didn't let us go, you know? Only, we had to stay in this town. And I couldn't speak one word Polish, so I was very handicapped. So then came the order that the people who come from Berlin, from Germany, and had a store, oder something like this, could go back to liquidate everything. And then we got the Polish passports. Stateless passports, and we can go, aber we can't come back.

I went to the American Consulate in Berlin, and begged them. In between, my sister in the United States. One sister war married in the United States. Long years she was living already there, since 1923, with her family. She sent me dollars, ten dollars nicht (not) for a passport, for a visa. An American visa was costing ten dollars. So I had a date from an American Consulate, fur September 23rd. September the 21st. This was just my birthday. And I was very happy.

INT: A visa to go to the United States?

KURT: Yeah.

MRS. K.: Well, this is very important. The dates are very important, because in Germany, as he came back to Germany, he also had to leave Germany. So he went to the American...

KURT: In between started the Second World War. September 2nd, '39.

MRS. K.: September 1st.

KURT: Yeah, or September 1st, '39. And I said, "My G-d, what shall I do now? They're going to arrest me again, the Germans."

MRS. K.: He only had ten days, also.

KURT: Yeah. And I was a Polish man, und a **Jew**. And one was arger (worse) than this one. And I went to the American General Consulate in Berlin, and come there are hundreds and hundreds of people want to get out of Germany. Und begged for some help. And I said to them, "Here, I have my sister in New York sent me ten dollars I should pay for the visa, and I have already an invitation from you that I should come. But the war broke out. Can't you put the term a little bit earlier? Damit (so that) I get my visa?" "You come when you should come."

MRS. K.: But by this time, he was taken to concentration camp.

KURT: And a week, oder was (or so), before, on the 13th of September.

MRS. K.: On the 13th of September.

KURT: 13th of September, '39, they knocked on the door, and took me. The Gestapo. I was very lucky. They didn't take my father. So they took me, and I came in an assembly hall, and there were a hundred other Polish citizens, and they put us in trains and sent us to the nearest concentration camp, near Berlin. Thirty kilometers.

MRS. K.: Sachsenhausen.

KURT: From Berlin. Und this concentration camp hiess Sachsenhausen. Everybody knows it. And when we came to, last stop before the concentration camp, we had to get out, and had to march to the camp. Mit the hands up behind our head like this, so we had to march. Mehrere (several) kilometers zu the camp. And the people aus (from) the windows in that city, in this border city, throw stones nach (toward) us, und sagt, "You want to give them food? You want to let them live, and give them food? Kill the Jews! Kill the Jews! Kill the Jews!" Aus (from) the windows.

And then we came to the camp, and they start to...we had to take off our civil clothing, and they gave us other clothing. And the clothing was old military clothing. Maybe fifty oder sixty years old, the clothing from military. With steh high collars, and three hooks here, and the hooks had always to be closed, the hooks.

INT: Around your neck. Real tight around your neck?

KURT: Yeah, yeah. Drei (three) hooks war here. They had to always be closed. And they gave us shoes, they were maybe a hundred years old soldiers shoes Stiefel (boots).

INT: Yeah. And they didn't fit you, I remember.

KURT: And the shoes were my size, but this leather was so carved in, old, that it hurt my leg. The left leg. And this left leg got entzündet (infected).

MRS. K.: Infected.

KURT: Infected, full of pus, till so long in KZ (concentration camp) that I couldn't walk anymore. And when I was laying, it was alright. And in the barracks where we were, was the oldest man in the barracks was not a Jew, it was a criminal.

MRS. K.: The kapo.

KURT: Nicht (not) the kapo, sind Arbeiter (are workers). In the, the Blockaelteste. The little houses where we were in, hiessen (were called) "Block." And hat jeder Block hat eine number.

INT: Each block had a number.

KURT: And the SS give him an Auftrag (assignment). You have to kill Jews every day. And every morning, he has to, where the toten (dead) Jews were laying outside from the Block, and

the SS came, and sagt, “Was (what)? Only ten Jews you killed? Das muss **mehr** werden. (this has to increase)” It has to be more. And he killed every day a couple Jews.

INT: He would just pick somebody out?

KURT: What?

INT: He would just pick somebody out for no reason.

KURT: Yeah, yeah. Like he didn’t like their face, or so. He was a criminal. Because...

MRS. K.: You also have to say how you were laying in the barracks.

KURT: Yeah. First we had straw sacks. Wie sagt man stroh (How do you say straw)?

MRS. K.: Straw sacks.

KURT: Straw sacks. You know, like mattresses, waren filled mit stroh.

INT: Oh, straw.

KURT: Mattresses. Straw mattresses.

INT: Yeah. Straw mats.

KURT: Yeah. Und every day come new people in. This war room for hundred, and they put in 300. So we had no room how to sleep like this? We had to lay on the side. And one was hard laying on the other one. So that you could hardly breathe.

INT: Everybody was all squished together.

KURT: Yeah. And they hit us, that we should lay more, one on another. And you could hardly breathe. There war no room to breathe. Und people were in the middle of the night, people had to go auf (to) the toilet. We are only Mentschen (human beings). So when they came in again, want to lay down, there was no room. They had to beg us, man soll ihn reinlassen (one should let him in). Und mit einem mal kamen SS Manner, mitten in der Nacht. (And suddenly SS men appeared, in the) middle of the night, and looked in through the windows. The windows were closed mit screws. You couldn’t open a window. The heat was maybe 150 degrees, from the vielen (many) bodies. War no fresh air. Und then you saw some man going around the room. “Ah, die Juden schlafen nicht.” (Oh, the Jews don’t sleep). They doesn’t sleep. And they came in, and threw us out, in the underwear on the street. On the...in the camp streets. Und then they hit us there. Some prisoners got so hitten, so...hit from the rubber...from the rubber things, that they fell down, and then they kicked them with the shoes, mit die heavy shoes, so long that there were no life in them. And when they had two, three deaths, then they let us go into the barracks again. This war fast (almost) every night.

Und one day, this war in Sachsenhausen, bei (close to) Berlin. One day, it hiess (they asked) “Who is a tailor? Tailor sollen Take up the hand. Und melden sich.” (and step forward). So I am a tailor. I stand up and said, “Here, I am a tailor. Pick me.” And maybe ten other raised their arm. I was so lucky. They took me and two other. And the other has to lay on the floor. They had no work for us. The work was, you have to lay on your belly, und the, the cap in your mouth, and the collar has to be closed. Maybe they find mal (happened to find) a collar mit one hook open, they hit them very hard. So we drei (three) Jews could sit down auf a bench near the window, a window, aber you couldn’t open it. Und we had to sew on the Jewish stars. Und the numbers. Every prisoner has a number. And on the left side we had to put on a star. Und the star war yellow und red. One tricorner piece was red, and one was yellow. Yellow means Jew, and red means political. So they had to throw us the clothing, the jackets, and we have to sew on, with thread and needles, and we have to sew on the numbers and the stars. And the SS was every day there. And made exercise with those people on the floor. Up, down. Up, down. They had to stay up and down again. Up and down again. People were hungry from the little water soup what they give us. (pause) But they didn’t touch us. It was us three tailors. They let us sit and sewing. Didn’t say nothing to us. They hit the other prisoners. Not all of them. They looked at their faces. And if they didn’t like their face, they hit them. (sighs)

So we were like bentsched from G-d. I don’t know how to tell you. Like a, like a...nes, wie sagt man auf Deutsch, auf English? (How do you say in German, in English?) Like a Wunder. That they took me and two other people.

INT: Like a miracle.

KURT: We could sit down. We don’t have to make exercise. We were only sitting and sewing. And when they were ready, we throw them to them, to the prisoners to put on.

After nine months in Sachsenhausen, mein foot got so bad, that I couldn’t walk anymore. So every morning and every evening, there was ein Appel (a roll call), on the grossen Platz (big square) before the barracks.

INT: Like a roll call?

KURT: Yeah. Roll call. Roll call. That’s the right word. And they had to count the prisoners, all of them. Und when the prisoners were, wenn die into the Zahl (number), were all right. Whenever you were all right, they let us go back to the barracks. I couldn’t walk anymore. So three oder four prisoners had a Decke, wie nennt man das auf English (how do you call this in English?)

MRS. K.: A blanket?

KURT: A what?

MRS. K.: A blanket.

KURT: A blanket, ja?

INT: Oh, so they carried you?

KURT: And they carried me up and down. And every day was a...selection. War an SS man, and looked at the sick men. Und they shlepped me up there to the SS man, and he looked what I have, on the leg. "Back. Back. Back to the barracks." Hat mich nicht genommen (did not take me). "I want to go that they get medication oder what, oder help for my leg." One day I was lucky. They took me up there, and I showed the SS officer mein leg. This leg war from here, till here, an open wound, so big. Full of pus. So he was nice, he was maybe a human being oder what. He said, "Bring this man to the hospital." They brought me to the hospital, they put me in a bed, like a human being. And they started to heal my leg. So when I was in bed, this healed, you know?

INT: Mm-hm. It got better.

KURT: Und shortly before it was immer smaller, immer smaller, die Wunde, you know? Wie heisst "Wunde" auf English?

MRS. K.: The wound.

KURT: The wound. Yeah. It was like this.

INT: Like a quarter.

KURT: Like a quarter, so. Aber, still open. They throw me out. Back to the barracks. But at least I could walk. Mit pain, aber I could walk. Then they took, suddenly all the prisoners who couldn't work, oder (or) so, were invalid oder was, they sent them to Dachau, concentration camp Dachau. Die gas chambers were not ready then, in 1940, you know? So they made Dachau das Reichsinvalidenlager ("Reich's" disabled camp). The Lager von die (camp for the) invalids. They put us in cattle cars. You know what are cattle cars. Has only two little windows on roof, up, and covered mit wires. Put us there. And they start to bring us to Dachau.

Dachau is maybe around 300 oder 400 miles away from Sachsenhausen, more to the Bavaria border. No food, nothing. We were three days, three days and nights on the way. And the nights, they let us stay on the train, that train. It didn't work, that train. And in the morning, too, we went. And we came to Dachau, und Dachau is a camp, but around and around the camp is water Graben. (ditches) Tiefe Graben (deep ditches filled with) mit water. When eine (one) tried to...

MRS. K.: Escape.

KURT: Escape, you know? Und he couldn't make it through the electric wires, oder what, then he fell in the ditches.

INT: So there was water all around?

KURT: Water. Around the Mauer (quarry), war die (was a) big stone wall, and before the stone wall were water Graben around...

MRS. K.: Ditches with...

KURT: So breit wie der room here (as wide as this room). So we came to a barrack, and they treat us very nicely zuerst (at first). They saw mein leg, and they put me in the hospital, and they heal the Wunde there. But we certainly became Ungeziefer (acquired vermin). And the shirts, what they give us, were eggs from lice. Lice eggs. And from the body warm, body heat, from the body heat, the eggs, it came lice. Big lice. And we tingen an zu kratzen uns. (started to scratch ourselves). The whole body was a Wunde from the kratzen (scratching), from the lice. The lice was biting us, and took the blood out. (pause)

MRS. K.: So they put you outside, in the sun to die.

KURT: What? This war nicht (was not) in Dachau.

MRS. K.: It wasn't in Buchenwald.

KURT: No, this war still in Sachsenhausen noch. We couldn't, the invalids, what couldn't walk, they sent us outside the camp. We have to lay there in the grass.

MRS. K.: In the sun.

KURT: In the sun. Bare feet. Und the sun, we get Sonnenbrand, (sunburn) brent on the legs, on the feet, and flies were, hundred and hundred from flies was biting us.

MRS. K.: But they cleaned it out. It was just the opposite. The white...

KURT: Every day till the work time was over, we could come back in the camps. And one day then they sent us to Dachau. And Dachau, all the Jews in Dachau were in the Straf (punishment) company. Were treated worsen than the other prisoners.

MRS. K.: In a punishment.

KURT: Yeah. We waren in a punishment barrack. The whole camp worked only six days a week. We had to work every day, Sunday, too. Und the lice was eating us. It was terrible. Then I was, I think it was eleven or twelve months we were there in Dachau. They sent us back, in zwischen (meanwhile), many died. They sent us nach (to) Buchenwald. Buchenwald was back in the north, and when we came there, we had to run through the woods till we came to the camp. The camp war on a hill. Buchenwald.

In Buchenwald, (voice breaks) we had to work, too. Every day we had to work. Und every day

they counted us, and when one were missing oder what, the whole lager (camp), the whole Menschen (people) from the camp, from the Buchenwald camp, was standing there till they find this person. The prisoner. And sometimes they have to stay the whole night, without, when they came from work, without food. We had to stay the whole night, in the, auf dem Appelplatz. And they watched us that nobody ever tried to lay down on the ground, you know? The whole Lager war this. Thousand and thousand of Menschen. I have to take something. Excuse me please.
(break)

There was a selection from prisoners. Und the selector was a beruehmter, very famous Nazi doctor. The name was Mengele.

INT: Yes, I've heard of him.

KURT: We had to stay all naked, vollkommen (completely) naked, for him, one after the other, and he were looking at us. Und he made only this, didn't talk.

INT: To the right or to the left.

KURT: So we didn't know what that meant. Und he didn't look at our bodies. He looked only on the faces. But a face he didn't like, oder what, he sent them to death, to the other side. I was, I had such swollen legs. I had legs like Elefanten feet. Full mit water. He didn't look at this. So...then after the end of dieser (this) group, we were standing in eine group was on one side, and eine group was auf (on) their side. I was here, and they looked rueber to the other side, then they took them out, took them away, naked, and we could put on, on unser side, could put on their clothes. And could go back to the barracks. Und auf die Seite, the other that they took away, we never saw them again. They killed them. They give them a needle, you know? They put a needle with air oder what, in die, in die...Artherian (arteries).

INT: In their arm?

KURT: In the arteries, you know, and they died. From the air.

INT: How did you find out about it?

KURT: We find out from these prisoners who were working in the hospital. Prisoners, the Arbeiter (workers) there.

INT: And that's how they killed them.

KURT: Yeah.

INT: What were you thinking all of this time about?

KURT: I wasn't thinking. We waren ja nicht Menschen mehr. (We were no longer human beings.) We were animals.

MRS. K.: No, you weren't thinking.

INT: You didn't think? You just...

KURT: We couldn't think. We were thinking, yeah. Nur (only) what we can eat and we can lay down and sleep.

INT: Just survival.

KURT: Yeah.

MRS. K.: Thirst.

INT: And thirst.

KURT: And I could live with this little bit water soup what they give us. Aber other Jews couldn't live from the little water soup. They were used to a good life. They died for hunger. They start stealing, one from other, this little bread. When they get them, they killed them.

INT: Were you thinking about G-d at all?

KURT: G-d?

INT: Yeah. Where was G-d, and how could this happen?

KURT: No, no maybe we were thinking on G-d.

MRS. K.: Yes, you did.

KURT: I'm sure we were thinking on G-d.

INT: What did you think? Were you praying, or were you asking?

KURT: Yeah, I was praying, yeah. I was praying.

MRS. K.: But he didn't have family, you know. He didn't have family, like a wife and children.

KURT: Yeah. I was wieder (again) lucky. Other people got crazy. What I tell you is from Jewish people, Jewish prisoners. They were thinking on their women, on their woman and children. Und many of the men went in the night, out of the barracks, und went to the electric Stacheldraht (barbed wire), you know, the...

MRS. K.: Electric wire.

KURT: Electric wires. Electricity. And they touched the wires and got killed.

INT: So they sort of committed suicide.

KURT: Suicide, yeah. But in the morning, we waked up, and we looked outside, we saw the man hanging, like a Spinne, like a spider, in the...you know?

INT: In the web.

KURT: Like a spider in his Netz (web), where they were hanging in those wires, dead. Till they shut off the electricity and took the dead people out.

