The Saved and their Saviours

By

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THE SAVED AND THEIR SAVIOURS

A comparative study of the testimonies of sixty Jews hidden by non-Jews - 1941-1945

A Thesis submitted to the Department of History
The University of Sheffield

by

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In fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Philosophy

August, 1994

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am extremely grateful to the University of Sheffield History Department for having accepted my application to work towards a degree on the subject of Jewish survivors' testimonies, and to Professor Colin Holmes for agreeing to supervise this thesis.

Many thanks are due to my friend Olga Sagi, who translated, edited and typed the full testimonies in Part II, and the summaries included in this thesis.

Iris Berlatsky, who manages the department for collecting eyewitnesses' personal accounts of the Jewish manhunt in Yad Vashem, the Jewish Memorial for the six million murdered Jews, gave added legitimacy and purpose to this work.

The witnesses who gave three to four hours of their time, and were prepared to revive their anguish and fear by relating their fight for survival, did this in order that their testimonies should be recorded and filed in the Yad VaShem archives, and be used by present and future historians and other writers to show how two-thirds of the European Jews were annihilated.

Last, but not least, the continuous encouragement of my husband Alex should not be taken for granted.

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INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this work was to interview some of the few remaining Survivors of the Holocaust and to analyse their testimonies. The interviews were conducted along the lines of open questionnaires (see appendix) concerning both the interviewees and those who helped them to hide. The facets investigated included the various attributes and conditions necessary for staying hidden and some characteristics of their Saviours. Chapter five deals with the lasting effects of the Survivors' ordeal.

The Second World War took place fifty years ago, the interviewees are over sixty years old and most of them had not detailed their ordeals previously. The writer was in the right place at the right time. Many of the Holocaust Survivors came to Israel, and the majority have only been able to bring themselves to speak about their memories during these last few years. Some who were approached are not yet ready to face the trauma of recall. Most of the hidden Survivors were young girls at the time, since they were easier to hide than boys who could have been identified by their circumcision. Many of the survivors who were adults in 1942 have already died, without recording their fate.

The sixty testimonies quoted here are only of those who were helped and hidden by non-Jews who knew their true identity. The testimonies were tape-recorded, mostly in Hebrew, and then translated verbatim and edited. They form Part II of this thesis. Yad VaShem - the Holocaust Martyrs' and Heroes' Remembrance Authority in Jerusalem - had up to the beginning of 1992 honoured 9943 Heroes who helped to save Jewish lives between 1940 and 1945. There were more, possibly up to ten times as many as the Authority knows about. So perhaps 100,000 people among a population of 400,000,000 in occupied Europe, were prepared to risk assisting a fugitive from death.

The Holocaust involved the organised killing of a section of the human race, who nominally had some connection to an older religion. It took place with the acquiescence of the whole world, with the exception of the Danish and Bulgarian governments, and a few individuals.

Those who survived remember with gratitude all who helped, even in the slightest way: the acquaintance who pretended not to recognise them; a look of sympathy; a gift of potato peelings; a warning; a momentary cover, and all those who did not actively contribute to the extermination of their fellow nationals. Most of the Survivors have gone out of their way to honour and recompensate those who endangered themselves to save a life.

The few Saviours proved that there is an alternative to indifference and that there are some who are not totally influenced by propaganda and have the courage of their convictions.

This thesis, in line with the enduring outlook of those who survived, concentrates on the positive. The emphasis has been on humanity, at a time of unbelievable and incomprehensible savagery.

The writer has no training in psychology, so the questionnaire, used as a basis for the interviews (see appendix) was factual; the questions concentrated on the years between 1939 and 1945. The result is a dry, unemotional, unadorned reminiscence of a period in which the witness was bereft of his or her family and in constant danger of death. The end of the war, when the usually young, sole Survivor had to start living and earning a living, in for the most part alien surroundings with a foreign language, is glossed over. Little mention is made in the Survivors' accounts of their physical, mental and emotional impairment, with which they have had to cope throughout their lives, or of the effect of their experiences on their offspring.

Of the approximately 10,000 Saviours honoured by Yad VaShem, 35 percent were Poles and 34 percent were Dutch. There were three and a half million Jews in Poland in 1939, fewer than 400,000 survived, some by assuming a Christian identity, some by hiding in the forests, some by fleeing to Russia, and others by being hidden by their fellow countrymen. On the other hand, the majority of the fewer than 40,000 Jews who survived in Holland were hidden in Dutch homes. The country is small and has no forests. so there were fewer natural surroundings in which to hide. Those who survived in the Netherlands did so with the help of Dutch families. This fact accounts for the disproportion of honoured Dutchmen to overall European survivors.

Although the sixty Survivors included in this work were chosen at random, (most are residents of Haifa who were found by word of mouth) they seem to be a representative sample. Over one third were hidden in Poland and one sixth in Holland.

The people interviewed have been listed according to the countries in which they were hidden and numbered arbitrarily. Thus P/41 refers to a person hidden in Poland (see appendix for full list). The names of the Survivors are their birth names. Some have changed their names since then; the writer has a full list. All the interviewees have signed a release that their testimony may be used.

The perpetrators of racial atrocities of a hitherto unimaginable magnitude went to great and systematic lengths to conceal and obliterate their deeds; it is hoped that these oral testimonies may add to the wider knowledge and awareness of the fate of the Jews in Nazi occupied Europe during the Second World War, and so help to counter the tendency to minimize and deny the Holocaust.

AN ABSTRACT

The Introduction explains the methodology used in preparing this thesis. It describes the interviewees - the Survivors who were the hidden youngsters, how they were found, the questions they were asked and how the facts were itemized and collected for this thesis.

Chapter 1 contains a very brief account of the development of antisemitism and documents the slowly-escalating severity of the measures taken by the Nazi regime in Germany first of all to isolate, then to discriminate, deport and finally annihilate the Jewish people. This gives the background to the necessity for hiding.

Chapter 2 contains a summary of the sixty interviews. The full testimonies form the second part of this thesis. The summaries are extremely factual and do not in any way convey the fear, the desolation and the horror of those times. A short history of the German occupation precedes each country of hiding, in order to explain the disparity in the dates of hiding in the different regions, and also the variable extent of danger for both the hidden and their hiders.

Chapter 3 consists mainly of graphs and tables which classify the Saviours, those very few willing to shelter fugitives from death. These statistics have been culled from the testimonies.

Chapter 4 is concerned with the Survivors, it describes the identity and attributes of the hidden. The chapter is subdivided into seven sections, under each are quotations from the testimonies, describing the different elements necessary for survival.

Chapter 5 deals with the lasting effect of the Holocaust on the Survivors. Neither the deeper psychological damage nor the physical injuries have been discussed, but the many quotations from the interviewees show some of the trauma and how it affects them to this day. The sections include attitudes to Religion, to Arabs in and surrounding Israel, the attitude of others to the Survivor, and, very briefly, the damage to their children.

The Conclusion compares the motives of additional Saviours, mentions various methods of saving Jewish lives and expounds on the deductions of Chapters 3 and 4.

The Postscript discusses the veracity and importance of oral testimony.

The Appendix includes the questionnaire, informative maps and documents appertaining to the subject of this thesis.

GLOSSARY

AKTION	The assembly and despatch of Jews to be exterminated by burning, ~~fire~~, shooting starvation or gas.
ALIYAH	Immigration to Israel, before and after its Independence.
ALIYAH BET	Illegal movement of Jews through Europe to British Mandate, Palestine.
ANTISEMITISM	Persecution and/or discrimination against Jews.
APPELL	The lengthy outdoor roll-call in the concentration camps.
ARBEITS AUSWEIS	Work permit
ARISATOR	A Christian put in charge of a Jew's factory, mill, shop, farm etc.
ARMJA KRAJOW (A.K.)	The Polish military underground - connected with the Polish Government in exile in London.
ARMJA LUDOWA(G.L.)	The Polish military underground - connected with the Polish Communist Party.
ARYANIZATION	The confiscation of Jewish property.
ATHLIT	A British internment camp in Athlit, Palestine, for Jews who arrived without an Entry Certificate.
AUSCHWITZ	A group of extermination, concentration and work camps.

BANDEROWSKI	An underground, antisemitic organization of Ukrainian Nationalists.
BREICHA	The clandestine movement of survivors from East Europe through West Europe to Israel (1944-1948).
CONCENTRATION CAMP	A camp where prisoners (mainly Jewish) were held.
CYPRUS	British camps in Cyprus for those apprehended in Palestinian territorial waters (1946-1949).
DEATH MARCH	The forced marches of camp inmates, in retreat from the Russian liberators.
ENDLOESUNG	The Final Solution, the planned extermination of all Jews.
ERETZ YISRAEL	Hebrew name for Palestine before Independence in 1948.
EXTERMINATION CAMP	Six camps set up for the sole purpose of murdering their inmates. About 3,500,000 were Jews.
FINAL SOLUTION	See Endloesung above.
GENERAL GOVERNMENT	The occupied zone of Poland, exclusive of the annexed territories.
GENOCIDE	The deliberate extermination of a race or nation.
GESTAPO	The German Secret State Police.
GHETTO	The limited, sealed-off and guarded area where the Jews were forced to live.

HACHSHARA	An agricultural community preparing to live on a kibbutz.
HLINKOVA GARDA	Slovakian antisemitic military organization.
HOLOCAUST	The mass murder of the Jews by the Nazis during World War II.
JEWISH BRIGADE	A unit of Palestinian volunteers in the British Army.
JOINT DISTRIBUTION COMMITTEE	American Jewish International Relief Organisation
JUDENRAT	The Jewish Council responsible to occupying forces.
JUDENREIN	An area from which all Jews have been evicted.
KEREN KAYEMET	Land purchasing and development fund of Zionist organization.
KIBBUTZ	A mainly agricultural community in Israel, with communal property and responsibility.
KRISTALLNACHT	A Nazi organized riot against Jewish premises in Germany, 9-10 November, 1938.
NYILASKERESZTES PART	A Fascist Party in Hungary.
RAZZIA	An organized hunt for Jews.
RESISTANCE	The French underground movement.
RESTGHETTO	Those that remained in the ghetto after an Aktion.
RIGHTEOUS GENTILE	A person who helped a Jew, knowingly and incurring risk of retaliation.
SABRA	A nickname for someone born and brought up in Israel.
SCHEIN	See Arbeits Ausweis - a certificate of employment for ghetto Jews who worked in a German run factory, or in a labour gang.

'SPEER'STAMP	A stamp on identity papers of a certain category of essential workers, who were not initially deported.
USTASA	A national Croation terrorist organization, which came to power with the formation of the Croation state, and was responsible for the murder of Serbs, Jews and Gypsies.
VOLKSDEUTSCHE	Descendents of Germans.
WEHRMACHT	Germany's armed forces.
WERKDORP	Youth centres established by Joint in the Netherlands to train young Jews in agriculture with a view to emigration to Palestine.
WORK CAMP	A camp designed to kill its inmates by hard labour and starvation.
YAD VASHEM	An institute in Jerusalem to commemorate the Holocaust.
YOUTH ALIYAH	An organization to bring mostly orphaned youth to Israel.
ZAGOTA	A Polish resistance organisation that also helped Jews.
ZIONISM	A movement originally aimed at the re-establishment of a Jewish national homeland and state in Palestine, and now concerned with the development of Israel.

CHAPTER 1

The fact that millions of people, whose only common denominator was an affiliation to the Jewish religion however tenuous it may have been, were hounded out of their homes and their native countries and either fled or were deported to hard labour, concentration or death camps, cannot be explained by the following brief summary of the continuity of antisemitism. It is presented here to explain that this was not the first time in history that Jewish families were persecuted, but that this phobia was brought to a climax during the period 1939-1945 when, if the Jewish child was not hidden, he or she was murdered.

Anti-Semitism has a long history which stretches back into the ancient world when the Jews were driven from their land and dispersed among other nations. This hostility persists into the modern epoch. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries Jews were emancipated in the majority of European countries and in North America. However, this process did not eliminate anti semitism. On the contrary, in the course of the nineteenth century, this hostility assumed a biological dimension. "Blood", rather than religion, determined who was a Jew, while the old forms of religious hostility persisted. Mention should be made here of the 'family trees' required to prove one's Aryan origin in German-occupied Europe.

At the same time, it is possible to trace the appearance of a powerful new strand of conspiratorial anti-semitism which claimed that all Jews were engaged in a global conspiracy to capture the world for their own interests. Such conspiratorial claims were advanced in the Protocols of the Elders of Zion,* a publication manufactured by the Tsarist secret police in Paris. Since 1905, this publication has circulated in Tsarist Russia, Europe, America and the Middle East.

In Tsarist Russia the late nineteenth century and the early twentieth century witnessed severe attacks on Jews. As a result it is possible to trace a westward migration of Jews from Russia towards Germany, France, Britain, South Africa, Argentina and particularly to America.

With the advent of the National Socialists in Germany in 1933, and with the growing anti-semitism evident in the Nazi state, it is possible to notice a progressive diminution in the quality of life of those Jews living under German control (after 1938 that control extended to Austria and also to part of Czechoslovakia).

Before the outbreak of war it was possible for some people to emigrate from Germany and Austria, but up to 1937 there was a reluctance on the part of many to leave their homeland, their families and jobs to emigrate to a foreign land, with a strange language and culture. Later, it became extremely difficult even

*See Map 5 p.318 in appendix

for those who recognised the necessity for flight to obtain an entrance visa to a country presumed to be out of range of the German conquest.

By noting the slow, insidious escalation of the anti-Jewish laws in Germany, beginning shortly after Hitler was appointed Reich Chancellor in January, 1933, we can see how carefully the persecution of the Jews was planned, and how the concept that a Jew was an enemy alien, with different blood from his fellow citizens, came to be accepted.[1]

7 April, 1933: Civil servants not of Aryan descent to be retired.

16 March, 1935: Conscription into the Wehrmacht limited to Aryans.

15 September,1935: Nuremberg Laws on Reich Citizenship. A Reich citizen is a subject of the State who is a German, or of related blood.

14 November, 1935: First regulation of the Reich Citizenship Law: A Jew cannot be a Reich citizen.

In 1936 the Olympic Games took place in Germany, and there was a lull in the publication of further laws of discrimination and also of physical attacks on the Jews. This was an

additional reason for the tardiness of German Jews in trying to emigrate from their country, for they assumed that the persecution had abated and would soon cease.

However, from 1938 conditions deteriorated. Physical violence in the shape of the Kristallnacht pogrom provided some of the evidence on this score on 10 November, 1938. So did the decree of 12 November which forbade Jews to operate retail stores or to follow a craft.

It was also ominous that at Goering's suggestion, the German Jews were fined 1 billion Reichsmarks for the murder by a Jewish student of Ernest vom Rath, the third secretary at the German Embassy in Paris, the incident which triggered the Kristallnacht pogrom.

In such difficult circumstances it remained hard to find a haven. Immigration to Palestine was restricted to certain categories of people, and the British Colonial Office limited entry visas to 15,000 per year. The Western world was reluctant to accept these fugitives, as Hitler remarked on 30 January, 1939: **"In connection with the Jewish question, I have this to say: it is a shameful spectacle to see how the whole democratic world is oozing sympathy for the poor tormented Jewish people, but remains hard-hearted and obdurate when it comes to helping them.... For this is what they say: 'We, i.e. the democracies, are not in a position to take in the Jews'"** [P].

The condition of European Jewry further deteriorated after the outbreak of the Second World War. In October 1941, the order banning all emigration of Jews from the Reich was enforced; this order was followed in January, 1942 by the Wannsee Conference, at which a detailed list of the eleven million Jews in Axis-occupied Europe was made and the organization for the 'final solution'* was set up. The plans for the total annihilation of the Jews were kept secret, on orders from Hitler, and even as early as 1939 the following instructions were issued by Reinhard Heydrich, Obergruppenfuehrer of the SS, to the Chief of the Security Police, Berlin 21, on policy and operations concerning Jews in the occupied territories: ".... I refer to the conference held in Berlin today and again point out that the planned total measures (i.e. the final aim) are to be kept strictly secret.."[3]

These well-concealed plans gradually developed - from the concentration of the Jews in all the conquered lands from the countryside into the larger cities, where they were restricted to ever more crowded ghettoes, and eventually sealed off with virtually no contact allowed with non-Jews, - to the eventual deportation to as yet unknown destinations. Taking into account this policy of concealment and secrecy, we can understand how both the non-Jews and the Jews themselves were tricked into believing that they were being sent to work camps.

*See glossary

The Judenrat*, through which German demands were transmitted to the Jews under German control, were for a long time misled into believing that by collaborating with the Nazis, by fulfilling their orders to the letter, they would alleviate the burden of their community. This amounted to a conspiracy to hide from the local population of each country the ultimate goal of total destruction of all the Jews. It also accounts for the fact that more people did not try to find hiding places, and find them earlier, and one would like to think that this was also the reason that more people did not try to prevent the deportations of their fellow natives or help to hide them.

Surely the Dutch government-in-exile and their royal family would not have allowed the deportation of their citizens had they known that 100,000 would be murdered? Nor would the Jewish civil servants have signed their own death warrants by filling out Form B for non-Aryans in October, 1940.[4] In the Netherlands, as elsewhere, the German laws of isolation preceded the laws which denied employment, confiscated property, forced the transfer to ghettos and finally led to the deportation and death of 60% of the Jewish citizens.

A discussion on whether the systematic mass extermination of over sixty percent[5] of these innocent citizens from every country subjugated by Germany during the Second World War was an

*See glossary

intentional or functional process does not alter the fact that these sixty witnesses were forced to hide in order to save their lives.

The Nazis, with the active participation of most of the populations over whom they ruled, and the apathy and disinterest of all the peoples of the world, did not only persecute Jews who retained their religious heritage, but also the assimilated non-religious, the converted, children of converts and even children who had one Jewish grandparent. All were candidates for annihilation.

During the war, information on the plight of the Jews, including those in the concentration and death camps, was transmitted, often at great personal risk, to the Allies and the neutral capitals. Nevertheless there was no pressure, either from the Pope or the International Red Cross, and definitely not from any government at war with Germany, to take action to hinder or halt the mass extermination of these civilians.[6,7]

There were disparities in the dates of the witnesses going into hiding in their various countries. In the Netherlands, for instance, the search for a hiding place began after the commencement of the mass deportations in 1942,[8] while in Poland the Jews realized that they must hide to survive when the Warsaw

ghetto was sealed off in 1940, and after the extermination chambers were activated in the Sobibor, Belzec and Treblinka camps.[9] In order to fully understand these disparities it is necessary to follow the progress of the invading German forces, and the development of the Second World War. It will be noted, for example, that the witnesses from Hungary only went into hiding in 1944. The following, therefore, is a brief chronology of events in Europe:

13 January, 1935	Saar region annexed to Germany.
16 March, 1935	Conscription reimposed throughout Germany in open contravention of the Treaty of Versailles.
13 March, 1938	Annexation of Austria to the Third Reich.
29-30 September, 1938	Munich Conference: Britain and France agree to German annexation of part of Czechoslovakia.
15 March, 1939	German occupation of Czechoslovakia, the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia established.
23 August, 1939	Soviet-German pact signed.
1 September, 1939	German army invades Poland - beginning of Second World War.
17 September, 1939	Invasion of Eastern Poland by Red Army.
10 October, 1939	Establishment of General Government in Central Poland. Annexation of Western Poland.
9 April, 1940	German army occupies Denmark and southern Norway.

10 May, 1940	German invasion of Holland, Belgium and France begins.
4 June, 1940	Evacuation of British army from Dunkirk.
22 June, 1940	French army surrenders, Marshal Petain signs armistice agreement.
20-24 November, 1940	Hungary, Rumania and Slovenia join Axis.
9 April, 1941	German army invades Yugoslavia and Greece.
22 June, 1941	Germany attacks USSR (Operation Barbarossa) remaining in Soviet Union until January, 1943.
12 July, 1941	Military treaty signed between USSR and Britain.
20 September, 1941	Rome occupied by Germans. German army in command of most of Italy
12 October, 1941	The Germans approach Moscow.
11 December, 1941	Germany and Italy declare war on the USA.
2 October, 1943	Order for deportation of Danish Jews. (Some 7,000 saved by evacuation to Sweden).
19 March, 1944	German army invades Hungary.
6 June, 1944	Allied invasion of Normandy.
8 May, 1945	Germany surrenders - the Third Reich collapses.

The following chapters describe some exceptional people who deserve to be honoured by the use of the capital letter - The Saved and their Saviours.

Ch.1

Over 50% of the Jews living in Europe at the outbreak of the war were annihilated. The following is the lowest estimate:

Country	Jewish Population	Murdered (minimum)	Murdered (percent)
Austria	185,000	50,000	27%
Belgium	65,000	28,900	44%
Bohemia and Moravia	118,310	78,150	66%
Bulgaria	50,000	0	0%
Denmark	7,800	60	0.8%
Estonia	4,500	1,500	33%
Finland	2,000	7	0.4%
France	350,000	77,320	22%
Germany	566,000	134,000	24%
Greece	77,380	60,000	78%
Hungary	825,000	550,000	67%
Italy	44,500	7,680	17.26%
Latvia	91,500	70,000	77%
Lithuania	168,000	140,000	83%
Luxemburg	3,500	1,950	56%
Netherlands	140,000	100,000	71%
Norway	1,700	762	45%
Poland	3,300,000	2,900,000	88%
Rumania	609.000	271,000	45%
Slovakia	88,950	68,000	77%
Soviet Union	3,020,000	1,000,000	33%
Yugoslavia	78,000	56,200	72%
Total	9,796,840	5,596,029	57%

The figures have been taken from the Encyclopaedia of the Holocaust, Sifriat Hapoalim, Tel Aviv, p.1282.

LIST OF SURVIVORS(in alphabetical order)

[B=Belgium; C=Czechoslovakia; F=France; G=Germany; GR=Greece; H=Hungary; I=Italy; L=Lithuania; N=Netherlands; P=Poland; Y=Yugoslavia]

1) Judith Acs - H.33
2) Mina Blass - P.36
3) Hilda Brand - P.5
4) Katerina Braun - P.6
5) Rahel Burko - P.19
6) Yentl Burko - P.37
7) Zelda Burko - P.38
8) Luba Cydielnicki - P.39
9) Veronica De Bruin - N.23
10) Jacques De Hartog - N.24
11) Anna Dohan - C.7
12) Arieh Durst - P.40
13) Tova Einhorn - C.8
14) Dora Feiger - P.41
15) Jacob Fishler - F.17
16) Genny Florentin - GR.14
17) Maria Fraenkel - P.42
18) Eva Frenkel - N.25
19) Roland Friedman - F.18
20) Gisela Getzler - C.9
21) Luba Gis - L.35
22) Marietta Goldman-Halek - C.10
23) Sonia Goldman - P.43
24) Felicia Greenfield - C.11
25) Joseph Grodzinski - P.44
26) Sonia Hebenstreit - P.45
27) Therese Heymann - N.26
28) Dudek Inventarz - P.46
29) Anita Israel - B.1
30) Rosy Jacobs - N.27
31) Victor Jacobs - N.28
32) Klara Jewrejski - P.47
33) Zalmen Jewrejski- P.48
34) Berta Kaner - F.20
35) Jacky Kapper - N.29
36) Devora Karpel - P.49
37) Roger Levy - F.21
38) Alice Lipsker-Stern - C.12
39) Ruth Lowenthal - B.2
40) Sara Lowenthal - B.3
41) Gisela Muller - G.16
42) Miriam Perkal - P.50
43) Marisha Perlberger - P.51
44) Sigbert Pfennig - B.4
45) Hania Piller - P.59
46) Carolina Reens - N.30
47) Eve Reiner - P.52
48) Osias Ritter - P.53
49) Helen Rosenbluth - F.22
50) Elisabeth Salwendy - C.13
51) Zlata Schlittingen - Y.58
52) Ruth Siegel - N.31
53) Klari Strasset - H.34
54) Pavel Suchostaver - C.15
55) Janina Ungerfeld - P.54
56) Tuvia Warman - P.55
57) Edja Wilder - P.56
58) John Weissman - I.60
59) Moshe Wolff - N.32
60) Pepka Zuckerberg - P.57

CHAPTER 1

Footnotes

1. Arad et al.,eds: Documents on the Holocaust; Jerusalem, Yad VaShem 1990, pp.77-80

2. Baynes, Norman, ed: The Speeches of Adolf Hitler, April 1922 -August, 1939; London, Oxford University Press 1942, pp.737-741.

3. Arad et al.,eds: Documents on the Holocaust; Jerusalem, Yad VaShem `1990, p.342.

4. Presser, J: The Destruction of the Dutch Jews; New York, Dutton 1969, p.19.

5. See list of murdered at the end of this chapter.

6. See Appendix documents 1,2,3,11 331-339

7. Conway, J.S: The Wiener Library Bulletin, Vol.XXVII: new series nos. 30/31, London, Wiener Library 1973/4, pp.37-49.

8. Presser, J: The Destruction of the Dutch Jews; New York, Dutton 1969, p. 135.

9. Arad et al.,eds: Documents on the Holocaust; Jerusalem, Yad VaShem 1990, p. 233.

CHAPTER II

The sixty summaries of the hidden survivors' testimonies are bone-dry and factual, without description or explanation. The reader has to use his imagination to realize, to understand and to feel the continuous fear and the loneliness, in addition to the deprivation, cold and hunger to which these fugitives from death were submitted. The physical discomfort and tedium of hiding for months or years in a cramped space, alone or in close proximity to others, has not been depicted. The survivors themselves cannot put into words the shock and pain of separation from parents and siblings, and the feeling of apprehension or knowledge of being the sole family survivor.

Children under ten years of age were only included when the Survivor shared the same hiding-place with an older person, who has supplemented their recall.

The summaries are grouped according to the countries in which the witnesses were hiding.*

A short historical resumé, pertinent to the Jews during the war years, prefaces each national group. They show when the areas were occupied and the varying degrees of cooperation of the local authorities, thereby explaining the timing and location of the hiding, and the degree of danger.

* The full testimonies are presented separately.

CHAPTER II

POLAND

The country of Poland was gradually annexed by her neighbours and ceased to exist entirely in 1868, when the remnant became Russian territory. It was re-established as an independent country in 1918. In the following two years there was antisemitic violence and pogroms. Later, laws to curtail Jewish political, economic and cultural influence were passed. Jews had been living in Poland since the 10th Century, by the outbreak of the Second World War they comprised 10 percent of the population.

1 September, 1939: Poland attacked by Germany.

September, 1939: Germany annexed 'Eastern Areas' (Eingegliederte Ostgebiete): Pomerania, Upper Silesia, part of Mazowske and part of the Lodz district, Cracow and Kielce. There were 10,000,000 citizens, of whom 600,000 were Jewish. One million Poles were expelled and transferred to the General Government*, the Jews to concentration camps. They were replaced by an equal number of Germans.

In the remaining part of German-occupied Poland the General Government (Generalgouvernement) a civilian government was inaugurated.

There were 12,000.000 citizens, of whom 1.5 million were Jewish.

*See glossary

October, 1939: The Soviet Union annexed the Eastern zone - 196,000 sq.km. east of the Vistula and San rivers, incorporating it into the USSR, Ukraine and the USSR Belorussia.
There were 13.000,000 citizens, of whom 1,200,000 were Jewish. Vilna was added to Lithuania.

November, 1940: Sealing of the Warsaw ghetto. Other ghettoization.

22 June, 1941: German invasion of the Soviet Union. The Germans occupied the territories formerly annexed by the latter.

19 April - 16 May, 1943: The first urban uprising in occupied Europe was in the Warsaw ghetto, but it only occurred after the fate of the deportees had become general knowledge and after the ghetto leaders realised that cooperation with the Nazis did not ensure life.

1 August, 1944: The abortive Warsaw uprising.
Approximately 150,000 civilians killed (including several thousand 'hidden' Jews).
Most of the population was expelled to camps, and about 100.000 to forced labour in the Reich.

June - August, 1944: The areas between the Vistula and Bug rivers freed by the Red Army.

23 February, 1945: All of 1939 Poland under the USSR. The Russian population absorbed into the Soviet Union, and the Germans expelled beyong the river Oder.

380,000 Jews survived, out of a pre-war population of 3,300,000. Some returned from concentration and labour camps, some from the partisans hiding in the forests and about 30,000 from the Soviet Union. On their return to Poland they were made very unwelcome, some were murdered (22 in Kielce) and most emigrated. By the end of 1947, 80,000 Jews remained in Poland. Most of these emigrated in the 1950s.

Names of the Survivors

POLAND - P 24

36. Mina Blass

19. Rahel Burko

37. Yentl Burko

38. Zelda Burko

39. Luba Cydielnicki

40. Arieh Durst

41. Dora Feiger

42. Maria Fraenkel

43. Sonia Goldman

44. Joseph Grodzinski

45. Sonia Hebenstreit

46. Dudek Inventarz

47. Klara Jewrejski

48. Zalmen Jewrejski

49. Devora Karpel

50. Miriam Perkal

51. Marisha Perlberger

59. Hania Piller

52. Eve Reiner

53. Osias Ritter

54. Genia Ungerfeld

55. Tuvia Warman

56. Edja Wilder

57. Pepka Zuckerberg

Summary of transcript from Hebrew tape - Mina Blass

The witness was born on 9 June, 1916, in Warsaw, Poland, into a wealthy home. Her father was a financial expert. They were orthodox, observant Jews. Polish was spoken at home, but the parents spoke Yiddish to each other.

When the war broke out, the witness, married by then, was in Paris, studying French. She returned to Poland. Her husband and brother left Warsaw with most of the other young men (both Jews and Gentiles) but he returned after some time, and started working in the Judenrat* using his training as a lawyer. The witness continued teaching French, first outside the ghetto and then inside. They lived in a house on the ghetto border. Mina, her husband and parents were joined by a brother from Lodz with his wife and children. There was also another family living with them and their Jewish cook, twelve people in all. Life in the ghetto was very hard, especially for the refugees who had come from other parts of Poland and Europe. There was starvation, extreme poverty, disease, frequent death, and constant deportations. The witness and her family were better off, as they knew people and could buy supplies. Later on, they had to leave their house and move into the ghetto proper.

In September, 1942 there was an Aktion* and the witness was taken to the "Dud" (collection point) in Ostrowska St. Her parents hid in the attic at home. She was allowed to leave (probably due to their Judenrat connections) and returned to the flat.

In early 1943, family members in the ghetto decided to build a bunker in which to hide. The witness, with the help of the

*See glossary

Resistance, ran away with her five year old nephew, to the home of a Professor Minkiewicz and his wife, Mme. Przewoska. He was a socialist, and a newpaper editor. The witness's husband joined her, but felt he had to return to the ghetto to help those inside. Later her sister-in-law, with her second child, escaped from the ghetto. They were all hidden in a Polish house; and once had a narrow escape when a Polish policeman entered. From there they went to live with a woman called Rosalia Taulek, who was a caretaker in a villa. The witness's brother escaped from the ghetto just before being sent to Treblinka and joined them. She learnt that her father had been murdered, and presumably also her mother and aunt. She only heard later that her husband was killed in the ghetto streets.

After one of the neighbours threatened to report them to the authorities, Rosalia Taulek took Mina's sister-in-law and one child to her husband in the village of Szechova, the second boy went to Professor Minkiewicz. Mina hid in several places, moving each time there was danger, sometimes with her nephew. Her brother, the child's father, was in the Resistance. She feels very lucky that she came to know this small group of people who were ready to endanger themselves to help her and her family, not for monetary reasons. After a while she also went to Rosalia's village, where her sister-in-law and two sons were hiding. They moved about freely in the village.

In March, 1945 when the war was over they returned to Lodz. There, she remarried, and all the surviving family went first to Paris, and then to Israel. She has one daughter and four grandchildren.

P/19 14 October, 1992

Summary of transcript from Hebrew tape - Rachel Burko

The witness was born in 1929, in the town of Wlodzimierzec in Poland, the oldest of five children. Most of the population were Ukrainians, there was also a Polish minority and about 1,500 Jews.

Rachel's father was a cloth merchant, they were comfortably off, a Ukrainian servant worked for them. The witness attended a Polish school, studying Hebrew in the afternoons. Yiddish was spoken at home. Their neighbourhood was strictly Jewish, and Zionist. The Burko family were traditional in their religious beliefs and observances.

When the Soviets occupied the town in 1939 the Burko's shop was confiscated. The witness went to a Jewish school, where she learned Russian and Ukrainian. Life was not too difficult until the Red Army retreated in June, 1941, after which the Ukrainians carried out a pogrom, looting and killing. The witness's grandfather was murdered in this action.

Then the Germans occupied the area, and about a month later the Jews were forced to live in a ghetto. The Burkos stayed in their own home, in one of the closed-off ghetto streets. The ghetto was administered by the Judenrat*. The Ukrainians were in charge, carrying out all the German orders. In September, 1942 the Jews had to report at an assembly point. The witness's father heard rumours of trenches which had been dug outside the town. He was away at work (forced labour) and did not return home, but sent a message with a Mr. Malavski (a Pole). During the chaos at

*See glossary

the assembly point the witness escaped into the forest. She met a former schoolteacher, and together they eventually reached Mr.Malavski's house. He took them to her father, who was hiding in the forest. Her mother also joined them with her brother, Two of her sisters and the grandparents did not manage to escape. Rachel's mother gave her baby to a Ukrainian for safekeeping, but they brought the baby to the Police station, where she was murdered. The Burko family slept in the forest until the winter. When it became too cold, Malavski hid Rachel and her brother in a pit under the living room of his house, covered by wooden boards, about one square metre. They could only sit crouched. After two months they could not bear this dark, damp pit any longer and returned to the forest. By this time, more Jews had joined the group, 11 in all. They had constructed a bunker, covered by wood and snow. It was very crowded and lice-infested. Mr. Burko used to go out at night to steal food. They stayed there until Spring, when it became too dangerous. They were hiding from both the Germans and the Banderowski*.

The family walked in the direction of Pinsk, about 40 kms, an area controlled by the Partisans, where they stayed hidden in comparative safety until the end of the war. Mr.Burko enlisted in the Red Army, he was wounded and one leg was amputated.

After a stay in Lodz and at an UNRRA camp in Munich, the four surviving members came to Israel in 1948, where the witness married and had two children.

*See glossary

P/37 31 March, 1992

Summary of transcript from Hebrew tape of

Yentl Burko (sister of Zelda)

The witness's name is Yentl Burko, she was born in Sarny, Poland on 11 November, 1927, one of 11 siblings. Her parents were tradespeople; Yiddish was the language spoken at home, as well as Polish and Russian. Although they lived in a non-Jewish neighbourhood, the children attended a Jewish school, where they learned Hebrew. They were religious Zionists.

After the German invasion in 1941, the Jewish school was closed, all Jews had to hand in their valuables and move into the ghetto, where they lived in very crowded conditions, Everyone, even the witness who was 14 at the time, was ordered to do forced labour. The bread ration was 100 gm. per day; the food situation was near starvation level.

After about six months, the ghetto Jews were rounded up and murdered. The witness hid with her mother and two sisters in a barn, her father and brothers in a different place. She and one sister ran away to a family called Nikitcuk, Evangelical Christians who lived outside the town, and who had been friends of her parents. They hid in the hay-loft over the barn, During the day, they read and talked a lot, including religious discussions with Mr. Nikitcuk. At night, they helped with the farm chores, when they could. In the beginning they stayed hidden in the hayloft, but after the Ukrainians, who could easily identify them

as Jews, moved away, they felt much safer and worked outside in the fields.

The Nikitcuks were very good to them, sharing their own, and their small children's meagre food. In 1944, The village was caught up in the Russian-German front line, and the house was destroyed.

After the liberation, the witness moved back to Sarny. Of her family in Europe, only the two sisters, a brother (who had been hidden with Mr. Nikitcuk's brother) and a young cousin survived. They came to Israel in 1946. The witness has two daughters and five grandchildren.

She is still in contact with Zinia Nikitcuk and her children.

P/38 23 March, 199

Summary of transcript from Hebrew tape - Zelda Burko (sister of Yentl)

The witness was born in Sarny, Poland on 22 November, 1925, one of six boys and five girls. The family were traditional religious Zionists, and three of the children settled in Palestine before the war. The witness's father was a butcher, and her mother ran a general food store. They had many non-Jewish friends and acquaintances, mainly through business.

The witness went to a Jewish school, lessons were taught in Hebrew, with Polish as a second language. They spoke Yiddish at home. In 1940, when the Soviets occupied the area, the witness changed to a Russian vocational school in Dubnow, where she boarded with a Jewish family. When the Russo-German war broke out, she returned to Sarny. She stayed with her parents and those of her siblings who had remained there. When the Germans invaded the town, the Jewish men went into hiding, and Mr. Burko hid in a cowshed behind the house. Three Germans entered the house and threatened the girls, who escaped by jumping out of a window. A few days later, with their parents, they were put into the ghetto with the other Jews. There was almost no food, and terrible overcrowding. The ghetto was enclosed with a barbed wire fence. The witness went out to work in a labour-gang.

When they were ordered to report to an assembly point the next day, the family went into hiding in a space between two walls in the house. There were already rumours of large pits having been dug in the old Jewish cemetery (this later became known as "death-valley). The witness's father went with the boys to one hideout, and she went to another with her mother and sisters. They had one packet of biscuits

P/38

and some water. They heard screaming and shooting, but didn't know that the people were being taken to the 'death-valley' and the ghetto was burning. When all seemed quiet, the witness and her sister, faint and exhausted from hunger and confinement, left the hideout and hid in a bunker near their old home. Their Russian neighbour gave them food but told them they couldn't stay. They walked to Chutor, a farming village near Sarny, to the home of Andrei and Zina Nikitcuk, friends of their father. This couple were very religious Baptists (uncommon in predominantly Catholic Poland), with 5 children. The witness and her sister hid in a loft over the cowshed. After the children were told about them, they could go outside, and help in the fields and with the housework. They were well-treated. Andrei gave them a Bible and they became very conversant with the ways of the Baptist sect. The witness found comfort in the Bible and prayers, but was not baptised. They stayed with the Nikitcuk family until the liberation. Apart from Andrei, his three other brothers also hid Jews, and the witness discovered that her youngest brother was at the home of Nikolai and Tatiana Nikitcuk in a neighbouring village. The witness was wounded in the leg by shrapnel during the last battle. After the war, the two sisters and their brother returned to Sarny.

She settled in Israel in 1946, after arriving with the illegal immigration and being interned in Cyprus* for a few months. She has kept in touch with the Nikitcuk family (Zina is still alive) and visited them last year. She and her sister and their husbands also visited the "death-valley" where there is now a memorial stone.

The witness is married, with a son and a daughter. Another son was killed during his Israeli military service.

*See glossary

P/39 27 January, 1992

Summary of transcript from Hebrew tape - Luba Cydielnicki

The witness was born in 1921 in Lida, Poland, a town of 40,000 inhabitants, half of whom were Jewish. At home the family spoke Yiddish, the children also spoke Polish and Hebrew, the witness learned German at school. They belonged to a Zionist, non-religious movement.

Under the Russians, the poor Jews were better off, since the richer ones suffered for being capitalists.
The first German Aktion* was in May, 1942. Five thousand Jews were murdered in the forest, including most of the witness's family. The remainder were forced to live in the ghetto, which became more sparsely populated with each successive Aktion, until the liquidation in July, 1943. The witness, on her way to the train to the concentration camp*, was urged by a German soldier to run away and join the partisans. He helped her and her baby find temporary shelter with a Polish woman. The witness had arranged to meet her husband at the house of their ex-maid Paulina, should they manage to escape, and with the help of a young boy she arrived there. She was refused help by her father's good friend Mr. Wielkoszynski, Next, with her baby, she hid in the house of a friend, Mr. Czechowiez, a pig slaughterer. Mr. Kostek, an acquaintance, helped her across the river where she eventually found her husband. They managed to join the Bielsky group of 1.500 Jewish Partisans, living in bunkers in the forest. Out of 100 family members only these three survived the war.

They settled in Israel in 1948.

*See glossary

P/40 16 July, 1991

Summary of transcript from Hebrew tape - Arieh Durst

The witness was born 29 July, 1934, in Lwow, Poland. He came from a wealthy, assimilated professional family, who practised a liberal form of Judaism. They had many Polish friends.

Lwow was under Russian occupation from 1939-1941, as part of the territorial arrangements included in the Soviet-German pact of 1939. When war broke out between the U.S.S.R. and Germany in 1941, Arieh's father, a physician, was taken away by the Russians when they retreated eastwards, to help provide medical care for their troops. All their possessions were taken by the Judenrat*for the Germans, but they remained in their house which was in a predominantly Polish neighbourhood, instead of moving into the ghetto. They were joined by other family members. Everyone was compelled to wear the Star of David on their clothes. The German Aktions* began. When these Aktions became more frequent, Arieh, his mother and younger brother went to their former Polish servant who hid them in the cellar of her home. The small child could not remain hidden all day, so he was taken to an uncle. The witness later learned that his brother had been murdered there during a German Aktion. Arieh and his mother then hid with this uncle and ten other people in a room concealed by a cupboard, until his mother decided that it was too dangerous. With the witness, she travelled to Warsaw, where she had a brother, and rented a room with a French

*See glossary

Catholic woman called Zwiezanska, Their landlady did not know that they were Jewish, and to convince her further, Arieh became an observant Catholic, and even took part in Holy Communion. Life was very difficult with constant air-raids on Warsaw, in addition food and money were difficult to obtain. When two policemen came to the flat, Mrs. Durst and her son managed to escape with the help of the janitor, but while running in the street were caught in the crossfire of the 1943 Warsaw Uprising. They found shelter in the cellar of a house, with other Poles. After two weeks they were captured by General Glossop's army and sent to a workcamp outside the city, as Poles, not Jews, but managed to escape en route, and stayed at various farms posing as Warsaw refugees.

After the Soviets conquered the whole area, they walked back thirty kms to Warsaw.

The witness lived in the Jewish orphanage where his mother was working until they finally made contact with his father, who had disappeared in 1941. He was working as a doctor in Tel Aviv. In 1946 Arieh and his mother arrived in Israel, and were reunited with his father. The first years were very difficult, but his circumstances improved when he became fluent in the Hebrew language. Later, he studied medicine and became a prominent Jerusalem surgeon.

He married a Sabra* and lives in Jerusalem with his family.

*See glossary

P/41 15 May, 1991

Summary of transcript from Hebrew tape - Dora Feiger

Dora Feiger was born in 1924 in Ludwigshafen, Germany, daughter of Pnina and Israel Feiger from Pisten, Poland. The family returned to Poland in 1932 after the rise of Hitler. Pisten had a Jewish community of about 2,000 persons. Dora's father, a liberal, observant man, built a flour-mill and a log-cutting plant. She attended the local elementary school, her friends were Christian.

In 1941 the Soviets were ousted by the Germans from eastern Poland, and her brother was transferred to the USSR.

When the Germans hunted the Jews hiding in the nearby forest, Dora hid under the water wheel in the icy water. The Germans shot those trying to escape. Dora sheltered with a Gentile neighbour. Her mother arrived there the next day. The remaining Jews were rounded up and herded into a ghetto*. Dora, having been reported killed, walked to a distant village where she found work knitting for the local inhabitants. She was arrested and rescued by a German soldier. With the help of the Mayor, she returned to Pisten. She received identity papers and joined her mother in the local (open) ghetto; her father had died previously. At night Dora left the ghetto and brought food from local friends.

In September, 1942, on the Jewish New Year, those living in outlying districts were rounded-up, beaten and marched to Kolomya prison for deportation to concentration camps*. They were fortunate when they arrived in that the deportations to Auschwitz had already departed. Dora joined a work-force to pack-up the former inmates' possessions for consignment to Germany. Her mother, with all the other prisoners, was shot in the nearby forest. Again with the help of the local Mayor, Dora escaped to Pisten, to a friend, Tushka

Koshak, who hid Dora in the straw bales in the loft over the cow shed. The witness remained under the stacked bales for twenty months, from October 1942 to June, 1944. Her food was handed in through a gap in the planks at night. Mrs. Koshak's children were not told, her husband objected to the arrangement, and then feigned ignorance. Somehow, the rumours of Dora's whereabouts reached the Mayor, he managed to warn Mrs. Koshak. The Germans came to search, parting the straw with long spikes, twice missing her by inches. Dora had just emptied her chamber-pot through the slats, and was again fortunate that the soldiers had not noticed. Occasionally Mrs. Koshak could whisper some information or hand up a note, which Dora would immediately destroy.

In the summer of 1944 the Ukrainian Banderowski* began burning Polish houses, hoping to drive the Poles from the area. Mrs. Koshak left. Dora had to remain and risk being burnt alive. The district had become part of the front line and the retreating Germans were shooting at random. Mr. Koshak was shot in his own front yard. On her return Mrs. Koshak invited Dora to the house, for her first wash in 20 months, and burnt her lice-infested clothes. During the shelling a barn wall fell on Dora, but she was uninjured. Mrs. Koshak and some other villagers left for Zablotov to escape the fighting, taking Dora, who could no longer walk, on a cart. A Jewish Soviet doctor in the Red Army supplied them with food, and treated Dora's swollen legs.

After the war Dora supported herself by selling liquor. She married, and in 1946 they moved to Germany, where they prospered, but decided to emigrate to Israel in 1949.

Dora has two daughters and seven grandchildren.

*See glossary

Summary of transcript from Hebrew tape - Maria Fraenkel

The witness was born in Cracow, Poland, on 6 June, 1919. Her parents' families had lived in Cracow for at least nine generations. She had an older brother and a younger sister. The family were non-Orthodox, traditional Jews.

The witness experienced discrimination as a child, and chose to go to the local Hebrew High School, although they lived in a non-Jewish quarter and had some Polish friends. Her father was a businessman, whose import trade from Germany ceased abruptly in 1933. From then on, the family lived in straitened circumstances.

The witness attended University for two years until the outbreak of war in 1939. Her father and uncles escaped and ended up in Shanghai. She, her mother and sister fled Cracow by foot, from the invading Germans. A German soldier assured them that they had nothing to fear from the Germans, who were not barbarians, so they returned to Cracow after three weeks. Maria was sent to do forced labour, but escaped across the border to Lwow, where she studied in the University. Lwow and the surrounding area was under the control of the Russians following the Soviet-German pact in 1939. This ended when war broke out between the two countries in June, 1941, the Russians retreated eastwards, and the Germans entered the city.

The Germans and the Ukrainians killed many Jews in the streets. The witness stayed on in Lwow, using false documents in the name of Maria Pavlova Franke. She worked as a cashier. She lived with a Christian family called Roszczakowski, until it became too dangerous, when she escaped to Rzedzin, where her mother and sister

were staying. There, she obtained new false papers in the name of Maria Novak, and worked as a courier for Alex Weissberg, who organised an escape network for Jews with the Polish resistance. In the course of this work she passed on messages and papers for the underground. She had a very traumatic experience inside the Warsaw ghetto during this time, when she went to warn the Jews about the deportations and the death camps. The witness lived as a Christian during this time, attending church and taking part in the services. In the meantime, Weissberg arranged Aryan papers for her mother and sister, but they were shot by the Germans on their journey from Czestochowa, where they were hiding. They gave themselves away by keeping an old family photograph, which showed that they were Jewish. With Weissberg's help, and that of her Ukrainian friends the witness reached Berlin, posing as a Ukrainian. A Ukrainian friend from Lwow, who was now in Berlin, sent her a written marriage proposal asking her to join him. She lived with her Christian Ukrainian student friends from Lwow, and worked in the Osram lamp factory.

In Berlin, she tried to warn the remaining German Jews about what was going on in Poland, but nobody believed her; they were all deported soon after. She spent the rest of the war in Berlin, experiencing both the incessant bombing and terrible food shortages. Her employer, Dr. Walter Rix, was an anti-Nazi, and gave her food.

In March, 1945 she and her Ukrainian friends escaped to Austria, staying there until after the liberation. She registered with the Jewish Committee in Innsbruck and settled in Israel, where she had family on her mother's side. Her father also eventually came and spent his last years in Haifa.

P/43 10 June, 1991

Summary of transcript from Hebrew tape - Sonya Goldman

Sonya Goldman was born 10 February 1931, in Mezrich, Poland. The town of Mezrich had a 60 percent Jewish population until the war, and Sara had a complete Jewish education, including Hebrew. The common language among the Jews was Yiddish, with Polish as an extra language.

The Aktions * began in 1940. Her mother was murdered in August 1940 in one of the first, but the witness, her father and sisters managed to hide outside the town, and survived. The ghetto* was established soon after, and they too were forced to move into it. The ghetto consisted of an area the size of about one fourth of the town, surrounded by a barbed wire fence. Every day, groups of Jews were transported outside the ghetto to work. There was almost no food inside, and very difficult conditions.

Sara and her sister crossed the barbed wire fence and were hidden, for money, by a Pole called Yannick Tarashuk in a small hole under the stables. This hideout was so unbearable that they returned to the ghetto.

In the fifth Aktion in 1943 all the family were rounded up. Sara, with her uncle, jumped off the train taking them to the death camps. After much hardship, they got through the forest and returned eventually to Yannick's

*See glossary

house, where they hid in a pit. Of the ten people there, five, unable to bear this confinement, left and were later murdered in another Aktion. Sara remained in the pit, which was about one metre deep and always wet. There was almost no food, although Yannick was receiving money for hiding them, from the witness's brother. The worst thing Sara remembers is the feeling of suffocation, and lack of air in the pit, which was covered up during the day. Her brother kept them alive by fashioning an air shaft, and stealing milk. He left the shelter, joined the Resistance, but continued to help them, making sure that their hider, Yannick, gave them food.

In August 1944, the area was liberated by the Russians, and Sara and the three others started the long, difficult trek back to the town. They could hardly walk because of their cramped confinement in the pit.

Sara left Poland almost immediately after the end of the war, and came to Israel at the age of 15, where she later married and brought up a family.

Summary of transcript from Hebrew tape - Joseph Grodzinski

The witness was born in Warsaw, Poland on 2 July, 1923. His father was a sales representative for a French firm. Joseph attended a Jewish school, where he studied in Polish. He spoke Polish at home with his parents, who spoke Russian to each other. His grandparents spoke Yiddish. They lived on the borders of the Jewish quarter, which later became the ghetto. They had many non-Jewish friends.

After the German occupation in 1939, Jewish schools were closed. It was a very cold winter, and food, water and heating were soon a problem. The witness's father was forced to stop work, Jews had to live in the ghetto, which was organized by the Judenrat.* Jews were not allowed to walk on the pavements, and were pressed into forced labour. Wearing an armband with the Star of David became compulsory.

In the ghetto, food was rationed. Those with money could obtain it, but others were dying of hunger. On 22 July, 1942 all Jews were deported, except for a few with essential work permits. The witness did not receive a work permit. After his mother and sister disappeared, Joseph escaped over the roofs, but returned to the ghetto. He was helped by a friend of his mother, Genia, a Jewish woman whose husband was ~~believed~~ not to be Jewish. The witness dyed his hair to look more Aryan. He married in 1942, and in February, 1943 he, his wife and his father escaped from the ghetto, which by now contained very few Jews, and was not well-guarded.

*See glossary

Through Genia, Joseph and his wife obtained two places in an underground bunker below a large hothouse in a vegetable garden on the outskirts of Warsaw. Wolski, the owner, had built this bunker and installed twenty two-tiered bunks and a kitchen. Genia and a man called Guzik, with an Argentinian passport, paid for this. The Jews spent their days talking, reading and quarrelling, mostly about food. Wolski's nephew, Janush, would sing very loudly outside if a stranger approached. In the winter of 1943/4, after six months in the bunker, Joseph and his wife left and reached Joseph's father, who was hiding with a former maid called Agnieszka. In March, 1944, the people who were in their former hideout were betrayed and killed by the Germans, including Joseph's father-in-law. Genia's husband was also betrayed, arrested and later murdered by the Gestapo.

After this, they hid in many places, for payment. During the 1944 Warsaw uprising, they were helped by a Ukrainian, who put them on a train taking forced labourers to Germany. Somehow, notwithstanding his circumcision,the witness passed a medical examination, and was accepted as an Aryan. He feels this was pure luck. He worked in Germany in a forced labour camp from November, 1944 to May, 1945, as a Christian Pole. After the Soviet occupation, he and his wife travelled to his mother in law in Lodz. The witness learned that his father had been murdered by the SS shortly before the end of the war.

They came to Israel in 1950. Joseph studied in Israel, and became a chemist. Their son was killed in the army. aged nineteen. Their daughter is married with five children.

Summary of transcript from Hebrew tape-Sonia Hebenstreit

Sonia Hebenstreit, was born in Lwow, Poland in 1929. Her father owned a bakery. The family spoke Polish at home, and Ukrainian with their servant. She suffered discrimination at school. Jews did not believe the atrocity tales they heard about the Germans, but soon they had to hand in their valuables, wear a yellow star. Their bank accounts were closed. Men were sent to labour camps, Jews were beate up. Jewish schools were closed. The witness's mother disappeared and her father died soon after.

