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This is an interview for the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum volunteer collection. This interview is with Werner Michel, conducted by Esther Finder, on June 9th, 1998, in Alexandria, Virginia.

This is a follow-up interview that will focus on Werner Michel's post Holocaust experiences. I preparation for this interview, I listened to the interview conducted with the Survivors of the Shoah Visual History Foundation. That interview was done on September 19, 1997.

I will not ask you to repeat everything you said in that interview. Instead, I will use this interview as an opportunity to follow up on that interview and focus on your post Holocaust experiences. This tape is number one, side A. I wanted to ask you, what was your name at birth?

My name and birth was actually Emile Michel, but my mother hated the first name Emile, which was after an uncle who had been injured in World War I. And she insisted on adding the name Werner, which was more acceptable to her.

Are you known by any other names?

During my army days, because they mispronounced my last name as Michael, they shortened that to Mike. And so eventually I became Mike Michel in the service.

When were you born and where were you born?

I was born on September the 2nd, 1924, in Landau, Germany. It's a small town in Western Germany.

Can you tell me when you came to the United States and what were the circumstances under which you came?

I came to the United States on December the 4th, 1936, after leaving Germany on November the 26th, on a ship, the SS New York, Hamburg, America Line. Circumstances were that my parents had managed to obtain a place on what was essentially the Kindertransport, where a group of us children were assembled in Hamburg. And we came to the United States and dispersed to families all over the country. In my case, I came to St. Louis, Missouri, where I was taken in by a family.

What was difficult for you about the transition to life in the United States?

It was quite a challenge. I came from small town. And was totally unprepared for the difference in culture. First of all, I had taken some French in school and not English. I had about two weeks of English lessons, which permitted me to say, how do you do? And I am fine, and that type of thing.

And I was taken in by this family of very sophisticated people in a very large city. And I was here just a few days. And they put me in-- placed me, rather, in seventh grade in the Eugene Field School in St. Louis. And it meant absolutely nothing to me. I was sitting there as if I were a deaf person.

OK. We're back now. We had a little technical problem. You were saying that you were sitting in school as if you were a deaf person.

Well, what I meant is there was a lot of babel around me that I didn't understand. And evidently, the teachers and the family I lived with, the Landau's, understood this also. And so they took me out of seventh grade. And as I recall, they tried to give me an aptitude test, which I couldn't even follow the instructions. And I failed that miserably.

So they decided to put me into kindergarten. So as a 12 and 1/2 year old to go into kindergarten was not the most auspicious beginning. But it was a very good way of learning the language. Because essentially, they were emerging me in the language.

And as I recall, I probably spent a month in kindergarten, then two weeks in first grade. And subsequently moved up to

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the various grades as my English improved somewhat. And as it turned out to be, it was probably-- mechanically, it was a good thing. It was psychologically not very good, because I had no friends.

And the parents and teachers looked upon me with some trepidation, I'm sure. But within about a year, I believe, I had caught up, or I was perhaps a grade behind, I'm not certain anymore. But I had caught up, essentially.

You mentioned that you're from the town of Landau. And the family that took you in, what was their name?

Their name was Landau as well. Milton Landau was name of the husband. And Amelia Landau was the name of the wife.

What was your status at that time, when you first came to this country, and then in the next few years, your legal status with respect to the United States government?

I presume I had what the Germans called a kinderausweis. It was essentially the equivalent to a passport. And I presume I was a legal immigrant. And Until the war broke out, and then as I recall, I became an enemy alien, because I was still a German citizen. You couldn't become a citizen until you were 21.

When you came to this country, did you have any contact with your family back in Germany?

I had contact with my sister, who also lived in St. Louis. I saw her about once a month or once every two months. She lived with another family. She had come a year earlier or a year and a half earlier. And I had contact with my mother and grandmother. My father had gone to France in late 1936, just about the time I left. And I had no contact with him directly.

When the war began in this country-- in 1939, when you were in this country and the war began, can you tell me what impressions you had of the American reaction to the conflict in Europe?

Well, of course, in 1939, I was just-- I think I'd just graduated from Eugene Field Grade School and had gone off to high school. Of course, we were all very concerned about our families that were left in Germany.

