

1

00:00:00,000 --> 00:00:00,660

2

00:00:00,660 --> 00:00:03,330

This is an interview for
the United States Holocaust

3

00:00:03,330 --> 00:00:06,480

Memorial Museum
volunteer collection.

4

00:00:06,480 --> 00:00:08,640

This interview is
with Werner Michel,

5

00:00:08,640 --> 00:00:11,820

conducted by Esther
Finder, on June 9th,

6

00:00:11,820 --> 00:00:14,303

1998, in Alexandria, Virginia.

7

00:00:14,303 --> 00:00:15,720

This is a follow-up
interview that

8

00:00:15,720 --> 00:00:20,435

will focus on Werner Michel's
post Holocaust experiences.

9

00:00:20,435 --> 00:00:21,810

I preparation for
this interview,

10

00:00:21,810 --> 00:00:23,352

I listened to the
interview conducted

11

00:00:23,352 --> 00:00:26,280

with the Survivors of the Shoah
Visual History Foundation.

12

00:00:26,280 --> 00:00:29,755

That interview was done
on September 19, 1997.

13

00:00:29,755 --> 00:00:31,380

I will not ask you
to repeat everything

14

00:00:31,380 --> 00:00:32,549

you said in that interview.

15

00:00:32,549 --> 00:00:33,990

Instead, I will
use this interview

16

00:00:33,990 --> 00:00:36,720

as an opportunity to
follow up on that interview

17

00:00:36,720 --> 00:00:39,660

and focus on your post
Holocaust experiences.

18

00:00:39,660 --> 00:00:45,210

This tape is number one,
side A. I wanted to ask you,

19

00:00:45,210 --> 00:00:47,830

what was your name at birth?

20

00:00:47,830 --> 00:00:52,950

My name and birth was
actually Emile Michel,

21

00:00:52,950 --> 00:00:58,020

but my mother hated the
first name Emile, which

22

00:00:58,020 --> 00:01:01,920

was after an uncle who had
been injured in World War I.

23

00:01:01,920 --> 00:01:05,430

And she insisted on adding
the name Werner, which

24

00:01:05,430 --> 00:01:09,110

was more acceptable to her.

25

00:01:09,110 --> 00:01:12,410

Are you known by
any other names?

26

00:01:12,410 --> 00:01:18,020

During my army days, because
they mispronounced my last name

27

00:01:18,020 --> 00:01:22,100

as Michael, they
shortened that to Mike.

28

00:01:22,100 --> 00:01:30,350

And so eventually I became
Mike Michel in the service.

29

00:01:30,350 --> 00:01:33,960

When were you born and
where were you born?

30

00:01:33,960 --> 00:01:39,710

I was born on September the
2nd, 1924, in Landau, Germany.

31

00:01:39,710 --> 00:01:41,710

It's a small town
in Western Germany.

32

00:01:41,710 --> 00:01:44,350

33

00:01:44,350 --> 00:01:46,510

Can you tell me when you
came to the United States

34

00:01:46,510 --> 00:01:51,220

and what were the circumstances
under which you came?

35

00:01:51,220 --> 00:01:54,940

I came to the United
States on December

36

00:01:54,940 --> 00:02:03,440

the 4th, 1936, after leaving
Germany on November the 26th,

37

00:02:03,440 --> 00:02:09,940

on a ship, the SS New York,
Hamburg, America Line.

38

00:02:09,940 --> 00:02:16,570

Circumstances were
that my parents

39

00:02:16,570 --> 00:02:22,930

had managed to obtain a
place on what was essentially

40

00:02:22,930 --> 00:02:27,280

the Kindertransport, where
a group of us children

41

00:02:27,280 --> 00:02:31,060

were assembled in Hamburg.

42

00:02:31,060 --> 00:02:36,430

And we came to the United
States and dispersed to families

43

00:02:36,430 --> 00:02:37,750

all over the country.

44

00:02:37,750 --> 00:02:40,630

In my case, I came to
St. Louis, Missouri,

45

00:02:40,630 --> 00:02:42,325

where I was taken

in by a family.

46

00:02:42,325 --> 00:02:47,720

47

00:02:47,720 --> 00:02:50,090

What was difficult for
you about the transition

48

00:02:50,090 --> 00:02:51,350

to life in the United States?

49

00:02:51,350 --> 00:02:54,310

50

00:02:54,310 --> 00:02:57,370

It was quite a challenge.

51

00:02:57,370 --> 00:02:59,890

I came from small town.

52

00:02:59,890 --> 00:03:07,070

And was totally unprepared
for the difference in culture.

53

00:03:07,070 --> 00:03:10,120

First of all, I had
taken some French

54

00:03:10,120 --> 00:03:13,420

in school and not English.

55

00:03:13,420 --> 00:03:19,960

I had about two weeks of
English lessons, which permitted

56

00:03:19,960 --> 00:03:21,930

me to say, how do you do?

57

00:03:21,930 --> 00:03:25,745

And I am fine, and
that type of thing.

58

00:03:25,745 --> 00:03:30,520

And I was taken in by this
family of very sophisticated

59

00:03:30,520 --> 00:03:32,650

people in a very large city.

60

00:03:32,650 --> 00:03:35,800

And I was here just a few days.

61

00:03:35,800 --> 00:03:37,870

And they put me in--

62

00:03:37,870 --> 00:03:41,680

placed me, rather, in seventh
grade in the Eugene Field

63

00:03:41,680 --> 00:03:42,910

School in St. Louis.

64

00:03:42,910 --> 00:03:46,600

And it meant absolutely
nothing to me.

65

00:03:46,600 --> 00:03:48,940

I was sitting there as
if I were a deaf person.

66

00:03:48,940 --> 00:03:53,820

67

00:03:53,820 --> 00:03:54,360

OK.

68

00:03:54,360 --> 00:03:55,060

We're back now.

69

00:03:55,060 --> 00:03:56,860

We had a little
technical problem.

70

00:03:56,860 --> 00:03:59,310

You were saying that you
were sitting in school as

71

00:03:59,310 --> 00:04:02,040

if you were a deaf person.

72

00:04:02,040 --> 00:04:04,890

Well, what I meant is
there was a lot of babel

73

00:04:04,890 --> 00:04:07,810

around me that I
didn't understand.

74

00:04:07,810 --> 00:04:13,680

And evidently, the teachers
and the family I lived with,

75

00:04:13,680 --> 00:04:15,600

the Landau's,
understood this also.

76

00:04:15,600 --> 00:04:17,980

And so they took me
out of seventh grade.

77

00:04:17,980 --> 00:04:21,810

And as I recall,
they tried to give me

78

00:04:21,810 --> 00:04:24,930

an aptitude test,
which I couldn't even

79

00:04:24,930 --> 00:04:26,130

follow the instructions.

80

00:04:26,130 --> 00:04:28,800

And I failed that miserably.

81

00:04:28,800 --> 00:04:35,640

So they decided to put
me into kindergarten.

82
00:04:35,640 --> 00:04:38,720
So as a 12 and 1/2 year
old to go into kindergarten

83
00:04:38,720 --> 00:04:41,430
was not the most
auspicious beginning.

84
00:04:41,430 --> 00:04:44,910
But it was a very good way
of learning the language.

85
00:04:44,910 --> 00:04:50,490
Because essentially, they were
emerging me in the language.

86
00:04:50,490 --> 00:04:57,380
And as I recall, I probably
spent a month in kindergarten,

87
00:04:57,380 --> 00:05:00,000
then two weeks in first grade.

88
00:05:00,000 --> 00:05:05,310
And subsequently moved up to
the various grades as my English

89
00:05:05,310 --> 00:05:06,360
improved somewhat.

90
00:05:06,360 --> 00:05:11,820
And as it turned out to
be, it was probably--

91
00:05:11,820 --> 00:05:13,500
mechanically, it
was a good thing.

92
00:05:13,500 --> 00:05:19,080
It was psychologically not very

good, because I had no friends.

93

00:05:19,080 --> 00:05:22,530

And the parents and
teachers looked upon me

94

00:05:22,530 --> 00:05:26,040

with some trepidation, I'm sure.

95

00:05:26,040 --> 00:05:31,650

But within about a year, I
believe, I had caught up,

96

00:05:31,650 --> 00:05:35,310

or I was perhaps a grade
behind, I'm not certain anymore.

97

00:05:35,310 --> 00:05:37,395

But I had caught
up, essentially.

98

00:05:37,395 --> 00:05:40,327

99

00:05:40,327 --> 00:05:42,410

You mentioned that you're
from the town of Landau.

100

00:05:42,410 --> 00:05:46,220

And the family that took
you in, what was their name?

101

00:05:46,220 --> 00:05:49,160

Their name was Landau as well.

102

00:05:49,160 --> 00:05:52,790

Milton Landau was
name of the husband.

103

00:05:52,790 --> 00:05:58,100

And Amelia Landau was
the name of the wife.

104

00:05:58,100 --> 00:06:02,080

105

00:06:02,080 --> 00:06:06,040

What was your status at
that time, when you first

106

00:06:06,040 --> 00:06:08,410

came to this country, and
then in the next few years,

107

00:06:08,410 --> 00:06:10,535

your legal status with
respect to the United States

108

00:06:10,535 --> 00:06:12,520

government?

109

00:06:12,520 --> 00:06:20,020

I presume I had what the
Germans called a kinderausweis.

110

00:06:20,020 --> 00:06:24,760

It was essentially the
equivalent to a passport.

111

00:06:24,760 --> 00:06:30,580

And I presume I was
a legal immigrant.

112

00:06:30,580 --> 00:06:37,660

And Until the war broke
out, and then as I recall,

113

00:06:37,660 --> 00:06:40,435

I became an enemy alien, because
I was still a German citizen.

114

00:06:40,435 --> 00:06:42,550

You couldn't become a
citizen until you were 21.

115

00:06:42,550 --> 00:06:49,560

116

00:06:49,560 --> 00:06:51,150

When you came to
this country, did you

117

00:06:51,150 --> 00:06:55,440

have any contact with your
family back in Germany?

118

00:06:55,440 --> 00:07:03,120

I had contact with my sister,
who also lived in St. Louis.

119

00:07:03,120 --> 00:07:07,050

I saw her about once a month
or once every two months.

120

00:07:07,050 --> 00:07:08,430

She lived with another family.

121

00:07:08,430 --> 00:07:13,500

She had come a year earlier
or a year and a half earlier.

122

00:07:13,500 --> 00:07:18,480

And I had contact with my
mother and grandmother.

123

00:07:18,480 --> 00:07:27,720

My father had gone to
France in late 1936,

124

00:07:27,720 --> 00:07:29,950

just about the time I left.

125

00:07:29,950 --> 00:07:32,460

And I had no contact
with him directly.

126

00:07:32,460 --> 00:07:42,110

127
00:07:42,110 --> 00:07:45,920
When the war began
in this country--

128
00:07:45,920 --> 00:07:51,800
in 1939, when you were in this
country and the war began,

129
00:07:51,800 --> 00:07:54,650
can you tell me
what impressions you

130
00:07:54,650 --> 00:07:59,910
had of the American reaction
to the conflict in Europe?

131
00:07:59,910 --> 00:08:05,030
Well, of course, in
1939, I was just--

132
00:08:05,030 --> 00:08:13,230
I think I'd just graduated
from Eugene Field Grade School

133
00:08:13,230 --> 00:08:16,520
and had gone off to high school.

134
00:08:16,520 --> 00:08:20,210
Of course, we were all very
concerned about our families

135
00:08:20,210 --> 00:08:22,380
that were left in Germany.

136
00:08:22,380 --> 00:08:31,435
And, of course, as the
Germans overran first Poland,

137
00:08:31,435 --> 00:08:35,600
and of course, we were aware
of Czechoslovakia before that.

