

Interview with ROGER BOAS
Holocaust Oral History Project
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Interviewers: Gene Ayres, Richard Kirschman,
Doris Ober, Helga Tannenbaum
Transcriber: Eric Brody

MR. AYRES: TODAY WE ARE TALKING WITH
ROGER BOAS. ASSISTING IN THE INTERVIEW TODAY ARE
RICHARD KIRSCHMAN, DORIS OBER, HELGA TANNENBAUM.

GOOD MORNING, MR. BOAS.

A. Good morning.

Q. LET'S START IN A CHRONOLOGICAL WAY. TELL
THEM WHERE YOU WERE BORN AND GIVE THE DATE OF YOUR
BIRTH AND ALSO YOUR NAME AND THE SPELLING OF YOUR NAME.

A. My full name is John Roger Boas, B-o-a-s.
Born in San Francisco, California. August 21, 1921.

Q. AND DID YOU GROW UP IN SAN FRANCISCO?

A. Grew up in San Francisco. Went to Grant
School, Gallileo High School, and then went to
Stanford.

Q. AND AS A YOUNG MAN -- I BELIEVE YOU TOLD
ME YOU ARE JEWISH?

A. Correct.

Q. BOTH PARENTS.

AND WERE YOU AN ACTIVELY JEWISH OR WERE
YOU OBSERVANT FAMILY?

A. No, we were actually a non-observant
family, I'm sorry to say. My paternal great

grandmother had been a Christian Science practitioner in Texas, so my grandmother -- mother practiced it and my father took it up. So I was raised as a Jewish Christian Scientist.

However, my mother was very political and had a very strong feeling about what was happening in Germany and in Europe. And we were well aware that we were Jewish and all our friends -- all my friends, by and large, were Jewish. And in those early days in San Francisco there was a pretty strong line of demarcation in society between Jew and non-Jew and we were on the Jewish side.

Q. SO YOU WERE JEWISH IN SOCIETY'S EYES BUT YOU DIDN'T REALLY -- WEREN'T ACTIVELY PRACTICING?

A. Didn't go to Temple and didn't follow the religious services, that's correct. I am a member of Temple Emanuel now, but that is many years later.

Q. ALL RIGHT. I SEE. AS A YOUNG MAN YOU SAY YOU WERE CERTAINLY ALERT TO WHAT WAS HAPPENING TO JEWS IN EUROPE AT THAT TIME?

A. Well, my mother had been very much aware of it. And she and her mother, my grandmother, and I went to Europe in 1935 for sort of a grand tour. And we went to Austria and I saw the (Heimler) which was sort of a proto-Nazi group parading around; went to Poland and the ghetto there and saw what it was like;

and then we went to the Soviet Union, which was really preparing for war. And deliberately didn't go to Germany because of the Jewish situation.

So even in high school, I was probably a little more knowledgeable than my contemporaries. And then I became a debater both at high school and at Stanford and we debated such things as should we support Great Britain and what should be our relationship with Germany, etc. And I was a very anti America First, so I had a better feeling, I think, about what was at stake and read the early writings of (Heinz Pole) and Shirer and the others. But I had no idea, for example, about the Einsatzgruppen and what was really happening. Didn't know it until I saw these places.

Q. WHEN DID YOU ATTEND STANFORD?

A. I went in the fall of '38.

Q. AND YOUR MAIN COURSE OF STUDY WAS?

A. Political science.

And we had a couple of German students there, as I recall, exchange. I remember when the pocket battleship Deutschland came here, how the Jewish community felt about it. I went down and looked at it, scared the hell out of me. But I really didn't understand -- I really didn't get a picture, I don't think, I didn't get a full picture until after the war.

I was in a -- I ended up in an armored division. I was an artilleryman at Stanford in the ROTC and was commissioned and ordered to active duty the day after I graduated. And was then sent, eventually, to an artillery training school at (Fort Sill), Oklahoma. And from there, after a little shuffling around, to an armored division that I stayed in until the rest of my Army career.

It was a division from New York, heavily Jewish among the enlisted personnel from the Bronx and Brooklyn. I think I was the only Jew in the officer side of our battalion. I was in an armored artillery battalion. It turned into sort of a elite division. It became sort of the spearhead of Patton's Third Army. So it was always in the vanguard, regarded as just super-great.

Q. WHAT WAS IT?

A. Pardon me?

Q. WHICH DIVISION?

A. Fourth Armored Division.

Q. YOU SAID --

A. I beg your pardon.

And the Jewish enlisted men, some of them seemed to have a pretty good sense of what was going on in Europe. And I was reasonably well read but I was caught by surprise after the war at the extent of what

had been taking place. I had no idea about the exterminations. And it wasn't until we hit this first camp that I had a real graphic representation of what it was like. And I was very, very angry.

And I always felt for me it was a good war. I always felt -- I knew that the Germans were after the Jews. I figured if they won, beat England, they would be after the United States and I would be next. And I felt all risks were worth taking. So I felt, for me, that it was a very positive sort of constructive activity. Quite different from the way they felt in Vietnam, for example. Or even the way they felt in the Pacific. For me, I figured I am fighting for myself and my family.

Q. YOU DID THINK THAT --

A. Absolutely.

Q. -- IF THEY WON THEY WOULD COME OVER HERE AND THE AMERICAN JEWS --

A. Absolutely.

Q. -- WOULD BE AT RISK?

A. Um-hum.

Q. DID YOUR FAMILY HAVE RELATIVES IN THE WAR ZONE IN EUROPE AT THE TIME?

A. Yes, they did. A good question. And several got out from Europe and came to the United States and were helped by my mother and father.

And, furthermore, there were a number of refugees, mostly, as I recall, professionals, physicians especially, that hit San Francisco prior to our entering the war. And we met them and I think my parents were pretty decent about trying to help.

But I remember one very Aryan looking sort of second cousin coming to San Francisco, a girl, very nice, describing how she had been in a restaurant in Germany and how one of Goering's aides had invited her to dance because he didn't recognize her looks and she wasn't wearing any star. I guess they weren't required. So these folks got out in good time.

Q. WHICH COUNTRIES WERE THEY FROM, IF YOU KNOW?

A. They were living in Germany. My mother's father, my mother's grandmother was born in Texas. My mother was born in Cincinnati and her father was born in the Hartz Mountain area of Germany and came to Cincinnati as a young man, Jewish. Got in the whiskey business. And a little company he worked in became the Schenley Whiskey Company. He died very young. He used to go back to Baden-Baden every year to have diabetes work done. So on my mother's side it was German.

My father's father came from right out in the Danzig Free State, right outside of that. And I think he was, you could classify him as Polish or

German. I would say more Polish than German. I never knew him. He died before I was born. He used Yiddish expressions a lot. He came to San Francisco as a youngster in 1855, just five years too late to be classified as a pioneer. And he went up to the Klondike and I think was sort of like a peddler up there but made a lot of money; came down here, established a small bank on Montgomery Street and, in effect, ran a lottery. And his clients were either Jews or Chinese. And I have his books, his financial records. And he had a lot of kids, of whom one of was my father, who was born in San Francisco in 1876.

Q. DID THE FACT THAT YOU HAD FAMILY IN EUROPE AND KNEW SOMETHING ABOUT THE REFUGEES WHO HAD COME HERE AFFECT YOU AS YOU WENT WITH YOUR ARMY UNIT OVER TO EUROPE?

A. I chose to go into combat. I had, in my senior year, graduated from the business school at Stanford, because the business school was denuded and so they let undergraduate seniors went in. And, as a consequence, I was offered a commission in either the Finance Corps or the Quartermaster Corps, which my mother wanted me to take and my father said, "You ought to do what you think is right" and I figured I ought to fight. So I went into the regular field artillery.

But many of my Jewish friends, many, many

of them chose non-combat roles. And I still see a lot of them who are living. But they worked at Fort Mason in the Quartermaster Corps and so forth. And I resented that very much. And I in those days, being young and immature, related it to the fact that maybe there was some sort of Jewish streak of non-combatancy and I felt very badly about that.

And kind of a long way to answer your question, but I remember we were fighting and we got up in the Sar area and we got a short break and I was given a leave and I flew back to (Nassee) in a little Piper Cub observation plane with a pilot who was a good friend of mine. And we had two days in (Nassee) and we went to a restaurant there. And we ran into two chaps from San Francisco, both of whom I had known in grammar school, high school and college. One of them the son of a former rabbi and he was carrying a pistol and this and that, and he hadn't been within ten miles of a German. And I was very resentful of that. It took me a while to get over that.

So I really didn't know who the heck I was in that war, other than I knew I was Jewish and I knew the Germans -- we called them Krauts -- were after us.

Q. YOU FEEL THAT AS A JEW YOU HAD A SPECIAL OBLIGATION TO BE IN COMBAT, AS IT WAS, INSTEAD OF IN THE QUARTERMASTER'S --

A. I did.

Q. AND YOU SAID YOU RESENTED THOSE OF YOUR COMRADES --

A. Who didn't do it. And it is something that still bothers me. And I in recent years have had some psychiatric help, and it's interesting; those who -- I know lots of fellows now about my age, some a little older, who have made vast fortunes, never fought a day in their lives. And it bothers the hell of me. I reckon they didn't put as much in as the rest of us slobs who fought.