And, of course, as the Germans overran first Poland, and of course, we were aware of Czechoslovakia before that. And then in early 1940, when they overran the low countries and conquered France, we were-- I was personally-- on a personal basis, very concerned about my father.

And we had lost contact with my grandmother, who had been very old and frail, and who, as we subsequently found out, had died in late 1940 in Gurs-- in Camp Gurs in France.

Did you have the sense that the Americans really appreciated what was going on in Europe in the first years of the war, before the United States became involved?

My feeling, and I'm trying to recapture it somewhat, was that you had various levels of interest. You had the Jewish community, who was intensely interested. And then you had the more normal people, who probably, such as my fellow students in classes, who while they understood it, I think it was a rather remote-- a remote and distant experience for them.

And I think I remember reading the newspapers while they-- particularly in St. Louis, they had an excellent newspaper. It gave good coverage to it. Still, I think that, as I recall, I had part time-- I started doing little part-time jobs to earn a little money. I know that economically the situation wasn't all that good. And not only for us, but for people generally in our society here.

When the United States did become involved with the war after Pearl Harbor, what impact did that have on you personally, at that point in your life?

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Well, personally, I had been in high school. And the needs of my mother was such that I had to leave high school and accept a job working for my brother-in-law in St. Louis then. I, personally, then, wanting to do something-- I couldn't enlist in the armed forces because I was an enemy alien at that point.

But I joined something called the First Missouri State Reserve-- First Missouri Infantry State Reserve Force, which was a local, sort of a military force designed to replace the National Guard, which had been called up to active duty. And we drilled and were issued uniforms, but we were not an active military force. And then in 1943, in July 1943, I was allowed to enter the army. Even so, I was an enemy alien still.

Did you go as a volunteer or were you drafted?

I had to agree to be drafted. I think they called it to volunteer enlistment, because of the unique status, that I wasn't old enough to be a citizen, and yet I was an enemy alien status. I don't recall the specifics any longer, but I had to agree to be drafted.

Once you did get drafted, can you tell me about your basic training, where and anything that comes to your mind about that episode?

I was drafted at Jefferson Barracks, Missouri, which was an old, small army post, which had been there for many years, I presume. And I was sent to Fort Knox, Kentucky, where I received basic training in tanks and armored-- what they called armored force at that time. And also received training, more specialized training as a Morse code radio operator.

I remained there until early 1944, when I was transferred to the 16th Armored Division, which was located in Arkansas, at Camp Chafee, Arkansas. And from there, I was selected to go to the Officer Candidate School at the-- the Infantry Officer Candidate School in Fort Benning, Georgia. And went there in July 1944. And graduated from Officer Candidate School as a second lieutenant, infantry, in December 1944.

What talents and skills did you bring to the army?

I'm not certain that I brought many skills, but I attempted various times to let them know that I spoke German. And hoped that they would recognize this unique skill, but they were more interested in finding somebody who was an infantryman or a tanker, or a tank driver, or gunner, or that sort of thing.

So initially, it took the system a long time to discover that I might have some capability that might be of use. And in 19-- in early 1945, while I was a lieutenant at Camp Joseph T Robinson, in Arkansas, again, I was called in by my commander, who wanted to know if I knew somebody in Washington.

And I said, I don't even know anybody here. And he said, well, I've got special orders for you, sending you to a place in Maryland. And this was Camp Ritchie, Maryland, which was the Military Intelligence Training Center, where subsequently, in February 1945, I was sent to become an interrogator, ultimate-- destined to interrogate German prisoners of war.

While you were still in the States, before you went over to interrogate the prisoners of war, did you experience any antisemitism in the military in this country?

Certainly, there were individual cases, of latent antisemitism. And I recall one incident, particularly in Officer Candidate School. Officer Candidate, the course, was extremely competitive. And especially at that time, when it appeared that the war was soon going to be ended, they wanted to reduce the number of incoming officers.

So they made the course somewhat more difficult. And they reduced the number of-- we started out with 240 candidates and we ended up with something like 115 or 20. So in other words, we had an attrition of over 50%. So it became apparent that people had to be-- people were thrown out for many, many reasons-- academic, physical, and so forth.