138

00:08:35,600 --> 00:08:43,190

And then in early 1940, when
they overran the low countries

139

00:08:43,190 --> 00:08:46,280

and conquered France, we were--

140

00:08:46,280 --> 00:08:48,890

I was personally-- on a
personal basis, very concerned

141

00:08:48,890 --> 00:08:51,000

about my father.

142

00:08:51,000 --> 00:08:55,950

And we had lost contact
with my grandmother,

143

00:08:55,950 --> 00:09:00,140

who had been very old
and frail, and who,

144

00:09:00,140 --> 00:09:06,320

as we subsequently found out,
had died in late 1940 in Gurs--

145

00:09:06,320 --> 00:09:08,660

in Camp Gurs in France.

146

00:09:08,660 --> 00:09:12,190

147

00:09:12,190 --> 00:09:14,440

Did you have the sense
that the Americans really

148

00:09:14,440 --> 00:09:16,570

appreciated what was
going on in Europe

149

00:09:16,570 --> 00:09:19,720

in the first years of the war,

before the United States became

150

00:09:19,720 --> 00:09:20,220
involved?

151

00:09:20,220 --> 00:09:22,960

152

00:09:22,960 --> 00:09:27,910
My feeling, and I'm trying
to recapture it somewhat,

153

00:09:27,910 --> 00:09:31,600
was that you had various
levels of interest.

154

00:09:31,600 --> 00:09:38,050
You had the Jewish community,
who was intensely interested.

155

00:09:38,050 --> 00:09:46,030
And then you had the more
normal people, who probably,

156

00:09:46,030 --> 00:09:50,500
such as my fellow
students in classes,

157

00:09:50,500 --> 00:09:57,720
who while they understood it, I
think it was a rather remote--

158

00:09:57,720 --> 00:10:03,290
a remote and distant
experience for them.

159

00:10:03,290 --> 00:10:10,450
And I think I remember reading
the newspapers while they--

160

00:10:10,450 --> 00:10:12,970
particularly in St. Louis, they
had an excellent newspaper.

161
00:10:12,970 --> 00:10:15,310
It gave good coverage to it.

162
00:10:15,310 --> 00:10:21,910
Still, I think that, as I
recall, I had part time--

163
00:10:21,910 --> 00:10:25,540
I started doing little part-time
jobs to earn a little money.

164
00:10:25,540 --> 00:10:31,690
I know that economically the
situation wasn't all that good.

165
00:10:31,690 --> 00:10:41,690
And not only for us, but for
people generally in our society

166
00:10:41,690 --> 00:10:42,190
here.

167
00:10:42,190 --> 00:10:47,630

168
00:10:47,630 --> 00:10:51,590
When the United States did
become involved with the war

169
00:10:51,590 --> 00:10:56,720
after Pearl Harbor,
what impact did that

170
00:10:56,720 --> 00:11:01,640
have on you personally, at
that point in your life?

171
00:11:01,640 --> 00:11:07,160
Well, personally, I had
been in high school.

172

00:11:07,160 --> 00:11:11,600
And the needs of
my mother was such

173
00:11:11,600 --> 00:11:15,540
that I had to leave
high school and accept

174
00:11:15,540 --> 00:11:18,850
a job working for my
brother-in-law in St. Louis

175
00:11:18,850 --> 00:11:20,240
then.

176
00:11:20,240 --> 00:11:24,590
I, personally, then,
wanting to do something--

177
00:11:24,590 --> 00:11:26,840
I couldn't enlist
in the armed forces

178
00:11:26,840 --> 00:11:29,630
because I was an enemy
alien at that point.

179
00:11:29,630 --> 00:11:35,600
But I joined something called
the First Missouri State

180
00:11:35,600 --> 00:11:36,440
Reserve--

181
00:11:36,440 --> 00:11:39,440
First Missouri Infantry
State Reserve Force,

182
00:11:39,440 --> 00:11:46,700
which was a local, sort of
a military force designed

183
00:11:46,700 --> 00:11:49,370

to replace the National Guard,
which had been called up

184
00:11:49,370 --> 00:11:50,750
to active duty.

185
00:11:50,750 --> 00:11:55,560
And we drilled and
were issued uniforms,

186
00:11:55,560 --> 00:11:59,690
but we were not an
active military force.

187
00:11:59,690 --> 00:12:05,060
And then in 1943,
in July 1943, I

188
00:12:05,060 --> 00:12:07,910
was allowed to enter the army.

189
00:12:07,910 --> 00:12:12,070
Even so, I was an
enemy alien still.

190
00:12:12,070 --> 00:12:15,190
Did you go as a volunteer
or were you drafted?

191
00:12:15,190 --> 00:12:17,440
I had to agree to be drafted.

192
00:12:17,440 --> 00:12:20,260
I think they called it
to volunteer enlistment,

193
00:12:20,260 --> 00:12:24,700
because of the unique status,
that I wasn't old enough

194
00:12:24,700 --> 00:12:28,390
to be a citizen, and yet I
was an enemy alien status.

195
00:12:28,390 --> 00:12:31,870
I don't recall the
specifics any longer,

196
00:12:31,870 --> 00:12:33,440
but I had to agree
to be drafted.

197
00:12:33,440 --> 00:12:37,820

198
00:12:37,820 --> 00:12:41,300
Once you did get
drafted, can you

199
00:12:41,300 --> 00:12:43,730
tell me about your
basic training,

200
00:12:43,730 --> 00:12:48,140
where and anything that comes
to your mind about that episode?

201
00:12:48,140 --> 00:12:51,350

202
00:12:51,350 --> 00:12:55,200
I was drafted at Jefferson
Barracks, Missouri,

203
00:12:55,200 --> 00:13:01,610
which was an old, small army
post, which had been there

204
00:13:01,610 --> 00:13:03,410
for many years, I presume.

205
00:13:03,410 --> 00:13:06,450
And I was sent to
Fort Knox, Kentucky,

206

00:13:06,450 --> 00:13:11,530
where I received basic
training in tanks and armored--

207
00:13:11,530 --> 00:13:14,540
what they called armored
force at that time.

208
00:13:14,540 --> 00:13:18,920
And also received training,
more specialized training

209
00:13:18,920 --> 00:13:22,430
as a Morse code radio operator.

210
00:13:22,430 --> 00:13:28,640
I remained there
until early 1944,

211
00:13:28,640 --> 00:13:30,950
when I was transferred
to the 16th Armored

212
00:13:30,950 --> 00:13:36,980
Division, which was located
in Arkansas, at Camp Chafee,

213
00:13:36,980 --> 00:13:38,810
Arkansas.

214
00:13:38,810 --> 00:13:44,240
And from there, I was selected
to go to the Officer Candidate

215
00:13:44,240 --> 00:13:45,380
School at the--

216
00:13:45,380 --> 00:13:47,420
the Infantry Officer
Candidate School

217
00:13:47,420 --> 00:13:49,010
in Fort Benning, Georgia.

218
00:13:49,010 --> 00:13:53,390
And went there in July 1944.

219
00:13:53,390 --> 00:13:56,180
And graduated from
Officer Candidate School

220
00:13:56,180 --> 00:14:03,910
as a second lieutenant,
infantry, in December 1944.

221
00:14:03,910 --> 00:14:06,670
What talents and skills
did you bring to the army?

222
00:14:06,670 --> 00:14:10,850

223
00:14:10,850 --> 00:14:13,000
I'm not certain that
I brought many skills,

224
00:14:13,000 --> 00:14:17,230
but I attempted
various times to let

225
00:14:17,230 --> 00:14:19,580
them know that I spoke German.

226
00:14:19,580 --> 00:14:28,420
And hoped that they would
recognize this unique skill,

227
00:14:28,420 --> 00:14:30,820
but they were more interested
in finding somebody

228
00:14:30,820 --> 00:14:35,050
who was an infantryman
or a tanker,

229

00:14:35,050 --> 00:14:38,600
or a tank driver, or gunner,
or that sort of thing.

230
00:14:38,600 --> 00:14:43,180
So initially, it took
the system a long time

231
00:14:43,180 --> 00:14:49,780
to discover that I might
have some capability that

232
00:14:49,780 --> 00:14:51,280
might be of use.

233
00:14:51,280 --> 00:14:53,890

234
00:14:53,890 --> 00:15:00,460
And in 19-- in
early 1945, while I

235
00:15:00,460 --> 00:15:09,610
was a lieutenant at Camp Joseph
T Robinson, in Arkansas, again,

236
00:15:09,610 --> 00:15:11,470
I was called in by
my commander, who

237
00:15:11,470 --> 00:15:15,640
wanted to know if I knew
somebody in Washington.

238
00:15:15,640 --> 00:15:19,000
And I said, I don't
even know anybody here.

239
00:15:19,000 --> 00:15:24,220
And he said, well, I've
got special orders for you,

240
00:15:24,220 --> 00:15:27,325

sending you to a
place in Maryland.

241
00:15:27,325 --> 00:15:31,730
And this was Camp
Ritchie, Maryland,

242
00:15:31,730 --> 00:15:33,910
which was the Military
Intelligence Training

243
00:15:33,910 --> 00:15:38,590
Center, where subsequently,
in February 1945,

244
00:15:38,590 --> 00:15:44,230
I was sent to become an
interrogator, ultimate--

245
00:15:44,230 --> 00:15:47,140
destined to interrogate
German prisoners of war.

246
00:15:47,140 --> 00:15:50,680

247
00:15:50,680 --> 00:15:52,720
While you were
still in the States,

248
00:15:52,720 --> 00:15:54,940
before you went
over to interrogate

249
00:15:54,940 --> 00:15:58,317
the prisoners of war, did you
experience any antisemitism

250
00:15:58,317 --> 00:15:59,650
in the military in this country?

251
00:15:59,650 --> 00:16:02,840

252

00:16:02,840 --> 00:16:12,680
Certainly, there were individual
cases, of latent antisemitism.

253

00:16:12,680 --> 00:16:17,510
And I recall one
incident, particularly

254

00:16:17,510 --> 00:16:21,350
in Officer Candidate School.

255

00:16:21,350 --> 00:16:26,000
Officer Candidate, the course,
was extremely competitive.

256

00:16:26,000 --> 00:16:28,760
And especially at
that time, when

257

00:16:28,760 --> 00:16:31,640
it appeared that the war
was soon going to be ended,

258

00:16:31,640 --> 00:16:35,390
they wanted to reduce the
number of incoming officers.

259

00:16:35,390 --> 00:16:40,820
So they made the course
somewhat more difficult.

260

00:16:40,820 --> 00:16:44,810
And they reduced the number of--

261

00:16:44,810 --> 00:16:47,150
we started out
with 240 candidates

262

00:16:47,150 --> 00:16:52,100
and we ended up with
something like 115 or 20.

263

00:16:52,100 --> 00:16:56,280

So in other words, we had
an attrition of over 50%.

264

00:16:56,280 --> 00:17:01,280

So it became apparent
that people had to be--

265

00:17:01,280 --> 00:17:05,089

people were thrown out
for many, many reasons--

266

00:17:05,089 --> 00:17:07,970

academic, physical,
and so forth.

267

00:17:07,970 --> 00:17:10,970

And I found out
that a group of them

268

00:17:10,970 --> 00:17:14,300

were saying that they should--

269

00:17:14,300 --> 00:17:19,280

we had to rate each other as to
what we thought of one another

270

00:17:19,280 --> 00:17:26,450

as officers potential,
for leadership potential,

271

00:17:26,450 --> 00:17:30,260

and physical capabilities.

272

00:17:30,260 --> 00:17:33,860

And a group of three
or four got together

273

00:17:33,860 --> 00:17:37,100

and said, why don't we
select Michel, give him

274

00:17:37,100 --> 00:17:39,080
a very low rating.