(END TAPE THREE, SIDE ONE)

(TAPE THREE, SIDE TWO)

KURT: And Ruhr, wie heisst das? (Diarrhea, how is this called?)

MRS. K.: Typhus.

KURT: No, no, nicht typhus. Nicht typhus.

MRS. K.: Diarrhea.

KURT: Diarrhea. Hundreds of prisoners died on diarrhea. They macht so lange gemacht, Blut kam raus, (defecated until blood came out) you know? And when they were dying...

MRS. K.: Your hanging.

KURT: What?

MRS. K.: Your hanging.

KURT: Oh, yeah. (pause) When they were dying, they put them naked in the toilet, and in the toilet, they were laying next to the toilet, and we were sitting auf the toilet, and next to uns lagen die Toten mit Schaum vor dem Mund (next to us were the dead people laying with foam on their mouth.)

INT: Blood?

KURT: Lauter Blasen kamen aus ihren Mund. (Lots of bubbles came out of their mouth.) You know? Die Halbtoten (the "half dead" people). They were still breathing. You know?

INT: So they were laying there, dying, and you...

KURT: Yeah, yeah, dying, in the toilet they put them, before they are dead. And we had to go out, we had to go out of the toilet, no, we were sitting on the toilet, and looked at him, and looked auf die Halbtoten. Terrible.

One day one SS man come in the barracks, and da lag das bread auf the table. (bread was laying on the table). Five prisoners got one bread. Parted in five pieces. For five prisoners. One bread. So came auf (he had) the idea to cut this bread in little pieces, and throws it on the floor, like for birds, you know, and we had to lay down and fight for the pieces of bread. Und we did it. We want to eat the bread. Aber wir haben einer den anderen zerkratzt die Hande (But we scratched each other's hands) taking the pieces, the pieces what we would find, and they were standing and were laughing.

MRS. K.: The degradation.

KURT: And we came up, yeah, everybody with a piece of bread, and put it in your mouth, and die Hande waren alle zerkratzt (and our hands were all scratched).

INT: So you had sores on your hand from...

KURT: Sure from (German)

INT: For the bread...

KURT: Nicht from the bread. (German)

INT: Oh, with the other people.

KURT: Ein prisoner fighted with the other on the piece of bread what they found. A piece of bread like this.

INT: Yeah, a little teeny piece. How do you think you got through all that?

KURT: What?

INT: How do you think you **lived** through all this?

KURT: (whispers) I don't know. I told you, I must have an angel watching me. Und anders kann's nicht sein. (And it can't be any other way.) I forget vieles (a lot). Vieles I forget to tell you. I forget it. I forgot it. It's so many years back.

MRS. K.: You didn't forget, but you cannot put it into words. It's...

KURT: Yeah. One day at work, in Buchenwald at work, there was irgendeine (some kind of) Unruhe (unrest, conflict) between the foreman and a paar (a couple of) prisoners. And a Nazi

came through, an SS man. “What’s going on here? What’s going on here? Write all the names.” Nicht names, write all the numbers from every prisoner. I was dauber (among them). What was the...end of it? Every prisoner came vor (before) a court, and er verurteilte us (indicted us): one hour hanging. Hanging. They put us vor (in front of) a doctor, and the doctor has to look at our hands, so, this way.

INT: You were hanging for an hour?

KURT: So if you came, zum hanging, we heard about it. Die ganze Zeit (all the time), the prisoners were saying, they hang up prisoners, that they did something, the prisoners, this war die Urteil, die Strafe (the judgement, the punishment). But they did this outside the camp, in the woods. They put the prisoners on a nail oder what, the hand in the back.

INT: Behind you, yeah.

KURT: And they left them hanging there. The body, the body hat Angstschweiss (cold sweat). The body started to wet, you know, der Schweiss (the sweat).

INT: To sweat?

KURT: To sweat, yeah. We were wet, and the cold air, hit them. We were naked, till here. The upper part naked. Und they never came back in the camp, those prisoners. We never saw them again.

INT: You don’t know what happened to them.

KURT: No. They killed them. They got so sick that they killed them, till they were dead and put them right away in the crematoriums. So I was lucky again. Mein group, we were ordered to one hour hanging, they hanged us in the Lager, in the Badeanstalt (bath houses) you know, where the prisoners take showers. Inside, in a building, you know. Nicht outside on a tree.

INT: So you didn’t get cold, then.

KURT: We had to stay on little stools. Two steps up. They put chains, they put up chains around our, here.

INT: The wrists?

KURT: The wrists, so. Und the other end from the chain, they put through a ring on the balken (beams). You know? And then they throw the little stool away, and we are hanging, were hanging for one hour, like this. Natürlich (of course) the shoulder was renked out (dislocated) out. And we were hanging so, like an hour. And the SS was watching us. They are sitting on a table, und play cards. Played cards. And some prisoners start to, there were eine Reihe (a bunch) of prisoners, twenty oder wieviel (or how many) in ein row, hanging. And some start to **screaming**, some prisoners, from pain. The pain is so that you think you’re going to die. The

Gelenke (joints) here.

INT: The shoulder.

KURT: Turned, you know?

INT: Yeah, turned all around. Came out of the sockets.

KURT: Yeah, yeah. Und when some prisoners was screaming, they came and with the feet...

INT: Kicked them. So it would hurt more.

KURT: So they was swinging on those chains, hin and her (back and forth). I was quiet. I was thinking my end is near. Then when the hour was over, we didn't know for how long it was. It passed like a Ewigkeit (eternity) you know? They came on with the little stools, and put them unter us, und made this chain loose, and we could stay on this little stool, and then we came down. We could go back to the barracks.

INT: Why were they doing this?

KURT: What?

INT: Why did they do this?

KURT: This war one hour hanging.

INT: Yeah, but for any reason? Did they say why they were doing it?

KURT: No! No! They wrote the numbers down from us, and all the numbers, we had, when we were the prisoners, and we waren verurteilt (were indicted) to one hour hanging, ab wir waren schuldig (whether or not we were guilty) or they had nothing, or what.

MRS. K.: What did they do to be schuldig (guilty)?

KURT: And then they let us walk to the barracks. They took the chains off, aber our hands were still in the back. You couldn't take the arms in the front. It was still here.

MRS. K.: It was out of the socket. You had to put it...

KURT: Yeah, out here. We came to the barracks. And the other prisoners started to massieren (massage),

INT: Massage.

KURT: Massieren our arms, so that the blood came wieder (again) in it, and slowly, nach -- ich

weiss nicht how long (after, I don't know how long) -- we could take the arms wieder (again) in the front. That there came life again in the arms. This happened two times with me. With some people it happened only once all the years. I had to hang two times. And both times I had, I did nothing.

Then came Christmas, the first Christmas in Buchenwald. All the Jews antreten (line up). Und they marched us outside the camp, in the woods, and the lagen (pieces of wood) from trees, you know...die Stamme (logs).

INT: Logs?

KURT: Logs. Ungefahr (about) Only so long wie (as) the room here.

INT: Like twenty feet long logs.

KURT: Ja. So ungefahr (about) twenty feet. And every two prisoners have to carry one piece, eine on eine end, and the other on the other end, auf (on) the shoulder, and mit the other hand halt es jest (holds it) on top, and we had to march through the woods one kilometer, und put them down. Then we have to march again zuruck, and put another Stamm, and everything has to go fast. They were angry, anyhow, that they had to, an ihrem holiday to do such work, the SS. And we had to make schnell (fast). The first Stamm what you touched, you had to take. And certainly mitten drinnen (in the middle of it), we took a smaller tree. I and my other man. But we had to take it, because they hit us when we make not fast enough. And we came unterwegs (on the way), and the SS man sees us with a dunnen (thin) tree. "Put the tree down!" We had to go to him, and he hit us with the fist in our mouth, so, like this. With the gloves, you know? We had gloves on. And I lose all my teeth here on top. I was full with blood, here, die ganze jacket was full mit blood, and the blood was running from my mouth, and I felt the teeth are alle loose. Und after this we had to go to the barracks, and I had to go to the cleaning, you know to the Krankenbau (infirmary), and there's nothing we can't help you, nothing. We have to take the teeth out. That's why I have false teeth. False teeth.

INT: Do you ever have nightmares, do you ever have dreams about these things now?

MRS. K.: Oh, my goodness. Terrible dreams.

KURT: What's this?

MRS. K.: If you have dreams. Terrible dreams.

KURT: Sure, I have dreams. Sure.

INT: Do you still have dreams?

KURT: Still I have dreams, but slowly, langsam, this nicht mehr (no longer) every night. This maybe once in a week, oder was (or so).

INT: Instead of every...

KURT: Years and years I war dreaming in the night I am in concentration camp. When I wake up and I live in here in the United States, next to me liegt (lies) my wife, and I was dreaming I am in camp.

Then... in the year 1942, we were working hard. I don't know what we did. I forgot what it was. (pause) I don't know mehr (anymore). We worked hard. Ten hours a day, oder eight hours a day. It was...January. Nicht January. It was December. December...'43, I think. '43. We came to the barracks back, mir einem mal hiess es (All of a sudden they told us) to go report to the Krankenbau (infirmary). This is the...the barracks where the sick people are laying.

INT: Like a hospital?

KURT: We can't stay here. We have to go, and where do we have to go? From 200 people? Ich und noch ein anderer. Meine Nummer und dem seine nummer. (Myself and another guy. My number and his number.) I think my G-d, what happened? Why me? Nicht andere (not others). So we came dahin (there). "You have to stay here now. You can't go back to the barracks, and we're going to make medizinische Versuche (medical experiments), on your bodies."

INT: Oh, was this the typhus thing, they were trying to, they gave you typhus, and they tried to, saw who would live and who would die, and then they were going to use the blood of the people who lived.

KURT: Yeah. Who would live and who would die, das haben die doch nicht bestimmt (they did not determine that). Who would live, lived, and who died, died.

MRS. K.: Yeah. But the blood from those people they wanted to give for the soldiers.

KURT: Yeah. The whole thing was this: I'll tell you. Germany started a war with Russia in '41, and the Russian winters are terrible. So the German soldiers, many got very sick. Und then started the Ungeziefer (vermin), the lice was eating them, and the lice, infizierte (infected) the body with typhus. And they died like flies, the German soldiers. So they said, "What can we do? What can we do? We have no Medikamente (medication) to give them against it." (German)

MRS. K.: Pain here. Don't look at me.

INT: Are you okay?

MRS. K.: Yeah.

KURT: So...

INT: So they wanted to find out how to save the German soldiers?

KURT: Und I was thinking, when we infizieren (infect) the prisoners, mit dem typhus, and we give them some different kind of medication, maybe we can find out ob das hilft, if this helps, if this medication helps, and then we give this blood, we'll take the blood out from the prisoners, and give send zu unsere (to our) German soldiers, and heal them.

So first they treat us wonderful, like real humans. A nice bed, everybody had a nice bed for themselves, and Pfleger (male nurses) came, and we got better food than the Lager, than the camp. Um uns zu machen stronger, (In order to make us stronger) you know? Damit wir können aushalten (so that we could endure) what they put in our bodies. No SS man could come in there, they were viel so much afraid, anyhow, to come in. And rings herum waren Weiher (it was surrounded by ponds), keine (nobody) could go out and come in. We were around 200 people. From jeder (every) barrack waren so and so viel (many) people.

Und ungefähr (And about), after two months, we got a little bit stronger. We didn't work. The Barracken was nice and warm. No SS men came in. The food was good, better. We got the food from the Kaserne (barracks), what the SS Manner (men) eat. The food they give us the food. Und...und after two months, oder around two or three months, there was the worstest winter in the K-Z (concentration camp). From '42. The winter from '42 to '43 was the worstest winter. Hundreds of prisoners died, outside, outside where we were. Im Lager (in the camp). Hundreds died. Wir hat ja nicht richtige (we did not have the right) clothing. Warme clothing hatte man nicht (we did not have). A duenne jacket (a thin jacket) without lining? Ohrenblappen (ear muffs) they give us, for the ears.

INT: Ear muffs?

KURT: Ear muffs. Why I was in this thing? G-d saved me. They didn't let me die in the camp. They sent me here to diese barracks for the experiments.

MRS. K.: Yeah. But also don't forget mit die others, what happened, also, with the stone quarry.

KURT: No, this is later, Puppelchen (little doll). So after two months they started to infizieren (to infect) us with the typhus. This hiess (was called) spotted fever. Auf German Flecktyphus hiess es. So an SS doctor came an (arrived), an SS doctor, from the SS, and we had to put our arm hin (there), and he impft us (inoculated us).

INT: Like a vaccination?

KURT: Vaccination, yeah. Put a little scalpel, in das Zeug (into the stuff) on the table, and then they put the sickness in our arms. And put so...

INT: A bandage?

KURT: A bandage hierum.

INT: So they gave you typhus, right?

KURT: Yeah. Put it in. After two weeks we got very sick. High fever, terrible headache, and the belly was swelling, swelling on. But they treated us good, like real sick people. We could lay in bed, and they measured the fever every day. Aber many died. Many prisoners died. Eating, we couldn't eat. Manche (some) could eat. Aber I couldn't eat nothing.

INT: You were too sick.

KURT: Nicht mal (no more) than a little bit soup. So many died. And then kammen from Berlin and from the big cities came grosse doctors, mit weissen Kitteln (with white gloves) und looked at us. Looked at our bodies, you know, studied on us. After...

INT: Are you okay over there?

MRS. K.: Yeah.

KURT: After two weeks, the fever went away, and we could treat us like before. We were all right. So then they said we have to take the blood out. And then was this inzwischen war es schon (Meanwhile it was already) the next year. April, and it starts to May, and it got warmer outside, and then suddenly they took the Jewish prisoners and throw them out. Then they were thinking, "My G-d, wir konnen doch nicht Jewish Blut geben zu unseren arischen soldiers." (We can't give Jewish blood to our Aryan soldiers).

INT: So even though maybe it would have helped them, they threw it out.

KURT: They took the Jews out, not the other. There were about 50 Jews.

INT: They threw the Jewish blood away, or they couldn't use it for the soldiers.

KURT: No, they took no blood out from us.

INT: Oh, okay.

KURT: But (German). They can't give Jewish blood to the Aryan soldiers! They threw us out.

MRS. K.: But many died.

KURT: Yeah. Many died from the high fever. I said that to you. Many died. I not. I didn't die. I'm here.

INT: Yes, you are!

MRS. K.: And they put you then in the Steinbruch (quarry), in the town.

KURT: And they throw us out, we had to go back to the camp. To the other prisoners. And when they saw us, they thought we came from the moon oder what. We were thick, heavy. We had no exercise. Only sit down, oder sleep, und essen. We got heavy. They looked at us. We could hardly walk. If a human being has no Bewegung (movement) we were sitting. We couldn't hardly use the feet zum gehen, zum walking. So we came back to the barracks, and they sent us all, all the prisoners auf Strafe (in punishment), in die Steinbruch (quarry). Buchenwald hatte so einen.

MRS. K.: Quarry.

INT: A stone quarry.

KURT: Stone quarry. Stone quarry is the right word. And we had to go down there. And everybody has to take a big stone, which was weighing maybe fifty pound, oder what, and has to carry them up, upstairs. Hin und her (back and forth). When you throw the stone away, you have to go back down in the quarry, and take another stone. Und one day, mein feet start to open again. To bleeding. Dieselbe Stelle (the same spot). To bleeding. And I looked at my feet, I think, "My G-d, what shall I do now? You can't walk. Then you bleed to death, or what." So I went to the Kapo. The Kapo is the foreman, aber ein prisoner. And I showed him mein leg. The blood. Und he let me go out. He let me go back to the barracks. Saved my life. (pause)

After, I was four years in Buchenwald, bis zur (until) the Liberation. From '41, in October '41, when we came from Dachau and in the cattle too, again, cars, bis zu Liberation in '45. May, no, April, it was, April, '45. April 12th, '45. The Americans liberated us. The whole camp. (pause)

We were frei. Free. Aber we couldn't go nowhere. The camp was not closed direct, aber we couldn't go nowhere. The war was still going on. It was April. The next day Roosevelt died. (pause)

MRS. K.: Tell about your liberation, dass die (that they) sent the others away.