And I found out that a group of them were saying that they should-- we had to rate each other as to what we thought of

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one another as officers potential, for leadership potential, and physical capabilities. And a group of three or four got together and said, why don't we select Michel, give him a very low rating. And it was obvious to me they had done this because I was Jewish.

And there was another candidate, who was-- whom I will never forget, who was not Jewish. He was-- as a matter of fact, he was Catholic. He was from the Boston area, who spoke out very openly. And he said, I'm not going to be part of any of this. And that stopped this little conspiratorial effort very, very quickly. And as a matter of fact, two of the three who attempted to get rid of me were themselves thrown out, not for any-- for this reason, but because they were academically not able to cope.

Then there were at times, when there was a Jewish holiday, and you wanted to go to service, and sometimes you were looked upon as being very strange, particularly in combat units where there were not too many Jewish soldiers. But I can honestly say I never saw any concerted effort which might have been, or which might have been orchestrated by the leadership in the army indicating any overt antisemitism.

Tell me about getting the assignment to go overseas and how you reacted to being sent back to Europe.

That was the mailman.

The people who were at Camp Ritchie with me were essentially-- many of them-- I would say probably half or 60% had a similar background to myself. They were refugees. Some of them, of course, were German-Americans, who came from communities where there were a lot of Germans. But all of us were, of course, looking forward to going to Europe, returning to Europe.

And I, personally, felt it very strange, since I'd only left Germany approximately seven years-- seven and a half years earlier. So it was a feeling, very difficult to describe. Loathing on the one hand and yet, a sense of urgency on the other hand, to try to go back, particularly because we had not heard-- I had not heard anything from my father and my grandmother in a long time. So that, in essence, was my feeling.

Before you were sent over to Europe again, how much did you know about what was really happening over there, specifically with respect to the Jews under Nazi control?

Well, I must say that there was very limited information. We, after the Kristallnacht in November 1938, we all knew the horror had gotten worse and the difficulties of people attempting to get out. But we had no-- we knew of the concentration camps. All of us knew of Dachau. And we seemed to have gotten information that my father was an Oranienburg, which turned out to be erroneous. He'd been taken to Auschwitz, of course.

But we did not know the extent, nor did we want to believe, I think, the extent to what was-- of this orchestrated, systematic extermination of an entire people. That, I think, was beyond our comprehension.

Tell me about the trip back to Europe and your arrival, this time with the US military.

We went-- I went over with this large group of people. And we first went to England and then France. And then, as we arrived in Germany, the war was just ending. And I was assigned to the-- I was interviewed and assigned to the 9th Division, which was located at that time in Ingolstadt, Germany. And took over command of the 270th IPW, Interrogation of Prisoner of War team.

And we worked in the prisoner of war camp in Ingolstadt, Germany, where we had, I would say, close to 100,000-- over 100,000 German prisoners. And we administered this and tried to-- and our job was to identify those prisoners that were of particular interest, either for debriefing because they had certain information, or those that-- or SS, Gestapo, or others on the wanted list, on various wanted lists, that had been published.

In addition, we were responsible for monitoring activities in the surrounding counties around Ingolstadt-- Neuburg, and Schrobenhausen, and some of the other counties in the area, where we were to monitor whether, first of all, there were

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any resurgence of Nazis, and/or locating people on the wanted list, such as county level and state level Nazi officials, which we tried to locate and round up.

The Germans, of course, having such a highly centralized society with multiple levels of controls, where people had to have ration cards. They had a residence permits. They had to have any number of documents to prove who they were and that they were allowed to be in certain places at certain times. It was relatively easy if you found someone who did not have that kind of documentation, to bring him in for questioning. And in essence, that was my function at that time.

Can you share with us some of the personal experiences you had and some of the encounters that you had at that time?

Well, we, of course, arrested people on the wanted list. There were literally hundreds of people that we brought in. Personally, I also was charged-- later on, I took over another detachment further on south in a town called Aichach, in support of the 9th Division in Augsburg. And my small team was charged with the debriefing of German general officers who were kept in a-- had been assembled in a camp in Neu-Ulm, Germany.

And there were approximately 450 to 500 of these generals, ranging from brigadier equivalent to field marshals, that we had there. The purpose was to identify those that could be used for historical purposes by the US Army Historical Division and who were not tainted as having been SS or Nazi. So we segregated those people. And it was a very fascinating experience that lasted approximately a month.