275
00:17:39,080 --> 00:17:42,740
And it was obvious to
me they had done this

276
00:17:42,740 --> 00:17:45,210
because I was Jewish.

277
00:17:45,210 --> 00:17:50,300
And there was another
candidate, who was--

278
00:17:50,300 --> 00:17:52,313
whom I will never forget,
who was not Jewish.

279
00:17:52,313 --> 00:17:54,230
He was-- as a matter of
fact, he was Catholic.

280
00:17:54,230 --> 00:18:00,560
He was from the Boston area,
who spoke out very openly.

281
00:18:00,560 --> 00:18:03,350
And he said, I'm not going
to be part of any of this.

282
00:18:03,350 --> 00:18:09,540
And that stopped this little
conspiratorial effort very,

283
00:18:09,540 --> 00:18:10,290
very quickly.

284
00:18:10,290 --> 00:18:12,860
And as a matter of
fact, two of the three

285
00:18:12,860 --> 00:18:18,650
who attempted to get rid of me

were themselves thrown out, not

286

00:18:18,650 --> 00:18:19,340

for any--

287

00:18:19,340 --> 00:18:23,450

for this reason, but because

they were academically not

288

00:18:23,450 --> 00:18:26,620

able to cope.

289

00:18:26,620 --> 00:18:34,940

Then there were at times, when

there was a Jewish holiday,

290

00:18:34,940 --> 00:18:37,820

and you wanted to go to

service, and sometimes you

291

00:18:37,820 --> 00:18:41,210

were looked upon as

being very strange,

292

00:18:41,210 --> 00:18:46,160

particularly in combat

units where there were not

293

00:18:46,160 --> 00:18:49,290

too many Jewish soldiers.

294

00:18:49,290 --> 00:19:00,140

But I can honestly say I never

saw any concerted effort which

295

00:19:00,140 --> 00:19:05,270

might have been, or which

might have been orchestrated

296

00:19:05,270 --> 00:19:10,130

by the leadership in

the army indicating

297

00:19:10,130 --> 00:19:13,860
any overt antisemitism.

298

00:19:13,860 --> 00:19:20,920

299

00:19:20,920 --> 00:19:23,800
Tell me about getting the
assignment to go overseas

300

00:19:23,800 --> 00:19:29,350
and how you reacted to
being sent back to Europe.

301

00:19:29,350 --> 00:19:37,575

302

00:19:37,575 --> 00:19:38,450
That was the mailman.

303

00:19:38,450 --> 00:19:42,300

304

00:19:42,300 --> 00:19:45,750
The people who were
at Camp Ritchie

305

00:19:45,750 --> 00:19:50,760
with me were essentially--

306

00:19:50,760 --> 00:19:51,690
many of them--

307

00:19:51,690 --> 00:19:59,130
I would say probably half or
60% had a similar background

308

00:19:59,130 --> 00:20:00,270
to myself.

309

00:20:00,270 --> 00:20:02,430

They were refugees.

310

00:20:02,430 --> 00:20:04,680

Some of them, of course,
were German-Americans,

311

00:20:04,680 --> 00:20:09,000

who came from communities where
there were a lot of Germans.

312

00:20:09,000 --> 00:20:15,630

But all of us were, of
course, looking forward

313

00:20:15,630 --> 00:20:19,890

to going to Europe,
returning to Europe.

314

00:20:19,890 --> 00:20:24,840

And I, personally,
felt it very strange,

315

00:20:24,840 --> 00:20:33,900

since I'd only left Germany
approximately seven years--

316

00:20:33,900 --> 00:20:35,980

seven and a half years earlier.

317

00:20:35,980 --> 00:20:45,450

So it was a feeling, very
difficult to describe.

318

00:20:45,450 --> 00:20:50,310

Loathing on the one hand
and yet, a sense of urgency

319

00:20:50,310 --> 00:20:52,290

on the other hand,
to try to go back,

320

00:20:52,290 --> 00:20:54,240

particularly because

we had not heard--

321

00:20:54,240 --> 00:20:57,570

I had not heard anything from
my father and my grandmother

322

00:20:57,570 --> 00:20:59,490

in a long time.

323

00:20:59,490 --> 00:21:03,580

So that, in essence,
was my feeling.

324

00:21:03,580 --> 00:21:07,400

Before you were sent
over to Europe again,

325

00:21:07,400 --> 00:21:10,930

how much did you know about
what was really happening over

326

00:21:10,930 --> 00:21:16,630

there, specifically with respect
to the Jews under Nazi control?

327

00:21:16,630 --> 00:21:19,460

328

00:21:19,460 --> 00:21:25,640

Well, I must say that there
was very limited information.

329

00:21:25,640 --> 00:21:30,230

We, after the Kristallnacht
in November 1938,

330

00:21:30,230 --> 00:21:32,600

we all knew the
horror had gotten

331

00:21:32,600 --> 00:21:38,030

worse and the difficulties of
people attempting to get out.

332
00:21:38,030 --> 00:21:44,570
But we had no-- we knew of
the concentration camps.

333
00:21:44,570 --> 00:21:46,460
All of us knew of Dachau.

334
00:21:46,460 --> 00:21:50,330
And we seemed to have
gotten information

335
00:21:50,330 --> 00:21:53,180
that my father was an
Oranienburg, which turned out

336
00:21:53,180 --> 00:21:54,680
to be erroneous.

337
00:21:54,680 --> 00:21:57,500
He'd been taken to
Auschwitz, of course.

338
00:21:57,500 --> 00:22:02,450
But we did not know
the extent, nor did

339
00:22:02,450 --> 00:22:08,120
we want to believe, I think,
the extent to what was--

340
00:22:08,120 --> 00:22:14,300
of this orchestrated,
systematic extermination

341
00:22:14,300 --> 00:22:15,500
of an entire people.

342
00:22:15,500 --> 00:22:19,911
That, I think, was
beyond our comprehension.

343

00:22:19,911 --> 00:22:23,840

344

00:22:23,840 --> 00:22:27,770

Tell me about the trip back
to Europe and your arrival,

345

00:22:27,770 --> 00:22:29,938

this time with the US military.

346

00:22:29,938 --> 00:22:34,060

347

00:22:34,060 --> 00:22:38,260

We went-- I went over with
this large group of people.

348

00:22:38,260 --> 00:22:43,780

And we first went to
England and then France.

349

00:22:43,780 --> 00:22:46,510

And then, as we
arrived in Germany,

350

00:22:46,510 --> 00:22:49,300

the war was just ending.

351

00:22:49,300 --> 00:22:53,200

And I was assigned to the--

352

00:22:53,200 --> 00:22:59,440

I was interviewed and
assigned to the 9th Division,

353

00:22:59,440 --> 00:23:03,280

which was located at that
time in Ingolstadt, Germany.

354

00:23:03,280 --> 00:23:10,045

And took over command of
the 270th IPW, Interrogation

355

00:23:10,045 --> 00:23:14,140
of Prisoner of War team.

356

00:23:14,140 --> 00:23:17,470
And we worked in the
prisoner of war camp

357

00:23:17,470 --> 00:23:20,800
in Ingolstadt,
Germany, where we had,

358

00:23:20,800 --> 00:23:25,420
I would say, close to 100,000--
over 100,000 German prisoners.

359

00:23:25,420 --> 00:23:28,900
And we administered this and
tried to-- and our job was

360

00:23:28,900 --> 00:23:35,710
to identify those prisoners that
were of particular interest,

361

00:23:35,710 --> 00:23:40,540
either for debriefing because
they had certain information,

362

00:23:40,540 --> 00:23:42,790
or those that--

363

00:23:42,790 --> 00:23:47,440
or SS, Gestapo, or others
on the wanted list,

364

00:23:47,440 --> 00:23:52,300
on various wanted lists,
that had been published.

365

00:23:52,300 --> 00:24:02,230
In addition, we were responsible
for monitoring activities

366

00:24:02,230 --> 00:24:06,700
in the surrounding counties
around Ingolstadt--

367
00:24:06,700 --> 00:24:13,630
Neuburg, and Schrobenhausen,
and some of the other counties

368
00:24:13,630 --> 00:24:16,910
in the area, where we were to
monitor whether, first of all,

369
00:24:16,910 --> 00:24:21,550
there were any
resurgence of Nazis,

370
00:24:21,550 --> 00:24:26,510
and/or locating people
on the wanted list,

371
00:24:26,510 --> 00:24:31,660
such as county level and
state level Nazi officials,

372
00:24:31,660 --> 00:24:35,350
which we tried to
locate and round up.

373
00:24:35,350 --> 00:24:41,860
The Germans, of course, having
such a highly centralized

374
00:24:41,860 --> 00:24:45,580
society with multiple levels
of controls, where people

375
00:24:45,580 --> 00:24:46,930
had to have ration cards.

376
00:24:46,930 --> 00:24:48,730
They had a residence permits.

377
00:24:48,730 --> 00:24:54,550

They had to have any
number of documents

378
00:24:54,550 --> 00:24:56,680
to prove who they
were and that they

379
00:24:56,680 --> 00:24:59,560
were allowed to be in certain
places at certain times.

380
00:24:59,560 --> 00:25:01,690
It was relatively
easy if you found

381
00:25:01,690 --> 00:25:06,010
someone who did not have
that kind of documentation,

382
00:25:06,010 --> 00:25:08,860
to bring him in for questioning.

383
00:25:08,860 --> 00:25:15,100
And in essence, that was
my function at that time.

384
00:25:15,100 --> 00:25:17,560
Can you share with us some
of the personal experiences

385
00:25:17,560 --> 00:25:20,260
you had and some
of the encounters

386
00:25:20,260 --> 00:25:22,030
that you had at that time?

387
00:25:22,030 --> 00:25:24,610

388
00:25:24,610 --> 00:25:33,470
Well, we, of course, arrested
people on the wanted list.

389
00:25:33,470 --> 00:25:39,070
There were literally hundreds
of people that we brought in.

390
00:25:39,070 --> 00:25:41,410
Personally, I also was charged--

391
00:25:41,410 --> 00:25:43,990
later on, I took over
another detachment

392
00:25:43,990 --> 00:25:48,100
further on south in a
town called Aichach,

393
00:25:48,100 --> 00:25:51,040
in support of the 9th
Division in Augsburg.

394
00:25:51,040 --> 00:25:56,650
And my small team was
charged with the debriefing

395
00:25:56,650 --> 00:26:03,720
of German general officers
who were kept in a--

396
00:26:03,720 --> 00:26:09,040
had been assembled in a
camp in Neu-Ulm, Germany.

397
00:26:09,040 --> 00:26:15,280
And there were approximately
450 to 500 of these generals,

398
00:26:15,280 --> 00:26:21,460
ranging from brigadier
equivalent to field marshals,

399
00:26:21,460 --> 00:26:22,330
that we had there.

400

00:26:22,330 --> 00:26:26,140

The purpose was
to identify those

401

00:26:26,140 --> 00:26:31,960

that could be used for
historical purposes

402

00:26:31,960 --> 00:26:34,840

by the US Army
Historical Division

403

00:26:34,840 --> 00:26:41,800

and who were not tainted
as having been SS or Nazi.

404

00:26:41,800 --> 00:26:44,720

So we segregated those people.

405

00:26:44,720 --> 00:26:48,970

And it was a very
fascinating experience that

406

00:26:48,970 --> 00:26:52,900

lasted approximately a month.

407

00:26:52,900 --> 00:26:58,660

In addition, I was involved
in the apprehension

408

00:26:58,660 --> 00:27:03,310

of a number of other
fairly significant Nazis.