Sonia lived in the ghetto, there was hunger and vermin. Her siblings were killed. Their Ukrainian ex-maid found her a job. The witness escaped from the ghetto before the next Aktion*. Using false papers (acquired from a cousin)in the name of Zofia Zaborska, she stayed for two days with a Volksdeutsche* called Mrs. Witman. She then hid with another woman, earning money by infiltrating into the ghetto and selling the belongings of deported Jews on the open market.

She was arrested by the Gestapo, who put her in an orphanage when she posed as a Polish child. She ran away and hid with a Ukrainian couple called Alexy and Maria Shum.

*See glossary

Under her assumed name she travelled to the villages of Szastarka and Potok, where she did farmwork. She was in a very low physical state. On another farm, suspected of being Jewish, she was thrown out into the snow, with no place to hide, on Christmas Day.

After the liberation she went to Lublin where she was helped by a Jewish Committee. She was the only survivor in her family.

In 1948 Sonia landed in Israel, to date she has four sons and three grandchildren. She feels that is her justification and triumph for having succeeded in staying alive.

29 March, 1992

Summary of transcript from Hebrew tape - Dudek Inventarz

The witness was born Dudek Inventarz on 1 January, 1930 in Warsaw, Poland. He had one younger sister. The family lived in a detached house, which also contained the family business, a building supplies store; almost all the customers were Poles. They had Polish servants. The witness spoke Polish at home, his parents sometimes used Yiddish with each other. They were not particularly religious.

The witness attended a Polish elementary school. In 1939, when the Germans invaded, he was forced to leave school. In February 1940, the witness's father was taken away by the Germans. He disappeared and only in 1985 did the witness learn that his father had been killed with 200 other hostages (of whom 10% were Jews) in the forest of Palmeri, in revenge for the killing of a Volksdeutscher.*

Their servant had to stop working for them. The Germans imposed heavy taxes and took Jews off to labour camps. In October, 1940 all Jews were ordered into the ghetto. The witness and his family were sent to Ludwiczin, outside Warsaw. The German and Polish police patrolled the ghetto, but it was governed by the Judenrat* and the Jewish police. There was typhus and typhoid, overcrowding, poverty and hunger. When the witness's mother heard that other ghettos were being liquidated, she smuggled him out to a family called Venorowsky in a small town called Praga, promising them their old house in payment if he survived. The ghetto was destroyed in October, 1942.

*See glossary

The witness's sister was in a convent, but ran away to his hiding place. His hider became frightened and told him to leave with her. Unfortunately, his mother visited him that night and took his sister away with her to the Warsaw ghetto. He never saw them again.

In April, 1943, the witness was forced to leave the Venorowsky family because of the antisemitism of one of the sons. He lived in a field and then in a cellar rented for him by Mrs. Venorowsky, who brought him food and newspapers once a week. After six months total solitude, his aunt Dora arranged for him to be hidden by a Communist, for payment. Three months later he returned to Hendrykuv, staying one or two nights only in each place, sometimes keeping vigil in houses where there had been a death, for food and a bed (the local priest arranged this). He believed he was the last Jewish child left alive in the world. At one time he hid for some weeks with his former next-door neighbours, the Lesovskys. Two of his father's former customers gave him shelter, as did Princess Keshlanska, an old family friend.

In the Spring of 1944 he joined his aunt Dora in the home of the Charnetskys, where she worked as a maid. He worked as a farmer's labourer. Towards the end of the war he worked in a German army camp kitchen, under an assumed name and identity, providing food for the Charnetsky family in this way.

After the liberation by the Russians, he came to Palestine in 1946, to a kibbutz, and fought in the War of Independence. He is married with two children and grandchildren. and has a successful business as a building contractor.

Summary of transcript from Hebrew tape - Klara Jewrejsky
(sister of Zalmen)

Klara Jewrejsky was born in Goniandz, Poland, in 1929, into a middle-class, traditional Jewish family. Her father was a businessman. The witness attended a Jewish school and was active in a Zionist youth movement. She spoke Hebrew at school, Yiddish at home and Polish as a third language.

After the German occupation the witness and her two brothers were forced to work for the Germans. On 2 November 1942 there was an Aktion *. While trying to escape, her mother disappeared for ever. She and her two brothers hid in the attic of their house for two weeks, and then, eluding the guards in the road, made their escape. While up in the attic they heard and saw Jews being murdered in the nearby streets. Their father had given them a list of Poles in nearby villages who might hide them, having previously transferred clothes and valuables to a trustworthy friend called Lucz, so that they would always have some financial resources. Mr. Lucz hid them for a few days, then sent them to Jaschenowka, which had so far escaped the German Aktions which had decimated the other villages in the area. Their father had already reached Jaschenowka, and they were reunited.

*See glossary

On 25 January, 1943, in an Aktion designed to finish off this last remaining village, the two brothers escaped. The witness and her father were deported, but jumped out of the moving 'transport' train taking them to the death camps.

Miraculously, they all found each other again, thanks to their father having made sure that all his children had names of possible hiding places. They hid in the Nikodem household, paying the family with the possessions they had left in the Lucz home for safekeeping. For nine months they hid in the hayloft. with little food, minimal sanitary conditions, constant boredom and fear of discovery. When this arrangement became too dangerous, they wandered in the forest, begging food and shelter for almost a year, sleeping outside or in barns. Apart from the Germans, there was constant danger from marauding bands of Polish robbers. Mr. Lucz continued to help them as much as he could.

They were liberated in 1944, and Klara came to Israel in 1946.

She has remained in touch with Mr. Lucz, who is now very old. She says that he and his whole family were 'wonderful' people.

Summary of transcript from Hebrew tape - Zalmen Jewrzyski ej

Zalmen Jewzyski, was born 20 April, 1927 in Goniondz, Poland. He had an older brother and a younger sister. The family was religious; Yiddish was spoken at home. He attended a private Jewish school, where the languages of tuition were Hebrew and Polish. The witness's father was a hatter who made hats for the Polish army. Their financial situation was good. The town had a Jewish population of about 10,000 people. The Jews lived in the centre and the Poles on the outskirts, the witness's father had many non-Jewish friends and acquaintances.

When he was twelve years old, the war began. The Russians, who were allies of the Germans at that time, occupied the area. The witness went to a Russian school until 1941, when war broke out between Russia and Germany. The Russian regime was very totalitarian, Capitalists and Zionists were persecuted and/or deported. When the Germans entered the town, the witness was accused of being a Communist and arrested. Most of the other captives, including his uncle, were murdered, but he escaped. During a pogrom, in which the Poles went from house to house killing Jews, the witness and his family hid in a space between two walls that his father had prepared for such an eventuality. Those who were caught were tortured to death by the Poles. He was conscripted for forced labour in the district, until the first Aktion* on 2 November, 1942, during which his mother disappeared. The witness, his brother, sister and a cousin hid in the loft, and saw the Jews being taken away or killed in the streets. They stayed there for two weeks and then escaped with difficulty to the country area outside the town. Although

* See glossary

they approached many Poles who knew the witness's father, no-one agreed to give them shelter. Only one man, called Lusz, helped them, and was willing to look after their possessions and let them stay the night. They found the witness's father in the town of Jasienowska, whose Jewish citizens had been spared during the night of the Aktion when 56 villages had been made Judenrein*. When it was the turn of this town, they decided to try to escape. The witness was mostly refused shelter in the places he tried. Eventually he hid with a widow, an acquaintance of his father. His father and sister also joined him there, after having jumped out of one of the trains taking Jews to the concentration camps.*. His brother, too, joined them, and eventually they all found a hiding place in the barn of a man called Nikodem, who took them in in return for receiving clothes and other property every two months. They lived in the loft of a barn, and stayed there for nine months, until Nikodem refused to hide them any longer. Then the four of them hid in the forest, and slept in outlying barns at night, begging food from the peasants. They were in danger from both the Germans and Polish partisans.

After the liberation they went to Bialystock, where the witness's father died of stomach cancer. The witness, his brother and sister left Poland and after a long, difficult journey to Palestine through Romania, Austria and Italy they were interned by the British in Cyprus*. They reached Palestine in 1947.

Zalmen Ivry has kept in touch with the Lusz family.

He has two daughters and one grandchild.

*See glossary

P/49 10 October, 1991

Summary of transcript from Hebrew tape - Devora Karpel

The witness was born in Smorgonia, Poland (later USSR) in 1921, one of three children. There were more Jews living in this small farming village than non-Jews. The witness's father worked a plot of land behind their house, and they sold their surplus vegetables. Both Russian and Polish were spoken in the village, but the witness and her family spoke Yiddish at home.

Devora first attended a Jewish school, and then a public school. After she graduated, she worked in a general store.

When the Soviets occupied the area in 1939, life did not change drastically for the mostly poor population. Their land was confiscated, but they continued to farm it for their rulers. The Jews were treated like everyone else, and the local people also behaved towards them as before.

In 1941, after the German invasion, Jews were allowed to perform only the most menial tasks, such as street cleaning. In 1942, they were herded into a ghetto*, with several families living together in one room. The younger people, including the witness, were sent to a work camp in Zezmari. Men and women were separated, they all slept on tiered wooden bunks and were given soup and bread once a day. The witness heard from the Lithuanian engine-drivers that her parents, two brothers and the other older Jews and children had been taken out of the ghetto and murdered in the nearby woods. In 1943 Devora was moved to the Kajszidoris camp, where conditions were better. The commandant (whose wife

was supposedly Jewish) tried to help the inmates. In the third camp, Kozlo Ruda, they were treated humanely by the Lithuanian and Ukrainian guards. From there, she and her aunt were sent to the Stutthof concentration camp*. Conditions were very difficult, the women were sent out to work paving the roads.

When the Red Army came nearer, the Germans retreated, taking the prisoners with them on the long march towards Germany. Those who were too ill to walk were shot. The witness, her aunt and another woman, escaped and hid in a barn. Somehow, the German soldiers missed them in their search. A shoemaker, Yosef Malinowski, who had a wife and four small children, took in Devora and her aunt. The other two women were reported and shot. There were two rooms and a kitchen in the house. For the first time in years the witness was able to wash and wear clean clothes. She remained in hiding there for about a month. The Malinowskis were risking their lives and those of their children by hiding her. Neigbours, who knew about them, did not betray them. The witness does not know if the family was religious, she thinks they were just good, kind people.

After the liberation, Devora and her aunt made their way back to Smorgonia. Her aunt's two sons, who had been hiding in the forest, also returned there.

The witness does not know why she was lucky enough to be saved - her mother told her she would survive the war the last time they saw each other, at the gates of the Smorgonia ghetto.

*See glossary

Summary of transcript from Hebrew tape - Miriam Perkal.

The witness was born on 3 May , 1923 in Dobrizyn, Poland, a small town of 4,000 inhabitants, half of whom were Jewish. Her family were middle-class, ultra-religious and spoke Yiddish at home. Miriam learnt Polish at school, and from neighbours. All the family members were blue-eyed and looked Polish.

In 1938/9 the Poles murdered Jews in the town, during several pogroms. On the Jewish New Year 1939, immediately after the German invasion, 250 Jewish men, including the witness's father, were taken forcibly from their local synagogue, and were never heard of again. On 5 November, 1939 the women and children were rounded-up, their valuable possessions were taken, and they were evicted from the town. About 1,500 women and children walked for several days, many dying en route from fatigue and illness.

Miriam, her mother and brother went first to Plock, and then to Minsk-Mazowiecki, where they had relatives. Her mother died of cancer soon after, and she and her brother remained with an aunt and uncle in Minsk-M. They were given enough to eat but were not treated kindly. There was a 7 p.m. curfew for Jews, and they wore a yellow Star of David. The witness visited the ghetto, where there was poverty, starvation, and death from typhus.

In August, 1942, there was an Aktion*, when she hid in a chicken coop. She used false papers in the name of Maria Grazyna Piotrowska. Later, the survivors were assembled in an empty school, and she encountered her brother Mendl, who was working as a carpenter. She was among 80 women inducted into a labour-force, working on the tramways, living in a camp with almost no food and no blankets. Her brother Mendl was in a nearby labour camp.

* See glossary

The two of them escaped in October, 1942 to a town called Biala-Podlaska, where there had been an Aktion two days earlier. They found a room, and were helped by a woman they met, called Yanina Yanushkevitz, who took them to Warsaw. Mendl was seriously ill with typhus. Yanina found them shelter in the village of Zbojna Gora with a woman called Anna Smycryniska. When the Germans raided the house, Miriam was hiding in the attic with some other Jews. Anna was taken for questioning, but released. Miriam and the others dispersed to the forest. Miriam's brother joined a work-force, until someone recognised him, and he returned to Anna's house. Miriam, also, returned from the forest, with two other Jews who had been hiding at Anna's previously. The four of them and Anna lived in one upstairs room for another two years, with almost no food, and no sanitary facilities. The villagers were suspicious, so the fugitives could not go out. Anna sometimes worked in Warsaw, and brought food back for them when she could. They spent their time reading, talking and cooking what little food they managed to obtain.

After the Soviets liberated the village, they left the house, but the Poles threatened to kill them, so Miriam and Mendl hastily left and went back to Minsk-M. Anna also had to leave her village because she had sheltered Jews, and her neighbours were menacing her; she went to live with her daughter.

The witness moved to Stettin, where there was a large Jewish community. She found employment there, then married and had a son. They settled in Israel in 1958.

She remained in touch with Anna Smycryniska and sent her money and parcels for many years.

Summary of transcript from Hebrew tape - Maria Perlberger

Maria Perlberger, an only child, was born in Wieliczka, Poland on 25 April, 1933. She came from an assimilated, Polish-speaking, non-religious family. Her father was a hero of World War I; because of his war record he was given a concession to run a tobacconist shop. The witness mixed mainly with non-Jewish children. Sometimes she accompanied their Christian servant to church. She liked the idea of Catholicism, and preferred it to Judaism.

In 1939, after the German occupation, the witness and her family ran away to the country, but soon returned home. Many anti-Jewish laws were passed at this time, and the Polish servant had to leave. After Jewish children were forbidden to attend state schools the witness continued her education in clandestine Jewish groups with a private teacher. When the Cracow Jews were forced to live in the ghetto, many relatives from there came to stay with them, and the flat became very crowded and uncomfortable.

In the summer of 1942, her father, who was active in the Resistance, heard rumours of an impending Aktion*. The whole family hid in an empty room in the Law Courts, but had to vacate it as the janitor threatened to report them. Soon after, all Jews had to report to an assembly-point, and the witness's mother handed her over to a woman called Sofia Duszozynska. Dressed in Sofia's daughter's clothes she was taken by train to Cracow. From there she was sent to Warsaw to the home of a woman who was unkind to her. She was

* See glossary

rescued by Irena Chmurowa, who had Resistance contacts, and knew that Maria was Jewish. A branch of the Resistance called Zegota* which was active in helping to save Jews, helped financially. A former neighbour, Dr. Kunicka, made the contact. (His wife, however, took possession of Maria's mother's jewellery, furs and furniture and refused to return anything after the war).

In August, 1944, the Chmurowas became embroiled in the Warsaw uprising and had to leave their home. The witness was sent to Cracow and Mrs. Duszozynka placed her with a religious Catholic woman called Berezynska. This woman was fanatically observant, but antisemitic, Maria had to pray continuously and was allowed to read only Christian tracts.

After the liberation, she lived with a Polish family in Lodz, who treated her as a servant. After returning to Warsaw, Mrs. Chmurowa's daughter found her a place in an orphanage. Maria told the Matron that she was not Jewish. A great-aunt found her and placed her in a Jewish orphanage. Later a Belgian uncle sent for her. She was received coldly by his family, who placed her, without consulting her, in a local religious Jewish orphanage.

In December, 1948 she was sent with a youth group to Israel, where she eventually studied nursing, married and had three children. She has been back to Poland and is still in touch with some of her hiders and childhood friends, but is generally suspicious and wary of the Poles.

Some of her cousins survived the camps, but she believes her parents both died in Belsen.

*See glossary

Summary of transcript from Hebrew tape - Eve Reiner

The witness was born in Lwow, Poland in 1927. In 1935 the whole famil moved to Warsaw. She was the only Jewish girl in her class, and although she did not look Jewish, the experience was unpleasant. Th family spoke only Polish at home.

At the outbreak of war they moved to Przemysl-Pshemeshal, where they owned a factory. The Soviets occupied the town and confiscated the factory. After the witness's father escaped to Palestine the family returned to Lwow. They were made to wear the Star of David. Jewish children were not allowed to attend school. The mother worked in a factory and received an 'essential worker' document. On 15 August, 1942, during the first German Aktion* the witness was arrested, and she and her mother were taken to the Janov transfer camp. Luckily, because her mother was an essential worker, they were sent back to Lwow. During the next Aktion the witness hid in a cupboard. In September, 1942 they went by train to Warsaw, the witness under the assumed name of Stefania Grzub with false Aryan papers. They stayed with a couple who did not know they were Jewish at first, but allowed them to stay on when they found out. The witness went to work as a maid for a family who did not know she was Jewish. They lived near the Majdanek concentration camp*, and all knew that the smoke they saw rising came from the incineration ovens, where the Jews were being burned.

After the war, she and her mother received visas from her father and arrived in Palestine in January, 1946.

She attributes her survival to the fact that she was in contact with her mother nearly all the time, and not alone.

*See glossary

Summary of transcript from Hebrew tape - Osias Ritter

The witness was born in Lwow, Poland, on 1 February, 1925. He, his parents and a younger sister lived in the town of Zloczow until 1940. His father was a Zionist, and spoke Hebrew, but they were not orthodox Jews, although they came from ultra-religious families. The witness attended a state elementary school, and spoke Polish at home. They were well off, owning a flour-mill in the town, and a large farm in the country. The witness was happy at school. He did not personally experience discrimination, but admits that it existed.

In 1939, the Russians occupied the town and confiscated the flour-mill. Mr. Ritter found work as manager of the town hotel. Although they were counted among the 'bourgeoisie' they were not deported as a result of the intervention of a Jewish Communist named Kalafa. In compliance with a law that those who were considered hostile to the communist regime had to live at least 100 kms. from an international border, they moved to Brzezany and stayed with a prominent citizen, a Mr. Alfred Schussel. They were there when the Germans occupied the district in 1941. One night they went back to their home town and filled two oil cans with gold and roubles, which they kept hidden in Mr. Schussel's cellar. The first Aktion* against the Jews was on Yom Kippur (Day of Atonement) in September, 1941. The Jewish men had to assemble at a certain place and were divided up into 'craftsmen' and 'intellectuals'. The witness did not go to the assembly point. His father passed himself off as a baker and was saved. All the thousand 'intellectuals' were shot. Later on, the whole family moved into a flat in the ghetto, which was very overcrowded, but they were never hungry. The witness's father worked for a cooperative as a scrap metal collector. The Jewish workers received no pay, but the Ritters

*See glossary

had their hidden money, which was looked after by Mr. Schussel. Osias's mother and sister were arrested in a raid on women and children; they were saved because his father threatened to stop his generous contributions to the Judenrat*. The others, 248 were taken to the cemetery to be killed by machine-guns. In April, 1943, Osias's mother and sister were hidden in the country, with a servant of Mr.Schussel. The witness and his father were put into a labour camp, where conditions were bad, but not unbearable. In June, 1943, by prior arrangement with Mr. Schussel, the witness and his father escaped from the camp, hid in the cornfields, then with an ex-servant of the Schussels, whose husband was a woodcutter and received money for hiding them. Five days later the remaining prisoners were shot. Osias and his father were hidden in a loft above a barn, the tin roof was very hot in summer and freezing in winter. They played chess, learned English and talked to while away the time. There was always enough food. In December, 1943, the woodcutter told them they had to leave, because of the danger to his family. They joined the witness's mother and sister, under similar conditions, in their hiding-place.

In March, 1944, with the Russians rapidly approaching, they had to leave again and returned to the former hideout, where they were reluctantly allowed to stay, for a high price. They were liberated soon after, and the witness, after leaving University because of the anti-Jewish atmosphere, settled in Israel. His parents and sister came later. He married, had two children, and became a lawyer. He attributes their survival to the fact that they had money, to his father's planning, and to the help and encouragement they received from the Schussel family.

*See glossary

Summary of transcript from Hebrew tape - Genia Ungerfeld

Genia Ungerfeld was born in August, 1937 in Sombor, Galicia, Poland. Her father was a prosperous accountant. The family was religious, in a liberal, modern way.

In 1940, after the Russians occupied the village, the family escaped to Lwow. In 1941, when the Germans invaded, the witness's father, together with 200 other Jews, was taken out and shot. Genia and her mother were smuggled out of Lwow in a farm-wagon, into the Sombor ghetto. They lived in very crowded conditions. Her mother worked for the German HQ as a gardener, and she and the witness were sometimes given food from there. The ghetto commander's German wife tried to warn the Jews of impending Aktions*. The Jews prepared bunkers to hide in during these Aktions.

The witness's mother prepared poison for herself and her daughter in case they were arrested by the Germans. Most of their relatives had already been 'transported' or killed. She and her mother took the hiding place of an uncle who had been murdered in an Aktion, and hid for 11 months in the loft above the main railway station in Sombor. There were 16 Jews there, in a large hall. Food was brought to them by the stationmaster, Mr. Bonkowsky, his girl-friend Maria, and another woman who worked in the station restaurant,

*See glossary

Mrs. Ciszewska. According to the witness, these people were Righteous Gentiles, and did not hide them only for money, but for humanitarian reasons. Not everyone had money by this time, but the witness's mother still had some pearls. There was a lot of tension among the hidden refugees, living in such close quarters, in constant danger of being discovered.

The Germans laid mines in the station before retreating, so everyone had to leave. They slept in a field, and were taken prisoner by a German soldier who did not realise they were Jews. Luckily these were ordinary soldiers and not S.S. who continued searching for Jews until the moment they had to retreat from the Russians. The witness and her mother, and another family with a small child, hid in the house of a pharmacist on the outskirts of the town. There were other Jews there. They were reported and the Germans searched the house. Genia was hidden in a box in the outhouse.

They came to Israel in 1950. She is a university lecturer, married with two daughters. The memories of her traumatic childhood have always remained with her, including nightmares until very recently.

Of the father's family no-one survived in Europe. The mother's aunt and son survived, that was all.

Summary of transcript from Hebrew tape - Tomek Wurman

The witness Tomek Wurman, was born on 10 July, 1935 in Krasnik, Poland, the youngest of seven children. The Wurmans were well off, traditional, liberal Jews, both parents were in business and also owned a farm in a nearby village, Chidnik. Polish was spoken at home, and with their Polish neighbours and friends.

When the Germans invaded, the family moved to their farm. The witness, his parents, and a brother were taken to a labour camp called Budzin. One brother joined the Partisans. Together with his father and brother, the witness escaped from the camp, but his mother remained. They fled into the Lipski-Lassy forest, and were helped there by Partisans. Later, they returned to Chidnik, where they were hidden by the Schmidt family. The witness, his father and brother were hidden for over a year in a pit, 2 m. x 3 m. which had been dug out under a large haystack. There, they received their food, only emerging at night to relieve themselves.

During one Aktion* they were hidden in a mound of cabbages. They ran into the forest to the Partisans when there was imminent danger.

Out of seven children, only three, including the witness, survived. His father died just before the end of the war.

The witness is still in touch with the Schmidt sons. He believes he survived through luck, and the kindness of the Schmidt family. He came to Israel in 1949.

*See glossary

Summary of transcript from Hebrew tape - Edja Wilder

The witness was born in Brody, Poland, (now Ukraine) on 20 April, 1928, she had a younger sister called Malca Esther. They lived on an army pension awarded to the father for a war injury sustained while serving in the Austro-Hungarian army during the First World War. Edja attended a Polish elementary school, there were other Jewish children there, but she was aware of anti-semitism. Apart from financial problems caused by the cessation of her father's pension, the Soviet occupation from 1939-1941 did not disturb the Jews too much, although some Poles allowed their anti-semitic feelings to become overt.

In 1941, after the Soviet-German war broke out, the Red Army retreated, and the Germans occupied the region. Schools were closed to Jewish children. The witness, although only thirteen, was taken each day to do forced labour. The Germans set up the Judenrat*. The witness's mother did sewing at home, and they sold their possessions in exchange for food.

When the Aktions* began, Edja's sister was taken from work in a round-up. Edja and her parents were hiding, and returned home when the Aktion was over. After a warning by a Ukrainian communist they ran away to a village called Ukraini-Berlin, where they were hidden by a farmer to whom they had given some of their furniture. After this second Aktion was over, they returned to Brody, to find that their Polish neighbours had stripped their home of everything. They then had to go into the ghetto, living three families in two rooms (eleven people). Edja and her father

*See glossary

contracted typhus. Her mother brought them a Polish doctor, with the help of a Polish woman who had been Edja's schoolteacher. They had almost no food. In May, 1943 the Germans began to liquidate the ghetto. The witness and her parents hid in a shelter they had prepared in a lavatory. Edja and her mother ran to another smaller shelter, but her father and the others in the lavatory were found and killed.

The witness, her mother and a friend reached Ukraini-Berlin, but this time the farmer refused to help them. They reached the village of Podmonastyrek, robbed of all their possessions. They hid in the forest, until her mother and friend were captured and shot. The witness spent the remainder of the war alone in the forest. She obtained food and clothing from the villagers of Podmonasteric, sheltering at night in the ruins of a house on the edge of the village when the weather was very bad.

In the Spring of 1944, she reached a neighbouring village, where she pretended to be a Polish orphan from a destroyed town. After the liberation by the Red Army, the witness met a Soviet Jewish officer who arranged transport for her to Dubno. There she met a Jewish family, the Hackstocks, also from Brody, and worked in their pharmacy. Their own children had been murdered; they adopted Edja and another small girl called Hannah. They all moved to Breslau, when Brody became part of the USSR, and settled in Israel in 1957.

The witness tried to contact the Podmonastyrek villagers who had helped her, but was unsuccessful. She did remain in contact with the schoolteacher who had helped her in the ghetto, until she died some years ago.

*See glossary

Summary of transcript from Hebrew tape - Pepka Zuckerberg

The witness was born 18 December, 1921, in Boryslaw, Poland. Her father owned a flour-mill and a warehouse; they were comfortably off. They were extremely religious and observant, but Pepka attended a State school.

During the years 1939-1941 this part of Poland was occupied by the USSR after the Soviet-German non-aggression pact. The town had a large Jewish population. Under the Soviet occupation, Jewish property was confiscated, and Jewish capitalists were deported to labour camps.

In 1941, the Soviet-German war broke out, the Russians retreated eastwards, and the Germans occupied the town. Mr. Zuckerberg's business was closed, and the wearing of the Star of David became compulsory. The Germans had lists of all Jews from the Judenrat*. They carried out a series of Aktions*, fourteen in all. Most of the town's Jews were tortured, murdered, or deported to concentration camps*. During one Aktion the Jews had to dig their own graves, and were then shot.

The witness survived by hiding wherever she could, in a disused shop, in a lumber-mill, in bunkers or in the forest. She and her mother sheltered inside an old disused stove on one occasion. Another time, they hid in a pit measuring about 1 x 2 metres, underneath a warehouse. They paid money for this privilege. Later, they were hidden in the cellar of the house of a Pole named Tadek and his mother Mrs. Olinkewitz. In all these places, they had almost no food, water, light or any kind of sanitary conditions. There was constant fear of discovery, and betrayal.

*See glossary

After they left Tadek's cellar, Pepka and her mother joined her father in a work-camp. Her brother had been arrested and shot while they were in hiding.

The Germans set up a ghetto in the town called Dzielnica, run by the Judenrat, from where the Jews were sent to the workcamp. When another Aktion seemed imminent, the witness and some others escaped into the forest. Her parents did not succeed in getting through the deep snow drifts, and she never saw them again. She and a group of young people hid for five months, towards the end of the war, moving constantly and existing on some beans, barley and flour. Even when they were liberated by the Red Army their worries were not over, as they were in danger from marauding bands of Poles, the Banderowski*.

After the war, Pepka returned to Boryslaw. Her home had been destroyed, nearly all her family had been killed. She lived with a cousin, and tried to earn some money by smuggling tobacco, but got into trouble with the Soviets who now controlled the area.

She decided to emigrate as soon as possible to Palestine. Together with some other young people she formed a kibbutz group in Galicia. They all stayed together for about four years until they came to Israel, and are still in touch with one other.

The witness is married with children and grandchildren. She still maintains a religious lifestyle.

*See glossary

Summary of transcript from Hebrew tape - Hania Piller

The witness was born on 8 December, 1924, in Chrzanow, Poland, the only child of Moshe and Rachel Piller. Both sides of the family had been living in Poland for many generations. The town had a large Jewish community. Hania's father and brothers were businessmen, the family was well-off and educated. The witness went to a state school, studying Jewish subjects in the afternoons. Relations with non-Jewish neighbours were correct, even friendly, but not close.

The witness was sent to work sewing uniforms for German soldiers, and then to clear logs in the forest. The family was forced to move into a tiny flat in the ghetto. During one Aktion* in 1942 Hania hid in a cellar. Later she was saved from deportation by her Polish employer (from the forest) who said he needed her to work for him. During another Aktion she remained at night in the forest, and when she returned home she found that her parents had been taken away. Much later she learned they had been deported to Auschwitz.

Hania and her uncle, the only surviving close family members, escaped on 18 February, 1943, to the Srodula-Sosnowiez ghetto. The ghetto was administered by the Judenrat*. The witness was an 'illegal', she had no official papers. They lived in a one-roomed flat with 15 people, for six months until the ghetto was liquidated. She escaped by hiding under a cupboard for three weeks, then crawling under the barbed wire. She was chased by a Pole who wanted to report her to the Gestapo, but eluded him. A young woman she met gave her a meal. Hania travelled by train to Dziedzice, where she had some addresses of possible hiding places.

*See glossary

None of these plans materialized. Hania finally reached a small village, which a stranger had recommended. She found refuge in an isolated house with a widow and her five daughters. The witness does not wish to reveal the name of her Saviours or of the village. At first, she stayed hidden in the house, but after the mother became frightened of German reprisals, she spent the days standing hidden in the hay-loft.. Her food was brought up to her, she had a bucket for her toilet needs, and came down at night to sleep with the mother. This was a terrible time, it was very cold, she had nothing to do, her legs and arms became weak and almost useless through lack of exercise, and she was in constant fear of discovery. However, she was very well treated by the family, they shared all their food with her and behaved very well. Nobody knew about her in the village.

When the Red Army entered the village, they all had to leave, because of the fighting and bombing.

The witness left the mother and daughters, and began the journey back to Chrzanow. and then on to Katowice, where she found surviving distant relatives.

Hania and her late husband, another sole survivor, settled in Israel in 1950. They had a son and a daughter. Hania is still in touch with her Saviours, and sends them parcels. They have visited her in Israel and she has been to visit them in Poland.

*See glossary

CHAPTER II

THE NETHERLANDS

German planes bombed Dutch towns before dawn on 10 May, 1940, other land forces crossed the frontier.

11 May, 1940 — A German armoured column entered Brabant. Fighting in The Hague. In the south, German armoured forces cut communications with Belgium and France.

The Queen, with the Royal Family and the Dutch Cabinet, sought safety in England.

14 May, 1940 — The German army reached Rotterdam. The centre of Rotterdam was detroyed by bombing.

16 May, 1940 — The Netherlands capitulated.

An Austrian, Seyss-Inquart, became German Commissioner for the occupied Netherlands. Agricultural produce was taken to Germany, and industry was geared to German war needs.

17 September, 1944 — Allied forces landed.

Fighting continued until April, 1945.
During the winter of 1944-5 the Dutch suffered appalling food shortages.

The Netherlands had one of the lowest rate of Survivors - 40,000 out of a population of 140,000. There was very little attempt by official bodies, both local and in exile, to rescue Dutch Jewish citizens.

About 10,000 of the Survivors had been hidden by individuals, many belonging to small Resistance groups, who endangered themselves to save Jewish lives.

Names of the Survivors 10

NETHERLANDS - N

23. Veronica De Bruin
24. Jacques De Hartog
25. Eva Frankel
26. Therese Heymann
27. Rosy Jacobs
28. Victor Jacobs
29. Jacky Kapper
30. Caroline Reems
31. Ruth Siegel
32. Moshe Wolff

N/23 21 July, 1991

Summary of transcript from Hebrew tape - Veronica De Bruin

The witness was born in Amsterdam on 15 January, 1916, into a family which had lived in Holland for many generations. Her father was the principal of a Jewish boys' orphanage. Her mother died when the witness was thirteen, her father then married his late wife's sister, who looked after her and her only brother. They were religious, observant Jews, but not ultra-orthodox. Only Dutch was spoken at home, like nearly all the Dutch Jews they did not speak Yiddish. The witness attended a Dutch High School, and then went on to a Teachers' Seminar, where she graduated with honours.

In 1940, when the Germans invaded Holland, she was working in a Jewish orphanage in The Hague. There was a general nightly curfew from 1941, and Jews were compelled to wear the yellow Star of David, and forbidden to travel.

The witness married in 1941. Her husband received three deportation notices from the Judenrat* and hid each time. In March, 1943 the children in the orphanage were arrested by the Germans during a general round-up of Jewish children. In September 1943 she and her husband took refuge in the home of a good friend, also a teacher, named Fiet Van Gilse, who helped many Jews in this way. Mrs. Van Gilse found a hiding-place for Veronica and her husband in Leiden with a Miss Van Wyck, who knew that they were Jews. She also knew that she was endangering her own life by hiding them.

*See glossary

They remained inside the house all the time, the students' underground organization provided them with food ration cards. Sometimes, when there was imminent danger, they moved for short periods to other homes, belonging to Dutch people active in the Resistance movement. For the last year and a half of the war they were hidden by a Mr. De Meel in Rotterdam, where they were very well treated by him and his wife.

The winter of 1944/5 was very difficult, there was virtually no food except for sugar beets and flower bulbs, and 250 gm. of bread each week. In March, 1945 the Americans air-lifted food supplies to Rotterdam, and the situation improved.

After the liberation, the witness discovered that all her family had been murdered. Her husband's mother survived and lived with them in Israel until her death. The witness was very ill at the end of the war, and was left with a heart defect, so that she was only able to have one child, a boy, who she named after Mr. De Meel.

They have visited Holland since the war, but she does not like Amsterdam, there are too many bad memories. She found out that Fiet Van Gilse was killed for her work in hiding Jews, and her parents received them very coldly. Veronica and her husband planted trees in the De Meel name in an Israeli forest.

Although she still keeps up Jewish traditions, the witness is not religious, she cannot reconcile belief in God with the fact of the Holocaust.

Summary of transcript from Hebrew tape - Jacques De Hartog

Jacques De Hartog was born in Rotterdam, Holland on 11 March, 1929, one of five children. The family had lived in Holland for many generations, were comfortably off, and observant Jews. In 1937, they moved to Toepad, outside Rotterdam, his father became the Director of the Jewish Cemetery there. The witness attended Dutch elementary, and later vocational school, and also studied Jewish subjects. They remained in Toepad until 1943.

From 1940 Jews were forbidden to ride bicycles, to use public transport, or to buy in non-Jewish shops. It was also compulsory to wear the yellow Star of David badge. During this period, the witness's grandmother, who lived with them, was taken to Westerbork detention camp, where she died. Most of the Rotterdam Jews had already been deported, either to Westerbork or to Barneveld, which was considered to be an easier option. Ultimately. everyone from these camps was sent to the concentration camps, even those with special work permits. Many Dutch people collaborated with the Germans and betrayed Jews for money.

In mid-1943, a Dutch couple called Aad and Bep Binkhorst decided to help the family. Bep was a dressmaker who sometimes sewed for them, Aad was active in the Resistance. They took very little money for organising their escape. The De Hartogs dispersed to different destinations. Jacques hid in the home of Bep and Aad. Some weeks later, a German Policeman came to their house, and Jacques escaped through an attic window over the rooftops. Bep and her father were

arrested. Jacques managed to tell Aad at his workplace what had happened. He was hidden again in a cupboard in the home of a very religious man for a few days, after which he was given the name of Kees, and hidden in the cellar of a Protestant clergyman. About two weeks later he was again moved to the village of Kralingse Veer, where he was given shelter by the local school headmaster.

A few weeks later, Dr. Timmy de Blit, a member of the Catholic faction of the Resistance, took the witness to Amsterdam, where he stayed with a Communist man, whose brother-in-law was in the Dutch Waffen SS. From there, Dr. Timmy and Jacques travelled to a farm in Beringen in the district of Limburg on the Belgian border. The people there spoke a dialect that Jacques did not understand, conditions were very primitive, and he was very lonely. After a few weeks, the witness went to the village of Grashoek, where he told his hiders that he was a Catholic from the city. He helped on the farm, and went to church with them on Sundays. In the summer of 1944, some Germans appeared, looking for labourers, and the witness ran away once more. He hid in a kind of hut made of peat, which was used for storing fuel in the winter. There, he met others who were hiding from the Germans, and they sent him to a Mr. Mann, who was known for helping Jews. The witness hid at night in a tunnel behind the house, with an escaped Russian prisoner-of-war, during the day he worked in the fields.

This was his last hiding place before the liberation.

The witness now lives in Jerusalem with his Sabra* wife.

*See glossary

Summary of transcript from German tape - Eva Frankel

Eva Frankel, was born in Beuthen, Germany on 19 February, 1918. Her father was a lawyer, her mother an artist, they were comfortably off. Because of antisemitism in her home town, she went to study fine art in Berlin. Her father was interned after the Kristalnacht in November, 1938 and then released from the Buchenwald camp. The family. on being warned that he was about to be re-arrested, left Germany for Palestine. The witness, having accompanied them as far as Italy, hastily returned home alone in order to pack up their belongings.

In July, 1939 she joined a 'Hachshara'* in Holland, in preparation for settling in Palestine. The witness stayed there for 1½ years, until she obtained work designing scarves in Amsterdam. She also painted forged Old Masters for the German troops.

Eva disobeyed the order to report to the German assembly-point for Jews, and with the help of her employer, Mr. Jan van Gool, who brought her food, she stayed hidden in a flat for three months, continuing to work for him. From the flat, she could watch the daily deportations of Jews. When the Gestapo searched the house, she hid on the roof, and then escaped to Sandvoord, where she was hidden in a pigsty, looking after an illicit pig (for the Dutch were not permitted to keep pigs) After a month she had to leave there when the neighbours noticed them. Eva fled to Amsterdam,

*See glossary

where she had some Jewish friends, who hid her in a cupboard. From there she was sent to Zaandam, where she worked openly as a maid for the family of Remmert Aten, who was also hiding another Jewish woman and a young child. When the child's five-year old brother, (hidden in a convent) was arrested, they all had to leave the Aten's house, in case the child had given away their address. Eva was taken in by Wilhelm Hart and his family.

One day, using false identity papers while working for the Resistance, she travelled to Amsterdam to exchange food coupons. The Gestapo controller, a Dutch Nazi, arrested her, as her false papers were wrongly stamped (by a Dutch Quisling). She continued to protest that she was Egretha Borst, a Dutchwoman, but was nevertheless imprisoned, and later sent to the Westerbork camp. After some months, she was deported to Theresienstadt. Here, food was very scarce, and she worked 16 hours a day.

After the liberation the witness stayed with the Hart family, until she came to Palestine in 1946.

Summary of transcript from Hebrew tape - Therese Heymann

The witness was born on 26 November, 1929 in Bad Kreuznach, Germany, the younger of two sisters. Her parents, were both born in Germany. Her father owned a wholesale confectionery business, her mother helped him. The family were not orthodox Jews, but observed the Sabbath and the Holy Days.

In 1933 the family left Germany for Holland. Therese's father tried to set up a business, but failing in this endeavour, he became a travelling salesman for a German firm. When this connection ceased, they rented a large house in The Hague, and ran a boarding house. The witness attended a Dutch school, and soon became fluent in the language. Most of her friends were non-Jewish.

The Germans invaded Holland in May, 1940. The family had to move from the coastal area. In Zeist, Therese's mother managed a smaller boarding house, and her father became a peddler. They became friendly with a non-Jewish family called Jansen.

In September, 1942 the Heymanns were forced by the SS to move to Amsterdam. Mr. Jansen travelled there first and rented a flat for them, where they lived until March, 1943. Conditions in Amsterdam were very bad, Jews had to wear the Star of David. They were forbidden to sit in parks, to frequent places of entertainment, to use public transport, they had to hand in their valuables and their food allocations were reduced.

Jews were continually abducted by the Germans from the streets.

In November, 1942, Therese was first hidden by Mr. Boshakker who was a teacher at the Kees Boeke school. When two SS men came and arrested the second Jewish boarder, she escaped to the forest and later walked back to the Jansen family. They placed her with another teacher, Mrs. Rumke, in Bilthoven. Her parents were hidden by the school principal, Mr. Boeke.

After a few months, they all returned to Amsterdam. One night, Therese's mother feigned an epileptic attack to prevent the family's arrest by the SS. The witness was then taken by the Resistance to the north of Holland, to the village of Goingary in Friesland, to the Kirpensteyn family, (also associated with the Bilthoven school). She was well-treated, and lived as a Dutch girl under an assumed name. Most of the Protestant villagers were active in the Resistance. There were other Jews in hiding there. When Mr. Kirpensteyn was arrested, the hiders were dispersed, but on his release Therese returned to stay there till the end of the war.

After the war the witness lived with the Jansens until she finished High School. She and her husband came to Israel in 1951, they have three children and fifteen grandchildren. She has remained in close touch with the Kirpensteyn and Jansen families.

Therese's parents and sister did not survive.

Summary of transcript from Hebrew tape - Rosy Jacobs

(sister of Victor)

The witness, Rosy Jacobs was born on 11 April, 1932 in Haarlem, Holland. She was the middle child in a religious family. Her father Gabriel was the secretary of the Jewish community, her mother was a housewife. They had a non-Jewish servant, and young German Jewish refugee girls helped with the children. Dutch was spoken at home.

In 1942, anti-Jewish laws were enforced: the witness had to leave her state primary school and go to a Jewish school. Jews were not allowed to use public transport or ride bicycles, and jewellery and valuables were confiscated.

In 1943, Jews were taken from the provinces and concentrated in Amsterdam. En route, the witness and her family stayed in the house of the local Rabbi; he and nine other Jews were executed in revenge for the shooting of a German by a Dutchman.

In Amsterdam they lived in the Jewish Quarter, where they knew that they would soon receive deportation orders to the Westerbork camp, from there the Jews were transported to the concentration camps*. When her parents were ordered to report to the assembly point, they told the witness and her older brother that they had arranged hiding places for all of them. However, her parents and her younger brother were refused sanctuary, as promised, and were taken to the camps and their deaths.

The witness was taken to a small town near Hilversum, there a Resistance group placed her with the Bottema family, where she stayed from August, 1943 to January, 1945. She had a false identity as Loes Berns, a Dutch girl from Amsterdam. She worked very hard there, cleaning and looking after the couple's small children all day, but felt she was under an obligation to do so. The Bottemas were in constant danger for hiding her. Both of them were active in the Dutch resistance, and the witness helped by delivering false papers, food cards and an underground newspaper. She felt this was all part of her duty in exchange for being hidden.

In January, 1945 Rosy was moved to Gronigen, which was further away from the centre of the country, and therefore safer. She was hidden with a family called Hofste, she also helped them in the house and on the farm.

After the war, she and her brother found each other, and they returned to Haarlem, to some Jewish friends of her parents who had survived the war. She lived with them until she completed high school. By this time she was no longer religiously observant, though she had tried to remain so until she found out through the Red Cross that her parents and younger brother had been killed in the Sobibor gas chambers. The witness emigrated to Israel in 1950, after being active in the Zionist youth movement.

She joined a kibbutz, where she married, and had two children. She now lives outside Haifa.

Summary of transcript from Hebrew tape - Victor (Hans) Jacobs.

(Brother of Rosy)

The witness was born on 15 February, 1931 in Haarlem, Holland. His father's family had lived in Holland for many generations; his mother was born in Germany. Mr. Jacobs was the Cantor and Secretary of the Jewish community. The family were Orthodox, but liberal in the manner of most Dutch Jews, and had friends among less observant Jews and also Christians. There were about 2,000 Jews in the Haarlem community at that time. Hans had a younger sister and brother. His sister survived the war, but not his brother.

Troubles arising from the German occupation started gradually. Hans attended a regular Dutch school until 1941, when a law was passed forcing all Jewish children to go to Jewish schools. The Dutch neighbours treated them kindly, and Mr. Jacobs continued his work in the Jewish community.

In January, 1943 the family had to vacate their home. They were all arrested when they moved to the Rabbi's house. After the Rabbi and nine other leading members of the community had been executed in reprisal for the death of a German soldier they were released. They lived for a fortnight in the Jewish section of the local hospital, where Hans's father was also the secretary, and then had to move to Amsterdam, as Jews were forbidden to remain in Haarlem. In Amsterdam they shared a house in the ghetto with an old couple. When they were ordered, on 24 May, 1943, to the Central Train Station, Hans's father told him to remove his David Star

and go to a Mrs. Kuiper, who had once told his parents that she was ready to help. She lived with her daughter and son-in-law, and received some money for keeping Hans, but altogether treated him extremely well. Most of the time he had to stay indoors, but Mrs. Kuiper took him to a village called Fasen for a holiday, and dyed his hair blond so that he would look less Jewish. In June, 1944 she sent him to a farm in another village, but he quickly returned to Haarlem because people there noticed that he was Jewish.

Once, the witness had to hide for a week in the space between the floorboards and the ground underneath, when the Germans were searching the street. Food was very scarce, and they lived on sugar-beet and tulip bulbs, which caused severe abdominal pain. Mrs. Kuiper and her daughter looked after Hans like a son, and shared all their food with him.

After the liberation in May, 1945, Hans learned that his parents and younger brother had perished in the Sobibor camp in 1943. Out of his extended family of about 60 people only six remained after the war.

Hans remained an observant Jew until after he had settled in Israel.He has remained in contact with the Kuiper family.The witness feels that he was very lucky to have been hidden by such a special family.

Summary of transcript of Hebrew tape -Jackie Kapper

Jackie Kapper was born in Den Haag-Scheveningen on 31 July, 1929, into a family of Dutch Jews who had lived in Holland for many generations on both sides. They were completely assimilated, spoke only Dutch and hardly knew what Judaism was. His father was an insurance agent, they moved several times to different towns in Holland, for business reasons.

In 1941 they were living in Eindhoven, and until then had not encountered anti-Jewish feeling. There, however, they had to wear the Star of David, and the witness was forced to attend an all-Jewish school.

After hearing rumours that the Jews in Eindhoven would be compelled to live in a ghetto, the parents began to look for hiding-places for themselves and their children. Jackie was placed in the home of a Dutch tailor, where he lived as one of the family. His hosts knew that he was Jewish. After about four months of being kept indoors, the tailor sent him to some relatives in Zweiirdracht, but there, too, he was hardly ever allowed out of the house.

Meanwhile, his parents remained in Eindhoven, his father assuming the name of a Dutch officer who had been arrested by the Germans. Dutch Christians were more willing to aid Dutch soldiers than to help Jews. Jackie travelled with his parents to Gronigen, where they were hidden by a restaurant owner.

They lived upstairs in one room, and never left the house. The witness was sent to a farm outside Gronigen (again posing as the son of a Dutch army officer) where he worked as a labourer. The Dutch resistance provided his parents with false identity papers, and they even had to remarry officially to authenticate their new papers. Jackie lived with a very religious Christian Dutch family until 1944. He was well treated there, and attended church with them. The watchmaker he worked for probably knew he was Jewish. After he returned to his parents' flat he continued to work as a watchmaker, mostly receiving food or necessary items in lieu of cash. He even repaired the watches of German guards on the boats passing through the town.

After the war Jackie came to Israel in 1948. His father died in Holland, and his mother later on in Israel. His brother, who spent the war years in hiding in the south of Holland, lives in Jerusalem.

The witness feels that because of the war he did not complete his education and go on to further studies. However, he believes he suffered comparatively little, because of his parents' initiative, and the fact that all the immediate family survived.

He is married, with one son.

Summary of transcript from Hebrew tape - Carolina Reens

The witness, Carolina Reens, was born on 9 December, 1929 in Amsterdam, Holland, the younger of two sisters. Her father was a carpenter and woodwork teacher, her mother a housewife. Although the latter came from a religious background, the family were not observant. Her father was active in the Socialist Party. The two girls attended ordinary State schools, and grew up in an assimilated atmosphere.

After the German invasion in 1940, the witness attended school until the beginning of 1941, when Jewish children were compelled to study exclusively in all-Jewish schools. Jews were made to wear the yellow Star of David, and were not allowed to use public transport. There was an 8 pm curfew for both Jews and Gentiles.
In the spring of 1941, all Jews, including the witness's family, were evicted from their homes and sent into the Jewish Quarter. This was arranged by the Judenrat*. Everything was confiscated, and they left with only personal possessions. Their Dutch neighbours (with whom they had previously been on good terms) ignored them and their plight.

The Reens family were allocated a room in a house in the Jewish Quarter. Mr. Reens had a special work permit, as he was in an essential occupation. Jews were being continuously rounded-up and disappearing, and during one German Aktion* the family were successful in evading capture. The witness's sister was abducted in the street and later murdered in the Sobibor concentration camp. After many attempts to find someone who would help them among his friends, her father contacted a Mr. Bon who took her to the

the village of Nieuw-Vennes to the brothers Boogards, who were with the Resistance. Soon after she arrived there the Germans came to search the village. (It turned out that Mr. Bon was also working for the Germans, and telling them where the children were being taken, though the witness discovered this deception only later). She then went to stay with the Vreeken family, who knew that she was Jewish. They treated her well, though she worked very hard as a housemaid to earn her keep. All the people in these villages were Protestant, and very religious. Once she had to hide in the attic with two other fugitives when the Germans came into the house. After that, she was sent to the village of Woubrugge, to the Jongeneel family, whom she describes as 'marvellous people'. When this became too dangerous she was moved to the pastor's house in Oude-Wateren. Here, she was treated as a domestic slave, and the next place where she hid and worked was also bad. She returned to Nieuw-Vennes, where she was employed by another family. Although she still worked very hard she was treated much better.

After the war, Mr. Bon took her back to Amsterdam. A cousin found her name on a list of Jews looking for relatives, and took her to live with his family in Enchede, in eastern Holland. She has heard nothing about the fate of her parents.

At the age of 18 she began nursing training, qualifying in 1953. She obtained her British diploma a year later in London, amd settled in Israel in 1955.

N/31 21 September, 1992

Summary of transcript from Hebrew tape - Ruth Siegel

Ruth Siegel was born in Cologne, Germany on July 12th, 1928, the youngest of three children. In May, 1933, because of the Nazi threat, the family moved to Holland, where her father continued his wholesale poultry business. They were traditional, observant Jews, but acclimatized quickly to the Dutch way of life, and were on good terms with non-Jewish friends and neighbours. The witness attended Dutch elementary school in Osterbeek and then in Arnhem, and her first language became Dutch.

In 1941, the anti-Jewish laws were passed, including curfew, obligatory wearing of the yellow Star of David, being forbidden to use public transport, bicycles etc. The witness, who had begun secondary school, had to leave her Dutch school and transfer to an all-Jewish one.

In October, 1942 the Aktions* began. Her father sent her and her sister to the house of his business partner, Van der Iest, in Otterlo. Her brother was training to go to Palestine, and was subsequently caught by the Germans and sent to Westerbork camp. Her parents went into hiding with two religious Protestant ladies in Wolfhese.

Ruth and her sister Margot were treated unkindly in the Van der Iest home, kept unnecessarily confined, made to sleep in a straw-loft, and to work continuously. They were always

given enough food, but they were hardly allowed to wash, and had very little contact with other people, apart from a neighbour from Arnhem who came to see them, and a Dutch Resistance man. The witness does not know why Mrs. Van der Iest treated them in this way. Actually, she had succeeded in suppressing most of her memories of this bad time, as she was grateful for having been saved and surviving. It was only when she came across some letters, written then by her and her sister to their parents, that all the memories came flooding back and she realised how they had suffered during their two and a half years in Otterlo.

In September, 1944, the Germans evicted all civilians from Arnheim, where the witness's parents had been hiding. They joined their daughters in the Van der Iest house, but the conditions became worse. German officers were billeted there, and the hidden family had to remain in the straw loft. They then moved to the chicken coop, where they were quite comfortable, and felt safer.

The village was liberated by the Canadians in March, 1945.

Ruth came to Palestine with the illegal immigration in 1946, joined a kibbutz, married, had two sons and eventually settled in Haifa. Her brother was saved from the death camp by the RAF bombing of the railway lines, reached Spain and later Palestine and still lives on kibbutz Hazorea. Her sister Margot married a soldier in the Jewish Brigade, and lives in Israel. Her parents also settled in Israel in 1950.

