

Transcript of the Shoah Interview with Tadeusz Pankiewicz

Translation by Uta Allers - Volunteer – Visitor Services – January 2011

Poland Filming

PANKIEWICZ Cassette

Side A

Pankiewicz workplace

Pank 1A

La: So, Mr. Pankeiwicz, it was your...

Pa: ... my own...

La: pharmacy.

Pa: yes, as you say.

La: ... yes, yes, yes, yes...

Pa: ...in the year, 1941... the occupation established a Jewish living area. In this area, there was only one pharmacy, which was in Podgorze. In Podgorze, there were four pharmacies, but only one is built on the border of the ghetto, although...??. I was the owner of this pharmacy. I got an order from, from, from the German authorities to operate this pharmacy. First, I had to document my ancestry back to four generations that I wasn't Jewish, and that's why they gave me the order to continue to run this pharmacy. I had to reside, to live in the workroom of my pharmacy, so that the pharmacy was open all day and night. From the window...

La: ... even in the night?

Pa: Yes. From the window of my pharmacy, I could see "the worst"

Pa: things imaginable, the forced resettlements – these windows were on the ground floor – I saw all the forced resettlements, since the forced resettlements took place on this site. I...

La: Skoda, Skoda Place... (*in Polish: "Sgody"*)

Pa: Yes, Skoda Place...

La: That means "harmony".

Pa: Yes, yes, "concord".

La: Yes.

Pa: No, I saw terrible things there, how, how the Jews were murdered, the various forms of death. They did death runs, the Germans, and shot them (*the Jews*) while they were running.

La: Yes.

Pa: I saw beatings. I saw the top officers with, with sticks in their hands. The Jews were not only murdered, but first beaten, humiliated, etc. That's why, after, after the war, I was a witness at the trial...

La: Yes.

Pa: ... on the, on the Jewish side...

La: ... but could you describe precisely what, what you saw?

Pa: What I saw. Yes, I saw terrible things. There were six forced resettlements. The people came...

La: ... but...

Pa: ... they came from this street, Targova Street, to here. Here they were rounded up and they waited for the forced resett... In the meantime,

Pa: ... the Germans...

La: ... Pardon?

Pankiewicz 1

La: Mr. Pankiewicz, I have...

Pa: ... yes, but...

La: ... one, one moment...

Pa: ... feel free...

La: I have a question. But it was a very special case: an Aryan pharmacy in a Jewish ghetto...

Pa: ... yes, yes, that was...

La: ... never happened

Pa: I have these papers...

Pank 2

La: But Mr. Pankiewicz, but it was a very special case, a...

Pa: ... yes, it was a unique case...

La: ... an Aryan pharmacy in a Jewish ghetto, that never existed.

Pa: Yes, yes, that it was. I got papers that no one in all of Poland, in all of the General Government, got during the occupation, that I am authorized to leave and enter the ghetto at any time and in the night. Only it's obvious that if the pharmacy was always open, then I have to stay here, I have to live, sleep and work here.

La: ... here?

Pa: ... here, here, here in this pharmacy...

- La: The people who patronized your pharmacy, were only...
- Pa: ... were only the Jews, were only the Jews. After the liquidation of the ghetto, when they were in Plaszow, in the Camp Plaszow, they could (*form?*) such work columns every day for six to eight hours. And here they also bought various items, like sausage, liquor and other things, which I acquired for them...
- La: ... ah, you also...
- Pa: ... yes, yes and sausage...
- La: ...sold...
- Pa: ... and during and over eight months, the pharmacy became a restaurant for the Jews...
- La: ... as well?
- Pa: They didn't need any medication, for they wanted something to eat. I provided all that here.
- La: ... yes, that's very strange, isn't it?
- Pa: Yes, strange, yes. And once there was a time when Skoda Place was divided up; that was Ghetto A and Ghetto B. In Ghetto A lived only those people able to work, and in Ghetto B, which consisted of half of Skoda Place, the Jews for ... resettlement... resettlement....
- La: ... resettlement, that means... death.
- Pa: Death, for...
- La: Liquidation.
- Pa: ... for liquidation.
- La: But this, this Skoda-Harmonie-Place was Ghetto 2, Ghetto B.

