

Transcript of the Shoah Interview with Heinz Schubert

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Interview with Mr. Schubert

[Legend: L= Lanzmann; W= unknown woman; M= Mrs. Schubert; A= other voice; S= Mr. Schubert; H= other male voice on pages 42 and 43]

- L: Hello, could I talk to Mr. Schubert?
- W: Yes, one moment... oh, Mrs. Schubert, somebody is here
- M: for what reason?
- L: I would like to talk to Mr. Schubert....
- M: oh, yes, one moment please..
- L: yes.
- M: Please come in, yes...
- L: Yes. This is the young lady who was here once before? Is it? Have you been here before?
- A: No...
- M: You are coming from Paris?
- L: Yes, I am Dr. Sorel
- M: Please..
- L: Yes
- M: Please have a seat.
- L: Yes.
- M: Please, yes...
- L: This is a nice house
- M: yes, yes, but do sit down.
- L:
- M: so, my husband has to get himself ready first.... he will be....
- L: Yes, you have a very nice home
- M: yes, we are very happy here
- M: very pleasant, yes
- L: yes
- M: yes, really, it is very nice to live outdoors
- L: yes it is very beautiful..... do you smoke?
- M: No, but please.... when one comes from the city, it is always very pleasing to arrive here where it is quiet, really, at Ahrensburg...
- L: yes, yes, yes.

M: Pleasant.

L: very pleasant

M: Are you coming straight from Paris?

L: No, I was in Hamburg and I had the chance to come here to Ahrensburg. I did not have your telephone number. I wrote a letter to Mr. Schubert.

M: Yes, I know, you have written.

L: yes.

M: you were lucky that we are here.

L: why?

M: we have been away for a long time.

L: you are traveling?

M: and next week we are going away again.

L: yes.... where are you going?

M: we were in the South Tyrol.

L: oh, this is very beautiful.

M: yes, near Merano...

L: Merano

M: yes, this is beautiful, very beautiful...

L: yes, I know, I know, it is a very beautiful landscape

M: yes, and we were there during the blossoming of the fruit trees there.

L: blossoming of the fruit trees?

M: yes, yes, the apple blossoms, which is particularly beautiful, but this year it was later, everything is later this year.

M: yes, everything is later; it was a very severe winter...

M: yes, yes...

L: But I do not know northern Germany..

M: no?

L: no, this is the first time

M: oh, really, yes

L: I know southern Germany quite well I like it.....

M: you will also like.....

L: it pleases me very much

M: when we first came here, I was somewhat unhappy. We had lived for a long time in Bavaria.... and here, everything was so flat and level.... but one gets used to it.

- L: You were in Augsburg before?
- M: Yes, we were in Augsburg.
- L: Yes, it is also very beautiful.
- M: Yes, I like Augsburg very much, the old town. So much has been preserved there while Hamburg.... well,.... it is a large city after all. But.....
- L: Yes, but I am a little disappointed by Hamburg; it is....
- M: It is nothing.... it is a commercial city...
- L: yes, commercial city and it is empty...
- M: You have to go to Eppendorf
- L: Yes
- M: in Eppendorf it is still somewhat of a small town and... there is still life in the street in the evening. Things are going on. I find that Eppendorf has an ambiance somewhat like Munich..
- W: yes this is true, yes...
- M: there are things going on, because everything else..... by 7pm you cannot go alone in the main streets; not a soul is about, around that time, or by 8pm...
- L: yes this is true.
- M: But who would like to live there, this is terrible. Nobody would want to live there.
- L: And it is surprising that everybody goes by bicycle.
- M: What? Oh, they are bicycling?
- L: Yes, bicycling
- M: here....
- L: I have seen.....
- M: yes, yes, and now we have to bicycle even more to save gasoline
- L: oh, naturally, there is an energy crisis.
- M: Do you live in Paris proper?
- L: yes, yes, I was born in Paris...
- M: yes and right in the city?
- L: right in the city.... do you know Paris?
- M: No. We have never been there. Although it has been our wish for a long time, but sometime it will come to pass. I think we have to take a bus tour to Paris.

L: yes

M:because with the car.... it is so hectic... with driving, we are not so much used to that, I think it might be possible if one has a small car...

L: now, there is the Autobahn, everywhere...

M: yes

L: It goes very fast to drive to Paris, very fast.

M: yes, yes, there is possibly also some difficulty with the language. One has learned French in school at one time, but...

L: Mr. Schubert does not speak French?

M: no

L: and you speak English?

M: well, we know a little English.

L: My German is very weak...

M: This is not true. You are speaking German quite well, I find.

L: and with many mistakes and errors...

M: no, and with very little accent, only a little bit, nearly accent-free.

L: I believe that I have a terrible French accent...

M: no, no, no,

L: It is difficult to find the right intonation..

M: well, yes, yes, one has to....

L: for a foreigner, it is very...

M: Well it takes years...

L: very complicated but very beautiful language, and my, excuse me.

M: and you are working together?

L: Yes, she is my collaborator and my interpreter, my interpreter.

M: yes, yes,

W: Why did you ask if I had been here before?

M: oh, oh.

W: Did you recognize my face?

M: No, I assumed.... some time ago, 2 years, 1 year, a young lady was here from ...ah.... Frankfurt and she.... had already reported from you, from your office. Somebody had been here...

L: from my office?

M: I don't know now if it was from your office... this was... but my husband will know her name, Irene Stein... Steinflug, or something like that..

W: Are you sure that it was from our Institute?

M: It sounded like it, just the things that you want... yes and according to what you want, it seems to be the same thing...

W: That is not possible

L: This is impossible....

M: It has to be another organization... but they also wanted – eh – something for writing history or for a film, or, I don't remember.

L: for a film?

M: Yes, it is possible, for a film...

L: But what can one do for a film?

M: A film about the Third Reich...

L: There are many of them...

M: Yes, Irene Stein... my husband will remember the name...

L: No, that had nothing to do with....

M: So, we assumed, eh, that, eh, because she said at the time that someone would come to Germany, funny, isn't it.... and now you are... you wrote and now you are here. ...

L: Yes, I have never heard this name....

M; yes this is funny.

W: There is also no Irene, neither Stein, nor other Irene in our institute.

M: Well, my husband will come and probably know better.

S: Hello....

L: Hello, Mr. Schubert...

S: Hello.

W: Hello,

S: Hello..... Schubert...

L: Hello, Dr. Sorel...

S: You are Dr. Sorel, oh, please have a seat, please.

M: would you like..... no, no, that's ok

S: You come over here..... I go there...

M: You go there....

S: yes, now you came as a total surprise... here.

L: yes, for that I have to apologize, because....

S: you don't have to apologize, it....