In addition, I was involved in the apprehension of a number of other fairly significant Nazis. And later on, I participated in interrogation of the case, which became known as the Malmedy Massacre, when, during the Ardennes offensive by the Germans, the final offensive against the West, they had executed approximately 120 American soldiers during the Ardennes.

And this these were units of the 6th SS Panzer Army under General Sepp Dietrich, who was-- and a notorious colonel, whose name, unfortunately, I cannot spontaneously recall. But I interrogated both of them. And Dietrich had been the-- a Nazi-- had been a member of the SS humble beginnings in the 1920s, when he had organized bully boys that would keep order in Nazi rallies.

And he had been a non-com, a non-commissioned officer, in the German army in World War I. And had-- he had worked his way up in the SS. And ended up as a four star equivalent general. He was, ultimately, as I understand it, sentenced for war crimes, but only served for five years.

The other colonel, who was more directly in charge of the massacre was given a longer sentence, but he also only served, inexplicably, only I think, eight or nine years. So not much came of that large mass trial, which was held in Dachau. At Camp Dachau. I recall that.

Did any of the people that you interrogated or caught, or all the people that you worked with, did they know of your Jewish background?

I did not make it a point to flaunt my background. And I, as a matter of fact, made a point always to my people that worked for me to say that we were not here to exact personal revenge, but that we were here to accomplish a mission for the United States government, and more specifically, for the United States Army.

Because I had a very sad experience of a couple people on my teams who were rather brutal to some SS men that they were interrogating. And I pointed out to them if we resorted to violence, then we weren't any better than the people that we were interrogating. And I said we couldn't-- we couldn't do this. We weren't here for that kind of personal revenge.

Did you experience any antisemitism in post-war Germany?

That's the strange thing. There wasn't any. I almost felt like congratulating a German if he ever admitted that he was an ideologically convinced National Socialist. Usually, the rationale when got was that they were forced to join. That they never realized any of this was going on. That they, themselves, never observed anything. That was, I would almost say,

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a mass psychological loss of national memory is what one saw at that time.

And I remember, I have some photographs of a religious parade in this small town. And all the big Nazis that we knew and had identified were in the forefront of this religious parade that was carrying a cross and carrying various religious flags through this town.

Did you visit any of the camps when you were stationed in Germany?

I not only visited Dachau, but as I said, I conducted some interrogations in Dachau of the Malmedy suspect that had been identified and collected by interrogation teams throughout the British and American zones of Germany. So I worked there about, I would say, a month. And basically, where I had my team and my headquarters was only about 20 miles away from Dachau there in 1945 and '46.

Did you see any of the other concentration camps or even any of the DP camps?

I had occasion to visit a couple of DP camps. I did not see any other concentration camps, other than Dachau.

What efforts that you make to find relatives or friends that were still-- that you had left behind in Europe?

At that time, it was extremely difficult due to the chaotic conditions in Germany. I tried to find out about my family, but I was never really able to get any meaningful information. By the time I left there, three years later, of course, by then the situation had been organized somewhat better.

But initially, it was virtually impossible to find out. There was such a movement of, a mass movement of people in and around, and out of, and into Germany from the east that it was impossible for me. And I a lieutenant at the time and not able to get any information.

Did you go back to your hometown?

Yes, I went back to Landau, because I had an aunt there, a woman who had converted to Catholicism early on. For many years, she was married to a Gentile. And I went back very briefly. And made-- since it was in the French zone and we were not terribly welcome there, I only went there, I believe, two or three times during the entire time I was there, at that particular time.

How were you treated by former friends and neighbors?

I saw none of them at that time and made no attempt to [INAUDIBLE].

I had asked you a few moments ago if you had known about the extent of the genocide before you came to Europe to serve. At what point did you become aware of the extent of the genocide?

I would say approximately four or five months after arriving in Germany, or not even that long, when we-- of course, I was-- when I was in Dachau I saw some of the books that had been maintained by the Germans of the deaths and how meticulously the Germans kept these books. And we saw the systematic bookkeeping of people who had been killed there.