409

00:27:03,310 --> 00:27:07,990

And later on, I participated
in interrogation

410

00:27:07,990 --> 00:27:16,360

of the case, which became known
as the Malmedy Massacre, when,

411

00:27:16,360 --> 00:27:23,020
during the Ardennes
offensive by the Germans,

412
00:27:23,020 --> 00:27:27,370
the final offensive
against the West,

413
00:27:27,370 --> 00:27:34,210
they had executed approximately
120 American soldiers

414
00:27:34,210 --> 00:27:35,950
during the Ardennes.

415
00:27:35,950 --> 00:27:43,540
And this these were units
of the 6th SS Panzer Army

416
00:27:43,540 --> 00:27:49,180
under General Sepp
Dietrich, who was--

417
00:27:49,180 --> 00:27:55,570
and a notorious colonel,
whose name, unfortunately,

418
00:27:55,570 --> 00:27:58,720
I cannot spontaneously recall.

419
00:27:58,720 --> 00:28:00,880
But I interrogated both of them.

420
00:28:00,880 --> 00:28:04,410
And Dietrich had been the--

421
00:28:04,410 --> 00:28:10,870
a Nazi-- had been a member
of the SS humble beginnings

422
00:28:10,870 --> 00:28:18,490
in the 1920s, when he had
organized bully boys that would

423
00:28:18,490 --> 00:28:23,080
keep order in Nazi rallies.

424
00:28:23,080 --> 00:28:27,490
And he had been a non-com,
a non-commissioned officer,

425
00:28:27,490 --> 00:28:32,080
in the German army in
World War I. And had--

426
00:28:32,080 --> 00:28:37,330
he had worked his
way up in the SS.

427
00:28:37,330 --> 00:28:42,820
And ended up as a four
star equivalent general.

428
00:28:42,820 --> 00:28:45,220
He was, ultimately,
as I understand it,

429
00:28:45,220 --> 00:28:51,950
sentenced for war crimes, but
only served for five years.

430
00:28:51,950 --> 00:28:56,380
The other colonel,
who was more directly

431
00:28:56,380 --> 00:29:01,870
in charge of the massacre
was given a longer sentence,

432
00:29:01,870 --> 00:29:07,540
but he also only
served, inexplicably,

433
00:29:07,540 --> 00:29:10,090
only I think, eight
or nine years.

434
00:29:10,090 --> 00:29:15,940
So not much came
of that large mass

435
00:29:15,940 --> 00:29:18,880
trial, which was held in Dachau.

436
00:29:18,880 --> 00:29:20,230
At Camp Dachau.

437
00:29:20,230 --> 00:29:21,010
I recall that.

438
00:29:21,010 --> 00:29:27,870

439
00:29:27,870 --> 00:29:31,345
Did any of the people that
you interrogated or caught,

440
00:29:31,345 --> 00:29:32,970
or all the people
that you worked with,

441
00:29:32,970 --> 00:29:34,945
did they know of your
Jewish background?

442
00:29:34,945 --> 00:29:37,800

443
00:29:37,800 --> 00:29:45,300
I did not make it a point
to flaunt my background.

444
00:29:45,300 --> 00:29:50,570
And I, as a matter of
fact, made a point always

445
00:29:50,570 --> 00:29:55,470
to my people that worked for

me to say that we were not

446

00:29:55,470 --> 00:30:01,440
here to exact personal
revenge, but that we were here

447

00:30:01,440 --> 00:30:05,640
to accomplish a mission for
the United States government,

448

00:30:05,640 --> 00:30:09,030
and more specifically, for
the United States Army.

449

00:30:09,030 --> 00:30:14,400
Because I had a very sad
experience of a couple

450

00:30:14,400 --> 00:30:22,410
people on my teams who were
rather brutal to some SS men

451

00:30:22,410 --> 00:30:24,630
that they were interrogating.

452

00:30:24,630 --> 00:30:30,000
And I pointed out to them
if we resorted to violence,

453

00:30:30,000 --> 00:30:33,780
then we weren't any
better than the people

454

00:30:33,780 --> 00:30:35,320
that we were interrogating.

455

00:30:35,320 --> 00:30:37,500
And I said we couldn't--

456

00:30:37,500 --> 00:30:38,710
we couldn't do this.

457

00:30:38,710 --> 00:30:41,340

We weren't here for that
kind of personal revenge.

458

00:30:41,340 --> 00:30:45,610

459

00:30:45,610 --> 00:30:47,410

Did you experience
any antisemitism

460

00:30:47,410 --> 00:30:50,500

in post-war Germany?

461

00:30:50,500 --> 00:30:52,210

That's the strange thing.

462

00:30:52,210 --> 00:30:53,080

There wasn't any.

463

00:30:53,080 --> 00:30:56,080

464

00:30:56,080 --> 00:31:01,870

I almost felt like
congratulating a German

465

00:31:01,870 --> 00:31:06,730

if he ever admitted that
he was an ideologically

466

00:31:06,730 --> 00:31:09,700

convinced National Socialist.

467

00:31:09,700 --> 00:31:15,700

Usually, the
rationale when got was

468

00:31:15,700 --> 00:31:17,770

that they were forced to join.

469

00:31:17,770 --> 00:31:21,790

That they never realized
any of this was going on.

470
00:31:21,790 --> 00:31:25,210
That they, themselves,
never observed anything.

471
00:31:25,210 --> 00:31:34,750
That was, I would almost say,
a mass psychological loss

472
00:31:34,750 --> 00:31:40,700
of national memory is
what one saw at that time.

473
00:31:40,700 --> 00:31:44,740
And I remember, I
have some photographs

474
00:31:44,740 --> 00:31:51,340
of a religious parade
in this small town.

475
00:31:51,340 --> 00:31:56,110
And all the big Nazis that
we knew and had identified

476
00:31:56,110 --> 00:32:02,050
were in the forefront of
this religious parade that

477
00:32:02,050 --> 00:32:05,500
was carrying a
cross and carrying

478
00:32:05,500 --> 00:32:09,970
various religious flags
through this town.

479
00:32:09,970 --> 00:32:18,160

480
00:32:18,160 --> 00:32:22,270

Did you visit any
of the camps when

481
00:32:22,270 --> 00:32:26,680
you were stationed in Germany?

482
00:32:26,680 --> 00:32:30,190
I not only visited
Dachau, but as I said,

483
00:32:30,190 --> 00:32:36,460
I conducted some interrogations
in Dachau of the Malmedy

484
00:32:36,460 --> 00:32:41,830
suspect that had been
identified and collected

485
00:32:41,830 --> 00:32:47,560
by interrogation teams
throughout the British and

486
00:32:47,560 --> 00:32:51,280
American zones of Germany.

487
00:32:51,280 --> 00:32:57,520
So I worked there about,
I would say, a month.

488
00:32:57,520 --> 00:33:01,420
And basically, where I had
my team and my headquarters

489
00:33:01,420 --> 00:33:05,320
was only about 20
miles away from Dachau

490
00:33:05,320 --> 00:33:12,680
there in 1945 and '46.

491
00:33:12,680 --> 00:33:14,960
Did you see any of the
other concentration camps

492
00:33:14,960 --> 00:33:18,250
or even any of the DP camps?

493
00:33:18,250 --> 00:33:24,790
I had occasion to visit
a couple of DP camps.

494
00:33:24,790 --> 00:33:27,130
I did not see any
other concentration

495
00:33:27,130 --> 00:33:28,350
camps, other than Dachau.

496
00:33:28,350 --> 00:33:31,420

497
00:33:31,420 --> 00:33:35,236
What efforts that you make to
find relatives or friends that

498
00:33:35,236 --> 00:33:38,446
were still-- that you had
left behind in Europe?

499
00:33:38,446 --> 00:33:41,320

500
00:33:41,320 --> 00:33:43,750
At that time, it was
extremely difficult due

501
00:33:43,750 --> 00:33:47,380
to the chaotic
conditions in Germany.

502
00:33:47,380 --> 00:33:50,350
I tried to find out
about my family,

503
00:33:50,350 --> 00:33:54,670

but I was never really able to
get any meaningful information.

504
00:33:54,670 --> 00:33:57,220

505
00:33:57,220 --> 00:34:01,450
By the time I left there,
three years later, of course,

506
00:34:01,450 --> 00:34:07,930
by then the situation had been
organized somewhat better.

507
00:34:07,930 --> 00:34:12,370
But initially, it was virtually
impossible to find out.

508
00:34:12,370 --> 00:34:15,820
There was such a movement
of, a mass movement of people

509
00:34:15,820 --> 00:34:22,239
in and around, and out of,
and into Germany from the east

510
00:34:22,239 --> 00:34:26,620
that it was impossible for me.

511
00:34:26,620 --> 00:34:30,250
And I a lieutenant
at the time and not

512
00:34:30,250 --> 00:34:34,690
able to get any information.

513
00:34:34,690 --> 00:34:38,260
Did you go back
to your hometown?

514
00:34:38,260 --> 00:34:41,800
Yes, I went back to
Landau, because I

515
00:34:41,800 --> 00:34:47,409
had an aunt there, a
woman who had converted

516
00:34:47,409 --> 00:34:50,620
to Catholicism early on.

517
00:34:50,620 --> 00:34:55,000
For many years, she was
married to a Gentile.

518
00:34:55,000 --> 00:34:58,390
And I went back very briefly.

519
00:34:58,390 --> 00:35:03,730
And made-- since it
was in the French zone

520
00:35:03,730 --> 00:35:07,990
and we were not terribly welcome
there, I only went there,

521
00:35:07,990 --> 00:35:12,820
I believe, two or three times
during the entire time I was

522
00:35:12,820 --> 00:35:18,390
there, at that particular time.

523
00:35:18,390 --> 00:35:23,610
How were you treated by
former friends and neighbors?

524
00:35:23,610 --> 00:35:27,360
I saw none of them at that
time and made no attempt to

525
00:35:27,360 --> 00:35:28,344
[INAUDIBLE].

526
00:35:28,344 --> 00:35:32,780

527

00:35:32,780 --> 00:35:35,180

I had asked you
a few moments ago

528

00:35:35,180 --> 00:35:37,430

if you had known about
the extent of the genocide

529

00:35:37,430 --> 00:35:41,730

before you came to
Europe to serve.

530

00:35:41,730 --> 00:35:44,310

At what point did
you become aware

531

00:35:44,310 --> 00:35:48,980

of the extent of the genocide?

532

00:35:48,980 --> 00:35:54,020

I would say approximately
four or five months

533

00:35:54,020 --> 00:35:58,170

after arriving in Germany, or
not even that long, when we--

534

00:35:58,170 --> 00:36:00,710

of course, I was--

535

00:36:00,710 --> 00:36:04,340

when I was in Dachau I
saw some of the books

536

00:36:04,340 --> 00:36:08,210

that had been maintained by
the Germans of the deaths

537

00:36:08,210 --> 00:36:13,640

and how meticulously the
Germans kept these books.

538

00:36:13,640 --> 00:36:18,020

And we saw the
systematic bookkeeping

539

00:36:18,020 --> 00:36:21,230

of people who had
been killed there.

540

00:36:21,230 --> 00:36:24,620

And then, of course,
subsequently I

541

00:36:24,620 --> 00:36:28,370

met some Germans that
I worked with who had

542

00:36:28,370 --> 00:36:30,920

been in concentration camps.

543

00:36:30,920 --> 00:36:35,210

One, most specifically,
had been in Buchenwald.

544

00:36:35,210 --> 00:36:39,770

And he told me about the
experiences of others.

545

00:36:39,770 --> 00:36:42,290

And, of course, then the--

546

00:36:42,290 --> 00:36:48,440

I became aware of
the Nuremberg trials.