The witness attributes many of her later emotional problems to the time she spent in hiding in Otterlo.

N/32 11 September, 1991

Summary of transcript from Hebrew tape - Moshe Wolff

Moshe Wolff was born in Amsterdam, Holland, on 14 January, 1921, into a middle-class Dutch Jewish family, the oldest of five children. They were Zionists, observant Jews, mixing almost exclusively with other Jewish families. The witness attended a Jewish elementary school, and later a Dutch school. He did not personally suffer antisemitism or discrimination at this stage.

In 1941 the first round-up of Jews took place, and anti-Jewish laws came into effect, such as curtailment of freedom of movement, and wearing the yellow Star of David. The witness was obliged to leave the University, but continued studying in the Rabbinical Seminar until 1943. He had a special 'Sperr'* stamp in his identity papers, which ensured his safety for some time. Those without this stamp were the first to be deported.

In 1942, Moshe's father understood what was happening, and closed up their house; they hid in country villages. One sister was deported to Westerbork* and was later killed in a concentration camp.

The witness's brother was active in the Resistance, he arranged false papers for all of them.

*See glossary

In 1943, there was a strict 8 p.m. curfew for Jews, and whole families were being deported from Amsterdam, but the true picture was not fully realized by the population, until the war ended in 1945.

With his brother's help, the witness went to live in the village of Abbega, with a family of agricultural labourers called Raukema. He was not hidden, and lived openly, working on the farm. There was enough food. In 1944 he was hidden in another farmhouse near a remote hamlet, until the end of the war.

His father, two brothers and one sister also survived, another sibling was murdered. The witness came to Israel with the illegal immigration in 1947, and was briefly interned in Cyprus* before settling there.

He lives in Jerusalem, where he worked as a librarian before retirement.

*See glossary

CHAPTER II

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

1918: The Czechoslovakian Republic established by September, 1919 included Bohemia, Moravia, Slovakia and Transcarpathian Ukraine.
Languages: Czech and Slovak, also Hungarian and Ukrainian.

30 September, 1938: Sudetenland, with its largely ethnic German minority, annexed to Germany.

October, 1938: Slovakian autonomous government established.

15 March, 1939: German invasion and annexation of all Czechoslovakia.
Bohemia and Moravia become a protectorate of the Reich.
Slovakia put under martial law.
Transcarpathian Ukraine invaded and annexed to Hungary.

October, 1944: Transcarpathian Ukraine freed by Soviet and Czech troops.

1945: A Slavonic National State established.
German and Hungarian minorities transferred to Germany and Hungary.

The Moravian and Bohemian Protectorate

June, 1939 - October, 1941: Jews encouraged to emigrate. Out of 118,000, 26,000 succeeded in finding a country of refuge.

21 June, 1939: Jews registered. All valuables and Bank accounts confiscated. Aryanisation* of all Jewish enterprises.

September, 1939: No freedom of travel for Jews. In addition they were dismissed from public posts, and denied certain rations such as sugar, tobacco and clothing. The use of telephones was forbidden, and Jewish children were dismissed from the local schools.

September, 1941: It became mandatory to wear a yellow armband with the David star. 88,105 were registered by the Judenrat* (some avoided registration).

October-November, 1941: Deportations to the death camps of Majdanek, Chelmno and Treblinka.

24 November, 1941 to 16 March, 1945: 122 trains with 73,608 Jews deported to Theresienstadt. 66,399 sent on to Auschwitz and other death camps (3,277 survived).

*See glossary

May, 1942: After the murder of Reinhard Heydrich, the ruthless Reich Protector, 1,000 Jews were sent to Ujazd to dig their own graves.

December, 1944: 6,795 Jews of mixed marriages, plus the Judenrat families, left in the Protectorate.

January-February, 1945: 4,243 deported to Theresienstadt.

May, 1945: 2,803 Jews were left in the Protectorate.

Slovakia

The country was ruled by the Hungarians until 1918.

15 December, 1938: After the annexation of Felvidek by Hungary, 88,951 Jews were registered.

Summer, 1941: Anti-Jewish decrees intensified. The yellow armband with the David star enforced, and all front doors marked.

27 March to October, 1942: 58,000 Jews were deported; the majority to extermination camps at Majdanek and Auschwitz and some to labour camps in the Lublin district.

October, 1942: Further deportations were stayed, due to pressure from the Slovakian parliament.

28 August, 1944: The Slovakian revolt, among whom were 2,500 Jewish fighters, took place against the Germans. After the revolt failed, 13,500 Jews were deported to extermination camps.

A total of 25-30,000 Slovakian Jews survived the war, an estimated 5,000 of whom had been hidden and had joined the Partisans in the forests.

1948-1949: Due to the Communist regime, and the antisemitic atmosphere, most Jews emigrated, mainly to Israel.

Transcarpathian Ukraine

In 1939 there was a population of 500,000, of whom about 50 percent were Ruthanian-Ukrainians, about 30 percent Hungarians and about 15 percent Jews (approx. 75,000).

August, 1941: 18,000 Jews deported. 14,000 massacred in Kamenets-Podolsk, the others in Kolomya-Poland.

19 March, 1944: German control was imposed on Hungary.

15 May, 1944: Mass deportations to Auschwitz.

About 15,000 Jews survived, most of whom emigrated.

Names of the Survivors

CZECHOSLOVAKIA - C

5. Hilda Brand
6. Katerina Braun
7. Anna Dohan
8. Tova Einhorn
9. Gisela Getzler
10. Marietta Goldman-Halek
11. Felicia Greenfield
12. Alice Lipsker-Stern
13. Elisabeth Salwendy
15. Pavel Suchostover

Summary of transcript from Hebrew tape - Hilda Brand

The witness was born in 1928 in Dolny Kubin, Czechoslovakia. Her father was a tailor. She spoke German at home, and Slovak at school. They were not a religious family. In 1939, they moved to Topolcany, where the witness went to a Jewish school. In 1942 the family was taken to a camp in Zilina. Her father's son from a previous marriage, whose wife was Christian, saved them from the transport to Auschwitz, and they were sent to a labour camp in Novaky, where conditions were reasonable. The father died there. In August, 1944 the partisans freed the camp, the Germans started bombing, and the witness, her mother and brother, fled to the mountains. She became separated from them, her mother was caught and murdered in Bergen Belsen, her brother survived the Sachsenhausen camp. The witness and a girl named Dalma joined the partisans and survived in the forests. In mid-winter they were sheltered for short periods by local farmers, whom they knew, but they had to keep moving, because no-one was willing to let them stay long. Hilda, with false identity papers travelled to her half-brother in Zilina. Her sister-in-law sent her to a village, where she was eventually taken in by the wife of a railway worker, who later found her a place on a farm. Her hosts did not know she was Jewish, and took her to church with them. She found work ironing for a tailor in Zilina, giving the farmers her salary.

In April, 1945 the Russians arrived. The witness went to Bratislava, there she met her brother, aged 15. They joined a Zionist group, and came to Israel in May, 1948.

Summary of transcript from German tape - Katarina Braun

The witness, Katarina Braun, was born in Rimavska Sobota, Czechoslovakia, in 1913. Her father owned a distillery and a farm. The family spoke Hungarian at home, and Slovakian at school and with the factory workers. The witness had French and German governesses. The Brauns were traditional but not religious. Katerina did not feel antisemitism in school in Rimavska Sobota, only later in 1933 in Vienna. The witness married in 1934. After the Hungarians took control in 1938, her husband, an officer, was called up to the Czech army. The Hungarian invaders closed the liquor factory.

In March, 1944 the Germans occupied the area. Jews, including young children, had to wear armbands, the maid was obliged to leave them. Her father had to move to the ghetto, from where he was deported and murdered. The witness went with her husband (who was demobbed) and their son to their farm. They were arrested once, but then released, whereupon their old coachman took them to a small hamlet. They stayed there until it became too dangerous, then moved to an earthen-floored cabin belonging to the brother of a shepherdess who had worked for them. They never left the house, and used a bucket instead of the outhouse. The shepherdess brought them food. The witness says that they were good, simple people.

When the Russians came, they were very brutal, and the village was caught in the crossfire between them and the Germans. After the war, they had to start from scratch, but at least they had all survived. No sooner had they restarted the factory than the Communists confiscated it, so the family immigrated to Israel in 1949.

Summary of transcript from tape - Anna Dohan

The witness was born on 14 August, 1925 in Vrbove€, Czechoslovakia. Her father Moritz (Moshe) was a businessman; the family was very comfortably off. They were observant religious Jews in a liberal, modern fashion. The language spoken at home was German, but the witness learnt Slovakian at school. Relations with non-Jews were correct, but not friendly.

After the German occupation of Czechoslovakia in 1938, the Jews were assembled for deportation to Hungary, but this was not carried out at this stage. Schools were closed to Jews in 1939, restrictions were placed on trade, there were raids on Jewish homes and looting of property. The attitude of the Slovaks towards Jews became progressively worse. The Dohan family business was taken away from them, and placed in the hands of a Slovak arisator* but they continued to live in the town.

The witness fled in 1942 to the village of Smrecany, to the home of Jan Mudbon, a former customer of her father. She had been warned by the town doctor, Dr. Koenig, (a Jew) not to go with the forced 'transports'. The Mudbon family and all the villagers were Lutherans, she was very well treated. At Passover of 1942, she joined relatives in another village, Velke Kostolany, until the Germans started deportations to Auschwitz. That summer she travelled to Bratislava, using false papers, there she was hidden in the house of a Communist street cleaner. It soon became too dangerous to stay in the city and Anna left for Casta-Modra, where she stayed with Kucera, a Catholic baker, who knew that she was Jewish. In December, 1942 Kucera was afraid to keep her any longer, and posing as a

Catholic she found lodging with a woodsman in his hut in the Carpathian mountains. When the winter was over she rejoined her parents in Smrecany, and they all moved to Nove Mesto, living with a Jewish family and having their meals in the Jewish Old Age Home. In 1944, the 'transports' to the camps recommenced. The witness's mother and father were sent to Ravensbruck and Bergen-Belsen respectively. Together with her two brothers, Anna hid in the forest, moving from place to place. From winter 1944 until the liberation in 1945, they hid first in the hayloft, and later in dreadful conditions in a pig-sty belonging to the Pagac family, near the village of Krajne. It was very cold, and they were infested with lice. At first they slept in the house, but later this also became too risky, so they had to spend the nights in the sty, and for the last three weeks they were obliged to hide under dung. Pagac took money for every bit of food they ate, and wanted more when the war finished; they repaid him in full later.

On 8 April, 1945 they left Krajne and made their way back to Vrbovec. Their father was killed in Bergen-Belsen, their mother, survived Ravensbruck. Anna and her mother settled in Israel in 1949. She married, had a family and a long and satisfying career as a social worker.

The witness is still in contact with the Mudbon and Kucera families, but not with Pagac.

Summary of transcript from Hebrew tape - Tova Einhorn.

The witness was born on 2 November, 1921 in Neresnice (Carpathia)Czechoslovakia. Jews made up half of the population of 200 people in this small village. There were seven children in the Einhorn family, and they were poor, like most of the rest of the villagers.

In 1939 Tova and her brother moved to Budapest. She worked wherever she could, cleaning or in factories, and her brother learnt carpentry, sponsored by the Joint*. She sent money back to her family.

The witness's father was deported to the Ukraine and killed, in 1941. Her mother and other siblings were also murdered later in the Ukraine, one brother died in Germany. Two of her sisters had been brought for safety to Budapest, but they and the Jewish families they lived with were deported to the concentration camps,* so the witness remained completely alone.

In November, 1944 she was rounded-up and forcibly marched to a camp in Gyor, some 100 kms from Budapest. She and the other Budapest Jews in the group were badly treated and sometimes beaten by the Hungarian guards (Nyilas*)who were escorting them. They obtained food and a place to sleep from farmers in villages they passed through. The witness, after she realized that this cruel treatment was only a foretaste of

*See glossary

things to come, escaped from the marchers, and with much difficulty, walked back to Budapest.

She approached a Christian woman, who ran a nursery school, and who knew she was Jewish. This woman let her stay with her, and introduced her to a Jewish man (posing as a Gentile) who obtained false papers for her in the name of Magda Haber. The Christian woman sent Tova to live with a relative, who didn't know she was Jewish, but thought she was a refugee from the Romanian-Hungarian region. The witness worked as a cleaning woman to earn money to buy black market food, as she could not get a food ration card. She tried to help other less fortunate Jews in the city, as best she could.

In 1945, she returned to Neresnice, but there were no Jews there any more. Returning to Budapest, she met the man who became her husband , and together they went to Germany as the first step towards emigration to Israel. They sailed on the ship 'Exodus' which was sent back to Germany from Haifa, by the British, and her first child was born while she was in the internment camp in Germany.

They finally settled in Israel in 1948.

Summary of transcript from German tape - Gisela Getzler

Gisela Getzler, was born in Kosice, Czechoslovakia, in 1913, the elder of two sisters; her father was a prosperous businessman. The family observed Jewish food laws, but were quite assimilated, although the witness attended a Jewish school (the language of instruction was Hungarian). She did not encounter antisemitism during her childhood, and had non-Jewish friends. On her return from finishing school in Germany, she married a businessman. After the war started, the Hungarians occupied the district, their brush and yarn workshop was closed and the contents confiscated. The witness's father and husband were imprisoned and held for several months. On his release her husband was sent to a forced labour camp in Kusjek, from which he escaped. Later, when the Germans entered the town, the Jews were ordered to report to an assembly point in a brick factory. The witness, her daughter, her husband, her parents and others (nine in all) hid in a two metre square area hollowed out in the straw above the loft of their disused factory. They lay on three straw-filled sacks all day; they could sit, but not stand up. At night they dared to relieve themselves and move around in the loft.

The Arisator*, Mrs. Binder, discovered that they were there and warned them of impending danger on several occasions. Once the police even came up to the loft. She

*See glossary

brought them food, but believed there were only three people hiding, instead of nine, so supplies were very scanty. (The witness's husband was afraid that if he told Mrs. Binder that there were nine people hiding, she would become afraid and stop helping them). They stayed in the loft for nine months, becoming gradually weaker from lack of food, exercise and sunlight. Most of the days were spent lying around, they had no energy for anything more, and it was very cold. They lived in constant fear of discovery. From the loft they could see the trains taking the Jews off to the death camps.

The witness and her husband sent Mrs. Binder money for many years after the war, in gratitude for her help.

After the liberation, they started up their business again. When it was confiscated again, this time by the communists, they moved to Israel in 1948.

C/10 28 October, 1991

Summary of transcript from Hebrew tape - Marietta Goldman-Halek

The witness was born on 14 June, 1933 in Zilina, Czechoslovakia. She lived with her parents, and younger sister, in the town of Kezmarok, Slovakia. Her father was a dentist, they were well-off. They were not observant Jews, but the witness attended a Jewish school. She first encountered antisemitic incidents in 1940 or 1941. In 1943, on the advice of one of her father's friends (a Greek Orthodox priest) the family converted to Christianity in an effort to save themselves. She then attended a State school, but everyone knew that she was really Jewish.

Her father worked as a dentist until August, 1944. As this was considered an essential occupation he was given special residential permission by the President. His Slovak dental technician was forbidden to work for Jews, and left his employ. In 1942, when the 'transports' began, the witness's grandparents came to live with them.

In August, 1944 their former technician, Belush Fabrinsky, warned them of imminent Jewish deportations. The family escaped to the town of Nova Ves; the grandparents stayed in Kezmarok. Marietta and her parents went first to a farmer called Birka. For one month they hid during the day beneath the floorboards of his house in an underground pit, At night they came up to sleep in the house. Birka handed them their food down to the pit. He received money for his services, but was still in great danger. Marietta suffered from asthma, she had great difficulty in breathing in the enclosed

space. Belush the technician brought them clothing, food and medicines.

After a month, they moved to the house of a friend, Antol, an Evangelical priest, who lived in a large building housing a school of which he was headmaster. He had discovered large subterranean chambers under the house and courtyard, dating from the Crusader times. This is where the family hid. They were provided with a tent and mattresses, but it was extremely cold and damp, and their health suffered in consequence. There was very little to eat except potatoes. Some nights, when it was safe, they came up and slept in Antol's flat. German soldiers had requisitioned some of the school buildings, so they had to be specially careful. They spent the days talking, and reading by candlelight, but there was enough room to walk about. They stayed there until January, 1945 when the Red Army entered the town.

On their return to Kezmarok, they found that their house had been looted. They stayed a few months, and then, because of growing antisemitism, they moved to Teplice, in the northwest part of the country. The witness's father opened up his dental clinic again, but closed it after being harassed there too. They returned to Zilina, where once again the father started a new dental practice. The family settled in Israel in 1949.

Summary of transcript from Hebrew tape - Felicia Greenfield.

Felicia Greenfield, was born on 5 August, 1938 in Medzilaborec, Czechoslovakia. Her father, brothers and other family members owned and managed a wholesale food business. They were observant orthodox Jews; the family, originally from Poland, had settled in Czechoslovakia two generations previously. The witness's mother was born in Hungary.

In 1943 the house and business was confiscated by the Germans. The witness's father found them a hiding place in the house of a business acquaintance called Jan. Ten adults and children were hidden in the cellar, in the dark, until their hider decided it was too dangerous and they transferred to a bunker (which they themselves dug) in the forest. It was very crowded, and they were forced to move to new bunkers several times when they felt there was danger. Jan, their hider, and his wife Zuska, always made sure they had enough food, although the witness's parents would not eat the bacon or pork that he brought them. Felicia was still very young and does not remember much, but she does know that she never felt hungry. During the time they were in hiding she thinks they were fairly healthy. Their health problems began after they were freed.

All the hidden survived the experience. Towards the end of the war, they went back to Jan's cellar, and once were nearly found by Germans with sniffer dogs.

After the liberation, the witness had many health problems caused by the long confinement, she could hardly use her legs at all, and was unable to speak for some time, due to having been told to keep quiet for such long periods. Many of the hidden became ill with tuberculosis, but all recovered.

The witness went to school in Czechoslovakia after the war, until the family settled in Israel in 1949. She married and has two sons. They have all remained observant, orthodox Jews.

Summary of transcript from Hebrew tape - Alice Lipsker-Stern

Alice Lipsker-Stern was born in Kosice, Czechoslovakia, in June, 1926. Her father was a salesman; her mother, a housewife, was from a religious family, though they were not observant. The family spoke German at home, and Hungarian and Slovakian outside. The witness studied in a Jewish school, in Hungarian. Until 1939 she felt no discrimination.

In 1939 Kosice was annexed to Hungary. In 1940, the witness's parents were arrested by the Hungarian Nazis. She hid in the flat of some neighbours named Maczata, where she stayed in the attic and never went out, but was well treated. The Maczatas did not receive any payment for keeping her.

In 1941 Alice was moved to Budapest, as a big city was considered safer. After a short stay alone in a rented flat, she joined a group of 18 girls in a Jewish Hostel. In 1944 the house was bombed by the Americans and 5 girls and the principal were killed. The witness and the remaining girls crossed over to Buda. They saw bodies of dead Jews floating on the Danube. They received a Wallenberg passport, and lived in a house with the Swedish emblem on it, looking after orphaned children there. On the day the children were seized and taken to the ghetto the girls escaped by jumping out of the windows. The witness, who looked very Aryan, obtained a new identity card, so was able to buy food. They split up, for safety's sake, and Alice found sanctuary in a convent, staying there until the liberation.

After the war, she found her mother, who had survived the camps, and eventually they came to Israel to a kibbutz.

The witness is married and has three daughters.

Summary of transcript from German tape - Elisabeth Esther Salwendy

The witness was born in Rakotyas, Czechoslovakia on 27 July, 1992. Her father owned land and a farm there, they were well off. In 1920 the family moved to Rimavska-Sobota, a town with 8,000 inhabitants, of whom about 200 were Jewish. Elisabeth attended a state school, and then a finishing school in Germany. She did not experience antisemitism.

After her marriage to a lawyer in 1933, life was comfortable until the Hungarians annexed the country in 1939. Her husband was forbidden to work, he was then conscripted into forced labour.

When the Germans occupied the area, Elisabeth moved out to the farm, although the lands surrounding it had been confiscated. The German officers who were billeted on the farm did not know that they were Jewish.

In autumn 1944, when they found out that the ghetto in the town had been liquidated, they fled, with the help of their coachman. This man found them a simple, one-roomed house, where the witness lived with her daughter and her parents, and the couple who owned the house with their two children. It was very cold, the house had an earthen floor, there was no electricity. The couple were well-paid for sheltering them. The coachman brought them food, until the German army came and took over the house. They moved into a bunker, and then into the stable. The Germans thought they were simple Czech

peasants, and gave them food. The witness pretended that she could not speak German, but of course she understood all their conversations. The soldiers treated them well, but they lived in constant fear of discovery.

When the Red Army approached the village, the witness and her family returned to Rakotyas, where they stayed with a former farm employee and his wife. When it was safe, they travelled to Rimavska Sobota, but their house was uninhabitable after being despoiled by the German occupying forces who had been billeted there. They stayed with a Jewish woman and her two children, who had returned from the concentration camps.

All the family jewellery had been stolen. Their lands were never returned to them. The witness's husband survived the camps, and started work as a lawyer again. When the country became a Communist state, they decided to settle in Israel.

In Israel, they opened a café, old Mrs. Salwendy baked and the couple served.

The family remained in contact with Marishka and Pista, the peasants who had taken them in, and with the coachman who had helped them, sending them money and parcels for many years.

The witness would like to visit her home town, but her husband refuses to go there.

Summary of transcript from Hebrew tape - Pavel Suchostaver

Pavel Suchostaver was born in Bratislava, Czechoslovakia on 28 July, 1934. Both his parents were born in the country. His father was a mechanic and locksmith, and ran a workshop with his brothers, and his mother's family owned a hotel in the Tatras district. His only brother, Ivan, was born after the war.

The family were traditionally religious, but not orthodox, with leanings towards Zionism*. They spoke Hungarian and German at home, and the witness only learnt Slovak properly after he started school. He attended a Jewish school first, then a Christian school, until 1943. There was antisemitism, which became more overt after 1939. Until then, the Jews and Czechs had co-existed well. In 1941 they moved to Mikulas, his mother's home town. His uncle and family died in the Maidanek concentration camp.

The hotel, belonging to his mother's family, was confiscated in 1941. The witness returned with his family to Bratislava, where they were joined by two uncles who had escaped from a local internment camp called Szeret. One uncle had been working there as a cook, considered to be essential labour, so he was not among the first to be deported.

The witness was hidden in many different places. His mother, who was working as a cook in a hospital, was reported by a nun and deported to Theresienstadt, where she met up with her own mother. They both survived.

The witness, sometimes alone, and sometimes with other family members, was helped by a family called Balas, who were observant religious Catholics. After short periods in various hiding-places in Velke Levary and Biskupice, he returned to the former town, where he was hidden by an elderly couple named Kovachovska until the liberation. He spent his days in a lean-to, made out of vine branches, in the vineyard, and his nights in the cellar of the couple's isolated house, under the floorboards. At first, he was alone, then, in February 1944, he was joined by his father and his uncle, who had also been hidden in many different places.

Most of the family survived the Holocaust, and his mother is still alive in Israel.

Mr. Sivor feels that the reason he survived is partly due to luck, the fact that they all worked in essential trades, such as cooks, mechanics etc., in the camps, and because they all moved so often when in hiding.

The witness was sent to Israel at the age of 14½, with a Youth Aliyah* group. He is married, also to a survivor, and has two sons. He has a successful career as a swimming coach.

*See glossary

CHAPTER II

FRANCE

Significant dates for French Jews:

June, 1940 - Invasion of France by Germany. Marshal Pétain signed the Armistice.
The Germans occupied the northern part of France and the entire coast to the Spanish frontier. All except the northern coast was administered from Paris, the French enjoying an unusual degree of autonomy. Alsace and Lorraine were administered as part of the Reich.
The 'free' zone, which stretched from west to east - Tours, Moulins, Dole and southwards to the Spanish border, was ruled by Marshal Pétain, Chief of State, and from November, 1942 by Pierre Laval, who strengthened the bond and cooperation with the German occupying forces.
Seated in Vichy, this rule became known as "the Vichy'.

September, 1940 - Census and registration of all 350,000 Jews, over half of whom did not have French nationality. This number included the Algerian Jews, whose French nationality, attained in 1870, was withdrawn.

October, 1940 - Marshal Pétain signed the 'Jewish Statute', applicable in both the free and occupied zones.

Jewishness was defined. The Jews were gradually isolated, impoverished and imprisoned.

March, 1941 A central organization was formed to control and enforce the anti-Jewish orders, in both the occupied and the 'free' zone.

December, 1941 - Following acts of resistance resulting in the deaths of German officers, the High Command issued the following proclamations:

> French Jews were required to pay a fine of 1 billion francs
>
> French Jews were to be deported to the East.
>
> One hundred Jews were to be shot, and one thousand Jews of high standing were to be arrested and sent to Auschwitz.

1940-1942 - 3,000 Jews, mostly not French citizens, die in the labour camps in France.

27 March, 1942 - The first deportation train leaves from Drancy.

11 June, 1942 - 22,000 Jews in Paris, and 10,000 in the free zone were rounded-up.

11 November, 1942 - The Germans entered the 'free' zone. The Gestapo assumes control of the French police force.

September, 1943 - German troops replaced the Italian soldiers who were formerly stationed in Nice and Savoy, and had given a measure of protection to the Jews.

June, 1944 - The last deportations occurred.

June, 1944 - Anglo-American forces landed in Normandy; by September most of France was freed from German occupation.

Approximately 90,000 Jews are known to have been murdered during the war, out of a pre-war population of 350,000.

The Germans were aided in the apprehension, detention in forced labour camps and deportation of the Jews, by the French authorities, police and many citizens. Only towards the end of 1943 was objection voiced to the deportation of French Jews. Many Protestant citizens, some of the clergy, and the Resistance fighters, helped to save Jewish lives.

Names of the Survivors

FRANCE - F.

17. Jacob Fischler

18. Roland Friedman

20. Berta Kaner

21. Roger Levy

22. Helen Rosenbluth

F/17 16 December, 1991

Summary of transcript of Hebrew tape - Jacob Fischler

The witness was born on 8 August, 1928 in Lancut, Poland but lived in Liberec Reichenberg, Sudetenland, Czechoslovakia from birth until 1938.
His first language was German. His parents were in business, the family was comfortably off.

From 1938 to 1939, they lived as refugees in Prague. When plans to emigrate to Australia failed to materialise, the witness and his younger brother were sent to relatives in Toulouse, France. His parents returned to Poland, his mother survived the war, but his father was killed very early on.

The witness stayed with his cousins in the Unoccupied Zone of France until 1943, attending an ordinary French state school. When the Germans began deporting and killing Jews from this so-called free area, he and his brother were placed in a Catholic boarding school, run by nuns, where only the school head, who was a priest, knew that they were Jewish. The Communist branch of the French Resistance were instrumental in placing them in the school. They joined in the school prayers, and no-one suspected that they were Jewish. This arrangement continued for about a year, until at the end of 1943 the cousins decided that it was too dangerous to remain, and they paid money for them to be smuggled out of France into Spain.

They made the journey in a German army truck (the soldiers made money out of this arrangement), were arrested at the border, but quickly released.

The witness and his family lived for a short time in Barcelona, and then, through the Aliyah Bet* organization, sailed on a Portuguese ship to Eretz Yisrael*. They arrived in Haifa in 1944, where they were interned in Athlit* as illegal immigrants, and then released. Yacov was placed in a youth village, where he lived and was educated by Youth Aliyah*.

*See glossary

F/18 21 October, 1992

Summary of transcript from Hebrew tape - Roland Friedman

Roland Friedman was born on 13 April, 1935 in Strasbourg, France. His parents had immigrated to France from Poland.

At the outbreak of war in 1939 they were away on holiday. Roland, his mother and older brother fled in the direction of central France. During their journey, they were caught in the aerial bombardment of refugees by the Germans. They lived with various non-Jewish families, and finally arrived in Lignon.

From there the Friedmans found a hiding place in the village of Chamboret, a farming community of about 300 persons. They lived in a house which had belonged to the village priest. Most of the inhabitants knew that they were Jewish. The witness's father joined them in Chamboret, and worked as an agricultural labourer.

Roland's mother gave birth to a baby girl in April, 1944 in a hospital in Limoges. There were many Germans in the city, but she returned home safely. Soon afterwards, the police came looking for Mr. Friedman. He escaped and was hidden in the loft of an outlying farmhouse by the farmer named Guerry, until it was safe for him to return to Chamboret.

During those years the children joined in all the village activities.

These villagers were strong Communists, and most of them were members of the Resistance. They had continuously endangered themselves by harbouring Jews for so long. The family paid its way with some gold coins Mr. Friedman had brought from Strasbourg.

The witness's father tried to preserve some Jewish atmosphere, and Roland learnt his Hebrew letters while living in Chamboret. Also, somehow, they always managed to procure matzot (unleavened bread) for the Passover festival.

The witness did not experience anti-semitism in the village, but was aware that he was different from the other children, and that was the reason they had been forced to leave their home.

The family returned to Strasbourg after the war, and Roland settled in Israel in 1957.

F/20 5 March, 1991

Summary of transcript from Hebrew tape - Berta Kaner

The witness was born in 1923 in Ludwigshafen, Germany, one of six children. In 1929 the family moved to Saarbrucken, which was then under French rule. The city, following a people's referendum, was returned to Germany in 1935.

In April, 1937, her father fled to France, after two days of interrogation by the Gestapo. In July, 1937 the witness joined him in France. The father later sent her with a group of refugee children to Switzerland. The witness was unhappy and returned to the family, who by that time were reunited and living in northern France.

In May, 1940, after the German invasion, they tried to reach England. The witness's brother was killed near Calais when German tanks fired on their train. The rest of the family returned to their home in Lars. The deputy-mayor, a German officer, asked two of the daughters to teach him French, and was on good terms with them. In September, 1940 he warned them that there was about to be an Aktion*, and told them to escape.

The family travelled to the Free Zone in twos and threes, so as not to arouse suspicion. In 1942 the Germans occupied the Free Zone. Berta and her family moved about from place to place. Her father was arrested and taken to a camp called Rivesaltes
Rivsalt, from where the Jews were taken to Auschwitz. He bribed a French guard to release him.

*See glossary

They kept on travelling from place to place. Berta's mother hid their money, in gold Louis D'Or coins, in her corsets. This money kept them alive. The witness's sister had married, her husband was friendly with an official in the Mayor's office in one town. This man knew that they were Jewish, and provided them with false papers. They were all tall, fair and blue-eyed. Most of the locals thought they were from Alsace, where German was spoken, but they still had several narrow escapes. A Catholic priest taught them the rites of the Catholic church, and they went to Mass regularly, so as to appear good Christians. At one time, the witness and her sister were ordered by the Gestapo agent to produce Certificates of Baptism, which they obtained from a Catholic priest in Lyons, who changed the names on certificates of people who had died. Fear of discovery was always present.

They continued with this precarious existence until the end of 1944, when they joined up with the Maquis in a small town in the south of France.

After the war, they returned to Lille, in the north. The witness often wonders how they survived, and all managed to remain together as a family through all those years. She thinks the money played a large part, and the fact that they were warned and helped by the local officials and clergy. Her father, always anticipated danger, preparing alternate places of refuge, and moving the family the instant they felt suspect.

13 May, 1991

Summary of French written account - Roger Levy

Roger Levy was born in Paris in 1918, to a Turkish father and a Salonikan mother; he had one sister.

After the armistice in France in 1940, he managed to reach Lyons. He graduated as an engineer from the Polytechnic College there in 1942, and joined the Latecoere Aviation Company in Toulouse.

He continued working there under his own name after the Germans took over the company in 1943. With the help and connivance of the workers and the management, and thanks to the absolute silence and discretion of his fellow workers, he survived.

Mr. Levy's parents paid for smugglers to bring them from the occupied to the free zone of France. Mr. Levy's sister succeeded in joining them there. They lived quite peacefully under the Italian occupation in Nice, having obtained false identity papers.

In the autumn of 1943, when German troops replaced the Italian army, they were helped by a blackmarketeer to reach the village of Yzeures sur Creuse. There they were housed, primitively, but safely.

One day, they were stopped by local policemen, who, realising that their identity papers were false, arrested

them. Roger received their letter from the police lockup and contacted members of the Resistance, to which he belonged. One of the magistrates, a member of the same Resistance network, used his good offices to obtain their release, and the case was not publicised. On their return to the village they were ostracised, until the local priest explained that the Leroys were Jews in hiding from the Germans, and good people. After this, the villagers' attitude changed towards the family.

Mr. Levy's family was protected by the help and silence of all the villagers of Yzeures sur Creuse.

F/22 2 May, 1991

Summary of transcript from English tape - Helen Rosenbluth

The witness was born on 17 November,1911 in Rumenhof, Austria, and was brought up in Vienna. Both her parents were born in Austria. Her father owned and managed a tailoring business. The witness worked as a journalist and political activist for the Austrian Socialist Party, specializing in women's rights. In 1934 she was warned by a friendly police officer of trouble between Socialists and Fascists, so she escaped to Belgium; her parents had already moved there.

In 1935 she married David Rosenbaum and had two sons in 1936 and 1937. In 1939, her husband was deported by the Germans to a camp for Jews in France.

Helen and her children, her parents, sisters and brother fled from Antwerp. The refugee train was diverted to France, and they arrived in the village of Vicq, about ten kms from Vichy. They entered France as Belgian refugees, without papers. After the family to which she was assigned denounced her as a spy, the whole family was put into a camp near Montluçon. They were given the opportunity to leave the camp if they could show they had a definite destination. The witness remembered a man called Roger Giraudet who had been willing to help them when they arrived from Belgium. She contacted him and he agreed to take her, her children and parents and to provide a place for the others as well. Helen lived in Vicq until the end of the war, helping Roger and his mother on their farm. She worked for the Maquis during this time. It became increasingly dangerous for her and her children, as the region was full of Germans.

In 1942, the witness's parents went away to Haute Garonne, and

all the children in the family were placed for safety in a Jewish home near Marseille. Most of the men were first put into forced labour camps and then sent to concentration camps. Helen took her sisters to Lyon to find a hiding-place for them. On the return journey to Vicq the train was full of Germans; luckily she sat with a Frenchman who showed an interest in her, and she was left alone. When she returned to Vicq she was hidden by Giraudet and his mother in one boarded-up room in a completely sealed house, that appeared to be empty and disused from the outside, and only went out very occasionally at night. She had no light, and hardly any room to move, so her legs became very weak. Roger and his mother brought her food, even though they received no money from her at this time.

Helen's children returned to Vicq when Marseille became dangerous; the orphanage was closed and the children were dispersed. Helen came out of hiding when it became obvious that the Germans were losing, in early 1944. The French were less afraid, so the witness could work openly.

During the years that she lived in Vicq, Helen's husband had escaped from the prison camp and returned to Belgium to bring jewellery and money to her in France. He succeeded once, but went back to Belgium again, and this time on his return to Vicq he was caught and taken to a concentration camp, where he was murdered. The only male in the family to survive the war was her father; her parents and sisters returned to live in Belgium.

The witness kept in touch with the Giraudet mother and son, until they both died within weeks of each other. In her view, they were good people who risked their lives helping her and her family.

Helen believes that she survived the war years through a combination of luck and initiative.

CHAPTER II

BELGIUM

10 May, 1940 The Germans attacked this neutral country with a population of about 8.3 million, including 66,000 Jews, of whom 10,000 were natives and the rest mostly refugees from Germany and Austria.

28 May, 1940 The Belgian army capitulated. The government fled to England.

A new government was formed which cooperated to some extent with the Germans.

23 October, 1940 The first of the anti-Jewish laws forbade the Kosher ritual slaughter of cattle. This act was followed every few months by further laws, which differentiated, isolated, ostracized and restricted the Jewish population, continuing with the transfer to forced labour camps of varying severity.

15 July, 1942 The first deportation of Jewish non-citizens.

September, 1943 The deportation of Belgian Jewish citizens.

September, 1944: Brussels and Antwerp freed by the Allies.

3 November, 1944: The whole country liberated by the Allies.

January, 1945: The last of the German forces pushed out.

The government-in-exile issued contrary injunctions. For example:

10 January, 1941 A declaration was published cancelling all decrees issued by the occupying administration. Further, it undertook to return all confiscated property and punish collaborators. At the time these orders must have been regarded as intentional, for the local population was in no position to implement them.

> 34,801 Jews were imprisoned or deported to Auschwitz, of whom 28,902 were murdered.

The detentions and deportations were usually carried out by the German army police (Feldgendarmerie) and not by the locals.

Three reasons have been given to explain why nearly half the Jews managed to evade deportation:

1) The administration was overseen by a German Military (not Gestapo) administration.
2) The local Jewish community was more aware of the German tactics and intentions.
3) The Christian population was more anti-German than anti-Semite.

Most of the Belgian population was against the anti-Jewish measures. Some effort was made to prevent the deportation of Belgian citizens, in particular those who had been converted, were married to non-Jews, or were the children of such. Both Elisabeth the Queen Mother, the church and various resistance groups, tried to save them from deportation.

Of those saved, some had managed to infiltrate into Switzerland, some reached Spain, some jumped from the trains and escaped the firing of the guards. Others had been hidden, many in monasteries, with the help of some of the clergy, resistance groups and ordinary people.
The International Red Cross supplied food parcels to those in labour camps and to some in hiding.

Out of a population of 65,700 at least 28,900 were murdered.

Names of the Survivors

BELGIUM - B

1. Anita Chaberman
2. Ruth Lowenthal
3. Sara Lowenthal
4. Sigbert Pfennig

Summary of transcript from English tape - Anita Chaberman

Anita Chaberman was born 7 May, 1935, in Etterbeek, Belgium.

The witness lived in Brussels until the outbreak of war. From May, 1940 to October 1941 the family wandered through France, then lived in Marseille for about one year, before returning to Belgium.

From July, 1942 to 1945 Anita lived in Hannout, Belgium, in hiding with her childhood nurse, Mme. Gilsoul-Fontaine and husband, under the assumed name of Annette Fontaine. In times of imminent danger she was sent to the nurse's sister, Mme. Gouverneur-Fontaine, in the nearby villages of Bertrice, Liboutton, Libramont, Belgium.

She became extremely attached to Mme. Gilsoul, and when some cousins, who had survived the Holocaust, took her away from the village after the war, she suffered considerable emotional trauma.

The witness blames her ensuing marital and other relationship problems on this separation from her wartime foster-parents.

After gaining a degree in Chemistry, she now works in scientific journalism, and continues to live in Brussels.

Summary of transcript from Hebrew tape - Ruth Lowenthal

(Sister of Sara)

Ruth Lowenthal was born in Antwerp, Belgium on 8 November, 1926. Her father was a diamond merchant and importer, her mother a housewife. She had one younger sister. Her parents were of Polish origin, from a religious background, but were not observant. Ruth went to a Jewish kindergarten, and then to ordinary local school. She did not experience discrimination during her childhood.

In 1940, when the Germans bombed Antwerp, they ran away to Middelkerke, then crossed the border to France on foot, sleeping in barns and fields on the way. Failing in an attempt to reach England they were returned to Antwerp. There were many German orders and regulations, for instance: A 7 p.m. curfew was imposed on Jews. They were obliged to register in the Town Hall, and had to wear a badge with the Star of David.

In July, 1942 the witness's father was taken away to a forced labour camp in France. On 15 August, 1942 the witness and her sister were supposed to report to Mechelen camp, but because of its frightening reputation they decided to go into hiding. With their mother, they reached the house of a former servant, and then stayed hidden in the attic of this house in the village of Oude God (between Antwerp and Brussels) for the next two years and two months. Later the witness's father reached the hideout, after escaping from the labour force building the Atlantic wall in Boulogne.

They never left the attic and the woman who hid them used to bring them food at night. No-one knew they were up there except her husband, not even their small daughter. The two girls occupied themselves with knitting, sewing, games and drawing. All of them stayed healthy, but were undernourished. They only came out of hiding after the liberation of that part of Belgium in 1944, when V1 and V2 missiles were still falling. Their flat in Antwerp had been sold by the mortgage company, but they found a new one.

Ruth returned to vocational school, and she and her sister settled in Israel in 1949. She married, has two children and seven grandchildren. The witness has remained a committed Zionist, which she attributes to her wartime experiences, feeling that above all else Jews must have their own country and the ability to defend themselves.

B/3 19 November, 1992

Summary of transcript from Hebrew tape - Sara Lowenthal

(Sister of Ruth)

The witness was born on 2 June, 1929 in Antwerp, Belgium. Her father, Benzion, was a diamond worker, her mother Rachel a housewife; her sister Ruth was three years older. They were comfortably off, living in a large, detached house. Sara's father was conscripted into a labour force, working for the Germans, and sent to France, where he became an interpreter.

In 1942 Mrs. Lowenthal was ordered to report to the Mechelen transit camp with the two girls. They decided not to obey the command, and left Antwerp, instead, for the home of their servant Maria, and her husband Marcel.
Here, they were hidden in the attic, which they never left, for two and a half years, until the end of the war. During this time they were joined by the witness's father, who escaped from the labour camp in France, with the help of a French doctor.

Another Belgian woman, Lisa, who had been a family servant, held and sold their diamonds for them, and at regular intervals gave Marcel and Maria the money for their keep.

Sara continued her schooling, and in 1949 she and her sister settled in Israel. She married, and has three children.

Summary of transcript from Hebrew tape of Sigbert Pfennig

The witness was born in Berlin in 1920, to Polish-born parents. From 1936 he suffered from antisemitism and discrimination at school, and later at work. He was also molested, and a sign reading 'Jew' was put over his hospital bed.

In 1938 the Polish government rescinded the nationality of those Poles who had lived abroad for over five years. Accordingly, as ordered, Sigbert applied for a Stateless passport. He was promptly arrested by the Gestapo. After some weeks he was released on a bond of $5000 (raised by an American relative), given a three-day Gestapo pass and an order to leave the country within that time. With no passport, he was forced to infiltrate a neighbouring country. He finally managed to cross the Belgium border and lived there clandestinely, by subterfuge.

In September, 1939 he was caught and interned in a refugee camp. On his release in May, 1940 he joined a Zionist farm in north Belgium. Some months later, they were warned by the local police chief that the Gestapo were scheduled to raid the farm the following day, the workers dispersed. The witness, after some narrow escapes and failing to infiltrate into Switzerland, finally joined a Resistance movement.

The young man was placed on a farm in Lathuy, with false papers, and the farmers were told they were holding a Polish escapee. For over a year, only the leader of the Resistance group, and later the local priest, knew that he was Jewish, then he told the farmer and his wife. Despite the dangers they allowed him to continue working with them. Later members of the German Airforce were billeted in the house, when he had to pretend not to understand the language, and to avoid them as much as possible.

The witness participated in several Resistance operations, and travelled openly in the district, in order to allay the suspicions of the neighbours, even though this was risky.

After the German retreat the witness was smuggled by the Aliyah Bet organisation* into France, and from there to Palestine, where he was interned by the British in the Athlit Camp.*

Today, he lives in Kibbutz Hazorea, the sole survivor of seventy family members.

*See glossary

CHAPTER II

HUNGARY

Following the First World War the Austro-Hungarian Empire was dissolved. Three-fifths of the former territory was divided between Rumania, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia.
Jews had been living in these regions since Roman times, with a continuity of congregations since the eleventh century.
The post-First World War era in the history of the Jews of Hungary was introduced by a period of persecutions known as the 'White Terror'. After the fall of the communist regime in August, 1919 large scale pogroms and acts of violence broke out,

1922 The worst excesses and acts of violence ceased but antisemitism persisted.... and was directed at the ouster of the Jews from economic and intellectual life and to their exclusion from the professions.

1921-1931 This was a period of relative ease for the Jewish community, in spite of severe encroachments on Jewish rights.... including the Numerus Clausus which limited the percentage of Jews admitted to the universities to the percentage of their citizens.

1935 The Arrow Cross and other right wing groups secured 49 seats in the House of Representatives. Theories of the supremacy of the Christian Magyars ...problems of race and assimiliation and the Jewish Question were a recurring theme in the press and political and scientific literature.[4]

May, 1938 The first anti-Jewish laws limiting the percentage of Jews allowed in the professions and economic life.

May, 1939 More severe anti-Jewish laws.

1941 Jews were not protected by civilian laws.

1938-1941 After the September, 1938 pact with the Germans in Munich, Felvidek was annexed from Czechoslovakia, Transcarpathian Ruthenia, Northern Transylvania from Rumania, Delvidek from Yugoslavia, and 300,000 Jews were added to the 401,000 in pre-First World War Hungary. In addition there were about 100,000 converted Jews - Jewish according to the racial laws. The Church made some effort to improve their conditions.

August, 1941 18,000 foreign Jews were sent to Kamenets-Podolski , where they were murdered.

1941-1944 Jews inducted into forced labour camps - 42,000 died.

February, 1942 1,000 Jews were murdered in and around Novi Sad.

March, 1942 - March, 1944 No more mass deportations.

When the Germans discovered that the Hungarian government was seeking to join the Allies, the country was occupied by the German army in March, 1944. Immediately, the isolation of the Jewish population was increased. The Jews were collected from the outlying districts, their property was looted and expropriated, and they were settled in central ghettos* - conveniently for transport to death camps.

*See glossary

15 May - 9 July, 1944 437,402 Jews were sent to Birkenau-Auschwitz (according to the files of the German representative Edmund Veesenmeier).

Until 15 October, 1944 the Jews of Budapest, though confined, were not murdered. Then thousands, mainly women, were sent on a death march* to Hegyeshalom in order to build defences on the German/Austrian border. A great number of victims were shot in assembled groups on the river Danube.

Many lives were saved in 1944 thanks to Raoul Wallenberg of the Swedish Embassy, Karl Lutz of the Swiss Embassy and the International Red Cross under Friedrich Borne.

Of the 725,000 Jews registered in 1941, altogether 564,000 Hungarian Jews were massacred during the war, about 500,000 after the German occupation in May, 1944.

1947-1949 The Communists came into power, liberal and social-democratic elements were eliminated.

*See glossary

Names of the Survivors

HUNGARY - H

33. Judith Acs

34. Klari Strasser

H/33 22 October, 1991

Summary of transcript from Hebrew tape - Judith Acs

The witness, Judith Acs was born in Budapest, Hungary on 18 July, 1937. Her father was a textile engineer, her mother a housewife; she had one younger brother.

When the war began the witness's father was dismissed from his job in a German-owned factory. He was taken by the Nyilas (Hungarian Nazis) to a labour camp in the country, and in March 1944 was transferred to a labour camp in the Soviet Union.

The Jews in Budapest were forced to live in the ghetto or in houses approved by the authorities. All Jews over the age of ten had to wear the yellow Star of David.

The witness's mother was abducted in a round-up of Jewish women, in the early winter of 1944, and taken on a transport to Austria. The children were looked after by relatives, moving with them to 'safe' houses belonging to foreign nationals, such as Raoul Wallenberg, a Swedish diplomat, Asta Nielsen, a Swedish actress and Margit Schlachter. Finally the two children were placed for safety in a Catholic convent, where about 100 Jewish children were already in hiding. Conditions were hard, there were not enough beds, or food. No-one visited them because the bridges over the river had been destroyed.

*See glossary

After the liberation a cousin of the witness's father, who had spent the war years posing as a Hungarian Nazi (thereby also helping many Jews) removed the children from the convent. They were in a very bad physical state, from the long confinement and lack of proper food.

In the meantime, their mother had managed to escape from the 'death transport ship' on the Danube. This ship was anchored off the shore, the women were made to run across a narrow plank backwards and forwards, and many fell into the icy waters and drowned.

Judith's mother, and some other women, were helped by a Hungarian policeman to travel by train to Budapest. There, the mother hid at her former servant's, who contacted the cousin. He arranged for false papers, lodgings and work.

In the summer of 1945 the family was reunited. They continued to live in Budapest, until the 1956 uprising against the Communist regime, when they escaped, first to Vienna and then on to Israel, where the witness, married with children and grandchildren, is living today.

H/34 20 February, 1992

Summary of transcript from Hebrew tape - Klari Strasset

The witness was born on 11 April, 1932 in Hyeres, France, but moved back to Hungary as a young baby. She came from an assimilated, comfortably off, middle-class family.

Klari started state elementary school in Hungary, in 1938. Catholic and Protestant/Jewish children were taught in separate classes. The witness had one close Catholic friend, Aranka, who lived in the same house.

In 1939, her grandmother came from Austria to join them in Budapest, and they moved into a larger apartment. That summer, her father was enlisted into the army for one year, and they had no source of income. After his military service, her father was conscripted into a forced labour unit, and was almost never at home. Until March, 1944 life was more or less normal, then the witness, her mother and grandmother were forced to leave their house. After much difficulty they found a place to live in the Jewish quarter. Many Jews converted to Christianity at that time, but this did not help them in the long run. The Strasset family did not convert.

In August 1944 the Jews were rounded up, and many were shot on the spot. Klari managed to reach her friend Aranka's house, where she was given some of her friend's identity papers. The witness travelled by train to her aunt (her father's sister who had married a Christian) they lived in the country, but for family reasons, she was soon returned to the Jewish quarter, where

her mother and grandmother were living. When there was a round up of all women aged 15-40 her mother decided to escape. Her grandmother stayed behind so as not to be a burden to them (she died near the end of the war of starvation). The witness hid in many places, being helped by her friend Aranka and her mother, also an old friend of her mother's called Paula Varko. She and her mother moved backwards and forwards between several hiding-places, including Paula's and Aranka's homes. After the witness was sexually threatened in one place, she and her mother found a room in a slum neighbourhood, living under terrible conditions, and permanent hunger. There were constant air-raids and they slept in a communal basement-shelter until the Russians occupied the district.

They worked at apple-picking, but the witness's mother was raped by a Russian soldier, so they ran away again. They could not return to their old home, as the Russians had not occupied that part of the city yet, and their flat was being used as a firing base. So they wandered around, staying with friends and relatives, and doing farming work, until the witness's father returned from the Matthausen concentration camp in June, 1945.

In 1946, the family decided to leave Hungary, and started the long, clandestine journey to Israel through Yugoslavia and Italy. Their ship was intercepted by the British and they were interned in a camp in Cyprus*.

The witness is married, has three children and four grandchildren.

*See glossary

CHAPTER II

GERMANY - BERLIN

August, 1939	There were over 172,000 Jews living in Berlin.
September, 1941	Wearing of the Jewish Star was made compulsory. Parts of Berlin were declared off limits. Large flats had to be vacated.
1940-1941	The Jews were drafted into menial labour and paid very low wages with no special benefits.
Autumn, 1941-January, 1942	Deportations to Riga, Minsk, Kovno and Lodz.
Spring, 1942	Deportations to Lublin, Trawniki labour camp.
Summer, 1942-February, 1943	Deportations to the concentration and death camps of Theresienstadt, Auschwitz, Riga and Tallinn.
February 27-28 1943	The 'Fabrik Aktion' workers were deported directly from their place of work.
March - April 1943	Further deportations to Auschwitz.
June, 1943	Berlin was officially declared 'Judenrein'.
Spring, 1943 - Spring, 1945	Those who were still working in essential military establishments were released for deportation to Bergen Belsen, Sachsenhausen Auschwitz camps.
31 March, 1945	There were still 5,990 'legal' Jews living in Berlin, of which 4,790 were living with non-Jewish spouses; 992 'Geltungs Juden', offspring of mixed parentage professing Jewish religion; 46 holding non-alien foreign passports and 162 full Jews, most working in the Jewish Hospital. In addition, there were some 2,000 in hiding.

G/16 2 December, 1992

Summary of transcript from German tape - Gisela Muller

Gisela Muller, was born in Berlin on 10 March, 1924. Her mother was Jewish, her father converted to Judaism on his marriage. Both he and his daughter were registered in the Jewish community. Therefore, according to the Nurnberg Laws of 1936, Gisela was counted as Jewish.

Until February, 1943 Gisela and her mother lived openly. Gisela was employed at the Osram light bulb factory, together with a group of about twenty other Jews. Although separated from the other workers, they were not mistreated.

In the third week of February, 1943 there was a massive round-up of all Jews remaining in Berlin. Gisela's mother, who worked in a uniform factory, was among those taken straight from their work places. Osram's employees were bypassed. That evening a friend, Else Leo, came and warned Gisela that she must go into hiding and told her that she had arranged a place for her.

From that time on, Gisela stayed in many places for short periods of time, usually not more than two or three weeks, in order not to rouse neighbours' suspicions. Everyone had to work, so she used various excuses, such as illness, vacation etc., to explain her visits. She stayed alone on a moored boat, and in a summer cottage.

During the last months of the war she stayed in the attic of her Gentile relatives' house, never leaving it for any reason, in case a neighbour recognised her.

