

1

00:00:00,000 --> 00:00:02,640

The United States Holocaust  
Memorial Museum volunteer

2

00:00:02,640 --> 00:00:05,260

collection interview with  
George Leonard, and this

3

00:00:05,260 --> 00:00:10,080

is tape three, side A.

4

00:00:10,080 --> 00:00:15,120

When you were  
physically in the camp,

5

00:00:15,120 --> 00:00:16,980

did you have an  
opportunity to see

6

00:00:16,980 --> 00:00:19,440

the parachutist cliff  
or the death steps

7

00:00:19,440 --> 00:00:24,840

or that part of the camp  
that has become notorious?

8

00:00:24,840 --> 00:00:27,610

9

00:00:27,610 --> 00:00:32,110

The parachutist cliffs  
doesn't ring a bell,

10

00:00:32,110 --> 00:00:34,130

and I feel inadequate--

11

00:00:34,130 --> 00:00:38,560

the so-called death steps,  
sure, I saw them many times,

12

00:00:38,560 --> 00:00:41,300  
and I was familiar with  
them, although if you

13  
00:00:41,300 --> 00:00:44,440  
were to ask me right  
now what quadrant

14  
00:00:44,440 --> 00:00:46,340  
of the outside of the  
camp they were in,

15  
00:00:46,340 --> 00:00:49,810  
I wouldn't be able to answer.

16  
00:00:49,810 --> 00:00:52,840  
Yeah, I saw them,  
and I saw people

17  
00:00:52,840 --> 00:01:00,400  
scrambling over them because  
of the historic importance.

18  
00:01:00,400 --> 00:01:04,050  
And later in the game,  
I saw photographers

19  
00:01:04,050 --> 00:01:08,280  
from all sorts of news  
groups and so forth

20  
00:01:08,280 --> 00:01:13,350  
taking pictures, but  
not parachutist cliffs.

21  
00:01:13,350 --> 00:01:14,730  
I just don't remember it.

22  
00:01:14,730 --> 00:01:21,295  
I remember the road going  
in the direction of the--

23  
00:01:21,295 --> 00:01:24,730

well, I remember  
that the railroad

24  
00:01:24,730 --> 00:01:29,085  
station where the  
freight cars came in

25  
00:01:29,085 --> 00:01:31,015  
and they'd be taken  
up to the camp--

26  
00:01:31,015 --> 00:01:40,880

27  
00:01:40,880 --> 00:01:44,610  
if you want to steer  
me here, you can do so.

28  
00:01:44,610 --> 00:01:51,470

29  
00:01:51,470 --> 00:01:53,540  
Just whatever you were--

30  
00:01:53,540 --> 00:01:54,980  
remember whatever came to mind.

31  
00:01:54,980 --> 00:01:58,160  
But if something more comes to  
mind, you can add it anytime.

32  
00:01:58,160 --> 00:02:00,680  
That's fine.

33  
00:02:00,680 --> 00:02:02,090  
I wanted to get  
back to something

34  
00:02:02,090 --> 00:02:05,800  
that you had alluded to  
earlier in the interview,

35

00:02:05,800 --> 00:02:09,039  
and you had talked  
about the Russians that

36  
00:02:09,039 --> 00:02:13,510  
were prisoners being very  
active and being in charge.

37  
00:02:13,510 --> 00:02:17,980  
How did the different ethnic  
groups within the camp

38  
00:02:17,980 --> 00:02:20,560  
get along during  
the period of time

39  
00:02:20,560 --> 00:02:24,110  
when the Americans were  
administering the camp?

40  
00:02:24,110 --> 00:02:25,485  
During the time that--

41  
00:02:25,485 --> 00:02:27,650  
Yeah, while you were there.

42  
00:02:27,650 --> 00:02:33,260  
There were squabbles  
constantly, and the importance

43  
00:02:33,260 --> 00:02:36,860  
of the American presence  
was shown in that.

44  
00:02:36,860 --> 00:02:39,550

45  
00:02:39,550 --> 00:02:44,950  
The camp gradually, as two  
or three weeks rolled by,

46  
00:02:44,950 --> 00:02:47,020  
became quieter.

47  
00:02:47,020 --> 00:02:49,870  
And people went  
about their business

48  
00:02:49,870 --> 00:02:53,930  
more to accomplish  
jobs and so forth.

49  
00:02:53,930 --> 00:02:57,740  
And you had people in the  
camp, the healthy ones,

50  
00:02:57,740 --> 00:03:05,420  
were buckling down to  
communicating and solidifying

51  
00:03:05,420 --> 00:03:09,290  
friendships with their  
own groups and others.

52  
00:03:09,290 --> 00:03:15,350  
And I think that the  
only major antipathies

53  
00:03:15,350 --> 00:03:20,900  
that I remember clearly  
and was a witness to

54  
00:03:20,900 --> 00:03:28,310  
were the kapos being set  
upon by the ordinary inmates

55  
00:03:28,310 --> 00:03:30,998  
and the Russians against  
the rest of them--

56  
00:03:30,998 --> 00:03:32,540  
the Russians against  
the rest of them

57  
00:03:32,540 --> 00:03:35,780  
primarily because they

wanted to be boss.

58

00:03:35,780 --> 00:03:39,270

They were the biggest  
group, et cetera.

59

00:03:39,270 --> 00:03:41,285

And the Russians hated the Jews.

60

00:03:41,285 --> 00:03:44,310

61

00:03:44,310 --> 00:03:45,840

There was that, too.

62

00:03:45,840 --> 00:03:47,880

And you had enough  
of a preponderance

63

00:03:47,880 --> 00:03:49,950

in the rest of it.

64

00:03:49,950 --> 00:03:55,050

Like I said, probably 75%  
to 95% of the remainder,

65

00:03:55,050 --> 00:03:58,380

outside of the criminals and  
the Russians, were Jewish.

66

00:03:58,380 --> 00:04:01,480

67

00:04:01,480 --> 00:04:04,810

That's my estimate.

68

00:04:04,810 --> 00:04:07,270

I talked with vast  
numbers of them

69

00:04:07,270 --> 00:04:10,930

and looked over vast

numbers of them.

70

00:04:10,930 --> 00:04:14,650

And I was experienced in coming  
to the conclusion that this

71

00:04:14,650 --> 00:04:17,230

was primarily, outside  
of the Russians,

72

00:04:17,230 --> 00:04:18,415

a death camp for Jews.

73

00:04:18,415 --> 00:04:24,710

74

00:04:24,710 --> 00:04:32,550

And I'm on good  
ground here when I

75

00:04:32,550 --> 00:04:36,540

say that not many people  
know it, or they don't care

76

00:04:36,540 --> 00:04:41,600

to know it, but Hitler was a  
profound dabbler in the occult.

77

00:04:41,600 --> 00:04:43,570

Did you know that?

78

00:04:43,570 --> 00:04:46,000

And he had someone advising him.

79

00:04:46,000 --> 00:04:49,750

It was a pure nut, I think.

80

00:04:49,750 --> 00:04:56,150

And in this occult, he  
dabbled with this rather

81

00:04:56,150 --> 00:05:02,830

silly, unsupported  
information about Jews.

82  
00:05:02,830 --> 00:05:07,340  
And I really shouldn't  
carry it any further

83  
00:05:07,340 --> 00:05:09,390  
than that because  
what I just said,

84  
00:05:09,390 --> 00:05:12,520  
I know, but I don't want to say  
anything I don't really know.

85  
00:05:12,520 --> 00:05:20,400

86  
00:05:20,400 --> 00:05:24,480  
Another thing that you had  
mentioned before, very briefly,

87  
00:05:24,480 --> 00:05:28,760  
in passing, was that you looked  
around and you took it in,

88  
00:05:28,760 --> 00:05:30,010  
but you didn't process it yet.

89  
00:05:30,010 --> 00:05:33,400

90  
00:05:33,400 --> 00:05:35,470  
My next question has two parts.

91  
00:05:35,470 --> 00:05:38,680  
How long were you  
physically in that area?

92  
00:05:38,680 --> 00:05:42,310  
And how did you begin to  
process during the time



93

00:05:42,310 --> 00:05:46,895  
that you were there in the camp,  
in the area around Mauthausen?

94

00:05:46,895 --> 00:05:49,750

95

00:05:49,750 --> 00:05:54,280  
I think it was in late July  
that we were moved to--

96

00:05:54,280 --> 00:05:59,620  
mid-late-July, we were  
moved to Spital am Pyhrn

97

00:05:59,620 --> 00:06:02,890  
in the mountains,  
which, by the way,

98

00:06:02,890 --> 00:06:04,360  
was a delightful experience.

99

00:06:04,360 --> 00:06:08,070

100

00:06:08,070 --> 00:06:12,330  
So we had something like five  
to seven weeks, I dare say,

101

00:06:12,330 --> 00:06:14,550  
in the Mauthausen area.

102

00:06:14,550 --> 00:06:16,720  
I got to add a  
statement about Spital.

103

00:06:16,720 --> 00:06:25,530  
We were billeted in Spital  
with a rushing mountain river

104

00:06:25,530 --> 00:06:29,100  
at the eastern edge of us.

105  
00:06:29,100 --> 00:06:31,350  
And just to the other  
side of that eastern edge

106  
00:06:31,350 --> 00:06:34,133  
were the Russians.

107  
00:06:34,133 --> 00:06:35,675  
So there was a reason  
for that, too--

108  
00:06:35,675 --> 00:06:40,710

109  
00:06:40,710 --> 00:06:43,470  
first of all, to prevent the  
Russians from coming down in.