547

00:36:48,440 --> 00:36:58,520

And we tried to locate
documents and witnesses

548

00:36:58,520 --> 00:37:03,830

to support the effort
of the Nuremberg trials.

549

00:37:03,830 --> 00:37:06,866

I have to stop this one and
change-- and flip the tape.

550

00:37:06,866 --> 00:37:07,834

Just one moment.

551

00:37:07,834 --> 00:37:19,450

552

00:37:19,450 --> 00:37:21,700

This is a continuation of
the United States Holocaust

553

00:37:21,700 --> 00:37:23,440

Memorial Museum
volunteer collection

554

00:37:23,440 --> 00:37:24,730

interview with Werner Michel.

555

00:37:24,730 --> 00:37:33,710

This is tape one, side B. I
wanted to ask you to continue.

556

00:37:33,710 --> 00:37:36,620

You have been telling me
about the Nuremberg trials

557

00:37:36,620 --> 00:37:39,170

and your role in
collecting the documents

558

00:37:39,170 --> 00:37:41,492

and assembling that
kind of material.

559

00:37:41,492 --> 00:37:43,700

I wanted to know if you can
tell me a little bit more

560

00:37:43,700 --> 00:37:45,242

about your involvement
with Nuremberg

561
00:37:45,242 --> 00:37:49,820
and if you were ever
in the courtroom.

562
00:37:49,820 --> 00:37:53,870
First of all, I was never in
the courtroom at Nuremberg.

563
00:37:53,870 --> 00:38:01,940
I was busy out in the
field during my mission.

564
00:38:01,940 --> 00:38:07,310
However, we had gotten
intelligence collection

565
00:38:07,310 --> 00:38:13,040
requirements on documents that
were desired to substantiate

566
00:38:13,040 --> 00:38:15,560
some of the charges.

567
00:38:15,560 --> 00:38:17,750
And, of course, this
collection of documents

568
00:38:17,750 --> 00:38:20,940
was going on all the time.

569
00:38:20,940 --> 00:38:22,610
We submitted some.

570
00:38:22,610 --> 00:38:27,080
I have no way of knowing
which ones were ever used.

571
00:38:27,080 --> 00:38:35,540
I recall that I was essentially
a field worker with two

572
00:38:35,540 --> 00:38:38,930
small military
intelligence detachments,

573
00:38:38,930 --> 00:38:44,450
conducting interrogations,
conducting checks

574
00:38:44,450 --> 00:38:50,030
in local areas, trying
to locate people

575
00:38:50,030 --> 00:38:51,710
who were on the
various wanted lists

576
00:38:51,710 --> 00:38:53,990
and trying to find
documentation.

577
00:38:53,990 --> 00:38:57,350
I did, in one
instance, as I recall,

578
00:38:57,350 --> 00:39:03,800
in the town of Sandizell,
we located some hidden--

579
00:39:03,800 --> 00:39:09,590
the hidden documents of the
National Socialist Motor Corps,

580
00:39:09,590 --> 00:39:15,170
known as the NSKK,
the National--

581
00:39:15,170 --> 00:39:18,800
the Nationalsozialistisches
Kraftfahrkorps.

582
00:39:18,800 --> 00:39:20,960
And we found all

their documents.

583

00:39:20,960 --> 00:39:24,020

And we secured those
and forwarded them

584

00:39:24,020 --> 00:39:27,860

to higher headquarters for
whatever need and exploitation

585

00:39:27,860 --> 00:39:30,230

they could make of that.

586

00:39:30,230 --> 00:39:33,770

But as to whether these
were of utility, or some

587

00:39:33,770 --> 00:39:39,020

of the other documents
that we found,

588

00:39:39,020 --> 00:39:42,620

I'm not able to make any kind
of judgment in that regard.

589

00:39:42,620 --> 00:39:50,700

590

00:39:50,700 --> 00:39:56,210

What were your thoughts about
the success of the Nuremberg

591

00:39:56,210 --> 00:39:58,580

and the Dachau proceedings,
the criminal proceedings,

592

00:39:58,580 --> 00:40:05,280

and the legacy or the
impact of these proceedings?

593

00:40:05,280 --> 00:40:08,670

I think the trials
themselves were

594

00:40:08,670 --> 00:40:12,090

very important for
the simple reason

595

00:40:12,090 --> 00:40:17,430

that they established
a precedent

596

00:40:17,430 --> 00:40:24,960

that, henceforth, countries
and their leaders that

597

00:40:24,960 --> 00:40:27,480

would undertake--

598

00:40:27,480 --> 00:40:33,480

start a war or would start
a violation of human rights

599

00:40:33,480 --> 00:40:40,080

and a violation of the land
warfare, the Geneva Convention,

600

00:40:40,080 --> 00:40:43,380

would be held accountable
from that level.

601

00:40:43,380 --> 00:40:46,620

And from the legal
level, I think it was--

602

00:40:46,620 --> 00:40:52,530

the Nuremberg trials
played an invaluable role.

603

00:40:52,530 --> 00:40:57,450

From the standpoint of the
impact on the average German,

604

00:40:57,450 --> 00:41:02,820

I don't think it had that much
impact at that particular time.

605

00:41:02,820 --> 00:41:07,410
The Germans said-- the man on
the street kind of response

606

00:41:07,410 --> 00:41:11,520
was if these people were guilty,
truly guilty, they would have

607

00:41:11,520 --> 00:41:15,150
been taken out and should have
been shot right away, instead

608

00:41:15,150 --> 00:41:22,200
of all this interminable
questioning, day after day

609

00:41:22,200 --> 00:41:25,260
and week after week.

610

00:41:25,260 --> 00:41:30,600
Secondly, and this is probably
more ironic as I reflect,

611

00:41:30,600 --> 00:41:33,300
many of the Germans thought
that with the conclusion

612

00:41:33,300 --> 00:41:39,540
of the Nuremberg
trials that this--

613

00:41:39,540 --> 00:41:42,240
any thought of guilt was
taken from their shoulders,

614

00:41:42,240 --> 00:41:46,350
because now that the top
echelon of the German government

615

00:41:46,350 --> 00:41:53,340
had been found guilty and taken
care of that the rest of them

616
00:41:53,340 --> 00:41:55,200
had been--

617
00:41:55,200 --> 00:41:56,190
would not be guilty.

618
00:41:56,190 --> 00:41:59,520
And as a matter of fact, they
thought of themselves somehow

619
00:41:59,520 --> 00:42:01,170
as victims as well.

620
00:42:01,170 --> 00:42:07,400

621
00:42:07,400 --> 00:42:09,650
During your time
in post-war Europe,

622
00:42:09,650 --> 00:42:12,500
attempts were being made
to smuggle survivors

623
00:42:12,500 --> 00:42:14,210
into Palestine.

624
00:42:14,210 --> 00:42:17,790
I was wondering how much you
knew about these activities

625
00:42:17,790 --> 00:42:20,150
and if you were in
any way approached

626
00:42:20,150 --> 00:42:24,110
or if you were involved?

627
00:42:24,110 --> 00:42:28,880
I literally knew nothing
about this effort.

628
00:42:28,880 --> 00:42:32,000
And I'm very glad that
I didn't know about it.

629
00:42:32,000 --> 00:42:41,570
Because later on, in the
1940s, early 1947 or late 1946,

630
00:42:41,570 --> 00:42:45,890
actually, I was transferred to
the Counterintelligence Corps.

631
00:42:45,890 --> 00:42:49,370
And one of our
tasks, as I recall,

632
00:42:49,370 --> 00:42:56,780
was to try to stop the
interference with the--

633
00:42:56,780 --> 00:42:59,190
there was a British
Consulate in Munich.

634
00:42:59,190 --> 00:43:03,920
And there was an allegation
that the Irgun was going

635
00:43:03,920 --> 00:43:06,410
to bomb the British Consulate.

636
00:43:06,410 --> 00:43:10,010
And we were told to
find the perpetrators,

637
00:43:10,010 --> 00:43:13,100
the possible perpetrators,
which we never located.

638
00:43:13,100 --> 00:43:18,500
But I must say that they must
have had very good security.

639

00:43:18,500 --> 00:43:21,900

Because officially,
from what I recall,

640

00:43:21,900 --> 00:43:25,520

there was little or no
information available

641

00:43:25,520 --> 00:43:30,220

to American counterintelligence,
at least in southern Germany,

642

00:43:30,220 --> 00:43:38,060

about the effort to smuggle
Jews into Palestine.

643

00:43:38,060 --> 00:43:40,310

Did you ever think about
going to Palestine yourself

644

00:43:40,310 --> 00:43:42,350

at that time?

645

00:43:42,350 --> 00:43:44,120

Not at that time.

646

00:43:44,120 --> 00:43:48,530

Earlier, just before I
left Germany, in 1936,

647

00:43:48,530 --> 00:43:53,600

I belonged to the Habonim,
which is a Zionist group.

648

00:43:53,600 --> 00:44:07,325

But after that, it never became
a viable alternative for me.

649

00:44:07,325 --> 00:44:09,860

By this time, I was
an army officer.

650

00:44:09,860 --> 00:44:13,460

And I was very, very
busy in my mission.

651

00:44:13,460 --> 00:44:16,007

And it just never--

652

00:44:16,007 --> 00:44:17,840

I must admit I never
thought about it again.

653

00:44:17,840 --> 00:44:21,720

654

00:44:21,720 --> 00:44:25,225

What did the US hope to
accomplish in post-war Germany?

655

00:44:25,225 --> 00:44:28,680

656

00:44:28,680 --> 00:44:31,170

Did you say the US?

657

00:44:31,170 --> 00:44:36,060

If you remember, at
the end of the war,

658

00:44:36,060 --> 00:44:41,520

the Morgenthau Plan
was to make Germany

659

00:44:41,520 --> 00:44:45,960

into an agricultural
nation, which

660

00:44:45,960 --> 00:44:52,800

would not have any industrial
capability to make war again.

661

00:44:52,800 --> 00:44:58,830

This, of course, proved

to be impractical.

662

00:44:58,830 --> 00:45:05,790

And we also were going to
keep large forces in Germany

663

00:45:05,790 --> 00:45:13,320

to assure that the Germans
would have no opportunity to,

664

00:45:13,320 --> 00:45:16,800

in any way, interfere
again in Europe.

665

00:45:16,800 --> 00:45:21,660

This also was impractical
because the political will

666

00:45:21,660 --> 00:45:27,210

of the American people was
not to keep many divisions

667

00:45:27,210 --> 00:45:31,890

and hundreds of thousands of
soldiers on occupation duty

668

00:45:31,890 --> 00:45:32,880

in Germany.

669

00:45:32,880 --> 00:45:38,370

And I observed this
tremendous flux of initially

670

00:45:38,370 --> 00:45:41,910

that we were going to keep,
I think, 16 divisions.

671

00:45:41,910 --> 00:45:46,020

And this very quickly became
12 divisions, became eight.

672

00:45:46,020 --> 00:45:51,810

And finally, by

early 1948, I believe

673

00:45:51,810 --> 00:45:54,420

we had a single
division in Germany

674

00:45:54,420 --> 00:45:59,370

plus 30,000 men in what was
known as the United States

675

00:45:59,370 --> 00:46:05,430

Constabulary, which was more
or less a military police

676

00:46:05,430 --> 00:46:12,420

force, which was to assure
that the Germans would not

677

00:46:12,420 --> 00:46:15,840

create any problems, any
security problem for us.

678

00:46:15,840 --> 00:46:20,220

Of course,
coincidental with this,

679

00:46:20,220 --> 00:46:24,030

the problems with the
Soviet Union began.