And then, of course, subsequently I met some Germans that I worked with who had been in concentration camps. One, most specifically, had been in Buchenwald. And he told me about the experiences of others. And, of course, then the-- I became aware of the Nuremberg trials. And we tried to locate documents and witnesses to support the effort of the Nuremberg trials.

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

This is a continuation of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum volunteer collection interview with Werner

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Michel. This is tape one, side B. I wanted to ask you to continue. You have been telling me about the Nuremberg trials and your role in collecting the documents and assembling that kind of material.

I wanted to know if you can tell me a little bit more about your involvement with Nuremberg and if you were ever in the courtroom.

First of all, I was never in the courtroom at Nuremberg. I was busy out in the field during my mission. However, we had gotten intelligence collection requirements on documents that were desired to substantiate some of the charges. And, of course, this collection of documents was going on all the time.

We submitted some. I have no way of knowing which ones were ever used. I recall that I was essentially a field worker with two small military intelligence detachments, conducting interrogations, conducting checks in local areas, trying to locate people who were on the various wanted lists and trying to find documentation.

I did, in one instance, as I recall, in the town of Sandizell, we located some hidden-- the hidden documents of the National Socialist Motor Corps, known as the NSKK, the National-- the Nationalsozialistisches Kraftfahrkorps. And we found all their documents. And we secured those and forwarded them to higher headquarters for whatever need and exploitation they could make of that. But as to whether these were of utility, or some of the other documents that we found, I'm not able to make any kind of judgment in that regard.

What were your thoughts about the success of the Nuremberg and the Dachau proceedings, the criminal proceedings, and the legacy or the impact of these proceedings?

I think the trials themselves were very important for the simple reason that they established a precedent that, henceforth, countries and their leaders that would undertake-- start a war or would start a violation of human rights and a violation of the land warfare, the Geneva Convention, would be held accountable from that level. And from the legal level, I think it was-- the Nuremberg trials played an invaluable role.

From the standpoint of the impact on the average German, I don't think it had that much impact at that particular time. The Germans said-- the man on the street kind of response was if these people were guilty, truly guilty, they would have been taken out and should have been shot right away, instead of all this interminable questioning, day after day and week after week.

Secondly, and this is probably more ironic as I reflect, many of the Germans thought that with the conclusion of the Nuremberg trials that this-- any thought of guilt was taken from their shoulders, because now that the top echelon of the German government had been found guilty and taken care of that the rest of them had been-- would not be guilty. And as a matter of fact, they thought of themselves somehow as victims as well.

During your time in post-war Europe, attempts were being made to smuggle survivors into Palestine. I was wondering how much you knew about these activities and if you were in any way approached or if you were involved?

I literally knew nothing about this effort. And I'm very glad that I didn't know about it. Because later on, in the 1940s, early 1947 or late 1946, actually, I was transferred to the Counterintelligence Corps. And one of our tasks, as I recall, was to try to stop the interference with the-- there was a British Consulate in Munich. And there was an allegation that the Irgun was going to bomb the British Consulate. And we were told to find the perpetrators, the possible perpetrators, which we never located.

But I must say that they must have had very good security. Because officially, from what I recall, there was little or no information available to American counterintelligence, at least in southern Germany, about the effort to smuggle Jews into Palestine.

Did you ever think about going to Palestine yourself at that time?

Not at that time. Earlier, just before I left Germany, in 1936, I belonged to the Habonim, which is a Zionist group. But

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after that, it never became a viable alternative for me. By this time, I was an army officer. And I was very, very busy in my mission. And it just never-- I must admit I never thought about it again.

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

Did you say the US? If you remember, at the end of the war, the Morgenthau Plan was to make Germany into an agricultural nation, which would not have any industrial capability to make war again. This, of course, proved to be impractical.

And we also were going to keep large forces in Germany to assure that the Germans would have no opportunity to, in any way, interfere again in Europe. This also was impractical because the political will of the American people was not to keep many divisions and hundreds of thousands of soldiers on occupation duty in Germany.

And I observed this tremendous flux of initially that we were going to keep, I think, 16 divisions. And this very quickly became 12 divisions, became eight. And finally, by early 1948, I believe we had a single division in Germany plus 30,000 men in what was known as the United States Constabulary, which was more or less a military police force, which was to assure that the Germans would not create any problems, any security problem for us.