L: we were in Hamburg, and I used this occasion to visit you, and I wrote you a letter...

S: Yes, I got the letter, but I did not respond to it...

L: Yes, I know that...

S: Because I did not know when we would be here.

L: I understand.

S: You understand, good, a lot good German, yes...

W: He understands German well...

L: She is my interpreter...

S: Oh.....

W: Excuse me, no, no, this does not matter.... in case I have to translate something for him, I do it....

L: Yes, I want to apologize for one matter my secretary made an error in this letter...

S: With Dr. Steimler?

L: with Dr. Steimler; because we also wrote to Dr. Steimler....

S; this was another reason for me.....

L: and this is the realization....

S: eh, to not yet have replied to the letter...

L: I thought so, but it was really an error....

S: Yes, but you – you cannot know why I did not reply to the letter because of this little faux-pas with Dr. Steimler....

L: Yes, it was a faux-pas, why....

S: I took from it that you did not write only to me, but to other former... eh.... gentlemen from our case... and Dr. Steimler was actually in the same case in...

L: Yes, I know...

S: as I. Did you already talk to Dr. Steimler?

L: No, never, but I read the documents from the case...

- M: eh... I have something and something and it tastes good mixed
- W: Yes, wonderful.... have it mixed...
- S: .. Yes, eh, I want to tell you why I ...eh.... became skeptical about this passage.. eh.. Dr. Steimler...
- L: Yes
- S: eh....
- L: why:
- S: Dr. Steimler cannot.... eh.... say what he would like to...
- L: Yes, he also has not answered...
- S: also not...
- L: no, no, no.
- M: May I.... Please excuse me, Heinz...
- S: Yes...
- M: May I pour you some?
- L: Oh, yes, many thanks. – I wrote 3 letters... one to you, one to Mr. Seibert and one to Dr. Steimler and I received a letter from Mrs. Seibert and....
- S: that her husband had died...
- L: yes, yes.
- S: Yes, I heard that some time ago, but until now I did not know if this was true.
- L: Yes, he is dead, yes.
- S: Yes, there are fewer and fewer ...
- M: Please....
- L: Yes...
- S: Yes, there are fewer and fewer...
- L: This is the reason that I am here.
- S: Yes.
- L: Yes.
- S: Yes, well, eh, it is like this, Dr. Sorel... to say something quick, just like this, concerning this matter; this is very difficult for me.
- L: I can understand this, yes,
- S: eh.... and I am also not quite sure that it would be right if I commented on it, not only to you, but if I generally said something...
- L: Yes, I understand...

- S: ... I want to tell you right away why...eh.... I don't know your institute, I don't know what you are doing...
- L: this is an institute in conjunction with Paris University.
- S: Yes
- L: Yes
- S: Good... eh.... are you doing this on orders of the French Government, or....
- L: No.
- S: are you doing this on orders for any kind of...
- L: Not at all, I explained it in these letters, but I will tell you again...
- S: Yes, I would be grateful if you could give me further information...
- L: We are making a collection..... a collection of oral history archives, and this exists now at many universities in America, and in Europe also; and this is the reason and my special calling is regarding the second World War...

Reel No. 2

- L: and I selected the subject of the "Einsatzgruppen" [special forces] and I have read a great deal about it and think that this is a very complicated story.
- S: I don't believe that it is so complicated...
- L: In my opinion it is very complicated...
- S: It is less complicated than politically not desired at this moment...
- L: Yes, but it is also a political story...
- S: oh... yes, but with the difference (that) German authorities have so far not done anything in this direction, in which you want to go...
- L: yes.
- S: Why does someone have to come from Paris to do something like that, why does not someone come from the German authorities....
- L: I have no answer for this question.

- S: ...yes, I can imagine that... only... please try to put yourself in my position... I am now supposed to tell someone about connections.... army.... former German army..
- L: yes
- S: special forces...
- L: yes
- S: I have no idea what will happen to it – with what I am telling you, what you collect... What really happens to this?
- L: If you accept to have a conversation with me, O.K., I have a whole file and a whole list of questions, o.k., this can be very serious work.
- M: But it can also be very upsetting to my husband
- L: Please, please
- M: ahh.., when...
- L: he will not...
- M: if one (talks) about things, about which my husband would here testify.
- L: yes
- M: which are not desired... but are true... you understand...
- W: yes, but not desired by whom?
- S: by the German government...
- M: by the German government...
- S: for example...
- L: yes, but what has the current German government to do with these matters?
- S: ah, they would have lots to do with it but, at the present time, they do not yet want to have anything to do with it.
- M: not yet anything to do with it.
- S: ehh, it is just not suitable in Germany to talk about it.
- L: yes, but this is not for Germany; these articles are oral history, and there is a lock on it for 30 years... and we will make a tape recording, and only with your.....
- S: agreement...
- L: if you do not give the agreement, we can write it, but it would be better if we....

- S: ...eh, Dr. Sorel, it is not.... I am not hesitant, eh, eh, to record something on tape, I also have not reluctance to eh, eh, produce a file, as you would say. That is not the point, the problem is that eh, I have moral conflicts....
- L: ...yes...
- S: Thank you...
- L: may I?....
- S: please.. With eh... German authorities, maybe; I have to tell you, eh, how much I still suffer from this... if I... have to make any statements to German authorities...
- L: yes...
- S: It is not over, by a long shot, for the Germans, in spite of the fact that I had a trial... I have a judgment...
- L: yes, naturally.
- S: I.... am a free man, in my opinion...
- L: yes.
- S: but that does not apply by any means for all German authorities..
- L: Why.... because?
- S: because I am still today regarded as, eh, eh, a neo-nazi, neo-fascist.. eh, possibly an imminent danger for, eh, German offices.. I am not that, from my point of view... not at all...
- L: ... I believe that...
- S: I am not.... but that is not what these offices are asking...
- L: but you are no neo-nazi?
- S: also not...
- L: yes...
- S: I am anything but... only, the German authorities see this quite differently... my God, this lip-service ..eh... not to be a neo-nazi.... anybody can do that, but I am never believed. I have gotten this reputation.... for German authorities...
- L: ...yes...