680

00:46:24,030 --> 00:46:28,530

And I was there during the--

681

00:46:28,530 --> 00:46:31,110

at the beginning of
the Berlin airlift,

682

00:46:31,110 --> 00:46:35,730

when we suddenly
realized that we had

683

00:46:35,730 --> 00:46:39,210

a new adversary to the east.

684
00:46:39,210 --> 00:46:42,480
And so then we--

685
00:46:42,480 --> 00:46:47,670
the Soviets probably,
ironically, did us a favor.

686
00:46:47,670 --> 00:46:52,680
Because NATO became
the consequence.

687
00:46:52,680 --> 00:46:57,060
And we rearmed again and sent
new troops and new troop units

688
00:46:57,060 --> 00:46:58,440
back to Europe once again.

689
00:46:58,440 --> 00:47:02,470

690
00:47:02,470 --> 00:47:06,340
In your work in
Germany after the war,

691
00:47:06,340 --> 00:47:11,530
were you aware of
any former Nazis

692
00:47:11,530 --> 00:47:17,620
being employed by the Americans
in anti-Soviet activities?

693
00:47:17,620 --> 00:47:23,270
Or were you aware of any of the
former SS or Gestapo, whatever,

694
00:47:23,270 --> 00:47:27,280
being used in any other way
by the American military

695

00:47:27,280 --> 00:47:29,140
or by the intelligence units?

696
00:47:29,140 --> 00:47:34,910

697
00:47:34,910 --> 00:47:41,900
In 1946, as I recall it, we
had an Operation Paperclip,

698
00:47:41,900 --> 00:47:52,810
which was to select certain
German scientists who

699
00:47:52,810 --> 00:48:00,730
had specific
capabilities and skills

700
00:48:00,730 --> 00:48:04,280
and were experts in
rockets and so forth.

701
00:48:04,280 --> 00:48:08,290
And these, I was aware, were
brought to the United States.

702
00:48:08,290 --> 00:48:12,410
I did not work on that
project by myself.

703
00:48:12,410 --> 00:48:16,240
Even though I do remember
that I interviewed

704
00:48:16,240 --> 00:48:24,740
Professor Messerschmidt in
Augsburg Germany in early 1946.

705
00:48:24,740 --> 00:48:27,100
But he was not--

706
00:48:27,100 --> 00:48:30,580
he was not selected

for this project.

707

00:48:30,580 --> 00:48:34,480

He was the only one that I
ever came in contact with.

708

00:48:34,480 --> 00:48:37,810

I also became aware
that the Germans

709

00:48:37,810 --> 00:48:43,330

were starting an intelligence
service for the United States.

710

00:48:43,330 --> 00:48:50,350

And this was under
General Galen,

711

00:48:50,350 --> 00:48:54,730

who had been the head
of German intelligence

712

00:48:54,730 --> 00:48:59,320

on the eastern front, and who
employed also a large number

713

00:48:59,320 --> 00:49:03,670

of Russians and Ukrainians.

714

00:49:03,670 --> 00:49:10,300

I am not sure of how many
of those were tainted.

715

00:49:10,300 --> 00:49:12,310

So I think it's
entirely possible

716

00:49:12,310 --> 00:49:15,430

that a large number
of them were.

717

00:49:15,430 --> 00:49:26,110

I also recall that in

about 1947, we started--

718
00:49:26,110 --> 00:49:31,900
we began to issue visas
to displaced persons

719
00:49:31,900 --> 00:49:34,240
to come to the United States.

720
00:49:34,240 --> 00:49:38,050
And we, in the
Counterintelligence Corps,

721
00:49:38,050 --> 00:49:43,840
were charged with a
visa screening process

722
00:49:43,840 --> 00:49:48,070
since we already had
a number of missions.

723
00:49:48,070 --> 00:49:53,290
First of all, there was the
residual missions concerning

724
00:49:53,290 --> 00:49:58,000
former Nazi activities,
which as time went on,

725
00:49:58,000 --> 00:50:01,680
received a lower
and lower priority.

726
00:50:01,680 --> 00:50:07,240
The higher priority
were the Soviet attempts

727
00:50:07,240 --> 00:50:10,300
in East Germany
and their attempt

728
00:50:10,300 --> 00:50:13,840
to send intelligence

agents to West Germany.

729

00:50:13,840 --> 00:50:16,740

And then, of course,
the Communist Party

730

00:50:16,740 --> 00:50:22,240

in West Germany, which,
of course, was extremely

731

00:50:22,240 --> 00:50:25,690

virulently anti-American.

732

00:50:25,690 --> 00:50:30,700

So as it was, the least
competent of our people

733

00:50:30,700 --> 00:50:34,240

were put into the
visa screening.

734

00:50:34,240 --> 00:50:37,420

The visa screening
process required people

735

00:50:37,420 --> 00:50:42,160

to document that they were
not Nazis when they wanted

736

00:50:42,160 --> 00:50:43,960

to go to the United States.

737

00:50:43,960 --> 00:50:47,920

However, we had no
access to documents

738

00:50:47,920 --> 00:50:51,010

from Estonia,
Latvia, or Baltic--

739

00:50:51,010 --> 00:50:53,260

the Baltic countries,
Poland, which

740
00:50:53,260 --> 00:50:57,140
were under Soviet
domination at that time.

741
00:50:57,140 --> 00:51:00,970
And so usually, these people
would bring in certificates

742
00:51:00,970 --> 00:51:03,050
from other refugees.

743
00:51:03,050 --> 00:51:08,800
So they, in effect, certified
each other as being clean

744
00:51:08,800 --> 00:51:12,010
and as not having been Nazis.

745
00:51:12,010 --> 00:51:15,760
As you probably
know, in retrospect,

746
00:51:15,760 --> 00:51:17,830
a goodly number of
these people turned out

747
00:51:17,830 --> 00:51:22,210
to have been Nazis, in
effect even war criminals.

748
00:51:22,210 --> 00:51:25,030
But this became
apparent only after we

749
00:51:25,030 --> 00:51:31,690
had access to documentation
from the former Soviet Union.

750
00:51:31,690 --> 00:51:36,760

751

00:51:36,760 --> 00:51:42,040

Did you have any
problems reconciling

752

00:51:42,040 --> 00:51:46,120

the acceptance of some
SS and some of the staff,

753

00:51:46,120 --> 00:51:47,860

or whoever the
government was-- the US

754

00:51:47,860 --> 00:51:50,272

government was
willing to accept,

755

00:51:50,272 --> 00:51:51,730

did you have any
trouble separating

756

00:51:51,730 --> 00:51:54,695

your personal feelings from your
professional responsibilities

757

00:51:54,695 --> 00:51:55,320

in that regard?

758

00:51:55,320 --> 00:51:57,840

759

00:51:57,840 --> 00:52:03,160

As far as I recall, I
don't know of any cases

760

00:52:03,160 --> 00:52:10,960

where we specifically permitted
someone who was in a--

761

00:52:10,960 --> 00:52:14,320

who had been an
overt SS official.

762

00:52:14,320 --> 00:52:17,220

763

00:52:17,220 --> 00:52:25,570

I am aware, and I, myself,
worked with a couple of people.

764

00:52:25,570 --> 00:52:30,370

Because I was in the
human intelligence

765

00:52:30,370 --> 00:52:39,020

business of running
informants and agents,

766

00:52:39,020 --> 00:52:46,580

that had some Nazi,
minor Nazi affiliation.

767

00:52:46,580 --> 00:52:53,150

I ran into former German
intelligence officers

768

00:52:53,150 --> 00:52:57,830

that I worked with
and who provided us

769

00:52:57,830 --> 00:52:58,940

with some information.

770

00:52:58,940 --> 00:53:02,690

But my field was
basically aimed,

771

00:53:02,690 --> 00:53:06,680

later on, in '47-'48, was
aimed at the German communist

772

00:53:06,680 --> 00:53:08,400

movement.

773

00:53:08,400 --> 00:53:18,770

And there were no former SS or
Nazis that I was able to find.

774
00:53:18,770 --> 00:53:22,790
We were trying to find people
within that movement that

775
00:53:22,790 --> 00:53:25,820
would cooperate with us.

776
00:53:25,820 --> 00:53:33,830
And I must say that I did
not see any of those kind.

777
00:53:33,830 --> 00:53:35,210
You want to stop?

778
00:53:35,210 --> 00:53:35,710
Yeah.

779
00:53:35,710 --> 00:53:37,120
You'd like me to stop this?

780
00:53:37,120 --> 00:53:37,770
One moment.

781
00:53:37,770 --> 00:53:41,800

782
00:53:41,800 --> 00:53:42,760
OK, we're back.

783
00:53:42,760 --> 00:53:48,910
You had asked me to stop and you
wanted you to tell me something

784
00:53:48,910 --> 00:53:50,045
off the record.

785
00:53:50,045 --> 00:53:51,670
And now I'm going to
ask you to tell me

786

00:53:51,670 --> 00:53:53,753
what you just told me off
the record on the record

787
00:53:53,753 --> 00:53:55,450
so we can resume.

788
00:53:55,450 --> 00:54:01,680
You have been talking
about intelligence matters

789
00:54:01,680 --> 00:54:04,760
from reports that
you got from people

790
00:54:04,760 --> 00:54:09,775
who were in the German
intelligence during the war.

791
00:54:09,775 --> 00:54:11,880
Yeah, I'm not sure
this is germane,

792
00:54:11,880 --> 00:54:18,660
but as a matter of
background, in late 1946,

793
00:54:18,660 --> 00:54:28,410
as the mission of interrogation
and area coverage was reduced,

794
00:54:28,410 --> 00:54:33,540
I was transferred to the US
Army Counterintelligence Corps.

795
00:54:33,540 --> 00:54:38,700
And I was assigned
initially to--

796
00:54:38,700 --> 00:54:43,980
they were organized in
regions and sub-regions

797

00:54:43,980 --> 00:54:46,800
in the United States
zone of Germany.

798
00:54:46,800 --> 00:54:51,960
And I was assigned to Memmingen
Sub-Region in Region 4,

799
00:54:51,960 --> 00:54:53,920
which was in Munich.

800
00:54:53,920 --> 00:55:01,050
And my mission there initially
was to essentially do

801
00:55:01,050 --> 00:55:04,050
what I had been doing before,
was to cover the local area,

802
00:55:04,050 --> 00:55:07,170
determine if there
were any extremist

803
00:55:07,170 --> 00:55:09,900
activities by either
left wing or right

804
00:55:09,900 --> 00:55:13,590
wing, German activities.

805
00:55:13,590 --> 00:55:17,850
And during this time,
I was approached

806
00:55:17,850 --> 00:55:21,440
by a number of former German
intelligence officers.

807
00:55:21,440 --> 00:55:24,060

808
00:55:24,060 --> 00:55:28,230
These people were very intent

on telling me all about what

809

00:55:28,230 --> 00:55:34,380

was going on in the Ukraine,
and in Russia, Soviet Union,

810

00:55:34,380 --> 00:55:37,890

or in France, and those areas.

811

00:55:37,890 --> 00:55:41,100

And they were
little utility to me

812

00:55:41,100 --> 00:55:43,770

because I was charged with
finding out what was happening

813

00:55:43,770 --> 00:55:45,430

in the local area.

814

00:55:45,430 --> 00:55:52,020

So I turned them over to that
portion of our office, which

815

00:55:52,020 --> 00:55:57,120

had the mission of monitoring
foreign intelligence

816

00:55:57,120 --> 00:55:57,940

activities.

817

00:55:57,940 --> 00:56:01,770

And these people, of
course, were of some utility

818

00:56:01,770 --> 00:56:05,520

to what we call the
Counter Espionage people.

819

00:56:05,520 --> 00:56:08,910

I was in the Counter
Subversion area

820

00:56:08,910 --> 00:56:12,990

or in the Internal
Intelligence area.