Of course, coincidental with this, the problems with the Soviet Union began. And I was there during the-- at the beginning of the Berlin airlift, when we suddenly realized that we had a new adversary to the east. And so then we-- the Soviets probably, ironically, did us a favor. Because NATO became the consequence. And we rearmed again and sent new troops and new troop units back to Europe once again.

In your work in Germany after the war, were you aware of any former Nazis being employed by the Americans in anti-Soviet activities? Or were you aware of any of the former SS or Gestapo, whatever, being used in any other way by the American military or by the intelligence units?

In 1946, as I recall it, we had an Operation Paperclip, which was to select certain German scientists who had specific capabilities and skills and were experts in rockets and so forth. And these, I was aware, were brought to the United States. I did not work on that project by myself. Even though I do remember that I interviewed Professor Messerschmidt in Augsburg Germany in early 1946. But he was not-- he was not selected for this project. He was the only one that I ever came in contact with.

I also became aware that the Germans were starting an intelligence service for the United States. And this was under General Galen, who had been the head of German intelligence on the eastern front, and who employed also a large number of Russians and Ukrainians.

I am not sure of how many of those were tainted. So I think it's entirely possible that a large number of them were. I also recall that in about 1947, we started-- we began to issue visas to displaced persons to come to the United States. And we, in the Counterintelligence Corps, were charged with a visa screening process since we already had a number of missions.

First of all, there was the residual missions concerning former Nazi activities, which as time went on, received a lower and lower priority. The higher priority were the Soviet attempts in East Germany and their attempt to send intelligence agents to West Germany. And then, of course, the Communist Party in West Germany, which, of course, was extremely virulently anti-American.

So as it was, the least competent of our people were put into the visa screening. The visa screening process required people to document that they were not Nazis when they wanted to go to the United States. However, we had no access to documents from Estonia, Latvia, or Baltic-- the Baltic countries, Poland, which were under Soviet domination at that time.

And so usually, these people would bring in certificates from other refugees. So they, in effect, certified each other as being clean and as not having been Nazis. As you probably know, in retrospect, a goodly number of these people turned

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out to have been Nazis, in effect even war criminals. But this became apparent only after we had access to documentation from the former Soviet Union.

Did you have any problems reconciling the acceptance of some SS and some of the staff, or whoever the government was-- the US government was willing to accept, did you have any trouble separating your personal feelings from your professional responsibilities in that regard?

As far as I recall, I don't know of any cases where we specifically permitted someone who was in a-- who had been an overt SS official. I am aware, and I, myself, worked with a couple of people. Because I was in the human intelligence business of running informants and agents, that had some Nazi, minor Nazi affiliation.

I ran into former German intelligence officers that I worked with and who provided us with some information. But my field was basically aimed, later on, in '47-'48, was aimed at the German communist movement. And there were no former SS or Nazis that I was able to find. We were trying to find people within that movement that would cooperate with us. And I must say that I did not see any of those kind.

You want to stop?

Yeah.

You'd like me to stop this? One moment.

OK, we're back. You had asked me to stop and you wanted you to tell me something off the record. And now I'm going to ask you to tell me what you just told me off the record on the record so we can resume. You have been talking about intelligence matters from reports that you got from people who were in the German intelligence during the war.

Yeah, I'm not sure this is germane, but as a matter of background, in late 1946, as the mission of interrogation and area coverage was reduced, I was transferred to the US Army Counterintelligence Corps. And I was assigned initially to-- they were organized in regions and sub-regions in the United States zone of Germany.

And I was assigned to Memmingen Sub-Region in Region 4, which was in Munich. And my mission there initially was to essentially do what I had been doing before, was to cover the local area, determine if there were any extremist activities by either left wing or right wing, German activities.

And during this time, I was approached by a number of former German intelligence officers. These people were very intent on telling me all about what was going on in the Ukraine, and in Russia, Soviet Union, or in France, and those areas. And they were little utility to me because I was charged with finding out what was happening in the local area.

So I turned them over to that portion of our office, which had the mission of monitoring foreign intelligence activities. And these people, of course, were of some utility to what we call the Counter Espionage people. I was in the Counter Subversion area or in the Internal Intelligence area.