110  
00:06:43,470 --> 00:06:45,570  
And secondly,  
maybe we were going

111  
00:06:45,570 --> 00:06:50,250  
to use that as a venue  
ourselves to go out and go east.

112  
00:06:50,250 --> 00:06:52,140  
But there it was.

113  
00:06:52,140 --> 00:06:54,510  
I remember I used  
to be a damn fool.

114  
00:06:54,510 --> 00:06:56,310  
I did some awfully  
foolish things.

115  
00:06:56,310 --> 00:07:01,020  
I used to go all  
alone onto the road,

116

00:07:01,020 --> 00:07:04,380  
going into their territory,  
and just take long

117  
00:07:04,380 --> 00:07:08,820  
walks talking with any  
Russian soldier who

118  
00:07:08,820 --> 00:07:11,040  
could speak English.

119  
00:07:11,040 --> 00:07:15,990  
And I found them to be amiable  
and ignorant-- ignorant

120  
00:07:15,990 --> 00:07:17,460  
in the ordinary  
sense of the word,

121  
00:07:17,460 --> 00:07:21,540  
meaning not well  
versed in things.

122  
00:07:21,540 --> 00:07:24,320

123  
00:07:24,320 --> 00:07:26,000  
And I used to hate them.

124  
00:07:26,000 --> 00:07:29,870  
For one thing, they'd throw  
hand grenades in the river,

125  
00:07:29,870 --> 00:07:31,430  
and the trout would  
come belly up.

126  
00:07:31,430 --> 00:07:33,080  
And I love trout.

127  
00:07:33,080 --> 00:07:35,275  
And you just don't  
do that to trout.

128  
00:07:35,275 --> 00:07:40,620

129  
00:07:40,620 --> 00:07:45,090  
During the five to seven weeks  
that you were in Mauthausen,

130  
00:07:45,090 --> 00:07:51,380  
how did you begin to process  
what you had found in the camp?

131  
00:07:51,380 --> 00:07:54,230  
You said you just took it  
in and you didn't process it

132  
00:07:54,230 --> 00:07:58,530  
when you first arrived, but you  
were there for weeks and weeks.

133  
00:07:58,530 --> 00:08:01,520  
How did you begin to deal  
with the reality of what

134  
00:08:01,520 --> 00:08:03,920  
you had found?

135  
00:08:03,920 --> 00:08:07,160  
I started taking notes.

136  
00:08:07,160 --> 00:08:11,480  
And I don't have them  
anymore, I'm sure.

137  
00:08:11,480 --> 00:08:13,730  
I took voluminous  
notes that I have.

138  
00:08:13,730 --> 00:08:15,490  
Even if I could find  
them, I don't even

139

00:08:15,490 --> 00:08:16,490  
think I could read them.

140  
00:08:16,490 --> 00:08:21,160  
They were taken in such a  
bad handwriting which I have.

141  
00:08:21,160 --> 00:08:24,010

142  
00:08:24,010 --> 00:08:28,185  
The teachers changed me  
when I was in kindergarten,

143  
00:08:28,185 --> 00:08:31,030  
the left to the right.

144  
00:08:31,030 --> 00:08:40,450  
And when I was in Kitzingen,  
I really took up the idea of--

145  
00:08:40,450 --> 00:08:43,929  
Kitzingen was in  
the 79th Infantry

146  
00:08:43,929 --> 00:08:46,150  
Division on my way home.

147  
00:08:46,150 --> 00:08:50,260  
And I had a few weeks  
there, and I had access

148  
00:08:50,260 --> 00:08:52,810  
to a typewriter in an office.

149  
00:08:52,810 --> 00:08:59,410  
And I used to go in three  
hours a day and try to--

150  
00:08:59,410 --> 00:09:01,030  
once I started a novel.

151

00:09:01,030 --> 00:09:04,210

Another time I started  
a non-fiction book.

152

00:09:04,210 --> 00:09:09,580

And I couldn't take  
it even back then.

153

00:09:09,580 --> 00:09:11,410

Gradually, I just  
drew off from it.

154

00:09:11,410 --> 00:09:16,120

But in answer to  
your question, I

155

00:09:16,120 --> 00:09:19,660

processed it by trying  
to write about it

156

00:09:19,660 --> 00:09:22,930

and collect it in my  
mind and so forth.

157

00:09:22,930 --> 00:09:25,400

And it just didn't work.

158

00:09:25,400 --> 00:09:30,580

And I tried two or three times  
over the years to write a novel

159

00:09:30,580 --> 00:09:35,900

or a non-fiction book on the  
subject, and I can handle--

160

00:09:35,900 --> 00:09:39,620

maybe not like some  
of the finest writers,

161

00:09:39,620 --> 00:09:43,550

but I can handle  
fiction and nonfiction

162

00:09:43,550 --> 00:09:45,560  
well enough so that I  
should have been able to.

163  
00:09:45,560 --> 00:09:47,555  
But emotionally,  
I couldn't do it.

164  
00:09:47,555 --> 00:09:49,160  
I just had to duck off.

165  
00:09:49,160 --> 00:09:54,090

166  
00:09:54,090 --> 00:09:57,600  
You can't avoid processing,  
because your mind takes over.

167  
00:09:57,600 --> 00:10:02,040  
Your mind-- your subconscious  
mind and your conscious mind--

168  
00:10:02,040 --> 00:10:05,130  
are working all the time.

169  
00:10:05,130 --> 00:10:10,800  
And you think about things, and  
you think and think and think.

170  
00:10:10,800 --> 00:10:15,480  
I had another way to  
process, and that is I

171  
00:10:15,480 --> 00:10:17,940  
got tied up with a  
girl from Vienna,

172  
00:10:17,940 --> 00:10:22,860  
a schoolteacher named Bertha  
[? Bittel. ?] And she--

173  
00:10:22,860 --> 00:10:25,650  
Phyllis knows about her,

so there's no problem.

174

00:10:25,650 --> 00:10:32,790

And Bertha [? Bittel ?] was a  
product of a Nazi childhood.

175

00:10:32,790 --> 00:10:36,400

But she asked questions  
and wanted to know,

176

00:10:36,400 --> 00:10:42,430

and it was the fact that  
she of her background that

177

00:10:42,430 --> 00:10:48,350

led me not to get serious  
enough to make plans with her.

178

00:10:48,350 --> 00:10:50,930

But at any rate,  
she wanted to know.

179

00:10:50,930 --> 00:10:54,470

She'd ask me questions about  
it, about the Holocaust,

180

00:10:54,470 --> 00:10:56,310

about Jews.

181

00:10:56,310 --> 00:10:58,960

Is it really true that blah,  
blah, blah, blah, blah?

182

00:10:58,960 --> 00:11:03,210

And I'd say, Bertha,  
and we'd talk about it.

183

00:11:03,210 --> 00:11:06,950

So she spoke good English  
because one of her subjects

184

00:11:06,950 --> 00:11:10,510

was teaching English.



185  
00:11:10,510 --> 00:11:13,920  
And I'll tell you something  
amusing about that.

186  
00:11:13,920 --> 00:11:14,594  
May I?

187  
00:11:14,594 --> 00:11:17,631

188  
00:11:17,631 --> 00:11:20,276  
I used to go to  
Vocklabruck to see

189  
00:11:20,276 --> 00:11:23,510  
her, which is a beautiful  
town on a little river,

190  
00:11:23,510 --> 00:11:24,590  
not too far away.

191  
00:11:24,590 --> 00:11:26,030  
And there was a  
supply truck that

192  
00:11:26,030 --> 00:11:30,980  
left our town, particularly  
of Spital, when I was there,

193  
00:11:30,980 --> 00:11:32,660  
to go into Vocklabruck.

194  
00:11:32,660 --> 00:11:34,880  
So I used to hitch  
rides with them

195  
00:11:34,880 --> 00:11:37,620  
and see her because I had  
always-- first of all,

196  
00:11:37,620 --> 00:11:40,070

I went with them to  
do a job and I met her

197  
00:11:40,070 --> 00:11:43,480  
on the bank of the  
Vocklabruck River.

198  
00:11:43,480 --> 00:11:45,590  
From then on, I used to  
hitch rides with them

199  
00:11:45,590 --> 00:11:48,080  
and get a ride to see her.

200  
00:11:48,080 --> 00:11:50,240  
And just before I was  
about to ship out,

201  
00:11:50,240 --> 00:11:53,390  
I knew that I was going  
to-- no, before that,

202  
00:11:53,390 --> 00:11:54,890  
I knew I was going to--

203  
00:11:54,890 --> 00:11:59,530  
well, I wanted to see  
her, and I had no truck.

204  
00:11:59,530 --> 00:12:05,720  
And I took a jeep,  
and I overestimated

205  
00:12:05,720 --> 00:12:12,015  
my sense of worth and power in  
the company and took the jeep

206  
00:12:12,015 --> 00:12:13,890  
and went to see her and  
have a great weekend.

207  
00:12:13,890 --> 00:12:15,350  
I got back, and

the first sergeant,

208

00:12:15,350 --> 00:12:19,490

who was not a friend  
of mine and who

209

00:12:19,490 --> 00:12:22,400

had been behind the whole  
war and then came up

210

00:12:22,400 --> 00:12:25,940

at the end of the  
war, said, I'm going

211

00:12:25,940 --> 00:12:28,700

to see that you get shipped  
out to a group that's

212

00:12:28,700 --> 00:12:31,770

going to Japan.

213

00:12:31,770 --> 00:12:34,000

So I went to the captain.