KURT: Das war vorher.

MRS. K.: This was before you were liberated.

KURT: Before we were liberated, yeah. They start to dispose the camp. And they took the hungarischen Jews, or what we had hungarische Jews, and they sent them on a death march.

MRS. K.: You see, the others were already dead. The Hungarians were the last who came.

KURT: The Hungarians came doch erst, in '44.

INT: Oh, they just got there the year before.

MRS. K.: This was the last.

KURT: Yeah. So we had to go up. But we made a mistake. Ein paar von uns (a couple of us) was thinking that we had to go up there, auf the Appelplatz (to the roll call square). When we came to the Appelplatz, rings herum standen (all around were) soldiers, mit heavy Gewehre (guns) and here die Bentel mit den Kugeln (the bag with the bullets) here around.

INT: Guns and bullets. Which soldiers were these, now?

KURT: SS soldiers.

INT: They were still SS.

KURT: Yeah, yeah, this was before the Liberation. Nicht wahr?

MRS. K.: A few days before liberation.

KURT: The Lageraelteste was going around, and I went to him. And I said to him, “After six years concentration camp, now I should go out with the death march?” He said, “You wait a little bit. I’ll take you back to your barracks.”

INT: Now, who said this?

KURT: Der Lagerelteste. Er war a prisoner, aber the elteste (eldest). The, from the prisoners, they have a head man.

MRS. K.: The foreman.

INT: Okay. The chief prisoner. Yeah.

KURT: Und there were mehrere (several others) from uns. They said, “Why should we go on the death march?” So he took around sechs oder eight (six or eight) from us, had to go with him back to the camp zuruck. Buchenwald liegt (is situated) auf ein hill. The Appelplatz, where alle were standing war on top, and we went down to the barracks. Took us back to the barracks.

INT: So the others went on this march?

KURT: They went auf (on) the march, and most of them got killed.

INT: And you were back at the barracks.

KURT: Yeah. I went back to the barracks.

MRS. K.: And during the night...during the day...

KURT: They looked, were looking for prisoners who went out.

MRS. K.: Then they put you in a manhole.

KURT: Oh, oh, yeah, yeah. Then we, I forget many things. We hid ourselves in a manhole. Weisst du, oben diese runden Dinger (You know, these round things) the cover, and were standing there, on those holders inside. And unten (underneath) was the water.

INT: Underneath was the water.

KURT: Ja, and we were standing a little bit higher up, and we put the cover on again, with the hands, in jedem (every) manhole waren vier oder funf (were four or five) prisoners, or was. They were looking for us, I think.

MRS. K.: This was for five days. And during the night they let you out.

KURT: During the night, we went out and went to the barracks.

INT: Boy. What a story.

KURT: And one day, it was in April, that he suddenly came. And every barrack has a loudspeaker, and they...the head building sent Befehle, orders, through the loudspeakers. One day he says, "All SS men, all SS..."

(END TAPE THREE, SIDE TWO)

(TAPE FOUR, SIDE ONE)

INT: All SS men out...

KURT: Out of the camp, and they went out and ran away. All SS men ran away.

INT: Oh, they did?

KURT: Ja. In the camp.

MRS. K.: And took their uniforms.

KURT: Took their uniforms out und threw up the Hakenkrenze (swastikas) hier on the arm, und we shouldn't stay in the barracks, and if somebody comes out they're going to shoot us from the towers around the camps, there were watchtowers. And the Lager going to be bombed. From fliers. Aber they never came. So we were in the barracks.

MRS. K.: And some prisoners, later on, some prisoners went to the top.

KURT: Ja, natürlich, (Yes, of course) after the liberation. Und then one day the American Army

came with the tanks. Und with the tanks through the gates, the gates electric wire.

INT: They just knocked them down.

KURT: Knocked them down. Und liberated us. They gave us chocolate. They gave us...fat meat.

MRS. K.: Und they died.

KURT: Und I didn't. I ate a little piece from that fat Fleisch (meat); I felt I can't stand it. I didn't eat it. (German)

Many eat, ja.

INT: So many ate, and they died.

KURT: Many prisoners...

MRS. K.: Yeah, because the stomach was completely shrunk.

INT: Yeah. They couldn't digest this.

MRS. K.: No.

KURT: Many prisoners died. This was the tragedy. From after the liberation, so zu sagen (so to speak), from the American Army. And they meant **good**. They meant good. The soldiers meant good, these American soldiers.

MRS. K.: Sure, they meant good.

KURT: These American soldiers. Aber they couldn't digest the meat, and died. I don't know on what. Weiss ich nicht. (I don't know). Many prisoners died. I didn't eat this. I wasn't nicht so, I wasn't wie ein animal schon. Ich habe gebissen in es und hab gesehen ich kann nicht essen das fette meat. (I wasn't like an animal. I bit into it and I saw I can't eat the fat meat.) This fat meat.

INT: So you knew you weren't going to be able to eat that.

KURT: I give it to other prisoners. And they eat it. And many got sick. Und died. (pause)

MRS. K.: You know, every hour was survival. (laughs) I'm glad he's over it already.

KURT: And then one day in June...

MRS. K.: He was working for the Americans.

KURT: In June, or the end of May, the war was over. My war was over in May.

MRS. K.: May 8th. But for you it was over April the eleventh.

KURT: What?

MRS. K.: For you the war was over April 11.

KURT: After the war was over, they let us go.

INT: Now, where did you go?

KURT: I like to go nach (to) Berlin zuruck (back). Back to Berlin.

MRS. K.: But this was still in war. You were working for the Americans. Where were you working?

KURT: Yeah. After the liberation, I was working for the Americans.

INT: What were you doing?

KURT: I have one episode, I forgot to tell you.

MRS. K.: Forgot many.

KURT: Don't blame me, when I say I forgot it. I forgot. It's so many years back.

INT: (laughs) You're allowed to forget.

KURT: Around 1943...

MRS. K.: What were you doing for the Americans?

KURT: They sent us to Weimar, in a fabric plant, sewing machines, and we had to sew clothing there. I don't know if it was militarische clothing. I even don't remember, what it was. We worked on clothing.

MRS. K.: And they slept in the camp.

KURT: And after say eight hours, they brought us back to the camp.

MRS. K.: They didn't know where to go, because the war was...

INT: Right. So you were still in the concentration camp.

KURT: Yeah. We were free, we were free, aber, we had to live there.

MRS. K.: They didn't know where to go.

KURT: They brought in die ganzen (all those), from Weimar, the next city close to Buchenwald heisst (is called) Weimar. Die Stadt von (The city of) Dichter (poet), Schiller, and Goethe.

MRS. K.: Eisenhower wanted the people to see...

INT: What happened?

MRS. K.: What happened. Only they went and..

KURT: Eisenhower said we should bring, from every house in town, they should take two oder three people out and bring them to the camp, and show them how the prisoners were living there.

MRS. K.: And Eisenhower said everybody has to look, go through the camp. The people from Weimar.

KURT: Yeah. They had to go to the barracks.

MRS. K.: You saw this in movies.

KURT: Und they couldn't stand the smell.

MRS. K.: They came laughing, but they didn't leave laughing.

KURT: When they leave, they were crying, und...

INT: These are people from the towns where...

KURT: "We didn't know this. We didn't know they were..."

MRS. K.: Of course they knew. What was the smell about?

KURT: "We didn't know it."

MRS. K.: "We don't know."

KURT: We were thinking das sind alles Morder and criminals (that these are murderers and criminals).

INT: That there were murderers?

KURT: Murderers, criminals.

INT: Did you believe them?

KURT: What?

INT: Did you believe that they didn't know?

KURT: We never believed them. They...shouted, the SS, they shouted, the Bevolkerung (townspeople), the Lagerfuhrer (camp leader) war an SS man.

MRS. K.: The lampshades and...

KURT: And the Frau von him (his wife) ist bekamt (is well-known), everybody knows her.

MRS. K.: Ilse Koch.

KURT: Hilda, ja. Hilda Koch.

MRS. K.: Ilse.

KURT: Ilse Koch, ya, ya. Es bekannt (is known).

MRS. K.: The Commandant's wife.

KURT: She was always running around outside the camp, where the prisoners were working. Und in summer we had to work with nacktem Oberkorper (naked upper bodies). Without a shirt. And she was walking with us, with a big dog. Und...when she saw a prisoner with a nice Tatowierung, tattoo, you know, tattoos, manche (some) prisoners had beautiful tattoos over the whole chest, or over the whole back.

INT: Who had that?

MRS. K.: The prisoners.

INT: Not the **Jewish** prisoners.

KURT: No, Jewish prisoners, Jewish prisoners Tatowierung?

INT: I was surprised. I didn't think so.

KURT: No. Jewish prisoners no. Jewish Menschen lassen sich nicht tatowieren (don't allow to be tatoosed).

INT: Right. But other people did.

KURT: What?

INT: Other prisoners knew about that.

KURT: Ja, ja. So she said to them, she said to the Posten (guard), to the SS Posten, "Write dem Mann seine Nummer down." (Write this man's number down). The Posten came, wrote the number down. Look, doesn't talk to them. Only wrote the number down. Die hatten ja nur Hemden aber an den Hosen war die Nummer. (They had only shirts, but on their pants was the number.)

The jacket has a number, and the pants on einer side has a number. They wrote the number down, and when the prisoners came back to the barracks, the numbers werden ausgerufen, durch (called up through) the loudspeaker; they had to come to the Krankenbau (infirmary), to the hospital. Und they got all killed, and they took the skin off of them.

INT: Oh! (appalled)

KURT: From the prisoners.

MRS. K.: After they were dead.

KURT: And the skin wurde gegerbt (was dressed), and she hat sich machen lassen (and she had them make) lampshades.

INT: Out of their skin.

KURT: Out of the skin. The beautiful painting on the skin, you know. And after the liberation, they showed the lamps, to the Zivilbevölkerung (civilian population).

MRS. K.: No, and then they had also light switches with the toe.

KURT: They had the light switch, the switch had a toe, a menschliche (human) toe.

INT: Oh, G-d.

KURT: Wir haben das alles gewusst aber wir haben es nur vom horen. Wir haben es gehört, dass andere (We knew all of that, but we knew it only from hearsay. We heard about it, that other) prisoners, andere prisoners who worked there, who put the skin off, and so they told this to other prisoners, and so the whole Lager haben wir alle gewusst (the whole camp, we all knew) what happened. You know? And after the liberation they showed the lampshades to us, und to the civil people from the town.

INT: So they showed them what was going on.

KURT: Die haben gestannt. Dann haben die gezeigt (They were astonished. Then they showed) heads, from prisoners, so gross wie die Faust (as big as a fist). They took the heads off and

burned them.

INT: What did they do with them?

KURT: Shrink them from the heat, from the terrible heat. Die Kopfe waren so gross. (The heads were as big as that.)

INT: And then what did they do with them? Kept them around?

KURT: Ja. Ja. Und give it, sie hat es genommen und verschenkt an ihre Freunde und...(she took them and gave them to her friends as gifts).

MRS. K.: But this commandant was not liberated. Because the Nazis put him into prison. He took money what was not his, you know. This commandant was...they were terrible people, but he was not there. Didn't they kill him?

KURT: I don't know. Ich weiss nicht mehr. (I don't know anymore)

MRS. K.: Ilse Koch's husband? I think in the end he was killed.

KURT: She came for court. She came after the liberation, she had a court, and was...

MRS. K.: She, but not him.

KURT: No. I don't know if they killed him, I don't know.

MRS. K.: From the Nazis. Because he took money what was not his.

KURT: Ich vergessen. (I forgot.)

INT: That's why they...

KURT: Then I forgot you one episode. Auch mein Angel wieder hat gewerkt. (Again my angel worked for me.) One day after work we came back ins (to the) camp. And suddenly came a order, who wants to learn to be a Maurer (bricklayer). A Maurer heisst (is called)...

INT: A bricklayer?

KURT: Bricklayer. Who wants to learn to lay bricks soll sich melden (should raise their hands). And I ich hab mich gemeldet. (I raised my hand.) And they took around 200 from us, around 200.

MRS. K.: And the others were taken to Auschwitz.

KURT: Und ganzen Juden (And all the Jews) from Buchenwald, except die (those) who learned

Maurer (to be a bricklayer). Let the others and send alle nach (all to) Auschwitz, zur the death camp.

INT: So you think all these times somebody was watching out for you.

KURT: This is what I tell you. It's a Wunder uber Wunder (miracle upon miracle). Then this girl there was waiting for me. (laughter) without knowing that I come out. She never knows me, right?

So we went and nur noch (only) around forty oder fifty Jews from a couple hundred were still around. From around 500, took away nach (to) Auschwitz. Nur (only) the Jews took away. Und die Maurer, nicht (and not the bricklayers). Die haben gesagt (They said), "Are you crazy? To learn a Maurer?" I said, "I like to be a Maurer." The andere (other) prisoners haben gelacht uber mich. (laughed about me)

INT: Well, what made you raise your hand, do you think? What told you that you should do that?

KURT: Mein angel. Mein personal angel.

MRS. K.: The inner voice.

INT: The inner voice.

MRS. K.: Yeah.

INT: Something said you should...

KURT: I said, "I like to be a Maurer."

MRS. K.: And they put up factories.

KURT: And we made ganze, really Hauser (whole real houses).

MRS. K.: Factories.

KURT: Yeah, from bricks. I learned how to build windows, uber die windows die Bogen aus Bricks (bows with bricks). We learned this. And we were standing high up auf Geruestan (on a trestle). You know, people who build houses stand on Geruestan. Und the SS did nothing to us. They didn't came up there. (laughs) And we had to learn how to make mortar, you know, to mix the sand with cement, and mix it, and to learn how to put this mit shovel on the bricks.

MRS. K.: He had definitely an angel.

INT: Yeah.

MRS. K.: But you at the time you didn't think on this. I didn't think.

KURT: The other prisoners haben gelacht uber uns (laughed about us).

MRS. K.: You don't think.

KURT: Wozu arbeiten so schwer (why work so hard), und then we became (got) money, Lager money, camp money, paper Gelt (money). Gelt.

INT: You had money in the camp?

KURT: Yeah. Two marks, oder five marks, or one mark, they paid us.

MRS. K.: But you couldn't buy anything.

KURT: They paid us, but we could not, we could nothing buy there, aber they paid us.

INT: They paid you?

KURT: Ja. And my money is displayed here in the awareness museum here in Gratz College. My money, what I put.

INT: The Germans paid you?

KURT: It's like paying, yeah. Lager money. We could buy something for it.

MRS. K.: But you couldn't buy anything.

KURT: Aber there was nothing there to buy!

MRS. K.: It was not real money.

KURT: It war nicht (was not) real money. It war a piece of paper, mit a sign on it, two marks. Oder one mark, oder two marks.

INT: So it wasn't real money, it was like play money.

KURT: No, nicht play money. You could only buy something in the camp with this.

INT: Okay. But there was nothing to buy.

KURT: No, there was nothing to buy.

INT: So then, after liberation...

MRS. K.: But this was only to last as he was a Maurer, not before.

KURT: Yeah, nur (only) then. Yeah.

MRS. K.: A mason. A Maurer is a mason.

KURT: A mason, yeah. And they were so nice there. Der Gefangene der uns gelehrt hat. (the prisoner who taught us). Nice guy, a nice guy. I'll never forget him.

INT: So who was the nice...who was the nice guy?

KURT: Der war ein Maurer (he was a mason). The professional...

INT: The person who taught you how to do the bricks.

KURT: Yeah. Who learnt us to be Maurers.

INT: Was he a Nazi?

KURT: No, ein prisoner!