- Pa: Ghetto A and B. Here runs the barbed wire from the pharmacy to, to this little house.
- La: Yes, yes...
- Pa: And here was Ghetto A and here was Ghetto B. And in these demolished houses, (*he points in that direction*) the Jews, who belonged to Ghetto B (*lived*), and they...
- La: ... but all the houses are the same houses...
- Pa: ... yes, yes, they are the same houses. Except that the houses, which were torn down, as you can see... And the whole ghetto was fenced off... fenced off with brick walls and barbed wire.
- La: Yes, but there was a brick wall?
- Pa: Yes, there were brick walls, here were brick walls. There was the third gate and here at the end, Woska Street, the corner of Woska Street, was the second gate. And there where, where I showed you this street, which could be reached from Skivo?? which led to Ring Place, that was the first gate, this main gate.
- La: ... main gate, three gates...
- Pa: Yes, there were three main gates...
- La: ... three main gates...
- Pa: Three main gates. And at every main gate were police – the German, Ukrainian and Polish police. Yes, and what can I tell you?
- La: Yes, I understand. Can you describe exactly what you saw here in Skoda Place, the big round-ups?
- Pa: Yes, from the window of my pharmacy I saw all the action

- Pa: ... that took place, that all the round-up started and ended in the Skoda Place. That was the main forced resettlement site. They rounded up the German Jews from all the streets, from all the alleys, who didn't go to work, stayed home and were slated for forced resettlement. They rounded them up here and they waited many, many hours for the resettlement to happen. In the meantime, I saw various kinds of deaths, cases of death, beatings...
- La: Yes, it was very sad.
- Pa: It was very sad – it was an unbelievable occurrence. One can't describe it in words what I saw there. Of course, after so many years, it's all not as acute as it was then, when I saw it from the window. Those were terrible things. Only the devil could create that.
- La: Yes, that was a catastrophe, death...
- Pa: I saw death runs. It was a, a, a, a... the Germans chose a group of Jews and told them, if you run this route fast, you will be sent to Plaszow and will live. And while they were running, they shot at them. I saw, I saw how the Germans shot them in the back, from, from...
- La: And how were the Jews? Were they without hope?
- Pa: They were so resigned, they were so resigned...

La: ... resigned.

Pa: ... that they, I think that, that, they wished for an immediate end.

La: ... yes, yes, I believe...

Pa: That isn't, that isn't bearable. They, the Germans had created such a terrible atmosphere. This atmosphere can't be comprehended if you weren't here and didn't see and didn't experience this with the Jews as I did, how it was throughout these three years always in the ghetto. When the forced resettlements came and the ghetto was blocked off, then I didn't eat for three days, for I couldn't, couldn't go out... if, if the, if the SS men saw anyone on the street, they shot him. Those were terrible times... back then.

La: Yes. And why didn't you eat?

Pa: Back then I... I always ate in the Jewish restaurant.

La: Ah, yes.

Pa: Yes, it was a Jewish one. In the beginning, it was very good. There were many Jewish restaurants. I ate right in this place or they brought me (*something*).

La: Yes.

Pa: And at that time. But when there was a forced resettlement, then, then everything was impossible, to get something like that to eat, that...

La: Was there enough to eat in the ghetto?

Pa: Yes, yes, there was. There was a restaurant. You could get something to eat there. It wasn't so blocked off as, for instance, in Warsaw.

La: In Warsaw it was different.

Pa: Yes. There was barbed wire. Through this barbed wire, it was possible to carry on illicit trade. Now, that was no easy thing either, but, but it was possible. It was not so, not so sad...

La: But did you yourself know that during these liquidations, that these liquidations from the ghetto meant death for the Jews?

Pa: Yes, you know, it was like this: at the beginning, in the beginning, in 1941 in June, when the first forced resettlements took place...

La: '41...

Pa: '41, in June.

La: in June.

Pa: It lasted from June 2nd to June 10th. At that time, there were three to four forced resettlements. At first, the Jews thought that they were being taken to the Ukraine.