214

00:12:34,000 --> 00:12:36,640

I said, are you  
going to let this

215

00:12:36,640 --> 00:12:39,910

happen after we dug foxholes  
together and everything?

216

00:12:39,910 --> 00:12:41,020

Certainly not, he says.

217

00:12:41,020 --> 00:12:43,360

Tell the sergeant to give  
you two days' extra duty

218

00:12:43,360 --> 00:12:44,680

and let it go.

219

00:12:44,680 --> 00:12:46,300  
So I did that.

220  
00:12:46,300 --> 00:12:52,330  
But then the outfit I would  
have been shipped to Japan

221  
00:12:52,330 --> 00:12:55,750  
went home when the war  
ended, and they all

222  
00:12:55,750 --> 00:12:57,700  
got discharged weeks earlier--

223  
00:12:57,700 --> 00:12:59,080  
just a little sidelight.

224  
00:12:59,080 --> 00:13:04,610

225  
00:13:04,610 --> 00:13:07,310  
I was hoping you could  
also speak a little bit

226  
00:13:07,310 --> 00:13:09,260  
about the reactions,  
not just of yourself,

227  
00:13:09,260 --> 00:13:13,100  
but of the other Americans  
that were there, the other GIs,

228  
00:13:13,100 --> 00:13:15,830  
especially if there  
were any Jewish GIs.

229  
00:13:15,830 --> 00:13:19,760  
Did you have any  
conversations among yourselves

230  
00:13:19,760 --> 00:13:24,190  
in the face of what you  
found at Mauthausen?

231  
00:13:24,190 --> 00:13:28,690  
I don't recall  
specific conversations

232  
00:13:28,690 --> 00:13:32,800  
because it just wasn't done.

233  
00:13:32,800 --> 00:13:36,250  
Even if you worked side  
by side with somebody,

234  
00:13:36,250 --> 00:13:41,020  
looking at a bad situation,  
there might be a quick passing

235  
00:13:41,020 --> 00:13:42,220  
statement, and that was all.

236  
00:13:42,220 --> 00:13:45,280  
You just went ahead and worked.

237  
00:13:45,280 --> 00:13:47,410  
I can tell you, though,  
according to the factions

238  
00:13:47,410 --> 00:13:50,290  
I was telling you  
about that were split

239  
00:13:50,290 --> 00:13:56,350  
up entirely, a lot of the ASTP  
guys were more empathetic,

240  
00:13:56,350 --> 00:13:56,920  
and--

241  
00:13:56,920 --> 00:13:59,380  
army specialized  
training, the colleges--

242  
00:13:59,380 --> 00:14:01,720

more empathetic and  
feeling, and knowing how

243  
00:14:01,720 --> 00:14:05,570  
this fit into the world,  
et cetera, et cetera.

244  
00:14:05,570 --> 00:14:08,338

245  
00:14:08,338 --> 00:14:11,650  
One of the most  
selfish lot I found

246  
00:14:11,650 --> 00:14:14,980  
was the new young kids coming  
in who would just come in

247  
00:14:14,980 --> 00:14:17,710  
from replacement depots.

248  
00:14:17,710 --> 00:14:23,080  
And they hadn't seen  
much, if any, combat.

249  
00:14:23,080 --> 00:14:26,320  
And I didn't know them because  
I was with the captain, mostly,

250  
00:14:26,320 --> 00:14:29,590  
and they'd be replacing someone  
in the third platoon, blah,

251  
00:14:29,590 --> 00:14:30,120  
blah, blah.

252  
00:14:30,120 --> 00:14:32,170  
And I wouldn't even  
get to see them much.

253  
00:14:32,170 --> 00:14:33,960  
If I went to the  
third platoon, it

254  
00:14:33,960 --> 00:14:37,180  
was to talk to the  
sergeant or the lieutenant.

255  
00:14:37,180 --> 00:14:39,100  
But in Mauthausen,  
I saw a few of them.

256  
00:14:39,100 --> 00:14:46,930  
And one of them was a guy  
who found an SS horse.

257  
00:14:46,930 --> 00:14:52,050  
And all that was on his mind--

258  
00:14:52,050 --> 00:14:54,320  
nothing to do with  
the camp, nothing to--

259  
00:14:54,320 --> 00:14:56,640  
he could have been anywhere.

260  
00:14:56,640 --> 00:14:59,550  
He could have been  
in Maine or Vermont.

261  
00:14:59,550 --> 00:15:05,490  
He just lived the horse, and he  
was a very self-centered guy.

262  
00:15:05,490 --> 00:15:12,340  
And another one, the same type,  
lived in a house next to me,

263  
00:15:12,340 --> 00:15:18,850  
and he was a young man  
who was a fatuous jerk who

264  
00:15:18,850 --> 00:15:24,500  
would say things to the  
dentist's daughter like, Hilda,

265

00:15:24,500 --> 00:15:26,855

Hilda, I'm a Catholic, too.

266

00:15:26,855 --> 00:15:27,730

You know what I mean?

267

00:15:27,730 --> 00:15:32,360

268

00:15:32,360 --> 00:15:34,970

No understanding of the  
fact that these daughters

269

00:15:34,970 --> 00:15:39,200

and the family lived there right  
in the shadow of Mauthausen,

270

00:15:39,200 --> 00:15:42,680

and the father probably  
worked on SS teeth

271

00:15:42,680 --> 00:15:45,170

and so on and so forth and  
probably pried gold out

272

00:15:45,170 --> 00:15:48,390

of the Jews' teeth,  
for all I know.

273

00:15:48,390 --> 00:15:50,880

But there was no realization  
of anything like this

274

00:15:50,880 --> 00:15:53,960

at all, this kind of a mindset.

275

00:15:53,960 --> 00:15:57,350

And there was a lot of that  
mindset among the young fellows

276

00:15:57,350 --> 00:15:58,010

coming in.



277  
00:15:58,010 --> 00:16:01,893

278  
00:16:01,893 --> 00:16:03,560  
Let me see if I have  
another group there

279  
00:16:03,560 --> 00:16:05,770  
that I want to talk about--

280  
00:16:05,770 --> 00:16:11,740

281  
00:16:11,740 --> 00:16:16,928  
replacements, ASTP, the original  
cadre, and the sociopaths.

282  
00:16:16,928 --> 00:16:18,220  
I've already talked about that.

283  
00:16:18,220 --> 00:16:20,940  
I told you about the guy  
who came up to the line them

284  
00:16:20,940 --> 00:16:23,560  
up and shot prisoners  
whenever he could,

285  
00:16:23,560 --> 00:16:26,472  
[? Wachter, ?] didn't I?

286  
00:16:26,472 --> 00:16:29,340  
And I told you  
about [? Labede, ?]

287  
00:16:29,340 --> 00:16:31,950  
who was a sociopath.

288  
00:16:31,950 --> 00:16:36,780  
I hate to use that word over and  
over again, but it fits them.

289  
00:16:36,780 --> 00:16:42,750

290  
00:16:42,750 --> 00:16:45,300  
Aside from the things  
that were given to you

291  
00:16:45,300 --> 00:16:48,720  
by some of the people there,  
did you take any artifacts,

292  
00:16:48,720 --> 00:16:50,460  
or did-- not just you  
personally, but did

293  
00:16:50,460 --> 00:16:55,020  
the other GIs, did they take  
any artifacts or anything

294  
00:16:55,020 --> 00:16:55,660  
like that?

295  
00:16:55,660 --> 00:16:58,320  
And the other part of  
the same question was--

296  
00:16:58,320 --> 00:16:59,400  
From the camp, you mean?

297  
00:16:59,400 --> 00:17:01,550  
From the camp.

298  
00:17:01,550 --> 00:17:06,829  
There was nothing from  
the camp to take, really.

299  
00:17:06,829 --> 00:17:11,390  
I was given a present by  
a Pole, a cigarette thing.

300  
00:17:11,390 --> 00:17:15,710

But I don't imagine that there  
was much of that that went on.

301  
00:17:15,710 --> 00:17:18,079  
Who had much personal--

302  
00:17:18,079 --> 00:17:18,589  
you know?

303  
00:17:18,589 --> 00:17:24,020

304  
00:17:24,020 --> 00:17:26,569  
Did you happen to  
see the American flag

305  
00:17:26,569 --> 00:17:29,120  
that some of the women had  
made for the Americans?

306  
00:17:29,120 --> 00:17:30,800  
No, it was a surprise to me.

307  
00:17:30,800 --> 00:17:31,970  
Did you-- you never saw it?

308  
00:17:31,970 --> 00:17:34,040  
No, that was a surprise to me.

309  
00:17:34,040 --> 00:17:39,050  
You told me about it or I  
saw it written or something.

310  
00:17:39,050 --> 00:17:40,998  
Oh, when you gave  
me your notes, yeah.

311  
00:17:40,998 --> 00:17:44,830

312  
00:17:44,830 --> 00:17:46,660  
In a totally different

vein, were you

313

00:17:46,660 --> 00:17:49,720

aware of the subcamps, the  
other camps around Mauthausen,

314

00:17:49,720 --> 00:17:52,100

and did you see any of them?

315

00:17:52,100 --> 00:17:55,690

Yeah, I was aware of  
quite a few of them.

316

00:17:55,690 --> 00:17:59,290

And I went to Gusen  
once and found out

317

00:17:59,290 --> 00:18:02,950

that it was a predominantly a  
work camp, although they did

318

00:18:02,950 --> 00:18:04,330

not have it nice, of course.