INT: Oh, another prisoner.

KURT: A prisoner, yeah. A political prisoner, Communist maybe, oder what, nicht? Very nice guy. Very nice. Sogar (even) the Nazis had respect for him. And he was very nice. A human being. What soll ich say? A real human being.

MRS. K.: You also forget to mention something more or less good. With whom you were together in Buchenwald.

INT: Oh, yeah. Who were you with?

MRS. K.: With whom you were together. With the lyricist of the...

KURT: Oh, yeah. In Buchenwald were nice Jewish prisoners. Political prisoners. Communists. They were Communists in Germany, aber war gut gelernte Leute (but were well-educated people). Doctors, und...

MRS. K.: Under the Jews. But you had especially one.

KURT: They helped me. When we, when we married, when I came back to Berlin.

MRS. K.: No, before Kurt. In the camp. You were together. Do you know opera, and operettas? The man who wrote the lyric to.

KURT: Ja, ja. Franz von Lehar. Peter Lohner. A Vienna Jew.

MRS. K.: He was a lyricist.

KURT: He was a lyricist. He wrote the text to the operas. Ja. Von Lehar. Die haben ihn natuerlich weggeschickt nach Auschwitz. Und der Lagerelteste hat gebeten personlich fur sein life (They sent him to Auschwitz. And the camp eldest personally asked to spare his life) -- he talked to the SS Commander: "This man made the text from the operas, from the operettas."

INT: While he was in the camp?

MRS. K.: No, no.

INT: Oh, before.

KURT: Yeah, he was in meine barrack.

INT: And he was in your barrack.

KURT: Yeah. Dann waren da verschiedene andere. (Then there were several others.)

MRS. K.: But he died. They shielded him, but still, he died.

KURT: Er war ein alter Mann schon. (He was already an old man.)

INT: Did you have friends, I mean, did people in the camp, people who helped each other?

KURT: Yeah, sure. We helped each other so good we could. As could.

MRS. K.: After the liberation, as we know each other, and wanted to go to America, my husband, you know, you could not, he didn't have any clothing.

KURT: To the American consulate.

MRS. K.: The war was over. And the...

KURT: "You were six years in concentration camp?"

MRS. K.: The intelligence, you know, the American intelligence.

KURT: The politishe...

MRS. K.: Thank G-d. Thank G-d, but nobody was so long in concentration camp as my husband was. "What did you do?" they said.

KURT: “You were six years in concentration camps? How many Jews you killed?”

INT: Oh, so they were now interrogating **you**, and how did you live so long there. You must have done something wrong.

MRS. K.: That’s right.

KURT: How comes this that you lived this long?

MRS. K.: And also, Marion, he had, you know, after the Liberation...

KURT: I start to cry.

INT: Well, sure.

KURT: I said I was only... I was only an einfacher (simple) prisoner, not a kapo. A kapo is like a foreman, but was erschlagt andere (who kills others), you know.

MRS. K.: The former prisoners, you know, went to the...they had the courts for the SS. So I saw it, too. My husband had the military coat on. And also shoes, what he got from Buchenwald, you know, after the liberation. And then later on, as we got already married, and we wanted to go, I became pregnant right away, and I **absolutely** didn’t want to have my daughter being born in Germany. I wanted her to be born here. Because whatever the Germans said, I know it was a lie.

KURT: What is your name, I forgot.

MRS. K.: Marion. And the Americans, you know, the American intelligence, thank G-d they did it, but by him, he was completely wrong. So he said, “How many Jews did you kill,” and everything. My husband came out of the interrogation room, and I was sitting there with the others, waiting. You know, we all were asked certain things. But by me was only two or three questions.

KURT: I came out crying, and cried to her.

MRS. K.: But for him it was terrible. He came, he was completely...and they told him that he has to bring witnesses. There are very few witnesses, because they all were taken away. But he remembered those formerly very famous men. They also had Christian wives, and they lived in Berlin. And we went to them. And we came to them, and my husband was so, in a terrible way. And we came to them, without telephones were not installed at this time. They didn’t have a telephone. Maybe one or two. But we came there.

KURT: They helped me. Wrote letters to the American Consulate in Berlin.

MRS. K.: And one man said, “This is your husband?”

KURT: That I was only an einfacher (simple) prisoner, kein foreman, kein kapo, and so...

MRS. K.: He said, "This is your husband?" And I said "Yes." And he said, "Do you know what he did? He saved so many from the little Lager. There was a little Lager. You know.

KURT: Kleines Lager (little camp).

MRS. K.: From all those people who were just there dying.

KURT: It's very famous, in Buchenwald.

MRS. K.: The little Lager. They didn't get any food, nothing. They were out there to die. "And I saw your husband throwing food over." He told me. And the other one told me, too. He never told me this. Well, they gave of course, references. I think they went with him, even, there. You know...

KURT: And they wrote letters to the American Consulate in Berlin.

MRS. K.: This is not a criticism what they did. They did it, they had to do it. And don't forget, my husband really did not look so Jewish. He had always a light face. This is what saved him.

KURT: My face, they liked my face. Many times.

INT: Because you looked more German, maybe, you know?

KURT: Yeah. I looked not so much Jewish, you know?

MRS. K.: It was a big plus. Because German Jews are looking very Jewish. Very Jewish. You must think Germans are blonde with blue eyes. No, but not the Jews.

INT: That's what I would think. Not the Jews; they're dark.

KURT: I think I told you everything I remember. I can't tell you everything, because it's a long time ago.

INT: Well, tell me after the war.

KURT: After the war we want to go, I want to go to Berlin, zu mein, to my town. I was born and I had my business there. And then I had a sister in Berlin mit a goy, mit a Christian, married. And I came to Berlin after 24 hours, I was maybe on the train, sitting on the roofs. I came to Berlin back. I and noch two or three others went to Berlin. And I came out, and I came to Berlin, and I saw from the bombs, die zerstorte city, was a shattered city. And the war was just over, nicht in May, oder what?

MRS. K.: May 8.

KURT: And I came back in Juni (June). And I come to the street where my sister was living. Die Hauser lagen alle auf der Street (the houses all lay on the street). Her house was still standing.

MRS. K.: And every, all the other houses, these are big houses, you know.

KURT: And I came to her, she couldn't recognize me.

INT: She was there. And you saw her, and she didn't recognize you right away?

KURT: No.

INT: And then you said...

KURT: "Clara," I said, Claire, Clara, auf Deutsch. "Clara, this is your brother."

INT: How did she react? After she knew...

KURT: She start crying, and...and then my herrlicher Schwager (glorious brother-in-law), who killed meine sister comes to see me, and starts furchtbar an zu crying (starts to cry terribly).

INT: This is your brother-in-law.

KURT: The brother-in-law, the andere Christian brother-in-law, cried terrible. Ich weisste gar nich warum er cried. (I did not know why he cried.) Then the other Schwester (sister) told me what das was er gemacht hat, told me what er gemacht hat (what he did).

INT: This brother-in-law. So he sort of got rid of...

KURT: Meine Schwester. Natürlich wie der War anfang, hatte er ein girlfriend. Und meine Schwester war ihm unbequem. Er hatte immer Angst gehabt, dass die redet lauter und sie wurde arrested. (Of course when the war started, he had a girlfriend. And my sister was inconvenient to him. He was afraid that she would talk loudly and that she would get arrested.)

MRS. K.: The four sisters, don't have any children.

KURT: They had no children. Both of them. The other, die alle die (Both who) married Christians, had both no children. And he went (?) Sein girlfriend told him: "zeig Sie an bei der Gestapo." (Report her to the Gestapo.) and she get rid of her. They went to the Gestapo and sagt (he said) they want to get rid of mein Jewish wife. Und they said, "Okay. Where is she somewhere going?" Sie geht visiten ihren alten Vater in judische Altersheim (She goes to visit her old father in the Jewish old age home) in Berlin. So "Okay, we're going to help you." They give him bread stamps. Damals waren (At that time there were) stamps for bread, to buy bread,

for stamps. Wie in the First World War, so in the Second World War. And they put the ganze (all the) stamps, ganze, maybe twenty, dreizig (thirty) stamps in her pocketbook, and she didn't notice, and she went to visit with her father. And wie Sie rauskam mit einem Mal kamen two, three Männer zu ihr. (And when she came out, all of a sudden three men came and:) "You are under arrest."

MRS. K.: They took her pocketbook away.

KURT: First they took her pocketbook aus her hand. "I'm under arrest? What I did? I did nothing." They opened the pocketbook and showed her the bread stamps alle (all of them).

MRS. K.: She didn't even know they were there.

KURT: They right away sent her to Auschwitz. She right away went in the gas chamber. A beautiful girl.

INT: And what was her name?

KURT: Charlotte. The name was Seidel. Und er hat geweint wie er mich gesehen hat (And he cried when he saw me). Ich dachte: Was ist los mit ihm, (I thought: what is the matter with him?) was cried he so. Ich wusste, meine sister ist tot und dass sie died im concentration camp. (I knew my sister was dead and that she died in the concentration camp.)

INT: So he felt sorry after that.

MRS. K.: Marion, I have to say something. These were Jews who were in concentration camps, and sometimes Jewish Mischlinge (mixed breeds), you know?

KURT: No, Christians.

MRS. K.: There are under the Mischlinge, half and half Jewish, you know, there are four different categories. One Jewish grandmother, one Jewish grandfather, or one Jewish father, one Jewish mother. Again, the opposite of here. You were a Jewish Mischling when the father was a Jew. You were a Christian Mischling when the father was Gentile.

KURT: Es ging immer nach dem Vater. Zu Deutschland geht alles nach dem Vater.

MRS. K.:

INT: Whatever your father was.

MRS. K.: Whatever your father. And this is under the children, the Mischlinge. But the Jews, like my husband's sisters were married to goyim. Those Jewish women with Gentile husbands, they were not as bad treated as the Christian women with Jewish husbands. This is a big, you know, it is not well-known here. Because nobody is, this is not, you know. But this is also

different. His sisters were allowed to live in Berlin.

KURT: Waren geschuetzt, unter Schutz von dem Christian husband. (Were protected, under protection of the Christian husband).

MRS. K.: But right away, you know, the other one saw to it this one sister was killed, you know. But this Gentile, with this particular sister, he always held to her, because he loved her very much. My husband has very beautiful sisters. Not educated, even dumb, but **beautiful** I have to say.

KURT: Not on me, even.

MRS. K.: No, he's completely different. (laughter) But they were all, they **are**, all beautiful, even in very old age. This Clara was **gorgeous**. And as her husband, her Gentile husband died many years after the war, she right away had another one. She was absolutely breathtaking. All his sisters are very good-looking. But you know, when you are, this is different. But on the other hand, I have to say something:

(END TAPE FOUR, SIDE ONE)

(TAPE FOUR, SIDE TWO)

MRS. K.: These differences. Not everyone, I mean, you can't say all. But many Jewish women were so afraid that they brought in many Jews. They were, I mean, traitors. But these were traitors because they were definitely afraid, because those people also had children. There you had most of the time you had children. So they were those Mischlinge (mixed breeds), even when they were like covered by their Christian husbands. But they were afraid. But on the other hand, they really were not good to us Jews, either. Not them. But good were, this is experience from Berlin. But the **Christian** women with Jewish husbands, the Christian women, they were the opposite from the Jewish women. The Christian women, who had it worse than the Jewish women. The Christian women, many of them did what they could to help us.

INT: They had Jewish mothers.

MRS. K.: They were **Christians**. Their **husband**, their husband was Jewish. Their husband was Jewish.

INT: And they were more helpful.

MRS. K.: They were more helpful. And I saw...

KURT: Die Jewish Manner von die Christian Frauen haben arbeiten müssen, nicht? (The Jewish husbands of the Christian women had to work, right?)

MRS. K.: Yes. You see, after the war, all of a sudden the Jewish women married to Christian

husbands, all of a sudden, they wanted to say how good they were, and they wanted all...

KURT: Can I give you something to drink? I have Coca Cola.

INT: No, no, I'm fine.

MRS. K.: I made tea. You see, this was a big difference. And we said, those few who came back, you know, said, "All of a sudden, you're Jewish? All of a sudden you want to take from us? You didn't help us at all." But the Christian women, what they did, did I ever talk about this? About the Christian women? You see nobody **ever** in Germany went on a march of protest. Nobody. Don't forget, it was a police state. Like here you go on marches, protest everything? This such a thing did not happen in Germany, but it happened **once**, by about, I would say...200 Christian women.

KURT: By the Christian women who married Jews.

MRS. K.: Christian women married to the Jewish husbands. Of course, those Jewish husbands had to do, were in slave labor. Some of them outside Berlin, some of them very far away. You know, who had to work in the war to make ditches, to, very dangerous. But most of them, especially when they were older, they were around Berlin, or in Berlin, they were in slave work.

KURT: Aber they could go **home**, in the evening.

MRS. K.: But they could go home. And one day, in Germany was everything in one day, everything. You know, nobody could run away or anything. So one day they took all Jewish husbands away from those Christian women. Well. I saw it. Very few people are alive to say this. I saw it. They went together, it must have been in November or December. It was already very cold. And they went for two days and one night. **Two days and one night.**

KURT: Demonstrating. Give us our Manner back.

MRS. K.: Always around the block from the Gestapo. In the Volkstrasse. In the Volkstrasse is the Gestapo. A whole block whole Gestapo building. High Gestapo building. And they went around and around and around in the cold **day and night**. Two days, one night. And they chanted, "We want to have our men back. Wir wollen unser Manner wieder." And they **got** their husbands.

INT: They did?

MRS. K.: They **did**. Again, they had to make slave work, I mean, forced labor, but they were home in the evening. In the night. They got it. You see, this is also where my deep anger is. Berlin is the main city. You could have done, if you wanted, much much more than they did. They did not do a thing. Because you see, first of all, there were many people living in Berlin who never lived in Berlin because they came from all those bombed-out cities to the main city, to Berlin. They could have done many, many things, because of those many people who were really

more or less strangers, you know. Not Berliners. But you see, this is the only, the first and only thing what those Christian women did. They **got** their husbands back.

But also, I think, I did not mention another thing: Also I told you this before. I do not want to be a talker. I don't want to talk about the plight of the mischlings, or mixed couples. They can do this themselves, much, much better. But they have applied, and I think those Christian women married to Jewish husbands never really got the...kovod, the...the attention what they should have gotten. They never really did. I'm sorry to say, I'm a Jewish Jew who went through everything. But those Jewish women married to their Christian husbands, they were not good. Opposite against the other ones. Of course, I can understand them, too. You do everything when you have children. But you really didn't bring other Jews in. Because how it is in Germany, how it was in Germany, a Jew knows a Jew. Like here, too. Most of the time. So they were working for the Gestapo, yes? But the Christian women, they really behaved like heros. They really did. And they had it worse than the others. And also their children. But their children were Jewish mischlings. It's very hard to understand, but this was a big factor in Germany.

INT: Well, I'm glad you said that. Not many people know.

MRS. K.: No, not many people know, but I saw this march, and nobody can tell me it's only a story. I saw them. And I always feel extremely grateful to them. Because I know the other side.

INT: It's good someone will know this now.

MRS. K.: Well...(pause) To have a Nazi apartment. Because of what I went through, I saw the people, the neighbors, taking everything from us, from the walls, and taking the beds, and taking and taking and taking. And I had **nothing** after the war. **Nothing at all**. But I did not want to have a Nazi apartment. I want to have an empty apartment. I did not want **anything** what does not belong to me. I will not, by me it was a degradation to take even, it was a big dumbness, but I did not want to have anything what may have belonged to Nazis. Because I didn't want to be on one step with them.