- S: ... I don't know if you have understood this correctly, regarding being "stamped" ... this pursues you...
- L: ... marked, yes...
- S: ... yes, marked...
- L: stamp...
- S: yes
- W: ... yes; I just mean that these voice tapes; only the members of the research committee will have access, you understand?
- S: ... yes. This...
- W: ... they will never get to the German authorities...
- S: I believe that gladly, only, eh, this is not the reason for me... to not do this... this does not prevent me... I don't know what will be the case in 30 years... eh, with these statements or with this voice tape, what will be done with it, nobody can give me any guarantees...
- L: No, but I would like.... I don't understand, really, because you have said it all in your trial.
- S: There it is in black and white...
- L: yes this is quite official, in the public domain.
- S: yes, I am not able to tell you any more than what you can take from the trial documents... why, why is that not really sufficient?
- L: No, naturally not, you cannot say more. I will not pose any more questions regarding the facts... yes, but I would like to.... and that is of great interest to us... because a trial is a trial, there are questions and answers; I would like something quite different, not about the facts, but about the whole atmosphere, about the human connections – I am interested in this kind of things, do you understand? And I know exactly that you will not say more than what you said at the trial...
- S: probably even less...
- L: but I would like to understand the matter in a different way, you understand? I have questions which were never asked during the trial – and naturally never answered. For example, about the Jews, about the Jews there are big questions... what these people knew.. Or did not know about the German policy, e.g., how were these people taken so lightly, etc.....

- S: this is difficult, even today still.
- L: and you have written about the whole question of fighting partisans; the connection between fighting partisans and the army and all these things...
- S: this is a very difficult chapter for me
- L: why?
- S: well, this is also difficult to explain..... for you as a Frenchman it is probably different... eh.... to understand than for me... if today.... well, I am starting from the idea... that nobody will find out about what I am saying 30 years later, someone may learn something, this could not matter for me... at that time it might at best interest my 2 sons what I told 30 years ago..
- L: yes
- S: ...but this is not the decisive factor; for me it is important that I gain the necessary distance from what happened, from that time, this has the advantage.... History becomes objective only after a certain time; it has the disadvantage that after a certain time memory is unfortunately no longer to good that it is still usable.
- L: yes
- S: ... but for me the most important point – and I have been fighting with it for 30 years – is to say something about the German army of that time which is correct, but...
- L: yes
- S: ... which would today only lead to enmity. Thus, let's assume that I would give an official interview...
- L: yes
- S: ...which many people have done with magazines etc....
- L: yes
- S: ... have eh... given interviews and have made a lot of money doing that...
- L: yes
- S: ... and have said many untruths... it was not always the pure truth – the objective for history...
- L: ... but you have yourself already given an interview? No?

- S: ... out of principle...
- L: yes
- S: said no...
- L: yes
- S: For one thing, I would not want to say something for money... at this time... I would not like.... that it is said that I had thrown dirt at the German army, at the former... I had to suffer enough from it... in Nuremberg during the whole trial...
- L: yes
- S: ... we could say whatever we wanted this is the pure truth... we were not believed... only when the trial came to an end...
- L: yes
- S: ... then there was another trial of the German generals...
- L: yes
- S: ... and in this trial... suddenly, there appeared ... as incriminating evidence documents which could have been helpful in our trial...
- M: ... there they were...
- L: ... sure, this is obvious.
- S: ... what we had said was wrong, was a lie... it was only to save our heads.. And the defense attorney....eh.... of the German army....eh.... Attorney Dr. Laternser, who has since died,... who said to my boss Ohlendorf – I was an aide to Ohlendorf...
- L: I know....
- S: he said to Ohlendorf.... “Mr. Ohlendorf, be reasonable... you and your men will anyway bite the dogs... You are the last ones who bite the dogs.” This is an old German adage. “Nobody will protect you from this... but the plaque of honor of the German army has to remain clean. You have to accept everything, because for you everything is lost anyhow.”
- L: ... oh, yes... for you it is lost anyway.
- S: but, but the plaque of honor of the German army has to remain unspoiled... and I have to tell you, if the German history will be written in this way in the future – I hope it will not be written this way – but if it is written in this manner, I will lose any respect for serious scientists who write history.
- W: ... it is written by dates....

- L: yes
- S: well... I mean for myself... there is no discussion regarding the question if all this was right or wrong what happened... I am much too small a cog in this to assume I could render a judgment... from the viewpoint of today I would have to refute many things that I believed in ... and believed in deeply ... because with the growing distance things look different than when I was standing in the middle of them.
- L: yes
- S: ... without that I would consider myself bad or, without that I would consider myself a traitor... this would be my objective position today, but I have to tell you quite honestly, I have very little trust in all things which now come up to us.... as to objectively represent that time or to relate it... I am just not sure about what I am doing there, if I am right when I declare myself ready to cooperate in this.... or if I do something wrong if I say, “no, I prefer not to” – stay away from it; you have had enough trouble.... eh... what should be... you know, when was the last time that I had been interrogated in a German trial... there is no end to it...
- M: ... comes again and again...
- S: but... but I am not complaining, I don't complain about my personal fate... this would be the last thing I would do.... I am clear about that, I was involved in these matters.... I have to accept that. If I am asked by German authorities to make statements in a trial, I cannot refuse. I have to go...
- L: yes
- S: ... and I have been able to help many of my former comrades with my statements as witness in their trials... they then could go home, were declared innocent, because it could be proven without a doubt that, e.g., they were – during a clearly defined time – not with our unit.

[Translator's note: this page is translated from the French text]

L: ... yes this is important

S: ... yes, I am doing this voluntarily, you understand... I am doing this voluntarily.

Reel no. 3

– cut

S: ... only... I am never, never sure to which extent I could today... in telling about the things of that time... give my witness statements with a clear conscience. How far could I go? There is always a danger that I am wrong, that I make mistakes... that happens often, you know, be it in writing or be it orally.

L: yes, but you know, this subject of the army, if you don't want to, I understand very well if you don't want to talk about this subject...

S: ... and you see, Dr. Sorel, it would be my preference to be able to talk about this subject... if my conscience would tell me so...

L: yes, I understand your....

S: you know...

L: I understand very well...

S: I would have very good reasons... based on the statements, the written statements of the former army generals, the German Wehrmacht ...

L: yes

S: to go forward and to publish these things and to take a position to prove that they lied...

L: yes, there were already....

S: but I will not do that...

L: yes, I understand this...

S: I will not do that...

L: yes...

S: you understand?

L: yes, I understand this very well, but you have to know that....

- S: Believe me what troubled me in Landsberg
- L: yes...
- S: I was supposed to be a witness against Field Marshall General von Manstein...
- L: yes...
- S: during his trial here in Hamburg, where he was accused, before a British tribunal... I was sitting in Landsberg and wore the red clothing of one sentenced to death... prisoners of Landsberg...
- L: yes...
- S: This can be checked – I am not telling you a fairy tale. I refused on principle to make statements as long as I was a prisoner in Landsberg, sentenced to death by the Americans, because I told myself that anything I would say would be interpreted as my wanting only to save my own head by my statements against a former German Field Marshal. What I say may be ever so much the truth, I would always be accused of doing this only to save my own head...
- L: to save, naturally...
- S: I never testified against the Field Marshal von Manstein. I testified to the facts in my trial. Executions in Sinvoropol on the Crimea, which was a fact... I have not accused any person of it, unless Field Marshall von Manstein would be accused that officers of his staff discussed matters with our liaison officers or our unit commanders, and insisted on measures which later became the subject of trials.
- L: yes...
- S: ... that I cannot change... it would have been much easier at that time to be able to behave as I am doing now, although there is no longer the great risk to me that was then... I would always have been able to say “I have no idea” – from the first day on I always said exactly who I was, where I was, what I knew...