Her non-Jewish relatives all rallied around, hiding her and paying for her keep. Though one married cousin was in the SS working as a driver rounding-up Jews, he allowed her to stay in his home for one night. One of the children where she hid was in the Hitler Youth Movement, neither he, nor the other young children, ever talked about her.

A friend of a friend obtained a Post Office card for her in 1944, a document almost as useful as an official identity card. By using her friend's identity card she bluffed the inspector on a train. She was fortunate on several occasions, once, when stopped during an attempt to infiltrate into Switzerland, her bag with dollars and photos was not searched. A Swiss border policeman helped her avoid the Gestapo when he returned her to Germany.

The witness believes she survived because neither she nor her relatives and friends were aware of the fate of those who had been deported. They believed that, if apprehended, they faced nothing worse than labour camps.

The witness decided to come to Israel after an abortive effort to convert to Christianity, and following a conversation with the Dean of her university, who warned: "You should know one thing, antisemitism did not start with Hitler, and has not passed away with Hitler".

CHAPTER II

SALONIKA - THESSALONIKI

The second largest port of GREECE

There have been Jews living in Salonika since 300 BC. The community was greatly augmented after the flight from Spain in the fifteenth century. Jews formed the largest homogeneous group, active in the busy port and involved in important learning centres. Ladino, an archaic form of Spanish, became the *lingua franca* of the Jews.

Turkish rule ended in 1912, when the city was annexed to Greece. In 1931 and 1932 a Greek nationalist fascist party carried out pogroms, with the result that many Jews emigrated.

The Germans occupied Salonika on 9 April, 1941. The 50,000 strong Jewish population was immediately subjected to stringent anti-Jewish measures, such as confiscation of property, arrests, looting and plundering. Early in 1942 the Jews were crowded into ghettos, and 2,000 young men were sent to forced labour camps. From March to August, 1943, in twenty transports, 43,850 people were deported to the Auschwitz-Birkenau death camp. Over 30,000 were sent directly to the gas chambers. The remainder perished later. The Rabbi, the Jewish police and the 'privileged' were sent to Bergen-Belsen concentration camp.

In 1945 the Jewish community of Salonika numbered 1,950 survivors.

GR/14 27 January, 1993

Summary of transcript from Hebrew tape - Genny Florentin

The witness was born in Saloniki, Greece on 7 March, 1921, the oldest of four siblings. The family had lived in Greece for many generations. The witness's father was a successful factory owner. They were traditional Jews, and a close family. Genny attended a Greek private school.

When the war in Europe began in 1939, the witness's father stored food and hid gold coins in his shop. The Germans invaded in 1941. In Spring, 1942, the Jews were forced to live in two ghettos. At the same time, Genny's father had to hand over the keys of his shop and other businesses. They managed to remove some of the hidden money.

On the witness's initiative they escaped from the ghetto. All the remaining Jews, including Genny's grandparents, were deported and murdered. They were helped by Yvette, a Turkish friend, to find a temporary hiding place. When this proved unsafe, Yvette, with a railway worker, helped them to reach Italian-occupied Athens, where they lived in one room in a Turkish coffee-vendor's flat.

The witness, after procuring false papers, circulated freely. She wore a cross and attended church.

After the liberation, they were among the 2,000, out of a former ~~92~~ 50,000 Jews who returned to Saloniki.

The witness married and settled in Palestine in 1946.

CHAPTER II

LITHUANIA

1918-1941: Lithuania was an independent Republic with a population of 2,500,000. Jews had been living there since the fourteenth Century.

October, 1939: Vilna and district annexed to Lithuania from Poland (thereby adding about 100,000 Jews to the 150.000 natives).

15 June, 1940: The Red Army overpowered the local resistance.

August, 1940: The country was annexed to the Soviet Union. Under Soviet rule Jews were free to take up any public employment, and to attend university. On the other hand, their businesses were confiscated. (83 percent of businesses and 57 percent of the factories nationalised belonged to Jewish Lithuanians)
Hebrew schools and Rabbinical colleges were closed. All had to work on the Sabbath and Jewish High Holy Days.
Politically affiliated organisations were forbidden, except the Communist Party. About 7,000 'anti-socials' were sent to Siberia.

22 June, 1941: The German invasion. In the wake of the Soviet retreat, many Jews joined the Red Army, and about 15,000 civilians succeed in reaching the interior of the USSR. Even before the German occupation, there were pogroms in about forty centres, with the attendant destruction of property, beatings, rape and murder of civilians.

3 July, 1941: One of the special German SS units - Einsatzgruppe 'A' - arrived with a schedule for the 'final solution'*. The Lithuanians, including army and police personnel, effected the annihilation programme. They identified, rounded-up, guarded and finally shot the Jews in places such as the 'Ninth Fort' outside Kovno.

December, 1941: 40,000 Jews still alive, divided into four ghettos.

Winter, 1943: About 2,000 managed to escape from the ghettos and the labour camps. They joined those partisans who were not actively anti-Jewish, and some hid in monasteries, in private farms and homes.

Summer, 1944: The retreating German army was accompanied by Nazi collaborators and the remaining ghetto workers. The latter were escorted to concentration camps or shot on the way.

Eight thousand Jews survived the war in Lithuania, and 15,000 returned, mainly from USSR. All told, therefore, there were roughly 23,000 Jewish Lithuanian survivors, out of a pre-war population of 168,000.

*See glossary

L/35 25 November, 1991

Summary of transcript from Hebrew tape - Luba Giss

Luba Giss, was born on 24 May, 1937, in Kashidar, Lithuania. Because she was only two years old when the war started, and eight when it finished, she remembers very little. Her aunt, Rachel Silberman, was asked to help with the interview. Luba came from a comfortable, middle class home. The family was religious and observant.

In 1940, when the Germans occupied the country, Luba was with her grandmother in Kelem. They walked for one week to Shovali (Siauliai). They were compelled to wear yellow Star of David badges on their clothing, and to live in the ghetto. The aunt, Rachel Silberman, was also in the ghetto, but worked outside in a meat processing plant. The ghetto was guarded by Lithuanians and Jewish policemen. Mrs. Silberman remained there for three years. Luba and her grandmother, however, escaped six months later, after an Aktion*, in which all Jewish children, who were not well hidden, were killed. While this Aktion was taking place, they hid in the attic. Another aunt, Fruma, arranged for a horse and cart to take them away from the ghetto. Fruma was hidden in a different town by a priest. The witness and her grandmother travelled to an orphanage, which was run by this priest. Luba's hair was dyed blonde, to give her a more Aryan appearance. Her grandmother knit clothing for the orphans, to repay their Saviours. They stayed there until the end of the war, but may have had to leave the orphanage and hide during this period, when there were Aktions. Luba is not sure about this.

*See glossary

Mrs. Silberman was sent to Germany to forced labour. After the war the two aunts, grandmother and Luba were reunited in Kashidar.

Fruma came to Israel in the late forties, and settled in a kibbutz, where she still lives. Mrs. Silberman lives near Haifa. Luba is married, with three children and three grandchildren, and lives in Haifa.

CHAPTER II

YUGOSLAVIA

1918: Yugoslavia was created after the First World War, it included Serbia, Croatia, Montenegro, Slovenia, Herzegovina and Backa.

1940: Numerus Clausus established in institutes of learning.

25 March, 1941: Yugoslavia was coerced into joining the Axis.

6 April, 1941: Invasion by the Axis forces (Germans, Italians, Hungarians and Bulgarians).
Yugoslavia divided among the invading nations:
North Slovenia annexed to Germany.
South Slovenia annexed to Italy.
Dalmatia annexed to Italy.
Herzegovina came under Italian rule.
Backa annexed to Hungary.
Macedonia annexed to Bulgaria.
Serbia occupied by Germany.
Croatia became an independent puppet state.

SERBIA (Under German occupation)

Soon after the arrival of the German military administration, the anti-Jewish decrees came into force: Registration, prohibition of travel, markings on Jewish property and clothes etc. Men were sent first to forced labour camps and then to concentration camps.

By November, 1941 most of the men had been shot.

March-May, 1942: 8,000 woman and children gassed in special lorries.

Of the 16,000 Jewish citizens - 1,000 survived.

CROATIA (An independent puppet state)

A xenophobic policy was pursued against its 'foreign' citizens: Serbs, Gypsies and Jews.

May, 1941: Anti-Jewish laws which differentiated, impoverished and brutalised this segment of the population.

June-December, 1941: Two-thirds of the Jews concentrated in camps (most were murdered by the Ustasa* in the Jasenovak camp).

August, 1942: 5,000 Croatian Jews sent to Auschwitz.

May, 1943: 2,000 more Jews deported to the 'East'.

Of the 40.000 Jews in Croatia - 10,000 were saved. (Most had fled to the Italian occupied area).

*See glossary

MACEDONIA (Annexed to Bulgaria)

Autumn, 1942: The anti-Jewish laws were promulgated.
11 March, 1943: All Jews were imprisoned by the Bulgarian police in the transit camp in Skopje.
22-29 March, 1943: Most of the camp inmates were sent to their death by gassing in the Treblinka extermination camp.

Of the 8,000 Jews in Macedonia - 1,000 survived.

BACKA (Annexed to Hungary)

21-23 January, 1942: A grand manhunt occurred. Army, Gendarmerie and Police units went on a rampage of looting and murder. Of the 1,300 citizens murdered - 900 were Jewish. The young people were taken to Hungarian army forced labour.
After March, 1944: Following the German occupation of Hungary, over 10,000 Jews were sent to the Auschwitz death-camp.

Of the 16,000 Jews - 2,000 survived.

SOUTH SLOVENIA, DALMATIA & HERZEGOVINA (under Italian rule)

Up to September, 1943, and the surrender by the Badoglio Government to the Allies, and the contemporaneous greater involvement in Italy by the Germans, Jews were protected by the Italians. The 4,000 Jews on the coast were interned in a camp in Rab and later saved by the partisans. 5,000 more survived.

Y/58 22 March, 1992

Summary of transcript from Hebrew tape - Zlata Schlittingen

Zlata Schlittingen was born in Zagreb, Yugoslavia, on 20 November, 1934, an only child. Her parents were comfortably-off tradespeople, not religious, though coming from orthodox families. The witness spoke Yugoslavian and German.
Relations with their Christian neighbours were very good, and Zlata had many friends among them.

When the Yugoslavian soldiers began rounding-up Jews for the Germans, the witness and her mother were hidden in a room in a neighbour's flat. The family was called Ljubic. (Her father disappeared early in the war, and the witness and her mother never found out what happened to him).

They tried to leave the city by train, but were arrested because they had no papers. After some time in prison, a half-Jewish cousin managed to get them out by paying large bribes to the warders and prison authorities.
After this, they went by ship to Split, which was under Italian occupation, and lived with the witness's aunt and uncle in a house crowded with Jewish refugees. She used to go out in the early mornings after the curfew to buy bread.

From there they went to Italy, where they stayed with a peasant family, who treated them well. The main problems were

the food shortages and the cold. They also had no money by this time.

In 1943, after the Allied invasion of Sicily, they joined thousands of other refugees travelling south, towards the British army forces. It was a long and difficult journey, but eventually they arrived in the refugee camp for Yugoslavs in Bari. From there, she and her mother were taken by ship to another large camp in Egypt. In Egypt they were assisted by Jewish men and women soldiers serving with the British Army, who obtained Immigration Certificates for them and brought them to Palestine.

The witness lived in a kibbutz for a while until the War of Independence in 1948, when she joined her mother in Tel Aviv. Her mother worked very hard to support them, washing dishes, in a factory and later in a restaurant.

Zlata finished school and served in the army. She married in 1954, and her mother's life was easier after this.

The witness has only good memories of Yugoslavia and the people, strengthened by a visit she made with her family two years ago.

CHAPTER II

ITALY

1923	Mussolini stated that the Italian Fascist movement was not antisemitic.
1937-1940	Some racist propaganda and discriminatory laws.
September, 1939	At the outbreak of the Second World War Italy was neutral.
10 June 1940	Italy declared war on France and Great Britain. Non-Italian and some Italian Jews were interned in the country.
July-August, 1943.	The Allies conquered Sicily.
September, 1943.	The Allies conquered southern Italy.
8 September 1943.	After an Allied landing at Salerno, an Armistice with the Allies was declared.
1 October 1943.	Naples falls to the Allies. Badoglio set up his government in Allied occupied territory, south of Naples and Foggia.

11 October 1943. Badoglio declared war on Germany.

June, 1944 Allied armies entered Rome. Most of southern Italy, which had been occupied by the Allies, was now under control of a non-fascist government.

1943-1945 Mussolini still ruled the German controlled north - where most Italian Jews lived.

15 September 1943 - 30 January, 1944
Over 3,000 Jews sent to the extermination camp of Auschwitz.

February - December, 1944 Another 4,000 were deported.

28 April 1945. Mussolini, with twelve of his Cabinet, shot.

2 May, 1945 Surrender of the German Army in Italy.

Out of 44,500 Jewish residents, 7,680 were deported and murdered.

I/60 28 July, 1992

Summary of transcript from English tape - John Weissman

The witness was born in Arosa, Switzerland on 23 March, 1919, and lived in Leipzig, Germany from the age of three. His parents were of Polish-German origin, both were deceased by 1933. His brother emigrated to Palestine before the war, and his sister was sent to England by a refugee organization. Although John did not personally experience any antagonism, all the prohibitions in Germany made it impossible for Jews to remain there.

In 1939, John left Berlin, where he was working in the fur trade, and travelled to Milan, intending to reach southern France illegally. Luckily this plan did not materialise. He had a further narrow escape when he missed another boat to Chile, while waiting for a visa to arrive. This boat caught fire and four hundred people drowned.

He worked as a furrier in Milan, until he was arrested and taken first to a prison, and then to internment camps in Macerata and Ferramonti. Life was not hard, the prisoners did not suffer from anything worse than lack of freedom.

He has nothing but praise for the Italians and their behaviour towards him. In Ferramonti, he worked as a labourer, the prisoners received an allowance for food, and could go into the village to buy supplies. Because he was caught speaking to a civilian (this was the only prohibition) he was due to be court-martialled, but managed to be transferred to another camp.

After the Germans occupied all of Italy, the camp guards, the anti-fascist Carabinieri, left them, and the witness escaped. He found refuge in a monastery, with other fugitives, both Jews and escaped Allied POWs. Because of a German pro-Nazi priest there, the witness ran away from the monastery and, with two others, hid in a hut belonging to a tenant farmer called Filippi, in the forest near the village of Toffia. Through this man, and the vice-mayor of the town, Mr. Blasi, they moved to a better hut. Another woman in the village, Mrs. Aimme, whose husband was of Jewish origin, arranged for John to obtain false papers in Rome. In Rome, he was directed by a Jewish friend to the side door of a church, where Jewish refugees were being given money.

The witness stayed in Toffia until the end of the war. He was on good terms with the villagers, and interpreted for the German soldiers who were staying in the house of Mr. Martini, a local businessman, who knew that John was Jewish. The Germans believed he was Swiss. One pro-German Italian in the town, Danieli, was killed by an escaped New Zealand POW, before he could betray the witness and the others.

The witness believes he had an easy war, and is full of praise for the people of Toffia, and the Italians in general. He came to Israel after the war, but still has strong ties to Italy.

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CH. III

SAVIOURS

More than forty-seven years have passed since the Saviours could, with some degree of safety, release the fugitives they were sheltering. Most of these Saviours have already died. I have included only those who were knowingly hiding Jews and who, by this act, endangered their own lives to a lesser or greater extent, depending on their country and the stage of the Nazi occupation.

After the war, many of the Saviours were themselves forced to leave their home towns, either because of the antagonism of their neighbours on discovering that they had been harbouring Jews, or because they themselves belonged to a minority which was 'transferred' to another area. Some left their homes for economic and family reasons, such as their farm being destroyed, the father being shot, and so on.

Although the witnesses have tried, on the whole, to keep in contact, and in some cases have managed to stay in touch with the offspring of their hiders, their account of their Saviours

is based mainly on their own memory. Most of the witnesses still alive were minors during the time they were hidden; added to this factor is the passing of fifty years. Their information, therefore, may not be complete or totally accurate.

Various questions have been asked about what motivated these few special people, and what differentiated them from their neighbours. For example, Arieh L. Bauminger, asked the following in his study of the The Righteous Among the Nations:

"Who, then, were our Righteous People, what were their promptings - in town and village, peasants and workers, writers and teachers, physicians and professors, clerics and agnostics, soldiers and diplomats, rich and poor alike, and of many nationalities - Ukrainians, Lithuanians, Austrians, Danes and Dutch, and not entirely absent in Nazi Germany itself? What inspired them?"[1]

This was his own answer:

"Some had Jewish friends before the war and clung to them fearlessly. Some had perhaps never known a Jew before, but

were men and women of integrity and a sense of justice that fortified them to champion the persecuted. Quite a number were progressives, people of liberal views, Socialists, themselves under Gestapo suspicion or torment. There were many believers in racial equality. There were priests and monks and nuns under impulsion of faith and mercy .... But, in the main it was to the common folk that Jewish parents were ready to entrust their children for safekeeping, and even when duress or death stopped the payments pledged for that charge, the quick affection of the foster parents was still a guarantee of ultimate salvation.... Modesty and humility were the common virtues of all these Righteous People".[2]

Nechama Tec, herself a survivor from Poland, revisited Poland in 1978 with the purpose of interviewing Saviours, and managed to find seventeen who were willing to be interviewed. On the basis of these and additional published accounts and archive material of Jews and Poles, she draws her conclusions. The following excerpts are from her book <u>When Light Pierced the Darkness:</u>

"I found that lower class individuals show no special propensity for Jewish rescue'. Fewer peasants became rescuers than their numbers in the general population should have

warranted. As expected, the intellectuals[2] were more prone to Jewish rescue than any other segment of the population. Proportionately, there were as many middle class persons among rescuers as in the population at large. Class affiliation, then, was only weakly related to Jewish protection.

Political involvement per se does not seem to be related to Jewish rescue.

The traditionally anti-Semitic Polish Catholic Church had no uniform wartime policy regarding Jewish extermination. Absence of an official posture left much latitude for clergy and the lay public. As a result the clergy responded in a variety of ways, ranging from denouncements to self-sacrifice. Only a minority of the Poles I interviewed directly were deeply religious; these few credited their religious convictions with prompting them to initiate and sustain Jewish rescue. Some members of the clergy were known to urge their parishioners to support Nazi policies of Jewish extermination. Some Jews turned away by friends received aid from total strangers."[3]

Dr. Nehama Tec says that the Polish Saviours in her study did not fit into their milieux, [4]and were therefore less constrained and influenced by their neighbours' views. She found that those who were prepared to hide only for the money were unreliable.[5]

Analysis in this chapter also shows that the individualist, whose main motive was humanitarian, was more often reliable and kind.

It is difficult to define the characteristics and attributes of any group of people and even more so to attribute a motive for their actions. In the case of heroes (here defined as people who risk their own lives and the wellbeing of their family, for another's sake) their categorization is impossible and even obscene.

The temptation to make generalizations is great. Exceptional cases stay in the mind, and tend to dominate one's thinking.

For instance, an unusual trade such as pigslaughterer, prostitute, smuggler, streetsweeper or sculptor will be remembered, as well as exceptional characteristics: extortion, religious fanaticism, brutality etc.
In order to be aware of the facts and to enable both the reader and the researcher to obtain a true picture of the Saviours and their background, their personal details have been assembled and arranged in tabular form. For statistical reasons, personal details and attributes have been assembled and shown in diagrams.

Scrutiny of these tables and diagrams, based on sixty witnesses' reports and comprising over eighty hiders, should help to dispel some preconceived ideas.

The tables are based on the witnesses' accounts. Their reference number heads each column of Saviour characteristics. Some Survivors were hidden by more than one person, e.g. N.24', ∞,∞. The numerical diagrams have been classified according to the country of domicile of the majority of the Saviours listed:
Poland 35; Czechoslovakia 13; The Netherlands 25. The Saviours in the tables pertaining to the other countries were too few to classify in a diagram.

Some simplifications have had to be made in the terminology of the tables: under the heading for Motive is the term 'Humanitarian', which includes sundry depositions, for example:

"She was just a good person".

"It was all part of his resistance to the occupation".

"Hatred of the Nazis".

"Loyalty".

The definition 'Religious Humanitarian' may refer to the Saviour's own beliefs or to the advice of the local priest.

The following pages contain the tables, diagrams and explanations:

CH.III EXPLANATION OF TABLES & DIAGRAMS

Nationality - Religion

Nationality is the Saviours' nationality. After World War One, the distribution of ethnic minorities underwent radical change within the borders of eastern European states; these countries contained areas of mixed population. For instance, in Poland there were areas where the Ukrainians were in the majority. In Czechoslovakia there were regions where most of the citizens spoke Hungarian. To check Nehema Tec's above-mentioned theory that most hiders did not entirely fit into their local community, I listed all those belonging to an ethnic minority, or of mixed ethnic or Christian marriages. Thus the relevancy of 'Nationality' and 'Religion'.

Socio-Economic

Whether or not there was a predominance of one class of people prepared to hide a fugitive seemed a relevant point. 'Socio-Economic' is divided into:

'Above Average' - in social standing, economic or even academic level.

'Average' - means that the Saviour was of the same social and economic level as the majority of his neighbours.

'Poor' - mostly peasants, could, in Poland, have been designated as 'Average', since all peasants lived in a state of poverty difficult for someone from a Western society to imagine. For instance, a second-hand suit was considered grand compensation for the risks they incurred, and provided food for the family for one month.

Relationship

The 'Relationship' of the pre-war contact between the Saviour and the saved.

'Friend' means that there had been a previous interchange of help and hospitality.

'Acquaintance' means that a family member had had prior contact with the Saviour, usually related to his work, and had formed a favourable impression of the person.

'Stranger' applies to a previously completely unknown person.

Payment

Most of the hosts were not in a position to feed additional mouths for any length of time, so it was important for survival to be able to pay at least an adequate amount for board.

Since lodgings in Eastern Europe were mostly barns, stables, ditches etc., family members or other lodgers were not displaced by the hidden, so rent was not required.

In Western countries, such as Holland, Belgium and France, board includes rent. The money was often supplied by an underground movement. Also, in these countries, the survivors could sometimes live relatively openly, the girls working for their keep (more than their keep, according to some testimonies) in household duties, and the few (saved) boys worked on the land. Therefore 'Work' equates with 'Board'.

'Large' refers to a payment which was a real incentive, if not an outright bribe.

Marital Status

Initially this interviewer believed that women, not under the influence of men, were more disposed to mercy and pity, and that those without children would be more likely to take a risk which could involve the whole family.

'Male Married' means that no mention of children was made.

Treatment

Most witnesses, thankful that their Saviour had enabled them to stay alive, consider their treatment as 'Good'. Not too surprisingly, those whose only motive was money usually badly treated the victims they were hiding.

Motive

The underlying reason for the Saviour's action as assumed by the hidden person.

Atypical

Anything that the writer could find to substantiate her premise, and Dr. Tec's conclusion, that the Saviour was an outsider, a non-conformist in his community.

Case Nos.

N/27(1) N/27(2) are the two main Saviours of the witness N/27: see list of Survivors at the end of this chapter. [It was considered inadvisable to name the Saviours].

ATTRIBUTES OF SAVIOURS

CASE NOS.	P/19	P/59	P/49	P/41
NATIONALITY	Polish	Polish	Polish	Polish
RELIGION	Catholic(devout)	Catholic (devout)	Catholic	Catholic
SOCIO-ECONOMIC LEVEL	Farmer (affluent)	Educated small farmer (average)	Shoemaker very poor	Small farmer average
RELATIONSHIP	Friend	Stranger	Stranger	Friend
MARITAL STATUS	M, Married	F, Widow & family	M, Married & family	F, Family
PAYMENT	No	No	No	No
TREATMENT	Good	Good	Good	Good
MOTIVE	Religious belief	Religious belief and humanitarianism	Humanitarianism	Friendship
ATYPICAL	Ethnic minority Very devout The priest advised helping Jews Had lived in U,S,A,	Devout Better educated No male influence in household	Hiding occurred towards end of war Poverty	Mixed marriage

ATTRIBUTES OF SAVIOURS

CASE NOS,	P/57	P/36(1)	P/36(2)	P/36(3)
NATIONALITY	Polish	Polish	Polish	Polish
RELIGION	Catholic	Catholic	Catholic	Catholic
SOCIO-ECONOMIC LEVEL	Farm worker Poor	Professor Newspaper Editor	Caretaker Average	Villager
RELATIONSHIP	Stranger	Friend	Acquaintance	Stranger
MARITAL STATUS	M, Single	M, Married	F, Family	F, Family
PAYMENT	Large sum	No	No, later board	No
TREATMENT	Good	Good	Good	Good
MOTIVE	Money	Humanit-arianism	Humanit-arianism	Humanit-arianism
ATYPICAL	Bribe	Socialist Resistance worker Upper Class	-	-

ATTRIBUTES OF SAVIOURS

CASE NOS.	P/55	P/38	P/44(1)	P/44(2)
NATIONALITY	Polish	Ukrainian	Polish	Polish
RELIGION	Catholic (devout)	Baptist (devout)	Catholic	Catholic
SOCIO-ECONOMIC LEVEL	Peasant	Peasant (very poor)	Market gardener (average)	Ex-Servant
RELATIONSHIP	Acquaintance	Acquaintance	Stranger	Stranger
MARITAL STATUS	M, Married	M, & Family	M, & Family	F, & Family
PAYMENT	No	No	Board	Board
TREATMENT	Good	Good	Good	Good
MOTIVE	Religious belief & humanitarianism	Religious belief & humanitarianism	Humanitarianism	Humanitarianism
ATYPICAL	Very devout	Belonged to a v, small religious community, (other family members, also Saviours)	On his own initiative prepared a bunker for hiding 40 people	Had been a maid for a Jewish family

ATTRIBUTES OF SAVIOURS

CASE NOS.	P/44(3)	P/44(4)	P/44(5)	P/50(1)	P/50(2)
NATIONALITY	Polish	Polish	Polish	Ukrainian	Polish
RELIGION	Catholic	Catholic	Catholic	---	Catholic (devout)
SOCIO-ECONOMIC LEVEL	Colonel	Hospital cleaner	Academic	Peasant Poor	Peasant Poor
RELATIONSHIP	Stranger	Acquain-tance	Stranger	Stranger	Stranger
MARITAL STATUS	M. & family	F.	M.	F. Married	F. Widow
PAYMENT	No	No	Board	No	No
TREATMENT	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good
MOTIVE	Humanitar-ianism	Humanitar-ianism	Humanitar-ianism	Humanitar-ianism	Religious belief & Humanitar-ianism
ATYPICAL	Upper class	---	Resistance Upper class	Mixed mar-riage Communist	Lived alone No male influence

ATTRIBUTES OF SAVIOURS

CASE NOS,	P/42(1)	P/42(2)	P/56	P/48(1)	P/48(2)
NATIONALITY	Polish	Ukrainian	Polish	Polish	Polish
RELIGION	Catholic (devout)	---	Catholic	Catholic	Catholic
SOCIO-ECONOMIC LEVEL	Academic Affluent	Students	Peasant (poor)	Peasant (poor)	Peasant (poor)
RELATIONSHIP	Friend	Friends	Stranger	Acquaintance	Stranger
MARITAL STATUS	F, & family	M, Single	F, Married	F, Widow & family	M, & family
PAYMENT	No	Board	No	Large	Large
TREATMENT	Good	Good	Good	Good	Fair
MOTIVE	Anti Nazi Germany Friendship	Friendship	Religious belief	Money & Humanitarianism	Money
ATYPICAL	Upper Class	Were living in Berlin	Polish ethnic minority Mixed marriage	No male influence	---

ATTRIBUTES OF SAVIOURS

CASE NOS.	P/53(1)	P/53(2)	P/43	P/51(1)	P/51(2)
NATIONALITY	Polish	Polish	Polish	Polish	Polish
RELIGION	Catholic	Catholic	Catholic	Catholic	Catholic (devout)
SOCIO-ECONOMIC LEVEL	Peasant (poor)	Woodsman (poor)	Peasant (poor)	Middle class	Middle class
RELATIONSHIP	Stranger	Stranger	Stranger	Stranger	Stranger
MARITAL STATUS	F, Married	M, & family	M, & family	F, Alone	F, Single
PAYMENT	Large	Large	Large	Board	Board
TREATMENT	Fair	Fair	Bad	Good	Fair
MOTIVE	Money	Money	Money	Anti-German Humanitarianism	Religious belief
ATYPICAL	Servant of the witness's friend	Former servant of hider's friend	Brother been killed for collaborating with Germans	Husband in German POW camp, No male influence	Alone, No male influence

ATTRIBUTES OF SAVIOURS

CASE NOS.	P/45	P/39	P/40	P/46(1)	P/46(2)
NATIONALITY	Ukrainian	Belo-russian	Polish	Polish	Polish
RELIGION	Catholic	Catholic	Catholic	Catholic	Catholic
SOCIO-ECONOMIC LEVEL	Average	Poor	Servant (poor)	Average	Stall keeper (poor)
RELATIONSHIP	Stranger	Stranger	Friend	Friend	Stranger
MARITAL STATUS	M,Married	M,Married	F, Alone	F, & family	M, Married
PAYMENT	Board	Board	Board	Board	Large
TREATMENT	Good	Good	Good	Fair	Bad
MOTIVE	Humanitar-ianism	Humanitar-ianism	Friend-ship	Friend-ship	Money
ATYPICAL	Smugglers	Ethnic Minority	Lived alone	No male influence	---

ATTRIBUTES OF SAVIOURS

CASE NOS.	P/46(3)	P/46(4)	P/54(1)	P/54(2)	C/13
NATIONALITY	Polish	Russian	Volks-deutsch	Polish	Czech
RELIGION	Catholic	---	Catholic	Catholic	Catholic
SOCIO-ECONOMIC LEVEL	Average	Academic Affluent	Station-master Average	Restaurant worker	Peasant (poor)
RELATIONSHIP	Acquain-tance	Stranger	Stranger	Stranger	Acquain-tance
MARITAL STATUS	M, Married	M, Married	M, Alone	F, Alone	M, Family
PAYMENT	No	Worked	Board	Board	Large
TREATMENT	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good
MOTIVE	Friend-ship	Anti Nazi Germany Humanitar-ianism	Humanitar-ianism	Humanitar-ianism	Money
ATYPICAL	---	Ethnic minority Upper class	Alone without family Knew the destiny of the trains Ethnic minority	---	Former employee Isolated - so probably ignorant of danger

ATTRIBUTES OF SAVIOURS

CASE NOS.	C/5	C/15(1)	C/15(2)	C/6	C/8
NATIONALITY	Polish	Slovak	Slovak	Slovak	Hungarian
RELIGION	Catholic	Catholic (devout)	Catholic	Catholic	Catholic
SOCIO-ECONOMIC LEVEL	Average	Average	Average	Poor	Poor
RELATIONSHIP	Friend	Friend	Stranger	Friend	Stranger
MARITAL STATUS	M. & family	M. & family	M.Married	M. & family	M. & family
PAYMENT	No	No	Board	Board	Board
TREATMENT	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good
MOTIVE	Friend-ship	Friend-ship Religious belief	Humanitar-ianism	Friend-ship & Humanitar-ianism	Humanitar-ianism
ATYPICAL	Ethnic minority	Extremely devout	Childless and old	---	---

ATTRIBUTES OF SAVIOURS

CASE NOS.	C/12	C/9	C/10	C/11	C/7(1)
NATIONALITY	Czech	Czech	Czech	Slovak	Slav
RELIGION	Catholic	Catholic (devout)	Evangel-ist	Catholic	Lutheran
SOCIO-ECONOMIC LEVEL	Sculptor Average	Affluent	Average	Poor	Farmer Average
RELATIONSHIP	Friend	Friend	Friend	Friend	Acquain-tance
MARITAL STATUS	M. & family	F. Single	M. & family	M. Married	M. & family
PAYMENT	No	No	No	Large	Board
TREATMENT	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good
MOTIVE	Liberal Opposed to Nazi Germany	Friend-ship Religion Humanitar-ianism	Friend-ship Opposed to Nazi Germany	Humanitar-ianism Money	Religious belief & humanitar-ianism
ATYPICAL	Profession	---	Religious Minority	---	Lived in Smrecany, a collective village of non-smokers

ATTRIBUTES OF SAVIOURS

CASE NOS.	C/7(2)	C/7(3)	I/60(1)	I/60(2)	H/33
NATIONALITY	Slav	Slav	Italian	Italian	Hungarian
RELIGION	Catholic	Catholic	Devout Catholic	Catholic	Devout Catholic
SOCIO-ECONOMIC LEVEL	Affluent	Peasant (poor)	Prior Average	Land owner Affluent	Convent order
RELATIONSHIP	Acquain-tance	Stranger	Stranger	Stranger	Strangers
MARITAL STATUS	M. & family	M. & family	Single	M. & family	F. Singles
PAYMENT	Board	Large	No	No	No
TREATMENT	Good	Fair	Good	Good	Fair
MOTIVE	Humanitar-ianism	Money	Anti-Nazi Germany	Anti-Nazi Germany	Religious belief & humanitarianism
ATYPICAL	Mixed marriage	---	Head of Monastery	The whole village knew	Very devout

ATTRIBUTES OF SAVIOUR

CASE NOS.	H/34	Y/58	L/35	B/4	B/2
NATIONALITY	Hungarian	Yugo-slav	Lithua-nian	Belgian	Belgian
RELIGION	Catholic	Catholic	Catholic (devout)	Catholic	Catholic
SOCIO-ECONOMIC LEVEL	Average	Average	Average	Average	Ex-servant Poor
RELATIONSHIP	Acquain-tance	Friend	Strangers	Strangers	Friend
MARITAL STATUS	F.	M. & family	F. Single	M.Married	M.Married
PAYMENT	No	No	No	Worked	Board
TREATMENT	Good	Good	Fair	Good	Good
MOTIVE	Friendship Opposed to Nazi Germany	Friend-ship	Religious belief & humanitar-ianism	Opposed to Nazi Germany	Loyalty & later fear of exposure
ATYPICAL	Lived with a lover	---	Head of a convent	Elderly & childless	Former family servant

ATTRIBUTES OF SAVIOURS

CASE NOS.	F/21	F/18	N/26(1)	N/26(2)	N/26(3)
NATIONALITY	French	French	Dutch	Dutch	Dutch
RELIGION	---	---	Protes-tant	Protes-tant	Protes-tant
SOCIO-ECONOMIC LEVEL	Average	Average	Teacher	Teacher	Teacher
RELATIONSHIP	Acquain-tance	Strangers	Stranger	Stranger	Stranger
MARITAL STATUS	M & F & family	M. & family	M. & family	F. & family	M. & family
PAYMENT	No	No	No	No	No
TREATMENT	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good.
MOTIVE	Humanitar-ianism	Opposed to Nazi Germany	Liberal humanitar-ianism	Liberal humanitar-ianism	Liberal humanitar-ianism
ATYPICAL	All the workers of Research & Devel.Toulouse	All the villa-gers of Chamboret	Connected with the Bilt-hoven liberal school.	Connected with the Bilthoven liberal school	Connected with the Bilthoven liberal school

ATTRIBUTES OF SAVIOURS

CASE NOS.	N/23(1)	N/23(2)	N/23(3)	N/30(1)	N/30(2)
NATIONALITY	Dutch	Dutch	Dutch	Dutch	Dutch
RELIGION	Protestant	Protestant	Catholic (devout)	Protestant (devout)	Protestant (devout)
SOCIO-ECONOMIC LEVEL	Above average	Above average	Above average	Above average	Above average
RELATIONSHIP	Friend	Stranger	Stranger	Stranger	Stranger
MARITAL STATUS	F,Single	F,Single	M,Family	M,Family	M,Family
PAYMENT	No	No	No	No	No
TREATMENT	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good
MOTIVE	Friendship Humanitarianism	Humanitarianism	Religious humanitarianism	Religious humanitarianism	Religious humanitarianism
ATYPICAL	Member of Resistance	---	Their youngest child was in concentration camp, Very devout	Devout Protestant Many villagers of Nieuw-Vennes were Saviours	Very devout

ATTRIBUTES OF SAVIOURS

CASE NOS.	N/30(3)	N/29(1)	N/29(2)	N/29(3)	N/32
NATIONALITY	Dutch	Dutch	Dutch	Dutch	Dutch
RELIGION	Devout Protestant	Protestant	Protestant	Dutch Reform (devout)	Protestant
SOCIO-ECONOMIC LEVEL	Pastor Above Average	Farmer Average	Farmer Average	Farmer Average	Farmer Average
RELATIONSHIP	Stranger	Stranger	Stranger	Stranger	Stranger
MARITAL STATUS	M. & family	M. & family	M. & family	M. & family	M. & family
PAYMENT	Work	Work	Work	Work	Board Work
TREATMENT	Bad	Good	Good	Good	Good
MOTIVE	Needed a cheap servant, money	Humanitarianism	Humanitarianism	Feeling of shame	Opposed to Nazi Germany
ATYPICAL	---	---	---	Son had volunteered to work with Germans	An extremely remote, isolated farm

ATTRIBUTES OF SAVIOURS

CASE NOS.	N/27(1)	N/27(2)	N/28	N/25(1)	N/25(2)
NATIONALITY	Dutch	Dutch	Dutch	Dutch	Dutch
RELIGION	Protestant	Protestant	Protestant	Protestant	Calvinist (devout)
SOCIO-ECONOMIC LEVEL	Engineer Above average	Farmers Average	Average	Above average	Above average
RELATIONSHIP	Stranger	Stranger	Acquain-tance	Stranger	Stranger
MARITAL STATUS	M. & family	M.& family	F.& family	M.& family	M. & Family
PAYMENT	Work	Work	Board	Work	Work
TREATMENT	Fair	Good	Good	Fair	Good
MOTIVE	Opposed to Nazi Germany	Humanitar-ianism	Humanitar-ianism	Opposed to Nazi Germany Humanitar-ianism	Religious beliefs & humanitar-ianism
ATYPICAL	Resistance workers	---	---	---	---

ATTRIBUTES OF SAVIOURS

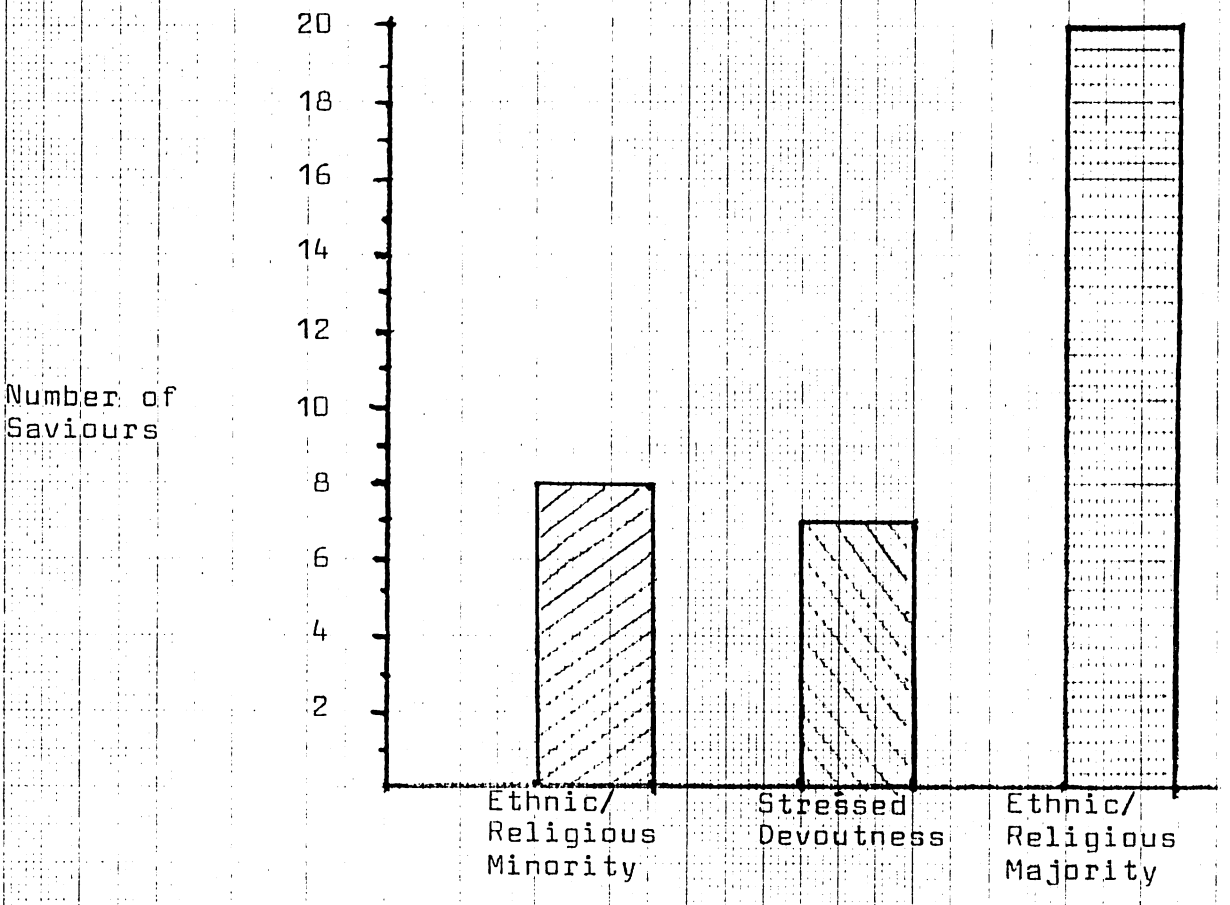
CASE NOS.	N/25(3)	N/24(1)	N/24(2)	N/24(3)
NATIONALITY	Dutch	Dutch	Dutch	Dutch
RELIGION	Protestant	Protestant	Protestant (devout)	Protestant (devout)
SOCIO-ECONOMIC LEVEL	Butcher Average	Dress-maker Poor	Clergyman Average	Average
RELATIONSHIP	Stranger	Friend	Stranger	Stranger
MARITAL STATUS	M,& family	F, Single	M, Single	M, & family
PAYMENT	Work	No	No	No
TREATMENT	Bad	Good	Good	Good
MOTIVE	Money	Friendship Opposed to Nazi Germany	Religious belief & opposed to Nazi Germany	Religious belief Humanitarianism
ATYPICAL	---	Resistance movement	Resistance movement	Resistance movement

ATTRIBUTES OF SAVIOURS

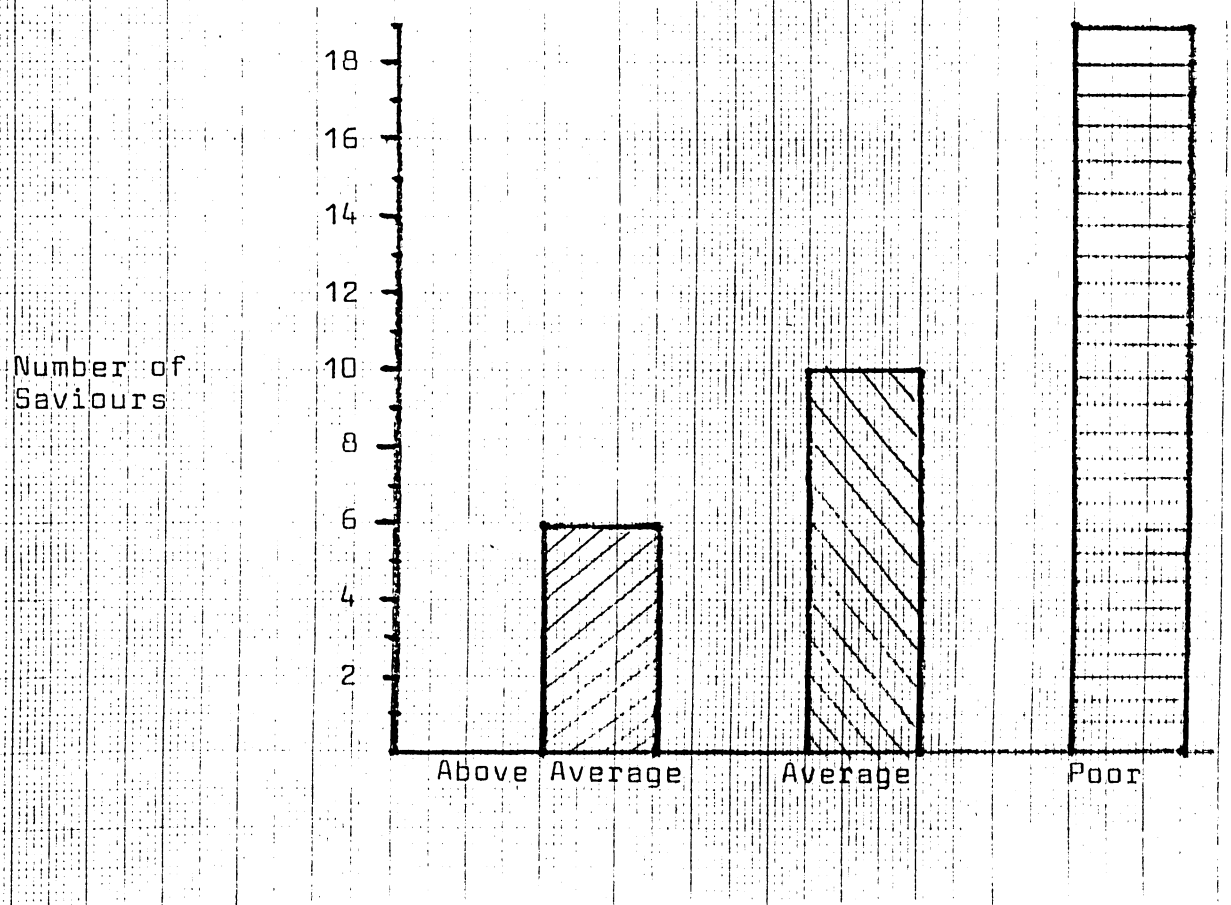
CASE NOS.	N/24(4)	N/24(5)	N/31
NATIONALITY	Dutch	Dutch	Dutch
RELIGION	Protestant	Protestant	Protestant
SOCIO-ECONOMIC LEVEL	Headmaster Average	Farmer Average	Farmer Average
RELATIONSHIP	Stranger	Stranger	Friend
MARITAL STATUS	M. & family	M. & family	M. & family
PAYMENT	Board	No	Board and work
TREATMENT	Good	Good	Fair
MOTIVE	To obtain money for stamp collection	Humanitarianism	Friendship Humanitarianism Fear
ATYPICAL	A traitor - denounced Resistance workers	---	---

Country: P O L A N D 35 S a v i o u r s

Ethnic/Religious/Devoutness



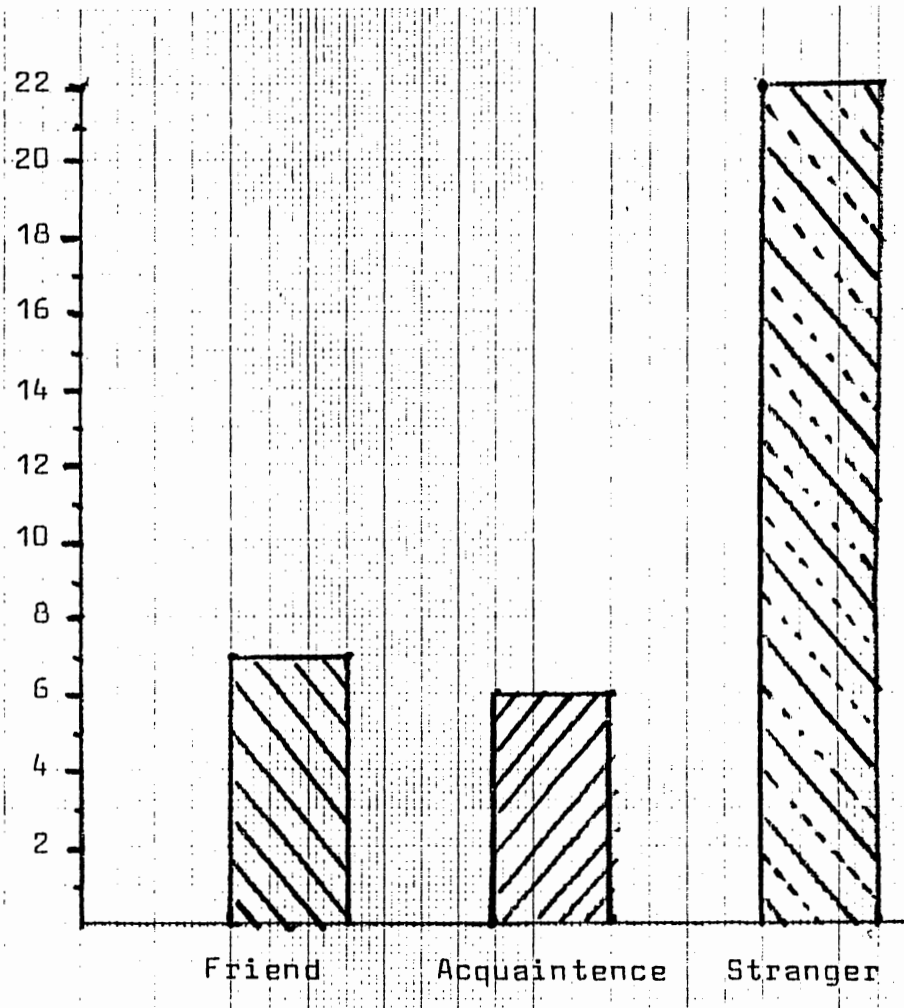
Social/Economic Level



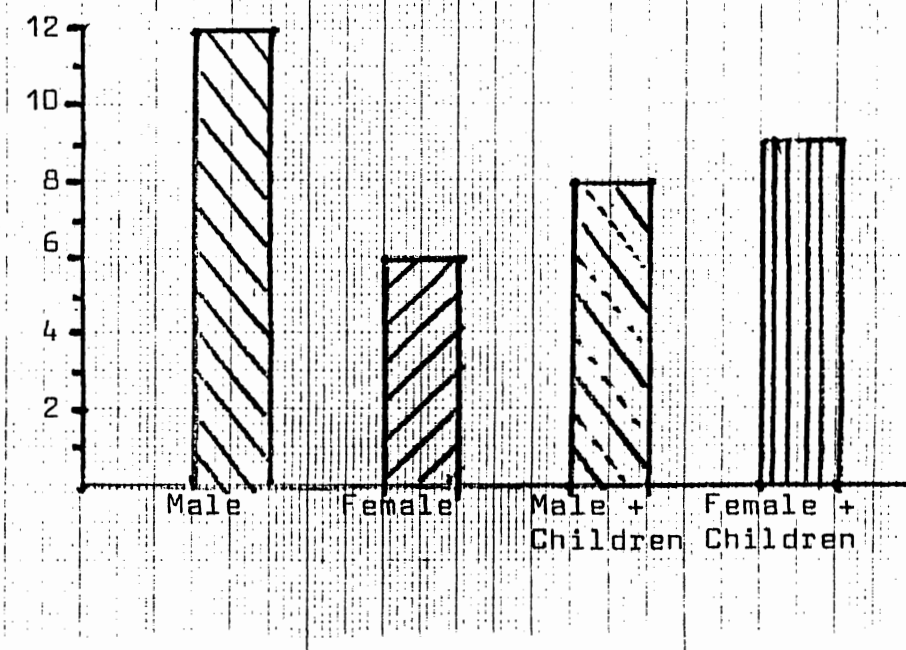
Country: P O L A N D

35 Saviours

SAVIOUR'- SURVIVOR-RELATIONSHIP.