Q. PERHAPS LATER AS YOU MOVE THROUGH THE STORY WHEN YOU COME BACK YOU MAY HAVE SOME FURTHER OBSERVATIONS ON IT.

A. I think I have given you about all I have.

Q. WHEN DID YOUR UNIT ARRIVE IN EUROPE? AND PICK US UP THERE, WHERE YOU WERE AND THEN WHAT THE ACTION WAS, THE BASIC SCENE WHEN YOUR UNIT GOT TOGETHER.

A. First of all, I joined the unit towards the end of '42. They were near us, in the Mogave Desert. Colder than blazes down there. And we went from the desert after training there for a while to Texas and then we went from Texas to England.

Other units had got to Europe first and they used to be a saying, "Join the Fourth Armored

Division and save a WAC for combat." We were never going to get to see any action.

And we trained in England on the Salisbury Plain area. I was actually at a theatre in London with a young WREN when they stopped the play, it was a B.B. Daniel, Ben Lyon play, and they stopped the play and said that the next voice would be the King of England and he announced over the radio that the Allies had invaded. And a week later my outfit was alerted and sent down to the channel and then we crossed over and landed in Normandy.

And there was no problem except that as we got off these landing ship tanks, we saw just miles of wounded on stretchers waiting to go back, which was scary for us. We had not been in combat. And then we sat around in Normandy, where our troops were given Calvados, which is a very strong apple drink, and couldn't handle it. We had disciplinary problems, all sorts of stuff. All we did was run around. We were ordered to run around in circles to sort of sober up.

And then all of a sudden, we were told there was going to be a break-through and we were going to get going. And we started out and -- I should say that in Normandy, the only thing we did was go down and observe. And at that time I was the battalion adjunct, I was not sent out as an observer. But our observers

went out to the hedge rows and got badly shot up.

Almost immediately, one killed and one captured.

And then about a week later, we were on our way. And we went into this town of (Averosh) which was just smoking from an air bombardment, our air bombardment. And we turned the corner, there was just rubble in the town. And there was a Jeep, and standing on the Jeep saluting us as we went by, looking like a million bucks, was General Patton. So that was very uplifting for us. I mean, everybody in my unit thought he was just fabulous.

We met him in England. He had come to meet the officers of my division and we all were ordered to a theatre to meet him. And he had gone to West Point with our division commander, who introduced him and the West Pointer was a very sort of distinguished, courtly guy, a major general. And he introduced Patton, who looked marvelous. And he said, "Be seated, gentlemen," in this high, squeaky voice and then for an hour he harangued us with total profanity. Most of it just, I mean just unbelievable. And our battalion surgeon, who was Jewish, Doc Horowitz, was standing next to me, a little, a very small man. He kept saying, "He's a maniac. The guy is a maniac."

So it was in -- I think about -- this is getting close to mid-June or end of June, that we broke

through. And then we were in combat for the rest of the time.

Q. HAD YOU, AS A YOUNG OFFICER IMPRESSIONABLE AND YOUNG OFFICER, I WILL SAY, HAD YOU HEARD OF PATTON'S FAMOUS SLAPPING INCIDENT AND --

A. Very impressionable young officer and probably not the most mature. I got out of Stanford when I was 20; went in when I was 16.

Had heard of it, and we were all just horrified by this guy. And the meeting with Patton, so-called meeting, there were were 500 of us, 500 officers in the division, I think, in this theatre, English theatre that we used. Solidified our feeling, as I say. Dr. Horowitz thought the guy was totally looney. And he would use the most terrible similes of awful -- that I would not want to use even in this oral history.

One thing he said, he said, "I had a friend, I told him to keep his Goddamned head down." He says, "He stood up one night," he says, "they machine-gunned him 32 times." He says, "Believe it or not," he says, "the son-of-a-bitch is still living." This is sort of a more gentle comment he made to us. So we were very spooky about the guy.

But when we went through (Averosh) and saw him there, it was just the opposite. Like a wonderful

tonic. And from then on, all of our dealings with him, Patton, were wonderful. Just wonderful. And I grieved when I heard about him getting killed in a car accident at the end of the war. Everyone liked him.

I was modestly hit in the bridge of my nose by a piece of shrapnel. I also had a bad case of bronchitis. And Dr. Horowitz said, "Do you want to go to the hospital?" And I said, "Well, whatever you think." And he said, "Well, I think you should." So I got sent to an Evac unit behind the lines in Luxembourg City. And it was for -- I was in a ward of mostly second lieutenants, a couple of whom had been shelled just a few days before by a sister artillery battalion of mine. Not Germany, not the Germans. And they were in terrible shape. And there was one young fellow just across the way from me who had just had his leg amputated and who I got friendly with and who died. But at this point he was alive.

And into the hospital came General Patton, and into our room. And he was accompanied by the head doctor and the head nurse and the chaplain and an aide. And everyone was swathed in bandages except me; I had a little thing on my nose. And he said, "What's the matter with you lieutenant?" And I said, "I have got bronchitis, sir." And he looked at me very angrily and he said, "What outfit are you with?" And I said

"Fourth Armored, sir." He says, "You deserve a rest, lieutenant. Hope you enjoy it here."

And then he got over to this poor guy and talked to him. And he turned to his aide and he says to this lieutenant, he says, "I'm going to award you a silver star." And he turned to his aide, who was a full colonel and he said, "Give me a silver star." And this poor guy reached in his pockets and he had forgotten the silver star. And Patton cursed him out in the most unmerciful, unpleasant, vicious fashion possible about 10 minutes, just a diatribe, just releasing his energy. The nurses and all couldn't believe it. And then turned back to the lieutenant and said, "I am going to get you that silver star. Is there anything else you want?" And the lieutenant said, "I'd like some ice cream." "You'll get it." And the next day, another aide or officer came in with ice cream for all of us and a silver star. Then this poor guy died that night.

And then another time in Belgium, where it was snowing and it was rough combat. My Jeep was driving along and all of a sudden another Jeep came our way with three stars on it and stopped us. And I jumped out and I said "Lt. Roger Boas, 94th Armored. Good morning, sir." He said, "Where is 12th Corps headquarters, Lieutenant?" 12th Corps headquarters was

just a quarter of a mile from there but I didn't know it. And I said, "I don't know, sir." He said, "Thank you" and drove on. And my Jeep driver, as soon as we got back told somebody else that Lt. Boas had said to Patton, "I don't know." And then the rest of the war they called me the "I don't know boy." So my experiences with him were always pretty upbeat.

Q. AT THE POINT THAT YOU HAD A SMALL PIECE OF PLASTER ON YOUR NOSE AND THE CASE OF THE VISIBLE BRONCHITIS --

A. Right.

Q. -- DID YOU ANTICIPATE THAT HE HAD WOULD DO SOMETHING LIKE --

A. I thought he would go wild, right. But he did not, no. Just the opposite.

Q. WAS HE EVER ANTI-SEMITIC IN HIS SPEECH AT ALL?

A. He might well have been. No, he was never.

Q. HAD HE EVER BEEN ELSEWHERE --

A. Yeah, he was very macho, aristocratic and my -- I have heard subsequently that he was anti-Semitic and it doesn't surprise me.

Q. START WITH WHERE YOUR COMBAT BEGAN AND LOCATE IT IN PLACE AND TIME AND TELL WHICH WAY YOU WENT.

A. Okay.

Q. AND ALSO CLARIFY YOUR OWN POSITION WHICH WAS, I BELIEVE, AN ARTILLERY FORWARD OBSERVER.

A. I was the battalion adjutant of the 94th Armored Field Artillery Battalion, which was sort of a nothing job, you might say. And I was the sort of chief administrative type in the operation.

And our battalion commander was a very nice man who was out of West Point, an officer, somewhat inhibited by the fact that he was married to a difficult woman whose father was an Army Commander. (General Deavers) was his name. He was a Four-Star General. So my battalion commander was always trying to live up to what he thought his father-in-law expected of him, which eventually killed him. Graham was his name. And I liked him very much and he liked me, and so it was a nice relationship.

And I was good at map reading, strangely enough. And when we broke through at (Averosh), we then started moving toward the (Laurient) Peninsula. And it was very scary stuff. From the time we broke through in June of 1944 until the war ended in October of -- or whatever it was -- '45, June '45, except for a time I went to Paris on leave for three days, I was never less than 100 feet from the Germans.

And, in fact, I went over on a troop ship

that had been the Grace Line, the Santa Lucia. And there were, I think, 15 of us, 15 second lieutenants in this room, all Fourth Armored Division officers. And only two of us got out alive and I'm one of them. So I was very, very lucky. In this particular room.

And I think my first big test came when it was decided to try and take out the Germans who were dug in near the U-Boats on the sea coast at Laurient, France. And Patton ordered an attack and the Fourth Armored Division was ordered to be the spearhead of it. And the tank battalion, which was commanded by Colonel (Abrams), who later commanded the Army in Vietnam, was supported by an infantry battalion and an artillery battalion. We were the artillery battalion. And I was sent out to observe the fire.

And General Wood, our battalion commander sent a message to the Germans ordering unconditional surrender or we are just going to cream you guys. And the German said he wasn't going to surrender. So I went up in a church steeple and ordered the -- and located what I thought were the German positions and the German batteries, and sent back the coordinates and then fired on them. They found the steeple and I got a radio order saying I should stay or get out, depending on what I thought.