La: Aha.

Pa: And they... and many Jews, who remained in the ghetto after the resettlements, thought they had gone to the Ukraine. At first, the Jews could take with them everything of value that they had. And they took it. But when they got to the railway station, Plaszow, they were robbed of everything.

La: Yes.

Pa: The second time, they were also allowed to take with them what they could carry. And then they... at Skoda Place... from my window

Pa: ... in the pharmacy I could see that they were being robbed even here already of everything, of everything, of all the things which had any value. And there were different ones... each resettlement had a different look to it... it was, was, a different, in a different, a different, how would you say...done in a different way. Near the end, of course, the resettlement of October 28th, 1942, the Jews who were gathered here at Skoda Place, knew they were going to a certain death. To Belzec...

La: ... a certain death. The Jews knew...

Pa: The Jews knew, knew... why, because once a letter came into the ghetto from a woman, who had written a letter to her relatives, that she was in Belzec...

Pan. 3 (in the pharmacy)

La: Mr. Pankiewicz, I'd like to ask why you wrote a book about your own experiences in the Krakow Ghetto. When and why?

Pa: You know, after the war, I was asked so many questions about why I, under what circumstances I was there in the ghetto, how a Pole lived in a Jewish district, worked there, etc. How is it that I wasn't liquidated and, and such questions, which I had to answer. I answered in my circles of my acquaintances, of my friends, but still I think, that they didn't really understand me. Several Jews came to me, came to me after the war, who told me that I have to write my memories and these people had no

Pa: contact with the ghetto. Maybe with these, through, through, through these memories, (*I could*) come close to the real thing and the atmosphere that prevailed there, of which no one had any idea, who wasn't in it. And that's why I wrote this book, my memories, and I answered these various questions. Only first, why, why I as the only Pole, only Aryan, was there... I got an order. I had to work there. That the Head of the Health Department, who was later the representative of Frank (*the Head of the General Gouvernement*), was himself a pharmacist, he told me, "You have to remain in this pharmacy, despite the fact that this pharmacy is only available to Jews." So, that's how I got the order.

Then, why I wasn't liquidated. I wasn't liquidated for several reasons. There were a lot of Germans, who had little to do with the ghetto. And they had no idea till the end of the ghetto, that such a pharmacy existed, that there is a pharmacist who is a Pole – they had no inkling. Getting into the ghetto was no easy matter. You had to have permission. And many Germans who wanted to go into the ghetto, didn't get permission to enter the ghetto. A few days after the liquidation of the ghetto... that was March 13th, 1943, many of the Germans who were closely connected with the ghetto, were arrested, arrested. The big fish were arrested. The other Germans, who, who

Pa: were just looking for chance to arrest them...

La: Excuse me... Germans?

Pa: Germans, Germans, Germans, Germans. They were envious, envious that all day long throughout the whole time of these three years, that they didn't take any trips, just sat comfortably in the ghetto and did everything they wanted. Besides that, there was this customer, who...

La: many customers.

Pa: ... many customers, who upon my pleading, saved several Jews, a whole family, for instance, Kessler, a former director of a bank in Krakow, who had been baptized as a Christian many years before the war, was arrested despite that and put into the ghetto under arrest. One day before the liquidation, this arrest, where all the inhabitants were forcibly resettled to Plaszow, customers said to me, that there was a Jewish family that could be saved. It was like this: They were the only ones, four of them. There were two such people, two rabbis, who came to the ghetto with writings, to the camp, to the ghetto. They were not to be shot. They were to continue to work, etc. It was possible to save this family. And they survi... and he survived the ghetto with his son. Unfortunately, his wife and daughter had to go on the forced resettlement.

La: That means, you were in daily connection with the, with the Jews, with the Jews?

Pa: Yes, yes, of course.

La: With the Germans too?

Pa: With the Germans too. With the Germans, there were only two men, who were regularly, who were in the ghetto every day in my pharmacy. They wanted to invite some to be spies for them outside the ghetto. These spies were Jews and other people. And they, and they were invited by customers, from people in my room, for they didn't want the Jews of the Security Service to know who they were. And that's why they had a...