319

00:18:04,330 --> 00:18:10,120

But it was a work camp, and the  
end result there was not death

320

00:18:10,120 --> 00:18:14,950

unless they didn't behave  
and work, in which case

321

00:18:14,950 --> 00:18:19,150

they might have got shot in the  
head or the back or something.

322

00:18:19,150 --> 00:18:22,930

There were other camps  
around, work camps

323

00:18:22,930 --> 00:18:26,470

were of a lighter nature  
than that and Bertha

324  
00:18:26,470 --> 00:18:30,820  
and I used to walk around  
to one particular camp

325  
00:18:30,820 --> 00:18:36,320  
because there were  
a lot of Poles in it

326  
00:18:36,320 --> 00:18:41,750  
who had accordions and  
other musical instruments.

327  
00:18:41,750 --> 00:18:47,000  
And they used to have  
dances in the evening,

328  
00:18:47,000 --> 00:18:50,870  
and it became quite  
a joyous place to go.

329  
00:18:50,870 --> 00:18:53,860  
Bertha and I used to  
dance a little bit there.

330  
00:18:53,860 --> 00:18:57,700

331  
00:18:57,700 --> 00:19:00,880  
I don't think I can say anything  
more about the surrounding

332  
00:19:00,880 --> 00:19:04,210  
camps except to say that  
they're just like you read.

333  
00:19:04,210 --> 00:19:08,730

334  
00:19:08,730 --> 00:19:11,550  
Did any military brass  
or investigative teams

335

00:19:11,550 --> 00:19:15,680

come and visit the camp  
that you're aware of?

336

00:19:15,680 --> 00:19:17,360

Galore.

337

00:19:17,360 --> 00:19:23,210

In the ensuing days and weeks,  
every sort of group imaginable

338

00:19:23,210 --> 00:19:24,320

came in.

339

00:19:24,320 --> 00:19:28,340

I saw and talked with  
Red Cross groups.

340

00:19:28,340 --> 00:19:34,220

I saw and talked with other  
kinds of voluntary groups

341

00:19:34,220 --> 00:19:37,040

giving food and help.

342

00:19:37,040 --> 00:19:43,400

I saw a commission from  
SHAEF headquarters,

343

00:19:43,400 --> 00:19:47,620

Eisenhower's quarters, come in.

344

00:19:47,620 --> 00:19:51,850

I never had a chance to  
talk to them, of course.

345

00:19:51,850 --> 00:19:54,580

Then, of course, there were  
all the repatriation teams

346

00:19:54,580 --> 00:19:57,760

from the different countries.

347  
00:19:57,760 --> 00:20:01,900  
The camp became very  
quiet after a few days--

348  
00:20:01,900 --> 00:20:05,350  
after a few weeks because,  
when you moved out,

349  
00:20:05,350 --> 00:20:08,170  
a few vast contingencies--

350  
00:20:08,170 --> 00:20:15,160  
you would get down to the nub  
of the still-existing serious

351  
00:20:15,160 --> 00:20:16,300  
cases.

352  
00:20:16,300 --> 00:20:21,360  
And I'm trying to think  
of the second group that

353  
00:20:21,360 --> 00:20:23,970  
moved out after the Russians.

354  
00:20:23,970 --> 00:20:27,690  
I think there were some Polish  
nationals in that group, too.

355  
00:20:27,690 --> 00:20:30,330  
There weren't necessarily Jews.

356  
00:20:30,330 --> 00:20:32,490  
And there were some  
groups who were--

357  
00:20:32,490 --> 00:20:34,740  
there was a small group  
there who had fought

358  
00:20:34,740 --> 00:20:38,580

and the Russian army  
but who were Jews.

359  
00:20:38,580 --> 00:20:42,280  
And they took it on  
the chin in the camp.

360  
00:20:42,280 --> 00:20:48,050

361  
00:20:48,050 --> 00:20:52,010  
When you say they took it on the  
chin, you mean during the war

362  
00:20:52,010 --> 00:20:56,330  
or after, during the period  
that the Americans were

363  
00:20:56,330 --> 00:20:57,740  
administering it?

364  
00:20:57,740 --> 00:21:00,080  
I can't speak about  
during the war.

365  
00:21:00,080 --> 00:21:01,160  
I can only speculate.

366  
00:21:01,160 --> 00:21:07,460  
But after the Americans came  
in, there were two problems.

367  
00:21:07,460 --> 00:21:14,690  
The main problem there was that  
after liberation, they could be

368  
00:21:14,690 --> 00:21:21,230  
and in some cases were victims  
of Russian authoritarianism

369  
00:21:21,230 --> 00:21:23,060  
and hatred.



370

00:21:23,060 --> 00:21:28,400

What happened before we came  
in with those Jewish Russian

371

00:21:28,400 --> 00:21:34,130

prisoners, I only heard,  
and I can speculate

372

00:21:34,130 --> 00:21:38,780

that they were treated badly.

373

00:21:38,780 --> 00:21:43,190

And some of them were thrown  
over into the Jewish category

374

00:21:43,190 --> 00:21:44,345

and not Russian Jewish.

375

00:21:44,345 --> 00:21:53,420

376

00:21:53,420 --> 00:21:56,750

Two questions have  
come to my mind.

377

00:21:56,750 --> 00:21:58,820

You mentioned  
relief organizations

378

00:21:58,820 --> 00:22:01,040

that came to help  
besides the Red Cross.

379

00:22:01,040 --> 00:22:03,920

Can you remember specifically  
any other organizations

380

00:22:03,920 --> 00:22:06,050

that came?

381

00:22:06,050 --> 00:22:13,050

It was one big group with

a big name in America.

382

00:22:13,050 --> 00:22:17,150

And I don't recall whether  
the Ford Foundation existed

383

00:22:17,150 --> 00:22:19,820

then or not or one  
of those others,

384

00:22:19,820 --> 00:22:22,100

but it was an American group.

385

00:22:22,100 --> 00:22:25,660

Did the Ford  
Foundation exist then?

386

00:22:25,660 --> 00:22:26,770

I'm not sure.

387

00:22:26,770 --> 00:22:28,330

I'm sorry.

388

00:22:28,330 --> 00:22:32,260

There was an American,  
privately-funded foundation

389

00:22:32,260 --> 00:22:34,360

that was there.

390

00:22:34,360 --> 00:22:36,850

There were Jewish groups there.

391

00:22:36,850 --> 00:22:39,720

392

00:22:39,720 --> 00:22:40,530

There were--

393

00:22:40,530 --> 00:22:49,000

394

00:22:49,000 --> 00:22:51,670

Did any other nation send--

395

00:22:51,670 --> 00:22:55,940

besides repatriation

groups, did any other nation

396

00:22:55,940 --> 00:22:58,702

send any assistance

to the Americans

397

00:22:58,702 --> 00:23:00,160

in the administration

of this camp,

398

00:23:00,160 --> 00:23:01,626

to the best of your knowledge?

399

00:23:01,626 --> 00:23:10,680

400

00:23:10,680 --> 00:23:13,890

My first answer is I didn't

see any evidence of it.

401

00:23:13,890 --> 00:23:17,500

402

00:23:17,500 --> 00:23:23,500

The second answer is that

there was small amounts of help

403

00:23:23,500 --> 00:23:28,630

from Switzerland.

404

00:23:28,630 --> 00:23:31,500

And you know about the

Hafliger case, don't you?

405

00:23:31,500 --> 00:23:33,660

Didn't I tell you about that?

406

00:23:33,660 --> 00:23:41,640  
Some Swiss named Hafliger with  
the Swiss Red Cross, some weeks

407

00:23:41,640 --> 00:23:45,810  
before the war ended, had been  
sent by the Swiss Red Cross

408

00:23:45,810 --> 00:23:51,960  
with seven or nine trucks,  
Hafliger heading it up,

409

00:23:51,960 --> 00:23:57,272  
to go to Mauthausen and do  
what he could to, quote--

410

00:23:57,272 --> 00:24:00,740  
and I have the exact  
quote upstairs--

411

00:24:00,740 --> 00:24:04,940  
do what he could to ameliorate  
the situation, et cetera.

412

00:24:04,940 --> 00:24:07,520  
It became a  
ridiculous situation.

413

00:24:07,520 --> 00:24:11,310  
Nobody expected what  
would happen at all.

414

00:24:11,310 --> 00:24:13,730  
But the commandant  
tried to surrender

415

00:24:13,730 --> 00:24:18,090  
the camp to Hafliger  
and then Hafliger

416

00:24:18,090 --> 00:24:22,210  
had some weird ideas of--

417

00:24:22,210 --> 00:24:27,510

I guess it got to  
him-- his own ideas

418

00:24:27,510 --> 00:24:30,950

of being a big leader  
there or something.

419

00:24:30,950 --> 00:24:33,680

And the commandant  
swore up and down

420

00:24:33,680 --> 00:24:37,370

that he'd give up  
the camp if only

421

00:24:37,370 --> 00:24:43,260

he'd get grace after the war  
ended because the war was

422

00:24:43,260 --> 00:24:47,100

approaching an end, et cetera.

423

00:24:47,100 --> 00:24:53,020

None of that worked out, and I  
think that Hafliger crept away

424

00:24:53,020 --> 00:24:55,870

with his tail between his legs.

425

00:24:55,870 --> 00:24:58,810

But it was a weird situation  
and a beautiful situation

426

00:24:58,810 --> 00:25:01,660

for someone who  
has a lot of energy

427

00:25:01,660 --> 00:25:04,360

and a good writer to  
dig it out and come out

428

00:25:04,360 --> 00:25:06,310  
with a best-selling  
book, non-fiction.