So we looked for, we looked for apartments. And in Germany there is one portier (doorman), you know how this is? In France the same thing, who shows you, who shows you the empty apartment, or the apartment that will be empty. So you have to go to the caretaker. And it is mostly in the kitchen. You know. And what did we see in the kitchen? This is a horrible thing to say. I mean, it is horrible. It has nothing to do with concentration camp, but this was after concentration camp. What we saw so often on the kitchen table, a tallis, on the kitchen table, as a tablecloth. We saw women walking in dresses made from a tallis. The decoration were the tzis-tzis. You know, to see this, I cannot even tell you how deep it goes. It is horrible, to see a tallis on a kitchen table, or to see a tallis made a dress from. It is terrible. This, I cannot, I don't want to have anything to do with the Germans. What they say is not true. They didn't know. They didn't know what they did.

Well, we found an apartment, nebbish, one room, one kitchen, and one toilet. But it was mine. I mean, I didn't take it away from anyone. Did I tell you what I had with the Russian NKWD

(preceding the KGB) Well, I didn't get my things back, but I didn't want to have anything from them. Later on, in our sector, where we were living, you see, first everything was Russian. And then, as the Allied came, it was, they made from Berlin four sectors. Part French, part English, part American.

KURT: In four parts. French sector, English sector, Russian sector, American sector.

MRS. K.: Yeah. We were in the English zone.

KURT: Suddenly we were in the English section.

INT: Did you feel the same way about not wanting to be, have anything that belonged to the Nazis?

KURT: The Englishe...

MRS. K.: I think he didn't...

KURT: Uber uns waren die Englander.

MRS. K.: Marion wants to know if you felt the same thing: that you didn't want to have a Nazi-Wohnung.

KURT: Ich war nicht so wie du (I was not like you). Ich hab's nicht so geglichen. (I did not like it so much.)

INT: It didn't matter to you?

MRS. K.: Yeah, well, maybe it didn't matter, because he didn't see. You see, a woman, I saw what they did.

KURT: The Nazis were running away, no?

MRS. K.: He did not go through this that the others are taking everything from. There is a big difference. Also between both of us, there is a difference. There is a big difference. First of all, there is a difference of fifteen years. In other words, I never was allowed to go in a movie. I was not old enough. I mean I was ten years old as Hitler came to power. But Kurt was already 25. So he saw the movies, he saw the operas, he saw the operettas, I not. I did not. So my terrible...I mean, yes, hate, but I'm not hateful, but of course, I don't want to have anything to **do** with them. Not good, not bad, but...I overlook them. But you see he is different, because he had the good stuff, too. I mean, the good stuff. What was the good stuff in Germany? Yes. The culture.

INT: We didn't talk very much about that. About your life growing up, and what your family was like, what your mother was like, what kind of things you did. Did you go to the opera together? Did you fight with each other?

KURT: My mother lost her Verstand (brain).

INT: Her eyesight?

KURT: Nicht the eyesight.

MRS. K.: No. Her brain.

KURT: Her brain didn't work anymore. From old age.

MRS. K.: She got kind of senile.

INT: Oh, from old age.

MRS. K.: She was senile.

INT: Right. But when you were little...

KURT: Ich war nicht so little.

MRS. K.: You see, Marion, my husband comes from a very religious, but poor home. So they never had the advantages of someone who is brought up different, you know, with more money. But there were many children. And you know how girls are, they fight a lot.

INT: Did they fight a lot in your house?

KURT: Die Madels unter sich. (The girls among each other) See, eine took the other's stockings, and the other's shoes, dann haben die sich geschwissen mit (then they threw knives at each other) knives, oder mit what.

INT: So they would fight with each other?

KURT: Yeah.

INT: How did your parents settle it? How did they...

KURT: My parents war nicht sehr dafur. Aber konnten auch nichts machen. (My parents were not very much in favor of it. But they couldn't do anything about it.) Couldn't do nothing.

MRS. K.: Their home was always too small, even when they moved to a bigger home, it was always too small, and it always was behind the store, the Schneider (tailor) store. Even here, the apartments behind stores are never roomy and light. They are usually on the ground floor.

INT: It was dark and small. Too small for all those people?

MRS. K.: That's right.

INT: Well, when your sisters would fight, what did you do? Did you get into it, too, or you were just by yourself, or what?

KURT: Ich war doch der (I was the) junge boy.

MRS. K.: He was the baby. The little baby.

KURT: The small one.

MRS. K.: The little baby. And you know what, they resented him being the baby?

INT: You think so?

MRS. K.: As I came to America, she told me right away as her sister and her...his brother-in-law, right away on the way to Philadelphia, she had to tell me...

KURT: My oldest sister married when I was four years old..

MRS. K.: They had to tell me that he always got everything.

KURT: The younger sister were one year old.

INT: So do you think they resented you?

KURT: Was?

INT: They were jealous of you, because you were the boy, and you were a baby?

KURT: No! (German) They were a little bit jealous, that I got a bischen (a little bit) something mehr (more) to eat than they have, you know?

MRS. K.: Later on my husband went to operas with his cousin. And he went to all those things. But his parents were not so, you know, because there was never enough money, and when there was money, it was with the children. His father used to sew for them, and made him suits, and his sisters, and then in the evening his father read a lot to the sisters, and to him. And the mother was from those many births, I think two were stillborn, and so she was not so well anymore, and they couldn't take care of them.

KURT: (German)

MRS. K.: One of your sisters.

KURT: Died. After a couple weeks. A couple weeks old.

MRS. K.: And one I think was

KURT: Was?

MRS. K.: Your mother had two girls. One sister died, and then one was in between.

KURT: But a baby, the sister that died.

INT: Was your family pretty religious?

KURT: Yeah. My father went morgens (in the morning) and in the evening in temple. In the neighborhood war a little temple.

INT: Did you go, too?

KURT: I went, too, yeah, but not in the morning.

MRS. K.: It was a very decent family, but money was never...

KURT: Never enough money there.

MRS. K.: Because there were so many children.

INT: What was your father like? Was he a quiet kind of man?

MRS. K.: I think his father was like him.

INT: Yeah? He was?

KURT: Yeah.

INT: Like you?

MRS. K.: Quiet, and he read to the girls, and he read a lot, and he told jokes.

INT: He was funny?

KURT: He was very funny.

INT: Yeah? Was he affectionate at all? Did he hug the children, or not too much?

KURT: Yeah. Yeah.

MRS. K.: The mother, too.

INT: Your mother was affectionate, also? Was she quiet?

KURT: Vor allendingen ihren einzigen Sohn. (Most of all her only son. The one and only son.)

INT: Oh, oh. Made a fuss over you.

KURT: This is [why] that I uberlebt K-Z (concentration camp). I was so peppelt (spoiled) up, you know. Everything hat sich um mich gedreht. (I was the center of attention) Suddenly I was a number only, and that's it. And I was so, dies hab ich nicht gegessen und das hab ich nicht gegessen. (This I didn't eat and that I didn't eat.)

MRS. K.: Yeah, but it saved him in the end. His little eating habits saved him.

KURT: Das war schon wie ich alter, wie ich schon selbständig war. (This was when I was older, and independent.)

MRS. K.: You have also to realize by my husband's parents, they were not born there. They were ...they were not born in Berlin. Some of the children were born.

INT: They were born where, your parents?

KURT: Vienna. Berta and Clara were born...

MRS. K.: Your parents were not born in Berlin.

KURT: My parents come from Galicia. From Poland.

INT: They came from Poland, your parents. Your parents came from Poland.

KURT: Ja. Es war fruher mal Austria. (It was formerly Austria.) Austria-Hungary.

MRS. K.: And you know immigrant families, they were not so...

KURT: Meine Eltern haben (my parents) only geredet (spoke) Yiddish. Yiddish. Wir nicht. (We not) We answered them in German, aber they talked Yiddish.

MRS. K.: But it was a religious home, and it was a clean home.

KURT: Yeah.

INT: So you went to school for awhile, and then you had to quit. First you went to school, but then you had to stop, because your father wanted you to be a tailor, too?

KURT: I did not stop school.

MRS. K.: He did not stop. He went to the end.

KURT: If went only nur in the community school. Bis fourteen Jahr, when I went to school. And then I learned to be a tailor by somebody.

MRS. K.: But you went to one class more, Kurt.

KURT: To the high class. The oberste Klasse (highest grade).

MRS. K.: One year extra.

INT: What did they teach you about G-d when you were growing up?

KURT: Where? My parents?

INT: In your house.

KURT: Sure. And then I went to a religious Schule (school). To a Jewish shul. Jewish religious Schule. In the afternoon. Learned how to read Hebrew. And alles.

INT: Were your parents kind of strict, you know, like they have a lot of rules?

KURT: Oh, yeah. They were strict.

MRS. K.: I don't think so.

KURT: To me, to me they were strict.

INT: But the girls?

MRS. K.: But there was one thing. There was one thing, because my husband always tells me about his father.

KURT: My father hit me very often.

INT: He did?

KURT: Yeah. The Madels (girls) he couldn't hit, because they were girls, aber mir, (but me), mir he hit.

MRS. K.: The father was the father like, when you talk about your mother, you have a complaint about your mother, you know, like, well, when you're a child, you complain about your mother. And he never allowed when one of the children said, "Sie hat this and this gemacht." (She did

this and that) She did. She did. (Dog barking) He said right away, “Who is she? Who is she? The name is a mother, or Mom, or whatever.” He had a good growing up. Poor, but decent religious, and clean. It’s a shame this mother, but after so many children, I can imagine. And then also, those apartments, behind stores are never good. They are always dark, because the front is the front. And this mother, this darkness most of the time. We called it the Berliner Zimmer (rooms). This means there is a long big room, and one window in the corner. It is really here, too. The dining room has only one small window, except, you know, the newer homes. But in Berlin the rooms were anyhow bigger. It was a big room, but only one window. In other words, it was dark. And I think this darkness went to her head.

INT: You do?

MRS. K.: Yeah. But they say very nice things about their parents.

INT: He said he got hit more often.

MRS. K.: Well, he got hit because when he said, “She did it,” he got hit. Well, this was not a hit. I hit my daughter, too, but not enough. I mean, really not enough, because I don’t have the koach. She always has the last word. (phone interruption)
Oh, my goodness, excuse me. (pause)

Clean, but poor immigrant family.

INT: And you know this from him. He’s told you.

MRS. K.: I know this only from him. I don’t know them. And from the other sisters. There is a problem with the other sisters. Their character is not good. But they look beautiful in the face. And I found this terrible. Right away, the sister had to tell me, yes, the synike (Polish: son), he got everything, and...you see, what happened in childhood is never forgotten. Never, ever forgotten. And they also really do not understand what a wonderful person he is. Really. Of course, yeah, he was hit. But his father must have been exactly like him.

INT: Why do you say that?

MRS. K.: For many things. Also he never put a hand up to his daughter. (laughs) I wish he would have.

INT: That’s one of the things you disagreed about, I guess, was how Ellen should be raised. You thought he was too lenient with her.

MRS. K.: Yes. Because he considers his life started after the liberation. He, I think he made, his daughter was a miracle to him. But...I tell you, Marion, I cannot even tell you about my husband one bad thing. I can’t. (phone interruption)

KURT: Auch (also) he had family there, and in this old age home.

INT: So you found out what happened to him from that.

MRS. K.: In moving vans. They put them in moving vans, and turned on the gas.

KURT: You can find maybe a hundred Menschen in so a big van.

INT: So that's how he died. How did you feel when you found out about what happened to your sister and your father?

KURT: I felt very bad. I felt very bad. But I saved his life at least, for five years.

INT: Yeah, you did.

KURT: I told you, to go to Poland, I saved his life. Then I went to talk to someone, if I didn't went, he would have gone with me. And be killed in the woods.

MRS. K.: Somehow I think, Marion, that the law that you should honor thy parents is really not only a law. It is just the way to behave. Because after this what happened to us, which is absolutely out of this world. There is...there really are very, very few people. Maybe they were good to their parents. This is why he came through. He was so good to his parents.

INT: Good to his father.

MRS. K.: And his mother, too.

KURT: I had interest in him, too, not only for myself.

INT: Well, do you have some idea, you said there were maybe angels watching over you.

KURT: Yeah. Meine Mutter, Meine Mutter (my mother) watched von oben (from above).

INT: Oh, your mother might have been watching over you. The spirit of your mother.

KURT: Yeah. That's what I mean.

INT: But do you think there were any other reasons why you made it?

KURT: No. There's only one reason: I should live to go to this woman.

INT: To meet your wife, yeah?

KURT: To met her. She was alone, nebbish, and I was alone. Abgesehen von meiner schwestern? (Apart from the fact that there were my sisters)

INT: Any other reason why you think you made it? Any other reasons why you think you made it through? Somebody was watching you, you were supposed to meet your wife?

KURT: What for reason?

INT: I don't know. To tell the story.

KURT: This war a Wunder (this was a miracle).

MRS. K.: As much as you would think now, there is no, there really was nothing.

KURT: Somebody leitet (guided) me. Somebody directed me in concentration camp, to learn to be a Maurer (bricklayer), to go out and learn a Maurer. Others said, "No, why should we work so hard, with heavy bricks and so." I learned it. They sent the others away. They were laughing about me.

INT: They didn't laugh too long.

KURT: On my Block we zwei oder drei nur of us learned to be a Maurer (On my block only two or three of us learned to be a mason). Ich and another one.

INT: So you think something was guiding you all along, and that saved you.

KURT: Yeah. Why I come back to Berlin, and Friday night a Stimme in mir sagt (a voice in me said:) "You go look for other Jews." When I wouldn't go in the Temple, I would never have met her, right?

INT: It was fate.

MRS. K.: The temple was my home, this was the same temple which is behind you.

KURT: I was lucky too, that my sister, mit the goy verheiratet war (who was married to the goy) lived with the same neighborhood wie sie hat gelebt (where she lived). It was a big city, Berlin. Two, three, million, four million, Einwohner (inhabitants). When I was going back to there where I was living, I never would have met her. So I went to my sister. She was the only one who was living, noch (still). I went to her, and she was living in the neighborhood where **she** is living.

MRS. K.: Well, I don't even think if you would not have come back in this neighborhood from Berlin, you would still be in Germany, because this is East Germany. This is East Berlin, where you used to live. And this became completely...

KURT: What I would live there, warum (why)?

MRS. K.: This was completely Russian until very...until very short while ago.

KURT: Zu gegenteil (on the contrary) those who were living in East Berlin could go to the United States a year noch before me.

MRS. K.: No, Kurt.

KURT: Only the English sector war nicht allowed.

MRS. K.: No.

KURT: Ja. Nicht no.

MRS. K.: No.

KURT: This is why those ausgewandert (emigrated) already in 1946.

And we couldn't.

INT: Did you want to come to the United States?

MRS. K.: He wanted to. I didn't.

KURT: No. I wanted to go to Israel. Not I. My wife. She was, but I said to her, and this time was Cyprus. The...

(END TAPE FOUR, SIDE TWO)

(TAPE FIVE, SIDE ONE)

KURT: When they bring me to that camp.

MRS. K.: You said to your wife, "What's nearer than a sister?"

INT: That was part of your coming here.

KURT: No, aber ich hab doch gehoert zu you, Mutter. Wenn es nicht gewesen ware die Sache mit Cyprus, where die Iuglacnder haben nicht reimgelassen in '46, Jews nach Israel. (No, but I obeyed you, Mommy. If there had not been the thing with Cyprus, where the British did not allow anybody in, in 1946. Jews to Israel.)

MRS. K.: No. We really couldn't go from one concentration camp into another.

INT: So Cyprus would have meant you would have been in another camp.

MRS. K.: Yeah. Cyprus was a camp.

KURT: War ein camp there auf dem island. (It was a camp on that island)

INT: So how long were you married till you came here?

KURT: What?

INT: How long were you married till you came to the United States?

KURT: One year.

MRS. K.: Ellen was, no a little bit more. Ellen was.

KURT: We married March '47.

MRS. K.: And we came in August.

KURT: Yeah. And same in here. We married in March, '47.

MRS. K.: One year later. Ellen was born in between.