- L: but you know, there is...
- S: it was very, very expensive for me and for my family.
- L: Yes, I can understand that... I can understand that.... but there are big historical books which have been written, and there are many reports about this matter of the Wehrmacht... they have already been written.
- S: ...mh, I don't know any...
- L: oh, yes, there are books which have been published in English in America...
- S: well, so, as I have said... I have...
- L: von Manstein was the commander of the 11th army?
- S: Yes, he, for example, is writing for the Americans.
- L: Army group south, yes...
- S: Mr. von Manstein writes, for example... the history of the war for the Americans...
- L: yes...
- S: through the intervention of the Americans, he had also been released early from British imprisonment.. He does have an eye ailment thus is not fully healthy – which he never was– this gave him a peg to hang on, because the man was needed ... and I really have nothing against this... just... I keep having apprehensions. You know, if people like this write the history in such a way as the Americans need it... because he will not write anything – or it will not be published – which the Americans do not like; I am convinced of that. This will always be that way, regardless for who writes for whom... there is always someone sitting over him and says: “nah, prefer not to” or “this is not suitable at this moment” – only when the Field Marshal writes history.... who does not know that in the Crimea, in Sinvoropol, at the headquarters of his army staff, was a Mr. Ohlendorf... I can only say.... for this kind of history writing...
- L: sure, naturally...
- S: I can....
- L: yes, naturally... this is unbelievable...
- S: ... I cannot accept this. this is worthless for me, such a writing of history...
- L; yes, naturally...

- S: but there is also the other side, Mr. Sorel. Now, I should – as a minor personage, but I don't want to minimize myself too much – I was, after all, as First Lieutenant an officer on the staff of Ohlendorf, though with more or less possibilities of any influence... practically none at all ... I was not the aide which just held his coat, I was not that; I was head of the business office; I saw a lot of things which came through, in and out, to Berlin, to the army, to the liaison commander between the army and the special forces ... these are all things....eh, I can no longer remember details for sure so that I could provide them in writing or on the record for this, too much time has gone by; I could report on them in general, e.g., I could say if Mr. von Manstein says that "I don't know about Ohlendorf...
- L: I never hear that you are...
- S: ...If I have ever even seen him" -- I only could scream indignantly and say: "Well now... I personally traveled to Yalta with him to the Czar's castle Liwadja, where there was a big victory party after the battle of Sebastopol..
- L: with whom?
- S: with Ohlendorf to go to von Manstein
- L: yes...
- S: Ohlendorf was ordered to go to von Manstein, ordered, cited, to give a report because Mr. von Manstein wanted to have certain things done, e.g., the execution
- L: Oh, yes, he gave the orders...
- S: before Christmas...
- L: yes...
- S: these things were to be cleaned up, because he knew exactly....
- L: yes, yes...
- S: ... and it did happen afterwards... after Christmas the Russians came and landed in the Crimea...
- L: ... but this exact fact – I have a book in the car where it is written, that von Manstein wanted to clean up the area, before Christmas.... that has been written...

- W: Shall I go and get it?
- L: yes.... I can show you that exactly...
- S: ... this is.... this so controversial, for this I was practically brought to court.... because I told the untruth...
- L: but it has been written
- M: and who wrote it?
- L: oh, a professor in the USA, the United States ... he (wrote) a big book...
- M: and how does he know this?
- L: he studied a lot... he studied a lot...
- S: yes, they do have the documents... they do have the documents...
- M: I se, the have documents.
- S: this is the case.... as long as it was dealing with our trial... , with my personal case, it dealt with Sinvoropol in particular, I said “yes, I know this... something happened there.”
- L: yes
- S: and I also knew...
- L: the execution in Sinviropol... yes, in December of 41...
- S: I also knew, December 41, how the whole thing came about, that the army came and said: “children, I now have to clean that up” – It was the army that had all these persons: partisans, Jews, gypsies, and all was there, assembled in the Crimea; the special forces were not even there yet... in the Crimea...
- L: Yes, yes, I know, this was before.
- S: and afterwards, when it became to hot for the army... and the special forces had arrived in the meantime... in Sinvoropol... it was said that it had to be cleaned up before Christmas...
- L: yes...
- S: ... and then they said from our side that we could not do it; we had neither vehicles, nor the equipment for this.... that was not possible. And then the Command leader who was on the location in Sinvoropol, Dr. Werner Braune, had to go to the army and obtained from General Hauck – the main quartermaster on the staff of Manstein... everything that he needed.
- L: also personnel?

[Translator's note: this page is translated from the French text]

- S: to ... to be able to guide this action to a good conclusion..
- L: yes, yes...
- S: the army had supplied units of military police and gendarmerie... to carry out the execution because Mr. von Manstein had said that everything had to be liquidated before Christmas, because he knew that after Christmas there would be major trouble in the Crimea, because the Russians were planning a landing and it happened as predicted; we were sitting on our already emptied cases.... at Sinvoropol.
- L: yes...
- S: yes... all this had been told during the trial; I explained everything in detail... I was there when the liaison agent of...
- L: of Olando....
- S: no, the liaison agent between the special forces and.....
- L; and
- S: Heinze....
- L: yes...
- S: when he came at that time and he said.....
- L: I will show you exactly.... I have read it in this book, that exact story...
- S: I don't want to contradict you now, but, but, you know that what I am telling you is true...
- M: absolutely...
- S: ... I am not inventing anything now... or rather, I did not invent anything at Nuremberg. All I said was the truth... and at the end of the trial the sentence was: death by hanging... all that because I told the truth regarding an event, something.... which was objectively just... That is how one reacted then... and it has to be explained, without doubt, from the point of view of the triumphant mentality of 1945. You understand? Today... you understand....I might possibly earn a lot of money.... with what I remember... what stays in my memory. There would certainly be many organizations which would be interested in all this and which would make me important offers; but I will not do it, you see. But, at that time the triumphant might of America needed in the trial someone of the rank of lieutenant-colonel to whom they could impute a function... in these event and that was me...
- M: mmmh.