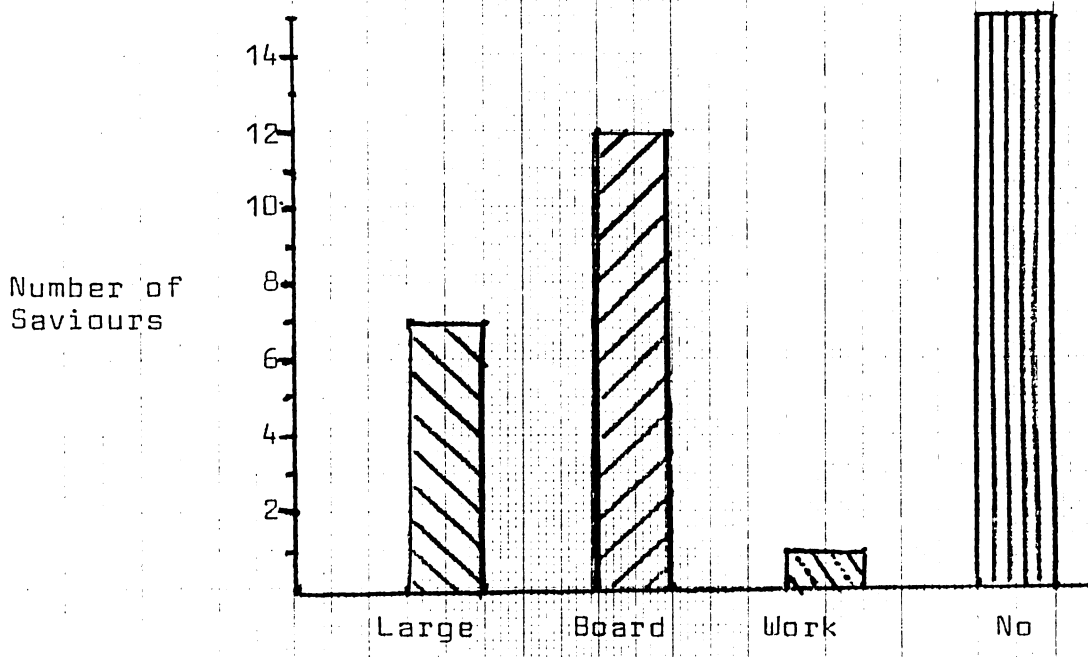


FAMILY-STATUS OF THE INITIATING SAVIOUR

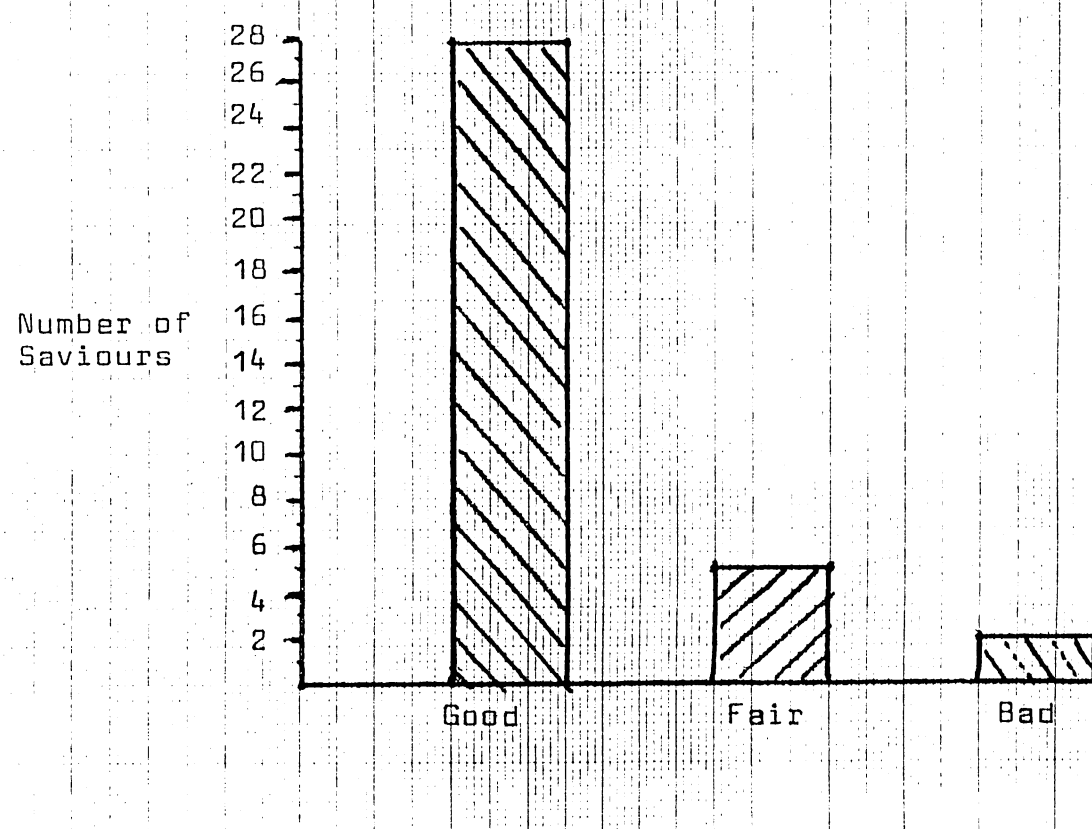


Country: P O L A N D 35 Saviours

PAYMENT TO SAVIOUR

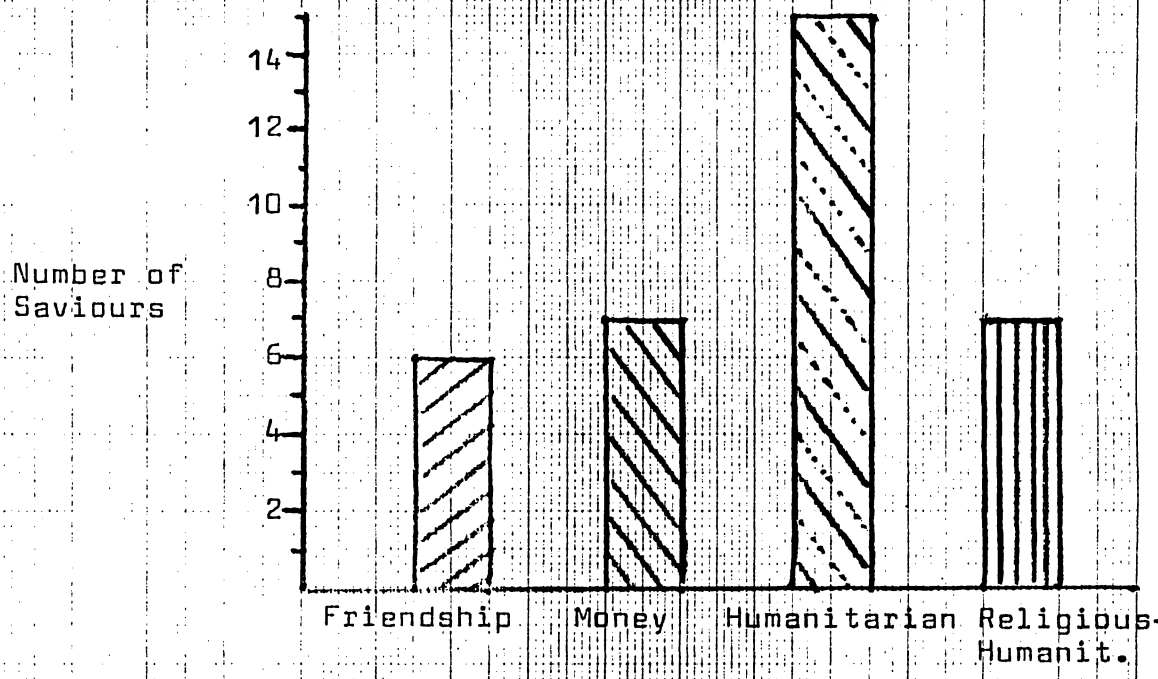


THE SAVIOURS TREATMENT OF THE SAVED



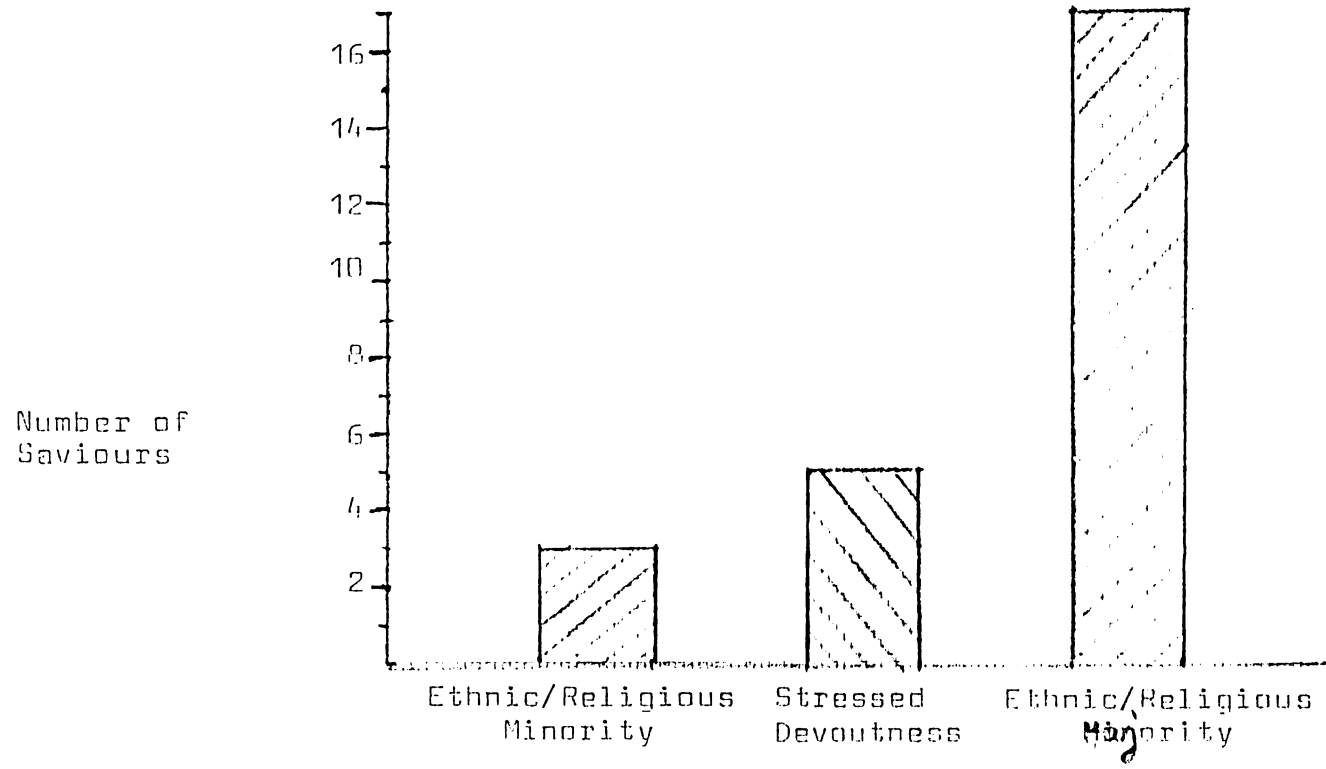
Country: P O L A N D 35 Saviours

THE MOTIVE OF THE SAVIOURS

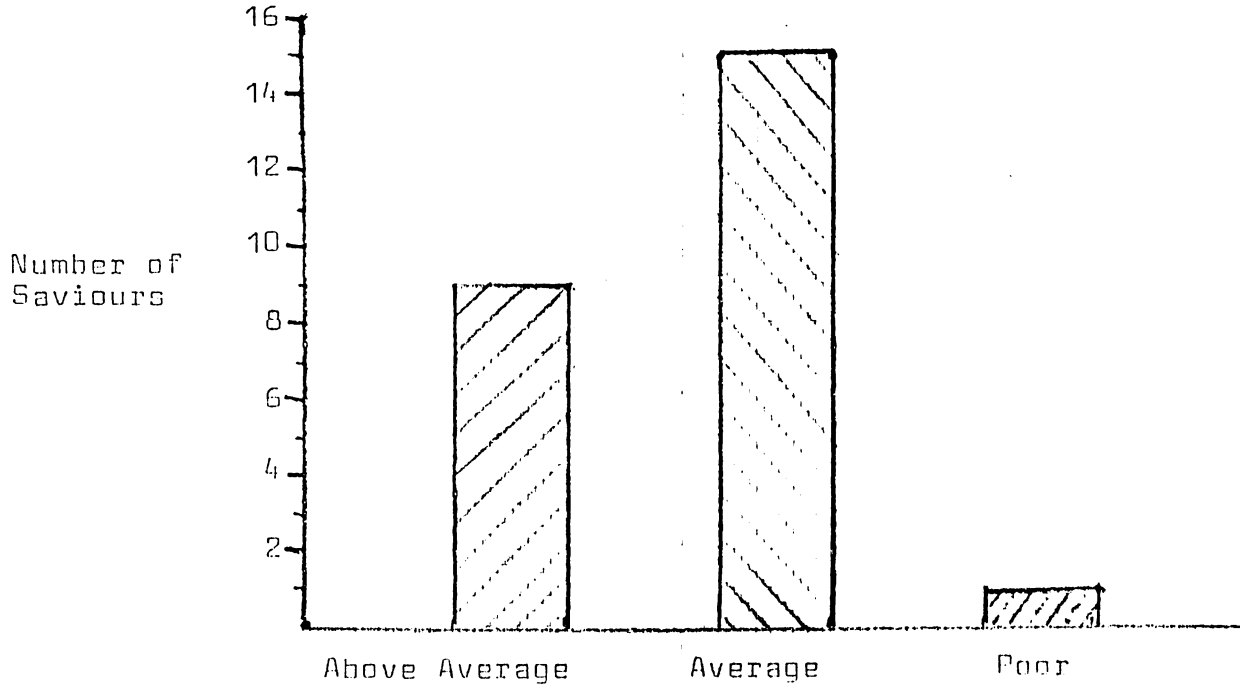


Country: N E T H E R L A N D S 25 Saviours

ETHNIC / RELIGIOUS / DEVOUTNESS

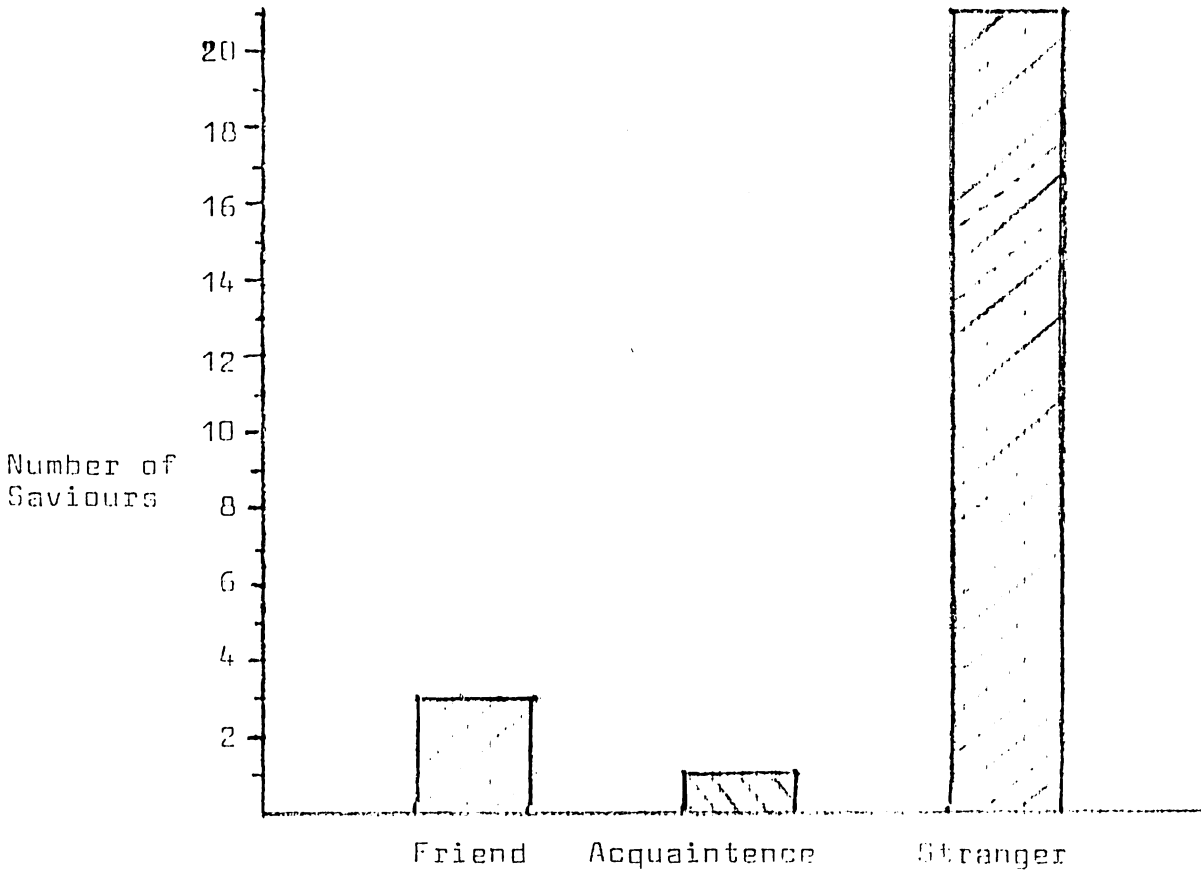


SOCIAL / ECONOMIC LEVEL

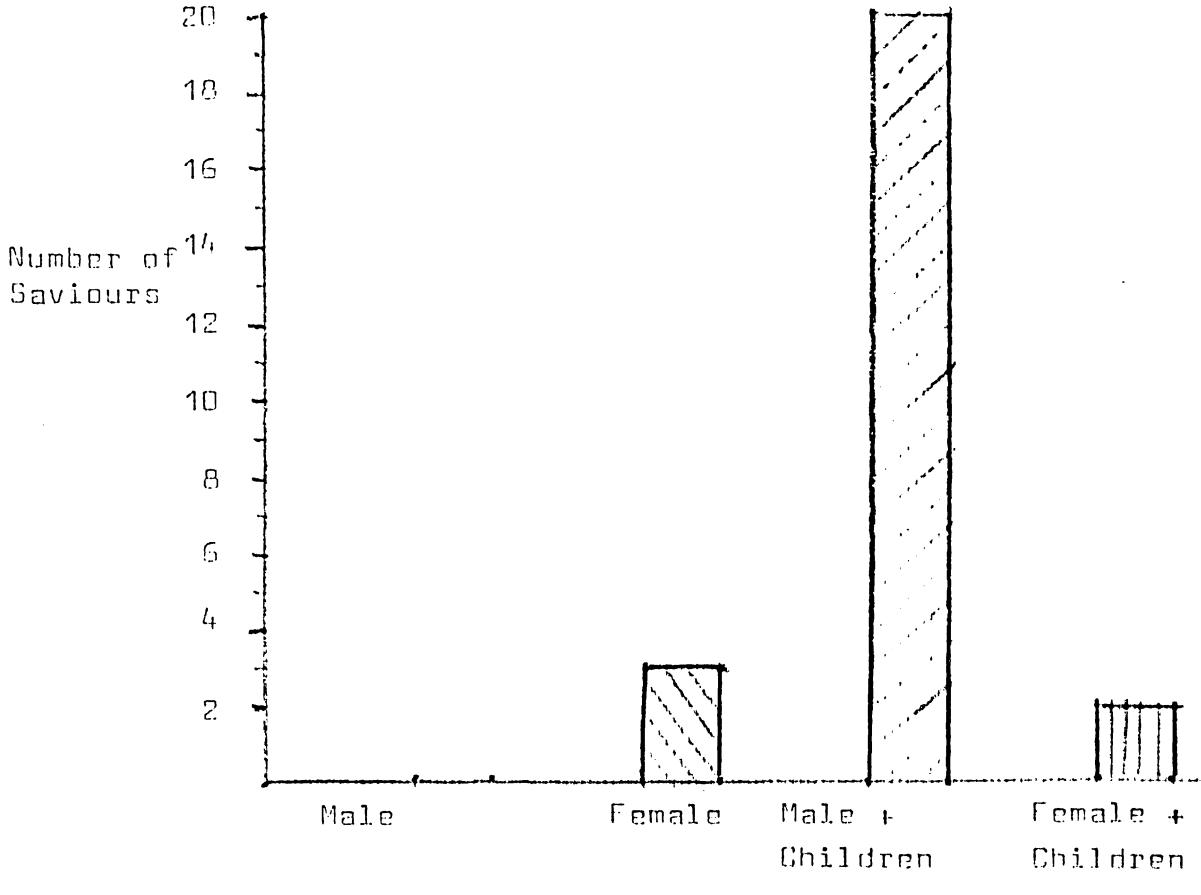


Country: N E T H E R L A N D S 33 Saviours

SAVIOUR - SURVIVOR- RELATIONSHIP

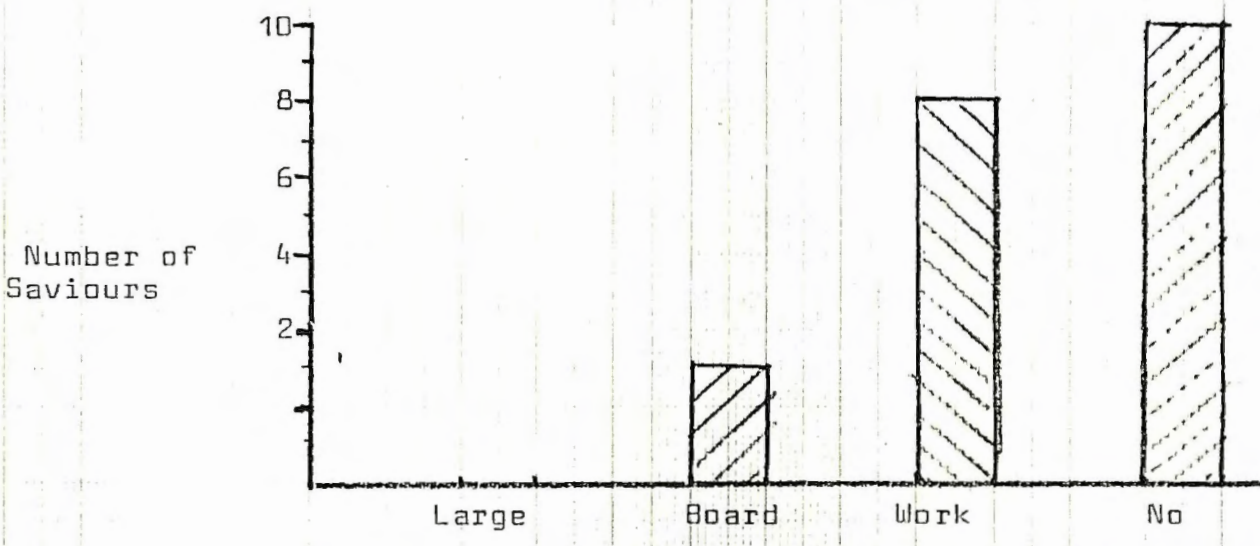


FAMILY STATUS OF THE INITIATING SAVIOUR

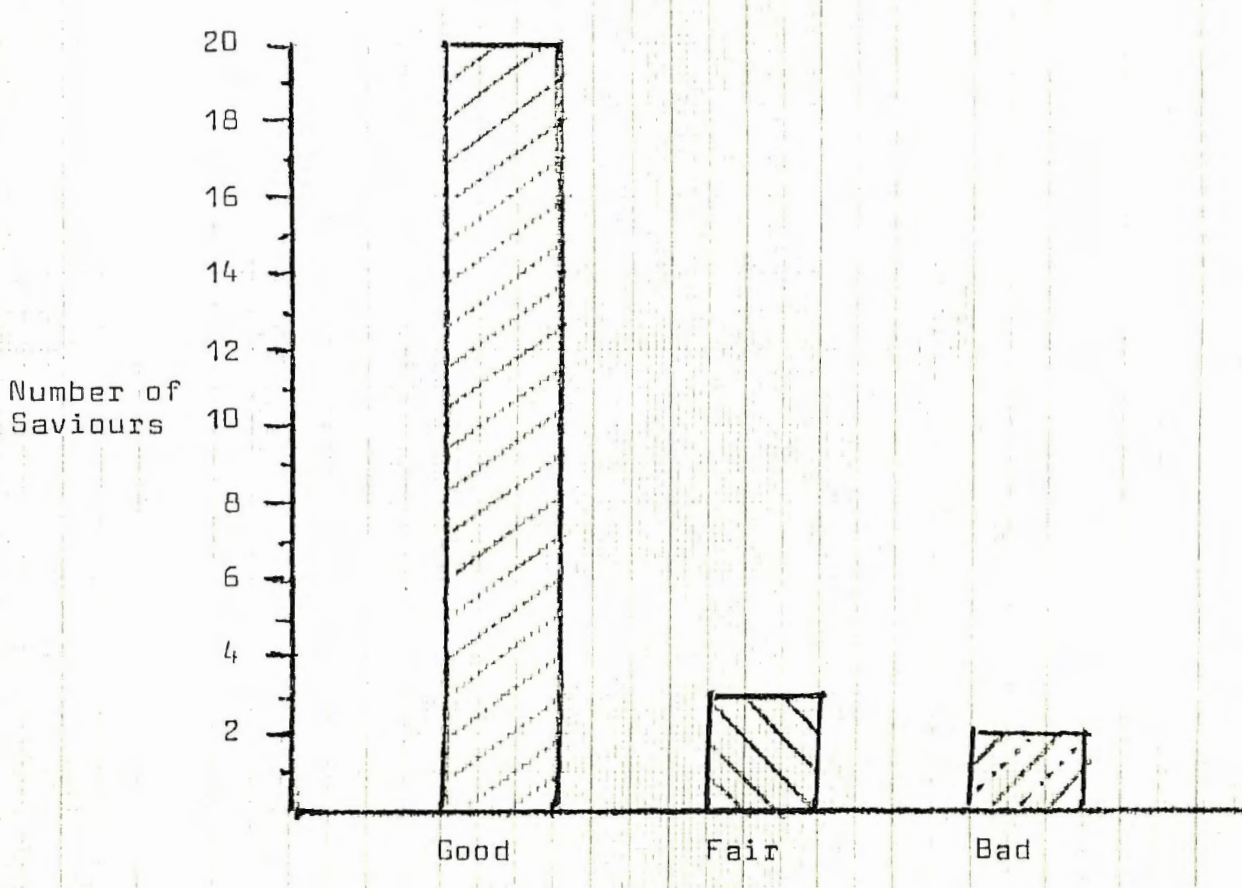


Country: N E T H E R L A N D S 25 Saviours

PAYMENT TO SAVIOURS

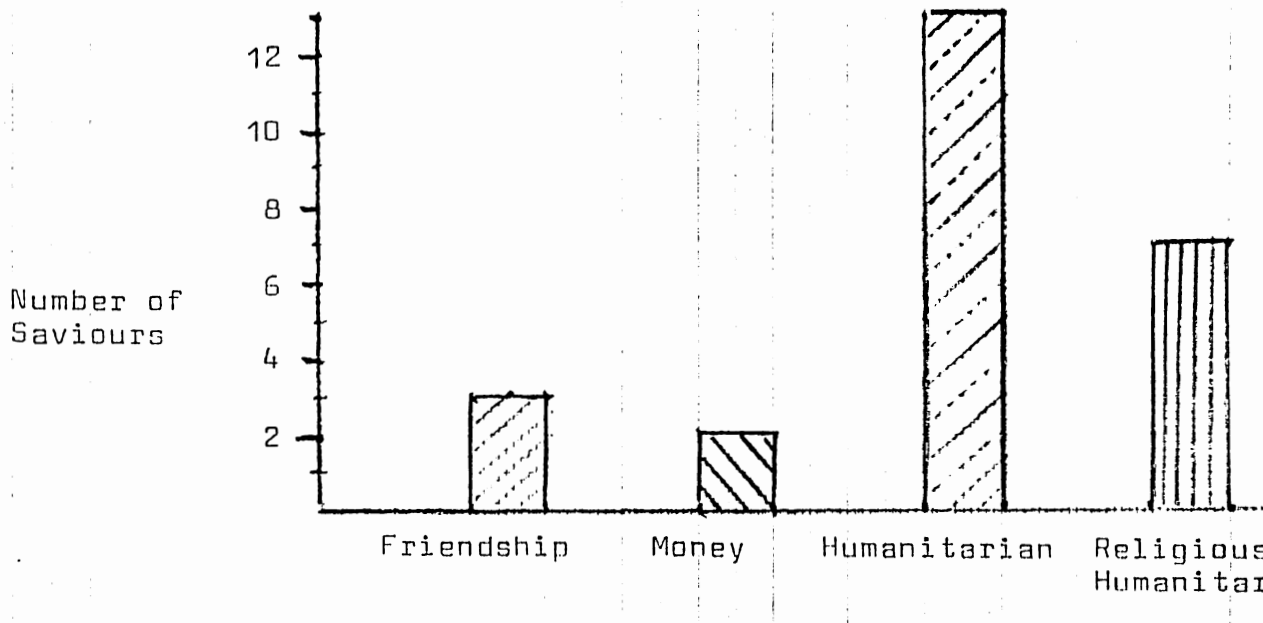


THE SAVIOURS TREATMENT OF THE SAVED



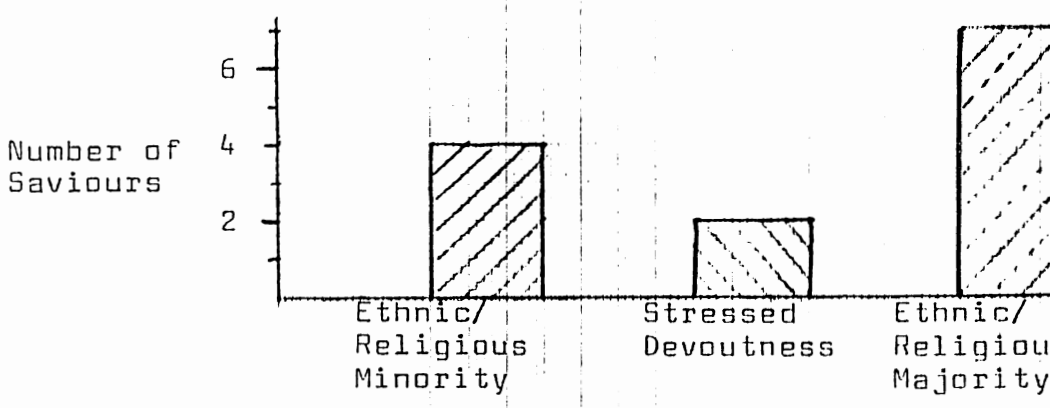
Country: N E T H E R L A N D S 25 Saviours

THE MOTIVE OF THE SAVIOURS

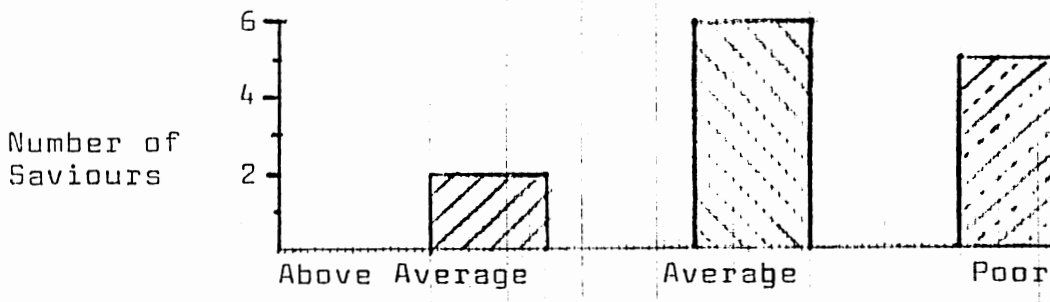


Country: C Z E C H O S L O V A K I A ;13 Saviours

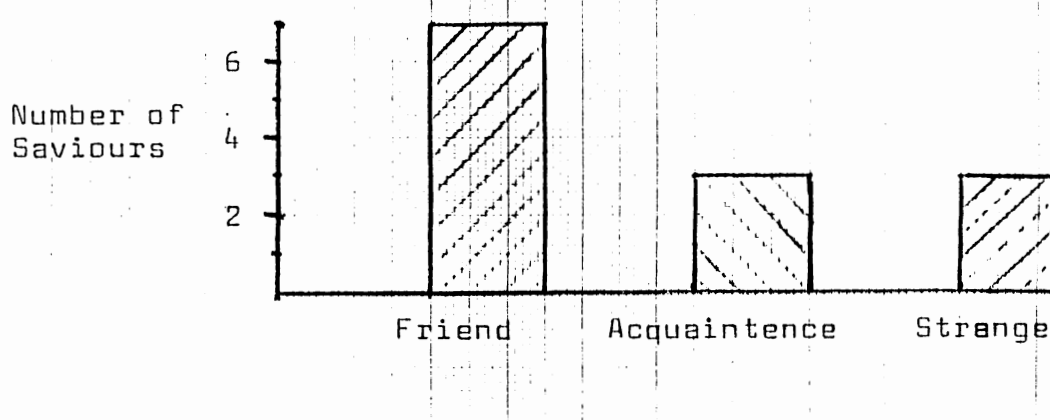
ETHNIC / RELIGIOUS / DEVOUTNESS



SOCIAL / ECONOMIC LEVEL

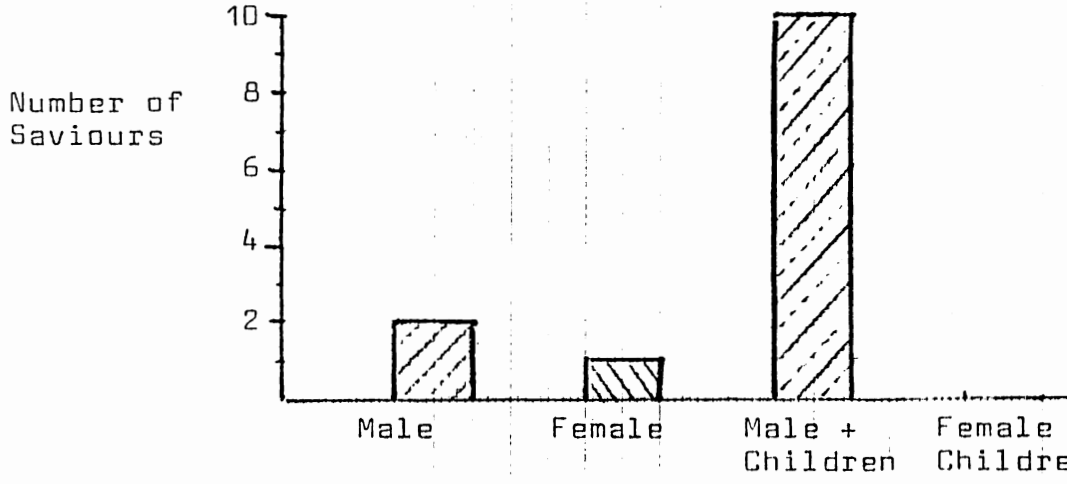


SAVIOUR - SURVIVOR - RELATIONSHIP

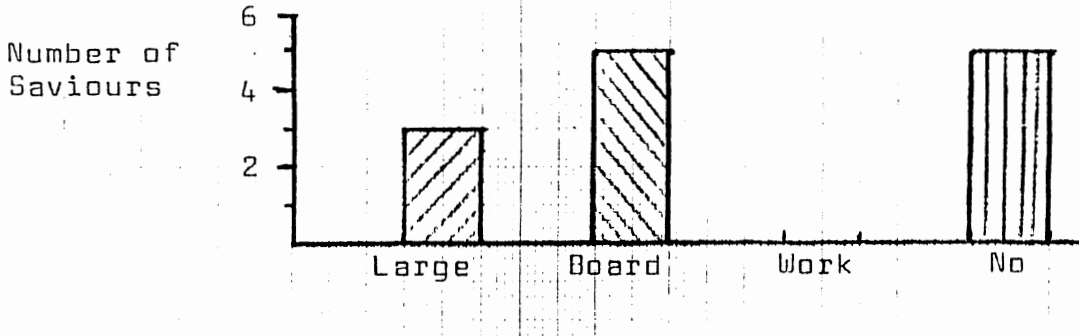


Country: C Z E C H O S L O V A K I A 13 Saviours

FAMILY STATUS OF THE INITIATING SAVIOUR

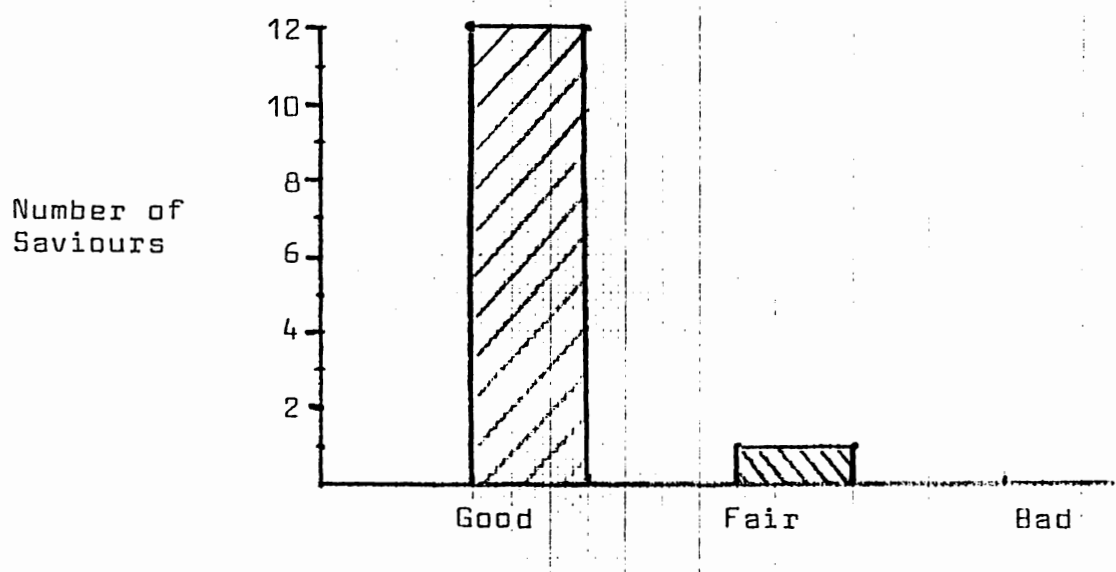


PAYMENT TO SAVIOURS

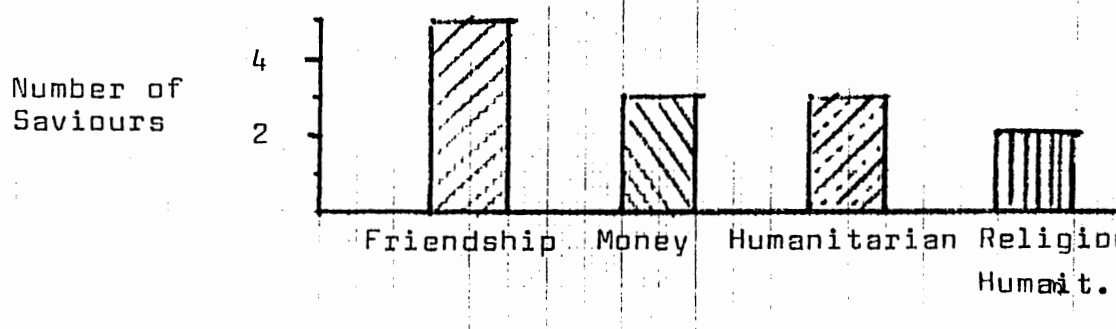


Country: C Z E C H O S L O V A K I A 13 Saviours

THE SAVIOURS TREATMENT OF THE SAVED



THE MOTIVE OF THE SAVIOURS



The full testimonies which make up part II of this study, and from which the information for the tables and diagrams was taken, affirm many of the findings and comments which appear in the research of Bauminger and Tec.

However, the emphasis is somewhat different. These testimonies do not support Dr. Tec's theory that the majority belonged to the 'marginal' peripherial community, causing them to be independent thinkers, uninfluenced by peer pressure. The diagrams, which sum up the tables, show that out of the thirty-five Polish Saviours, twenty belonged to the majority, religious and ethnic groups. Nor was there a predominance of intellectuals, as Dr. Tec supposed.

The diagrams show that of the thirty-five Polish Saviours only six were in the Above Average socio-economic class, ten were considered Average, and the eighteen Poor were peasants, living in dire poverty, on dirt floors, for whom a secondhand garment was a valuable gift, similarly to their neighbours. The diagrams also show that most of the decision makers who hid Jews were married men, and family men, again not alone. But in Poland, where both the antisemitism and the risks were greatest, 15 out of 35 ~~Survivors~~ Saviours were women. This is out of proportion when one considers the comparative rarity of maleless households.

These statistics agree with the findings of Dr. Tec in that most of the Saviours and their saved were initially strangers to each other. Of the thirty-five Saviours from Poland, twenty-two were complete strangers, six are defined as acquaintances, only seven were friends. A comment is in order here, most of those Jews living within the former Pale of Settlement of Poland had no non-Jewish friends.

A study of the diagrams for The Netherlands and for Czechoslovakia will reveal similar figures for the various attributes.

In order to verify Nehema Tec's theory of non-conformity, that there must have been something atypical about these Saviours, the witnesses, were specifically asked for any unusual attributes. They remembered a dissimilarity in forty-six of the seventy-three hiders (Poland: 24 out of 35; Czechoslovakia 8 out of 13; Netherlands 14 out of 25).

The conclusion is that the majority were average, ordinary citizens. However, as can be seen by the number of atypical notations in the tables, over half of the saviours possessed one exceptional feature. If one takes into consideration the homogeneity of society as a whole, and the farming communities in particular, the figures for atypical Saviours are extremely high. There were a disproportionally high number of non-conformists, whether due to their having a different

nationality, religion, political views, profession or social standing from their neighbours - they had one attribute which set them apart from their neighbourhood community.

The Saviours of one country should not be compared to another, nor should there be any comparisons as to their courage. The circumstances and the risks were of wide range. In Poland, in some districts, the whole hider's family risked instant death if discovered. In Holland, the more frequent risk was internment and deportation to a concentration camp for the head of the family. More Polish people knew the ultimate fate of the Jews and they knew this earlier than the average Dutch citizen. In some outlying districts of Czechoslovakia, there were neither radios or newspapers, and the hiders did not realize the gravity of their situation. There were parts of all these three countries where the Germans had not penetrated, where Jews were not known or recognized. Districts occupied by antifascist partisans were safer than those physically occupied by the Germans. There were areas where harbouring a pig or a radio were as dangerous as hiding a Jew.

The Saviours listed in these tables hid those they helped to save for differing lengths of time, under incomparable circumstances, some sharing their own starvation level provisions, some risking little in the chaotic times of troop and population movement. With living quarters usually larger

and unannounced neighbours rarer, most Dutch hiders were able to accommodate their 'guest' within their home. This 'guest' could often work, whereas the Polish Jews were only rarely able to do so.

The social and economic level of the Saviours has been defined as Above Average, Average and Poor, assessments which are applicable and relevant only in their own country, rather than in a general sense. In Poland, the disparity is much larger than in Holland. The so-called intellectual or academic of Poland is far removed, not only in wealth, but also in formal and informal education, from the rest of the population. The dire poverty of a Polish peasant in 1944 cannot be compared to the poor of Holland.

The list from Yad VaShem* shows the number of Righteous Gentiles, i.e. Saviours, listed there by 1990. Their approximate up-to-date figure is ten thousand. The total number of people who hid a Jew at some time can only be estimated. Some of the hidden did not survive the Holocaust, others have since passed away, and many have never related their experiences.

The Saviours were a small minority in a welter of enmity and indifference, who by their actions saved not only Jewish lives, but, to quote Kadish Luz, a former Speaker of Israel's Parliament:

"These few saved the honour of Man"

*See glossary

F.N.

1 BAUMINGER, A.L: The Righteous among the Nations
Jerusalem, Yad VaShem, 1990, p.11.

2. Ibid, pp. 11-12.

3. TEC, Nehama: When Light Pierced the Darkness: Christian Rescue of Jews in Nazi-occupied Poland
New York, Oxford University Press, 1986. p.186.

4. Ibid, p. 188.

5. Ibid, p. 192.

Names of the Survivors who provided oral testimony listed under their country of refuge

BELGIUM - B

1. Anita Israel
2. Ruth Lowenthal
3. Sara Lowenthal
4. Sigbert Pfennig

CZECHOSLOVAKIA - C

5. Hilda Brand
6. Katerina Braun
7. Anna Dohan
8. Tova Einhorn
9. Gisela Getzler
10. Marietta Goldman-Halek
11. Felicia Greenfield
12. Alice Lipsker-Stern
13. Elisabeth Salwendy
15. Pavel Suchostaver

FRANCE - F

17. Jacob Fischler
18. Roland Friedman
20. Berta Kaner
21. Roger Levy
22. Helen Rosenbluth

GERMANY - G

16. Gisela Muller

GREECE - GR

14. Genny Florentin

NETHERLANDS - N

23. Veronica De Bruin
24. Jacques De Hartog
25. Eva Frankel
26. Therese Heymann
27. Rosy Jacobs
28. Victor Jacobs
29. Jacky Kapper
30. Carolina Reens
31. Ruth Siegel
32. Moshe Wolff

HUNGARY - H

33. Judith Acs
34. Klari Strasset

ITALY - I

60. John Weissmann

LITHUANIA - L

35. Luba Gis

POLAND - P

36. Mina Blass
19. Rahel Burko
37. Yentl Burko
38. Zelda Burko.
39. Luba Cydielnicki
40. Arieh Durst
41. Dora Feiger
42. Maria Fraenkel
43. Sonia Goldman
44. Joseph Grodzinski
45. Sonia Hebenstreit
46. Dudek Inventarz
47. Klara Jewrejski
48. Zalman Jewrejski
49. Devora Karpel
50. Miriam Perkal
51. Marisha Perlberger
59. Hania Piller
52. Eve Reiner
53. Osias Ritter
54. Genia Ungerfeld
55. Tuvia Warman
56. Edja Wilder
57. Pepka Zuckerberg

YUGOSLAVIA - Y

58. Zlata Schlittingen

CHAPTER FOUR

THE SAVED

I am a child who has lost his youth,
I am the child hidden by the church,
I am the child hidden by strangers,
I am the child who moved from place to place
Not knowing what tomorrow would bring.
I am the child with no name,
I am the child hiding in the sewer, the attic,
Not to see the sunlight and play,
I am the child with no family,
I am the child in constant fear,
I am the child who survived.

(A verse by Eddy Strauss, entitled "We are the Forgotten Children' The Hidden Child Newsletter, Vol.II,No.2.1992. (p.1)

INTRODUCTION

This survey includes only those survivors who for some period of time were hidden or helped by people who knew they were Jewish. Testimonies of survivors whose true identity was not known by any of their employers, hosts or colleagues have not been included. Child survivors who were under the age of ten in 1940 were included only if they had been hidden together with a surviving relative who could corroborate and

possibly buttress their memories, or if they had stayed in contact with their Saviours, who could do the same.

The quotations have been taken from the full testimonies which constitute Part II of this thesis, all have footnotes. None of these sixty witnesses had previously recorded their histories - they had for the most part rarely spoken of their experiences during the Holocaust. The recall brings up memories which are difficult to cope with and the Survivor tries to blot them out so as to remain on an even keel. A few people who were telephoned by the interviewer explained that, although they would like their story to be known, they cannot yet risk their present-day equilibrium by recalling their traumatic past. The past, though it is nearly fifty years away, still haunts the Survivors' present.

This chapter has seven sections: Section I is concerned with the silence of the Survivors; Section II shows some of the psychosocial advantages for a Survivor in Israel; Section III explains why so few hid; Section IV, headed by a table of attributes and relying on the witnesses' own words, describes these Survivors and their hideouts. The tables show their common traits and their relevance to the witnesses' survival. Sections V, VI and VII mention other elements necessary for survival.

Section I:

EXPLANATIONS FOR THE PREVIOUS RETICENCE OF THE WITNESSES

In the course of this specific research the Survivors explained why they have not previously spoken in detail about their Holocaust experiences. One witness said " *I just didn't really feel like talking about it".* P.42[1] In some cases it was felt that no-one wanted to listen. Hence the testimony that "*Neither my parents, my brothers, my husband nor anyone else here were interested in hearing what I had been through".* N.25[2]

"*My wife is a Sabra*, we have never spoken about the Holocaust or my life at that time. Only once very briefly have I spoken about it to my children. People might be interested in the abstract, but nobody really wants to know the survivors' stories. Who wants to hear other people's troubles?*P.40[3]

In other cases reticence was related to a desire to be assimilated, to blend in as quickly as possible. This sentiment is expressed in the following testimony:

"*I feel somewhere deep inside me I was embarrassed about my past. I tried to hide the fact that I had been through the Holocaust in Poland. I never spoke about it, I wanted to be like the other children."*P.40[4]

In other cases there was a need to forget the past:

" That period in my life is over. B.3[5]

*See glossary

Other witnesses spoke of a wish to spare their children this awful heritage:

"I have two sons, and I have hardly told them anything of my experiences in the war. I was afraid of the effect it would have on them if I told them some of the things that had happened to me." P.57[6]

Whatever the reason the witnesses gave for their previous reticence the truth is that only now are most of them able to talk.

*"Many years passed before we could speak of that time in an everyday manner."*C.7[7]

Sara Goldman tells of others: *"I had a friend in Kibbutz Rosh Hanikra who never spoke at all about his life in the Holocaust. We are friendly with a couple and the wife told me that she knows nothing about her husband's experiences in the war".* Of herself, Sara says: *"I think that those who survived have a mission to tell in memory of those who died, to make sure that the Holocaust will never return"* P.43[8].

Section II

THE PSYCHOSOCIAL ADVANTAGES OF LIVING IN ISRAEL

Fifty eight of these sixty survivors are living in Israel. In many ways life is easier for them than for those survivors living among people who know very little about the Holocaust of the Jews. In Israel there are several hundred thousand

Holocaust survivors. There is a national Remembrance Day and there are memorials. There are institutes such as Yad VaShem and Lochemai HaGhettaot which have museums commemorating the fate of the murdered. There is, today, more understanding by the population as a whole. Most Israelis who immigrated from Europe and some who did not, had relatives who died in the extermination camps or were otherwise murdered. The experience of separation and dispersal after the war, and the trials of the new immigrant, are common to most of the Survivors' generation in Israel. Finally, there is more chance of the survivor finding someone with a similar experience of having lived in a state of perpetual fear, deprivation and humiliation, with whom he or she can talk and work through their common past. As the witness Judith Acs says:

"*Here in Israel, even those who don't want to know get all the information. There is no way to escape the knowledge here.*" H.33[8]

In Israel, there is also the healing sense of achievement in having helped to create a national homeland, hence the following views:

*"Yes, it was worth it. I have enjoyed fifty years of normal life and we are building and securing the future of Israel."*C.7[10]

" *I am glad that I survived and succeeded in coming here and forming a new family, children, grandchildren and great-grandchildren.*" B.4[11]

Section III

WHY MORE PEOPLE DID NOT TRY TO HIDE, OR TRY TO HIDE EARLIER

The following reasons were mentioned:

1a. The belief that nothing worse than a labour camp would befall the deportees:

*"At that time (1942) we had absolutely no idea of what was really going on in Poland, and we sent them food parcels, through the Red Cross, thinking that they were in some sort of a work camp."*N.26[12]

"*In the beginning no one knew that these deportations were to concentration camps and death ... we thought they were to work camps.*" C.7[13]

This belief was fostered by the Germans who succeeded in duping the people:

*"Only after many months did we learn that these 1,000 Jewish men had been shot and killed. The Germans kept the rumour going that they were still alive, and they even collected gold and jewellery for their release."*P.53[14]

"*The Germans were very orderly and everything was planned and arranged to the last detail.*" P.57[15]

"*In the summer of 1941 the Germans ordered the Jews of Kosov to assemble in a central place and told them that they would be sent away to work. Those that came were killed.*" P.41[16]

1b. Many believed that the civilised, cultured and enlightened Germans were incapable of barbarity.

"*My mother didn't believe that life under the Germans would be so bad, she thought that they were more cultured.*"P.41[17]

"*At the outbreak of the war, my brother went to Russia. Later he returned to persuade the rest of the family to come with him. My grandfather was furious with him, telling him that the Germans were a cultured, intelligent race and that there was no need to run away, to be pathetic refugees.*"P.43[18]

"*Some refugees from the occupied area of Poland told us in Lwow horror stories of deportations, deprivations and murder. But my family, with their belief in the civility of the Germans, refused to accept these stories.*"P.45[19]

"*Although the Jews were clever and had survived progroms, they never believed that the Germans would be capable of murder and annihilation. Perhaps because of all the culture and civilization that had come out of Germany in the past, the Jews refused to believe that the Holocaust could happen.*"P.57[20]

1c. Disbelief.

"As early as 1941 we began to hear stories of the terrible things the Germans were doing in Poland, but nobody wanted to believe them." C.12[21]

"An SS soldier named Kleber warned us of impending disaster, and advised us to hide, we went around to spread the news. One very rich family turned on us and accused us of spreading panic, refusing to believe us. The whole family was killed the same night." P.43[22]

*"I told the Jew on leave from the labour camp, who was on his way to Budapest, that the Jews were being rounded up there, deported and shot on the streets. He didn't believe me."*H.34[23]

*"The German SA officer who was the deputy Mayor of Lars came in September, 1940 and advised us to leave, saying that the following week all the Jews were to be deported. We started to run around to all the other Jewish families in the town, but they didn't believe us or didn't want to."*F.20[24]

1d. Sometimes information on the concentration and death camps was intentionally kept secret by Jewish bodies such as the Judenrat, the underground and individuals.