La: They were Jews?

Pa: Yes, they were Jews. They had a shorter route from Skoda Place, just a few steps and they were in the pharmacy already. They held office...

La: The Jews were spies for the Germans?

Pa: They did for the Germans. On both sides too (*vice versa*). They were different, different...

La: Yes, yes.

Pa: They were from Portnear??... from Pitzaar, Turnow... different matters. There was a woman, what's her name, who also intervened in my room on behalf of a man. Sometimes it's possible to rescue these people...

La: You had a strategy?

Pa: These two men didn't want the Jews in this Jewish place, this place had to, didn't want them to know or recognize the people who came to me. That was in the evening when it was dark already, and they had discussions and I don't know what they said to one another.

Pa: I was never present then. From the window of my pharmacy... I, I have to say that I wasn't alone in the pharmacy. I had two, two assistants... they were Poles, Poles, who now got permission to work till 5 or 6 in the evening. Then they had to leave the ghetto. And I myself could stay there, I alone, in the ghetto the whole night. The ghetto (*the pharmacy*) had to be available at all times. There were a lot, there were 300 men who were under arrest.

La: But there were more people in the pharmacy at this time than under normal circumstance, circumstances? Since the people who came to the pharmacy to buy...

Pa: Yes, there were a lot of people, we had a lot of Jews, we had a lot of customers. Only when the ghetto was liquidated on March 13th, 1943, then (*they*) came to me for longer than eight months, that's how long the ghetto was cordoned off with barbed wire and brick walls... from Plaszow from the camp in Plaszow, the columns of workers, the so-called cleaning columns. And these people came into the pharmacy, but they didn't buy medicine. They bought sausages, liquor, etc.

La: You sold that?

Pa: Yes, that's what we sold.

La: More than medicine?

Pa: Especially. Especially not medicine. They had enough medicine in the camp. They wanted...

La: But you didn't sell any medicines?

Pa: No, didn't sell them. Didn't sell at all. They were healthy,

Pa: ... completely healthy and they just wanted to drink, to eat something better, etc.
That, that...

La: But the Germans knew that you were selling that?

Pa: No, no. If, for instance, four Jews drank or ate at my place, then two stood and waited (*to see*) if nothing was coming, was something approaching, etc. I don't know, I think, that it was those Germans who knew.

La: But why did you do that?

Pa: Well, I had to live, to live from something. I knew anyway, that if they wanted to, if they offered me something, that I could help them to buy this or that. Various ones came... they had to give presents in the camp too.

La: Was it dangerous for you?

Pa: Well... it was dangerous, everything was dangerous, everything was dangerous, of course. It was during some forced resettlements that (*they came*) into my pharmacy throughout the whole night...

Pan. 4

La: But was this life, I mean your life, hard to bear?

Pa: You know, back then at that time, no. Now, after the war, when I review everything in my memory, those were different times...different circumstances than I can recall now. I share and shared the good and bad times with people. That was not a problem for me nor a question for me, if one is a Jew or non-Jew. Just good and bad people. And that will stay with me like that till death.

- La: Before the war, did you have a special connection with the Jews?
- Pa: Oh yes, a lot. I had a lot of friends from my high school and then at the university. There were a lot of Jews, who are now living in Israel and I have, I had regular, I was in contact with them. I was invited by many, many Jews to the USA, for instance. I went there every...
- La: Yes, yes, I mean before the...
- Pa: Before the war, yes. Before the war too I met with... Before the war (*I was*) in Palestine too. In 1938, I was in Palestine. I met many of my friends there and talked with them.
- La: But what did you think when the decision for a ghetto in Krakow was made?
- Pa: You know, I was arrested and sat in Monte Lopi?? as a hostage from the 11th, from the 11th of November 1938 and there...
- La: '39.
- Pa: Excuse me?
- La: '39.
- Pa: '39.
- La: Yes.
- Pa: '39. And then in the newspapers were the first reports that the ghetto was being established, and after my release – my incarceration lasted five weeks – after my release, that was in 1941, the ghetto was established. And all Poles had to...
- La: ... leave.