- S: ... only because I knew... thus, I was an accomplice...
- W: ...mmh
- S: ... this was enough (in English) very important person....
- W: ... be reluctant, naturally...
- S: ... If I don't want to speak about this freely again... I don't know what will happen to me.... this has nothing to do with the person... nothing at all... but what I know even less is what happens in 30 years to this... and my children will then read things, you know, what do I know... and I am not able to
- W: ... but you may remember that we offered you in the letter that you will not have to reveal your identity?
- S: yes
- W: so, in a way, if this is the issue, this is no crime...
- S: this is not the issue.... this is one of many issues...
- W: yes, yes, all right... I only think if you
- S: the point... it sits in here... well, how should I behave... ne...
- L: yes.
- S: in such things... I have to tell you honestly: Even today, I have not made peace with my conscience regarding this question...
- W: mmh
- S: ... this is not so simple...
- W: I believe that very much...
- S: ... this is not so simple...
- L: yes, it was this Major Röstler.... Can you read English?
- S: ... yes, I think I might manage...
- L: ... I believe that this are the....

CASSETTE I / SIDE B

Reel no. 3

- L: ... can you read English?
- S: ... yes, I think I might manage...
- L: ... I believe that this are the....
- S: I..... General von Salmut... no, this is the 30th Corps, this is something else...
- L: ... pardon...
- S: here, we have.... July 23, 1941.... Quartermaster on the 6th, see, as I have told you earlier... our commander had to go to the army, head quartermaster, that is these gentlemen there...
- L: yes...
- S: Müller was the chief of staff and then the head quartermaster, Colonel Hauck.... this are the documents...
- L: yes, yes, these are documents...
- S: yes, but they all have been by the Americans....

(There is a time with pictures, showing Mr. Schubert speaking, but no sound is heard)

Reel no. 4

- S: measures...
- Cut
- S: here are all the documents...
- L: yes, yes, these are documents...
- S: ... yes, but they are... they were released by the Americans only after we had been sentenced. We kept on referring to them and have said that there were clear orders, between the Head Reich Security Office and the High Command of the army... “these are all lies” we were told, otherwise, we would have them. And when it became critical that a document was needed or if we wanted to refer to a document, to an order by the army.... of which the Americans knew that it would become dangerous, then, they knew the thing... they knew it, that it existed...

- S: then it was said that the accused have no right to refer to material for their defense... eh, thus it was in the hands of the prosecution; we could do whatever we wanted, we were always in the wrong, ne....
- L: oh, yes, this is very good... thanks a lot.
- S: a little bit for me too, please, I am getting a sore throat again...
- M: yes, yes, yes...
- L: ... in this book there is a lot of material...
- S: with Ohlendorf.... November 5, 1945...
- W: Mrs. Schubert, may I talk to you for a moment. This was so, but...
- M: please wait a moment, right?
- S: Blobel
- L: Blobel was special forces C, right?
- S: it must have been B or C.
- L: C, yes
- S: thank you...
- L: and in the special forces group D there were special forces commands 11a, 11b, 10a, 10b, 11a, 11b and 12; yes, 4 special forces commands, yes, yes, 5, yes 5. There were not a lot of people, which is very astounding. There were 500.
- S: Between 500 and 600...
- L: and 600 people...
- S: in an area... within the army group South... which was as large as...
- L: yes, yes, as large as...
- S: the whole of Bavaria...
- L: yes...
- M: excuse me, Heinz, the telephone, please come...
- S: excuse me, yes....
- L: you know, this is Nicola.... Odessa... Schnelson... Tangorol, Mariopol, Rostov..
- S: this is all special forces group Dora
- L: 10a, 12, 10b...
- S: all of the Crimea....

- L: yes
- S: formerly Nicoleiev...
- L: Nicoleiev, yes..
- S: a Mr. Noske.... Mariopol... Tagorok, Rostov... this was commando 12 which advanced. Stalingnov does not belong to this... Stalingnov?
- L: yes...
- S: this was not during my time, possibly earlier
- L: yes, this is before 41, this is July 41, and this is November 41... yes in November. Your arrived in October, I believe...
- S: yes, until July 42 I was there...
- L: yes, you stayed about 10 months...
- S: yes, about 3/4 of a year...
- L: yes, yes
- S: yes, and I would not even ask about the name of the book...
- L: "Destruction of the European Jewry"
- S: ... you know, when I read something like that.... for this reason, I generally don't read it at all.
- L: why?
- S: why not?
- L: yes
- S: because it stirs me up again.
- L: oh, yes..
- S: I then cannot be quiet for days, it stirs me up; you know, it is peculiar if I simply say this; but I can only say, I can speak frankly... if I keep getting to learn these things – starting from the trial –
- L: yes
- S: I keep on learning new things which I never knew before...
- L: yes
- S; and I don't want to say that I knew nothing at that time, I do say....
- L: yes, naturally...

- S:I was in the office. I saw the incoming mail – I saw the outgoing mail... which does not mean that I was solely responsible for this...I spoke... it was a connecting office – each office is a place where things come through, where several people work, where – as aide – you hear something from time to time, but certainly not everything, by far not everything, because as aide you are not always there. Sometimes you have to go somewhere with your boss and then you have no knowledge about what had happened; sometimes you hear about it later, sometimes even 2 months later...
- W: ...mmmh
- S: some things you never hear about...
- L: yes...
- S: this is quite variable... but what I.... regarding this whole complex matter... after 1945... especially during the trial... or in this kind of books.... what I now...
- L: yes...
- S: learn, or have learned.... this is for me so enormous that I can only wonder why one has experienced so little of all these things...
- L: ... naturally, but it is always like that in a war... one is in a small place, a small town, this is...
- S:but I have....
- L: ... it is difficult to observe the whole situation...
- S: ... if I read this, or all what came out in the trial or now....
- M: what is this...
- W: this is an embellishment which I have pasted on top...
- M: this is smart...
- L: ... yes, but you know what interests me very much is the question about the beginning because.... You were never in Pretsch?
- S: No, no.
- L: No. You were never in Pretsch.... but Ohlendorf was in Pretsch...
- S: Ohlendorf was in Pretsch.... was in Pretsch... now see, we are here at a point... I am telling you quite honestly that I don't have the intention to accuse any particular person....

- L: ... yes, I understand that.
- S: ... ehh, it is not that I would think that I was bad or... no.... I want to say something else.... we were near Pretsch... I keep on being asked by German offices to come before German tribunals as a kind of main authority...
- L: Main authority?
- S: yes
- L: yes
- S: that's how it appears to me. Nobody has told me that I serve as main authority, but I know that the Central Office in Ludwigsburg keeps on bringing up my name when somewhere in a trial against a member of the special forces is conducted...
- W: mmh.
- S: I am always summoned for this...
- W: ... and why you and not the others?
- S: I don't know who else is summoned, but I only know from the trials that there are apparently only very few who can still be summoned.
- L: yes
- W: this is true.
- S: and ehhh, I am wondering, for example, that people are not summoned who – based on their positions at that time – know a great deal more, have to know a great deal more than I... because you have just mentioned Pretsch...
- L: yes
- S: The man who instructed in Pretsch the later special forces and commandos, their chiefs, for their orders, gave them the Barbarossa order..
- L: yes...
- S: the order by Hitler...
- L: yes
- S: ... to Himmler about the execution of these actions which were supposed to be carried out by the special forces; who practically told these people that it had to be, that the Führer wants it that such and such now be done...
- L: the Führer wishes?