*"Neumann, the leader of the ghetto, told us that there was no reason to be afraid, we were only being taken to labour camps, nothing more."*P.37[25]

*"In 1943 two boys escaped from Auschwitz, and returned to Nove Mesto. They told us what was happening there and swore us to secrecy, to protect our parents from this knowledge."*C.7[26]

2. There was nowhere to hide.

*"It was impossible, we had very small children, nobody would have given us shelter..... Later, when my mother did give my baby brother to Ukrainian friends, they brought him to the Police station, where he was murdered."*P.19[27]

*"After all the Jews had been deported from the whole district round Goniandz in the Aktion of 2 November, 1942, we had nowhere to go, everyone was too frightened to hide us. So we went to one village, Jaschenowka, where there were still Jews, as did others who had escaped the Aktion, knowing that soon we would all be rounded up and deported to our deaths."*P.47[28]

*"My friends in the labour force laughed at me and said that no Gentile would help a Jew, and that there was nowhere to run. Their statements were based on knowledge of incidents that had already taken place..... There was nowhere to go, the Partisans in the nearby forest, who could have helped us, had all run away when the weather became cold.*P.48[29]

*"We had the feeling that there was nowhere to go. We felt frightened, threatened and helpless all at once."*P.51[30]

STATISTICS OF THE SURVIVORS' ATTRIBUTES

1. Country	2. Date of Birth		3. Gender		4. Finances		5. Language Ability			6. Conditions of Hiding	7. Comments
	Year	No.	M.	F.	Affluent	Poor	Fluent	Non Fluent	Total		
Poland	1924 25-29 30-37	9 8 7	6	18	21	3	17	7	24	22 in barns, bunkers, forests 2 only in houses posing as non-Jews	Most in several hiding places -
Netherlands	<24 25-29 30-37	3 5 2	4	6	5	5	9	1	10	In a house	9/10 helped by Resistance
Czecho-slovakia	<24 25-29 30-37	4 3 3	1	9	9	1	8	2	10	6 not in homes 4 in primitive lodgings	
France	<24 25-29 30-37	3 1 1	3	2	4	1	3	2	5	In 'free' France	2 German speaking
Belgium	<24 25-29 30-37	1 2 1	1	3	3	1	3	1	4	3 in servant's home	Man was a German illegal immigrant
Hungary	30-37	2	-	2	2	-	2	-	2	1 in 'safe' foreign national houses/ convent - 1 in neighbours & friends homes	After 1944 2 young girls alone

STATISTICS OF THE SURVIVORS' ATTRIBUTES

1. Country	2. Date of Birth		3. Gender		4. Finances		5. Language Ability			6. Conditions of Hiding	7. Comments
	Year	No.	M.	F.	Affluent	Poor	Fluent	Non Fluent	Total		
Yugoslavia	30-37	1	-	1	-	1	1	-	1	With her mother to Italian occupied zone	
Lithuania	30-37	1	-	1	-	1	1	-	1	With grandmother in convent	
Italy	<24	1	1	-	-	1	-	1	1	In a friendly village	
Germany	<24	1	-	1	1	-	1	-	1	With non-Jewish relatives	Half Jewish
Greece	<24	1	-	1	1	-	1	-	1	With Greeks who had been transferred from Turkey after First World War	
Totals	<24	23	16	44	46	14	46	14	60		
	25-29	19									
	30-37	18									

SECTION IV

AN EXAMINATION OF THE STATISTICS ON SOME OF THE SALIENT ATTRIBUTES OF THESE SURVIVORS

The tables have seven columns:

Column One: DEMOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION OF THE SAVED

Poland 24; Netherlands 10; Czechoslovakia 10; France 5; Belgium 4; Hungary 2; Latvia 1; Yugoslavia 1; Italy 1; Germany 1; Greece 1.

As previously mentioned, the majority of Jews lived in Poland, but since most of the survivors in the Netherlands were hidden in private homes, the number of Dutch witnesses is comparatively large.

Column Two: AGE OF THE SURVIVORS

Thirty seven of those interviewed were under the age of fifteen in 1940. Many who were adults in 1940 have already died. Probably more children than adults were hidden, for it was easier to explain a strange child's presence, by such explanations as: the home town had been bombed, there was an outbreak of disease or lack of food in their home town. Small children were sometimes taken in by a former nanny or other servant, posing as a relative. Perhaps it was easier for children to wriggle out under the barbed wire fences. Parents believing they were being taken to work camps tried to find homes for their children. More children than adults

looked, spoke and behaved like their Christian neighbours.

Column Three: GENDER OF THE SURVIVORS

Forty-four of the survivors were females, as against only sixteen males. The main reason for this was certainly the ease with which a Jew could be identified by the circumstance of his circumcision. Thus a boy caught, suspected and undressed could not bluff that he was not Jewish. A boy, therefore, was also potentially more dangerous for his hider.

Column Four: THE IMPORTANCE OF MONEY

a. There were many people who realized before the outbreak of the war, or before the German occupation of their country, that it would be advisable for them to leave. Even for those few countries that were willing to take in a limited number of fugitives, immigration visas had to be purchased. Most of the limited number of certificates for entry into Palestine had a price. Guarantors in the potential host countries had to prove their means. Even the fare for a large family could be an insurmountable obstacle.

b. Forty-six of these survivors mentioned the fact that they were solvent. Both in these accounts, and in the literature, it is noted that a large proportion of the survivors belonged to the affluent strata. Of the fourteen without means, ten were young children and two were strong, young illegal immigrants who worked on farms in Belgium and Italy. The following testimonies provide supporting evidence for the necessity of funds.

"In spite of the French peoples' hatred of the Germans, we paid heavily for being kept safe by the local population." F.20[31]

"We had hidden some of the hides from the shop and an expensive fur coat belonging to my mother in a pit dug in the house of a Pole we knew. There was always the risk that he would take the things for himself, but we had no choice. We also had some dollars, roubles and gold coins hidden, this what saved us eventually." P.43[32]

The necessity for payment was continually mentioned. It enabled people to survive up to the time of going into hiding.

"*A Polish policeman began to question me. I told him I was Jewish, gave him some money and he let me go.*" P.36[33]

"*In one Aktion my mother and sister were arrested among a group of two hundred and fifty women. My father went to the Judenrat and reminded them that he was their main contributor for the various fines and bribes collected from the Jews by the German authorities. He told them they would not get another zloty unless his wife and daughter were released. All except my mother and sister were taken to the cemetery and machine-gunned... Many people starved in the ghetto, but we were never hungry, my father always had the means to procure food.*" P.53[34]

"*She gave the house-owner some of my jewellery and her own, to allow us to shelter in the cellar for the night during the Aktion. The next day the woman came and told us that*

all the Jews had been taken to the trains and the streets were full of corpses". P.50[35]

"With the money I earned by smuggling out of the ghetto things which had been left behind in the many emptied rooms, I managed to pay my hiders until they threw me out". P.45[36]

"At first in the Warsaw ghetto it was possible for those with money to buy food. Luckily my father had saved US dollars which had an inflated value at the time". P.44[37]

"My mother got me out of the ghetto to a family called Venerowsky in Praga, promising them our house in payment should I survive." P.46[38]

Guards had to be paid (bribed) to let one leave a place of detention or constriction.

"We paid a French guard at the transit camp of Rivsalt to let my father escape". F.20[39]

"My half Jewish cousin told me they were working for our release from prison by using bribes involving large sums of money.! Y.58[40]

It was necessary to pay a smuggler to lead one over a border to an area or a country considered safer.

"I had some dollars which I kept hidden in the plait of my hair, which had luckily escaped the notice of the inspection guards. This money paid for the smuggler who got us through the forest". P.41[41]

"We paid local French men to help us across a barbed wire fence at the border between occupied and unoccupied France" F.20[42]

"*The actual smuggling across the border to Spain was a matter of money, and not done for patriotic reasons or love of Jews.*" F.17[43]

"*We had to pay a lot of money at the border*".H.33[44]

"*My uncle sent a guide to smuggle from Lwow into Warsaw, my mother paid him with money and jewellery. Once we were stopped by a Pole, my mother gave him money and he let us go.*" P.40[45]

It was necessary to pay in order to receive false certificates of identity.

"*I got my false papers by bribing government and municipal clerks. For money they would alter the names on birth certificates and other documents.*" C.15[46]

"*When the first Aktions started in 1942 we went to some Poles who prepared false documents for money.*" P.50[47]

Payment was also necessary in order to obtain certificates of preference, such as the VIP passes or work passes which ensured that the holder was not among the first to be deported.

"*There was a system by which Jews could buy a labour permit, they were assured that this permit would prevent them from being deported*". P.56[48]

"*My father also paid to get me into the warehouse, into the labour force, a job considered safe from the deportations and out of the ghetto. We received no money for our work, we lived from our hidden funds.*" P.53[49]

"*My father paid money for the privilege of being in an essential occupation*". C.15[50]

"*My father had this Privelege Pass because after the First World War he had supported many of the gentry's families.*" C.13[51]

"*The Germans had set up factories, any Jew who could pay them money was allowed to work there and given a work permit.*" P.57[52]

"*My father paid the police money, and my brother received another 'R' permit.*" P.50[53]

It was necessary to pay for one's keep while in hiding. Very often only large sums would induce someone to take the risks.

"*The Polish couple in Chomotow received 500 zloty a month, but it wasn't enough for them so they threw me out.*" P.46[54]

"*They received money from us ostensibly for rent, but really so that they wouldn't betray us.*" C.15[55]

"*His only motive for hiding us was financial. We paid him 'rent' and for food, this was quite a lot and we promised him more after the war.*" C.7[56]

"*My father paid him for one of these pits, which were covered over on top with old boxes and bits of iron.*" P.57[57]

Column Five: LANGUAGE

The fluency and usage of the language of forty-two of the survivors was indistinguishable from that of their neighbours. Only a minority of Poles was sufficiently

fluent in their native tongue, since they had been forced to live for hundreds of years in the Pale of Settlement*. The pertinancy of language is proven by these figures, which show that the vast majority (76.6%) of hidden survivors spoke the language of the country fluently.

Column Six: CONDITIONS OF THE HIDING PLACE

Not everybody was prepared to endure the loneliness, boredom, confinement and the physical hardship of their various hiding places, especially in Poland:

"He put us in the pit he had dug under the horse manure, it was completely dark, we couldn't stand. After about a week my sister said it would be better to die than to remain there (She was murdered)". P.43[58]

Twenty-eight of these witnesses were concealed in places unfit for human habitation. Thirty-two were hidden in a house, thought it may have been in an attic or a small, locked room. A few were for some period hidden 'openly'. A person can be said to have been hidden 'openly' when only his hosts and perhaps his hosts' immediate family knew his true identity, but the 'openly' hidden person did have some contact with other people. Very often they worked: as a domestic - N.25[59]; as a farm labourer - B.4[60]; attended

*See glossary

school - N.27[61], GR.14[62]; lived among non-collaborators - I.60[63], F.18[64]; stayed in an orphanage - L.35[65]; even went shopping - N.23[66]. In order to be hidden 'openly' hidden persons had to be able to hide their identity. They had to either speak the local language fluently without any trace of accent or variation in idiom or usage, this would more usually be the case for the children, or the 'openly' hidden person had to have a valid reason for his foreigness. The parents of F.20 pretended that they came from Alsace[67]. The witness, I.60, who was 'openly' hidden in Italy, possessed a Swiss birth certificate[68].

The following excerpts from the testimonies show the conditions of the place of concealment and some of the hardships endured by these Survivors. There was little amplification on the subjective feelings and emotions, no descriptions of how these hidden reacted to fear, cold, hunger, loneliness, lice, body sores, filth, worry and longing for the parents and siblings who, as they knew or suspected, had probably been killed. Not one of the Survivors said a word about his own stoicism, or thought his behaviour praiseworthy - perhaps this attitude is correct - for the alternative to endurance was death.

*"We were squashed in like sardines, ten of us, it was impossible to stand up and there was no air. My married brother and his wife could not not endure it, they said they preferred to die rather than stay in the pit (They were murdered). The five of us stayed. At night we used to go into an adjoining store-room to get a little air but during the day we lay in the pit. Sometimes, as when the pit was half filled with water, after the snow melted, we came out during the day too and sat in the loft of the barn."*P.43[69]

*"He dug a pit for us, it is difficult to imagine, it was about one metre square, my brother and I could only sit in one position, it was like being in a tomb. It was very dark and damp and frogs were jumping on us all the time. During the night they let us sleep in the attic."*P.19[70]

*"I stayed in the gallery of the cowshed for twenty months, hidden in the straw. I made myself a little straw cubicle, by the side of the wooden planked wall, which let in light and air through the cracks."*P.41[71]"

It was in the attic of the railway station. There was a large empty space under the roof. There were sixteen of us, including three children. It was freezing in the winter, minus 20°C. We couldn't heat the hall." P.54[72]

"We were hidden in a pit dug under a strawstack for a year and some months. Looking back it seems as if it had been a thousand years. The pit was covered with a straw mat, we had room to lie. In one corner one person could stretch up,

*we took it in turns. At night we could go out to relieve ourselves. We mostly lived off bread and water, sometimes porridge or potatoes, but there were some days when the family couldn't bring us food, I suppose it was too dangerous."*P.55[73]

"*For nine months we were hidden in the barn. When our money ran out we were turned out and from then on we hid for short periods in barns, in holes in the ground, in the forest, continually on the run."*P.47[74]

Dudek Inventarz describes four places of hiding:

"*I was locked in the cellar completely alone for six months. Once a week Mrs. Venerowsky would come and bring me food and newspapers.... They kept me in a state of constant hunger, almost starvation, and I had to steal food from the dogs..... It was freezing and snow outside, they let me in, but shut me up with about 100 rabbits, who jumped and peed on me. I had to stay standing up and they nibbled at my wooden shoes. .... I was without shelter hiding in the field, and could see the flames of the burning houses in the ghetto and hear the explosions, knowing that my mother and sister were inside."*P.46[75]

"*We stayed in the straw in the loft of the barn at night for nearly two years, the snow and wind came in through the cracks. Unwashed and full of lice. Later, when the children knew about us, we could sometimes leave it during the day, and then we could use the family bath water about once a month, everyone using the same water."*P.38[76]

"*Once I remember our whole family and other ex-workers' families from the Rope-makers Cooperative hid in a bunker, but by the third day it was difficult to breathe, there was not enough oxygen to light a candle..... The roof was of tin, without any proper ventilation. During the summer the tin became burning hot, and in winter it was freezing. It was so low that we had to lie down all the time.*"P.53[77]

"*After a neighbouring family was reported for hiding a Jew and I think killed, my hiders were afraid and hid me in the hayloft during the day. I had to stand all day. I was so weak, without any feeling in my legs and arms.*"P.59[78]

"*We hid from one Aktion* in the outside lavatory. I remember the smell of sewage, the cramped space, the demand that a crying child should be killed. ..... After my mother and cousin were found and shot, I hid alone, mostly in the forest, for a year. I felt cold, the days were long, each day felt like a year, and sometimes for days I had no human contact at all.*"P.56[79]

"*I was not very happy there. I had to look after the three little children and clean the house, they took advantage of me. It was hard physical work for a child of twelve, with long hours.*"N.27[80]

"*It was worse than prison, at least there you are taken out once a day for exercise. I went into the attic when I was thirteen and came out at fifteen.*"B.3[81]

*See glossary

"*We lay under the straw, it was very cold. We moved to the pigsty, it was warmer. Then when that became too dangerous we were hidden in a mound of dung.*"C.7[92]

"*In a corner of the stacked straw we had made a hideout for three mattresses, on which nine people were lying.*"C.9[93]

"*Aged nine - I spent the months alone all day in a lean-to in the vineyard.*"C.15[94]

"*My brother and I spent the days sitting under the floorboards, it was cramped, dark, damp and frogs kept jumping over us. Later we were taken to a bunker in the forest. It seemed like paradise, though we had no warm clothes or blankets and were plagued by lice.*"P.19[95]

"*For twenty months I was lying alone in a space under the straw, with nothing to do or read, no one to talk to, covered with lice and unable to wash. A little mouse became my friend.*"P.41[96]

"*There was no air to breathe down there, even the candle that we lit went out from lack of oxygen. It was a good thing that the floor was not tiled but made of earth, as we put our heads down and breathed through the earth.*"P.57[97]

"*We hid in the disused chimney, it was pitch black inside. Every day my father put half a loaf and some water in the opening. We were covered with body lice, when they found us we were completely black with soot.*"P.57[98]

Column Seven: COMMENTS

This shows some aspects of the hiding in the different countries. It will be seen that most of the Polish Survivors were hidden by more than one family. The importance of the Resistance movements in finding and financing the hiding places of the Dutch Jews is noted by the comment that nine out of the ten Survivors in this survey owed their lives to these organizations.

It should be noted that the Polish neighbours were more liable to report the hiding of a Jew than the Dutch, and also that the risk of death for the Pole and his family was greater than for the Dutch, where the more usual punishment for the host, if discovered, was imprisonment.

SECTION V - LUCK WAS NEEDED FOR SURVIVAL

"*The four of us were taken by surprise when the German police came into the barn, even the ladder was still standing. We were extremely lucky that they didn't come to look into the loft.*" *P.47*[89] *We were lucky with the Lucz family, who used our possessions to support us, and neither betrayed us to the Gestapo or stole.*"P.47[90]

"*It was luck that, halfway to the police station, the child cowherds who suspected that I was circumcised, decided to return to the cattle they had foresaken.*"P.46[91]

"*We heard the Germans saying they wanted to search the cellar, we quickly hid under the piles of potatoes. Though they searched with a torch, they didn't find us.*"P.43[92]

"*Suddenly I heard my name called out at the deportation assembly point. The Pole in charge of the forestry workers,*

*hearing of my arrest, reported to the Germans that I was an essential worker on his labour force. So I was released."*P.59[93]

"*After the Warsaw rebellion, the town hall was burnt with all the records, so nobody could check up on us."*P.36[94]

"*In the general round-up of the remaining Jews in Berlin in February, 1943, the Gestapo did not come to the Osram lightbulb factory..... The Swiss border policeman helped us to avoid the Gestapo when he returned us to Germany."*G.16[95]

"*On the day that the notice came ordering me to report at the assembly point a postcard arrived from my aunt in Beuthen with a hidden warning. So I did not go (my colleagues went, none survived.)"*N.25[96]

"*A complete stranger, who I approached in the street, housed me and obtained some support for me from the Jewish organization. .... The local head of police warned of an imminent raid by the Gestapo.... I happened to meet an acquaintance on the street, who put me in touch with the Belgian Resistance."*B.4[97]

"*The train from Antwerp to Brussels was diverted to France."*F.22[98]

" *Because my name was misspelt on a money transfer I didn't go to France, but stayed in Italy..... Because the visa did not arrive on time, I missed the SS Oratzio, which caught fire. ....I happened to meet an acquaintance at the Rome railway station, who told me where I could go to receive money."*I.60[99]

"*My father was on his way to Rimavska Sobota, a policeman acquaintance told him to turn back, saying that after the ghetto had been liquidated the few remaining 'privileged' Jews were being rounded up and shot.*"C.13[100]

"*A German soldier who had a Jewish girl friend, got me out of the prison, the following day there was another Aktion and all were killed. I couldn't believe that this miracle had happened to me..... We were lucky in that we had just missed the latest 'transport' to Auschwitz concentration camp. It had left the day we arrived. ..... The Germans poked around in the straw with long sticks, these came within inches of me, but never touched me. ..... Just before the Germans came I emptied my chamber pot on the snow, but the Germans did not notice.....While I was lying in the stable a shell fell on the building and the wall fell down next to me. Nothing happened to me.*"P.41[101]

"*In Lida, a German soldier, one of those herding us onto the trains going to the concentration camps, urged me to escape and join the partisans, he even found temporary shelter for my baby and me with a Polish woman..... When his German army employer saw my husband going with the rest of the ghetto in the direction of the forest to be shot, he pulled him out, also me and the baby.*"P.39[102]

"*Two days before the Russians liberated us the Germans searched the storeroom, banging on some of the empty packing*

*cases, I was in another one. They didn't find us, and left the house."*P.54[103]

*" In Mecklenburg, near Berlin, we were inspected in the nude, the SS man said "Gesund, gesund" and passed me. Someone said no Jew could pass this inspection, and I readily agreed!"*P.44[104]

SECTION VI

Initiative, Foresight and Courage

Sometimes the parents and sometimes the hidden child showed remarkable resourcefulness, as the following examples show:

*"The Germans came to take us away - my mother faked an epileptic fit, surprisingly they let us stay for that night."*N.26[105]

*" When the others went to the assembly point, we hid under the rafters, a hiding place prepared by our father..... I helped my father jump out of the train and then I decided, since I was being taken to my death anyway, I had nothing to lose, and jumped too."*P.47[106]

*"After all my family in the ghetto had been killed, I used to crawl under the fence, as did the other children, buy food outside and slip into the ghetto again to sell the food. ..... The night before a rumoured Aktion against children, I was caught crawling out, by two Poles. By biting their hands and running across railway lines in front of an oncoming train, I managed to get away. ....I managed to persuade the Gestapo who interrogated me for two days that I was a Polish orphan."*P.45[107]

"*I got away from the orphanage, where the matron threatened to prove I was Jewish, by saying that I had money at some friends, which I wanted to bring. My real intention was to ask these friends to teach me the Catholic prayers.*"P.45[108]

"*After a death in the community, I used to sit vigil during the three days' wake, so that I would have a place to stay and food during that time.*"P.46[109]

"*The second time we were ordered to go to the assembly point we again didn't obey, but hid. The others were taken to the trenches and shot.*"P.37[110]

"*Instead of going to the assembly point as ordered, the four of us hid between the rafters and the attic for two weeks, and then escaped.*"P.48[111]

"*My uncle gave me a loaf of bread and a pair of pliers to hide under my coat, and kept me with him when the men were herded into separate wagons. He cut the wire over the window and pushed me out, saying: 'If we don't jump we will definitely die, this way we have a slight chance.'*"P.43[112]

"*Suspecting a coming total liquidation of the Jews in Brzezany, we vanished on our way to work and hid in the corn. At night we hid in a prearranged place. Five days later came the final Aktion.*"P.53[113]

"*I was eight years old, the Gestapo came and questioned me. I could see that my nanny was terrified that I would say the wrong thing, however I was calm and collected and played the nice little smiling girl with her mother.*"B.1[114]

"*I finally managed to cross over to the Belgium border illegally. Penniless, without a knowledge of French, living in a cheap hotel which used to be searched in the early hours, I spent the time from 3.30 am. to 8.15 am. in a church, different ones so as not to arouse suspicion.*"B.4'15

"*I remembered the name of the stranger at the Vicqniallier station, and contacted him. He got us out of the camp.*"*F.22'16*

"*The Italian soldier would not let us disembark in Split. My mother told me to start screaming, which I did with such force that the soldier got nervous and told us to get off the ship.*"Y.58'17

"*A Greek Orthodox friend converted us to Christianity, when this no longer helped we arranged for three alternative hiding places.*"C.10'18

"*We prepared a hiding place in the loft of our broom factory within the piles of straw.*"C.9'19

Alice Lipsker-Stern gives several instances of quick thinking and resourcefulness:

"*When the Hungarian Nazi police, the Nilusc, came to arrest us, my parents told me to jump out of the window.... We successfully persuaded the officials to give us a Wallenberg passport, since we were thirteen girls on our own....When the Nilusc collected the children from the 'safe' Swedish house, we girls jumped out of the windows and hid..... **I was blonde, with blue eyes**, since I did not know how to obtain false papers I went to the Hungarian Interior Ministry, past the Nazi guards, and told them I had run away from the Russian*

fighting. I received a genuine Christian identity card. With this same story I was accepted into the Esterhazy monastery." C.12[120]

"There was a commotion, shots were fired, those on the edge started running, I threw off my shoes and fled through the shooting into the forest." P.51[121]

"In the Sombor ghetto, aged five, I heard that the Germans were coming to take away our possessions. I quickly took my mother's corsets, into which she had sewn some diamond rings, put it round me under my coat, and ran to hide in the field." P.54[122]

"The Gestapo official took my handbag, and was about to open it. I had my real identity papers in it. I snatched it back, saying coquettishly "What gentleman would look into a lady's bag?!" P.42[123]

SECTION VII THE SURVIVORS' BELIEFS ABOUT THE REASONS FOR THEIR SURVIVAL

"I have tried to puzzle out what had made me keep on, after all my family were murdered, the will to live must have been very strong." P.39[124]

"Luck and innocence. Neither my Christian relatives and friends, nor I, realised the extent of the danger, believing that if caught we only risked deportation to work camps. I looked and sounded German and behaved with the confidence of a young goodlooking German woman." G.16[125]

"*Thanks to the resistance workers and the fact that I was completely Dutch in my speech and mannerisms. Also in Rotterdam, people kept to themselves. Of course, thanks to the marvellous de Meel family.*" N.23[126]

"*We were many generations Dutch, and in Holland people were very private and did not ask personal questions.*" N.29[127]

"*The fact that I survived is just chance.*" P.57[128]

"*We were saved mainly by father's sixth sense and his insistence on not waiting around to see what will happen, and because we could pay.*" F.20[129]

"*I think I survived through a mixture of luck and initiative.*" F.22[130]

"*I was informed of the fate of those caught, so I made a conscious decision to be careful and to survive. To this, and to the people who helped me I owe my life.*" C.7[131]

"*There was a lot of pure chance involved but also the ability to make speedy decisions. Those of our family who survived the concentration camps all had useful trades.*" C.15[132]

"*I think that my optimism and the belief that the next day or the day after the nightmare would be over, were what kept me going.*" P.41[133]

"*I owe the fact that I am still alive today to my being fluent in the Polish language, and being fair and blue-eyed.*" P.50[134]

"*I don't know. My mother, when she accompanied me to the gates of Smorgonia ghetto said 'You will survive'!*" P.49[135]

"*Luck and the fact that we were fluent in the language.*" P.55[136]

"*The fact that I was in touch with my mother most of the time.*" P.52[137]

"*I knew that I was the last Jewish child alive. One of the reasons I agreed to be interviewed is that at that time, aged thirteen, I vowed to survive and tell the world my story. I had a very strong instinct and will to survive and the wish to reach Eretz Yisrael.*" *P.46*[138]

" *Luck. The fact that I was fair-haired and didn't look Jewish. I spoke Polish fluently, we found a French landlady who couldn't tell who was Jewish. For much of the time we had money. The fact that the Warsaw uprising broke out the day they came looking for us.*" P.40[139]

"*My father's whole life and behaviour was based on the Bible. He believed that the events in the Bible recurred over and over again throughout history. He believed that we were in a time of catastrophe, and that is what drove him to find hiding places.*" P.37[140]

"*We were saved by the Schussels, by the fact that my father had hidden away gold and roubles and had the intelligence to plan ahead.*" P.53[141]

"*I didn't look Jewish, Polish was my first language and my father was active in Zegota, a resistance organisation in Poland.*" P.51[142]

"*Nobody who has not been through the Holocaust can even imagine how things were. Someone here in Israel once asked me how it was that her sister was in the Srodula ghetto and was killed, and yet I survived. I don't understand much myself, but there are no ready answers.*" P.59[143]

CONCLUSIONS

In this chapter the writer examined the question: was it pure chance that these people happened to be hidden and happened to survive, or did they share some common characteristics which helped to decide their fate? The answer is that these Survivors had more in common than just luck.

Many interesting issues were exposed, such as the predominance of hidden females, the fact that the hiders came from the more assimilated and more affluent classes, that they had exceptional powers of endurance and a strong will to live. The forethought, the quick wit in times of crises and the optimism of these witnesses must surely have been exceptional, and did set these people apart.

Finally it is of interest to note the explanations for the long years of silence.

Chapter 1V Footnotes

F.N	Ref.No.	Name	Country
1.	P.42	Maria Fraenkel	Poland
2.	N.25	Eva Frankel	Netherlands
3.	P.40	Arieh Durst	Poland
4.		Ibid	
5.	B.3	Sara Lowenthal	Belgium
6.	P.57	Pepka Zuckerberg	Poland
7.	C.7	Anna Dohan	Czechoslovakia
8.	P.43	Sonia Goldman	Poland
9.	H.33	Judith Acs	Hungary
10.	C.7	Anna Dohan	Czechoslovakia
11.	B.4	Sigbert Pfennig	Belgium
12.	N.26	Therese Heymann	Netherlands
13.	C.7	Anna Dohan	Czechoslovakia
14.	P.53	Osias Ritter	Poland
15.	P.57	Pepka Zuckerberg	Poland
16.	P.41	Dora Feiger	Poland
17.		Ibid	
18.	P.43	Sonia Goldman	Poland
19.	P.45	Sonia Hebenstreit	Poland
20.	P.57	Pepka Zuckerberg	Poland
21.	C.12	Alice Lipsker-Stern	Czechoslovakia
22.	P.43	Sonia Goldman	Poland
23.	H.34	Klari Strasset	Hungary

	Ref.No.	Name	Country
24.	F.20	Berta Kaner	France
25.	P.37	Yentl Burko	Poland
26.	C.7	Anna Dohan	Czechoslovakia
27.	P.19	Rachel Burko	Poland
28.	P.47	Klara Jewrejski	Poland
29.	P.48	Zalmen Jewrejski	Poland
30.	P.51	Marisha Perlberger	Poland
31.	F.20	Berta Kaner	France
32.	P.43	Sonia Goldman	Poland
33.	P.36	Mina Blass	Poland
34.	P.53	Osias Ritter	Poland
35.	P.50	Miriam Perkal	Poland
36.	P.45	Sonia Hebenstreit	Poland
37.	P.44	Joseph Grodzinski	Poland
38.	P.46	Dudek Inventarz	Poland
39.	F.20	Berta Kaner	France
40.	Y.58	Zlata Schlittingen	Yugoslavia
41.	P.41	Dora Feiger	Poland
42.	F.20	Berta Kaner	France
43.	F.17	Jacob Fischler	France
44.	H.33	Judith Acs	Hungary
45.	P.40	Arieh Durst	Pol
46.	C.15	Pavel Suchostaver	Czechoslovakia
47.	P.50	Miriam Perkal	Poland
48.	P.56	Edja Wilder	Poland
49.	P.53	Osias Ritter	Poland

	Ref.No.	Name	Country
50.	C.15	Pavel Suchostaver	Poland
51.	C.13	Elisabeth Salwendy	Czechoslovakia
52.	P.57	Pepka Zuckerberg	Poland
53.	P.50	Miriam Perkal	Poland
54.	P.46	Dudek Inventarz	Poland
55.	C.15	Pavel Suchostaver	Czechoslovakia
56.	C.7	Anna Dohan	Poland
57.	P.57	Pepka Zuckerberg	Poland
58.	P.43	Sonia Goldman	Poland
59.	N.25	Eva Frankel	Netherlands
60.	B.4	Sigbert Pfennig	Belgium
61.	N.27	Rosy Jacobs	Netherlands
62.	GR.14	Genny Florentin	Greece
63.	I.60	John Weissmann	Italy
64.	F.18	Roland Friedman	France
65.	L.35	Luba Gis	Lithuania
66.	N.23	Veronica De Bruin	Netherlands
67.	F.20	Berta Kaner	France
68.	I.60	John Weissmann	Italy
69.	P.43	Sonia Goldman	Poland.
70.	P.19	Rahel Burko	Poland
71.	P.41	Dora Feiger	Poland
72.	P.54	Genia Ungerfeld	Poland
73.	P.55	Tuvia Warman	Poland
74.	P.47	Klara Jewrejski	Poland
75.	P.46	Dudek Inventarz	Poland
76.	P.38	Zelda Burko	Poland
77.	P.53	Osias Ritter	Poland

	Ref.No.	Name	Country
78.	P.59	Hania Piller	Poland
79.	P.56	Edja Wilder	Poland
80.	N.27	Rosy Jacobs	Netherlands
81.	B.3	Sara Lowenthal	Belgium
82.	C.7	Anna Dohan	Poland
83.	C.9	Gisela Getzler	Czechoslovakia
84.	C.15	Pavel Suchostaver	Czechoslovakia
85.	P.19	Rachel Burko	Poland
86.	P.41	Dora Feiger	Poland
87.	P.57	Pepka Zuckerberg	Poland
88.		Ibid	
89.	P.47	Klara Jewrejski	Poland
90.		Ibid	
91.	P.46	Dudek Inventarz	Poland
92.	P.43	Sonia Goldman	Poland
93.	P.59	Hania Piller	Poland
94.	P.36	Mina Blass	Poland
95.	G.16	Gisela Muller	Germany
96.	N.25	Eva Frankel	Netherlands
97.	B.4	Sigbert Pfennig	Belgium
98.	F.22	Helen Rosenbluth	France
99.	I.60	John Weissmann	Italy
100.	C.15	Pavel Suchostaver	Czechoslovakia

	Ref.No.	Name	Country
101.	P.41	Dora Feiger	Poland
102.	P.39	Luba Cydielnicki	Poland
103.	P.54	Janina Ungerfeld	Poland
104.	P.44	Joseph Grodzinski	Poland
105.	N.26	Therese Heymann	Netherlands
106.	P.47	Klara Jewrejski	Poland
107.	P.45	Sonia Hebenstreit	Poland
108.		Ibid	
109.	P.46	Dudek Inventarz	Poland
110.	P.37	Yentl Burko	Poland
111.	P.48	Zalmen Jewrejski	Poland
112.	P.43	Sonia Goldman	Poland
113.	P.53	Osias Ritter	Poland
114.	B.1	Anita Israel	Belgium
115.	B.4	Sigbert Pfenning	Belgium
116.	F.22	Helen Rosenbluth	France
117.	Y.58	Zlata Schlittingen	Yugoslavia
118.	C.10	Marietta Goldman-Halek	Czechoslovakia
119.	C.9	Gisela Getzler	Czechoslovakia
120.	C.12	Alice Lipsker-Stern	Czechoslovakia
121.	P.51	Marisha Perlberger	Poland
122.	P.52	Eve Reiner	Poland
123.	P.42	Maria Fraenkel	Poland
124.	P.39	Luba Cydielnicki	Poland

	Ref.No.	Name	Country
125.	G.16	Gisela Muller	Germany
126.	N.23	Veronica De Bruin	Netherlands
127.	N.29	Jacky Kapper	Netherlands
128.	P.57	Pepka Zuckerberg	Poland
129.	F.20	Berta Kaner	France
130.	F.22	Helen Rosenbluth	France
131.	C.7	Anna Dohan	Czechoslovakia
132.	C.15	Pavel Suchostover	Czechoslovakia
133.	P.41	Dora Feiger	Poland
134.	P.50	Miriam Perkal	Poland
135.	P.49	Devora Karpel	Poland
136.	P.55	Tuvia Warman	Poland
137.	P.52	Eve Reiner	Poland
138.	P.45	Sonia Hebenstreit	Poland
139.	P.40	Arieh Durst	Poland
140.	P.37	Yentl Burko	Poland
141.	P.53	Osias Ritter	Poland
142.	P.51	Marisha Perlberger	Poland
143.	P.59	Hania Piller	Poland

CHAPTER FIVE
THE SURVIVOR SYNDROME

The full testimonies which form Part Two of this thesis and the detailed analysis of these testimonies in Chapter Four show that the survivors lived through similar ordeals: all lived under the imminent threat of death over a long period. All were bereaved of relatives, many lost their parents and siblings, some were the sole survivors of an extended family. All were denied their civil rights and lived as outlaws. They were uprooted and isolated, defiled, defamed and denigrated.

After the war, these survivors had to rehabilitate themselves. Most were left penniless, with an interrupted education, no familial support and the necessity to earn their living. The atmosphere in many of their countries of birth was such as to discourage them from settling in their former home towns. All the witnesses emigrated and had to learn a new language - in a new culture and a foreign country among strangers.

Many testify to nightmares, to anxieties for themselves and even more for their children. Many have confessed to living a double life - the one with the ever present memories and associations of their traumatic past and the other a pleasant face to the world and a continuous effort to carry on an active, normal life like those who have no dark memories. The interviewer did not want to ask too many questions relating to the present, and often after the usual three hour, sometimes harrowing interview, both the speaker and the listener were exhausted, and the present-day troubles were ignored.

In order to obtain a picture of the way the Survivors' experiences changed their lives after the war, some were asked a few specific questions - as can be seen in the questionnaire included in the appendix. The replies are quoted verbatim, the better to manifest their authenticity. The full testimonies are presented separately.

I THE POST-WAR EFFECTS ON THESE SURVIVORS

Some of the psychological problems and changes mentioned by Survivors are:

"I have talked to many people whose conditions of hiding were worse than mine, people who were hidden in attics or cellars for years. They all think they have not changed and I agree with this. I think one's character and personality remains the same whatever one has gone through" - N.32'

"Yes, I think I was a very different person after the two years in the attic. I was still very young when the war ended and I feel that I have definitely closed the whole period. I do suffer from claustrophobia." B.3

" I am nervous, my husband used to say 'No wonder'". G.16

"When I first came to Israel I was with a Youth Aliya group. All the children had been through similar*

*See glossary

experiences to mine, hidden, foraging in the forests, or returnees from the camps. There was always crying and screaming at night. At first we used to take food from the dining room and hide it in our rooms. It took time for us to realise that every day there was more food." P.46[4]

"There were periods when I used to be a pathological eater, and also to hide food and store it as if I were afraid it would run out."P.40[5]

"All the children who went through the Holocaust aged very quickly, through their losses and their struggles for survival." C.12[6]

"The story of my marriages is complicated. I feel that after what happened to me I lost all my trust in people. I think I still live nowadays in a situation which is much marked by that background." B.1[7]

"The feeling of fear that accompanied me at all times, a continual anxiety which could quickly turn to terror, has never really left me during all these years."F.20[8]

"I couldn't walk, and I stopped talking after we came out of hiding."C.7[9]

" I am more afraid and anxious for my children's safety. I have to know where all the family members are every minute of the day, otherwise I get very worried."C.15[10]

" Fear, I have dreams where I am being chased. I am running and running, but never reach anywhere, and all the time the Germans and the Ukrainians are chasing me."P.19[11]

" I went on dreaming for a very long time. Until I was about sixteen I would wake up under the bed nearly every night. I dreamt that I was being buried alive and shot at. Until I was over fifty and had studied psychology I had a recurring nightmare: I saw a white spot in front of my eyes which became larger and larger like a cloud. I couldn't understand why it made me so anxious, until I realised it was the pillow my mother had had to put on my face to stop my crying being heard. Once, when I was in the army in 1956 I saw groups of men walking towards the camp in file in civilian clothes, each carrying a bag. I became very upset, only later did I realise they had reminded me of the files of deportees going to the trains. When I was 22, on a train in Switzerland, I suddenly became very afraid. Later, I realised that the train was full of soldiers with a uniform similar to that of the Germans. I am still afraid when I hear about terrorist attacks and find myself looking for a hiding place." P.54 [12]

"After the war, some of the survivors of the camps committed suicide, there was a feeling of anti-climax, of nothing to live for anymore. I had no feeling of victory or elation that I had got through the war." P.42 [13]

"I am always wary of strangers, and today I am over-sensitive about the future fate of the Jewish people. Maybe out of all proportion, or so my husband thinks."P.42 [14]

"My experiences have affected me emotionally. For instance I hardly sleep and I am quite nervous."P.57'[15]

"I used to dream a lot about that period. I fell out of bed several times while dreaming that I was being chased by Germans. I couldn't concentrate on studies until 1948."P.56'[16]

"The fact that I had no real family or religion or group of contemporaries or homeland, no village, nowhere to belong to pushed me into trying to know more about other European and non-European cultures, and so into going to live with different tribal people."B.1'[17]

"I haven't got over the horror even to this day. I remember the humiliations, the shouting and screaming and the barking dogs when the Jews were being rounded-up.

No normal person could go through the Holocaust and remain the same. Firstly, it has affected my everyday life. I am more practical and rational, secondly I think my basic instincts are sharper in evaluating new people and situations, thirdly I know how to appreciate life." P.55'[18]

"To this day, if my family does not return on time I panic." P.52'[19]

"I still have nightmares that I am being hunted. P.47[20]

" I am still living a double life, but now I can cope with it, it is a double life at peace with itself. When I first came here it was not so, it used to obtrude into my daily life. In the middle of a conversation I would suddenly feel I was there, and unreal being here. Now, as I

tell my story, I can see myself and each place I talk about, even though I have forgotten many things, those places are etched in my mind. Now I know how to put up a barrier and enjoy the things I have here. I try to do as much as possible - to learn, to go to the theatre, do sport, read. I have a lust for life."P.45[21]

"Today, when I remember incidents - such as our fear when our mother risked her life to smuggle food into the ghetto - the horror when they broke into our home and took our father away - cowering behind the barricaded door when drunken German soldiers were on the rampage - and more I can't tell you about - those moments of fear will stay with me always. I never talk about it, but there is no doubt that my whole life has been influenced by my experiences. I still recall the feeling of constant persecution, of the possibility of being caught at any minute and of having to be suspicious and wary of every stranger who might be an enemy. Thoughts of those years come into my head for no reason, they are always there at the back of my mind.P.46[22]

"I have suddenly remembered how I have been resisting telling you my story. For so many years after the war I continued having nightmares, even after I married and had children. I used to shout at night, and get up several times. I used to dream that my husband and children were also undergoing the same horrors that I did. When we started to travel abroad my condition improved. I had

fewer nightmares but after my visit to Sarny I became very confused and depressed. They started again." P.37[23]

"I seem to have transferred my fears to my present family. My fears are now for my children and grandchildren and for the future of Israel.

I think my experiences have made me hypersensitive to other people. I saw what evil does to the human race. Everything I experienced has remained inside me, even if I am not conscious of it every minute of the day, the pain remains with me." P.37[24]

"There are many terrible scenes which I often recall, like the screaming babes and small children in the assembly point, whose parents had been deported, shot or perhaps had abandoned them. I couldn't quieten them and couldn't take them, because the Germans were shooting at everyone who moved. Scenes like that I can never forget." P.43[25]

"We felt frightened, threatened and helpless all at once. I will never forget those emotions.

On my visit in 1989 I felt all right with the people who knew me, but when I was in the street I was afraid to speak Hebrew with my husband, in case someone pointed out the fact that we were Jews." P.51[26]

"I have a recurring nightmare where I dream I can't prove I am a Christian and also I'm trying to find ways to prove that my children are Christians." P.51[27]

"Before my first visit to Poland a few years ago I was in a panic, afraid, as if I was about to go through the same awful experiences again."P.45[28]

"During my visit, I only spoke Polish and did not tell anyone that I came from Israel. I suppose I am still afraid, even as a tourist."P.40[29]

"The sight of a fresh cabbage always reminds me of my aunt. She was taken to the deportation assembly point and a peasant was standing outside the compound selling fresh cabbages while I was looking for her."P.59[30]

"I see things in a different way now. I don't get upset if anything breaks or gets lost. We lost so much in our lives already."N.23[31]

"I think one of the ways I am changed is in my attitude to property. Before the war we were wealthy, and after we had nothing." P.43[32]

" I like to look forward and not back." N.27[33]

"If there had been no war, I would have received a proper education and continued learning. After the war I didn't have the patience or the motivation to start school again." N.29[34]

The first statement contradicts the many other quotations; perhaps it is wilful delusion. N.32[35], P.54[36], P.45[37] and P.59[38] show how survivors are often living on two levels, the memories intruding into daily life. These quotations recapture the perturbation of the Survivors as opposed to the bare facts in the summaries of Chapter II.
The interviewer hesitated to intrude into the privacy of the witnesses, and therefore did not uncover the full extent of present medical problems.

II THOUGHTS ON SURVIVAL - GUILTY OR GLAD

"I have no feelings of guilt. I was lucky to remain alive and I have no problems with this. I read and heard especially soon after the war about survivors having guilty consciences and feelings but I never felt this."N.27[39]

"I myself felt terribly guilty that I had remained alive, when so many were dead. All the survivors felt guilty, but each one thought that only he had this emotion, not knowing that this was a general feeling. I found this out much later in Holocaust survivor group therapy at Haifa university." P.42[40]

"I do not have guilt feelings at all. I feel victorious that I managed to survive and have four sons and so far three grandchildren, all in Israel. This despite everything. The whole horrendous machine of destruction of all the Jews and I managed to escape it. I won. I am proud of my courage and perseverance." P.45[41]

B.1 - My breathing problems worsened after the age of forty. I became a scuba diver; under the water I would think: now I can breathe freely in a hostile environment, while my parents were gassed and they couldn't." B.1[42]

"Only when the danger was past, and I came out of the barn with useless legs, did I wonder what I was doing all alone and why I had been spared." P.41[43]

"I am very happy to be alive but I still can't get over the fact that I lost nearly all my family in the Holocaust." P.55[44]

"There are scenes like that I can never forget, but I think I would go through the ordeal again if I had to, because in the end I have a full, happy and interesting life." P.43[45]

"It is difficult being here without any family, my children feel it too. They have no grandparents, aunts or uncles. My father was taken to Auschwitz together with my mother." P.59[46]

"I have nothing to complain about. I have a wonderful son and grandchildren and everything is all right." C.8[47]

"The fact that there were many people who risked their family's life to save us renews my faith in humanity." C.10[48]

Perhaps the courage and optimism expressed by these Survivors is not a result of their experiences, but rather the cause of their survival.

III CHANGES IN RELIGIOUS BELIEFS

"I had lost my faith completely, not only because my parents were killed, but also because of the way my Jewish relatives treated me.....I had my son circumcised." B.1[49]

"Though I have kept a religious home for the sake of my observant husband, my experiences took away from me any last vestiges of religious belief that remained from my upbringing." P.57[50]

"I used to be religious, but since the war I am not observant any more. I could not reconcile belief in God with the terrible things that happened to so many people."N.23[51]

"I said all the prayers every day, hoping that this would maybe help my parents. After the war, my parents and little brother not having survived, I decided that I didn't want to be religious any more."N.27[52]

"I stopped being religious when I enlisted in the army here." N.28[53]

"After I lived with the farmers and tasted non-kosher food, I never really returned to being observant. I had no

family or home when it was over, so my ties were not so strong. I think that Zionism took over the place of religion in my life." N.32[64]

"I come from a religious family, but my Holocaust years have made me an unbeliever. I saw what happened to the most observant Orthodox Jews and I cannot see how if there was a God he would let those terrible things happen. I still keep strongly to tradition, not because I believe in God, but in order to feel part of the Jewish people, not only in Israel but in the whole world. Tradition is the cement holding us together." P.43[65]

"Religion means nothing to me, I am not religious now. I think that fanatical religion only leads to bad things, as those who believe and practise it think that anything is permissible in its name." P.51[66]

"I tried to convert to Christianity, although all my father's relatives were Christians I couldn't do it." G.16[67]

" We have continued to live in the orthodox tradition. C.7[68]

IV TELLING THE CHILDREN

"I don't think that my son has been affected by his parents' experiences. We tried to bring him up normally without the burden of the Holocaust." N.23[69]

"I hardly ever talked about my experiences. If the children asked me about the war I told them. But we actually spoke very little about it." N.27[60]

"My children know all about it, but otherwise I never volunteer any information unless I am asked specifically" B.3[61]

"I have told my son very little about this period in my life." N.29[62]

" They know all about my wartime experiences." N.31[63]

"My son doesn't know much about my past, I wanted him to have as normal a childhood as possible." B.1 [64]

"I talked to my children about my experiences from an early age." B.4[65]

"Everyone who went through the Holocaust wants absolute safety and security for his children. I want them to fully see the dangers that the Jewish people faced, and face still." P.55[66]"

"Yes, I wanted my children to know. I told them everything, even though it was always difficult and painful for me." P.46[67]

"No. If they asked me questions, I would reply as briefly as possible, with none of the details I have told you, for I feared the effect on them." P.37[68]

"My husband and I only started talking about our experiences when the children asked questions. I think that those who survived have a mission to tell, in memory of those who

died, to make sure that the Holocaust will never recur. When I told them about the Holocaust I tried to instill in them a love for the country and the realisation of its importance as a place of shelter and refuge for Jews from all over the world. P.43[69]

"Our two sons have heard all the stories of our war experiences." P.53[70]

" At the beginning we did not talk about it all." C.7[71]

"My oldest child got his information about the Holocaust from school, and my youngest son is not interested." C.11[72]

"I only very superficially ever discussed my experiences, but I have now realised I was pushing my memories away. ... It is part of my future plan to talk with my children, but I don't want to bring up the subject forcibly." C.10[73]

"I answered my children's questions if the subject came up, but did not force it on them. I would like to take them sometime to show them the places and share my feelings with them." C.15[74]

"I often talk about it to my daughter, especially on our town's Remembrance Day, and on Holocaust Remembrance Day." P.197[75]

" We hardly mention our experiences (my husband was in Buchenwald, the only member of his family to survive). But

I did see to it that my daughters read special children's literature about the Holocaust." P.54[76]

From this sample it can be seen that about as many willingly discussed their past with their children as tried to avoid the subject, the latter adding riders to the effect that the children know, or they intend for them to know more.

V CONTACT WITH THE SAVIOURS

"I was 11 years old, no one asked my opinion. I was taken away from my nanny, who had saved me and always loved me, and forbidden to see or write to her. Later, when I was 16 I ran away and went to visit her." B.1[77]

"I have of course stayed in touch with the Leos and my family, the others I looked for but couldn't find." G.16[78]

"We named our son after Mr. de Meels, and we sent money to the Keren Kayemet to have trees planted in their name." N.23*[79]

" I had trees planted for the Harts and for the Aten family." N.25[80]

"We have kept in touch. They have been to visit us several times." N.26[81]

"I went to thank them, immediately after the war. Once, when on a short visit to Holland I tried to find the

**See glossary*

nice farmers Hofse and the Bottema family, but was unsuccessful. I feel very grateful to all the people who helped me, even though I haven't kept in touch with them." N.27[62]

"I remained in touch with the Kuiper family, arranged for them to be recognised as Righteous Gentiles* and visit them when I am in Holland." N.28[63]

"My parents remained in touch with the families who helped them." N.29[64]

"I went to visit all the families after the war. The Jongeneel and Vreeken families who had treated me kindly I revisited about ten years ago." N.30[65]

"I visited the Van der Iests in 1957, they received me very well." N.31[66]

"My parents didn't have anything to do with them after the war, they completely lost touch with them. I know that they were angry with the couple at the end. I have no idea if they are still alive. I have never tried to get in touch with them again." B.3[67]

"I kept on seeing Mimi until she died in the sixties, and I kept in touch with her sister and her children. I would be very grateful to see their names honoured in Yad VaShem." B.1[68]

"I continued to send them Christmas cards and Jordan water, and mementoes every year from the kibbutz. I visited

*See glossary

them as soon as I could.....I want to thank the priest for not having given me away." B.4[89]

"After the war we tried to find the Hungarian policeman who had helped my mother.....My mother testified that the maid had not been involved in her husband's activities in the Nilas, the Hungarian Nazi organisation." H.33[90]

"We paid him in full and when we left the country we gave him our household effects, and ceased contact. We are still in touch and visit the other two families, who hid us for shorter periods and not for financial gain." C.7[91]

"My father used to write to them, and my uncle in the US sends them money." C.11[92]

"We kept in touch, he was honoured in Yad VaShem as a Righteous Gentile*, they all came over to visit us." C.10[93]*

" We always sent her money. We gave her the keys of our flat. In her apartment we saw many of our things." C.9[94]

"I did write to them in the beginning after I arrived in Israel, but the correspondence didn't continue. The memory is very painful and reopens old wounds, that is why I haven't stayed in touch." C.12[95]

"My parents remained in touch and helped them in various ways. I visited them and would like to bring Mrs. B. to Israel for a visit." C.15[96]

"We stayed in contact with M. and P., gave them money and goods and continued sending them parcels from here." C.13[97]

**See glossary*

"I have written to Tushka several times but have never received a reply." P.41[98]

"I stayed in touch with Mrs. Ciszewska until 1969, when she asked me not to write any more because of the political situation, foreign mail being regarded with suspicion at that time." P.54[99]

"I earned well as a secretary of the Polish police academy, and sent Anna a lot of money. Later in Israel, when our financial situation wasn't so good, we continued sending money and parcels." P.50[100]

"I appreciate what Tadek and his mother did for me. That is why I endangered myself and took the vodka from him to sell. I felt an obligation towards him.P.57[101]

"After I arrived here I used to send them clothes and food. Once she asked me to send her a set of false teeth."P.49[102]

"The mother was a truly Righteous Gentile, we are still in touch with her son Lucian. We sent them parcels throughout the years and a little money, though we are none of us wealthy.P.55[103]

"Mr. Lusz always said he didn't understand why we had helped him so much since the end of the war." P.47[104]

"After I left Poland I completely severed my connections with everyone. I suppose I wanted to forget as much as possible. When I revisited Poland in 1984 I visited families Bulka and Reshka, who let me stay sometimes. I am still in touch with them and even help them financially. I

have applied to Yad VaShem to have Lesovsky honoured as a Righteous Gentile*. The others I couldn't find." P.46*[105]*

"She was a truly good woman. My sister and I and our husbands visited her a few years ago, we brought many presents and left her some money which she didn't really want to accept." P.37[106]*

"We helped them as much as we could after we returned to Sarny, aided by the Russian soldier who befriended us. After we came to Israel we lost contact. It became impossible to correspond during the Russian occupation. After Gorbachev came to power we made contact again and later visited them." P.38[107]*

"We felt an obligation to Yannick, even though we knew he had only helped us for the money and not out of any charity. We arranged for them to live in our house in the town." P.43[108]*

" The two families who had hidden us were 'transferred' so we lost touch. But we have continued helping the Schussel family who had kept our funds and paid the hiders they had found for us." P.53[109]*

"I kept in touch with Mrs. Chmurowa and her daughter has visited me here twice." P.51[110]*

"After the war, when I could I gave them much more and I wish I could do more for them. I am always thinking of things to send them. The daughter and her husband and also one of the granddaughters have been to visit us. We are in

*See glossary

touch all the time, and I have visited them as well." P.59[111]

"Unfortunately the villagers were dispersed and I lost track of them. There was such hatred between the Poles and the Ukrainians that the former left the village." P.56[112]

"Rosalia was a very special woman, we continued to send her money after the war and she is registered in Yad VaShem as a Righteous Gentile*. We corresponded with her all the time."* P.36[113]

" I want to return to my childhood again and to strengthen my ties with the family that hid us. I feel as if that chapter is not properly closed. I would like to spend some time alone with Zina, my Saviour, and explore the countryside, and maybe find some neighbours who knew me as a child. I have to tie up loose ends." P.38[114]

As can be seen from some of these testimonies, contact with the Saviours did not depend only on the Saved. Some of the Saviours were fearful of contact with them - P.54[115]; sometimes they had moved or been transferred - P.53[116], P.56[117]*. A few wanted to block out their past - P.46[118],C.12[119], but most of the Saved did stay in touch, if they could, and showed their gratitude.