Pa: ... to, to, to, (*move*) behind the border of the Jewish quarter. The Jews came into it from all over Krakow. My parents, who lived on Skoda Place, also had to leave their residence back then and go to the Aryan side.

La: But you lived, lived on Skoda Place previously already?

Pa: Yes, yes, already, already, already in 1900, we founded this pharmacy, and we lived all along on this Skoda Place, in this house, in which this pharmacy was founded. I lived there in my workroom, where the whole ghetto during the forced resettlement, where many Jews spent the night in my room during that terrible night, when the, when the round-up was taking place. They came to me in the evening, at 7 or 8 o'clock. I closed the pharmacy, and during the arrests, they stayed till morning, and in the morning, they went back home. This, this house has three entrances, and it was easy to hear, so when, for instance, the Germans came in the front, then they could get out at the back. In the backyard, in the back there are also two exits, so it was very easy to hide these people there.

For me, there was delightful news, when I received a letter from Israel. In it, a woman wrote me, "Do you remember me? I was eight years old during the forced resettlement. I hid in the pharmacy under the store." I don't know if that was so. It happened so often that this took place, that people were bewildered from the shootings and beatings, etc. There were people bleeding

- Pa: ... and so, this is true then about the pharmacy... I didn't know that... if that... she hid there and she survived this forced resettlement.
- La: Yes.
- Pa: And she even, even, even invited me to Israel and she told me everything there, how it was. I had no idea, whether it was true or not. But the journalists from Warsaw published everything in the magazine "Polonia". That was the newspaper in eight languages.
- La: But please, what can you tell about the suicides in the ghetto?
- Pa: Well, there were cases like, like the father, like when the son killed the father.
- La: Were there many?
- Pa: There were some... now... many, many, dozens. These people couldn't, couldn't bear that their relatives would be going to, to, to Plaszow the next day and from Plaszow to Belzec. They were old people, about 80, over 70 years old, and they put zyankali into their wine, their wine.
- La: The people, the people knew that they...
- Pa: No, the people knew nothing at all.
- La: ... knew what forced resettlement meant?
- Pa: Yes, yes, they knew exactly, that they were chosen for the resettlement...

La: For the resettlement.

Pa: Yes, for the resettlement. But you know exactly how these resettlements were. Yes, they would be killed during the transport...

La: ... gassed.

Pa: Yes, yes – they were gassed and under such terrible conditions they were taken to Nobejitz??, for example, so during the drive they had to die...

La: And you yourself, you knew?

Pa: Yes, yes. I knew everything the Jews knew, for they brought me all the news. Various letters and news came from Belzec. And they came to me immediately and told me everything, so that I knew first-hand what was going on in the ghetto. They had a lot of trust in me and I in them; I shared their happy and tragic hours as if I were a Jew too. They were very close to me. They were very interesting people, they were various doctors, public prosecutors, people who were very talented, very interesting people. Ten or twelve of them are still alive – I'm in regular contact with my letters...

La: Yes, but in your opinion, why... if these people knew, why didn't they do anything against it?

Pa: You know, the atmosphere in the ghetto, in the Krakow ghetto was very different than, for instance, in Warsaw.

La: Yes.

Pa: These... they... they weren't blocked in quite as much as in Warsaw.

- Pa: There was a connection between the Aryan side and many Poles had a, a, a relationship with Jews, who were in the ghetto. It was like that, that they always... they thought, that they would survive the ghetto, that they would... since it wasn't as terrible and tragic as in Warsaw.
- La: Yes.
- Pa: So completely... completely... so bricked in and surrounded by barbed wire. Here with us it was a bit looser than in Warsaw.
- La: But there was...
- Pa: There was some contact. The Jews could leave the ghetto. They could leave, if they had some connections, but to where? Where to? That was the question. It was easy. I led a lot of Jews out of the ghetto. That was not, not a hard thing for me to do... I knew these policemen and I knew these... they were Austrians, they were very, very good people. And they readily agreed to such plans. But, but to where? To where – that was the question.
- La: Yes.
- Pa: Where should they go? Yes.
- La: Why, why was that the question?
- Pa: Well, you know, people were afraid. To take in Jews, that was the death sentence, if someone came there (*to check*). A few Jews could find a hiding place, but they wanted the whole family with children and wives... That was a tough situation.
- La: Yes.
- Pa: That was a tough situation.