429  
00:25:06,310 --> 00:25:07,270  
I'm serious.

430  
00:25:07,270 --> 00:25:08,440  
It would really go.

431  
00:25:08,440 --> 00:25:12,700

432  
00:25:12,700 --> 00:25:14,740  
Was the liberation of  
Mauthausen uncovered

433  
00:25:14,740 --> 00:25:16,930  
by reporters for  
Stars and Stripes

434  
00:25:16,930 --> 00:25:21,490  
or any other publication  
that you were aware of?

435  
00:25:21,490 --> 00:25:24,060  
Stars and Stripes, certainly.

436  
00:25:24,060 --> 00:25:26,740  
Someplace upstairs, I've  
got some stuff on it,

437  
00:25:26,740 --> 00:25:31,000  
but they're usually  
superficial and just

438  
00:25:31,000 --> 00:25:37,470  
revert to the same old  
stuff of another death camp,

439  
00:25:37,470 --> 00:25:39,614  
et cetera, has--

440

00:25:39,614 --> 00:25:43,550

although one of them  
did make the point

441

00:25:43,550 --> 00:25:45,720

that it was among the  
worst that they had seen,

442

00:25:45,720 --> 00:25:47,390

but I don't recall  
who said that.

443

00:25:47,390 --> 00:25:54,050

444

00:25:54,050 --> 00:25:57,500

During your time in Europe,  
with the fighting and everything

445

00:25:57,500 --> 00:26:00,980

else, how easy or  
how difficult was it

446

00:26:00,980 --> 00:26:03,844

for you to get your hands on  
an issue of Stars and Stripes?

447

00:26:03,844 --> 00:26:06,810

448

00:26:06,810 --> 00:26:09,790

During the war-- during  
our coming across,

449

00:26:09,790 --> 00:26:12,000

we got our hands on nothing.

450

00:26:12,000 --> 00:26:15,720

We were 50 miles ahead  
of any civilization

451

00:26:15,720 --> 00:26:18,360

that was close to  
us most of the time.

452  
00:26:18,360 --> 00:26:22,140

453  
00:26:22,140 --> 00:26:28,140  
When we had a week break in  
Belgium, some of the stuff

454  
00:26:28,140 --> 00:26:34,020  
came to us, but then we were  
fairly close to civilization.

455  
00:26:34,020 --> 00:26:39,785  
In Worms, a little bit, but  
from Worms on, it was a blank.

456  
00:26:39,785 --> 00:26:43,270

457  
00:26:43,270 --> 00:26:47,576  
No mail came up, no nothing.

458  
00:26:47,576 --> 00:26:53,320  
Did I tell you about that guy  
I was going to tell you about?

459  
00:26:53,320 --> 00:26:55,960  
I started, a few  
minutes ago, to tell you

460  
00:26:55,960 --> 00:26:59,710  
about a young man who was  
in army specialized training

461  
00:26:59,710 --> 00:27:06,460  
with me-- a very bright guy  
and normal in every respect,

462  
00:27:06,460 --> 00:27:09,670  
a decent soldier, et cetera.



463

00:27:09,670 --> 00:27:14,110

But I couldn't understand  
him, and I'll tell you why.

464

00:27:14,110 --> 00:27:18,190

In the anecdote I told before  
about coming down the hill

465

00:27:18,190 --> 00:27:21,730

with the smoke bomb in  
back of us, in front of us,

466

00:27:21,730 --> 00:27:25,840

so that we were  
pretty well hidden,

467

00:27:25,840 --> 00:27:30,250

when I got to the bottom of  
the hill, still untouched,

468

00:27:30,250 --> 00:27:34,330

I sank down behind a hedgerow.

469

00:27:34,330 --> 00:27:39,010

And there is this guy, whom  
we'll call Andy, beside me,

470

00:27:39,010 --> 00:27:43,090

sitting back to the farmhouse.

471

00:27:43,090 --> 00:27:46,060

And I'm looking at the  
farmhouse through the hedgerow,

472

00:27:46,060 --> 00:27:49,810

and a lieutenant from my  
company is very foolishly

473

00:27:49,810 --> 00:27:53,560

running up to a window,  
and he's getting a burp gun

474

00:27:53,560 --> 00:27:56,560  
right in the throat, and he  
turns around and faces us.

475  
00:27:56,560 --> 00:27:59,230  
And blood is spurting  
out, and Andy

476  
00:27:59,230 --> 00:28:03,220  
is sitting, calmly, in  
the middle of everything,

477  
00:28:03,220 --> 00:28:06,910  
opening a C-ration  
can and eating it.

478  
00:28:06,910 --> 00:28:09,150  
And I just couldn't believe it.

479  
00:28:09,150 --> 00:28:14,300  
This falls into the category  
of what I don't know.

480  
00:28:14,300 --> 00:28:22,940

481  
00:28:22,940 --> 00:28:27,500  
How many persons were  
still at Mauthausen?

482  
00:28:27,500 --> 00:28:30,740  
How many survivors were  
still at Mauthausen

483  
00:28:30,740 --> 00:28:34,340  
by the time you were sent  
away to your next stop?

484  
00:28:34,340 --> 00:28:42,800

485  
00:28:42,800 --> 00:28:45,810  
I'll have to guess.

486  
00:28:45,810 --> 00:28:47,560  
And I'm going to  
emphasize again that this

487  
00:28:47,560 --> 00:28:50,380  
is a speculative guess,  
an educated guess based

488  
00:28:50,380 --> 00:28:55,870  
upon subtracting so many from  
the Russian prisoner category,

489  
00:28:55,870 --> 00:28:59,110  
so many from those who  
kept on dying, so many

490  
00:28:59,110 --> 00:29:01,900  
of those who were repatriated  
in other directions.

491  
00:29:01,900 --> 00:29:04,300  
The Poles had been  
in, for example,

492  
00:29:04,300 --> 00:29:07,480  
and the Ukrainians had  
been in, repatriating.

493  
00:29:07,480 --> 00:29:12,070  
I dare say that it must have  
been down to 4,000 to 6,000

494  
00:29:12,070 --> 00:29:13,135  
by the time I left.

495  
00:29:13,135 --> 00:29:23,540

496  
00:29:23,540 --> 00:29:26,170  
Is there anything  
about your experience

497

00:29:26,170 --> 00:29:28,150

with the liberation  
of Mauthausen

498

00:29:28,150 --> 00:29:30,760

that we haven't covered that  
still stands out in your mind

499

00:29:30,760 --> 00:29:32,260

that you'd like to  
discuss before we

500

00:29:32,260 --> 00:29:33,350

go on to the next topic?

501

00:29:33,350 --> 00:29:38,380

502

00:29:38,380 --> 00:29:40,840

I'm sure that 10 minutes  
after you leave this house,

503

00:29:40,840 --> 00:29:44,190

I'll think of 60 things,  
but the answer is no.

504

00:29:44,190 --> 00:29:47,920

505

00:29:47,920 --> 00:29:52,090

After you left and you  
went to your next post

506

00:29:52,090 --> 00:29:54,310

that you've told  
me about already,

507

00:29:54,310 --> 00:29:58,060

how much longer did  
you stay in Europe

508

00:29:58,060 --> 00:30:02,150

before being sent  
back to the States?

509  
00:30:02,150 --> 00:30:12,290  
I spent until something like  
the last week in November

510  
00:30:12,290 --> 00:30:15,620  
in the 79th division  
in Kitzingen.

511  
00:30:15,620 --> 00:30:20,780  
And suddenly, I  
was put in a jeep

512  
00:30:20,780 --> 00:30:25,310  
with a driver who was  
going to Marseille.

513  
00:30:25,310 --> 00:30:37,270  
And in one fell swoop, he  
drove in rather cold weather,

514  
00:30:37,270 --> 00:30:42,100  
in an open jeep, 60,  
70 miles an hour,

515  
00:30:42,100 --> 00:30:46,660  
from Kitzingen  
down to Marseille.

516  
00:30:46,660 --> 00:30:51,850  
When I stepped out of that jeep,  
I was absolutely frozen stiff.

517  
00:30:51,850 --> 00:30:53,962  
I couldn't move a thing.

518  
00:30:53,962 --> 00:30:57,590  
Did you ever experience  
anything like that?

519  
00:30:57,590 --> 00:31:00,820

So we boarded the  
ship in Marseille,

520  
00:31:00,820 --> 00:31:04,120  
and I was home by  
December 15 and discharged

521  
00:31:04,120 --> 00:31:07,360  
within a couple of days.

522  
00:31:07,360 --> 00:31:10,023  
I'm going to pause  
now and fix the tape.

523  
00:31:10,023 --> 00:31:10,940  
We're just about done.

524  
00:31:10,940 --> 00:31:14,660  
During that period-- this  
is not relevant, but--

525  
00:31:14,660 --> 00:31:16,503  
Oh, let me change the tape.

526  
00:31:16,503 --> 00:31:17,170  
Just one moment.

527  
00:31:17,170 --> 00:31:23,940

528  
00:31:23,940 --> 00:31:25,950  
United States Holocaust  
Memorial Museum

529  
00:31:25,950 --> 00:31:28,380  
volunteer collection  
interview with George Leonard,

530  
00:31:28,380 --> 00:31:32,490  
and this is tape  
three, side B. And you

531

00:31:32,490 --> 00:31:37,230  
wanted to add a postscript  
to your comments

532  
00:31:37,230 --> 00:31:40,410  
about being discharged.