*See glossary

VI THE SURVIVORS' THOUGHTS ABOUT THE ARABS IN AND SURROUNDING ISRAEL

"I am against oppression. I worked in the YMCA for ten years and my Arab boss was very correct." N.25'[20]N.

"I sometimes feel that our treatment of the Arabs is too much like what we ourselves experienced - being under foreign rule with no freedom. I know there is no comparison, but I don't like to think of Jews as being conquerors. I think we should be more flexible in this matter, after what we went through. We shouldn't let anyone step on us, of course, but more understanding and sensitivity would be a good thing." N.27'[21]

"If no one bothers me I won't bother them. There are many Arabs where I work in Tel Aviv university. We say Shalom and that's that. I would never insult anybody." B.3'[22]

" I was brought up in a very liberal fashion, to think of people as human beings. Ethnic origins are not important to me. Of course, one has to defend oneself against attackers, but basically what is important is the person himself." P.53'[23]

"I am against the occupation. Anyone who has lived through this experience knows what it's like. It is true that I'm afraid of the Arabs, but together with this I think we have to find a compromise and not try to impose our will by force. Nothing will ever be accomplished this way and the term 'transfer' brings back the bad times." P.51'[24]

"I feel that people here in Israel must change their attitudes if they want peace in the region. I hate to hear the expression 'dirty Arab' having too often heard 'dirty Jew'. I sympathise with a movement like Peace Now." P.56'[28]

"But I think it will never be quiet here because the Arabs are right, in my eyes." I.60'[26]

"I think the Palestinian Arabs should have their own country but not at our expense, and not here." H.33'[27]

"I am friendly with some Palestinians and I believe in their good intentions. When my youngest son was serving in the Occupied Territories I was more worried as to how he was treating the Palestinians than how he was faring and feeling." C.10'[28]

"I am a liberal person, but to be honest, deep down I find it very difficult to trust them. I remember the so-called cultured Europeans who became uncivilized very quickly." C.12'[25]

"I believe that someone who has been through the Holocaust has more humanitarian feelings towards them. I think we understand their position more. I would not like to behave towards others in the way the Germans treated the Jews." C.15'[30]

" I am not at all a racist, but during the Yom Kippur war the thought went through my mind that there was nothing to stop the Arabs from a nearby village coming in and slaughtering us. All the men had been called up and only the women, children and old people were left. I decided that I did not want to be defenceless any more and applied

for a gun, which I now take with me, especially if I drive alone out of town.

I was also much disturbed by the refugees in Beirut, who I saw on TV during the Peace in Galilee Campaign. I sympathised and identified with them. During the Gulf War, I was sorry for the Iraqi people. Although I am afraid of the Arabs I don't judge them collectively, every person should be judged separately." P.54[91]

"I saw how easy it was in Poland to instil hatred and get people to kill. I see the same thing here in Israel when people say that the Arabs only understand the language of guns. Yes, it is easy to teach hatred. I am ashamed about what is going on in the West Bank now." P.42[92]

*"I think that the most important thing is people's lives and consideration and humanity towards others, from whatever race, religion or walk of life they might come. The important thing is to put yourself in the other's place, so that you feel like them."*P.43[93]

Not one of the Survivors expresses antagonistic feelings towards neighbours who do not recognise their State, though some do mention their fear. On the contrary, the sympathy and understanding for people who are against the State of Israel is perhaps best explained by N.27[94] and C.15[95]. This lack of belligerence within a beleaguered people must surely be unique.

VII THE ATTITUDE OF FRIENDS, RELATIVES AND ISRAELIS TO THE SURVIVORS AFTER THE HOLOCAUST

"Friends of my parents in Haarlem took me in, even though they had a son and a daughter. There was not a warm atmosphere for me in the home and I again felt that I had to go on being a 'good girl'." N27

"My uncle and aunt who claimed me did not treat me at all well. They took me out of an orphanage in Poland and put me into an orphanage in Belgium, later on they shipped me off to Israel. They never asked my opinion, or treated me at all sympathetically. Later, they also came to Israel, and hindered me from studying and were unpleasant to me."P.51

"The kibbutz members did not understand what we had been through, nor was there understanding or empathy for our present difficulties. When I returned from the hospital with my baby the kibbutz was being shelled by the Syrians, the kibbutz people did not understand my hysterical terror. We spent the years of our youth under indescribable conditions, and we ended up without parents or family. No one here was really interested in what we had been through. C.12

" Here in Israel I heard people say "The best ones were killed". I don't agree with this, as I feel that most of those who stayed alive showed a lot of courage and initiative." P.42

"When we joined my father in Palestine, he, like most people, did not want to hear what we had been through. With my husband, who was not from Poland, I never spoke about this period." P.52[140]

"Nobody in the kibbutz came up to me and asked to hear what had happened to me. Once the teacher of our group was heard to say 'Here come the dregs of humanity'." P.46[141]

"Both the children and the teachers were unused to European child survivors. The other children were often cruel and did not treat us well. Hardly anyone has asked me about that time." P.4o[142]

"When we first arrived in Israel people didn't want to hear our stories of the war years." P.56[143]

The interviewer attended a conference in New York and learned there of the disinterest and even hostility the Survivors had encountered when they wanted to relate their experiences. The fact that relatives and Israelis behaved in the same way is hard to understand, perhaps the experiences were too terrible to digest, too disturbing to hear.

VIII THE EFFECT ON THE SECOND GENERATION

"One of my daughters is under psychiatric treatment, she blames me and my past for her affliction."N.25[144]

"I brought up three daughters, and I believed that I had not passed on my fears. We talked a lot about that

time, and my mother spoke in some detail about Auschwitz. When my daughters had children of their own, their fears became stronger, my oldest was afraid she would lose her baby, the middle girl was over-anxious, and the youngest went for psychological help." C.12'45

"One of my daughters won't go to Germany and tries not to buy German goods." P.54'45

The Survivor had to cope alone, in one or more new countries, with a foreign language and foreign customs, without the benefit of family support. Those who were in their teens had their education curtailed. Many married partners from another walk of life, often from another country - not the person they would have married in normal circumstances. Their struggle for survival did not end in 1945.

The interviewer considered the long-term consequences as outside the scope of this research and therefore asked few questions. In the meantime, however, having attended a three-day conference in Jerusalem of the second generation, it has become clear that the trauma has been transferred to the following generations.

The excerpts from the Survivors' histories show that the effect of their experiences has not only affected their whole lives, but is also affecting the lives of their children:

Aaron Hass, a speaker at this conference, himself a second generation survivor, researched other survivors' children, and wrote the following:

"The experience of being a child of a survivor is reflected by three words: fear, mistrust and cynicism. The world for these children of survivors is clearly a hostile protagonist." [147]

Peter Utt found that:

"*It has become more clear that there is a transmission if in altered form of the personality changes to at least the second and third generations.*" [148]

Both in the United States [149] and in Israel [150] discussion and support groups have been formed for the Survivors and for their children. The existence of these forums proves the permanency of the injury inflicted on the first generation and their extension.

Many of the Survivors came to Israel. Most acknowledged that their plight during the war and the continued post-war antisemitism in their native countries were major factors drawing them to Zionism and settlement in Israel.

Chapter V — Footnotes

No.	Code	Name	Country
1.	N.32	Veronica De Bruin	Netherlands
2.	B.3	Sara Lowenthal	Belgium
3.	G.16	Gisela Muller	Germany
4.	P.46	Dudek Inventarz	Poland
5.	P.40	Arieh Durst	Poland
6.	C.12	Alice Lipsker-Stern	Czechoslovakia
7.	B.1	Anita Israel	Belgium
8.	F.20	Berta Kaner	France
9.	C.7	Anna Dohan	Czechoslovakia
10.	C.15	Pavel Suchostover	Czechoslovakia
11.	P.19	Rahel Burko	Poland
12.	P.54	Genia Ungerfeld	Poland
13.	P.42	Maria Fraenkel	Poland
14.	P.42	Ibid	
15.	P.57	Pepka Zuckerberg	Poland
16.	P.56	Edja Wilder	Poland
17.	B.1	Anita Israel	Belgium
18.	P.55	Tuvia Warman	Poland
19.	P.52	Eva Reiner	Poland
20.	P.47	Klara Jewrejski	Poland
21.	P.45	Sonia Hebenstreit	Poland
22.	P.46	Dudek Inventarz	Poland
23.	P.37	Yentl Burko	Poland
24.	P.37	Ibid	

No.	Code	Name	Country
25.	P.43	Sonia Goldman	Poland
26.	P.51	Marisha Perlberger	Poland
27.	P.51	Ibid	
28.	P.45	Sonia Hebenstreit	Poland
29.	P.40	Arieh Durst	Poland
30.	P.59	Hania Piller	Poland
31.	N.23	Veronica De Bruin	Netherlands
32.	P.43	Sonia Goldman	Poland
33.	N.27	Rosy Jacobs	Netherlands
34.	N.29	Jacky Kapper	Netherlands
35.	N.32	Moshe Wolff	Netherlands
36.	P.54	Genia Ungerfeld	Poland
37.	P.45	Sonia Hebenstreit	Poland
38.	P.59	Hania Piller	Poland
39.	N.27	Victor Jacobs	Netherlands
40.	P.42	Maria Fraenkel	Poland
41.	P.45	Sonia Hebenstreit	Poland
42.	B.1	Anita Israel	Belgium
43.	P.41	Dora Feiger	Poland
44.	P.55	Tuvia Warman	Poland
45.	P.43	Sonia Goldman	Poland
46.	P.59	Hania Piller	Poland
47.	C.8	Katerina Braun	Czechoslovakia
48.	C.10	Marietta Goldman-Halek	Czechoslovakia

No.	Code	Name	Country
49.	B.1	Anita Israel	Belgium
50.	P.57	Pepka Zuckerberg	Poland
51.	N.23	Veronica De Bruin	Netherlands
52.	N.27	Rosy Jacobs	Netherlands
53.	N.28	Victor Jacobs	Netherlands
54.	N.32	Moshe Wolff	Netherlands
55.	P.43	Sonia Goldman	Poland
56.	P.51	Marisha Perlberger	Poland
57.	G.16	Gisela Muller	Germany
58.	C.7	Anna Dohan	Czechoslovakia
59.	N.23	Veronica De Bruin	Netherlands
60.	N.27	Rosy Jacobs	Netherlands
61.	B.3	Sara Lowenthal	Belgium
62.	N.29	Jacky Kapper	Netherlands
63.	N.31	Ruth Siegel	Netherlands
64.	B.1	Anita Israel	Belgium
65.	B.4	Sigbert Pfennig	Belgium
66.	P.55	Tuvia Warman	Poland
67.	P.46	Dudek Inventarz	Poland
68.	P.37	Yentl Burko	Poland
69.	P.43	Sonia Goldman	Poland
70.	P.53	Osias Ritter	Poland
71.	C.7	Anna Dohan	Czechoslovakia
72.	C.11	Felicia Greenfield	Czechoslovakia

No.	Code	Name	Country
73.	C.10	Marietta Goldman-Halek	Czechoslovakia
74.	C.15	Pavel Suchostover	Czechoslovakia
75.	P.19	Rahel Burko	Poland
76.	P.54	Genia Ungerfeld	Poland
77.	B.1	Anita Israel	Belgium
78.	G.16	Gisela Muller	Germany
79.	N.23.	Veronica De Bruin	Netherlands
80.	N.25	Eva Frankel	Netherlands
81.	N.26	Therese Heymann	Netherlands
82.	N.27	Rosy Jacobs	Netherlands
83.	N.28	Victor Jacobs	Netherlands
84.	N.29	Jacky Kapper	Netherlands
85.	N.30	Carolina Reems	Netherlands
86.	N.31	Ruth Siegel	Netherlands
87.	B.3	Sara Lowenthal	Belgium
88.	B.1	Anita Israel	Belgium
89.	B.4	Sigbert Pfennig	Belgium
90.	H.33	Judith Acs	Hungary
91.	C.7	Anna Dohan	Czechoslovakia
92.	C.11	Felicia Greenfield	Czechoslovakia
93.	C.10	Marietta Goldman-Halek	Czechoslovakia
94.	C.9	Gisela Getzler	Czechoslovakia
95.	C.12	Alice Lipsker-Stern	Czechoslovakia
96.	C.15	Pavel Suchostover	Czechoslovakia
97.	C.13	Elisabeth Salwendy	Czechoslovakia

No.	Code	Name	Country
98.	P.41	Dora Feiger	Poland
99.	P.54	Genia Ungerfeld	Poland
100.	P.50	Miriam Perkal	Poland
101.	P.57	Pepka Zuckerberg	Poland
102.	P.49	Devora Karpel	Poland
103.	P.55	Tuvia Warman	Poland
104.	P.47	Klara Jewrejski	Poland
105.	P.46	Dudek Inventarz	Poland
106.	P.37	Yentl Burko	Poland
107.	P.38	Zelda Burko	Poland
108.	P.43	Sonia Goldman	Poland
109.	P.53	Osias Ritter	Poland
110.	P.51	Marisha Perlberger	Poland
111.	P.59	Hania Piller	Poland
112.	P.56	Edja Wilder	Poland
113.	P.36	Mina Blass	Poland
114.	P.38	Zelda Burko	Poland
115.	P.54	Genia Ungerfeld	Poland
116.	P.53	Osias Ritter	Poland
117.	P.56	Edja Wilder	Poland
118.	P.46	Dudek Inventarz	Poland
119.	C.12	Alice Lipsker-Stern	Czechoslovakia
120.	N.25	Eva Frankel	Netherlands
121.	N.27	Rosy Jacobs	Netherlands
122.	B.3	Sara Lowenthal	Belgium

No.	Code	Name	Country
123.	P.53	Osias Ritter	Poland
124.	P.51	Marisha Perlberger	Poland
125.	P.56	Edja Wilder	Poland
126.	I.60	John Weissman	Italy
127.	H.33	Judith Acs	Hungary
128.	C.10	Marietta Goldman-Halek	Czechoslovakia
129.	C.12	Alice Lipsker-Stern	Czechoslovakia
130.	C.15	Elisabeth Salwendy	Czechoslovakia
131.	P.54	Genia Ungerfeld	Poland
132.	P.42	Maria Fraenkel	Poland
133.	P.43	Sonia Goldman	Poland
134.	N.27	Rosy Jacobs	Netherlands
135.	C.15	Pavel Suchostover	Czechoslovakia
136.	N.27	Rosy Jacobs	Netherlands
137.	P.51	Marisha Perlberger	Poland
138.	C.12	Alice Lipsker-Stern	Czechoslovakia
139.	P.42	Maria Fraenkel	Poland
140.	P.52	Eve Reiner	Poland
141.	P.46	Dudek Inventarz	Poland
142.	P.40	Arieh Durst	Poland
143.	P.56	Edja Wilder	Poland
144.	N.25	Eva Frankel	Netherlands
145.	C.12	Alice Lipsker-Stern	Czechoslovakia
146.	P.54	Genia Ungerfeld	Poland

147. 'In the Shadow of the Holocaust, Cornell University Press, Ithaca and London, 1990; p.37. Aaron Hass

148. 'Psychological sequelae of persecution' - the survivor syndrome, May, 1989 [Medline Express(B) 1987-1991]. Peter Utt

149. The Hidden Child Foundation, 823 United Nations Plaza, N.Y. 10017, U.S.A.

150. The National Israeli Centre for Psychosocial support of Survivors of the Holocaust and the Second Generation. AMCA, 23 Hillel Street, Jerusalem 94581, Israel.

CHAPTER 6 - ANALOGIES AND CONCLUSION

There were approximately ten million Jews living in the lands controlled by the Germans during the Second World War, of these about four million were saved. Most of them were not hidden. The Jews of Bulgaria (but not in Thrace or Macedonia) were saved, thanks to both the religious and political leaders of Bulgaria. Most of the Jews in Rumania proper were protected from annihilation (but not those in the lands conquered by the Rumanians). The Danish underground, comprising hundreds of volunteers, was mobilized to save the Jewish population by ferrying them to Sweden, thereby saving over 7,000 lives.

Many fugitives were saved by emigrating to unoccupied lands with the help of such individual Saviours as Sempo Sugihara, the Japanese diplomat in Kaunas, Lithuania, who in August 1940, on his own iniative, issued some 2000 transit visas, thus enabling Polish and Lithuanian citizens to flee to Shanghai.[1]

The Spanish, Portuguese and Vatican embassies in Budapest were helpful in saving perhaps another 50,000. However, it must be remembered that the Germans succeeded in murdering two-thirds of the Hungarian Jewish population during the year prior to their losing the war.

It should be mentioned that the free governments were a silent party to the extermination of European Jewry. During the

war, information on the plight of the Jews, including those in the concentration and death camps, was transmitted to the Allies.* Before the mass slaughter of the Hungarians in the summer of 1944, neither the allied governments, the Pope, nor the International Red Cross, made any effort to free them or even protest at the deportation, internment and ultimate murder of millions of Jewish civilians.

The following brief outlines of two, who by their dedication, audacity and selflessness succeeded in saving thousands, is a reminder that it was possible to save civilian lives and that there were other possibilities for survival than hiding.

In May 1944 Raoul Wallenberg, a thirty-one year old importer, was asked by the Swedish Foreign Office to head a humanitarian department at the legation in Budapest. The task would be to extend the protection of the Swedish crown to as many as possible of Hungary's Jews.

The American War Refugee Board, which had been formed in 1944 for the purpose of saving Jews and other potential victims from Nazi persecution, had co-opted Koloman Lauer, a Hungarian Jewish refugee, on to its committee in Stockholm. Mr. Lauer suggested his business partner, Raoul Wallenberg, who eventually, with funds supplied by this board, a Swedish diplomatic pass and the approval of the Swedish Foreign Office, left on 6 July, 1944

*See Appendix

for Hungary. Mr. Wallenberg issued about 15,000 Swedish passports to Hungarian Jews. He employed a staff of 400 who did not wear the star. Mr. Wallenberg set up hospitals, nurseries and soup kitchens, buying food, medicine and clothing with money from the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee and the War Refugee Board.

Raoul Wallenberg is credited with saving 30,000 people. His continued presence and herculean efforts to feed and protect those in the General Ghetto and in the International Ghetto helped in the survival of a further 94,000.

Who was this man? What were his motives? Why was he willing to leave secure, neutral Sweden to help Hungarian Jews to survive. He had energy, courage, a compassionate nature and a famous name. Raoul Wallenberg was proud of his partial Jewish ancestry, he had Jewish friends and employers. In 1936 he stayed in Haifa, working for the Holland Bank there. During the war, Mr. Wallenberg travelled in occupied Europe and visited his partner's parents-in-law in Budapest, helping them as he did also those Jewish refugees who had found asylum in Sweden. On seeing a film about a professor who outwits the Nazis and rescues their prospective victims, he is remembered as saying that it was just the kind of thing he would like to do.[8]

The ethnic German, Oscar Schindler, who managed to keep 1,200 Jews out of the gas ovens by insisting that they were engaged in valuable war work, and by bribing and outwitting the Gestapo, was an exceptional example of the dedicated and brave Saviours. Oscar Schindler was a hero to the 1,200 Jews from the Plaszow concentration camp, whom he employed, removed to Brinnlitz and saved. Similarly to Raoul Wallenberg, he had Jewish friends and colleagues, came from a well-to-do family and was not pious. Similarly, also, he managed to outwit the Nazi regime with audacity and bravery, and to openly protect his proteges. Mr. Schindler, like Mr. Wallenberg, had personally witnessed the plight of the Jews in the countries occupied by Germany.[3]

Some of the survivors posed as Christians and were helped wittingly or unwittingly by people who may have known or suspected their origins. Others hid in forests or joined such partisans as tolerated Jews. Many had escaped from a camp or spent months or years on the run and in the forests, as had some of the sixty testifiers included in this thesis.

The aim of the thesis was to recall the tragedy of the Holocaust by recording the testimonies of a defined group of Survivors and Saviours. The Survivors were all hidden as Jews for long periods. Those who hid them, their Saviours,

were individuals who independently, and usually at short notice, decided to risk their own lives and often the lives of their children, in order to try and save one other life or sometimes more than one. Secrecy, to the extent that even household members of the Saviour's family were often not told, was of paramount importance both for the safety of the person hiding as for the hider himself.

The analysis of the testimonies of these two circumscribed groups was undertaken in order to find and classify attributes which distinguish the Survivors from those who were caught and the Saviours from the masses who helped in the destruction of the Jews. One interesting point, especially in the case of Gentiles, is to discover their motivation, but the Jews also, whether hidden or not, needed strong motivation to resist capitulation.

The Saviours

Since the research on the Saviours' motives for endangering their and their families' lives was based solely on their beneficiaries' testimonies, it seemed relevant to include direct quotations from some other Saviours. It was shown in Chapter 3 of this thesis that many rescuers belonged to Christian minority sects.

Mordecai Paldiel, in his book on Gentile rescuers, states

that the Quakers and Jehovah's Witnesses were the only churches which helped Jews in distress as church policy. Many of the devout, mentioned in the sixty testimonies, belonged to dissident church communities, as did Dr. Gertrud Lueckner of the Catholic Caritas Society in Germany, who helped both baptized and non-baptized Jews; and Pastor Erik Periwe, who in September, 1942 was sent from Sweden to Germany by Archbishop Eiden for the express purpose of saving Jews. In Holland, the Calvinist church community, which represented only about 9% of the total population, was responsible for the sheltering of at least one quarter of all Jews in hiding. Joop Westerweel, who organized an underground group dedicated to spiriting Jews from Holland to Spain, and helping and hiding others in the Netherlands, was both a noncomformist and a devout member of the sect known as the Plymouth Brethren. Inge Wieth belonged to the Catholic Uniate church. Elisabeth Abegg, Gerhard and Ilse Schwerensky, and Dr. Karl and Eva Hermann, were Quakers."

Many of those who helped did so for their belief in the teachings of the Bible. The following are some examples:

"Once or twice in my life God has called me and I have been there and responded to the call" ..

(Olga St.Blancat-Baumgartner, France).

"They were God's children, they were human beings"..
(John H. Weidner, Netherlands).

"God gives us life as a precious loan,
no one but God has the right to reclaim it"..
(Eduard Fajks, Poland).

"We were only doing our duty and putting into
practice our Gospel and the teachings of the prophets."
(Louisa Mercier, Belgium).

According to the following testimonies, others who helped did so for humanitarian reasons, considering their own behaviour 'normal' in a generally abnormal time. The following quotations express this sentiment:

"What I did came naturally ..."
(Herta Muller-Kuhlental, Netherlands).

"Saving Jews persecuted by the Nazis seemed wholly natural to us."
(Gabrielle Remy, France).

"We only did what was required of us as human beings".
(Pierre Mason, France).

"When the Germans imprisoned the Jews of Vilna...
I felt I had to do something."
(Ona Simaite, Lithuania).

"What I did for the Jewish people...
was but an infinitesimal contribution to what
ought to have been done in order to prevent
this horrible slaughter..."
(Father Marie-Benoit, France).

"It was something that had to be done. I did nothing special and I don't consider myself a hero. I want to emphasize that it was not I who saved them. They alone saved themselves, I simply gave a helping hand."
Wladyslaw Kowalski, Poland.[5]

The attributes of eighty-four Saviours were listed in Chapter 3, graphs were drawn for the Polish (35), the Dutch (25) and the Czech (13) Saviours. The others were too few to be representative of their countries.

It was found for example that fewer than 20 percent were designated as being extremely devout, among the Saviours their religious beliefs influenced 20 percent of the Poles, 20 percent of the Dutch, and 15 percent in the case of the Czechs.

In most cases, neither friendship nor money was cited, but compassion, understanding, goodness and similar altruistic attributes were all termed 'Humanitarian' attributes in the graphs. In the graphs: 43 percent of the Poles, 60 percent of the Dutch and 23 percent of the Czechs were listed as having had impersonal, humane motives.

62 percent of the Czechs were friends of those they saved. 84 percent of the saved were strangers to their Dutch Saviours, while of the hidden Poles 63 percent were complete strangers and another 17 percent had been mere acquaintances. Nechama Tec, in her research, also found that about 80 percent of those saved had been more or less strangers to their rescuers.[6]

The phenomenon of altruistic behaviour is discussed by Eric Silver in The Book of the Just. He writes: "In the past decade social scientists have sought an answer through the tools of their trade, interviews and questionnaires. They agree that altruism was not something born in a flicker of an eyelid. The instincts of empathy and compassion were rooted in personal history. The disposition to say 'Yes' was already there in the rescuer's character and way of life." He cites another researcher, Eva Fogelman and quotes her as having said: "Ultimately it was childrearing, not social circumstances, that proved most significant", and quotes a passage from Samuel and Pearl Oliner's book, The Altruistic Personality: "Words and phrases characterizing care, the need to be helpful, hospitable and loving were voiced significantly more often by rescuers as they recalled the values they learned from their parents or other most influential persons" [7].

The Saviours proved to have been, for the most part, families with children living at home. This was remembered for 49 percent of the Poles, 88 percent of the Dutch and 77 percent of the Czechs.

The graphs showed that the majority of Saviours were of the same socio-economic level as their neighbours: 54 percent of the Poles were poor and another 28 percent were termed average; 60 percent of the Dutch were considered financially and socially average. The Czechs reported that 46 percent of their Saviours were average and 38 percent poor.

The high percentage of Saviours mentioned as belonging to a dissident religion, 43 percent Poles, 32 percent Dutch and 46 percent Czechs, confirms Mr. Paldiel's conclusions.[8]

The Survivors remembered one atypical attribute of forty-six of the seventy-three saviours (63percent), which supports Nehama Tec's premise that a high percentage of Saviours were socially marginable.[9]

The Saved - The Hidden Survivors

In Chapter 4, it was shown that for a long time most of those who had survived by hiding were unwilling or unable to talk about their experiences. Some, who were approached by the writer, were even now not prepared to testify. This seems to differentiate their reactions from those who survived the horror and cruelty of the concentration and death camps. Terence Des Pres, who made a study of survival found that the foremost stated reason for the camp inmates to fight for survival was their

desire to bear witness, to record, and broadcast the atrocities they had witnessed. He writes: "The testimony of survivors is rooted in a strong need to make the truth known. Survival is a specific kind of experience and to survive it as a witness is one of its forms."

He quotes:

Chaim Kaplan...

"My utmost concern is for hiding my diary
so that it will be preserved for future generations....
a flame imprisoned in my bones, burning within me, screaming: Record".

Alexander Donat ...

"I felt I was a witness to disaster charged with
the sacred mission of carrying the Ghetto's history
through the flames and barbed wire...
It seemed to me that this sense of mission
would give me the strength to endure everything."

Elie Wiesel ...

There was a veritable passion to testify for the future,
against death and oblivion".

Olga Lengyel ...

"In setting down this personal record I have tried to
carry out the mandate given to me by the many fellow internees at
Auschwitz who perished so horribly. This is my memorial to them".[10]

Whether the above-quoted writers are representative of all camp survivors needs to be investigated.

Tables were drawn up to clarify the collected material culled from the testimonies, in order to define the attributes of the Survivors, and to find the common denominators.

Most of those saved by hiding were females - 73%. A circumcized male was too easy to discover.

It was most important to have available means. 76% were affluent and of the remainder, some were able to work while hiding and others were financed by resistance organizations.

Fluency in the language of the district was usually necessary for survival by hiding. It must be remembered that most were hidden in more than one place, and in between times had to mingle inconspicuously in streets, parks or forests. 76% were fluent and some of the others had acceptable reasons for their poor command of the local dialect or language.

In addition, the hidden witnesses attributed their survival to such factors as luck, initiative, foresight, courage, and

endurance, and they gave examples. Hardly anyone said that their fight for survival was motivated by their desire to tell the world.

The conditions of hiding varied enormously from country to country. In Poland most had repeatedly to find someone willing to hide them. 92 percent were hidden in barns, bunkers and very cramped spaces. The same applies to the Czechs. In Holland, on the other hand, all lived in their hiders' houses. The length of time the person was hidden varied considerably. In Holland and Poland they had to remain in hiding for two to three years, in Hungary for less than one year.

The witnesses mentioned various factors which explain why more people did not try to hide:

1) Information on the true nature of the camps was kept a well-guarded secret by all, including the Judenrat and other official Jewish bodies. The beliefs were current that nothing worse than being sent to a labour camp would befall the deportees, and that the cultured and enlightened Germans were incapable of barbarity.

2) Families did not want to separate.

3) There was nowhere and no one with whom they could hide.

There is a correlation, an affinity of response to certain questions pertaining to the attitude and feelings of the Survivors after the war.

1) Continued and continuous anxiety, which manifests itself in nightmares, in worry for the children's safety and in a certain wariness of other people.

2) Most of those asked about their religious belief said that it had vanished. It had been incomprehensible that a benign God should allow such slaughter.

3) The Survivors, who come from different walks of life and work in divers occupations, overwhelmingly had the same friendly and humane attitude towards the antagonistic Arab neighbours. This is strange when one considers that unprovoked attacks on Israeli civilians are frequent and that the Survivors and their sons have had to fight in four wars against the Arabs (a few were injured, two of the sons were killed). Some witnesses did admit to apprehension for the peacefulness of the region.

4) In the various forums the writer has attended, and in many of the testimonies, complaints were voiced over the lack of understanding and sympathy shown by relatives, friends and Israelis generally.

5) Contact with the Saviours has usually been maintained, but not always. Not everyone was left with a comfortable feeling about those who let them hide on their property, as can well be understood after reading the full testimonies and realizing how

precarious the agreement to hide often was. Many of those saved were able to reciprocate and compensate their Saviours, to some degree, for that anxious time when they were hidden.

6) The survivors did not have the time to mourn. Many witnesses spoke of recent journeys to their home towns, of visits to their hiders, and to communal graves. These journeys had been a great strain, but ultimately beneficial. Others spoke of the Holocaust Memorial Day which is observed in Israel, and of the fact that they can find others here who have lived through similar ordeals. Some spoke of the difficult days before the planned interview, others phoned to say that the days after the interview had been very difficult. Many mentioned that they were relieved to have testified. Now, after nearly fifty years, people are letting themselves find condolence in articulated grief.

7) The survivors explained that they are to some extent living double lives. with many present-day occurrences returning them to former scenes. There is a prevalence of mental, emotional and physical problems.

Sadly, from the numerous support groups being established both here and in the United States, from newspaper articles, speeches made at conferences, and from testifiers' remarks, it would seem that the second generation is also suffering the effects of the Holocaust.

Aaron Hass, the son of Holocaust Survivors writes:

> "Those children actively involved in second-generation organizations, though conscious of their own and their parents psychological response to the Holocaust, all too often seem to have little interest in learning about the historical, political and cultural factors that allowed the Nazis to come to power, flourish and wreak havoc upon the Jewish people. If those closest to the Holocaust's effects do not wish any involvement, who can I rely on to perpetuate its memory"11.

This thesis, together with the translated and transcribed full testimonies which accompany it, should add to the insight and perpetuation of this period in history.

Footnotes

1. Mordecai Paldiel: The Path of the Righteous, Hoboken, N.J. Publishing House, 1993. pp.252-255.

2. John Bierman: Righteous Gentile, NY. The Viking Press, 1981.

3. Thomas Keneally: Schindler's Ark, London, Coronet Books, 1983.

4. Mordecai Paldiel: The Path of the Righteous, Hoboken,NJ. KTAV Publishing House, 1993 pp.149-155.

5. Ibid pp. 376-381.

6. Nehama Tec: When Light Pierced the Darkness, NY. Oxford University Press, 1986 p.233.

7. Eric Silver: The Book of the Just, London, Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1992 pp.162-163.

8. Mordecai Paldiel: The Path of the Righteous, Hoboken, NJ. KTAV Publishing House, 1993, pp.252-255.

9. Nehama Tec: When Light Pierced the Darkness, NY. Oxford University Press, 1986, pp.152-153.

10. Terence Des Pres: The Survivor, NY. Oxford University Press, 1976 pp.30-37.

11. Aaron Hass: In the Shadow of the Holocaust, Ithaca & London, Cornell University Press, 1990 p.157.

POSTSCRIPT

THE CONTRIBUTION OF ORAL HISTORY TO THE DOCUMENTATION OF A GIVEN PERIOD.

With the development of oral and visual tape recordings, history need no longer depend on a few writers' memories, impressions or interpretations. Future generations will be able to form their own opinions on past events by listening to many eyewitnesses' recordings, which will add dimension to the official documentations. The eyewitnesses' testimonies quoted in this thesis were unfortunately recorded nearly fifty years after the period described. It has been mentioned before, and confirmed in the testimonies, that most people were unable and therefore unwilling to speak about this most terrible period in their lives at an earlier stage. Fifty years is a long time and there arises the question of the validity and veracity of the Survivors' testimonies.

Traumatic experiences stay etched in the mind long after mundane experiences are forgotten. Emotionally charged memories are imprinted in the memory from an early age. Most people's earliest memory is of something unpleasant or frightening which occurred when they were very young, and they not only recall the event itself, but also the emotions engendered at that time.

S.A. Christiansen describes in his article 'Memory for Traumatic Events', the results of an experiment on recall for neutral and traumatic events:

"*The experiments showed better recall for the traumatic event, even after a long retention interval*".[1]

In another article by S.A. Christiansen[2] - 'Some Characteristics of Peoples' Traumatic Memories' - he says:

"*There was a significant relationship between rated degree of emotion and the number of central details remembered, but not peripheral details*".[2]

The following is taken from an account of the D.Day commemmoration in June, 1994:[3]

"It was intriguing in this epic commemmoration how most veterans could recall in minute detail that first 24 hours, then found memories hazy as they went inland for fighting that would continue for a year. Ambrose's interviewees could give the exact size of the foxholes they dug, when they first relieved themselves after the long and tortuous journey to the

beaches, or where they first hit ground, rolling beneath their billowing parachutes. Richard Winters of Hershey, Pennsylvania, a first lieutenant in the US 101st Airborne, came back to the outskirts of Ste.-Mere-Eglise and could identify every building, every wall, every swell of land where he had landed." [3]

The testimonies confirm the afore-mentioned experiments, and accounts. Those Survivors who have revisited their former homes and/or places of hiding have all mentioned their surprise at the accuracy of their factual memories. Three pairs of siblings have been included; the similarity of their testimonies further attests to the reliability of traumatic memory[4].

These oral accounts affirm and reaffirm other oral recordings, written accounts, diaries and documents, and so make it more difficult to resist the truth of the Holocaust, and to deny the scandalous misbehaviour of man to fellow man at the time of Nazi dominance in Europe.

Footnotes:

1. Christiansen, Sven-Ake; Loftus, Elizabeth F., Journal of Applied Cognitive Psychology, October-December, Vol. 1 (4)(1987) pp. 225-239.

2. Christiansen, Sven-Ake; Loftus, Elizabeth F., Journal: Bulletin of the Psychonomic Society, May, Vol. 28 (3)(1990) pp.195-198.

3. Nelan, Bruce W., Time International, 20 June, Vol. 25 (1994) p. 32.

4. B.2 Ruth Lowenthal and B.3 Sara Lowenthal. P.37 Yentl Burko and P.38 Zelda Burko. P.47 Klara Jewrejski and P.48 Zalmen Jewrejski

A. SOURCES

Names of the Survivors who provided oral testimony listed under their country of refuge

BELGIUM - B

1. Anita Israel
2. Ruth Lowenthal
3. Sara Lowenthal
4. Sigbert Pfennig

CZECHOSLOVAKIA - C

5. Hilda Brand
6. Katerina Braun
7. Anna Dohan
8. Tova Einhorn
9. Gisela Getzler
10. Marietta Goldman-Halek
11. Felicia Greenfield
12. Alice Lipsker-Stern
13. Elisabeth Salwendy
15. Pavel Suchostaver

FRANCE - F

17. Jacob Fischler
18. Roland Friedman
20. Berta Kaner
21. Roger Levy
22. Helen Rosenbluth

GERMANY - G

16. Gisela Muller

GREECE - GR

14. Genny Florentin

NETHERLANDS - N

23. Veronica De Bruin
24. Jacques De Hartog
25. Eva Frankel
26. Therese Heymann
27. Rosy Jacobs
28. Victor Jacobs
29. Jacky Kapper
30. Carolina Reens
31. Ruth Siegel
32. Moshe Wolff

HUNGARY - H

33. Judith Acs
34. Klari Strasset

ITALY - I

60. John Weissmann

LITHUANIA - L

35. Luba Gis

POLAND - P

36. Mina Blass
19. Rahel Burko
37. Yentl Burko
38. Zelda Burko.
39. Luba Cydielnicki
40. Arieh Durst
41. Dora Feiger
42. Maria Fraenkel
43. Sonia Goldman
44. Joseph Grodzinski
45. Sonia Hebenstreit
46. Dudek Inventarz
47. Klara Jewrejski
48. Zalman Jewrejski
49. Devora Karpel
50. Miriam Perkal
51. Marisha Perlberger
59. Hania Piller
52. Eve Reiner
53. Osias Ritter
54. Genia Ungerfeld
55. Tuvia Warman
56. Edja Wilder
57. Pepka Zuckerberg

YUGOSLAVIA - Y

58. Zlata Schlittingen

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Appendix A

QUESTIONNAIRE
The Survivors

1) Names: at birth, in hiding, now

2) Family educational standard

3) Jewish community and family standing

4) National origin and languages spoken

5) Age & age of siblings at date of escape

6) Gender

7) Profession or trade of family members

8) Degree of religious orthodoxy, 1939, 1991

9) Political affiliation of family, 1939, 1991

10) Connections with non-Jews (school, work, play home)

11) First incidence of anti-semitism, moment of decision (catalyst)

12) Domicile: original, at time of escape, now

13) Date of getaway

14) Places and duration of concealment

15) Daily activities during concealment (food, clothing, hygiene, money)

16) Companions in hiding: family, friends, partisans, others

17) Motivation for survival

18) Immediate actions on release

19) Present day attitudes resulting from the experience:
    a. Approach to Arabs
    b. Guilt about survival
    c. Interpersonal relationships today: with the Saviours, with new family, friends and strangers
    d. Opportunity and desire to speak about experiences
    e. Changes in spiritual and materialistic values

20) The effect on the children

Appendix A

QUESTIONNAIRE

Part II - The Saviours

1) Names

2) Education

3) Community Standing

4) National Origin

5) Age & family status

6) Gender

7) Profession or trade

8) Religious denomination

9) Political affiliation

10) Personal contact with Jews before 1939

11) Degree of personal danger involved

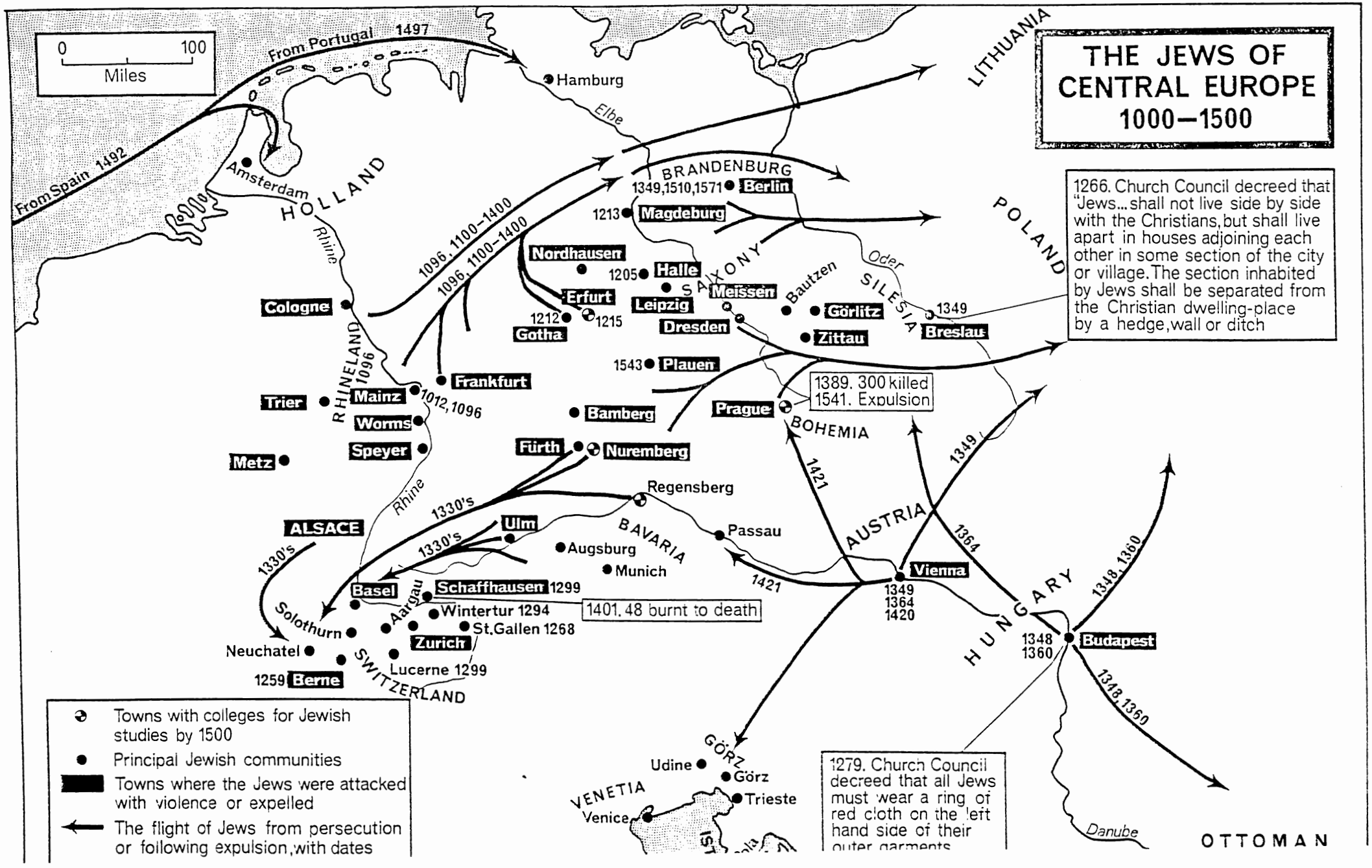
12) Motivation

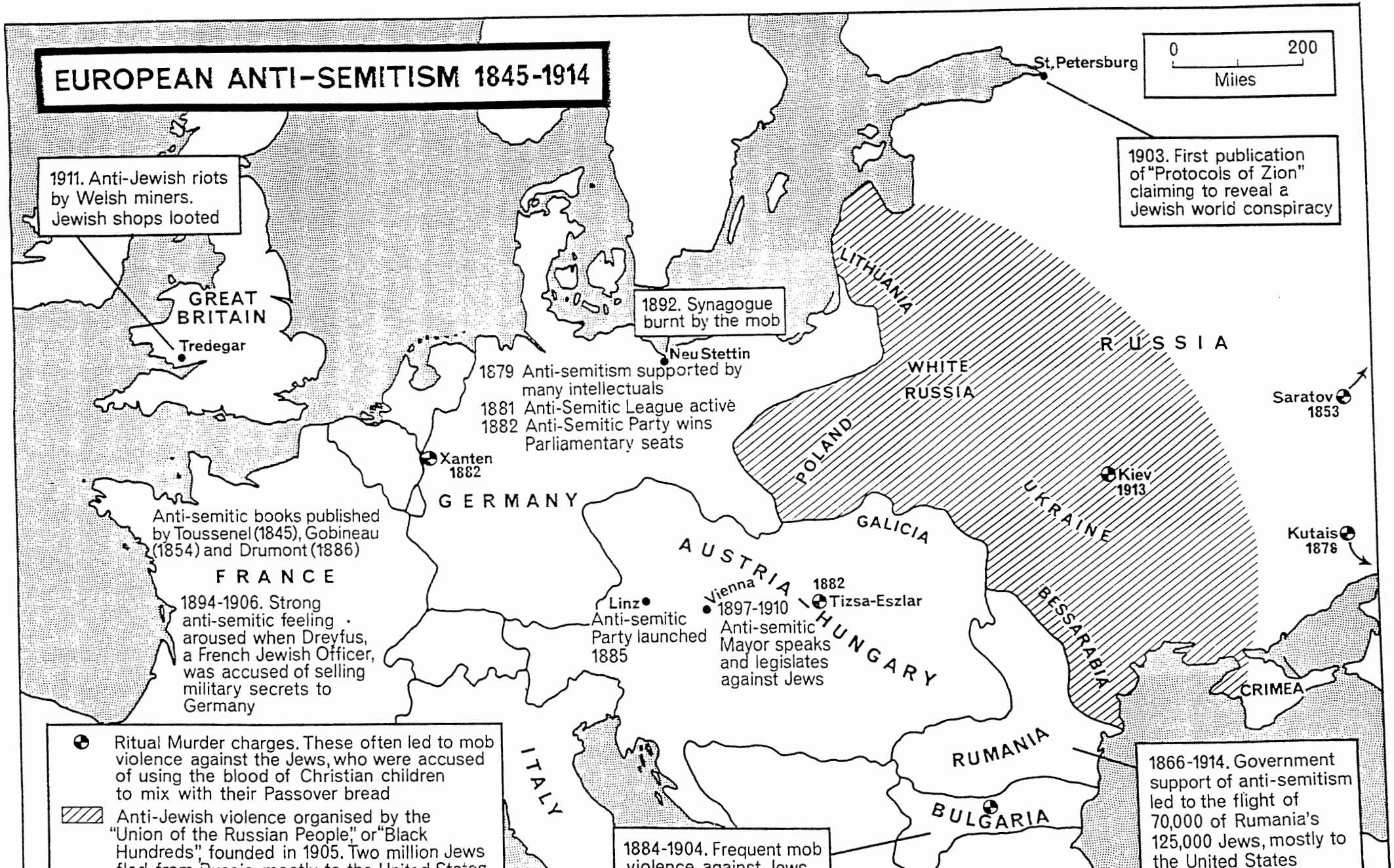
13) Which family members were informed

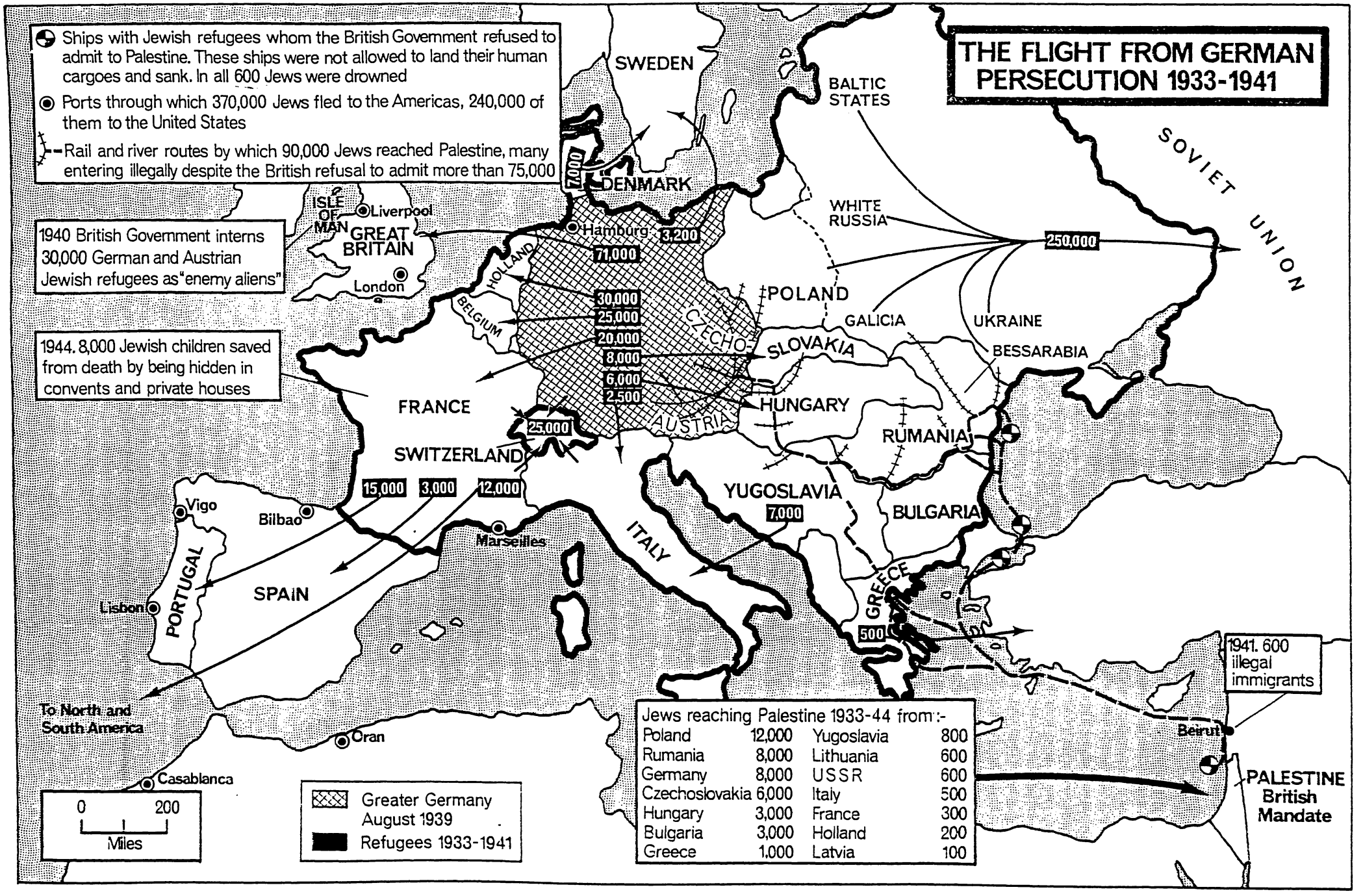
14) Treatment of the 'guest'