INT: So Ellen was born here.

MRS. K.: No.

KURT: Yeah. '46 we were married. '46. March '46, and in '47...in August. A year later we went to the United States.

MRS. K.: Well, we could have gone earlier. I was very sick. And I even lied. Because I wanted her to be born here. But I was too sick, they didn't want, they didn't take me. "You can't do it," they said. I was in the hospital and everything. In the fifth month, I was very, very sick. And also, you know, I didn't want to **have** the baby, because for what? I didn't have a cent. And the windows, where we lived...

KURT: We had no glass on the windows.

MRS. K.: There was still cardboard on the windows.

KURT: From the bombs, from the bombs, you know, splintered. Cardboard on the windows.

INT: So you didn't want to have a child right away, but...

MRS. K.: Yeah, but then of course right away I talk different as I had life.

KURT: She had life, and she felt life...

MRS. K.: But before I felt life I really didn't want to have her, because you have to have something in order to bring up a child.

INT: How did **you** feel about it, that you were going to have a baby so soon, and you didn't have money?

KURT: I felt bad.

MRS. K.: No, he wanted to have. He did not have a thought.

KURT: I felt better that I made a baby. (laughs)

MRS. K.: He was working in the Jewish kehillah, because my cousin, my cousin by marriage, my cousin died, too, I mean, was killed, too. My cousin by marriage, he was the head of the Jewish kehillah.

KURT: Jewish Gemeinde.

MRS. K.: He was killed by the Russians.

KURT: In Berlin.

MRS. K.: In 1952. He was killed by the Russians in 1952. He was the head of the kehillah of the whole Gemeinde in Berlin. The reason he was killed by the Russians was, because he helped Russian soldiers to go to Israel.

KURT: Jewish soldiers. Jewish Russian soldiers zu desertieren (to desert).

MRS. K.: Jewish Russian soldiers to go to Israel.

KURT: To desertieren. To go away from...

MRS. K.: And they found...

KURT: They were civilians. You know, took off the uniform.

MRS. K.: They found on the attic, by him, where he lived, those uniforms.

KURT: The Russische uniforms, they find.

MRS. K.: You know, and this is death. So they took him to Russia, and they killed him there. Because this is...you know, when you do something like this, this is death. This was in 1952. We were at this time already five years here. But he give him right away a job. And, but I wanted, I did not want to stay in Germany. I just, I cannot believe that somebody can live in Germany. And you know what? I don't even pity them very much, when I hear this one is killed there, and

this one is, you know. They have nothing to do in Germany.

KURT: Who was killed?

MRS. K.: Well, there was sometimes, you know, this Holocaust survivors are killed. One drove a taxi cab, and he was killed in a taxi cab. In Berlin. Why do you live there? But usually, these are not German Jews who live in Germany. Mostly Russians.

INT: So you came here.

MRS. K.: We came here, and it was very, very hard. But we were together.

KURT: Aber meine Schwester hat eine apartment gerent for us (But my sister rented an apartment for us).

MRS. K.: A **terrible** apartment.

KURT: In a miese (bad) neighborhood here in Philadelphia. Fourth Street.

MRS. K.: Fourth and Fitzwater. And can you imagine, we never even saw (laughs) Black people in Germany, and now I had them all over me, and they were looking at this light blonde, you know. Ellen was like champagne hair, she had. And you know, and the Jewish stores, oy gewalt. A gestank (bad smell). It was terrible. But you know, also here in America, **not does anyone help us**. They did, nobody helped. The sisters was...

KURT: Except my sister helped us.

MRS. K.: Not at all.

INT: (laughs) You don't agree about it.

KURT: Wie so? Sie hat uns gerent this apartment. Und she hat reingemacht furniture. (Why? She rented this apartment, and she put in furniture.)

MRS. K.: So what? Was this... The furniture we got from the, the money from the furniture we got from the HIAS. And we were supposed to pay it back, and we did pay back. It was nothing her money. Just the opposite. She wanted to have the money, we came over, and I found out that she never gave the money to come over after the war. We had only trouble from his sister, and from the other one who is here now. But after twenty years, as I was already established, and I had already for ten years my house, and the bank account, I said, "You know what? I don't take any shit anymore." And now they won't. But they were horrible. But still we had help. We were for nine months, we were in Fourth and Fitzwater Street. In the night, they shoot, they shot from the windows. Under us was a policeman living.

KURT: Threwed garbage out of the windows.

MRS. K.: And they shot through the window as it was, **horrible**.

KURT: Miese (bad) people are living there damals (at that time).

MRS. K.: But the man...the man who was in charge of the German Jewish newspaper, the "Aufbau," he came to us right away as we were there, and he asked us if we want to, you know, to take the Aufbau, because you know, this was the only, still the only Jewish publication, German/Jewish publication. And it's widely read by ministers and so. Well, we took it. But he, I told him that we have to go out here. I mean, it was terrible living there. And he said, "I will try to get you an apartment in Strawberry Mansion." Because he lived in Strawberry Mansion. And he did. And this was after nine months. And he rented, because they didn't want to rent to couples with babies. At this time. In 1948.

KURT: Es war damals so ublich. (It was common practice at that time) '47, '48. We have children, ja.

MRS. K.: No, they did not want it.

KURT: They want to rent only on people without children.

MRS. K.: But he knew a family who moved to New York.

KURT: Jewish people.

MRS. K.: Imagine this. Imagine this, how we have an angel. You know, we did not have any help. We didn't want to have this, the HIAS is going to his sister, and everything. So after nine months, he found us an apartment in Strawberry Mansion. This was a young tailor, Jewish tailor, who was, who came from Shanghai with his wife, and he found work in New York. And through this man, from the Aufbau, you know, he rented this apartment for us.

INT: Oh, is he the one who called on the telephone and wanted to know if the tailor was there?

MRS. K.: This was the apartment, yes. And we were there, and I bought for this apartment, the stove, and a little cupboard, and a set of dishes, and a living room. On time. In three days later, he was laid off. And oh, my G-d. (laughs) What do we do? To whom to go? We were nine months here. To whom to go. And in the evening one day, the second day or the third day, the telephone rings, and it is, he wants to talk to the tailor, you know, who lives there. So I said to him, "They moved to New York. But my husband is a tailor." Oh, yes, put him on, he can come tomorrow to work!" Can you imagine this? Can you imagine this! It's unbelievable. (laughs) It's really something.

KURT: I worked a couple years there.

MRS. K.: Five years.

KURT: Five years only.

MRS. K.: And the whole deposit for this house. This was a whole deposit. And right away from the beginning...

KURT: And I worked six days a week, right away six days a week. And Saturday overtime. Saturday was overtime.

MRS. K.: On Saturday, he got many tips there. And on Saturday, we made a must for the education of our child, that we go to the restaurant, and she had to order what she wants. I wanted her to know this, from the beginning on. So one day we went to dinner. One day a week. And this was only from the tip money, you know. So with everything, I always had the education of my daughter in my mind. And this was it.

The years here, when we lived in Strawberry Mansion, and this was by this time 1948. And then...we became, we got for a present from somebody a white little radio. And I understood English, because I learned it. I understood English. And I hear, I couldn't believe what I hear. This was during the McCarthy era. And I look across the street from there, this was, you know, we lived on 31st street, and this was a big business street. And I look across the street, there was a Jewish store, well, they were all Jewish stores. And there was a tailor, with a big dog, beautiful big dog. And very **nice** people. They took him away! And they took another one away. Why is he taking? Where to? What is the radio saying, my goodness gracious! They take the people out of their houses and put them in a prison! Where did I come? It was horrible.

INT: What did you think about it?

MRS. K.: Well, he was more or less working. He was working, and I didn't tell him. He came home, he was tired. So why tell him. I did not really, you know, I told the others, and they didn't know what I was talking about. They didn't understand English, and they didn't believe what I was saying. My husband also not, but then of course he read more and more and more. It was not easy. It was very hard.

But then...my husband became a citizen, after five years, and they had lost my fingerprints. My husband got, became a citizen on Passover after five years here, and I became a citizen on Shavuot, six years later. Same year. Because they had lost my fingerprints. And as I got my citizenship paper, you know, I was (laughs) I was really good dressed, in a black hat, and a black suit, and everything was very hot. It was Shavuot. And they wanted us, you know, the daughters of the American Revolution, they wanted to invite some new citizens. And they asked me if I would go to them for a cup of coffee or tea, into their house. You know? But I said no, my daughter is coming home from school. I made...(sighs) I told a neighbor to take care of her, you know, and sent her back in the afternoon. But I want to go home. And as I got home, as I got home, I just walk into the apartment, and the telephone rings, and I picked it up, and a friend of mine, over the telephone, No, and a voice said, "If you're not here in twenty minutes, we will give this apartment to somebody else." What apartment? What is he talking about? I didn't know

what they were talking about! And I still had this black hat on, and my hair was all wet, you know, from sweat? It was a very hot day. And I called a girlfriend of mine. I said, “I just got home, and I got a telephone call. If I’m not there in twenty minutes. What happened?” And she said, “Oh, I forgot to tell you. I forgot to tell you. That I put you on the waiting list a year ago.”

KURT: In an apartment house.

MRS. K.: In this big apartment house. You know, also on 32nd Street, but a few blocks up, there was a whole block of huge apartment houses, and a few people I know they were living there, and it was just like in Europe. Beautiful big rooms, and everything, and red carpet on the,...

KURT: And closed houses.

MRS. K.: Closed houses.

KURT: Nobody could go in there.

MRS. K.: And she had a little store not far away from there.

KURT: You pushed a button by a name, we ask through the microphone, “Who is there?” and if we want, we didn’t let them in.

INT: So it was safe.

MRS. K.: It was very safe. And beautiful. And she said, “She told you in twenty minutes,” and also I have to bring a deposit. I don’t have forty dollars here. Forty dollars was a fortune. But my apartment, which was very small, cost eighty dollars. And they wanted to have a forty dollar apartment. So thank G-d, I called the right person, because she answered me right away. I’ll do this. I’ll do this, and I’ll wait for you.” Just...I said, “I’m all, you know, sweaty and everything.” So I went there, but it was already, and she was standing outside. She saw already the apartment. She paid the forty dollars, and she said...Now I take.

KURT: That’s about a month’s rent.

MRS. K.: Yeah, one month rent. Forty dollars. And she said, “I’ll take you up now.” I thought I’m getting. I thought. I couldn’t believe what I saw. An apartment, **gorgeous**. Five **huge** rooms. And a huge kitchen, and...

KURT: And its windows alle to the street, nicht? Not back house.

INT: So you liked it, too.

KURT: Oh, my G-d. I never saw so big rooms.

MRS. K.: So I called my husband from my girlfriend’s house. And I said, “Congratulations. You

just rented a beautiful apartment.” “**What?!**” (laughter) My husband says. “What, are you crazy or something?” I said, “No. I’m not crazy. I have the keys and you come right away from work.” But by this time I was already home. So I had, with Ellen. So my husband comes home **after** he saw this apartment. (laughs) And I opened...

KURT: We were living in an apartment, where the owner was living too, there. In the same house.

MRS. K.: And I opened up the door to let my husband in, and he comes up the steps, and he made so, like the walls are closing in on him. He was beside himself. Such a beautiful place. And I had in my kitchen two frigidaires, and my living room, two living room set, and as I moved into this house 38 years ago, I furnished the living room, and the basement, because I had two living room sets. And I cannot even tell you. It was wonderful. But living in Strawberry Mansion at this time was beautiful. When There was a Jewish holiday, the Fairmount Park, you know, we went to the Fairmount Park, it was like everybody is Jewish and has a holiday. It was beautiful living there. And neighbors. I had **neighbors**. American Jews, and also from us. I was working then. One day my Ellen became very, very sick, and by me it’s the opposite what other parents had. Other parents have to see to it that the children are going to school. By me it was the opposite. I had to check that she is home, because she had fever. She went with fever to school. But not this particular day. I know she was sick, and I know she would not go to school. She was sick, sick.

And I went to work. I was in payroll, you know, you have to go. Payroll has to be done in time. And I came home, and I opened up my house, my door, and Ellen’s bed was rolled into the living room. One neighbor was holding one hand, the other neighbor was holding the other hand, from my daughter, and in front of the bed was Dr. Kornfeld. They called him. And he came, and the weather was terrible. Was a snowstorm. And he was there. And I said, “Why didn’t you **tell** me that she is **this sick**? Why didn’t you tell me?” And this, I never forget it, and this one neighbor said to me, “But what could you have done, what we did not do?” Oh, my G-d. It was after all this, it was a beautiful experience living in Strawberry Mansion.

And my husband was working by Litt Brothers, then. After five years, he was laid off from this one place. The business wasn’t good. And then he worked by Litt Brothers. And then this time he worked, he just started by Litt Brothers. And there were very much in style those nylon and banlon shirts. And he bought them for our friends. And I said to him, you know, they cost all over ten dollars. And he got twenty per cent off, so they were eight dollars. So I said to Kurt, and why he took so many? One time they let him have it for seven dollars. And I said to my husband, you know, you bring so many Banlon shirts, make a dollar on it. It wouldn’t hurt. They still would get it, you know, cheaper. And my husband said, “You want to have that I should make money from my own people?” This is my husband.

INT: You remember saying that? Yeah?

MRS. K.: And this is it. And then we bought the house. And as we bought the house, well, with me, I’ll tell you. I always had a good job in the office. But I had to leave two times, my job. My good job. Because, you know because?

INT: No, why?

MRS. K.: Because the bosses wanted something to do with me. Well, what can you do? So how do I get home, I have to work. What can I tell my family? It was very, very hard not to tell anyone. **Very hard.**

KURT: Nicht mal mir, ah (not even to me)?

MRS. K.: No. Dir schon im ganzen nicht, (You would be the last person to tell) because you didn't...

INT: You never told him?

MRS. K.: Later. Later. And even Ellen, how could I tell Ellen I had to leave the job? I said I was fired. I was not fired. And these were good jobs. And, but every job I took, I got higher and higher. All the stuff that I did in the office, I did not long, because I was supposed to be a doctor, and I had completely, you know, the other teachings. But it was alright. But then very early, as we lived in this house, already you know, we, the York houses started to come out.

INT: York House?

MRS. K.: Yeah. York House North. And in York House North, right away, it was brand new. My husband's sister's mother-in-law, who was a very old lady at the time as we came, and she was the nicest to us.

KURT: There were others.

MRS. K.: Becky's mother-in-law. Becky's mother-in-law.

KURT: She was so good to us?

MRS. K.: Yeah. To us she was very good. She always took my baby. I had **terrible** trouble with his sisters. **Terrible.** They were ugly to my baby, because the other sister had two girls. And they were at the time...four and six years old. And when this sister, you know, went to New York for business, she always came back with dresses for the others, but not for my baby. And you know how this hurts?

INT: Did it hurt you, too?

KURT: Yeah.

MRS. K.: But a mother it hurts much more.

KURT: Frieda went to New York?

MRS. K.: No. Becky.

KURT: Oh, Becky.

MRS. K.: Becky did a terrible thing. And Frieda, the one who lives here, always made trouble. And she didn't...she was jealous of the air we breathed. What can I tell you.

KURT: (?) very often.

MRS. K.: And she was behind it. And we went to the York Houses, you know, to this first York House North, and whenever we came there with a little girl, the door opens, and they looked at us. They looked at us, this old woman, you know, gets company. And we saw the plight of those people. Older people. And then I went after work there, and visited, by this time, this old woman was already dead. But then we met others, and we went there, or I went there after work, and one time I had something to do for one couple or man, I don't know anymore. I had to go to the office, from the York House. And he said to me, "We came to talk." And he said, "You have no idea. There's people bringing their parents here to live, and they don't even go to visit them. They come to me and pay the rent, and they don't even go up." And he told me how very lonely they are. Since this time, both of us went very often, every week, to the York House. We bathed for their feet, you know, and this and this.