And there was a sergeant with me, a fellow

(named (Ploze). And I said, "What do you think, Bob?" And he said, "I think we ought to stay, Lieutenant." And I said, "So do I." So we stayed. And they were shelling the steeple and I finally said, "Let's get out of here," and we got out. And the next shell just knocked the steeple to smithereens, so we were very lucky. Two things happened from that: (Ploze) and I both got the Bronze Star and the Germans didn't surrender until the war was over. So we never took Laurient. And they kept throwing stuff at them throughout the war.

(I had taken French in high school and knew absolutely smattering, pigeon French. And except then for my battalion commander, who taught French at West Point, I was the only one who could theoretically speak the language so I was made the battalion translator among other things. And we had French patriots attached to us and they were called FFI people, French Forces of the Interior. They spoke English about the way I spoke French and the communication between us was rotten.

(And I mention all this because after Avarosh and before Laurient, we were ordered to take the town of Rennes, and these French Forces of the Interior said that the guns had been spiked and were no good. It was a school then. German 88 millimeter dual

purpose guns. They could fire regular artillery shells or anti-aircraft. And it was decided to go in and attack -- so I passed out that to my battalion commander. And all the -- so we sent a combat command into Rennes and they waited until we were just getting ready to move into town. We crossed a plane and those guns were not spiked. And they opened fire and it raised holy hell with us; we lost lots and lots of people. And I remember that very vividly because I was always leery of those French after that. I figured they must have damn well known those guns were operative.

Q. THE FORCES WERE ACTUALLY FRENCH UNDERGROUND WERE FIGHTERS IN --

A. That was my understanding.

Q. I THINK THAT'S WHAT THEY CALLED THEM --

A. Right.

Q. AND YOU LOST A LOT OF PEOPLE TO THE FAMOUS 88.

A. We did. And as battalion adjutants, among my other lovely duties was graves registration officer and the sister -- Lieutenant Mumm, his name was, who was the adjutant of the 66th Army Field Artillery got killed by those 88's. And so I was asked to come over to his battallion and make sure that the graves registration of the guys that got shot, killed in that,

was properly done. So I saw the mayhem firsthand. But I saw a lot of that during the war, I mean just a lot of that.

Q. YOU STILL ARE NOT AT THIS POINT AND YOUR JOB IS NOT YET THAT OF A FORWARD OBSERVER?

A. No, I was being used as a forward observer a lot.

Q. WERE YOU?

A. Yeah.

Q. WOULD YOU EXPLAIN WHAT A FORWARD OBSERVER DOES AND WHERE YOU ARE WHEN YOU PERFORM THIS OBSERVING AND WHAT YOU DO TO CORRECT THE ARTILLERY FIRE.

A. A forward observer's job is to find an enemy position that offers some interest as a target. In other words, a lone -- a horse-drawn vehicle isn't much, or even a vehicle wouldn't be much, but a column of vehicles would be an interesting target and a machine gun, in-place machine guns or artillery batteries or tanks on the move, anything like that are considered very rewarding targets.

My battalion had three batteries, they called them, of 105-millimeter self-propelled howitzers and a couple of 175-millimeter howitzers and I think all tolled we had about 18 guns, cannon, in the battalion, which is a pretty fair amount. We communicated by radio and we had telephone also, but we

almost -- we used the radio primarily.

And the forward observer's job was, first of all, to keep hidden if he could; keep defoliated to use the jargon; and to figure out where on the map the enemy target was located; then radio that position back to the gun batteries, actually to the battalion headquarters, where a operations officer would decide who was going to shoot at it; and then observe the shells. Because they ordinarily would come nowhere near the target. They would be short of it or over it or to the right or left. And then we would go through what they call adjusting the gun battery to bring it on the target. So that was my job.

And going back to my stories of Patton, I was up in (Arreaucourt), France, observing, and all of a sudden I hear some voices behind me and it is my division commander, General Wood, who was an All-American football player, and General Patton. And the General said, "Orient us, Lieutenant," and he gives me a map. And what he gave me was a map of Europe, not a map of the sector we were in. And I said, "I can't, sir, I'll have to show you my map." He had the whole European theatre. So I showed him where we were. He thanked me, he and Patton left, and all of a sudden Germans started to machine gun us. And I laid down and literally felt the grass being mowed right on top of

me. And that was on top of a little hill. And when I thought it was safe, and it was, I peeked my head up and I could see movement down below and so forth. And I had binoculars, figured out where the coordinates were, and brought fires on them. I forget whether it was -- I don't know whether we hit them or not. But that's what I did.

And I had two vehicles assigned to me. One was what we called the Peep, which was a little Willis Jeep, small vehicle with an armor plate instead of a glass windshield, and with a slit in the armor plate. All of which we were very leery about. And that was because there was a fellow in my outfit named Dent who came from Colorado and had been an All-American football player there. And we attacked the town of Troyes, pronounced "Troys" in that day, and he said, "I know I am going to killed," as he went out. And we all said, "No, you are not, dude." And he said, "How do you know I'm not?" And we said, "You got the shield." And he had this shield on his vehicle. And he was machine-gunned and killed. And, in fact, he was killed while he was broadcasting. He was a forward observer and he was killed while he was broadcasting radio coordinates and his hands stuck on the mike and we heard him scream as the bullets entered him. And so we were very leery of those vehicles afterwards.

So we also had the option of a light tank, which is a tank with a machine gun on it and a very small caliber, they called it a rifle. Not a 105, but you could go out and observe and machine gun bullets couldn't hurt you. I didn't feel comfortable in a tank. I forgot I had ever used one but in studying up for this broadcast, I went through my history books and I see my name mentioned as having been in a tank in a fight on a town. But usually I was in one of those vehicles with a radio operator and a driver. And I had a very nice driver named Rubenstein, and in one of these situations he was killed.

And my wife and I were in Europe a couple of years ago, we were in Paris, and I thought I might go and visit his grave. And so I called the embassy and they have a graves registration officer, but he had been buried where we were fighting up, way outside of France and he was in a grave in Belgium. So I didn't get to see him.

Q. WAS YOUR ATTITUDE THAT YOU COULD NOTICE AMONG SOME YOUR COMPATRIOTS BECAUSE YOU WERE IN A UNIT THAT WAS HEAVILY JEWISH OR AT LEAST A NUMBER OF JEWS IN IT, WAS THERE ANY TYPE OF ATTITUDE THAT YOU COULD NOTICE AS YOU WENT ACROSS EUROPE THAT THEY WERE HAVING FEELINGS OR ANY PERCEPTIBLE ATTITUDE BECAUSE IT WAS A HEAVILY JEWISH OUTFIT?

A. First of all, the attitude intra-division was wonderful. The morale was very, very high. The esprit was fabulous, so that those still living, enlisted and commissioned, are friends to this day. And I get Christmas cards every year from these folks. And whenever I go to the East Coast, I try and visit if I can and we still feel very much at home among each other. Don't bore one another and like one another. There was no feeling about -- there was no even mild sense of anti-Semitism in the Fourth Armored division. The enlisted men were really weisenheimer type of New York, young New York Jews. Feisty as all get-out. And they had this sense of what the Germans were doing and they hated them, just hated them and would, I think, have committed acts that they would have regretted if they had been allowed to do so once they had captured Germans. But they just hated them.

Insofar as the gentile members of the division were concerned, I think they all thought it was a pretty good war and they figured the Germans were no good. "The bloody Krauts" is the way they used to refer to them. But there was a certain amount of respect. And the officers were a college-educated bunch, a lot of ROTC officers, by and large fairly erudite, middle class, who had come out of business careers or were going to go into good family

businesses, and so forth, but surprisingly naive politically. Really didn't know much about the English political situation, French; poorly read and not at all interested in that sort of thing. Very, very odd that they shouldn't have been more accute, but they were not. But the Jewish enlisted people were a different cup of tea entirely.

Q. DO YOU HAVE ANY IDEA WHY THAT WAS?

A. Either through their religious leaders or the periodicals they read or whatever, they were much more sophisticated politically.

And I might say that among the Jewish enlisted personnel, many of them proved to be heroes; they received battlefield commissions. And there was a Sergeant Steinberg and a Sergeant Levy and all of whom were promoted to join the officer group.

But I am speaking of when we went into England and France in the early part of the combat, there was no feeling of anger as such about the Germans, except from Dr. Horowitz and me and those Jewish enlisted people. The Jews were the ones that packed the animosity, let's put it that way.

Q. WERE MOST OF THESE PEOPLE DRAFTEES OR VOLUNTEERS?

A. The enlisted were all draftees, every last one. There were no volunteers.

Q. AS YOU WENT ACROSS EUROPE, CLEARLY YOU SAW WHAT WAR AMOUNTS TO; DEATH, PEOPLE MAMED. you DESCRIBED SOME OF IT. YOU WERE GETTING AN EDUCATION OF A VERY DEEP EMOTIONAL SORT FOR A YOUNG LIEUTENANT AT THAT POINT. AM I CORRECT IN THAT?

A. Yes.

Q. DID YOU NOTICE ALSO THE RESULTS OF WHAT GERMAN OCCUPATION OF THESE TERRITORIES HAD DONE? DID YOU EVER NOTICE ANY; WHAT YOU HAVE BEEN SAYING NOT NECESSARILY ATROCITIES, BUT JUST THE EFFECT ON THE CIVIL POPULUS OF WHAT THE GERMAN OCCUPATION HAD BEEN?

A. Yes. Starting with the English who were not occupied but who had been in battle, my general feeling about them was they were wonderful to us. The people I met in England were wonderful and they hated the Germans with a deadly hatred.