533  
00:31:40,410 --> 00:31:45,050  
I wanted to tell you what  
Mauthausen did for me besides,

534  
00:31:45,050 --> 00:31:48,530  
I think, making a better person  
out of me in many respects.

535  
00:31:48,530 --> 00:31:52,010  
As soon as I came home,  
shortly after December 15,

536  
00:31:52,010 --> 00:31:54,920  
I started applying for colleges.

537  
00:31:54,920 --> 00:31:59,450  
I applied to Northeastern and  
Boston University in Suffolk.

538  
00:31:59,450 --> 00:32:02,435  
And all three turned me down.

539  
00:32:02,435 --> 00:32:05,960  
with the word that we're  
so mobbed with applications

540  
00:32:05,960 --> 00:32:10,160  
from new returning vets  
that we can't fit you in.

541  
00:32:10,160 --> 00:32:13,370  
I could understand it anyway  
because my stepfather had

542  
00:32:13,370 --> 00:32:16,370  
died in my senior

year of high school,

543

00:32:16,370 --> 00:32:18,650  
and I sort of fell apart.

544

00:32:18,650 --> 00:32:22,290  
And I got some grades that I had  
never been capable of before.

545

00:32:22,290 --> 00:32:24,860  
Before that, I had been  
an excellent student.

546

00:32:24,860 --> 00:32:27,746

547

00:32:27,746 --> 00:32:31,920  
To make a long story  
short, that I immediately

548

00:32:31,920 --> 00:32:35,640  
applied to Harvard,  
and the guy called me.

549

00:32:35,640 --> 00:32:37,245  
He says, write an essay.

550

00:32:37,245 --> 00:32:42,980

551

00:32:42,980 --> 00:32:47,340  
I don't know why that affects  
me about your experiences.

552

00:32:47,340 --> 00:32:50,610  
And I did, and I was  
immediately accepted.

553

00:32:50,610 --> 00:32:54,910  
So that's what  
Mauthausen did for me.

554



00:32:54,910 --> 00:32:58,845

Do you, by any chance,  
still have that essay?

555

00:32:58,845 --> 00:32:59,920

I never had it.

556

00:32:59,920 --> 00:33:02,170

I didn't make a copy of it.

557

00:33:02,170 --> 00:33:05,250

I did not make a copy of it,  
and I never got a copy back.

558

00:33:05,250 --> 00:33:10,450

559

00:33:10,450 --> 00:33:15,110

By the way, it was primarily  
about the administration

560

00:33:15,110 --> 00:33:16,610

of Mauthausen.

561

00:33:16,610 --> 00:33:19,820

And I went into all sorts  
of group human relational

562

00:33:19,820 --> 00:33:25,040

theories, from the functions  
of the executive, which

563

00:33:25,040 --> 00:33:26,240

I had been reading.

564

00:33:26,240 --> 00:33:29,310

And I'm sure you read about  
that, read about that.

565

00:33:29,310 --> 00:33:30,830

And by the way,  
it was by someone

566

00:33:30,830 --> 00:33:32,990

who had had  
experience in Tulelake

567

00:33:32,990 --> 00:33:36,980

with the Japanese, which they  
didn't feel guilty about back

568

00:33:36,980 --> 00:33:38,600

then, but they do,  
of course, now.

569

00:33:38,600 --> 00:33:41,330

570

00:33:41,330 --> 00:33:49,640

But there were certain  
administrative policies

571

00:33:49,640 --> 00:33:55,100

that had been brought to  
light about getting along

572

00:33:55,100 --> 00:33:59,090

with large groups and  
functioning with large groups,

573

00:33:59,090 --> 00:34:04,050

such as hearing, airing out, and  
blah, blah, blah, blah, blah.

574

00:34:04,050 --> 00:34:06,740

And I put all this stuff in  
there, and Harvard loved it.

575

00:34:06,740 --> 00:34:14,090

576

00:34:14,090 --> 00:34:16,280

When you were discharged,  
what was your rank,

577

00:34:16,280 --> 00:34:20,090  
and what medals and  
honors had you received?

578  
00:34:20,090 --> 00:34:28,239  
I had been promised a rating  
by the captain and by others

579  
00:34:28,239 --> 00:34:31,300  
toward the end of the war,  
particularly after my--

580  
00:34:31,300 --> 00:34:35,639  
what do you call it-- was going  
through my Bronze Star medal.

581  
00:34:35,639 --> 00:34:40,070  
And they said that  
they'd give me

582  
00:34:40,070 --> 00:34:45,659  
an honorary squad with a rating  
of staff sergeant or higher.

583  
00:34:45,659 --> 00:34:47,219  
The captain said this.

584  
00:34:47,219 --> 00:34:55,120  
And then I took the jeep,  
and the first sergeant

585  
00:34:55,120 --> 00:34:57,332  
said that, well, he'd  
go along with two days,

586  
00:34:57,332 --> 00:34:59,290  
what do you call it, but  
under no circumstances

587  
00:34:59,290 --> 00:35:02,230  
would he back a  
sergeancy after that.

588

00:35:02,230 --> 00:35:04,810  
So I was on my way home,  
practically anyway,

589  
00:35:04,810 --> 00:35:08,140  
and I just shrugged and  
said, to heck with it.

590  
00:35:08,140 --> 00:35:14,800  
My honors were the Combat  
Infantryman Award, three battle

591  
00:35:14,800 --> 00:35:17,230  
stars, a unit citation--

592  
00:35:17,230 --> 00:35:20,830  
I think, given by the French or  
the Belgians, I forget which--

593  
00:35:20,830 --> 00:35:27,040  
the Bronze Star medal,  
and the Purple Heart.

594  
00:35:27,040 --> 00:35:32,420

595  
00:35:32,420 --> 00:35:34,670  
When you arrived  
home, what did you

596  
00:35:34,670 --> 00:35:39,330  
tell your family and your  
friends about your experiences

597  
00:35:39,330 --> 00:35:42,360  
over in Europe, specifically  
about the liberation

598  
00:35:42,360 --> 00:35:44,160  
of Mauthausen?

599  
00:35:44,160 --> 00:35:46,620  
I answered questions,

but that's--

600  
00:35:46,620 --> 00:35:47,980  
and then very limited.

601  
00:35:47,980 --> 00:35:49,190  
I didn't talk much at all.

602  
00:35:49,190 --> 00:35:52,330

603  
00:35:52,330 --> 00:35:54,540  
I just had the feeling,  
and I went around

604  
00:35:54,540 --> 00:35:59,610  
like this for a long, long  
time, that nobody could possibly

605  
00:35:59,610 --> 00:36:01,830  
understand anything I said.

606  
00:36:01,830 --> 00:36:03,150  
They were so far from it.

607  
00:36:03,150 --> 00:36:16,480

608  
00:36:16,480 --> 00:36:22,030  
When you came home, did you have  
any flashbacks or nightmares

609  
00:36:22,030 --> 00:36:23,592  
of experiencing that?

610  
00:36:23,592 --> 00:36:25,560  
No, I had no--

611  
00:36:25,560 --> 00:36:30,420  
I did not suffer from any  
problems like that at all.

612

00:36:30,420 --> 00:36:35,370

I did suffer from one  
thing, a jumpiness, which

613

00:36:35,370 --> 00:36:39,100

I put in one thing I wrote.

614

00:36:39,100 --> 00:36:42,120

I couldn't study.

615

00:36:42,120 --> 00:36:45,300

And I used to go take some  
books, Harvard books, that I

616

00:36:45,300 --> 00:36:47,490

was supposed to be  
reading or studying,

617

00:36:47,490 --> 00:36:53,320

and get on a streetcar in  
Boston and ride forever around,

618

00:36:53,320 --> 00:36:55,510

buying newspapers  
in one station,

619

00:36:55,510 --> 00:36:59,530

discarding it, buying another  
newspaper in another station,

620

00:36:59,530 --> 00:37:01,150

doing like that.

621

00:37:01,150 --> 00:37:03,130

And that was one of  
the best things that

622

00:37:03,130 --> 00:37:08,720

happened to me because I met  
Phyllis at a streetcar stop

623

00:37:08,720 --> 00:37:12,680

at Coolidge Corner in Brookline.

624

00:37:12,680 --> 00:37:15,123

And Phyllis is-- you referred  
to Phyllis several times--

625

00:37:15,123 --> 00:37:16,790

would you please tell  
me who Phyllis is?

626

00:37:16,790 --> 00:37:18,110

My wife.

627

00:37:18,110 --> 00:37:23,170

She's my wife, yeah, coming  
from a very Jewish family.

628

00:37:23,170 --> 00:37:29,460

629

00:37:29,460 --> 00:37:31,710

You had mentioned  
very much earlier

630

00:37:31,710 --> 00:37:34,950

in the interview  
about your aspirations

631

00:37:34,950 --> 00:37:37,710

when you were a child  
and how the war changed

632

00:37:37,710 --> 00:37:38,460

them a little bit.

633

00:37:38,460 --> 00:37:42,372

When you came home  
from combat, what

634

00:37:42,372 --> 00:37:44,580

aspirations-- what did you  
want to do with your life?

635

00:37:44,580 --> 00:37:47,830

636

00:37:47,830 --> 00:37:52,020

My first one was  
to be a diplomat.

637

00:37:52,020 --> 00:37:55,930

I changed that  
along the way, and I

638

00:37:55,930 --> 00:37:57,520

don't recall what changed me.

639

00:37:57,520 --> 00:38:01,890

640

00:38:01,890 --> 00:38:03,180

I'll tell you about another.