821

00:56:12,990 --> 00:56:16,710

One of these people, as I
learned approximately 25 years

822

00:56:16,710 --> 00:56:21,360

later, was a German
intelligence officer

823

00:56:21,360 --> 00:56:24,750

who had been stationed
in Lyon, France

824

00:56:24,750 --> 00:56:27,210

and had tried to give me
all kinds of information

825

00:56:27,210 --> 00:56:27,960

about France.

826

00:56:27,960 --> 00:56:32,340

And I told him that
that was of no use to me

827

00:56:32,340 --> 00:56:35,280

and told him I would turn
him over to the others.

828

00:56:35,280 --> 00:56:37,380

Evidently, he worked
for these others.

829

00:56:37,380 --> 00:56:43,830

And also, later on, when
he, himself, left the work,

830

00:56:43,830 --> 00:56:49,590

he turned these activities over
to a former colleague of his,

831

00:56:49,590 --> 00:56:52,200
whose name was Klaus Barbie.

832

00:56:52,200 --> 00:56:55,900
And you probably know the rest.

833

00:56:55,900 --> 00:57:02,760
I never met Barbie myself, but
I did know the German up there,

834

00:57:02,760 --> 00:57:04,710
or German intelligence
officer, who

835

00:57:04,710 --> 00:57:11,520
was not an SS officer, but a
legitimate German intelligence

836

00:57:11,520 --> 00:57:12,420
officer.

837

00:57:12,420 --> 00:57:16,530
And somehow he is
the one who then

838

00:57:16,530 --> 00:57:21,480
located Barbie, who became his
sub-source, as I understand it.

839

00:57:21,480 --> 00:57:26,310
And upon his departure,
Barbie became the main source

840

00:57:26,310 --> 00:57:29,880
for American
counterintelligence.

841

00:57:29,880 --> 00:57:34,110
And, of course, he
later on was facilitated

842

00:57:34,110 --> 00:57:36,760

in moving to South America.

843

00:57:36,760 --> 00:57:41,100

And was subsequently brought
back to France for trial.

844

00:57:41,100 --> 00:57:45,977

845

00:57:45,977 --> 00:57:47,560

Is there anything
else that stands out

846

00:57:47,560 --> 00:57:51,280

in your mind about your
time in post-war Germany?

847

00:57:51,280 --> 00:57:53,650

Any other episodes that
you haven't told me about?

848

00:57:53,650 --> 00:57:58,670

849

00:57:58,670 --> 00:58:02,990

Of course, my
mission was to work

850

00:58:02,990 --> 00:58:17,900

with Germans who had a natural
opposition to communism.

851

00:58:17,900 --> 00:58:22,790

As time progressed,
and when we wanted a--

852

00:58:22,790 --> 00:58:26,480

we were, of course, very
concerned about having

853

00:58:26,480 --> 00:58:29,990

an indigenous German
political capability that

854
00:58:29,990 --> 00:58:32,060
could stand on its own feet.

855
00:58:32,060 --> 00:58:34,940
And so I worked with some
very wonderful Germans

856
00:58:34,940 --> 00:58:36,230
who were not trained.

857
00:58:36,230 --> 00:58:40,670
They were mostly--
a very fertile field

858
00:58:40,670 --> 00:58:42,500
for me was the
University of Munich.

859
00:58:42,500 --> 00:58:45,770
These were university
students, who

860
00:58:45,770 --> 00:58:51,690
subsequently became lawyers,
and doctors, and so forth.

861
00:58:51,690 --> 00:58:57,470
One of the persons I
worked with in this effort

862
00:58:57,470 --> 00:59:01,520
turned out to be a
relative of mine.

863
00:59:01,520 --> 00:59:05,000
He was on the city council
in Munich at that time.

864
00:59:05,000 --> 00:59:11,780
He was half Jewish and had
been in a concentration camp.

865

00:59:11,780 --> 00:59:14,150

And I'm trying to--

866

00:59:14,150 --> 00:59:15,450

it wasn't Oranienburg.

867

00:59:15,450 --> 00:59:21,020

It was-- it wasn't

Bergen-Belsen.

868

00:59:21,020 --> 00:59:24,670

It was-- I can't

think of one now.

869

00:59:24,670 --> 00:59:27,740

I will in a little while.

870

00:59:27,740 --> 00:59:30,580

But he was just an

extraordinary human being,

871

00:59:30,580 --> 00:59:42,790

who was ideologically a

great human person, who--

872

00:59:42,790 --> 00:59:46,570

just the type of individual

needed by Germany

873

00:59:46,570 --> 00:59:52,120

to start a new, and to start

a more just and open society.

874

00:59:52,120 --> 00:59:54,280

And those were the

kind of people I really

875

00:59:54,280 --> 00:59:59,560

enjoyed working with, who

were both convinced Democrats

876

00:59:59,560 --> 01:00:05,230

and also were opposed to the Soviet totalitarianism, which

877

01:00:05,230 --> 01:00:08,020
was to be exported through the Communist Party

878

01:00:08,020 --> 01:00:11,110
and into Bavaria.

879

01:00:11,110 --> 01:00:20,050
Basically, that is how I ended my first assignment

880

01:00:20,050 --> 01:00:26,080
in Germany in June, July 1948, as the airlift commenced.

881

01:00:26,080 --> 01:00:32,360

882

01:00:32,360 --> 01:00:36,790
How long was your first tour of duty?

883

01:00:36,790 --> 01:00:40,570
My first tour of duty in Germany started at the end of May

884

01:00:40,570 --> 01:00:47,080
in 1948 and ended in June--

885

01:00:47,080 --> 01:00:51,220
1945, I mean, and ended in June 1948.

886

01:00:51,220 --> 01:00:55,330
As a matter of fact, I made one of the last trips to Berlin

887

01:00:55,330 --> 01:01:00,970
by train, which was halted by the Soviets.

888
01:01:00,970 --> 01:01:05,260
And I was carrying some
highly secret documents.

889
01:01:05,260 --> 01:01:08,350
And I was trying
to determine how

890
01:01:08,350 --> 01:01:11,260
I was going to get rid of
the documents before they--

891
01:01:11,260 --> 01:01:13,450
we were sitting out in
the midst of East Germany

892
01:01:13,450 --> 01:01:18,640
and surrounded by
Soviet soldiers

893
01:01:18,640 --> 01:01:21,500
with the fixed bayonets
on their rifles.

894
01:01:21,500 --> 01:01:26,080
And I thought, well, that was
a very interesting experience,

895
01:01:26,080 --> 01:01:28,630
how I was going to
eat those documents.

896
01:01:28,630 --> 01:01:33,910
But subsequently, after
about eight or 10 hours,

897
01:01:33,910 --> 01:01:39,400
we were permitted to resume
our travel to West Germany.

898
01:01:39,400 --> 01:01:41,260
I was coming from

Berlin at that time.

899

01:01:41,260 --> 01:01:44,820

900

01:01:44,820 --> 01:01:46,970

Why did you decide to
stay in the military?

901

01:01:46,970 --> 01:01:50,100

902

01:01:50,100 --> 01:01:53,940

I decided to stay in
the military because I--

903

01:01:53,940 --> 01:02:00,270

first of all, the
experience in Germany

904

01:02:00,270 --> 01:02:06,420

gave me a sense of
tremendous accomplishment.

905

01:02:06,420 --> 01:02:09,750

We were working for
something we believed in

906

01:02:09,750 --> 01:02:12,250

and believed in very strongly.

907

01:02:12,250 --> 01:02:14,910

And so I was highly motivated.

908

01:02:14,910 --> 01:02:22,330

And it was very exciting.

909

01:02:22,330 --> 01:02:29,250

It was, for a fellow who was
20 years old, 21 years old,

910

01:02:29,250 --> 01:02:31,780

the responsibility was enormous.

911

01:02:31,780 --> 01:02:39,900

And I thoroughly felt that
I was doing something of use

912

01:02:39,900 --> 01:02:41,400

to my country.

913

01:02:41,400 --> 01:02:47,710

And also, saw the reward
of a job well done.

914

01:02:47,710 --> 01:02:49,110

So I decided to stay in.

915

01:02:49,110 --> 01:02:51,727

916

01:02:51,727 --> 01:02:53,310

What did you do when
you left Germany?

917

01:02:53,310 --> 01:02:56,370

918

01:02:56,370 --> 01:03:01,950

When I left Germany, I was
transferred to the US Army

919

01:03:01,950 --> 01:03:06,540

Counterintelligence
School at Fort Holabird

920

01:03:06,540 --> 01:03:09,090

in Baltimore, Maryland.

921

01:03:09,090 --> 01:03:12,090

And became an instructor there.

922

01:03:12,090 --> 01:03:16,530

And taught German language

and German political systems,

923

01:03:16,530 --> 01:03:19,950
which was integrated
into our instruction.

924

01:03:19,950 --> 01:03:23,940
In other words, the
students who were there

925

01:03:23,940 --> 01:03:28,650
were all military personnel
who were going back

926

01:03:28,650 --> 01:03:32,430
to Germany to continue
with the occupation.

927

01:03:32,430 --> 01:03:35,490
They had to know the German
documents, the Fragebogen,

928

01:03:35,490 --> 01:03:39,100
the questionnaires,
how you conducted

929

01:03:39,100 --> 01:03:44,010
an interview or an interrogation
in Germany, in German.

930

01:03:44,010 --> 01:03:50,950
And I was there for a
little over two years.

931

01:03:50,950 --> 01:03:55,320
And I was supposed
to return to Germany.

932

01:03:55,320 --> 01:03:59,440
In the meantime, American
policy had changed,

933

01:03:59,440 --> 01:04:01,800

or US Army policy had changed.

934

01:04:01,800 --> 01:04:04,260

And they said if you
were born in Germany,

935

01:04:04,260 --> 01:04:07,140

we can't trust you in Germany.

936

01:04:07,140 --> 01:04:12,840

And they said, German born
personnel cannot be assigned

937

01:04:12,840 --> 01:04:15,970

back to Germany.

938

01:04:15,970 --> 01:04:22,500

So I was assigned
subsequently to the Presidio

939

01:04:22,500 --> 01:04:26,850

of San Francisco in California.

940

01:04:26,850 --> 01:04:30,990

And that was in late 1949.

941

01:04:30,990 --> 01:04:38,040

And I remained in the
Counterintelligence Corps unit,

942

01:04:38,040 --> 01:04:41,680

the 115th Counterintelligence
Corps Detachment,

943

01:04:41,680 --> 01:04:45,150

which governed--
or covered, rather,

944

01:04:45,150 --> 01:04:50,370

the six western states of the
United States for the US Army.

945

01:04:50,370 --> 01:04:53,130
And I was stationed
at the Presidio

946
01:04:53,130 --> 01:05:00,300
until 1952, when I left for
Korea, during the Korean War.

947
01:05:00,300 --> 01:05:02,640
I was there only very briefly.

948
01:05:02,640 --> 01:05:10,140
And was brought back to
Japan because of my--

949
01:05:10,140 --> 01:05:16,050
strangely enough because
of my knowledge of German.

950
01:05:16,050 --> 01:05:21,510
The operations officer in Japan,
in the Counterintelligence

951
01:05:21,510 --> 01:05:26,190
Corps Detachment there had
been one of my German students

952
01:05:26,190 --> 01:05:27,690
earlier.

953
01:05:27,690 --> 01:05:33,720
And he said, we urgently need
someone with your background

954
01:05:33,720 --> 01:05:37,230
because there are remnants
of the Sorge case.

955
01:05:37,230 --> 01:05:41,730
And Sorge was a German--

956
01:05:41,730 --> 01:05:47,370
a communist agent, a Russian

agent who was active in Japan

957

01:05:47,370 --> 01:05:49,920
in World War II.