- S: ...yes
- L:yes
- S: ... and for this purpose he created the Reichsführer SS special forces... and they are assigned to the army groups or the armies... and all that can be said about this.... This man is still alive but I never heard that he appeared in any trial...
- L: ... you mean which person?
- S:den....
- M: ... you keep this name to yourself...
- S: please?
- L: yes.... which person?
- S: ... I would like to not give this name; he is now an older man of almost 80 years...
- L: I think I know the name and he is dead, it is Bruno Streckenbach.
- S: ... since when is he dead?
- L: yes, he is dead, I know that he is dead...
- S: Why was he not asked when he was alive?
- L: he is dead... I wanted to talk to Streckenbach about Pretsch...
- S: ... but it must not be long that he died...
- L: ... but he is dead, no not so long...
- S: ... why were these people not asked?
- L: I think last year...
- S: Why were the little people asked among all of them?
- L: He died in Hamburg.
- S: yes, he lived in Hamburg.
- L: yes
- S: I know, I only learned about this very late, but why.... this man could have contributed something to history, said something...
- L: ... and Streckenbach is the man who spoke to the special forces in Pretsch...
- S: yes, yes, yes.
- L: yes, this is the whole mysterious question about the beginning... this so-called Führer order... but this order does not exist... it was never in writing... it was an oral order...
- S: I don't know, I cannot say...

- L: no, there is no written order from the Führer...
- S: I don't know that... I only know the statements of others in this regard... those who had to know more.
- L: yes...
- S: than I
- L: but, for example, did you ever talk to Ohlendorf or Willi Seibert about this subject?
- S: no.
- L: about this Pretsch...
- S: no, no, no
- L: story?
- S: no, no
- L: no
- S: I was not present in Pretsch; only once did I get to talk to Ohlendorf about this thing, this situation, that was in Sinovoropol..
- L: yes, it was the first time in Sinovoropol that you spoke with Ohlendorf about this?
- S: yes, and he only told me – he stopped me – “be glad that you had nothing to do with this”....
- L: stopped me? What does that mean?
- S: “What do you mean, why would you want to know all that... you are not involved... your work as aide is something else... be glad that you have nothing to do with this.” And then I still got something to do with it. In Sinovoropol I got then his order to travel to several sites where people were assembled, in internment camps and to bring him reports how things were going; he wanted to know if it was in accordance with the orders given by me...
- M: one moment: given by you or by Ohlendorf..
- S: given by Ohlendorf...
- M: yes, be careful...
- S: if it was in accordance with the orders given by Ohlendorf.
- L: naturally, but this is...
- M: You did not give any orders...

- L: ... but this is...
- S: ... But I am not in front of a tribunal here... well...
- M: ... but you know, there can also be a memory lapse...
- S: yes, this is clear...
- M: thus, be careful...
- L: no, don't worry, really...

Reel No. 5

- L: ... we are not interested in that..
- S: Dr. Sorel, I have to say that to defend my wife that after 1945 she had to suffer more than I did...
- L: yes, but you have also...
- S: also, but knowing, as officer and as a human being who grew up in these things and also was in it with a certain conviction – I may tell you that, and I will keep on saying that – I was as information person of the Security Service Inland...
- L: yes
- S: still, convinced...
- L: just as earlier in the SD and..
- S: I always was in the SD, since 34....
- L: yes, yes
- S: based on my training as administrator I was always in the administration – personnel office, etc.
- L: this was at that time, what is called in the English language, and intelligence officer..
- S: well, this does not correspond to the intelligence officer, it was more Office 6 in the Reich Security Main Office – foreign news service, espionage etc.
- L: yes
- S: that was not it, rather, the Office 3 of Ohlendorf, this was a pure news service in the area of the German residential areas; it was divided up into 4 large regions... Law and Administration and... Economics and Culture and Health, National Tradition and such things...

- S: thus a pure domestic information apparatus within Germany to inform the high leadership with the unpleasant... well, I have to say... result... that the longer the war lasted and the older this information service became, the more dangerous grew the position of Ohlendorf relative to Himmler...
- L: oh, yes, I read that in....
- S: Ohlendorf was the best hated man within the higher party leadership because he reported things which they did not want to hear any longer; but he said, if they want to hear it or not, I don't care; I have an order, which is the order to transmit objective information to inform the leadership (background French conversation) and when he now brought this, based on his objective representations, all the way to the top, he was from time to time attacked by Heinrich Himmler who told him that the Führer did not want to hear this any longer.
- L: yes
- S: I saw a report by Heinrich Himmler in his...
- L: but you know, the amazing matter is, I believe, that the Führer gave this order and afterwards he did not want to know anything about this matter; he had given the order..
- W: ... he did not want to see or hear anything about this any longer...
- L: ... yes, and he had his other power...
- S: he left that to Heinrich Himmler.
- L: yes?
- S: and he, in turn, left it to the others, those subject to Heidrich... among them, e.g., Streckenbach, see, Streckenbach was a bureau chief in the Reich Security Main Office.
- L: In the beginning, Streckenbach was in Poland, in Warsaw...
- S: he was engaged in the operation Tannenberg and in the operation Barbarossa, and then, later, at the end, he was in the Waffen-SS...
- L: ... but Ohlendorf stated in his report that he was in Pretsch, but that he only knew when arriving in Russia what the order was? He stated in his report that he did not know exactly in Pretsch. In Pretsch he only knew about the general fight between two ideologies, a fight for life and death... a whole....

S: ...it obviously was not said in detail what the tasks of the special forces would be... and I believe that at that time it would not have been possible to spell it out in detail because the events in the east dictated what might be agreed upon between the army and the special forces in each case. With regard to securing the rear army areas, this was the general line... and under the securing of the rear army areas one could understand everything. If that was told to a low officer, with the rank of lieutenant, who had 15 people, and he was sent 200 kilometers from his command post and told to do there what was within the meaning of the Führer orders, and if that was told 10 times to 10 different people, you will have 10 different actions regarding the execution and process and with regard to the range of people involved etc., etc. This was so, just because it had not been spelled out precisely what had to be done, but resulted from agreements on the spot. The others who had more to say were unable to supervise everything, they were not even nearby, they were far away from the shooting.