The French we met, because after the breakthrough we were sort of horsing around in the outskirts of Normandy and Brittany for quite a while, we were fighting, but I mean we would be in farmhouses and we would meet a lot of the French people, and I got a very odd sense about the French that still exists. I didn't like them. And many of my colleagues felt the same way. For some reason or another, they hated the Germans, they didn't like the Bosch, and that came across very well, but they weren't pleasant, while

those (FFI) people were very nice. They really tried. They may not have been competent, but they were really doing their best. But the French we met bothered us and that was a feeling that I think was pretty universal in my outfit.

The Belgians we met, on the contrary, were wonderful. We fought in Arlon, Belgium before going into Bastogne, were leaving Bastogne, and all the Belgians we met were nice. I would say of those who were jittery about the Germans the most, it was the French and the Czechs. Both of them really were plenty scared of them.

Q. AS A HEAVILY JEWISH UNIT, WAS THERE EVER ANYTHING FROM THE CIVIL POPULUS THAT YOU CAN RECALL, AT LEAST TAKING NOTE OF THE FACT THAT YOU HAD A LOT OF JEWS IN YOUR OUTFIT? ANYTHING AT ALL THAT WOULD SHOW THAT THEY UNDERSTOOD?

A. I think one sometimes feels one can sense anti-Semitism. I am not so sure how correct the sense is really. But I felt that strongly in France then. And I didn't feel it in Czechoslovakia and I didn't feel it in Belgium and I didn't feel it in England. So I would say -- because those are the countries I was in. Luxembourg for a short while.

God knows the anti-Semitism was there and is there. But when they are hungry and in trouble and

here we are, an Army, strong and high morale and full of beans, I don't think we are going to pick that up unless we are very clever or very good at communicating in the language, and none of us were. I wasn't, at any rate.

Q. AS YOU PROGRESS ALONG, WHERE WAS THE FIRST PLACE WHERE YOU ENCOUNTERED GERMAN PRISONERS?

A. There were some in England that had been captured in Africa. And we began to take them shortly after combat. And in my mind they were monsters.

And I remember the first group we captured were fairly -- I was fairly sympathetic to them. They looked dazed and bemused and helpless. One didn't sense a master race sort of situation. When we would come across the (Waff) and S.S. as we did units of them, they were a very different cup of tea, they were truculent and tough.

Of course, the Americans came in in the end of it really. The Germans were going down the hill pretty fast. Still, they fought like cats, they really fought very hard.

Q. WHERE WAS THE FIRST PLACE YOU ENCOUNTERED PERSONS WHO HAD BEEN TAKEN PRISONER BY THE GERMANS?

A. What I saw initially along this line were piles of either American or German dead bodies, just stacked up, in uniform. And whether we had committed

atrocities and had gunned these Germans down or vice versa, I was never sure. As you would drive by, the rumor would be that the Germans murdered our guys, but the Germans we saw lined up had always been shot fairly honorably, so to speak.

But I saw piles of bodies, especially in Belgium and in the (Saar) where it was cold on the ground and you couldn't bury them so easily. Common sight.

Incidentally, I had a wonderful camera that kind of folded in and out, and it was stolen from my jeep in England and I never replaced it, so I never did much photographing.

I think, my recollection of the first time I really saw German prisoners was in Ohrdruf. And what happened there is, we were going toward East Germany, we had crossed the Rhine at the town of Oppenheim. My division commander found a bridge over the damn thing so we crossed over. And we crossed another river and we were near East Germany. We actually ended up the war in a town called Kemnitz? and this was in April. I mean, we went as far as we could go in that direction at Kemnitz?. And we got to Ohrdruf? where we had to stay for a couple of days and I forget why. And there was a great big castle there. And I would say the castle would have been built within the last 10 years,

so sometime between '35 and '45. Great big, huge thing with a drawbridge and a moat.

And we drove -- when I say "we," a couple of officers, of which I was one, and some enlisted men with machine guns, etc., got on the moat, crossed the bridge with our vehicles and drove into the castle courtyard. And I believe there were a couple of German retainers in the castle, but I am not sure of that. And the castle was furnished in what I would call Bauhaus furniture, blond, light woods and this and that, and furnished very expensively I would say. And we found that it belonged to the head of the (I. G. Farben Works) in the area.

And my memory is that looking out of a living room window, we saw a concentration camp across the street. And my battalion commander, whom I once chatted with about this, remembers it from the children's window. But we could look through the window and right across the street from this darn place was a camp.

So as soon as we saw the camp, we left the castle and drove over to the camp. And I don't remember any living people. What we found were a group of inmates in the camp town square in a pile, bleeding, dead, all of them shot within the last 24 hours with a bullet in the head, is my recollection. And then I

(remember going into one of the barracks and seeing some bodies hanging from the ceiling on hooks, dead, and lots of bodies in the barracks.

The only other direct recollection -- we stayed in Ohrdruf? for a couple of days and we had a combat commander named (Sears) and either he or General Patton, I don't remember whom, ordered some of the leading townspeople and the (Burgermeister), the mayor, to come view the camp, which they did, and then the mayor killed himself, either from remorse or maybe from fear that he was going to be tried anyway.

(So that was my first experience of prisoners of the Germans.

Q. WHAT WERE THESE PEOPLE WEARING ON THEIR BODIES?

A. They were all pretty emaciated. They were wearing striped, it looked like striped pajamas. They had little caps, some of them. Had a very bad stench about the camp, very bad. And we hesitated about -- we looked to see if any of those people were still alive. And as far as we could tell, they were not. But we hesitated actually putting our hands on the bodies and I can't tell you why.

(But I do know that that evening I was told that one of the prisoners had been an American from the University -- and we found out, it could all be totally

(spurious but we all believed it as gospel -- that he had come from U.C. Berkeley and he had been a teacher there. Now, how they found that out, whether it is so or not and how he got to a camp like this, I don't know.

Q. WAS THERE ANY EVIDENCE, WERE YOU CONCERNED ABOUT DISEASE?

(A. Well, for those of us -- I don't think disease entered our minds. But for those who saw the camp, especially the gentile officers, I mean it was an absolute shock. I have never seen anything like Ohrdruf? before or since. Now, I'm sure, as your other participants have told you, that Auschwitz and all were much worse. But I've never seen anything quite like that.

And every time I read about something -- I read in the paper yesterday, Lebanon it seems to me has ceased to exist; the Syrians have just moved in. And I read where the Syrians executed 30 Christian Lebanese just out of hand. And when I read that, my mind went back to this Ohrdruf? situation. It always seems to do that. It is just indelible.

(Q. _____ HAS SO IMPRESSED GENTILES MORE SO THAN JEWS?

(A. Because I don't think they realize what the Germans were up to until they saw this. They

figured that they were shooting -- we were battling over land and political hegemony, balance of power, so to speak, rather than we were battling real evil.

Q. THESE PEOPLE WHO YOU FOUND THERE WERE ALL DEAD YOU THOUGHT, OF GUNSHOT WOUNDS?

A. Yes.

Q. _____?

A. The guards got out in a hurry and they didn't know what to do with these folks, so they just murdered them.

Q. AND THE ONES HANGING FROM HOOKS?

A. I have no idea what the devil was going on with them. They were in terrible shape. Naked. They had no uniform on. All of them in there were naked.

Now, I have read since that they had killed around 4,000 in the last days of that camp and buried them or burned them or something. If that's so, my own duties didn't provide for me to go spend much more time in that camp and I was busy. All I know is that it was a brutal situation. I mean, here are people who are totally helpless and they just --

Q. HOW MANY BODIES, ROUGHLY SPEAKING?

A. I think in the square there of the camp there were, my memory has always been 35 to 50, something like that. And in that barracks, I would have thought about 30 or 40.

Q. WERE ANY OF THEM WEARING A JEWISH STAR THAT YOU COULD TELL?

A. Well, I have been wondering about that now that I am here at the Holocaust Center. And I don't remember. I assumed they were Jews, but I am not at all sure that that's the case.

Q. YOU DON'T HAVE A MEMORY OF ANYTHING THAT WOULD LEAVE YOU WITH THAT IMPRESSION?

A. I find it very hard to go back unless it's humorous. I can remember some of the humorous things in the war very clearly. But the dreadful things . . . I was afraid almost constantly the entire time I was over there. And I used to say to myself, "If I can only get out of this mess, I am going to go back to San Francisco and I am going to go to the Royal Theater," which is still here, a little movie theater on Polk Street. That, to me, was security. And I wasn't sure I was going to get out of it at all. And when you are scared, I don't think you are -- I think the impressions are recorded in a different fashion.

So that my feeling about the Germans didn't -- when the war ended, I was sent to occupation duty in Germany and, among other things, we were the jailers for the lower-ranking generals. We had about 200 German generals, major general on down, one lieutenant general, who were not at that time

considered war criminals. So I was feeling the war was over, no one was shooting at us, I could examine them in a nice cool fashion.

When we were fighting, it was always so miserable. We never had the right shoes in the mud, up in the (Saar), and we suffered from terrible foot problems until foot packs arrived rather late.

Something was happening ghastly to us every day. They lobbed a grenade through the tank of one of my friends and cleaned everybody out, and that sort of thing would just happen continuously.