641

00:38:03,180 --> 00:38:07,590

642

00:38:07,590 --> 00:38:09,770

I wanted to be a diplomat,  
and I changed along

643

00:38:09,770 --> 00:38:12,230

the way to wanting to be a  
functionary in a government

644

00:38:12,230 --> 00:38:12,730

agency.

645

00:38:12,730 --> 00:38:15,498

646

00:38:15,498 --> 00:38:17,040

Let me tell you  
something after that.

647



00:38:17,040 --> 00:38:20,760

648

00:38:20,760 --> 00:38:23,590

Yeah, let me ask you  
a few other questions

649

00:38:23,590 --> 00:38:25,000

that we can put on the record.

650

00:38:25,000 --> 00:38:27,190

Did you follow the  
Nuremberg trials?

651

00:38:27,190 --> 00:38:28,470

Yeah.

652

00:38:28,470 --> 00:38:30,193

And along those same  
lines, with respect

653

00:38:30,193 --> 00:38:31,610

to following the  
Nuremberg trials,

654

00:38:31,610 --> 00:38:34,750

did you feel that  
justice was done?

655

00:38:34,750 --> 00:38:38,117

It was done, but  
not enough, yeah.

656

00:38:38,117 --> 00:38:40,200

In other words, I thought  
that there were probably

657

00:38:40,200 --> 00:38:43,790

some fringe people  
there that should

658

00:38:43,790 --> 00:38:48,740

have got more than they got.

659

00:38:48,740 --> 00:38:50,730

I don't recall their  
names right now.

660

00:38:50,730 --> 00:38:55,010

But generally speaking, if I had  
to say was I satisfied or not,

661

00:38:55,010 --> 00:38:56,440

I'd have to say I was satisfied.

662

00:38:56,440 --> 00:38:59,260

663

00:38:59,260 --> 00:39:00,687

Did you follow the  
Eichmann trial,

664

00:39:00,687 --> 00:39:02,020

and did you think that was just?

665

00:39:02,020 --> 00:39:08,110

666

00:39:08,110 --> 00:39:13,070

I know I followed it.

667

00:39:13,070 --> 00:39:15,020

Yeah, yes, I  
thought it was just.

668

00:39:15,020 --> 00:39:23,150

669

00:39:23,150 --> 00:39:26,480

What have you told your  
family about the things

670

00:39:26,480 --> 00:39:28,040

that you've told me today?

671

00:39:28,040 --> 00:39:30,920

How much of this does your  
family know, your friends,

672

00:39:30,920 --> 00:39:33,770

or how much of this  
do you talk about?

673

00:39:33,770 --> 00:39:37,380

This family or my family  
back from my childhood?

674

00:39:37,380 --> 00:39:37,880

Both.

675

00:39:37,880 --> 00:39:40,400

676

00:39:40,400 --> 00:39:44,750

My family back-- my brothers  
and sisters and my mother,

677

00:39:44,750 --> 00:39:47,090

et cetera, there was no use.

678

00:39:47,090 --> 00:39:49,970

679

00:39:49,970 --> 00:39:53,810

They had made a polite  
attempt at listening,

680

00:39:53,810 --> 00:39:55,620

that sort of thing,  
and blah, blah, blah.

681

00:39:55,620 --> 00:39:58,570

682

00:39:58,570 --> 00:40:05,630

Phyllis, of course, has been  
a very, very great supporter.

683  
00:40:05,630 --> 00:40:11,870  
And my kids got caught up in--

684  
00:40:11,870 --> 00:40:17,990  
from a childish point of view,  
seeing the box of a Nazi dagger

685  
00:40:17,990 --> 00:40:20,780  
and all of the stuff, the  
artifacts I brought back,

686  
00:40:20,780 --> 00:40:22,540  
and that sort of thing.

687  
00:40:22,540 --> 00:40:23,660  
And they were caught up.

688  
00:40:23,660 --> 00:40:26,450  
And when I sold  
my first novel, I

689  
00:40:26,450 --> 00:40:39,050  
got a \$2,000 advance, which was  
a big deal back in 1963 or '65.

690  
00:40:39,050 --> 00:40:43,530  
And we took the  
\$2,000 and put it

691  
00:40:43,530 --> 00:40:51,300  
in a trip with round-trip  
trip airfare to Amsterdam

692  
00:40:51,300 --> 00:40:54,330  
and a fully-equipped  
microbus with camping

693  
00:40:54,330 --> 00:40:57,690  
equipment and everything  
for five people

694

00:40:57,690 --> 00:41:01,290  
with a tent that zipped on  
the side and all the stuff.

695  
00:41:01,290 --> 00:41:04,500  
And we took that for three  
weeks and went around Europe.

696  
00:41:04,500 --> 00:41:09,548  
And I found myself following  
the route of the 11th.

697  
00:41:09,548 --> 00:41:13,180

698  
00:41:13,180 --> 00:41:17,500  
The kids were excited at it,  
particularly Jeff, my oldest

699  
00:41:17,500 --> 00:41:18,400  
son, particularly.

700  
00:41:18,400 --> 00:41:22,450  
He was, like, 14 at  
the time, I guess.

701  
00:41:22,450 --> 00:41:25,640  
And we went to Bastogne.

702  
00:41:25,640 --> 00:41:32,890  
And everyone laughed at seeing  
the Nuts hot dog stand, "Nuts"

703  
00:41:32,890 --> 00:41:35,170  
being what McAuliffe  
had said to the Germans.

704  
00:41:35,170 --> 00:41:38,560  
When asked to surrender, he  
said "nuts," a thing like that.

705  
00:41:38,560 --> 00:41:50,050

706  
00:41:50,050 --> 00:41:55,080  
Do you speak publicly  
about your experiences,

707  
00:41:55,080 --> 00:41:57,762  
and have you ever been  
interviewed before?

708  
00:41:57,762 --> 00:41:59,610  
No.

709  
00:41:59,610 --> 00:42:04,590  
And why have you decided to  
do an interview right now?

710  
00:42:04,590 --> 00:42:05,880  
I didn't decide.

711  
00:42:05,880 --> 00:42:07,605  
It crept up.

712  
00:42:07,605 --> 00:42:08,730  
It crept up.

713  
00:42:08,730 --> 00:42:12,180  
I didn't, any one day, say, hey,  
I'm going to do an interview.

714  
00:42:12,180 --> 00:42:16,440  
All of a sudden, Dan  
said to me that he

715  
00:42:16,440 --> 00:42:20,070  
had turned my name into  
the Holocaust Museum

716  
00:42:20,070 --> 00:42:24,780  
as being someone who had  
been there and helped

717  
00:42:24,780 --> 00:42:27,711

liberate a concentration camp.

718

00:42:27,711 --> 00:42:28,370

Who's Dan?

719

00:42:28,370 --> 00:42:32,670

720

00:42:32,670 --> 00:42:34,920

Lednicer, Dan Lednicer.

721

00:42:34,920 --> 00:42:42,250

He's a very fantastically  
intelligent man, a Jew,

722

00:42:42,250 --> 00:42:46,640

fervently Jewish, but  
not religiously so.

723

00:42:46,640 --> 00:42:50,360

And I know you know what I mean  
by that, culturally, et cetera.

724

00:42:50,360 --> 00:42:55,610

And he just shows brilliance.

725

00:42:55,610 --> 00:42:56,570

He was a chemist--

726

00:42:56,570 --> 00:42:57,290

is a chemist.

727

00:42:57,290 --> 00:43:02,105

And he has turned out three  
or four tomes that thick--

728

00:43:02,105 --> 00:43:06,230

and they publish them as fast  
as they get them from him--

729

00:43:06,230 --> 00:43:16,500

on chemistry, chemical

solvents and compounds,

730  
00:43:16,500 --> 00:43:17,600  
and so on and so forth.

731  
00:43:17,600 --> 00:43:21,870

732  
00:43:21,870 --> 00:43:24,780  
I just can't conceive of  
anyone doing what he does

733  
00:43:24,780 --> 00:43:28,020  
and remembers it all up here.

734  
00:43:28,020 --> 00:43:32,590  
Dan is a brilliant  
guy, and he was

735  
00:43:32,590 --> 00:43:36,850  
over here a few weeks ago having  
dinner with us, him and a girl.

736  
00:43:36,850 --> 00:43:38,540  
We didn't talk  
about this at all,

737  
00:43:38,540 --> 00:43:42,450  
but I did tell him that  
you guys had called

738  
00:43:42,450 --> 00:43:45,940  
and were going to interview.

739  
00:43:45,940 --> 00:43:48,950  
When I was called  
about the interview,

740  
00:43:48,950 --> 00:43:52,960  
which I didn't expect or  
know about, particularly--

741



00:43:52,960 --> 00:43:57,610  
I just knew that I was  
giving testimony of some sort

742  
00:43:57,610 --> 00:44:00,370  
to the what do you call it--

743  
00:44:00,370 --> 00:44:02,620  
I shrugged and I  
thought, well, it's

744  
00:44:02,620 --> 00:44:05,210  
a good chance for me to see  
what I know and don't know

745  
00:44:05,210 --> 00:44:06,835  
and remember or don't remember.

746  
00:44:06,835 --> 00:44:09,770  
And it's a good  
chance to see if I

747  
00:44:09,770 --> 00:44:11,950  
can get through this  
because I haven't

748  
00:44:11,950 --> 00:44:13,000  
been able to in the past.

749  
00:44:13,000 --> 00:44:23,880

750  
00:44:23,880 --> 00:44:27,050  
Have you had  
interviews with others?