L: yes

S: so, it is a very difficult subject and difficult chapter, but as I have said, what I keep on wondering is, that those who had genuine responsibility for these things, that they were not heard on this subject, in spite of the fact that they could have said something concerning this... if that....

W: I wonder , why....

S: I also wonder why...

W: did you have good relationships?

S: a man like Streckenbach would have been able to do a lot of good already in the trial in Nuremberg if he would have been questioned as witness for the prosecution, e.g.,....

L: yes.

- S: they would have wanted to accuse us with this, what he said, but that would have been open to the whole world... those in the dock are really not the real guilty ones, but the really guilty ones were somewhere else and I am waiting to this day... not to accuse a particular person – I want to state that again...
- L: I understand, naturally.
- S: but the writers of history would have for me ... or from my point of view, more weight and would be more credible if this kind of people would have had their say and if all people could read up on this. Now we keep getting into the painful situation that we should say what they really could have said much better, could have said, because they knew much more than we; we I could not so many....
- L: But could you explain something to me: I have a question: Ohlendorf often writes – and I think it is also in your report – you spoke about the emotional problems for you...
- S: yes
- L: yes, to carry out these actions; what exactly do you mean, what is the emotional problem?
- S: well now, I believe that anybody would have an emotional problem when suddenly put into a situation... there is a sizeable group of people... who should be executed...
- L: yes
- S: without knowing in detail why, concretely why...
- L: concretely why, yes
- S: summarily ... these are people who, based on the order by the Führer, have to be eliminated ... in a large ...
- L: but it was a personal conflict for you, for example?
- S: one can – one can only speak for oneself in such a case... I believe one can never say what another one feels that one cannot do...
- L: yes

M: I would like to get into this conversation. It sounds as if you participated in executions and were emotionally affected by this...

S: no

M: and this is not the case and...

S: no

L: no

M: and I want to make this clear here...

L: no, this is...

M: you had nothing to do with this...

S: I was in one single actual case...

L: yes, yes, this is...

S: that I got into contact with executions measures. This was in Sinvoropol... much has been written about this..

M: yes, but for inspection and not for supervision... and I would like to...

S: this is absolutely clear, this is totally clear...

M: yes, I don't know if that...

L: it was supervision...

S: no, exactly not...

L: yes...

W: we have read the trial files, you understand?

M: yes, but my husband has been convicted for this, that he did what is not true... and for this reason he has later been pardoned because they realized that it had been wrong...

S: later one had....

L: do you know how many people of the special forces talked about this emotional effect...

M: but yes...

L: there is Ohlendorf, there was Vondenbach-Selewski...

M: He was emotionally affected because he knew that he was involved at his desk, but not because he personally went there and shot at them...

S: it is still...

L: yes, but in one case, Mr. Schubert saw...

M: I want to say this also very clearly....

- S: yes, yes. I am not quite finished, thus, a moral burden...
- M: ... if he had personally worked on this...
- S: ...no, no.....no, no
- L: but you know, I understand you, but you have nothing to fear; we have absolutely nothing to do with tribunals or justice; we are only historical people...
- S: ... the moral burden exists in the instant...
- L: this is written here...
- S: when somebody just learns something about these matters...
- M: yes, even to know about these matters... this is already a great moral burden...
- S: yes, yes.
- M: well now... good, keep on talking; I just wanted to have this made clear here once more...
- S: I cannot speak for others.... I cannot say what is in the soul of others, if they actually felt it as a moral burden or not. I only know that there were a number of people who suffered very much from it and who repeatedly asked Ohlendorf to be released from the execution measures because they, as family men with children at home, would, if at all possible, not wanted to have to be involved in this. This too are things about which I can only talk if I heard of them, right, and this has, i.e., played a very large role in the trials, this question...
- L: You are writing here... it has been written... to supervise that these executions are executed as humanely and according to military form, fully according to Ohlendorf's special orders...
- S: ...considering this, may I... may I... this is my....
- L: yes this is your...
- M: ... may I possibly explain the difference between observing and supervising, because I am not sure that....
(French conversation in background)
- M: ... exactly, and this is really extremely important....
- M: ... in one case I have a responsibility, and in another case I have no responsibility...

L: yes, yes, I understand

M: this is the difference...

S: See here... this is what I told you before when one attempts to attribute to someone a function that he did not have... You can no say that I had signed this myself, that I had to supervise and inspect, yes..

L: yes

S: This is a phrasing that I did not make, but rather the interrogator, Mr. Wartenberg...

L: these...

S: but I have signed it.

L: yes

M: but after what?

S: and this

M: and when, when...

S: And this was also...

F: you have to tell this...

S: I have also been reproached that I had signed this, but I can only repeat what I already said before the tribunal in Nuremberg: I only signed this under pressure and duress...

L: under pressure and duress?

M: yes, do tell...

S: and what pressure....

L: You have the...

S: first, first....

L: beaten?

S: first.... no not beaten, there are also things which can...

L: moral pressure?

S: even physical pressure... if you don't get anything to eat, cannot go for a walk, and sit for days in the dark....

L: yes, yes...

S: ...because , only because you do not want to sign this and then I was summoned and told, why don't you want to sign this? I said, because I did not have this function... you can take from this, that I was tasked in this sense, I did not have to supervise, I had to observe, I had for me.....

L: What is the difference: observe – supervise...

(French explanation of the difference)

L: yes, there is a difference, naturally...

M: a very big difference...

S: and there... I wanted this changed but the interrogator told me finally, “no, we are not going to change anything any more... you don’t know if this will be used against you... I even don’t know that... and if it will be used against you... and if this affidavit will even be used, then you are a better proof as a living witness, and then, what you say as a living witness will count and not what is written here,” and finally I – I can only regret it now – please, anybody can think about that as they want.

[Translator's note: the remaining pages are numbered 1-7, but are a continuation of the previous conversation]

CASSETTE 2 / SIDE A

Reel no. 6 – Interview with Mr. Schubert

- S: but at that time, I gave in; I believed this man and said that if it is so, nothing can go wrong – if it says there supervising or observing, you have to sign; I was tired; I was exhausted...
- L: You had your nose full...
- S: I finally wanted to again get something to eat, I wanted to be permitted to go outside... all these things that hang together with this – I was imprisoned in solitary confinement...
- L: yes
- S: ... until I was signing this... and then I said that if this is so, I will sign this... I stated all that before the tribunal and then I was told, that this is only... well what you are saying now is not true; we don't believe you... and then I was sentenced to death with the justification, almost word for word of what is written here.
- L: ... yes because of supervising...
- S: ... yes because I supervised and inspected...
- L: you believe if it were only observe... the sentence would have been different...
- S: the sentence was constructed as it was in accordance of what is written here...
- W: Dr. Sorel asks about what you mean, in case it was instead supervising, observing, would you not have been convicted?
- S: but not a death sentence...
- L: not a death sentence...naturally...