One of these people, as I learned approximately 25 years later, was a German intelligence officer who had been stationed in Lyon, France and had tried to give me all kinds of information about France. And I told him that that was of no use to me and told him I would turn him over to the others.

Evidently, he worked for these others. And also, later on, when he, himself, left the work, he turned these activities over to a former colleague of his, whose name was Klaus Barbie. And you probably know the rest. I never met Barbie myself, but I did know the German up there, or German intelligence officer, who was not an SS officer, but a legitimate German intelligence officer.

And somehow he is the one who then located Barbie, who became his sub-source, as I understand it. And upon his departure, Barbie became the main source for American counterintelligence. And, of course, he later on was facilitated in moving to South America. And was subsequently brought back to France for trial.

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Is there anything else that stands out in your mind about your time in post-war Germany? Any other episodes that you haven't told me about?

Of course, my mission was to work with Germans who had a natural opposition to communism. As time progressed, and when we wanted a-- we were, of course, very concerned about having an indigenous German political capability that could stand on its own feet.

And so I worked with some very wonderful Germans who were not trained. They were mostly-- a very fertile field for me was the University of Munich. These were university students, who subsequently became lawyers, and doctors, and so forth.

One of the persons I worked with in this effort turned out to be a relative of mine. He was on the city council in Munich at that time. He was half Jewish and had been in a concentration camp. And I'm trying to-- it wasn't Oranienburg. It was-- it wasn't Bergen-Belsen. It was-- I can't think of one now. I will in a little while.

But he was just an extraordinary human being, who was ideologically a great human person, who-- just the type of individual needed by Germany to start a new, and to start a more just and open society. And those were the kind of people I really enjoyed working with, who were both convinced Democrats and also were opposed to the Soviet totalitarianism, which was to be exported through the Communist Party and into Bavaria.

Basically, that is how I ended my first assignment in Germany in June, July 1948, as the airlift commenced.

How long was your first tour of duty?

My first tour of duty in Germany started at the end of May in 1948 and ended in June-- 1945, I mean, and ended in June 1948. As a matter of fact, I made one of the last trips to Berlin by train, which was halted by the Soviets. And I was carrying some highly secret documents.

And I was trying to determine how I was going to get rid of the documents before they-- we were sitting out in the midst of East Germany and surrounded by Soviet soldiers with the fixed bayonets on their rifles. And I thought, well, that was a very interesting experience, how I was going to eat those documents.

But subsequently, after about eight or 10 hours, we were permitted to resume our travel to West Germany. I was coming from Berlin at that time.

Why did you decide to stay in the military?

I decided to stay in the military because I-- first of all, the experience in Germany gave me a sense of tremendous accomplishment. We were working for something we believed in and believed in very strongly.

And so I was highly motivated. And it was very exciting. It was, for a fellow who was 20 years old, 21 years old, the responsibility was enormous. And I thoroughly felt that I was doing something of use to my country. And also, saw the reward of a job well done. So I decided to stay in.

What did you do when you left Germany?

When I left Germany, I was transferred to the US Army Counterintelligence School at Fort Holabird in Baltimore, Maryland. And became an instructor there. And taught German language and German political systems, which was integrated into our instruction.

In other words, the students who were there were all military personnel who were going back to Germany to continue with the occupation. They had to know the German documents, the Fragebogen, the questionnaires, how you conducted an interview or an interrogation in Germany, in German. And I was there for a little over two years.

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And I was supposed to return to Germany. In the meantime, American policy had changed, or US Army policy had changed. And they said if you were born in Germany, we can't trust you in Germany. And they said, German born personnel cannot be assigned back to Germany.

So I was assigned subsequently to the Presidio of San Francisco in California. And that was in late 1949. And I remained in the Counterintelligence Corps unit, the 115th Counterintelligence Corps Detachment, which governed-- or covered, rather, the six western states of the United States for the US Army.

And I was stationed at the Presidio until 1952, when I left for Korea, during the Korean War. I was there only very briefly. And was brought back to Japan because of my-- strangely enough because of my knowledge of German.

The operations officer in Japan, in the Counterintelligence Corps Detachment there had been one of my German students earlier. And he said, we urgently need someone with your background because there are remnants of the Sorge case.