751  
00:44:27,050 --> 00:44:28,088  
Liberators?

752  
00:44:28,088 --> 00:44:35,900

753

00:44:35,900 --> 00:44:41,000

What would you say  
is the lasting impact

754

00:44:41,000 --> 00:44:44,550

that your experiences  
had on your life?

755

00:44:44,550 --> 00:44:45,770

The most lasting impact?

756

00:44:45,770 --> 00:44:52,450

757

00:44:52,450 --> 00:44:59,520

The most lasting impact has  
to do with understanding

758

00:44:59,520 --> 00:45:03,330

what man is capable of.

759

00:45:03,330 --> 00:45:06,290

760

00:45:06,290 --> 00:45:16,410

And that amazes  
the heck out of me,

761

00:45:16,410 --> 00:45:19,650

and I don't know  
how to process that.

762

00:45:19,650 --> 00:45:22,900

763

00:45:22,900 --> 00:45:24,360

I don't know what else to say.

764

00:45:24,360 --> 00:45:34,140

765

00:45:34,140 --> 00:45:36,675

How do you react when you  
hear Holocaust deniers?

766  
00:45:36,675 --> 00:45:39,370

767  
00:45:39,370 --> 00:45:41,930  
How do you react when you  
hear Holocaust deniers?

768  
00:45:41,930 --> 00:45:45,300

769  
00:45:45,300 --> 00:45:47,960  
It does upset me, of course.

770  
00:45:47,960 --> 00:45:49,540  
I don't know what  
to do about it.

771  
00:45:49,540 --> 00:45:54,350  
I don't think that anyone  
can do much about it.

772  
00:45:54,350 --> 00:45:56,500  
If you fight it, you're wrong.

773  
00:45:56,500 --> 00:45:58,000  
If you don't fight  
it, you're wrong.

774  
00:45:58,000 --> 00:46:04,380

775  
00:46:04,380 --> 00:46:07,620  
There will be--  
again, we're talking

776  
00:46:07,620 --> 00:46:09,930  
about the extent  
to which people can

777

00:46:09,930 --> 00:46:14,193  
be incredibly stupid  
or bestial or whatnot,

778  
00:46:14,193 --> 00:46:15,360  
and this is another example.

779  
00:46:15,360 --> 00:46:21,960

780  
00:46:21,960 --> 00:46:23,980  
There is one bit of  
unfinished business

781  
00:46:23,980 --> 00:46:26,770  
I wanted to make sure I  
tied up before we conclude.

782  
00:46:26,770 --> 00:46:28,870  
You said that you had  
a seven-week recovery

783  
00:46:28,870 --> 00:46:30,140  
period after you were injured.

784  
00:46:30,140 --> 00:46:32,140  
Can you put that  
in a time frame?

785  
00:46:32,140 --> 00:46:35,440  
When were you--

786  
00:46:35,440 --> 00:46:38,380  
I was wounded February 7.

787  
00:46:38,380 --> 00:46:44,900  
I came back to the company  
toward the end of March.

788  
00:46:44,900 --> 00:46:47,760

789

00:46:47,760 --> 00:46:52,150

And I want to put it  
on the record that--

790

00:46:52,150 --> 00:46:54,970

I don't know why,  
but during that time,

791

00:46:54,970 --> 00:46:59,320

the company went through one of  
the most horrible experiences

792

00:46:59,320 --> 00:47:02,080

that they had gone  
through to date,

793

00:47:02,080 --> 00:47:05,170

and that was crossing  
the Kahl River.

794

00:47:05,170 --> 00:47:08,050

I have a picture of the  
makeshift bridge over the Kahl

795

00:47:08,050 --> 00:47:09,610

River upstairs.

796

00:47:09,610 --> 00:47:12,340

And the reason  
this was so bad was

797

00:47:12,340 --> 00:47:15,610

that they were exposed,  
crossing it, wading it

798

00:47:15,610 --> 00:47:23,500

with rifle held up and taking  
fire with no cease at all.

799

00:47:23,500 --> 00:47:27,100

And that's when my first  
sergeant that I liked

800

00:47:27,100 --> 00:47:29,380  
got the bullet through the hand.

801  
00:47:29,380 --> 00:47:34,300  
And my being off the  
line during that period

802  
00:47:34,300 --> 00:47:36,355  
was, I hate to say  
this, but a godsend.

803  
00:47:36,355 --> 00:47:43,430

804  
00:47:43,430 --> 00:47:46,137  
Would you be willing to share  
with me the names of the novels

805  
00:47:46,137 --> 00:47:46,970  
that you've written?

806  
00:47:46,970 --> 00:47:49,720

807  
00:47:49,720 --> 00:47:52,330  
The first one I  
named Horn of Plenty,

808  
00:47:52,330 --> 00:47:59,940  
but Warner Books  
changed it to Sexmax

809  
00:47:59,940 --> 00:48:05,500  
because it was a business  
of helping everyone

810  
00:48:05,500 --> 00:48:06,880  
through government.

811  
00:48:06,880 --> 00:48:11,300  
The government filled  
in what any person

812

00:48:11,300 --> 00:48:13,970  
was lacking in this novel.

813

00:48:13,970 --> 00:48:17,090  
The other another one was Alien,  
which I had named originally

814

00:48:17,090 --> 00:48:21,680  
The Flying Saucer Murders, which  
I and my wife liked better.

815

00:48:21,680 --> 00:48:23,990  
But Playboy Press  
decided to make

816

00:48:23,990 --> 00:48:29,480  
it Alien to build  
on the reputation

817

00:48:29,480 --> 00:48:32,150  
that the other Alien had had.

818

00:48:32,150 --> 00:48:35,480  
Then I wrote a book  
called Somebody Else Is

819

00:48:35,480 --> 00:48:43,900  
On the Moon, which gave me  
the greatest monetary return

820

00:48:43,900 --> 00:48:45,670  
and name and everything else.

821

00:48:45,670 --> 00:48:49,030  
It was published in  
five different languages

822

00:48:49,030 --> 00:48:53,350  
and made a French book club,  
and I was a Japanese fan

823

00:48:53,350 --> 00:48:55,210

club and everything else.

824

00:48:55,210 --> 00:49:00,310

And I'm still living through  
the reverberations of that.

825

00:49:00,310 --> 00:49:06,760

I decided, after that  
book, to go into meditation

826

00:49:06,760 --> 00:49:09,050

and find out what life  
was really all about.

827

00:49:09,050 --> 00:49:10,260

And that's where I am now.

828

00:49:10,260 --> 00:49:16,530

829

00:49:16,530 --> 00:49:20,680

Is there anything else  
that we haven't discussed

830

00:49:20,680 --> 00:49:22,730

that you would like  
to add before we

831

00:49:22,730 --> 00:49:24,370

conclude the interview today?

832

00:49:24,370 --> 00:49:27,310

Is there anything that  
we haven't covered?

833

00:49:27,310 --> 00:49:29,750

I realize, after I leave,  
you'll come up with 10 things.

834

00:49:29,750 --> 00:49:31,625

But is there anything  
that comes to your mind



835

00:49:31,625 --> 00:49:33,625

right now that we  
haven't covered

836

00:49:33,625 --> 00:49:34,750

that you'd like to include?

837

00:49:34,750 --> 00:49:41,870

838

00:49:41,870 --> 00:49:42,370

Yeah.

839

00:49:42,370 --> 00:49:47,460

840

00:49:47,460 --> 00:49:53,200

I'm going to be personal  
and speculative,

841

00:49:53,200 --> 00:49:54,530

and I'm talking about--

842

00:49:54,530 --> 00:49:58,990

the Holocaust was, in the  
final analysis, a Jewish story.

843

00:49:58,990 --> 00:50:01,860

844

00:50:01,860 --> 00:50:07,100

You don't deny that, do  
you, first and foremost?

845

00:50:07,100 --> 00:50:15,900

And I'm thinking that, from a  
genetic and a practical point

846

00:50:15,900 --> 00:50:20,220

of view, comma--

847

00:50:20,220 --> 00:50:25,040  
because I am aware  
of the magnificence

848  
00:50:25,040 --> 00:50:29,640  
of the Jewish stock, comma--

849  
00:50:29,640 --> 00:50:36,380  
I'm thinking of the need which  
should have started earlier

850  
00:50:36,380 --> 00:50:39,290  
of breaking out the  
Jewish gene pool

851  
00:50:39,290 --> 00:50:45,680  
and having that good  
blood spread around.

852  
00:50:45,680 --> 00:50:46,970  
I'm serious about this.

853  
00:50:46,970 --> 00:50:49,420  
Phyllis knows how I feel.

854  
00:50:49,420 --> 00:50:55,590  
Yeah, I believe that.

855  
00:50:55,590 --> 00:51:00,210

856  
00:51:00,210 --> 00:51:02,600  
I would like to thank you for  
doing the interview with me

857  
00:51:02,600 --> 00:51:04,280  
today, and I know  
it was difficult

858  
00:51:04,280 --> 00:51:08,300  
for you, and I personally,  
and as a part of the museum.

859

00:51:08,300 --> 00:51:09,450

We appreciate it.

860

00:51:09,450 --> 00:51:11,580

Thank you very much.

861

00:51:11,580 --> 00:51:14,080

My daughter got married, and I  
know you were in the wedding.

862

00:51:14,080 --> 00:51:17,860

This concludes the United  
States Holocaust Memorial Museum

863

00:51:17,860 --> 00:51:20,490

interview with George Leonard.

864

00:51:20,490 --> 00:51:22,471