- S: not to death, I probably would have been sentenced for membership in a criminal organization.
- M: but this way he was convicted for murder...
- S: yes, but I was convicted for crimes against humanity...
- L: but these...
- W: they wanted to replace the supervising into observing which you had thought of...
- S: yes, yes... I always wanted this changed.
- M: and this was on a recorded tape that....
- S: pay attention to what comes now: when the sentence was pronounced and I had my death sentence, the British and the Americans kept begging me to make a statement in the trial of Field Marshal von Manstein and I said that as long as I sit here with a death sentence, I would not make any statement. I was then told that there might be a possibility to change the sentence...
- L: yes
- S: from... not more... But then came a review commission from America which reviewed the last 29 death sentences in Landsberg. There remained only 29 of the 400, mine among them. All these sentences were to be reviewed by a US commission with one representative each from the defense department, the justice department and from a pardon committee from the state of New York. These 3 gentlemen came to Germany and – on behalf of the American government or the Senate, I don't know any more which – review the last death sentences. In the meantime there was a stay of execution. In the course of this investigation, my attorney was also heard, and I myself was asked. It lasted several months. In the course of this investigation I was told the following one day by Mr. Mohem – he was the president of the pardon committee in the state of New York – : Mr. Schubert, would you like to add something? We now have to make our final report?" To which I could only say: I don't know what my attorney did for me; what he could tell you, to what extent he could convince you.....

- S:I can only trust that the picture was different to you than it would based on the documents. This gray or rather white haired gentleman responded: “Mr. Schubert, you can be satisfied; your attorney did a lot for you; he was able to do a lot for you, but even more was done for you by this committee; we have listened to the tape of this interrogation at the justice department of the High Commission of the Americans in Bad Nauheim and we now know how you fought with Mr. Wartenberg about the formulation; that you signed in the end only because he told you...”
- L: You have – this means – you have fought for the formulation?
- S: yes – this was evident from the tape recording. A big weight was lifted from my heart and this aged.... this Mr. Mohem told me then: “you can put your mind at rest. Although we only can make recommendations – the American High Commissioner at the time was McCloy – in this case we can recommend immediate release from incarceration based on imprisonment to-date, but please, we only can make a recommendation. But you should not be afraid.” Well, for me that was a welcome information if such a pardon commission comes and says: “We were able to do a lot more for you than you could yourself or your attorney, because we suggest that the man has to be released, because they heard the tape recording with this Mr. Wartenberg.
- L: This means that McCloy has rescued you?
- S: Yes. MrCloy then had his justice section process the recommendations in Frankfurt and, in my case, the recommendation was “immediate release from prison” but the decision by McCloy was “reduction of sentence to 10 years.”
- L: yes, this was fortunate.

- S: from the death sentence to 10 years.... the 10 years – counting time for good behavior – would have been completed in January 52; this was in August 51, thus, I would have had to remain in Landsberg for another 5 months. It then went still somewhat faster; I was released on December 15 because there was also a Christmas amnesty. I just want to say to this that this had only been a recommendation. The people who came had no power when they reviewed the sentences, they only could make recommendations and from their recommendation came a sentence reduction, no immediate release. I only want to add why: the legal counsel for McCloy in Frankfurt, the high commission, who do you think that was? He could not permit that I would be immediately released..
- L: yes
- S: because he had 3 years before requested a death sentence as state attorney in Nuremberg. He was my former accuser who now was legal counsel to McCloy in the Justice division in Frankfurt and he would have had to say that for this man, for whom I requested the noose, we now let him go home; he could not do that.
- L: Yes, I understand
- S: As a consequence I got 10 years ... but for me it is not important that I was convicted or that I would be released or....
- L: But I would like to get back to the emotional burden, yes. Those executions, it must have been difficult to watch?
- S: yes, certainly, certainly
- L: it was difficult...
- S: It was not easy and still one had to carry out one's orders at the front – this was the area of the front – yes, and what probably made the emotional burden even more so was the knowledge that it was impossible to get out of this vicious circle, even if I had commented that I did not agree with this... it would not have changed anything on what happened...

- S: I would have been in greater danger because I most likely would have been arrested immediately and would have been brought before an SS and police court with an assured deadly outcome.
- L: yes
- S: This increases the emotional burden of this whole matter even much more.
- L: yes, this, this fear?
- S: You may call it fear... oh, yes, it may have been fear, but this fear is probably experienced by everybody who is put into this kind of situation and set before the question of how should I behave here? On the other side, we endured such terrible things. In Russia, from the other side, our own comrades were taken down from wooden buildings, nailed just like Jesus Christ, crucified the day before when the Russians broke in. We found them the following day in this position; not that this justifies to do the same things...
- L: But what exactly does Ohlendorf mean when he writes about these executions and says that these executions have to be carried out in military and humane ways...
- S: By military execution commandos, that's what he means by that; thus, not just any which way, but in a very definite manner, by military platoons.
- L: yes, but were there other possibilities?
- S: with our special forces I would no know what else, as they usually did it.
- L: militarily, this is by shotgun, by pistol?
- S: by shotgun or machine pistol.
- L: yes, yes
- S: these were the options, because he got by this...
- L: it was fast?
- S: yes it is relatively fast...
- L: yes

S: I would say... the people stood and the execution commandos had to fire on orders...

L: yes

S: just like when there is an execution against a wall, here it was a large ditch, a so-called "tartar ditch" in Sinvoropol; a large ditch all across the Crimea.

L: A ditch for tanks?

S: yes, against the.....

H: (other male voice) This is really not quite correct; you are transmitting this conversation outside and...

M: I stood next to it and saw the tape and heard it... that goes over the.... I heard you speak; I heard you speak...

H: is not right what you are doing.... can we see your bag?

L: no, the....

H: we can the voices — I have heard it...

M: I stood next to it... he has....

L: But what do you mean? I would very much like to see...

H: There is a car outside with a tape recorder...

M: and records the whole conversation...

L: what? There is no car... our car is in another.....

M: call the police... then it is a stranger....

H: Listen; they were outside; they were at the VW bus; I observed it.... you must know it... how the reception is... show me the content of your bag?

L: but this is.... you know this is.... I would like to ...yes go I would like to see this car...

S: that would interest me too.....

L: me too, me too...

H: Please show me your bag...

L: no, no, you may not.... you will not...

- H: I would like to (see) the content....
- L: no, you will not do this... what is this?
- M: see if he has driven away in the meantime....
- L: you will not do this...
- M: No he is driving... he is clearing out with the French license plate...
- L: you.... I would... our car is there.... our car is there.... there is....