958

01:05:49,920 --> 01:05:56,230
And it was believed that some of
these activities still existed.

959

01:05:56,230 --> 01:06:00,090
And so that's why I was
brought back to Tokyo.

960

01:06:00,090 --> 01:06:05,550
And spent three years in
the Counterintelligence

961

01:06:05,550 --> 01:06:12,600
Corps in Japan, most of which
was spent with the Soviet--

962

01:06:12,600 --> 01:06:19,350
as chief of the Soviet
Counter-Espionage Section

963

01:06:19,350 --> 01:06:21,480
of the office in Tokyo.

964

01:06:21,480 --> 01:06:27,280

965

01:06:27,280 --> 01:06:30,100
I want to back you up for just
one minute to San Francisco

966

01:06:30,100 --> 01:06:36,330
and ask you what stands out in
your mind about your experience

967

01:06:36,330 --> 01:06:38,160
in San Francisco?

968

01:06:38,160 --> 01:06:39,600
Anything happen to you?

969
01:06:39,600 --> 01:06:42,380

970
01:06:42,380 --> 01:06:45,590
Well, I met my wife
there, in San Francisco.

971
01:06:45,590 --> 01:06:51,560
And I also met an old friend
of mine, Ernie [? Wyle, ?]

972
01:06:51,560 --> 01:06:55,520
who had been a boy with me
in Germany, who had been

973
01:06:55,520 --> 01:06:58,460
on the "Voyage of the Damned."

974
01:06:58,460 --> 01:07:01,670
and it was wonderful
renewing our friendship

975
01:07:01,670 --> 01:07:05,450
with him and his wife, who
had also come from Landau.

976
01:07:05,450 --> 01:07:12,200
And it was very,
very meaningful,

977
01:07:12,200 --> 01:07:17,600
both for meeting my wife and
also meeting these old friends

978
01:07:17,600 --> 01:07:18,280
from Germany.

979
01:07:18,280 --> 01:07:21,720

980

01:07:21,720 --> 01:07:24,510

What stands out in your mind
about your service in Japan?

981

01:07:24,510 --> 01:07:28,010

982

01:07:28,010 --> 01:07:32,160

Now, in Japan, as I said,
I was chief of the Soviet

983

01:07:32,160 --> 01:07:34,620

Counter-Espionage Division.

984

01:07:34,620 --> 01:07:40,760

And I also got--

985

01:07:40,760 --> 01:07:45,630

got to know that there had
been a Jewish community there

986

01:07:45,630 --> 01:07:50,520

in Tokyo, which was an
incredible group of survivors

987

01:07:50,520 --> 01:07:55,350

of people who had,
first of all--

988

01:07:55,350 --> 01:07:59,460

some of them had fled from
czarist Russia to Mukden

989

01:07:59,460 --> 01:08:03,480

in North China, and some of them
had fled from the Soviet Union.

990

01:08:03,480 --> 01:08:08,520

And these people had lived
by their wits for many years.

991

01:08:08,520 --> 01:08:14,100

Lived under the Chinese, under
the Japanese, and some of them,

992

01:08:14,100 --> 01:08:18,060

somehow, made
their way to Japan.

993

01:08:18,060 --> 01:08:21,000

Then there, of course,
were some Jewish refugees

994

01:08:21,000 --> 01:08:23,340

who had gone to Shanghai
and had subsequently

995

01:08:23,340 --> 01:08:25,660

come to Japan as well.

996

01:08:25,660 --> 01:08:30,540

So there was a group of
people who flotsam and jetsam

997

01:08:30,540 --> 01:08:32,939

from all over the world.

998

01:08:32,939 --> 01:08:36,870

And I got to know
a few of those.

999

01:08:36,870 --> 01:08:45,300

In addition, I was involved
in a case involving--

1000

01:08:45,300 --> 01:08:49,260

concerning a Soviet
intelligence officer

1001

01:08:49,260 --> 01:08:52,140

who was the chief of
Soviet Intelligence.

1002

01:08:52,140 --> 01:08:57,920

And we had been observing

his activities for some time.

1003

01:08:57,920 --> 01:09:11,080
And on January the 24th, I think
it was, or 23rd or 24th, 1954--

1004

01:09:11,080 --> 01:09:14,760
this is now 44 years ago--

1005

01:09:14,760 --> 01:09:17,069
he defected.

1006

01:09:17,069 --> 01:09:21,720
And I was the one who met
him, when he defected to me.

1007

01:09:21,720 --> 01:09:28,319
And I then turned
him over to the CIA.

1008

01:09:28,319 --> 01:09:32,250
And we jointly debriefed
him in Okinawa.

1009

01:09:32,250 --> 01:09:34,050
We flew him to Okinawa.

1010

01:09:34,050 --> 01:09:35,580
And I debriefed him there.

1011

01:09:35,580 --> 01:09:37,590
And that was somewhat
of a highlight.

1012

01:09:37,590 --> 01:09:42,180
The other activity which
stands out in my mind

1013

01:09:42,180 --> 01:09:46,560
is the debriefing of
American prisoners of war

1014

01:09:46,560 --> 01:09:49,859
who came back from their
dreadful and horrible

1015
01:09:49,859 --> 01:09:54,270
experience, having been
captured during the Korean War

1016
01:09:54,270 --> 01:09:57,240
by the North Koreans
and the Chinese.

1017
01:09:57,240 --> 01:10:01,500
These men went
through terrible hell

1018
01:10:01,500 --> 01:10:08,430
also over in North
Korea and China.

1019
01:10:08,430 --> 01:10:12,150
The Chinese Intelligence and
North Korean Intelligence

1020
01:10:12,150 --> 01:10:16,920
people were masters
at what was then

1021
01:10:16,920 --> 01:10:22,020
referred to as brainwashing,
but in actuality is simply

1022
01:10:22,020 --> 01:10:25,650
depriving people of
their sleep, putting them

1023
01:10:25,650 --> 01:10:28,590
to great physical and
psychological pressure,

1024
01:10:28,590 --> 01:10:34,110
and turning them into whatever
they wished them to be.

1025

01:10:34,110 --> 01:10:38,070

And these men
suffered very greatly.

1026

01:10:38,070 --> 01:10:39,990

Many of course, did not return.

1027

01:10:39,990 --> 01:10:47,220

I think at this time there are
still some 8,000 people who

1028

01:10:47,220 --> 01:10:51,450

are soldiers who are missing
from the Korean War, which

1029

01:10:51,450 --> 01:10:56,010

is much larger than the
number of people who

1030

01:10:56,010 --> 01:10:59,040

were lost in the Vietnam War.

1031

01:10:59,040 --> 01:11:04,560

Those are the two major
experiences that I recall.

1032

01:11:04,560 --> 01:11:08,635

1033

01:11:08,635 --> 01:11:10,260

I want you to explain
a little bit more

1034

01:11:10,260 --> 01:11:13,530

about the KGB defection.

1035

01:11:13,530 --> 01:11:16,200

1036

01:11:16,200 --> 01:11:19,215

And why you, why did
this person come to you?

1037
01:11:19,215 --> 01:11:22,680

1038
01:11:22,680 --> 01:11:27,090
Well, as I said, this was--

1039
01:11:27,090 --> 01:11:32,490
we had been watching-- this
man's name was Yuriy Rastvorov.

1040
01:11:32,490 --> 01:11:37,830
And we had been watching
him for some time,

1041
01:11:37,830 --> 01:11:40,200
as I'm sure he was watching us.

1042
01:11:40,200 --> 01:11:44,160
And he worked out of
the Soviet mission.

1043
01:11:44,160 --> 01:11:48,040
It was not called an
embassy at that time.

1044
01:11:48,040 --> 01:11:50,940
And we were monitoring
his activities

1045
01:11:50,940 --> 01:11:53,850
because we were certain
that he was recruiting

1046
01:11:53,850 --> 01:11:57,810
both Japanese, and
probably Americans as

1047
01:11:57,810 --> 01:12:01,290
well, to become Soviet agents.

1048
01:12:01,290 --> 01:12:05,880

And so we had a number of
contacts, whom we asked

1049
01:12:05,880 --> 01:12:09,750
to report on his movements.

1050
01:12:09,750 --> 01:12:14,430
Frankly, I don't think
in our wildest dreams

1051
01:12:14,430 --> 01:12:17,370
that we anticipated that
he would defect to us,

1052
01:12:17,370 --> 01:12:22,574
because he'd
obviously had a very--

1053
01:12:22,574 --> 01:12:29,050
a very promising career
in Soviet Intelligence.

1054
01:12:29,050 --> 01:12:38,070
However, when Beria-- evidently
he was a protege of Beria.

1055
01:12:38,070 --> 01:12:47,730
When Beria was suddenly deposed
and a large group of Russians

1056
01:12:47,730 --> 01:12:53,220
suddenly appeared in Japan,
ostensibly with a skating team,

1057
01:12:53,220 --> 01:12:57,210
and it turned out that there
were more coaches than skaters,

1058
01:12:57,210 --> 01:13:00,310
we realized something was up.

1059
01:13:00,310 --> 01:13:07,320
And suddenly, I was notified

by one of my people,

1060
01:13:07,320 --> 01:13:10,110
who in turn was in touch
with one of the sources

1061
01:13:10,110 --> 01:13:13,870
that I had mentioned,
whom we used to monitor

1062
01:13:13,870 --> 01:13:16,060
Rastvorov's activities.

1063
01:13:16,060 --> 01:13:19,830
One of these people
contacted me and said

1064
01:13:19,830 --> 01:13:23,380
that Rastvorov is very--

1065
01:13:23,380 --> 01:13:25,740
is intent on defecting.

1066
01:13:25,740 --> 01:13:32,280
And he wishes to meet me at the
corner of a certain building.

1067
01:13:32,280 --> 01:13:34,290
It happened to be
the NYK building.

1068
01:13:34,290 --> 01:13:38,250
NYK was a shipping line, had
a very prominent building

1069
01:13:38,250 --> 01:13:40,650
in downtown Tokyo.

1070
01:13:40,650 --> 01:13:46,680
And so I think it was
about 6:30 in the evening,

1071

01:13:46,680 --> 01:13:47,730
I drove up there.

1072
01:13:47,730 --> 01:13:51,240
And not expecting anything
would, of course, happen.

1073
01:13:51,240 --> 01:13:52,590
But it did.

1074
01:13:52,590 --> 01:13:58,710
And a very frightened
man got into my car.

1075
01:13:58,710 --> 01:14:01,290
And he was perspiring
very heavily.

1076
01:14:01,290 --> 01:14:05,910
So at first, my
response to him was

1077
01:14:05,910 --> 01:14:09,300
that I didn't believe that
this was a bona fide defection,

1078
01:14:09,300 --> 01:14:12,810
but it was probably
a provocation.

1079
01:14:12,810 --> 01:14:19,410
And asked him some
very penetrating

1080
01:14:19,410 --> 01:14:23,630
questions to document to me that
indeed he was going to defect.

1081
01:14:23,630 --> 01:14:24,720
And he did.

1082
01:14:24,720 --> 01:14:30,600
And I then-- we turned him over

to the CIA people afterward,

1083

01:14:30,600 --> 01:14:32,190
shortly thereafter.

1084

01:14:32,190 --> 01:14:37,230
And I participated in debriefing
him down in Okinawa, as I said.

1085

01:14:37,230 --> 01:14:39,750
For about a month,
we were with him.

1086

01:14:39,750 --> 01:14:42,450

1087

01:14:42,450 --> 01:14:44,490
I'm going to pause
and change tapes.

1088

01:14:44,490 --> 01:14:46,640
Just give me one moment.

1089

01:14:46,640 --> 01:14:53,000