We got caught up on a hill. We had gone to see a movie of Bing Crosby called "Going My Way" at night, and the next day I was up again observing fire and I saw -- that is, telling my gun batteries where to shoot, and we thought the German Air Force was almost finished. And all of a sudden the sky is filled with these FWs, (Fock Wolfs), and they dive-bomb us. My battalion was nicely screened, but the artillery battalion next to us was not and they just slaughtered them. Again I got called in to make sure the graves registration was done right.

So, for me, I was just running scared the whole damn war. So when I try and go back in memory, it is very tough. And I have been back sort of trying to look twice. Once in 1955, tried to go back to the

French battlefields; couldn't even find them. And then more recently this year went back to Czechoslovakia; had the same experience. So somehow or another, I am not the greatest in dredging it up.

Q. DID YOUR ENLISTED PERSONNEL FROM YOUR UNIT, MANY OF THE BRONX GUYS, ALSO SEE WHAT YOU SAW IN AUDRIFF?

A. Yes. Now you remind me. We had captured some Germans around there. And they were being guarded by our -- it was our battalion, the 94th, that captured them. They were under the 94th guard. And a couple of the guards were Jewish. And they wanted to kill those prisoners. They had asked permission to have all those German prisoners turned over to them. And the battalion commander wouldn't do it. Lucky he didn't.

Q. WAS THIS BECAUSE OF WHAT THOSE ENLISTED MEN HAD SEEN IN AUDRIFF?

A. Right.

Q. THEY WERE UNDER THE IMPRESSION THE DEAD PEOPLE WERE JEWS ALSO, CORRECT?

A. I think so.

We saw -- we were approaching the town of Bayreuth, and another fellow and I were sitting by the wayside having breakfast in front of his tank. We were on the highway leading into Bayreuth. And we were a line of tanks. My vehicle again was this jeep with the

leaded windshield. I had gone over to have breakfast with Davis, was his name. Les Davis.

And we were having coffee which we had made and we had a little Coleman stove. And we saw some children approaching the tank in front of us and speaking German, and I think saying (cigaretten) or something like that. And the fellows in the tank in front of us said "Come on over." And these kids, who I would say were about 10 or 11, got up to within 10 feet from the tank where these fellows were having their breakfast too, and out from behind them they brought what they call (ponser fouz), which is like our bazookas, and they let fly with these (ponser fouz) and they slaughtered all these guys. So then they tried to run off and they were machine-gunned, the kids were.

And shortly after that we drove into the town of Bayreuth feeling very, very angry as you do, you know, when you see this sort of thing. I would often go by a vehicle that had been hit by a shell and burned with its occupants in it, and you would see them in there just totally burned up, just a smelly shell. And you would just get so outraged. But, really, at who or why, I don't know. It is just part of the game.

But we got into Bayreuth, and how we got there I don't know, but we ended up in Wagner's house, which was real Bauhausian sort of design, and it was

(filled with Polish slave women. First time I had -- I had seen these slaves, both Polish and gypsy, as we had gone along, but never long enough to really try and communicate.

(And here we were, two young lieutenants, plus our enlisted guys, and a whole bunch of young, fairly attractive Polish women. And they took a shine to Davis because he could play the piano. There were a lot of pianos in this house and he started playing and they crowded around him. And they really hated the Germans and I forget how they communicated, but they were telling us what it was like. And they had been slaves there in Wagner's house for a couple of years, as I recall. They had tatoos and the whole bit. So we saw them very close.

And I get the impression now as I think about it, we would see a lot of the enslaved peoples. But the Jews were more isolated instances.

Q. DID YOU SEE JEWS?

(A. Well, I saw, I came across a whole mass of Jewish women. And when I say "mass," I would say hundreds. Hundreds and hundreds. And I thought it was in Theresienstadt, but as you and I were chatting before, I may not have gotten there. And they may have been just out of Theresienstadt. They were under guard, so to speak. They were in an enclosure. And I

am not sure where the devil it was.

They immediately recognized me as a Jew. And they all had stars on; they had shaved heads; they had the striped pajamas. They looked awful. They were very animated. They weren't walking dead. They were very animated, very excited. They crowded around me and the GIs with me and so forth and they said to me either (yudish) or (yude), yude, yudish. I knew they were asking me was I Jewish or not. So my German was even worse than my French, meaning non-existent. But I said, "Ya, Jewish, jude." And they smiled back and this and that. And they looked very badly, I thought. Just a huge number of women in these garbs, all shaven. Almost like animals, you know.

Q. HAD THEY BEEN FREED BEFORE THIS AND SIMPLY WERE STILL THERE AT THIS PLACE?

A. Well, it couldn't have been much before because we were very much in combat. We were moving along, we were fighting, and all of a sudden we came across this group. So I am just guessing that probably it would have been in the last 24, 48, 36 hours, something like that.

Q. THEY DIDN'T APPEAR TO BE STARVED OR EMACIATED OVER A LONG PERIOD OF TIME?

A. No, they were not well. They were emaciated. But they weren't lying there. They were

very excited about the presence of this unit of soldiers. They were very animated. That's the word. They were very animated. And they felt us. They ran their hands over me, all over me. Just like this. And we had all kinds of stuff, you know, cigarettes and chocolates. We existed on K-rations and C-rations and I was kind of a chocolaholic, so I always had a lot of chocolate; passed all that out and they liked that. They would have liked to have had us stay there. No question about it. They wanted the companionship and the friendship. But we were not able to do that.

Q. WHAT WERE THEY WEARING?

A. I have always remembered them as sort of a pajama, striped, horrible-looking damn striped things, the worst. The same stripe we saw in Ohrdruf.

Q. BUT WITH THE STAR THIS TIME?

A. Yes. All had stars. They were all Jewish. Every last one of those women were Jewish.

Q. OF VARIOUS AGES, OR JUST ALL YOUNG OR ALL OLD?

A. They were various. The ones that were touching us were -- I would have been 21 then and I thought they were a little older than me. So they must have been in their mid-20s, late 20s or maybe early 30s.

Q. DID YOU EVER HAVE ANY SENSE OF WHAT THEY

WERE ALL DOING THERE IN THIS PLACE?

A. I didn't. I figured they were concentration camp survivors.

Q. YOU SAW NO STACK OF BODIES OR ANYTHING SUCH AS YOU HAD BEEN SEEING?

A. Correct.

Q. NO MEN IN THE CAMP?

A. No. Saw no men. All women. As far as we could look or see, they were women.

Q. WHO SEEMED TO BE CARING FOR THEM?

A. We were moving; our division was moving and we stopped and looked at these women and talked to these women. None of them spoke English. I remember now Richard trying to speak French to them. None of them spoke French. So they either spoke German or Polish or a language that I couldn't handle. They would have been most willing to talk. But there was no way to communicate and we had no translator with us. And we had to get out, we had to get going. So I don't know how they were being cared for.

Q. WOULD YOU HAVE UNDERSTOOD IF THEY WERE SPEAKING YIDDISH?

A. No.

Q. DOES THAT MEAN YOU COULDN'T IDENTIFY WHAT THEY WERE SPEAKING?

A. Good question. You know, you are asking

(me to go back 45 years. I seem to remember some Yiddish being spoken.

Q. HOW LONG DID YOU STAY THERE WITH THEM BEFORE YOU HAD TO MOVE ON?

A. I would say about a half an hour, 45 minutes. Maybe a little longer. It was very -- it was almost like electric shock to see the situation. We had been used to seeing, you know, combatants. The people we saw at Ohrdruf? were men. To see these women in this situation was just extraordinary.

Q. YOU SAW NO WOMEN AT AUDRIFF?

A. Not that I recall.

(Q. AND AS YOU LEFT THERE, JUST SEEING HUNDREDS OF WOMEN WEARING SHAVED HEADS, OBVIOUSLY DEGRADED, IN A PRISONER SITUATION, DO YOU RECALL WHAT YOUR REACTION TO THAT WAS, AND CLEARLY ALL WEARING A JEWISH STAR?

(A. That the one thing they would have liked to have done with us is gone with us. I thought, gee, they wanted to get out of there very badly was my feeling. They felt very badly was my feeling. They were very excited to see us. We absolutely represented liberation to them, was my feeling then. They would have done anything. If we had said, "Look, will you shine our shoes?" or something, they would have done it with great pleasure. Just their manner was saying,

"Welcome. We are so excited to see you." And here's a Jew, for God's sakes, a live Jew in an American Army uniform. They couldn't get over it.

Q. HOW DID IT MAKE YOU FEEL?

A. Well, as you properly pointed out earlier, I was very impressionable in those days. I don't know whether I was able to put myself in their position properly or not. I'm afraid I felt, "By God, I am a tough conqueror. Damn lucky to have a guy like me around." That's my guess as to how I felt. I couldn't have been farther off base, but we had that sort of arrogance I think.

Q. DO YOU HAVE ANY RECOLLECTION AT ALL OF WHETHER OR NOT YOUR MILITARY UNIT TOOK ANY MEASURES TO CARE FOR THOSE PEOPLE AFTER YOU, AS THE COMBAT PEOPLE, WENT ON THROUGH?

A. I don't think we ever did that. We never played that role, that I am aware of, until after the war was over.

During the war -- right from the time we hit France, they used to say, "A good German is a dead German." I mean, that was just repeated all the time. And all we did was try and kill Germans. I got the Silver Star for killing Germans, literally. And that was the only thing, that was the only lingua franca in my outfit.