INT: Do you still go?

MRS. K.: Not now anymore. But then it became like a really second job. The people depended on us. And then the other York House came out, the York House South, which is nicer, and more expensive. And from this we really made like a complete volunteer work. You know, we went to Ashton Hall. And there was somebody made a film. Maybe fifteen, twenty years ago, I really don't remember anymore when. Maybe ten years ago, maybe fifteen years ago, somebody, a Mr. Finkle, made a film. It was 36 years after liberation. 36 years after liberation. They made a film from about ten, eleven people, and we both were under these ten, eleven people, and they came with us to the nursing home, and they make pictures. And we were interviewed, and what are you doing. They made pictures. Then we were invited for the screening. But as I understand, Philadelphia did not buy it. They wanted Channel 12 to buy it, but Philadelphia didn't buy it, but other cities bought this film. And you see in this film what we're doing, you know, for...this was Ashton Hall, not the York House. But it happens that we like old people. My husband, too. Whatever I say, my husband is always my biggest helper. And I never shaved the people; he did.

INT: So you liked doing that stuff, too, taking care of older people?

KURT: Oh, yeah. Why not?

INT: It made you feel good?

KURT: I have to be thankful that I'm alive.

INT: And that's why you do these things.

MRS. K.: And then, I have a very, very bad back, and I worked very, very, very hard. And then I was replaced by a computer, my Philco job. And then as my husband retired, was a forced retirement, but he was already 67, because he was the highest earner.

INT: Where?

MRS. K.: By Litt Brothers.

INT: You stayed at Litt Brothers all those years?

MRS. K.: 21 years, I think, or...

(END TAPE FIVE, SIDE ONE)

(TAPE FIVE, SIDE TWO)

INT: And how you think she helped you, or didn't help you?

KURT: My sister helped me, helped me insofern (in that sense), the first couple months, like.

MRS. K.: It was the HIAS, not your sister.

KURT: No, she rented an apartment for us, right? She goed there, brought the furniture. It was not empty.

MRS. K.: She got the money from the HIAS. Because she claimed.

KURT: This is nicht my business, where she got the money, right?

MRS. K.: Yeah, because she wanted, I know this. I have the bill somewhere.

INT: All right. But I guess, he has his own view.

MRS. K.: The HIAS reimbursed her for the furniture.

KURT: I don't know. I don't care about it. If the HIAS imbursed her.

INT: But **you** thought she was helpful.

KURT: What?

INT: You thought she helped, your sister.

KURT: Ja, ja, sure she helped us. The first time. There were many things.

MRS. K.: She was dangerous to me.

KURT: Wir waren noch (We were still) new here.

INT: Well, were there other people that you thought were helpful, too, that did things for you?

KURT: Not many. No. No.

INT: So when you came here, you had Ellen already, right?

KURT: Yeah. A baby.

MRS. K.: She was seven months old.

INT: Well, how do you think your experience influenced how you raised your daughter? I mean, were you afraid for her, or were you very protective of her, or...

KURT: Sure, I was protective. We were both protective.

MRS. K.: No. She was raised more or less differently. She will tell you. She was and is very exuberant. Very happy. Still.

INT: How do you think you as a father took care of Ellen, you know, relating to how you were raised, and your experience during the war? Do you think she was raised any differently than people who were born here raised their children here?

KURT: Maybe. Maybe it was different, yes. Es war not aussergewöhnlich. It was not extraordinary.

MRS. K.: She always knew, this is what she says now. She always knew that there was something different between her and the others, because the others had grandparents and aunts and uncles and she didn't.

INT: So she had no family, just you.

MRS. K.: But her friends were also children of Holocaust survivors. But even they had often aunts and cousins and a grandfather. Or a grandmother.

INT: Right. So you didn't tell her much about what happened?

KURT: No.

INT: I know that you and your wife would disagree sometimes about how she should be raised. You know, what she would have to do around the house, and things like that.

MRS. K.: Leider G-ttes, she did not do anything around the house.

KURT: Naturally parents very often disagree uber (on) something, nicht wahr? But...

MRS. K.: No, because of you, she never helped.

KURT: Was? What, Puttel?

MRS. K.: Because of you she never helped.

KURT: Loud.

MRS. K.: Because of you she never helped.

KURT: What?

INT: She said because of you, Ellen didn't help very much.

KURT: Because of me?

INT: That's what she said. (laughs)

MRS. K.: Because you always said, "I help you. Let her be."

KURT: Kann sein dass. (It may be that.) I said this?

INT: Do you think that's true, that you helped more so that Ellen wouldn't have to?

KURT: Because I loved her so much, because I was so happy that I had this child, hm?

INT: Who did you name her after? Who did you name Ellen after?

KURT: I named her nach (for) my Mutter, nicht?

MRS. K.: Ellen was named after my mother and your mother.

KURT: Und my mother, yeah, yeah.

MRS. K.: Her name is Ellen Miriam Necha. Ellen is my mother, and Miriam is for nobody, only I loved the name, and she doesn't, and Necha, her Yiddish name, is after my husband's mother.

KURT: My mutter's name, was a Yiddische Name, Necha. So...

INT: So you think, usually parents disagree about how children should be raised, so you two would sometimes maybe argue.

KURT: I was thinking my wife is stricter than I, you know? And sometimes I had the feeling that she is too strict. Alles nicht gefährlich (None of this is a problem).

INT: Well, how do you feel about Ellen's religious practices today, or her belief in G-d, or who she married. You know, I know how your wife feels about it.

KURT: No, I'm very not happy about everything.

INT: Yeah, why?

KURT: For the husband she took.

INT: Yeah. What don't you like?

KURT: And she lernte jung kennen, (when she was young, she met) men that were very nice und so good for her, and everything, and very Jewish were, and she took this guy, what she has now. A piece of meat.

INT: Why don't you like him? What don't you like about him?

KURT: About him? Because he is not Jewish.

INT: Oh, he's **not** Jewish?

KURT: Hat keine neshama. You know what neshama is?

INT: He's not Jewish in his heart, you mean.

KURT: Yeah, yeah.

INT: But he's Jewish.

KURT: Zuruck geredet. Er hat nicht, es ist nicht seine Schuld. Es kommt auf die Erziehung an. (He doesn't have, it's not his fault. All depends on how he is raised.) What you learn in your father's house. He saw nothing Jewish in his home.

INT: So he's not very religious.

MRS. K.: Yes, he saw Jewish.

KURT: Friday night. The Shabbas lights were burning. Die Mutter bentscht die Licht (the

mother lit the candles). You know, the lights. The candles. Und so, a more Jewish life. The yiddishe, the Jewish neshama, the Jewish Seele fehlt -- is nicht da. (The Jewish soul is missing -- is not there)

INT: He doesn't have that.

KURT: No. A piece of meat. Thinking on good food, and how to...

MRS. K.: He is a decent guy.

KURT: Oh, yeah, he is not a **bad** guy. I don't want to say. But he is nicht a hin, und nicht a her, auf Yiddish.

MRS. K.: He is very cold. And he is constantly in therapy, which helps him nothing, because he blames his mother for everything, and he is exactly like his mother, and he doesn't know it.

KURT: He had no education. No Yiddishe education.

MRS. K.: I can't say this, Kurt. His mishpocha is Jewish. Lisa goes to synagogue, every...

KURT: He went never together with his mishpocha, I think.

MRS. K.: No, because his mother is extremely cold, ignorant, and completely...

KURT: She influenced him.

MRS. K.: I don't know, but this is inside him. He has her...

KURT: Without a father.

MRS. K.: Yeah, but the father was very nice. He lost his father as he was 21 years old. And he was never close to his father because of his mother. She didn't let him to be close. She is a...

KURT: Nicht a mensch. Nicht a human being.

MRS. K.: An enigma. An enigma. No friends. She has a sister she only fights with. Never comes together. But his family is completely Jewish.

INT: So you are upset because he's not Jewish in the heart.

KURT: Ja. Hat kein Yiddishes heart. Aber, zuruck geredet. We can't blame him much, because he has no real Yiddishe home. A Jewish home.

MRS. K.: He is not a Black person either, but he loves the Blacks, and wants to know everything about them.

KURT: This is his business, that he loves the Blacks.

MRS. K.: And goes to...

KURT: I didn't hate the Schwarzen (Blacks).

MRS. K.: No. Absolutely not. But in order to go to **their** roots, you have to know your own, which he doesn't, and is not interested in.

INT: Well, what about...

KURT: And this bothers me a lot. And she, man and wife very often, one learns from the other. Und goes some, then one day, and another day, and another year, the same thoughts, the same thoughts like the other part.

INT: It rubs off. It rubs off on each other.

MRS. K.: Do you know Yiddish?

INT: A little bit.

MRS. K.: "Shlaft man auf einem Kissen hat man ein Gewissen." (When you share one pillow, you have the same conscience.) When you sleep on one pillow, you are the same.

KURT: I don't say they're mean or bad, or so.

MRS. K.: No. He is not a liar. He is not a thief.

KURT: Das Herz fehlt. (The heart is missing.)

MRS. K.: But he is very, very self-centered. And...

KURT: They think on both of them. They both think on themselves.

INT: Instead of...what would you..

KURT: Egoistic.

INT: Egoistic?

KURT: Yeah. Of course she loves us. There is no question about.

MRS. K.: And he loves us, too. He cannot, he doesn't, he cannot show love. He is not...he likes to be the big man. He is a real estate broker, but he works for the city, and he has a city real

estate under him. He only works with realtors for the city. You know, our taxes here and everything. And he is extremely nice to strangers. But not very much to us, and not to his mother.

INT: Well, how do you feel about not having grandchildren? Is that something that...

KURT: I feel very bad about it. It's a big, big, we had, I told you, a big disappointment in my life.

INT: Yeah. That was something you really wanted, is grandchildren.

KURT: I so far wanted this.

MRS. K.: Especially for the holidays.

KURT: Ja. For the holidays and so.

INT: What do you think about, you told me that saying. What do you think rubbed off on you about your wife? You said when a husband and wife are together, they learn from each other. What do you think you learned from Hardee?

KURT: I learned...I learned...I learned from her that the Gutkeit (being good), the Yiddishe...neshama, wie sagt man neshama auf English? (How do you say neshama in English?) The Yiddishe Herz (heart).

MRS. K.: You had it.

INT: Goodness.

KURT: Ja, ich war natuerlich (Yes, I was, of course). Die ...six years concentration camp, waren very, I was very, beeinflusst (influenced) from this six years in these camps, you now? I was like an animal.

MRS. K.: No, he wasn't.

KURT: Aber...

INT: You mean like no feeling, no...

KURT: Mein feeling was begraben und ganz tief (buried and very deep). It was not like outside.

MRS. K.: He was very hurt that this thing could happen to him.

KURT: I am so happy that I met her, I met my wife.

INT: She brought you back to life.

KURT: She made a human being out of me again.

INT: How did she do that?

KURT: Through her behavior. Through her love to me. You know? It was not like oberflächlich (superficial). Ah, my darling! Oder so, you know, and doesn't mean it. Everything what she said, had hand and feet. You know, had importance to me, and prägt sich (got engraved) in my heart, you know? And fixed me up to be a human being again. You know, this is very hard to live mit so a person like me. What went through so much through. A hundred, million people never been through what I've been through. In six years concentration camp. Every day I was fighting for my life. We waked up in the morning, we didn't know that we going to be alive in the evening.

INT: So you forgot how to be a human being and all that.

KURT: Ja. Ja. Ich war ja kein human being mehr (I was no longer a human being).

INT: She reminded you how to be.

KURT: To be a human being again. I tell you I'm so thankful to G-d, that I know my wife, that I had her. And this is years and years and years, immer more and more, that I feeling like I'm a piece of her. Not a separate person, but I'm a piece from her, and she is maybe the same thing to me. She feels good that she has me.

MRS. K.: I did nothing. The only thing what I did, I really didn't like that he did not believe in G-d, but he went to synagogue.

KURT: I didn't believe in G-d?

MRS. K.: He said, "I cannot, after this, who can believe in G-d?"

KURT: Ja, ja, this war die ersten paar Jahre (This was the first few years) by G-d.

MRS. K.: And I bought flowers, tiger lilies, I bought tiger lilies, and I wanted him to stay up the whole night, and he saw how it closes and how it opens.

KURT: After years and years and years you forget langsam (slowly) a little bit. But you do me not a favor (laughs) that everything wakes up in me again. And I dream in the night I was in the concentration camp again.

MRS. K.: You would have dreamt anyway.

KURT: What?

MRS. K.: You would have dreamt anyway.

KURT: I would have dreamt anyway?

MRS. K.: You always dream about concentration camp.

INT: Do you think talking about it made it...

KURT: I'm not mad at you. How can I mad, so nice and sweet woman? Why should I be mad of you?

INT: But it might have upset you.

KURT: But I tell you, you did me not a favor. And then you want to know everything, you know, and I tried to forget everything, about it. Still I can't.

INT: Yeah. It's too much.

KURT: Well, I went **through** so much.

INT: I know. You did.

KURT: Many people were in two, three concentration camps. And have nothing, nothing to tell much about.

INT: Well, you do.

KURT: Yeah, and I have. (coughing fit)

INT: Are you okay? What happened to your faith in G-d all this time, you think when you were in the camps, were you asking where G-d was?

KURT: I had no faith mehr (anymore) in G-d. I think we all Jews there had no faith mehr (more).

INT: You thought He forgot about you? You thought G-d forgot about you?

KURT: Ja. That's it. Ja. He abandoned us.

INT: How about now? How about now, how do you feel about G-d?

KURT: Now I feel much better. I see that He saved me doch (anyway). He saved me for her. And what I went through, and I came always out, like with a blue eye, only, you know? Unbelievable. Unbelievable.

INT: The unbelievable part is that you came out of it, you mean? Alive?

KURT: That I came out of it. Of so many situations, and so many...what I went through, with my legs and everything.

INT: What do you think about human nature? You know, what people are capable of doing to each other, and what people are capable of doing for each other? You know, human beings did this, and what did that do to your sense about people?

KURT: I was still a little bit human, I think. Then, so we, I had two pieces of more bread, oder (or) more than another, I tried to help others, to give them from my more, another piece.

INT: So **you** were still a human being.

KURT: Ja. Ja. I was still a human being.

INT: But how about other people? Do you feel like you can trust them, or do you think this is something...

KURT: I couldn't trust nobody.

INT: Back then, you didn't trust anyone.

KURT: They were all too egoistisch. They were thinking on themselves.

INT: How about now? What do you think about people now? What do you think about people now? Did you learn to trust people again, and how...

KURT: Oh, yeah, yeah. Yeah.

INT: How did that happen?

KURT: This is because of mein (my)...life with my wife together. That she makes me like a human being again. Und I was then more thinking, not nur, only on myself, on other people. (pause)

INT: What do you think about what's happening in Europe today and in Israel?

KURT: I suffer sehr (very) under this. That Nazism is wieder (again) big. The Nazism is tall again, risen up. And what in Israel is going on, I can't understand the whole thing. That wie (how) can ein (a) prime minister, sich verbuenden (can form ties) with eine **murder** organization. With the PLO.

INT: So you don't like that, that he's talking with...

KURT: No, I **hate** this. I hate this. I suffer under this. Not I, myself, the thousands of other Jews too, suffer.

INT: And Germany, the reunification of Germany. What do you think of Germany being reunified now? The East and the West?

KURT: This is not good. The Nazism is risen, since they come together again. The East mit the West, Germany.

INT: Do you think this could happen again, a persecution of that kind?

KURT: I don't know that this can happen again, what was with Hitler. I don't know. Can be very worse. This. The life for the Jews in Germany...they gonna suffer again.

INT: What about here in this country? Do you have any worries about...

KURT: I don't have so much worries here in the United States. They have too many people were, they have their own mind. They're lassen sich nicht so beeingeflussen von other happenings. (They don't let themselves be influenced so easily from other happenings.)