And Sorge was a German-- a communist agent, a Russian agent who was active in Japan in World War II. And it was believed that some of these activities still existed. And so that's why I was brought back to Tokyo. And spent three years in the Counterintelligence Corps in Japan, most of which was spent with the Soviet-- as chief of the Soviet Counter-Espionage Section of the office in Tokyo.

I want to back you up for just one minute to San Francisco and ask you what stands out in your mind about your experience in San Francisco? Anything happen to you?

Well, I met my wife there, in San Francisco. And I also met an old friend of mine, Ernie [? Wyle, ?] who had been a boy with me in Germany, who had been on the "Voyage of the Damned." and it was wonderful renewing our friendship with him and his wife, who had also come from Landau. And it was very, very meaningful, both for meeting my wife and also meeting these old friends from Germany.

What stands out in your mind about your service in Japan?

Now, in Japan, as I said, I was chief of the Soviet Counter-Espionage Division. And I also got-- got to know that there had been a Jewish community there in Tokyo, which was an incredible group of survivors of people who had, first of all-- some of them had fled from czarist Russia to Mukden in North China, and some of them had fled from the Soviet Union.

And these people had lived by their wits for many years. Lived under the Chinese, under the Japanese, and some of them, somehow, made their way to Japan. Then there, of course, were some Jewish refugees who had gone to Shanghai and had subsequently come to Japan as well. So there was a group of people who flotsam and jetsam from all over the world. And I got to know a few of those.

In addition, I was involved in a case involving-- concerning a Soviet intelligence officer who was the chief of Soviet Intelligence. And we had been observing his activities for some time. And on January the 24th, I think it was, or 23rd or 24th, 1954-- this is now 44 years ago-- he defected.

And I was the one who met him, when he defected to me. And I then turned him over to the CIA. And we jointly debriefed him in Okinawa. We flew him to Okinawa. And I debriefed him there. And that was somewhat of a highlight.

The other activity which stands out in my mind is the debriefing of American prisoners of war who came back from their dreadful and horrible experience, having been captured during the Korean War by the North Koreans and the Chinese. These men went through terrible hell also over in North Korea and China.

The Chinese Intelligence and North Korean Intelligence people were masters at what was then referred to as brainwashing, but in actuality is simply depriving people of their sleep, putting them to great physical and psychological

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pressure, and turning them into whatever they wished them to be. And these men suffered very greatly.

Many of course, did not return. I think at this time there are still some 8,000 people who are soldiers who are missing from the Korean War, which is much larger than the number of people who were lost in the Vietnam War. Those are the two major experiences that I recall.

I want you to explain a little bit more about the KGB defection. And why you, why did this person come to you?

Well, as I said, this was-- we had been watching-- this man's name was Yuriy Rastvorov. And we had been watching him for some time, as I'm sure he was watching us. And he worked out of the Soviet mission. It was not called an embassy at that time.

And we were monitoring his activities because we were certain that he was recruiting both Japanese, and probably Americans as well, to become Soviet agents. And so we had a number of contacts, whom we asked to report on his movements.

Frankly, I don't think in our wildest dreams that we anticipated that he would defect to us, because he'd obviously had a very-- a very promising career in Soviet Intelligence. However, when Beria-- evidently he was a protege of Beria. When Beria was suddenly deposed and a large group of Russians suddenly appeared in Japan, ostensibly with a skating team, and it turned out that there were more coaches than skaters, we realized something was up.

And suddenly, I was notified by one of my people, who in turn was in touch with one of the sources that I had mentioned, whom we used to monitor Rastvorov's activities. One of these people contacted me and said that Rastvorov is very-- is intent on defecting. And he wishes to meet me at the corner of a certain building. It happened to be the NYK building. NYK was a shipping line, had a very prominent building in downtown Tokyo.

And so I think it was about 6:30 in the evening, I drove up there. And not expecting anything would, of course, happen. But it did. And a very frightened man got into my car. And he was perspiring very heavily. So at first, my response to him was that I didn't believe that this was a bona fide defection, but it was probably a provocation.

And asked him some very penetrating questions to document to me that indeed he was going to defect. And he did. And I then-- we turned him over to the CIA people afterward, shortly thereafter. And I participated in debriefing him down in Okinawa, as I said. For about a month, we were with him.

I'm going to pause and change tapes. Just give me one moment.

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