And, in fact, when I came home from the war, the people that I used to know and my parents and all were just horrified at my attitude, which was, I suppose, very much like some of the flakes we got out of Vietnam who have not ever gotten over it; in other words, shoot first and ask questions afterwards. That was another one we used to hear all the time.

I had a Luger -- I had a P-38 rather, and a carbine, a carbine assigned to me, and a P-38 picked up as contraband. And like everyone else, I killed a lot of Germans. Actually saw them -- I remember the Germans (Interviewee makes noise) when the bullet hit. That was our thought. That was the whole raison d'etre.

We were very fast. The division moved very fast in those days. And we were called, we had nicknames of "Lightning" this and "Hell on Wheels" before, but it was always move fast. Abrams was considered the greatest tank commander the Army produced in World War II. He was always moving fast. And he would train his men to shoot immediately; see anything, shoot. He used to say, the gist of what he would say is you are not going to kill anybody if you don't fire the gun, so to speak.

And so other than getting written instructions about not disturbing the civilian populus

or not fiddling around with the women or trying to avoid alcoholism, which we would occasionally get written instructions, and as the adjutant I had to make sure those got out to everybody, the entire philosophy was very combative. So the thought would never have entered our mind, I don't think.

The only time I ever saw any sense of humanity ever in that 4th Armored Division was in Brittany we saw some Germans approaching an intersection and we fired at them and killed them. I think about eight or nine. I was part of the group that fired at them. They didn't see us. They were walking down the street and we just gunned them down. They were about two blocks away from us. No one gave a damn. The Germans apparently had a cart and a horse and the cart and horse spooked at this and the horse came racing down the road, a macadam road, and got pretty close and one of our guys opened up like a damn fool with a machine gun and machine-gunned the horse and the horse was laying there dying on the street. And our battalion commander, Colonel Graham, came up, saw this, went out, shot the horse in the head. And then he came over and he dressed that sergeant whose name was (Plas), dressed him down, said, "I ought to bust you. I ought to court-martial you. You are just a bloody, ruthless, Goddamn killer" sort of stuff.

As far as the Germans were concerned, that was just -- that was what we got paid for. But the horse was different. Now that was the attitude.

Q. AS A YOUNG MAN, A YOUNG JEW FROM SAN FRANCISCO WHO WANTED TO BE IN COMBAT SPECIFICALLY, WERE YOU EVER INCLINED AFTER YOU HAD SEEN OHRDRUF AND THOSE WOMEN TO WANT TO DO -- WHAT WAS YOUR FEELING FOR THE GERMAN POPULATION?

A. I didn't like them at all. And I remember having a difficult time with a couple of German nurses. We uncovered some sort of an institution and there were nurses in Army uniform, Army nurses. And we wanted to get a key and they wouldn't give us a key. And I remember cursing them and saying, "Look, Fraulein, I want the Goddamn key fast." And, I don't know, I said it in French or English and she understood and she was very angry at my talking to her in that fashion. And I didn't like them at all. Hated them.

And in 1966 or '67, that's twenty-some years after, I was invited by the German government to make an official visit to Germany at their expense. And I thought about it for a long time. I turned them down. And then the invitation was reissued and I went. And I mostly met Social Democrats. But the ones I met were very nice. And some of the younger people, including my guides, had no idea of what was going on,

never heard of an Einsatzgruppen and so forth. So I found there were a lot of very nice Germans indeed. And it took that trip, going back there, to get me to change my mind.

Q. WERE YOU EVER TEMPTED TO DO UNTO THOSE GERMANS AS YOU HAD SEEN THEY HAD DONE UNTO PEOPLE?

A. I certainly wouldn't have hesitated to -- we killed a lot of Germans. We never, that I can recall, killed German civilians. And we took up occupation in Germany. And again as the adjutant of the battalion, I had to deal with the inhabitants of the town. It was a very small town. And it was on an arm's-length basis. I was very leery of them. I avoided ever having a German girlfriend. I didn't want that.

Q. WHAT TOWN WAS IT?

A. (Rettenberg), which was south of (Regensburg) in Bavaria. And we were in (Regensburg) because there was a castle there and that's where we put the German generals, imprisoned them.

But, no, I was certainly very anti-German for at least twenty-some-odd years after the war.

Q. AS AN ARTILLERYMAN, YOU MUST HAVE REALIZED YOU PROBABLY KILLED SOME CIVILIANS.

A. Yes. The artillery is a very hit-and-miss proposition. As I say, we shot up some of our own guys

who were in that hospital in Luxembourg. So we weren't very technically correct all the time and I am sure we hit civilians.

Q. THAT ASPECT OF IT DIDN'T TROUBLE YOU NECESSARILY?

A. No. Either correctly or incorrectly, I felt the whole activity was very constructive and the right thing to do; that Germany was just a miserable, horrible entity and had to be stopped. I felt that strongly, right from the word go.

Q. AS YOU WERE IN GERMANY IN AN OCCUPATIONAL CAPACITY, DID YOU COME TO HAVE KNOWLEDGE, MORE AND MORE KNOWLEDGE AS THE CAMPS WERE DISCOVERED AND THE ATROCITIES UNVEILED BY OTHER FORCES ELSEWHERE? DID YOU COME TO HAVE MORE KNOWLEDGE OF WHAT HAD HAPPENED IN GERMANY TO JEWS AND TO OTHER PERSONS WHOM THEY _____?

A. The Army used a point system of rotating out of the service. And because I had the Silver and Bronze Star and had been in five combats, each one with a battle star, you know, that was how they added up the points, I had enough points to get out. And for me I think I made a great career mistake. I should have stayed, gone to school over there and seen more. But for some reason I was anxious to come home. I was very disappointed once I got home, so I realized it was an

error.

The long and the short of it was I was only on occupation duty for I would say three or four months before I was one of the early rotated out. And, no, I didn't get any sense of those camps, nor were we told about them while I was over there.

The only thing I learned was what those German generals were like and what the townspeople were like. And I didn't like the townspeople. We were in a (gasthaus) I think it is called, sort of a bar and lodge, and that's where the headquarters was. And the owner of the (gasthaus), we took it over. And the owner didn't like us, didn't like us being there, was not a pleasant man. And the townspeople looked at us very askance, and we at them, at they.

By the time the war was over and we were on occupation duty, we didn't like the Germans, none of the people, except that sexual relationships were formed by many of both the officers and GIs. I was leery of any sort of a relationship with a German. And then I came home.

Q. YOU HAD A 20-YEAR PERIOD IN WHICH YOU WERE CERTAINLY NOT PRO-GERMAN, I GATHER. HOW HAS IT AFFECTED HOW YOU VIEW EVENTS IN GERMANY NOW? DO YOU HAVE ANY FEARS ABOUT A UNITED GERMANY WHICH IS A FACT NOW?

A. Well, in this 20 years from about '58 to -- well, for many years thereafter, I did a weekly television show on the public system that examined what was going on in the world and in Germany. So I was up to date. And I remember asking always our German correspondent antagonistic questions; "Well, what are the former S.S. up to now?" sort of stuff.

It wasn't until I went over there and spent a month in Germany that I came away very impressed with the fact that there were some damn nice Germans. I often wondered where they were and what they were doing from 1933 on. Some of them too young, though many of them not. Most of them social democrats from the Willy Brandt stripe. And they were very direct, very straightforward and I thought very first class. And I saw a lot of them. As a guest of the German government, you could literally see anyone you want. So I did a big about-face about generalizing about Germany.

And I was in East Berlin recently. And the Germans I saw in Berlin and East Berlin, some nice; some, you know, not so good.

I think it is an inevitable move, this reunification, and considering the shambles of the communist countries, at least East Germany is going to be pulled out from that mess which I think is a big

plus. And I also feel that the Germans have been very, very correct over the last 40 years in their at least reparations policy to Jewish families that could establish identity there.

Q. YOU MEAN THE WEST GERMANS?

A. The West Germans, yes. And I think (Von Weissenger), the President of Germany, is just wonderful.

Having said all that, like everyone else who fought them, I have concerns that they are going to get too big and too powerful and eventually may decide to flex their muscles. But there's no sense worrying about that.

Q. ARE YOUR CONCERNS BECAUSE YOU ARE A PERSON WITH INTERNATIONAL INTERESTS, OR PARTLY BECAUSE YOU ARE JEWISH?

A. Well, I have lots of concerns these days about anti-Semitism. And it always seems to follow economic decline. And the economic decline in the communist countries is going much faster than anyone thought it would. And the economic decline in the United States is starting, in my view. And I am concerned about anti-Semitism. And my guess, it is wholly subjective because I am Jewish, my family is Jewish and I know that they are at risk.

Strangely enough, I don't put Germany in

that category. That is, they have anti-Semites there and they have a strong, not too big, but strong right wing party over there. But I think they have so many devices to stamp out anti-Semitism as part of their official government structure that they will do it. Whereas in the Russian government they don't have the devices, and in (Pamiat) and elsewhere there is no way to stamp it out and it is growing like weeds over there, very fast.

But I think insofar as government-supported or government-tolerated anti-Semitism is concerned, Germany may turn out to be a bastion of strength, even though my guess is there is plenty of anti-Semitism in East Germany that is going to come out. But you know I have nothing to go on. I am not a scholar in this area.