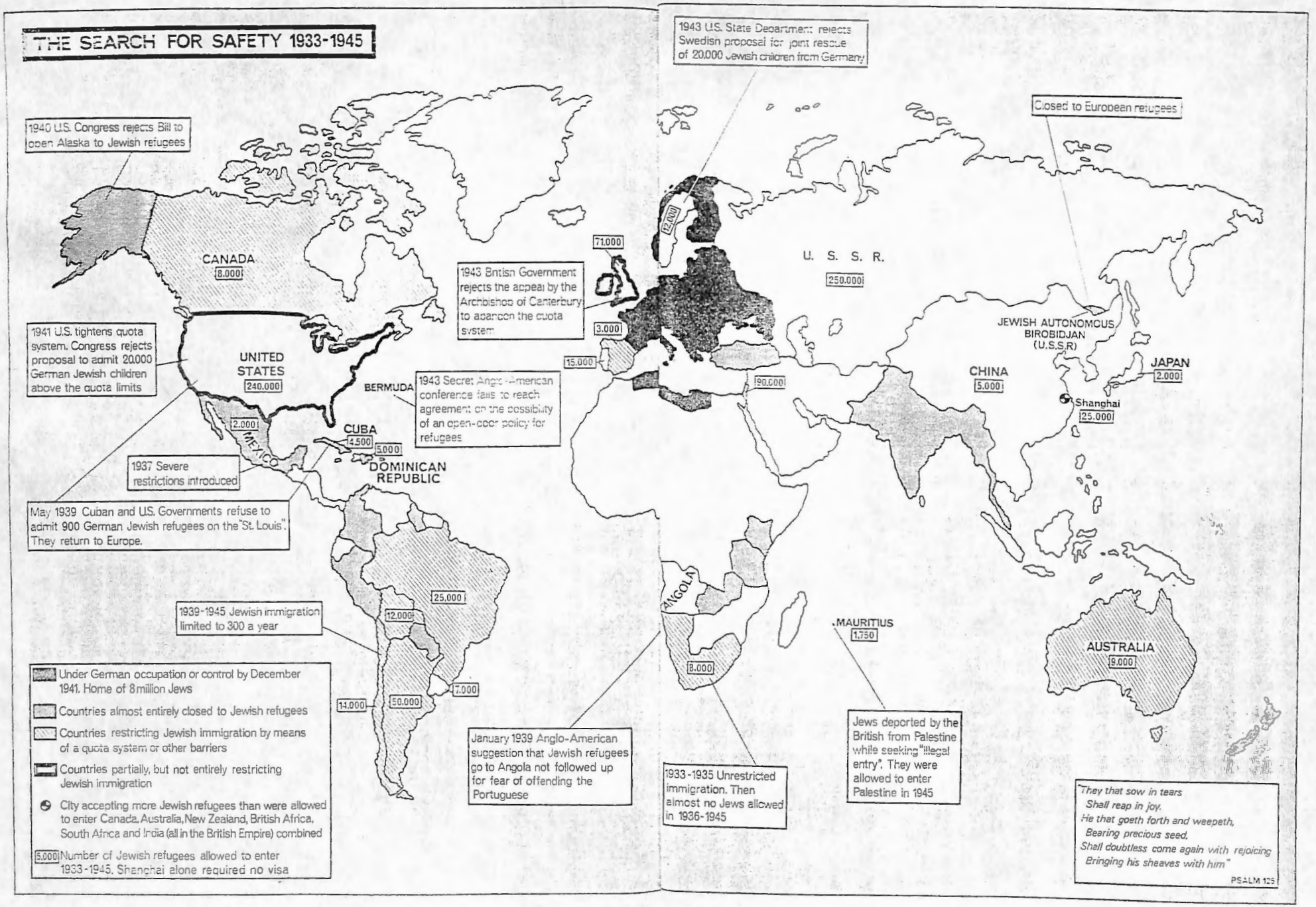
15) Post-war reactions of neighbours and officials

16) Present day relationship with those saved

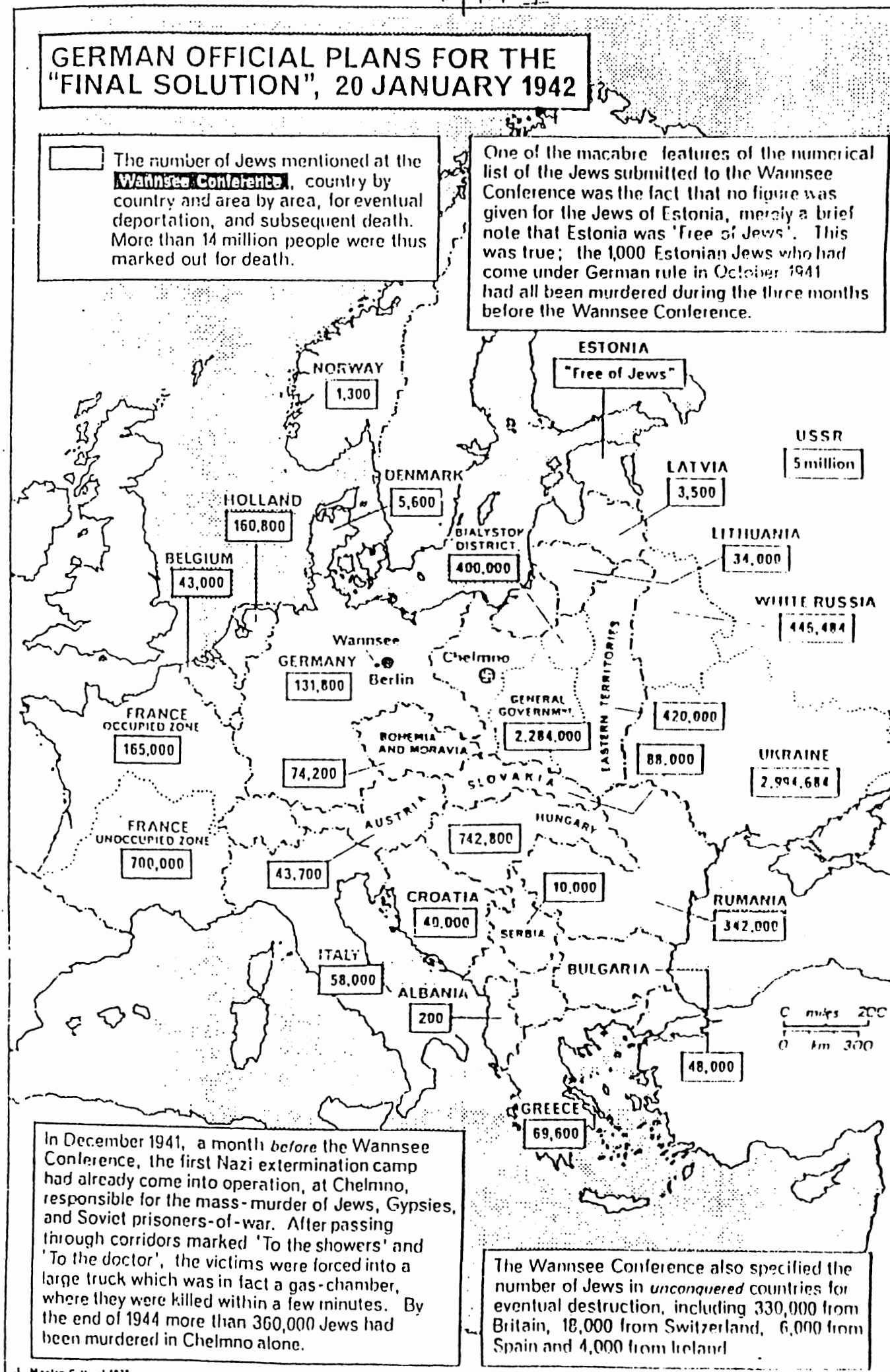

THE JEWS OF CENTRAL EUROPE 1000–1500
0 100 Miles
From Portugal 1497
From Spain 1492
Hamburg
Elbe
LITHUANIA
Amsterdam
HOLLAND
Rhine
BRANDENBURG
1349,1510,1571 Berlin
1213 Magdeburg
POLAND
1096, 1100–1400
1096, 1100–1400
Nordhausen
1205 Halle
SAXONY
Meissen
Bautzen
Oder
SILESIA
1349
Breslau
Görlitz
Zittau
Leipzig
Erfurt
1212
1215
Gotha
Dresden
Cologne
RHINELAND 1096
1543 Plauen
Frankfurt
Trier
Mainz
1012, 1096
Worms
Speyer
Metz
Bamberg
Prague
BOHEMIA
1389. 300 killed
1541. Expulsion
Fürth
Nuremberg
Regensberg
1330's
Rhine
ALSACE
1330's
1330's
Ulm
BAVARIA
Augsburg
Munich
Passau
1421
AUSTRIA
1349
1364
1421
Vienna
1349
1364
1420
Basel
Schaffhausen 1299
Aargau
Solothurn
Wintertur 1294
St.Gallen 1268
Zurich
Neuchatel
Lucerne 1299
1259 Berne
SWITZERLAND
1401. 48 burnt to death
HUNGARY
1348, 1360
1348
1360
Budapest
1348, 1360
GÖRZ
Udine
Görz
Trieste
VENETIA
Venice
Danube
OTTOMAN
1266. Church Council decreed that "Jews... shall not live side by side with the Christians, but shall live apart in houses adjoining each other in some section of the city or village. The section inhabited by Jews shall be separated from the Christian dwelling-place by a hedge, wall or ditch
1279. Church Council decreed that all Jews must wear a ring of red cloth on the left hand side of their outer garments
Towns with colleges for Jewish studies by 1500
Principal Jewish communities
Towns where the Jews were attacked with violence or expelled
The flight of Jews from persecution or following expulsion, with dates


EUROPEAN ANTI-SEMITISM 1845-1914
0
200
Miles
St. Petersburg
1903. First publication of "Protocols of Zion" claiming to reveal a Jewish world conspiracy
1911. Anti-Jewish riots by Welsh miners. Jewish shops looted
GREAT BRITAIN
Tredegar
1892. Synagogue burnt by the mob
Neu Stettin
LITHUANIA
RUSSIA
WHITE RUSSIA
POLAND
1879 Anti-semitism supported by many intellectuals
1881 Anti-Semitic League active
1882 Anti-Semitic Party wins Parliamentary seats
Saratov 1853
Xanten 1882
GERMANY
Kiev 1913
UKRAINE
Kutais 1878
Anti-semitic books published by Toussenel (1845), Gobineau (1854) and Drumont (1886)
GALICIA
AUSTRIA - HUNGARY
FRANCE
1894-1906. Strong anti-semitic feeling aroused when Dreyfus, a French Jewish Officer, was accused of selling military secrets to Germany
Linz
Anti-semitic Party launched 1885
Vienna
1897-1910 Anti-semitic Mayor speaks and legislates against Jews
1882 Tizsa-Eszlar
BESSARABIA
CRIMEA
ITALY
RUMANIA
BULGARIA
1866-1914. Government support of anti-semitism led to the flight of 70,000 of Rumania's 125,000 Jews, mostly to the United States
Ritual Murder charges. These often led to mob violence against the Jews, who were accused of using the blood of Christian children to mix with their Passover bread
Anti-Jewish violence organised by the "Union of the Russian People," or "Black Hundreds", founded in 1905. Two million Jews
1884-1904. Frequent mob violence against Jews

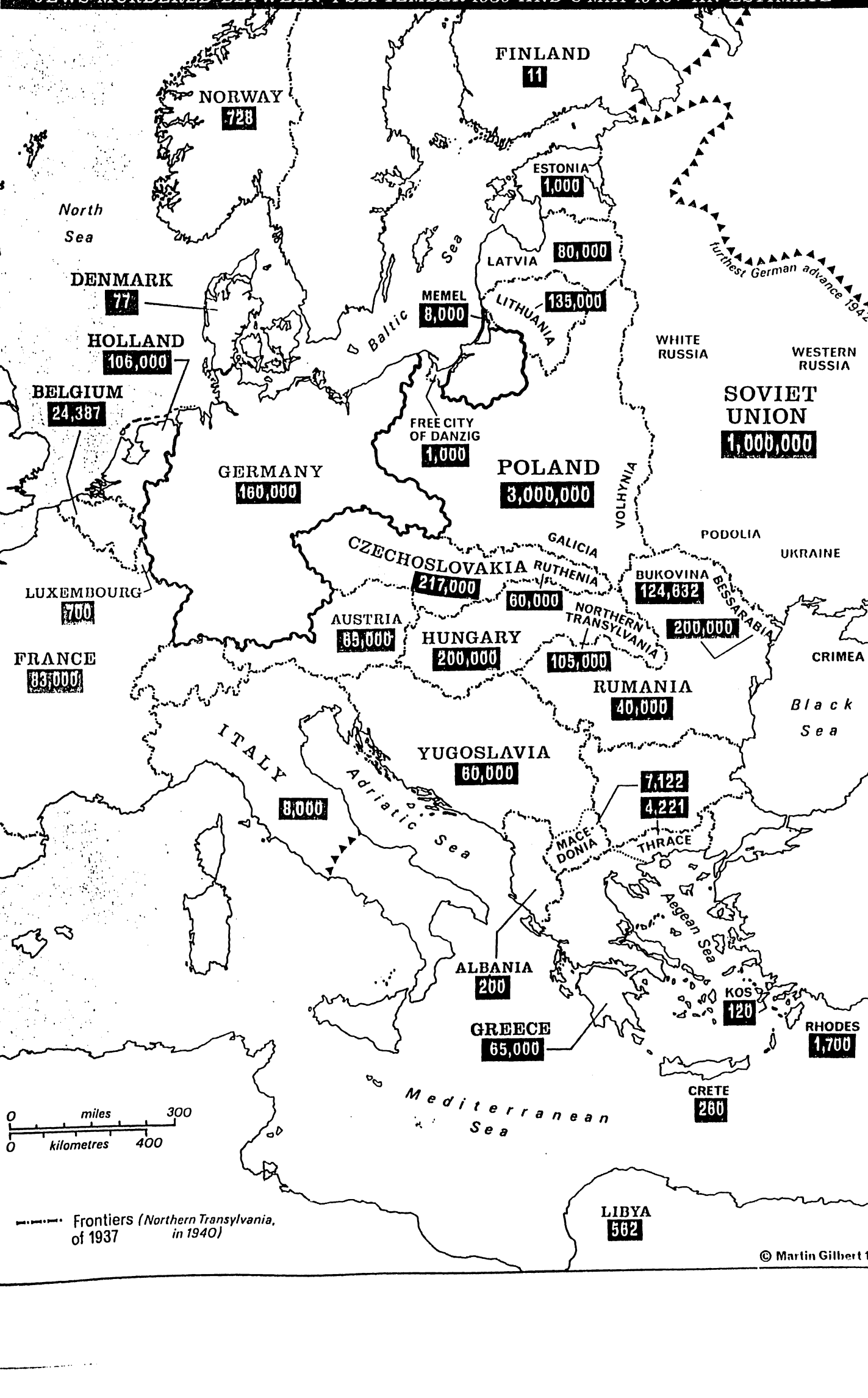

THE FLIGHT FROM GERMAN PERSECUTION 1933-1941
Ships with Jewish refugees whom the British Government refused to admit to Palestine. These ships were not allowed to land their human cargoes and sank. In all 600 Jews were drowned
Ports through which 370,000 Jews fled to the Americas, 240,000 of them to the United States
Rail and river routes by which 90,000 Jews reached Palestine, many entering illegally despite the British refusal to admit more than 75,000
1940 British Government interns 30,000 German and Austrian Jewish refugees as "enemy aliens"
1944. 8,000 Jewish children saved from death by being hidden in convents and private houses
SWEDEN
BALTIC STATES
SOVIET UNION
DENMARK
7,000
ISLE OF MAN
Liverpool
GREAT BRITAIN
London
Hamburg
3,200
71,000
WHITE RUSSIA
250,000
HOLLAND
BELGIUM
30,000
25,000
20,000
8,000
6,000
2,500
CZECHO-SLOVAKIA
POLAND
GALICIA
UKRAINE
BESSARABIA
FRANCE
AUSTRIA
HUNGARY
RUMANIA
25,000
SWITZERLAND
15,000
3,000
12,000
YUGOSLAVIA
7,000
BULGARIA
Vigo
Bilbao
Marseilles
ITALY
PORTUGAL
SPAIN
Lisbon
GREECE
500
To North and South America
Oran
Casablanca
Beirut
1941. 600 illegal immigrants
PALESTINE British Mandate
0 200 Miles
Greater Germany August 1939
Refugees 1933-1941
Jews reaching Palestine 1933-44 from:-
Poland 12,000
Rumania 8,000
Germany 8,000
Czechoslovakia 6,000
Hungary 3,000
Bulgaria 3,000
Greece 1,000
Yugoslavia 800
Lithuania 600
USSR 600
Italy 500
France 300
Holland 200
Latvia 100


THE SEARCH FOR SAFETY 1933-1945
1940 U.S. Congress rejects Bill to open Alaska to Jewish refugees
CANADA
8.000
1941 U.S. tightens quota system. Congress rejects proposal to admit 20,000 German Jewish children above the quota limits
UNITED STATES
240.000
1937 Severe restrictions introduced
May 1939 Cuban and U.S. Governments refuse to admit 900 German Jewish refugees on the "St. Louis". They return to Europe.
MEXICO
2.000
CUBA
4.500
5.000
DOMINICAN REPUBLIC
BERMUDA
1943 Secret Anglo-American conference fails to reach agreement on the possibility of an open-door policy for refugees
1943 British Government rejects the appeal by the Archbishop of Canterbury to abandon the quota system
1943 U.S. State Department rejects Swedish proposal for joint rescue of 20,000 Jewish children from Germany
12.000
71.000
3.000
15.000
U. S. S. R.
250.000
90.000
Closed to European refugees
JEWISH AUTONOMOUS BIROBIDJAN (U.S.S.R)
CHINA
5.000
JAPAN
2.000
Shanghai
25.000
1939-1945 Jewish immigration limited to 300 a year
25.000
12.000
7.000
14.000
50.000
ANGOLA
8.000
MAURITIUS
1.750
AUSTRALIA
9.000
January 1939 Anglo-American suggestion that Jewish refugees go to Angola not followed up for fear of offending the Portuguese
1933-1935 Unrestricted immigration. Then almost no Jews allowed in 1936-1945
Jews deported by the British from Palestine while seeking "illegal entry". They were allowed to enter Palestine in 1945
Under German occupation or control by December 1941. Home of 8 million Jews
Countries almost entirely closed to Jewish refugees
Countries restricting Jewish immigration by means of a quota system or other barriers
Countries partially, but not entirely restricting Jewish immigration
City accepting more Jewish refugees than were allowed to enter Canada, Australia, New Zealand, British Africa, South Africa and India (all in the British Empire) combined
5.000 Number of Jewish refugees allowed to enter 1933-1945. Shanghai alone required no visa
"They that sow in tears
Shall reap in joy.
He that goeth forth and weepeth,
Bearing precious seed,
Shall doubtless come again with rejoicing
Bringing his sheaves with him"
PSALM 126

M. Gilbert. The Holocaust Maps + Photographs (London-1 [illegible] Chapter I



JEWS MURDERED BETWEEN 1 SEPTEMBER 1939 AND 8 MAY 1945: AN ESTIMATE



© Martin Gilbert 1



By the most exact estimates of recent research, the number of Jews killed in Europe between September 1939 and May 1945 was nearly six million. This estimate is a minimum; the deaths shown opposite total just over 5,750,000, and are based on such country-by-country and region-by-region records as survive. These records are listed in the bibliography which follows.

Such a total, however, can never be complete. Thousands of infants and babies were murdered, by the Nazi killings squads in the autumn of 1941, for example, before their birth could be recorded for any 'statistical' purpose. Thousands more individuals, especially in the remoter villages of Poland, were 'added' to the deportation trains which left larger localities, without any numerical register being made of their existence or fate. For several hundred Jewish communities throughout Europe, the most that the historical research of more than 35 years has been able to record is some phrase such as: 'the fate of this community is unknown'. Yet that community, perhaps of 100, or even 1,000 Jews, had existed in 1939, and had been destroyed by 1945.

Throughout Europe, the traveller to this day comes across monuments and gravestones to the victims. Stones mark the mass graves of individuals of whom nothing will ever be known: not their names, their ages, their birthplaces, nor indeed their total number. The photograph shows one such 'war grave', to 11 'unknown' Jews, killed in Austria in the early months of 1945.



GENERALGOUVERNEMENT
10 KREISHAUPTMANN IN BRZEZANY

NUR FÜR JUDEN

GENERALGOUVERNEMENT
Distrikt Galizien
der Kreishauptmann in Brzezany

Brzezany, den 31. Mai 1943

113

PASSIERSCHEIN Nr.: .....

Der Jude/Jüdin Osias Ritter

beschäftigt bei der Alt- und Abfallstofferfassung

ist/sind berechtigt, die Grenzen des jüdischen Wohnbezirks in Brzezany für die Dauer der Gültigkeit dieses Passierscheines wiederholt (.....mal) zu passieren.

Arbeiterkolonne und Führer:

Einzelpassierschein für die ganze Stadt in der Zeit von 5^00 bis 2

Gültig bis 30. Juni 1943

Der Kreishauptmann
Im Auftrage:

GENERALGOUVERNEMENT
10 KREISHAUPTMANN IN BRZEZANY

Gebühr: ..... Zl. erhalten

P53

Translation:

FOR JEWS ONLY

Brzesany, May 31 1943

Travelpass No. 273

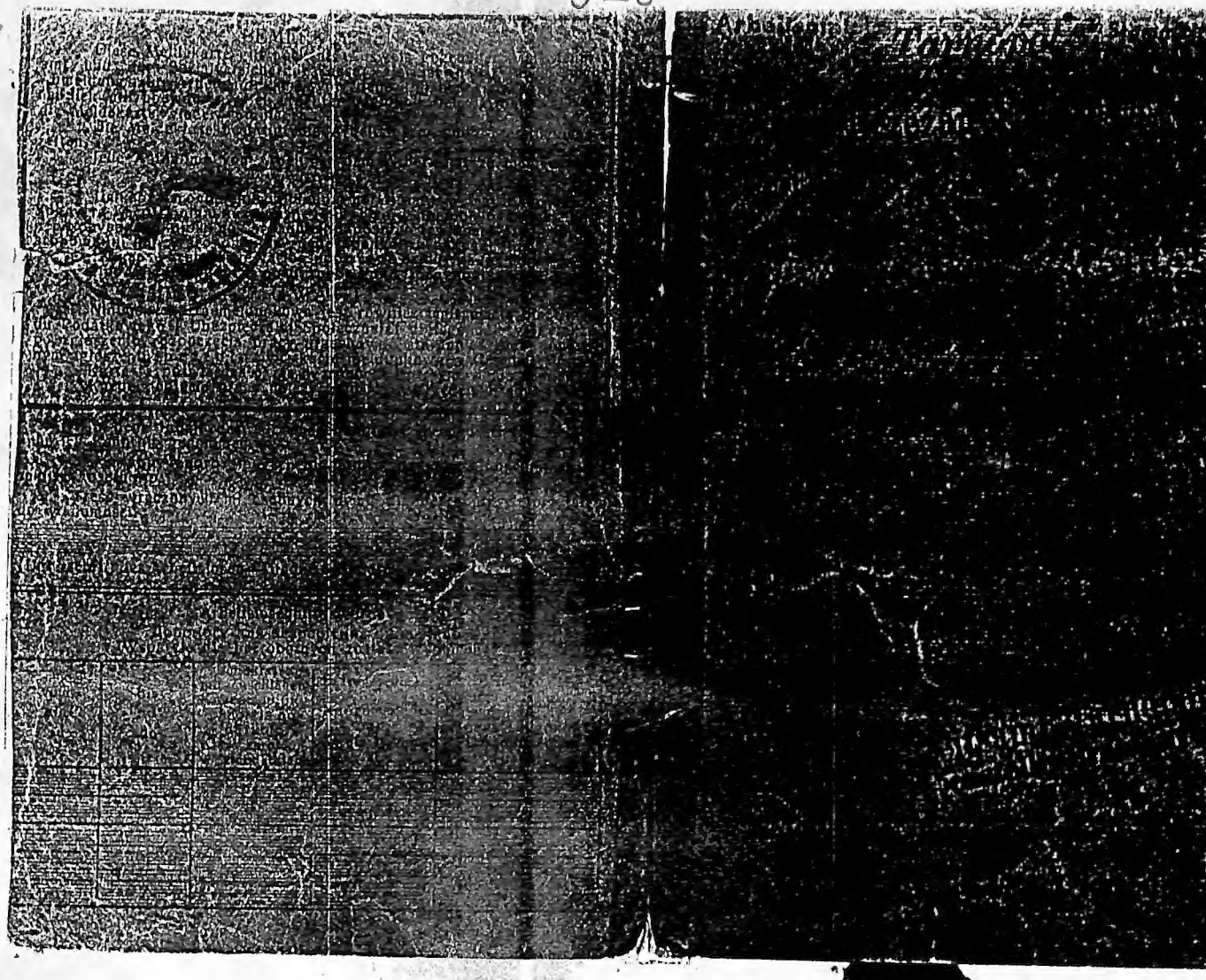
The Jew Osias Ritter
employed at the salvage operation of scrap and used materials is allowed to cross the boundary of the Jewish living quarters repeatedly.

Single travel pass for the whole town for the time 5^{00} to 20^{00} hours.

Valid until June 30, 1943 *

District Captain

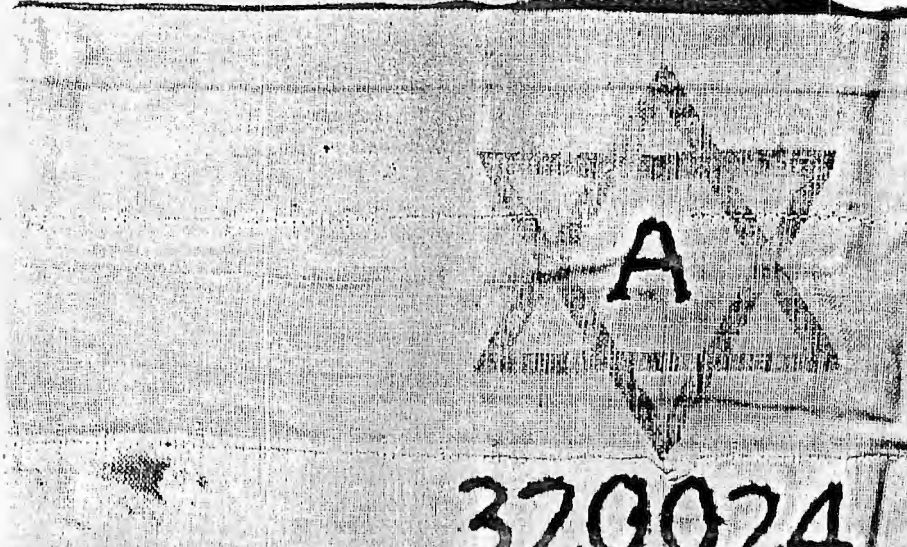
Interviewer's note: By this date the Ghetto had been liquidated and the last inhabitants had been deported.





"Wehrmacht"

(A strongly sewn badge showing the wearer was working for the armed forces) (P.53). Ossias Ritter's father's



Blue Star of David on white armband of Osias Ritter in Poland (Hand made by mother identity number embroidered

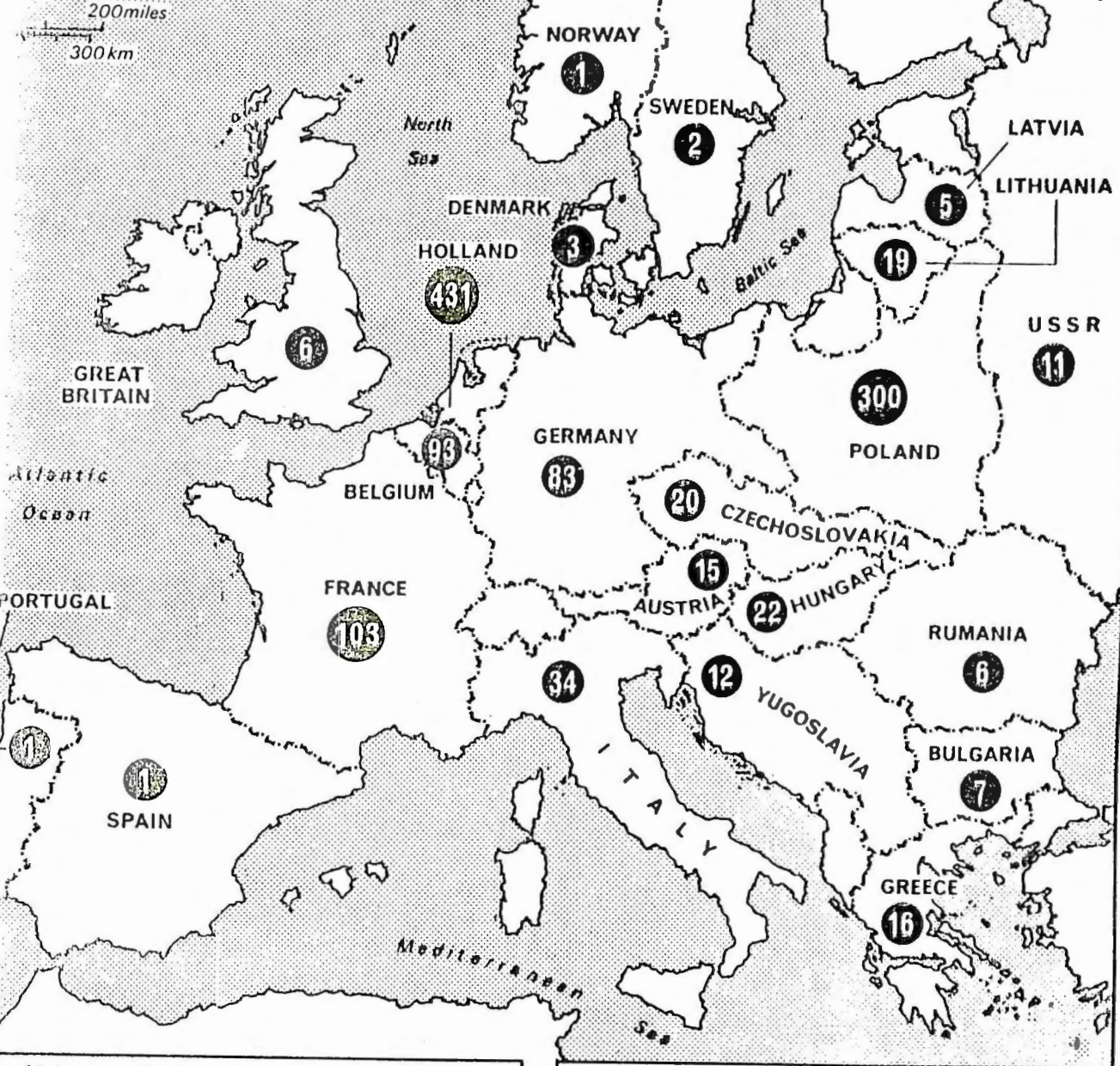
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THE RIGHTEOUS AMONG THE NATIONS 1939 - 1945

The single award for Norway was a collective one for the members of the Norwegian Resistance movement, all of whom helped Jews to escape. The Danish award included one which was made to the King in honour of the Danish nation.

Frontiers of 1937

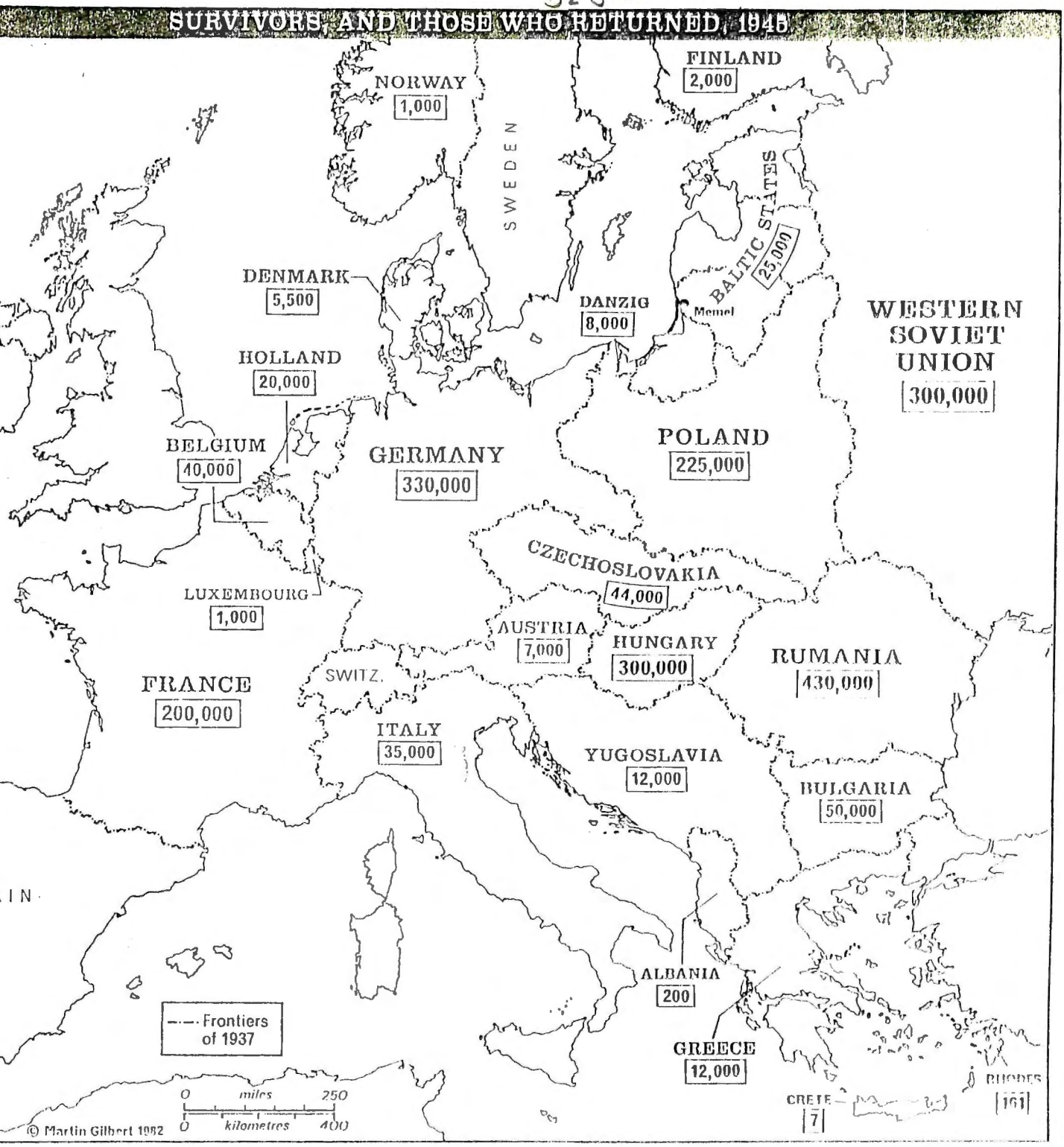
Numbers of 'righteous gentiles' honoured up to 1976 by the State of Israel for having helped individual Jews to escape deportation and death between 1939 and 1945.



On 19 August 1953 the Israeli Parliament passed a law making it the duty of the State of Israel to recognize the work done by non-Jews in saving Jewish lives during the war. An expression of honour was awarded, in the name of the Jewish people, to every non-Jewish person or family who had risked their lives to save Jews. Evidence of such action has to come initially from one of those who was actually saved; the evidence is then examined by a committee of eighteen judges and experts.

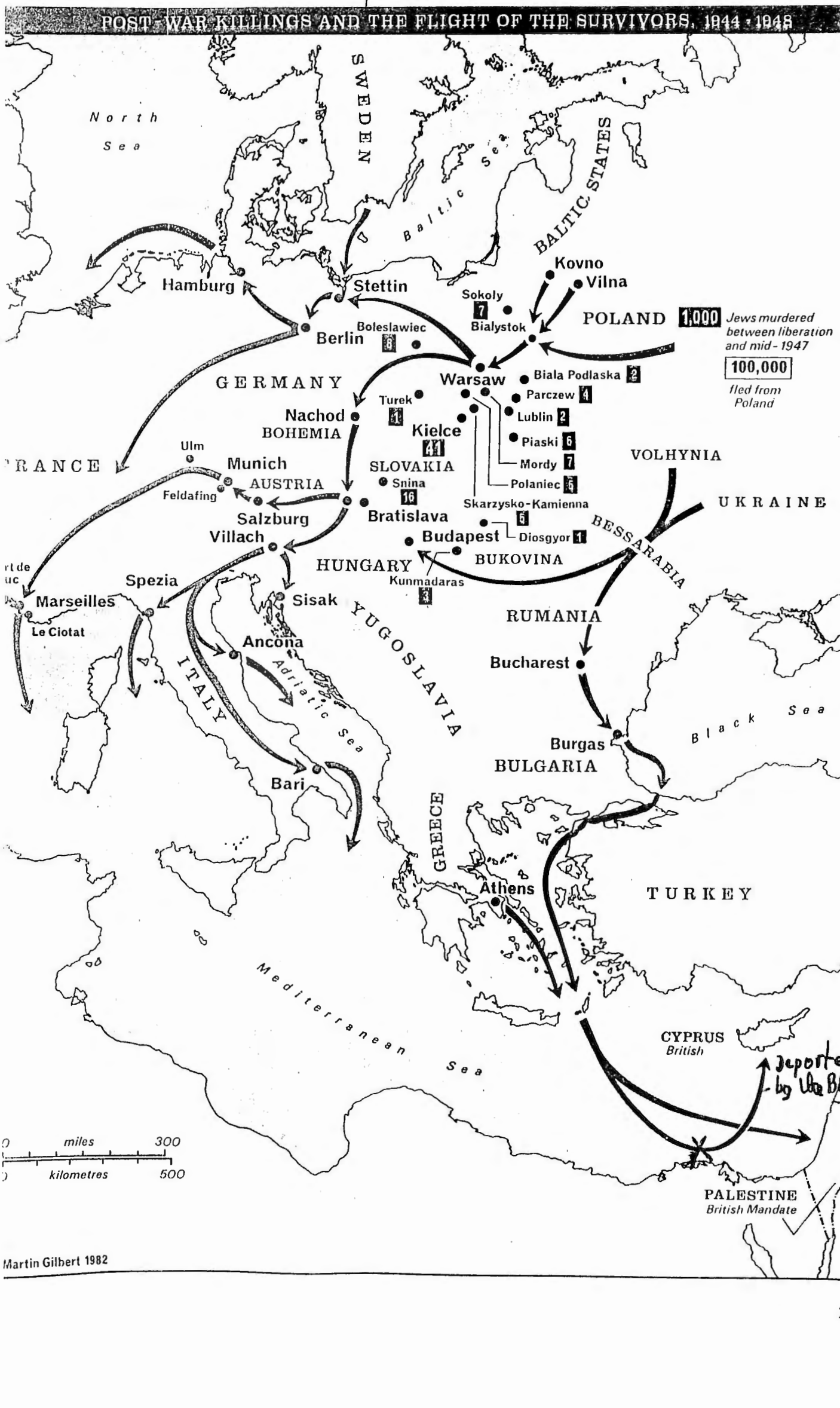
At the national Holocaust memorial, known as "Yad Vashem", in Jerusalem, an "avenue of the righteous" was begun 1962, where each non-Jew who is honoured plants a tree, or has a tree planted in his or her name.
This map shows the number of "righteous gentiles" honoured between 1962, when the first tree was planted, and 31 July 1976.
By late 1977, a further 1,500 cases were under examination, and new cases were coming forward every day.

Martin Gilbert 1978



In addition to the 300,000 survivors of the concentration camps, over a million and a half European Jews survived Hitler's efforts to destroy them. Some were fortunate, as in Germany, to escape from Europe before the outbreak of war or, as in Hungary, that liberation came before the plans for their destruction could be completed. Others, as in Rumania, were saved when their Government, hitherto anti-Jewish, changed its policy in anticipation of an Allied victory. The Jews of Bulgaria were saved by the courage of the Bulgarian people *(page 153)*. The majority of the Polish Jews shown here survived because they found refuge in 1939 and 1940 in Soviet Central Asia. More than 20,000 French, Belgian and Dutch Jews had found refuge in Switzerland, Spain and Portugal. Denmark's Jews had been smuggled to safety in Sweden *(pages 166-7)*.

Some Jews everywhere, but particularly in France, Belgium, Holland and Italy, survived because the Germans took longer to deport them than time finally allowed: the Allied landings on continental Europe coming while deportations were still in progress. Other Jews all over Europe escaped deportation altogether because they were sheltered by individual non-Jews who risked their own lives to save Jews.


POST-WAR KILLINGS AND THE FLIGHT OF THE SURVIVORS, 1944-1948
North Sea
SWEDEN
Baltic Sea
BALTIC STATES
Kovno
Vilna
Hamburg
Stettin
Sokoly 7
Bialystok
POLAND 1,000 Jews murdered between liberation and mid-1947
100,000 fled from Poland
Boleslawiec 6
Berlin
GERMANY
Warsaw
Biala Podlaska 2
Parczew 4
Turek 41
Nachod
Lublin 2
BOHEMIA
Kielce 41
Piaski 6
Ulm
Munich
SLOVAKIA
Mordy 7
VOLHYNIA
AUSTRIA
Snina 16
Polaniec 5
Feldafing
Skarzysko-Kamienna 6
UKRAINE
Salzburg
Bratislava
Villach
Budapest
Diosgyor 1
BESSARABIA
HUNGARY
BUKOVINA
Kunmadaras 3
Spezia
Marseilles
Le Ciotat
Sisak
YUGOSLAVIA
RUMANIA
Ancona
Adriatic Sea
Bucharest
ITALY
Black Sea
Burgas
BULGARIA
Bari
GREECE
Athens
TURKEY
Mediterranean Sea
CYPRUS
British
PALESTINE
British Mandate
0 miles 300
0 kilometres 500
Martin Gilbert 1982

NEWS Jerusalem Post Sunday, May 15, 1994

Righteous Gentile Karski named honorary citizen

FIFTY-TWO years after he alerted world leaders to the horrors of the Holocaust, Jan Karski has been made an honorary citizen of Israel.

It is the first time Israel's embassy here has ever bestowed the honor.

"If one can find solace in glimmers of humanity... he was a glimmer," Ambassador Itamar Rabinovich said of Karski, during an emotion-filled ceremony at the embassy Thursday night.

"This is the proudest and most meaningful day in my life," Karski said in accepting the plaque. "Through the honorary citizenship of the State of Israel, I have reached the spiritual source of my Christian faith. In a way, I also became a part of the Jewish community."

Born Jan Kozielewski in Lodz, Poland, Karski joined the Polish underground after the German occupation in 1939. A Catholic, he twice slipped into the Warsaw Ghetto, and, disguised as a Ukrainian guard, into the Izbica "feeder camp" of the Belzec concentration camp, in order to investigate the condition of the Jews in Poland.

HILLEL KUTTLER

WASHINGTON

"What is unprecedented is that no one else that I've ever found went to a concentration camp voluntarily to observe the extermination machinery in action," Tom Wood, a journalist who has just completed a biography on Karski, said after the ceremony.

Karski describes his mission in the Warsaw Ghetto at length in Claude Landsman's epic movie, *Shoah*.

In 1942, Karski reported his findings to the Polish government-in-exile in London and raised the matter with members of Winston Churchill's cabinet and with President Franklin Roosevelt directly.

However, Karski's appeals for action in behalf of the doomed Jews of Europe were ignored.

"You represent the condition of the messenger whose message has been received but not accepted," Elie Wisel wrote Karski in a telegram read during the three-hour tribute.

Karski visited Israel once, when Yad Vashem conferred upon him the Righteous Among the Gentiles award in 1982. It was only earlier that year that Karski's heroism became public knowledge. According to those familiar with his life, Karski has repeatedly understated his heroism.

Avi Granot, Israel's counselor for interreligious affairs, said later that Karski had requested that Thursday's presentation be kept to 20 people – more than 100 religious and community leaders attended – and had sought to pay the cost of refreshments before the embassy insisted otherwise.

"You are larger than life, Jan Karski," stated one of the evening's speakers, Miles Lerman, chairman of the US Holocaust Memorial Council. "You have brought honor to your country, dignity to your people. You have restored faith to your church. Polish history will present you as a role model, and this is the highest reward."

And then Lerman approached the lean, frail 80-year-old in the front row, kissed him twice on each cheek and patted him gently on the face.

Jerusalem Post November 22 1993

331

Researcher: British had proof in 1942 that Hitler intended to exterminate European Jewry

TOM TUGEND

LOS ANGELES

THE British government during World War II apparently suppressed the text they had obtained of a 1942 speech by Nazi propaganda minister Josef Goebbels, which offered clear proof that Hitler intended to exterminate European Jewry, a Holocaust researcher has discovered.

The document was unearthed accidentally in the British Public Record Office by Solomon Littman, the Canadian representative of the Simon Wiesenthal Center, who was doing research for a book on the SS. The find was reported for the first time Sunday in London's *The Observer*.

In his speech on September 23, 1942, Goebbels warned 60 German newspaper editors of the "understandable" Jewish hostility toward Germany and added: "There are still 48,000 Jews in Berlin. They know with deadly certainty that as the war progresses they will be packed off to the east and delivered up to a murderous fate. They already feel the inevitable harshness of physical extermination and therefore they harm the Reich whenever possible whilst they yet live."

A report on the speech was obtained by the Polish resistance and reached the British Foreign Office in May 1943. As shown by handwritten annotations of the text, the speech was read by key Foreign Office officials, including Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden.

Nevertheless, the speech was never made public and its contents were not shared with Jewish leaders in Britain or with the US State Department.

Walter Laqueur of the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington told *The Observer* that this was the first record of one of the key members of the Nazi leadership speaking publicly about the Holocaust.

Leading British and American experts on the Holocaust have hailed the discovery as "crucial" and of "amazing importance." Some believe the British authorities sat on the information to avoid embarrassment over London's wartime policies on Jewish refugees and on Palestine.

BBC, Foreign Office hid news of Holocaust

DOUGLAS DAVIS
LONDON

JPost p. 13

BRITAIN'S Foreign Office and the BBC consistently suppressed news about the Holocaust during World War II because of antisemitism within the senior echelons of both institutions and their perception that the British public shared this sentiment.

This revelation is contained in documents unearthed from the BBC archives and the government's Public Records Office by researchers preparing a new BBC radio series, to start this week.

The first program in the series, Documents, will be broadcast Thursday and describes the relationship between the BBC and the Foreign Office between 1939 and 1945.

Documents to be used in the program indicate that senior officials at both institutions believed that saving millions of Jewish lives was not a desirable war aim and that reports of mass extermination were not to be believed.

The Foreign Office and the BBC agreed that only well-sourced news stories would be carried, and Jews were not considered to be reliable sources..

An example of the prevailing attitude was given by Foreign Office official Roger Allen, who conceded at the time that there had been references to the use of gas chambers.

"But these references have usually, if not always, been ... vague, and since they have concerned the extermination of Jews, they have usually emanated from British sources.

"Personally," he added, "I have never really understood the advantage of the gas chamber over the simpler machine-gun, or the equally simple starvation method."

On August 27, 1944, another Foreign Office official, assistant under-secretary Cavendish Bentinck noted: "I think we weaken our case against the Germans by publicly giving credence to atrocity stories for which we have no evidence."

The BBC did mention the mass extermination of Jews when it reported a speech in parliament on December 17, 1942, by then-foreign secretary Anthony Eden, who revealed that Germany was "carrying into effect Hitler's oft-repeated intention to exterminate the Jewish people in Europe."

Two years later, Eden told the cabinet that the purpose of his statement had been to stimulate public demands for the government to do more for the victims of Nazism.

However, the BBC took the view that it would only incite antisemitism in Britain.

B/25

U.S. War Department Refused To Bomb Auschwitz In 1944

The War Department refused in mid-1944 to bomb the rail lines leading to the Auschwitz extermination camp even though it had been informed of massive deportations to the site, according to an article in the September issue of The Atlantic Monthly.

In late June, according to a cover story written by Otto Friedrich titled, "The Kingdom of Auschwitz," when the slaughter of Hungary's Jews had been going on for more than a month, the U.S. legation in Bern reported that both the Jewish deportations and some considerable German troop movements followed five specific railroad lines. Friedrich, a senior writer for Time Magazine, quotes a cable from Bern to Washington as stating: "It is urged by all sources to this information...that vital sections of these lines, especially bridges along one, be bombed as the only possible means of slowing down or stopping future deportations."

The Bern cable was sent to John W. Pehle, executive director of the War Refugee Board, established the previous January by President Roosevelt to "take all measures within its power to rescue the victims of enemy oppression." Pehle sent a copy of this message to John J. McCloy at the War Department who replied on July 4—after most of the Hungarian deportees had been killed in the Auschwitz gas chambers—that the War Department was opposed to any raid on the rail lines. McCloy is quoted as replying: "It could be executed only by the diversion of considerable air support essential to the success of our forces now engaged in decisive operations and would in any case be of such doubtful efficacy that it would not amount to a practical project." As it happened, the magazine article states, U.S. bombers actually did raid Auschwitz in August and September, taking aim at the synthetic oil plant affiliated with the camp. Accidentally, a few bombs were dropped on the extermination camp itself, killing 15 German soldiers.

Friedrich writes that as early as the summer of 1942, the Allies had received reports of mass slaughters *from the camps* themselves, from neutral observers, and even from anti-Nazi Germans. In the spring of 1944, two escapees reached Czechoslovakia and produced a 60-page report on the gassing and burning at Birkenau. This report got to the White House, the Vatican, the Red Cross, and the Jewish community leaders in Budapest. But Friedrich writes, "Allied leaders, preoccupied with military strategy, remained skeptical. There was a certain amount of anti-semitism in Washington, and in the United States at large (not to mention Britain and Russia), and those who heard the recurrent reports from Poland tended to regard them as propaganda, wildly exaggerated. Even those who were inclined to intervene on behalf of the Jews feared being accused of diverting resources from the overall war effort."

Friedrich goes on to say that the War Refugee Board had little power to take steps to save "the victims of enemy oppression" and that proposals for military action against the Hungarian deportations attracted little attention or support.

Though Allied bombers refused to strike at the Auschwitz gas chambers, the papal nuncio to Budapest, Angelo Rotta, protested to the Hungarian government at the time. On the day that the first train left for Auschwitz, he said, "The whole world knows what the deportations mean in practice." The Hungarian bishops complained too, partly because the Nazis made no distinction between Orthodox Jews and those who had converted to Christianity. Finally, Monsignor Rotta delivered a gentle protest from Pope Pius XII and the next day, June 25, the aged Admiral Horthy issued instructions that the deportations were to cease. Horthy's authority, particularly over the Germans, was limited and, the roundups continued.

U.S. Secretary of State Cordell Hull delivered a note via the Swiss legation on June 26 threatening reprisals, and President Roosevelt publicly warned the Hungary's fate "will not be like any other civilization . . . unless deportations are stopped." At this time, Sweden sent Raoul Wallenberg as a special envoy to Budapest with the authority to issue thousands of Swedish visas to the threatened Jews, and the Swiss and Portuguese joined in establishing shelters where jews could find haven.

Friedrich writes that Allied armies came within bombing range of the rail lines from Budapest to Auschwitz in the Summer of 1944, when the fires from the crematoriums could be seen for a distance of 30 miles. On April 4, 1944, moreover, U.S. reconnaissance planes flying over the camps took some remarkably clear photographs (hidden in the CIA archives until 1979). The author contends that these pictures show all the essential evidence—the gas chambers and crematoria, the prisoners standing in line—yet even the experts trained to interpret such photographic evidence apparently saw nothing but a large prison camp.

"What was happening at Auschwitz could not be imagined and therefore could not be believed, not even when photographed: could not be believed even when reported in detail by escaping prisoners: could not be believed, and therefore could not be stopped," Friedrich writes. "There certainly was nothing secret about the existence of Hitler's concentration camps. The Nazis almost boasted of them. The Final Solution, however, was officially a state secret, and the SS went to considerable effort to keep it secret," he says.

B/25-14

WAR DEPARTMENT
OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY
WASHINGTON, D. C.

16 November 1944

DOD JWK.5200.9(9/29/80)
Date- 10-12-65
CSD.

Mr. John W. Pehle, Executive Director
War Refugee Board
Treasury Department Building, Rm. 3414
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Pehle:

I refer to your letter of November 8th, in which you forwarded the report of two eye-witnesses on the notorious German concentration and extermination camps of Auschwitz and Birkenau in Upper Silesia.

The Operations Staff of the War Department has given careful consideration to your suggestion that the bombing of these camps be undertaken. In consideration of this proposal the following points were brought out:

a. Positive destruction of these camps would necessitate precision bombing, employing heavy or medium bombardment, or attack by low flying or dive bombing aircraft, preferably the latter.

b. The target is beyond the maximum range of medium bombardment, dive bombers and fighter bombers located in United Kingdom, France, or Italy.

c. Use of heavy bombardment from United Kingdom bases would necessitate a hazardous round trip flight unescorted of approximately 2000 miles over enemy territory.

d. At the present critical stage of the war in Europe, our strategic air forces are engaged in the destruction of industrial target systems vital to the dwindling war potential of the enemy, from which they should not be diverted. The positive solution to this problem is the earliest possible victory over Germany, to which end we should exert our entire means.

e. This case does not at all parallel the Amiens mission because of the location of the concentration and extermination camps and the resulting difficulties encountered in attempting to carry out the proposed bombing.

Based on the above, as well as the most uncertain, if not dangerous effect such a bombing would have on the object to be attained, the War Department has felt that it should not, at least for the present, undertake these operations.

I know that you have been reluctant to press this activity on the War Department. We have been pressed strongly from other quarters, however, and have taken the best military opinion on its feasibility, and we believe the above conclusion is a sound one.

Sincerely,

JOHN J. McCLOY
Assistant Secretary of War

Inc.
Report of two eye-witnesses.

GSA, NARS
Franklin D. Roosevelt Library
Hyde Park, N. Y.

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 12356, Sec. 3.3 (b)(1)(b)(3)
Date- 10-12-65
Signature- CFB