INT: So people here think more for themselves, they're not so easily led?

KURT: Ja, ja, I think they think more for themselves, aber, they have more human, human....background. You know?

INT: Was that one of your concerns when Ellen was growing up, would be about prejudice?

KURT: No, no, not this. Not prejudice, aber, I was thinking that she's going to find a Jewish neshama, wie, Jewish thinking and Jewish feeling mehr. Nicht so oberflächlich (superficial), wie sagt man (how do you say?) So...

INT: You mean, like selfish?

KURT: It's a trouble with my English language.

INT: Do you mean like you're worried that she's a little bit selfish?

KURT: Yeah, selfish. Thinking only on themselves. Aber this is nicht a bad girl. She is not bad.

INT: You just wish she would think more about other people, and have more concern about her Jewishness?

KURT: Yeah. Her Jewishness, yeah.

INT: Did she go to Hebrew school growing up?

KURT: No.

INT: She didn't?

KURT: No, she didn't. I don't think so. (pause)

INT: Did she get Bas Mitzvahed?

KURT: Yeah, we made her Bas Mitzvah, yeah.

INT: So she probably did go to Hebrew school for awhile.

KURT: I don't know. I forgot all about it. This is why she went upstairs, my wife? (calls her)

INT: Well, we can ask her when she comes down.

KURT: No, I worry about her. She has a bad heart.

MRS. K.: (shouting from upstairs) You need me, I'll come right down.

KURT: Oh, she'll come right down.

MRS. K.: Okay?

INT: We're okay. It's okay.

KURT: But I am very thankful for my life, what I had here, after the bad years. Not many had so a woman like I have. And we have like the same background, you know?

INT: That was very important.

KURT: Yeah. She went through a lot. And thank G-d, not like what I went through, aber, she went through a lot, and special, als einzige (?), you know, only child, you know?

INT: What do you hope that the world learns from all this?

KURT: Nothing.

INT: You don't think the world learned anything?

KURT: Not anything.

INT: No?

KURT: You see it today. The racism is bigger and bigger every day. They say that the Jews only in Germany, sie ziehen raus (they extract) money from them.

INT: So you don't think anything's changed. Things haven't changed much, you think.

KURT: No, no, they haven't changed much.

INT: What would you like the world to learn from what happened?

KURT: To be mehr menschlich. Human.

INT: And that is to care about other people?

KURT: Yeah, to care for each other, and to care one human being for the other human being. And respectful, more. (pause)

INT: Well, what would you like people to remember about **you**?

KURT: That I was a good man. A good human being. That's all. Nothing else.

INT: Well, that's a lot. That's a lot. So talking about...

KURT: I don't want to hurt nobody. Okay, I hate the Germans, you know. The Nazi, Hitler, I hate. (phone interruption)

INT: Are there other people you hate? Are there other people you feel bitter about?

KURT: Yeah. I hate many people that are not nice to us.

INT: You mean like people in your neighborhood?

KURT: No, sogar von meiner Versandschaft (even among my relatives) for family.

INT: Oh, family people.

KURT: Yeah. The mother. The mother from mein son-in-law.

INT: You're not happy with her.

KURT: Not a human being. Thinks only on herself. Thinks only on...this is not nice to us. And we don't do nothing to her. Why she is so mad at us, I don't know. (phone)

INT: You have a busy telephone here.

KURT: Yes. Die ganzen days.

INT: Well, you thought your sister was helpful when you came here, right? She found you an apartment.

KURT: Yeah. Die ersten couple months. The ersten couple months, only. When I got work, and I could...keep up mein...our lives, mit mein, with the money what I made, you know, and I didn't need her, you know...

INT: So you had one sister here? You had one sister that was here?

KURT: I have two sisters here. One, the younger sister was living in Chile, South America. And after she heard that I gonna come to the United States, she wants to be there first. So she came first to the United States.

INT: So did she live near you, too?

KURT: And she was not a big help.

INT: She wasn't.

MRS. K.: The opposite.

KURT: She was very beeinflusst (influenced) from her excellent husband.

INT: Her, too, huh? (laughs)

KURT: No good for nothing husband. I came here. After a month, oder two months, suddenly mein wounds from the concentration camp, opened up.

INT: They did?

KURT: This was the change of the climate here, oder, suddenly mein old wounds from the concentration camp, nicht, Puttelchen, remember? And mein herrlichen (glorious) brother-in-law, hetzt die other sister auf, I'm asocial, I don't want to work. Und when I made it myself, you know.

INT: So they accused you of not wanting to work?

KURT: Yeah, like I'm asocial. Wanted only help from others, should help me.

MRS. K.: (?)

KURT: Oh, I tell you.

INT: That was a hard time.

MRS. K.: It was a **very**, very hard time.

KURT: Very...

(END TAPE FIVE, SIDE TWO)

(TAPE SIX, SIDE ONE)

INT: Somebody on our research team is doing a book on children who died. A naming book. So that people, when they have children, might want to name them after children who died in the camps, or...

MRS. K.: Oh my Ralphchen, and oh, my goodness, so many children. Maybe children from your sister mention, the children.

KURT: From mein sister?

MRS. K.: From your sister. Yeah, you didn't have any.

INT: No, you didn't have any, but did you know any children who died, either in the camps while you were there? Anybody that you knew especially?

MRS. K.: Give the names of your sister's...

KURT: My sister, mein sister, the three years elder, they went to Poland, before the war started.

MRS. K.: What were their names? Write down the names.

KURT: His name was Fleischer.

MRS. K.: No, no the children's names.

KURT: The children's names? I forgot.

MRS. K.: He doesn't remember. My G-d, so many children. I hear their voices in my head. Their voices.

INT: The voices of those children?

MRS. K.: Yeah. It's the voices of many people I love. You see...

KURT: I loved my sister.

MRS. K.: When you had to...

KURT: Went to Poland and living there with her polischen husband. And a little town, hundreds of miles away from Germany on the Russischen border.

MRS. K.: It was not a little town. It was Sokolow.

KURT: Yeah, the ORT where he was living, hiesst Sokolow.

MRS. K.: This is not a little town. This is a bigger town. This is a city in Poland.

KURT: Sag ich denn was? (Did I say something?)

MRS. K.: Yeah, you said, “a little town.”

KURT: Das war nicht... Wieso sagt sie das war (This was not...why does she say this was) a big town. How you know that?

MRS. K.: Sokolow was a city.

KURT: Naja, a city. deshalb war es nicht (Well, a city. This does not mean it was) a big city. Und then the Nazis came in after the war started. The Nazis went into Poland and killed millions of Jews there. And took...

MRS. K.: They had to do their own graves. They had to shovel their own graves.

KURT: Yeah. Und my sister, mit dem husband, und die drei Kinder, the three children she has, zwei big boys. One was fifteen and one was twelve, and then she got another child in Poland.

MRS. K.: How were their names?

KURT: I forgot their names.

INT: Well, what happened to them, the children?

KURT: They killed the whole families.

INT: Well, maybe you'll think of their names later, or another time.

KURT: This name, mein brother-in-law's name was Fleischer.

INT: But the children's names...

KURT: Meine Schwester hiess (My sister's name is) Anna. Anna.

MRS. K.: You don't remember their names?

KURT: Just now I forgot. I forget what happened **yesterday**, so I, ich soll nicht vergessen wie die children hiessen. (I should not forget the children's names.)

MRS. K.: The children. My G-d, I...

INT: Well, if you remember, you'll tell me. So doing this whole thing upset you a lot, remembering and talking about this stuff?

KURT: Ja. Ja.

MRS. K.: But he always felt better afterwards when he talked about it.

KURT: One sister married ein Christian man, in Berlin, in Germany. An older sister from me. She was...eight years older than I. Charlotte.

MRS. K.: Lotte you told Marion already, about Lotte, whose husband saw to it that she comes to concentration camp. But the other sister's husband...

KURT: And then I had an older sister from her, three years older from her, she was born 1894. 1894. Was married to a Christian. Before Hitler came.

MRS. K.: He was very good.

INT: He was a good man.

KURT: They had a good life. I mean, because he was nice to her.

MRS. K.: My husband's sisters are all very beautiful. Extremely beautiful. But they're beautiful.

KURT: The oldest sister went away. Hitler came, like maybe we were, this was in '35, they went to Rio de Janeiro. Had a nice store here, men's clothing store. And my sister and her husband, and one son went to Rio de Janeiro. She died there mit dem husband, after many years.

INT: Well, I'm sorry that doing this upset you so much.

MRS. K.: No.

INT: I'm sorry that talking about this stuff upset you so much.

KURT: No. It doesn't upset me much. I said not a from concentration camp. I like to forget about, when you want to know everything what happened. So I have to (laughs) tell everything. I know hat sicher einem guten Sinn (it has certainly a good purpose) to talk about it. Sure.

INT: Why do you think it's good? Why do you think it's a good thing to talk about it?

KURT: That some people gonna learn from this, what other people went through, nicht?

MRS. K.: No, I think when a professional reads it, I think to help others, people who go through a bad time, like losing their husbands, or G-d forbid, their children, and they see how other people cope with it. I think this is only helpful. Because it is very, very hard to take for anyone who only loses one. And by us everyone got killed. And the way we came back, it's a miracle. And this miracle could not have happened without the help of G-d. Because the help didn't come from people. Just the opposite.

KURT: My case is just this way: I come from a poor family. Where once in a week we had a piece of chicken, and the whole week we had only soup. Potato soup, or the andere soup. But this helps me in concentration camp enormously.

INT: That helped you. Deal with the hunger.

KURT: Diese hunger, who you give very often as a kid, you went hungry to bed. And the First World War. And we had not much food in house. We were, was never sat, you know, sate? When I eat dinner, I was still hungry.

INT: You weren't satisfied, right.

KURT: Gar nicht (not at all) satisfied. And in concentration camp, I could live from this piece of bread what they gave us, and the water soup again. Und other people died. Because they were not used to the food in the concentration camps. They steal bread from each other. They got from the food, what they got? They got diarrhea. And they got the diarrhea so long till they died and they made then with blood, from the diarrhea you got worser and worser and worser. Hundreds have died. Und solche Kerle, solche Manner. (And such guys, such men)

INT: But you were kind of used to it.

KURT: I was used to it, that we eat this little piece, what we got in concentration camp. I don't want to say that I was **satisfied**, but I could live. From this little bit.

INT: Do you think there were other things that helped you get through that? Do you think there were other things that helped you get through the camps?

KURT: No, I don't, the food is very important, right, this was the important thing.

INT: You also said you think how you looked was important. That you were fair.

KURT: I was very lucky. I was not so... ich hatte nicht so ein Jewish face wie other Jews.

INT: So you didn't look so Jewish?

KURT: I didn't look so Jewish.

MRS. K.: No. This was a big plus.

KURT: War a big plus.

MRS. K.: Under the Germans.

KURT: They killed so many Jews in the concentration camps. Because they didn't like their faces.

INT: Is there anything else you want to tell me, that I forgot to ask you, that you think is important?

MRS. K.: He worked hard. Very hard. But he also got tips. He got tips from people, you know, people who...

KURT: What's this I got?

MRS. K.: Tips.

KURT: Tips?

MRS. K.: Yeah.

KURT: What you mean with tips?

MRS. K.: When you did your job especially good, they gave you tips. Customers from...

KURT: Oh, you talk, wir reden von (we are talking about) concentration camp, du redst (you talk about) what happened to me years and years later.

MRS. K.: We don't talk about concentration camp anymore. We talk **after** the concentration camp.

KURT: Oh, so the concentration camp.

INT: Or anything, anything else that's important.

KURT: I got right away work, you know, as a tailor. And I didn't have to learn English. The trouble is this. You have to only know how to sew. Not to open your mouth.

INT: So that helped you.

MRS. K.: You belonged to B'nai B'rith, and you were very active.

KURT: This war later Jahre (years).

MRS. K.: Well, you should talk about this.

KURT: I belong to the B'nai B'rith, aber, da war ich doch schon ein aelterer Mensch. I war schon married. (but I was already an older person. I was already married.)

MRS. K.: No, this was 1960. It was 1959, or 1960.

KURT: Ja, ja, since 1960 I was in B'nai B'rith. Member.

MRS. K.: In 1959.

KURT: Und they liked me, and made me some...

MRS. K.: Vice-president.

KURT: Finanz-Sekretar. (Treasurer)

MRS. K.: And then vice-president.

KURT: What? And then I was vice-president, von der...lodge, from the group where I belonged to.

MRS. K.: And he also was in the committee for helping. They had a fund for poor Jews, and he was one of those people.

KURT: I was in many organizations. I was in a judische immigrant organization in...Philadelphia, hiess (was called) the Central Club. Central Club of Philadelphia. Hat sich inzwischen aber aufgelost. (Has dissolved meanwhile.) People died and...

MRS. K.: And he was the treasurer.

KURT: And I was the treasurer there. I'm still the treasurer. I still have money in the banks, what belongs to them.

MRS. K.: But it's not in use anymore.

KURT: Not so many, aber was ist noch geblieben \$500 oder was. (but what still remained is about \$500.)

MRS. K.: Treasurer, and I was the secretary.

INT: Why do you think you were so popular? What do you think made you so popular with

people?

MRS. K.: Because he was a doer.

KURT: Yeah. I liked to help people. Because I was a happy man. I was a happy man.

INT: Do you think you're a lot different now than you were before the war?

KURT: Than before the war? Sure, sure. Before the war? Wait a minute. Before the war...

MRS. K.: You were a good person. He was always a good person.

KURT: Yeah, I was not a bad man. Mensch. Human being. I always had a neshama. You know what a neshama is? A Jewish heart. And I always liked to help others. Because I was a happy man.

INT: So you were a doer then, and a giving person then, and you're still a giving person.

MRS. K.: Well, before the war he didn't have the opportunity. He helped his parents very much. Daddy, why don't you say so? You were the only son, and you helped your parents a lot.

KURT: I helped my parents a lot? What I could help them.

INT: Well, you saved your father a couple times.

KURT: Oh, this is a big plus. I think this is a big plus in my life.

MRS. K.: You didn't leave the city.

KURT: I...

MRS. K.: You didn't leave the city for America, or for any other city. You stayed with your parents.

KURT: I said to mein parents, "I don't gonna leave you, go away and let you here. What gonna happen to you, what happen to me and what happen to you, should, we are gonna live together."

INT: So could you have left?

KURT: No. I wouldn't have left without my parents.

INT: But **could** you have left? I mean, did you have the chance to leave?

MRS. K.: Yes. For America.

KURT: Ja, ja, I had. Yeah.

INT: But you didn't want to leave them.

KURT: I didn't want to leave them alone. And as a matter of fact, I saved my father's life.

INT: Yeah. You said this is a big thing to you.

KURT: I told you this before, I think, nicht? Wie I went from one big Tier ("animal," meaning high Nazi official) to another, und tried to save my father. It's when I had the feeling he gonna make it. He was 72, I think, und half blind, and...and I saved him. I saved him at least five years of his life. Of his **miserable** life, under the Nazis. Aber I was finished and free.

INT: But you feel good about having saved him. You feel good about having saved him?

KURT: And I thought about it. And I felt good. That I saved him five years, at least, of his life. So they would have killed him in the woods on the way to Poland.

INT: Well, I'm glad that you took the time to talk to me. I'm sorry if it was upsetting to you. I'm glad that you took the time to talk to me, but I'm sorry that it upset you.

KURT: It doesn't upset me much. It shakes me up.

INT: Shakes you up?

MRS. K.: No, you felt usually, this is news to me, Kurt.

KURT: Was?

MRS. K.: This is news to me, that you are upset. Because you always felt better **after** you had talked.

KURT: I'm upset because I can't hear so good.

INT: (laughs)

KURT: Somebody talks to me, and I have to ask her, "What? What you say? What you say?"

END OF INTERVIEW