Q. WHERE WERE YOU AND WHEN WAS IT THAT THE FULL ENORMITY OF AUSCHWITZ AND MAUTHAUSEN, THE FULL ENORMITY OF WHAT HAD OCCURRED TO BASICALLY THE JEWS IN POLAND AND EUROPE, WAS BROUGHT HOME TO YOU? WHEN DID YOU FINALLY REALIZE? DO YOU RECALL?

A. I was back in the United States, and I think the two things, the two bits of information that I came across, quite separate, one was the history of the Einsatzgruppen, and I had not been aware of them at all. And that was so particularly bad and outrageous

and it was such a strong part of the Wannsee decision. And that came out, you know, in I think about '46 or '47 and I picked that up. And I went in those days in San Francisco with a very intellectual group, including several refugees from Germany and Vienna who were at Berkeley and we were all very close friends, so we would pick anything like that up very fast and talk about it.

Then the other which came later was the fact that pleas had been made to our State Department to step in, and to Roosevelt himself, and that those pleas had been ignored. And that really has bothered me and scared me. I figure that can happen again and probably will.

Q. DO YOU HAVE A SENSE OF WHY ROOSEVELT MAY HAVE NOT HAVE BEEN ABLE TO MOVE OR CHOSE NOT TO MOVE DURING THE WAR YEARS THEMSELVES?

A. I think probably the same sort of a syndrome of why wasn't I and my colleagues more concerned about who was going to care for those women. In other words, we felt we had a task and the task didn't embody that, so let someone else who has got that responsibility worry about it.

I think Roosevelt was one of these people who, in order to get something done, didn't scatter-shot. He had a couple of major goals and he

stayed with those instead of having a lot. I don't think being a humanitarian was particularly a Roosevelt goal. His goal was to whip the Germans and the Japanese and not to allow anything to get in the way of that. And it must have appeared diversionary of effort or time or money or whatever. And he did the wrong thing.

Q. THERE IS, AS YOU WELL KNOW, AN ONGOING CONTROVERSY ABOUT HOW MUCH OUR GOVERNMENT KNEW OF WHAT WAS HAPPENING IN GERMANY, PARTICULARLY WITH RESPECT TO THE CAMPS. WHAT IS YOUR VIEW OF HOW MUCH WE KNEW ABOUT PLACES LIKE BUCHENWALD AND BERGEN-BELSEN AND DACHAU AND EVEN AUSCHWITZ ESPECIALLY IN THE RUSSIAN SECTOR OF THE WAR? HOW MUCH DID WE KNOW?

A. I am afraid I can't answer that question. I was very simplistic. I always figured that Roosevelt had a damn good Jew in Henry Morgenthau there and that Morgenthau was his neighbor and buddy and that he trusted him. And I always felt, and I think probably correctly, that Morgenthau was nobody's fool and was properly -- and would have spoken up. He was not about to hide something. And I still don't quite understand how this whole business got by Morgenthau.

But as to how much we knew, we must have known plenty. I mean, hell, we had agents all over there and intelligence. I just don't think anyone gave

a damn. Refugees coming over here were kind of a pain in the neck to people. And the refugees that came to the United States in the early days were very Germanic. They were more Germanic than Jewish as I recall. So we kind of doused them with the same feeling of distaste as we would for Germans who were very Germanic, stiff and a little bit haughty. Refugees somehow or another were not at all a priority then, any more than the Vietnamese refugees are a priority in Hong Kong. We weren't quite that bad, like that. But something like that a little bit.

Q. DO YOU RECALL HAVING ANY ANIMOSITY HERE, RECALL ANY -- THE JEWISH COMMUNITY IN SAN FRANCISCO HAVING ANIMOSITY ABOUT THE FACT THAT WE DIDN'T TAKE MORE REFUGEES? THAT IS, I THINK IN THOSE DAYS WE EVEN HAD A QUOTA SYSTEM WHICH PRECLUDED US FROM TAKING REFUGEES, GERMAN-JEWISH REFUGEES FROM GERMANY.

A. Oh, in San Francisco --

Q. I AM TALKING ABOUT THE PREWAR DAYS.

A. I don't know about the Jewish leaders because I was too young to be doing business with them. But there was a real feeling of fear in the Jewish community in San Francisco prewar. I think assimilation was not very good. Even the most aristocratic of the Jewish families here I think assimilated rather badly in those days with gentiles.

I mean, they gave money to this and that, but they weren't in their clubs as they are now, for example. Anti-Semitism was very popular.

Hitler's adjutant from World War II was the Consul General here, was a member of the Burlingame Country Club, etc., either Fritz Weidemann or (Von Killinger). I forget which one of those two fellows.

So these refugees began to arrive and I think it scared a lot of San Francisco Jewry. They had an unpleasant, often had, not all of them by a long shot, but some of them had a rather unpleasant Germanic manner, so it was felt. And I think that a lot of the San Francisco Jews felt it was going to cause more anti-Semitism, that they were more at risk. So I don't think they were particularly worrying are we getting enough out. Now, some of them were, for sure, but I wasn't aware of that, those in the policy positions.

Q. WHEN YOU CAME BACK, PICK UP THE NARRATIVE OF SORT OF WHAT HAPPENED TO YOU WHEN YOU CAME BACK TO SAN FRANCISCO, I GATHER, AND YOU HAVE BEEN IN PUBLIC LIFE. WHY DON'T YOU TRACE THAT FOR US.

A. Well, when I came back, I got hit by this problem of who had been in combat and who hadn't, emotionally. And I felt drawn to those who shared the experience. Didn't want anything to do with those who hadn't. Most of those I knew, strangely enough, had

not been in combat. How they missed it, I don't know. But it caused a big problem for me.

And I found myself drawn to, oh, I went into business, I found myself drawn to a rather broad group of refugees associated with the universities. One was a professor of economics from U.C. Berkeley who was a Viennese, whom I always thought was Jewish and learned when he died that he was not, a fellow named (Breyer). And another who was a professor of German history named (Zummerfield); also not Jewish, I don't think. But very liberal, wonderful types who knew absolutely what was going on. So I began to read The Economist and the right periodicals to find out what was going on. And I found myself in a fairly interesting group of intellectuals, mostly Jewish, here in San Francisco after the war.

But as America had been so distant from the war physically and my parents' generation having no idea about it, and many others no idea, I felt very alone at times and would welcome when some member of the 4th Armored Division would come to town. Many of my 4th Armored Division friends apparently had the same experience when they returned home. I at least had a lot of opportunities. My family had some dough and I could pretty well take my choice. I am not sure -- in fact, I am sure I made the wrong decision, but at any

rate I had some options open. A lot of these folks did not and they went back into the Army, became regular Army officers and stayed in until retirement because they felt they were not part of the mainstream which was non-combatant, then.

And I have often empathized with the Vietnam veteran because I am sure it was a much more difficult situation. There they didn't know what they were fighting for, still don't know what they were fighting for, and they went through some terrible misery. At least we had a constructive war.

Q. YOU SAID YOU WENT INTO BUSINESS. WHAT BUSINESS WAS THAT AND WHAT DID YOU DO IN PUBLIC LIFE. AND TELL US BASICALLY WHAT YOUR ACTIVITIES HAVE BEEN SINCE THE WAR.

A. I was in the automobile business which my father had started. Still have an automobile dealership. I spent some time on public television, first doing a show, really environmental and local, political problems, called "Profile Bay Area," which I then left but stayed on the air for many years. Went and moderated and produced a show called World Press, also for public television. Did that for about 15 or 20 years.

And I was a member of, I was elected to the San Francisco Board of Supervisors. I was elected

State Chairman at one point of the democratic party in California. And I had some unsuccessful campaigns for this and that. And I was The City's Chief Administrative Officer for 10 years.

Q. WHICH IS a FULL-TIME JOB?

A. That's a full-time job. I left the automobile business and went to work as a City employee.

Q. AND YOU ARE IN THE AUTOMOBILE BUSINESS NOW, I GATHER?

A. I am back in it now.

Q. YOU ARE BACK IN IT. YOU SAID I THINK EARLIER THAT YOU BELONG TO A SYNAGOGUE.

A. Yes.

Q. DISCUSS WHEN THAT HAPPENED AND WHAT MOTIVATED YOU.

A. My wife and I joined Temple Emanuel about 15 or 20 years ago. We felt a strong need for identity, a better understanding of what Jews were about. And I felt a strong need for a political anchor. I felt I was a Jew, I'd better damn well run the flag up and I ought to join a temple. Whether I joined the right temple for me and my family, I have never been quite sure.

Q. WHAT WERE YOUR OPTIONS?

A. I could have joined another temple. My

father had belonged to the one on California and Webster, Sherith Israel, and subsequently, because of my government or political roles, I have met many of the rabbis in the orthodox and conservative groups that I have liked very much indeed.

So I feel very -- I wish I knew more about Judaism. I enjoy going to the temple services. I wish I had given my children more of a chance at Jewish education.

I have gotten to know a little bit the rabbi at this place, Rabbi (Lipner), I think his name is (Pinchus). Well, the chap in this building. Very interesting man.

So I feel very Jewish. But I am not very good at Jewish history or something of that sort.

Q. HOW MANY CHILDREN, AND WHO ARE THEY, AND DID YOU GIVE THEM ANY JEWISH REARING AT ALL?

A. Well, I told them from the day they were born and continue to tell them literally every time I see them, "Don't forget you're Jewish, and find out more if you can about your background, just out of self-protection if nothing else, as well as for the fun of it." So I think they are very aware of it. None of them are married, but it would surprise me if they married Jews. And they didn't go to temple. They went to athletic events and this and that.