La: Yes, but the Jews in Krakow were more assimilated than the Jews in Warsaw, weren't they?

Pa: Well, yes, yes. They were...

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Pa: You know, I know a lot of Poles, who during the time when the ghetto was liquidated... they found hiding places with the Poles. I know six or seven such cases. But they were such cases, that it was really impossible, because the Jews wanted (*to come*) with their whole family, with children, etc., etc. with the... for example, to go by train to Mischlinitze?? or other cities, which were near Krakow. And they wanted a guard, a guard, Boskow, to take them. He was a good person; he was an Austrian, who did a lot for Jews, helped them a lot. It was in such, such situations that he couldn't escort them either.

La: Yes, but one, one question.

Pa: Yes.

La: It was really impossible for the Jews to... fight against these forced resettlements?

Pa: ... to, to fight. It was Jews, who were in the underground movement and they carried out the assassinations in Krakow. They threw a bomb on Zykaneria?? that was a restaurant for Jews only. There were many who from Krakow to Warsaw...

- La: No, no, I'm not talking about... Jewish resistance.
- Pa: No, no...
- La: But the people, who were being resettled, the people, who went to Skoda Place for the forced resettlement. How were these people? Completely resigned?
- Pa: Yes, they were very resigned. They were very resigned. They... they knew exactly, what was coming... they couldn't do anything. They were very... and they just wanted the end to come... they couldn't bear it any more. The atmosphere in these round-ups was so harsh, so, so, so terrible, so much screaming, so much shooting, so many deaths, etc., that they wanted, that they wanted... they were completely resigned and they wanted their lives to end, to end. And they... although they wanted to stay in, in, in the ghetto... when their wives... were resettled, they went, they went voluntarily with their children, with their wives to the resettlement.
- La: Ah yes.
- Pa: I know some doctors, who told me, "What can we do? My wife has been sent to be resettled; I'll go with her."
- La: But that means, that they didn't know exactly that...
- Pa: Well, they knew exactly – everyone has hope...
- La: ... death.
- Pa: ... everyone has a glimmer of hope, that he might survive. And the women who went to the resettlement, said

Pa: to their husbands, “You stay. Maybe you can still help me. Maybe you can do something. Maybe there’s a possibility that I won’t be murdered.” And there were cases where they didn’t know at all or they didn’t want to know exactly. There a spark of life in every human being, and they believe that maybe, “I will survive. Maybe I’ll have the chance to help and do something for my wife, etc.” Someone could do a study of such matters, what people... back then about this subject. And they had my pharmacy where they met regularly. No day passed when there weren’t seven or eight people at my place. And we discussed various matters: this and that, what this one did, what will be, what this one will do...

La: But another question: What was the role of the Jewish police, the so-called Security Service?

Pa: Well... ??... police...

La: ... it was something negative?

Pa: ... the police were different types of people – there were very good people, and there were bad people. These bad ones said back then, “I have to hit, I have to scream, for that’s how I can save someone. If the Germans see that I hit, that I... if I scream, that I appear to do the inhuman things, then I can perhaps help someone.”

La: Do you think, it was...

Pa: There were those, there were... there were... And we all knew it was a Jew, who was doing all that, but who has, but has a good heart and did a lot of good things for a lot of Jews. Feige?? he said, he said...

La: And was he a policeman?

Pa: A policeman. I also had two colleagues from high school who were policemen. And they helped a lot; that is, when I brought someone out of hiding and to take him to Warschuff??. He made a wardrobe and he saved several people in this... in this... in this way.

La: Yes, and the, and the Jewish Council, what do you think?

Pa: Well, Jewish Council, Jewish Council, that is a hard one. That... that these... those who belonged to the Jewish Council were blamed after the war... and they... (*shakes his head*) but it's not such an easy thing. You have to understand the whole situation. These people had to be. If not this one, then that one. If not this one, then another one had to be. There is no "Volk" where there isn't someone willing to say No. (*meaning: There's always someone who will say "yes".*) For instance, this Rosenzweig. He was a... that was a "Mensch" (*decent human being*).

La: He was the head of the Jewish Council in Krakow.

Pa: Yes, in Krakow. Yes.

La: Yes.

Pa: Now, this Spira?? ... the head of the Security Service, that was a bad apple. And Gotter?? he was... you can't

Pa: ... say on either side there...

La: And Rosenzweig...

Pa: Rosenzweig, no, he was a decent man, a very decent man. He thought that, that he was doing something good... there had to be a connection between the Jews and the, and the Germans. He believed the impossible, that everyone ??? ... said, no, I won't take that position. There's no such thing in any "Volk".

La: Yes.

Pa: There's no such thing.

La: Yes. And anyway, all these people were liquidated.

Pa: ... they were all liquidated.

La: Yes.

Pa: In spite of everything. But I had...

La: was the same.

Pa: Yes, but that Spira??, for instance, and some of his assistants, they never believed that, that they would be killed. They believed that they would survive, and still they...

La: Yes, I asked you in the beginning, if it wasn't too hard for you to bear these, these...

Pa: ... this... back then not. I shared the situation with the Jews, their joys, their sorrows. I had... I thought very differently back then than, than now. I was ... with these Jews, with these people...

La: And what is, what is the difference?

Pa: I was, I was, I am so connected to them, that I had no way to think differently. I had, I had the feeling that I too could be shot every day, or forcibly resettled. Well...

La: ... resettled too...

Pa: ... resettled too. But resettled in the sense that I would be murdered.

La: Like the Jews?

Pa: Like the Jews. Of course, it was a step after the resettlement when I was together with the Jews.

La: Yes, yes.

Pa: Yes... yes. That's how it was. The Jews built me up as an idol, but I... it's not true what they say. I did everything in order to help them.

La: But what kind of idol?

Pa: ... that I did this and I did that and I did such. Back then, I had no idea what to do, what I was doing. I didn't reflect on it. I just acted. I, I, I took action. It was one person against other people, but... but I had no other...

La: I see that. You were alone during this time. You weren't married?

Pa: No, no, no. I'm all alone.

La: All alone.

Pa: All alone.

La: Did you have good connections to some Germans or not?

Pa: No, no. With the Germans, only in the, only in the ghetto and only with the customers and with that Olde?? ... with the Assistant Detective, who was a special customer in my pharmacy every day...

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Pa: There were a lot of Jews who built a legend around me... around me. But that... I... it wasn't true. I did only what a person should do for another, if he is in a tragic situation. Nothing more. I did everything. And since I never made a distinction between Jews and non-Jews, it was a completely natural thing for me. A normal way of living...

La: Yes, but you were, you were, you were only with Jews?

Pa: Well, yes, it was with Jews. I never believed they weren't human beings. I was amongst the people, people, who believed and thought the same as I did then. I lived from one round-up to the next round-up. I lived to, to, to, to... whether this one was arrested, that one murdered, that wasn't... that was my life, that I (*lived*) during my entire three years there, worked there and lived there. I wasn't so closely connected to all these problems. I believed what the Jews believed. They shared their thoughts with me. We talked with each other about a few, about various topics,

Pa: ... which...

La: Yes, yes. After the ghetto liquidation, you stayed in the same place?

Pa; Yes, yes. After the liquidation I was... that was in December 1943, all the barbed wire and walls were dismantled, and I stayed in the pharmacy, as a normal (*business*) for others...

La: And the wall was destroyed?

Pa: Yes, everything was dismantled, was destroyed.

La: And the Poles came, came back?

Pa: It was the resettlement. The Poles of Krakow had given their homes to the Germans, and they came for their homes, where before, the Jews...

La: ... had lived.

Pa: ... had lived in the ghetto. And so, that was the whole story that I lived through in this ghetto, and I wrote about my experiences in a few words in my memoirs. Of course, if these, my narrative, my memoirs were into another language...

La: Yes, but that isn't important.

Pa: Yes, that would be a whole other matter.