Our oldest is 30. His name is John. He lives in Mill Valley; a graduate of a liberal arts college. Our second son, Christopher, lives in New Mexico. He went to Stanford. He was an engineer. He is going into medicine. Our third son, Anthony, is trying to make his way in the movie business in Southern California. And we have a 20-year old, Lucy, who is a student at Hampshire College in Massachusetts. And they are now starting to be more interested in Judaism. Christopher and Lucy especially.

Q. WHY IS THAT?

A. Beats me.

Q. BUT YOU DIDN'T GIVE IT TO THEM WHEN THEY WERE SMALL?

A. Oh, I think so. I think there is an awful lot we didn't give them, I didn't give them.

Q. BUT YOU MAKE A POINT OF MENTIONING IT TO THEM NOW?

A. Yes. I think we are in for a bad time in the United States.

Q. "WE" BEING?

A. Those of us who are Jewish. And I think it is going to come fast. We haven't -- I mean, everyone is just kind of coasting along. But I think things are going -- I am a pessimist obviously, but I think things are not going well for us. And the fact

that we can't balance the budget is especially scary. And the economy is turning down. And I think it is going to get very wretched. And when it does, and the Jews are in the headlines, especially the financial headlines these days, I think we are just going to get hit before we know it. And I think that especially young people need to know how to respond if they can or how to figure out how to protect themselves.

Q. WHAT WILL HAPPEN TO JEWS IN AMERICA?

A. I have no idea. But I think it is going to be some unpleasantness.

Q. AND YOU THINK JEWS WILL BE SINGLED OUT?

A. I do.

Q. BECAUSE PERHAPS OF SOME FINANCIAL ADVENTURES?

A. Well, it is just traditionally. They are being singled out. They are being singled out in Poland now; there is hardly a Jew left. They are being singled out in Rumania now; there is hardly a Jew left. What they have got over there is extremely difficult economic situations. They are being singled out in Russia; there are some Jews left. Same situation prevails. A rotten economy.

And the similarity between those countries and us is our economy is turning way down. You can buy it for 10 cents on the dollar. All you have to do is

read what the Japanese are doing every day of the week. And so it is going to make the standards of living turn down, unemployment rates go up, etc. And I don't think they are going to say to themselves, well, we have got a party system that doesn't work or a non-parliamentary system that doesn't work or the Congress is not becoming effective or not -- they are not going to say any of that. They are going to say some no-good caused this. Maybe they will pick out the Lithuanians. I doubt it.

Q. YOU THINK THEY WILL PICK OUT THE JEWS?

A. I do.

Q. LIKE GERMANY DID IN THE '30S?

A. Like they have done for one heck of a long time.

Q. WHEREAS GERMANY, WITH A STRONG ECONOMY, MAY PUT THEIR JEWS ON A PEDESTAL, THE FEW THEY HAVE LEFT?

A. Oh, I think Germany and Europe, which is perhaps a break in all this, are going to be super strong. And we are still in 1990. In 1992, when that European community opens up, I mean they are going to be so powerful they won't care about anyone else. They won't even have to look outside of themselves is the problem. So between them and the Japanese, that's where all the money is going to be.

Q. YOU THINK THIS COUNTRY'S INSTITUTIONS WILL BE ABLE TO RESIST WHAT YOU MIGHT SEE AS AN ENCROACHING FORM OF NAZIISM IF OUR ECONOMY GOES SOUR?

A. I am not saying we are going to have Naziism. Let's just say there were no Jews left in this country and ask the question, do I think our institutions can handle it? I would say no. I would say we are going to go through a major revision. They can't handle it now. We're not functioning. I mean, we don't have a budget. We can't even get one through our Congress and the Executive. It is an extraordinary situation. The Japanese feel that we are in total decline. And whether we are quite that bad or not I don't know. But we are not doing anything about our educational system, our infrastructure, our research and development, balancing the budget. All we are doing is borrowing from abroad. And once they stop lending to us, and it is about right now they are going to stop lending to us, it is going to get very rough here. So something is going to have to give. What, I haven't the foggiest idea.

Q. BUT I GATHER YOU ARE SAYING YOU FORESEE BLEAK TIMES IN THIS COUNTRY FOR AMERICAN JEWS?

A. Well, those are your words, not mine. I think that American Jews have had a wonderful time in this country right up until the present time, since the

end of World War II. They have had complete mobility. They could be in the government or out. They could have any position. They could be considered for president or vice president, as Diane Feinstein was four years ago. No one would bat an eyelash. And I think they have been valued as very helpful, important citizens.

Now the question is, is that sort of a situation going to continue? And I am inclined to think it will change. "Bleak" means it will change very drastically. I am not sure how drastically it is going to change.

Q. WHAT WOULD BE YOUR OVERALL ASSESSMENT, IN LOOKING BACK AS YOU HAVE DONE IN THE LAST DAY OR TWO, 45 YEARS, 46 YEARS, TO WHAT YOU SAW WHEN YOU WERE IN THE 4TH ARMORED DIVISION? WHAT EFFECT HAS THAT HAD ON YOU IN SUBSEQUENT YEARS? EMOTIONALLY, IS IT HAVING AN EFFECT ON YOU? HAS IT CHANGED YOUR POINT OF VIEW, YOUR PERCEPTIONS IN ANY WAY?

A. Well, I think I have taken sort of three or four things out of the whole business, not necessarily in order of importance. But we used to have a phrase in the war that sort of typified America in those days. Beaucoup (materiel) is what the French used to say about us. And we really had it. We were so rich. And my division was sort of the epitomy of

that. We literally had anything that was -- we had the latest shell, the latest this, the latest that. We didn't have the right clothes unfortunately, but we had almost everything else. And so we were a very cocky bunch, representing a very rich country then. And so one thing I took out was we used to be very rich.

Another thing I took out is the therapeutic aspects of combat. Under certain conditions, no matter how bad it is, people can feel very good about themselves and their comrades, and that's how we felt in my division. I think that was a wonderful feeling for those of us who had it.

Third is that Germany would have been an absolute monster if the British hadn't stopped them. And if they had taken England, we would have paid in blood and the Jews would have been terribly oppressed here, if not exterminated, if they had taken England. So that Germany had to be stopped.

And I think the fourth thing, at least I felt in those days, was that the military is very apolitical and should be kept apolitical and that we have been lucky in the United States to keep the military out of politics and better be sure we continue to do so.

Q. YOU SAID SOMETHING EARLIER AND I WONDER IF YOU STILL FEEL THE SAME WAY 45 YEARS LATER. YOU WANTED

TO BE IN COMBAT AND SOME OF THESE TOUGH NEW YORK, BRONX KIDS WANTED TO BE IN COMBAT BECAUSE THERE WAS A FEELING, TRUE OR OTHERWISE, A PERCEPTION LINGERING MAYBE THAT JEWS WOULDN'T FIGHT FOR THEIR OWN RIGHTS. DID I MISSTATE THAT OR IS THAT APPROXIMATELY WHAT YOU SAID?

A. It is approximately in that I saw many of my Jewish friends at school and elsewhere not go into combat, yes.

Q. DO YOU THINK WHAT YOU HAVE LEARNED SINCE ABOUT WHAT GERMANY DID TO JEWS AND WHAT YOU KNOW NOW OF HOW JEWS BEHAVED AND ISRAELIS BEHAVED, DO YOU STILL THINK THAT PERCEPTION EXISTS IN THE WORLD?

A. No.

Q. THAT JEWS WON'T FIGHT?

A. No, and I think Israel has done a great deal to eradicate that perception. And I think learning about the people in Warsaw who did fight has helped to eradicate it. And I think mine was a coincidental thing, not a true statistic. So I think my feeling was totally incorrect, my perception was totally incorrect in those days and I no longer hold that.

I think, going back to your question of anti-Semitism, that to a certain extent the weather vane will be if the Congress changes toward Israel, and

if it does, I think it will represent what they are hearing from their constituents, and I think that will send a sort of message as to how people here in this country are feeling about Jews.

Q. DO YOU THINK ISRAEL IS HANDLING ITS CURRENT PROBLEMS PROPERLY?

A. I felt Israel got off base in the days of Mr. Begin and I still feel they are off base. But they are in an untenable situation.

Q. ANY OTHER OVERALL VIEWS THAT YOU CAN DISTILL FROM 45 YEARS OF REFLECTION?

A. No. I feel very emotional.

Q. EXPLAIN THAT.

A. I don't think about the war or the things you brought up very much. I think I didn't allow myself to think of it too much in combat because I think -- some of my colleagues got scared. Let me rephrase that. Some of them couldn't handle their fear. Some of the most surprising deserted or had to be relieved because they couldn't handle the fear.

We had an executive officer, who just died, hell of a nice man from Chicago. He was made battalion commander and all he did was sit in the vehicle and drink brandy until relieved. They gave him an MP battalion instead. We had a survey officer named (Weber) who became a basket case; couldn't take the

(fear, had to be relieved. We had that a lot. I mean, there were enough instances to show me that if you thought about it too carefully, you couldn't handle it too well. So I kept it out.

And I have been trying to drain up, as you've asked these good questions about what did these women look like and who was taking care of them and all, I just feel like crying. I can't tell you why, but . . .

Q. ANYTHING ELSE AT ALL?

A. (Witness shakes head)

((MS. TANNENBAUM) Q. I HAD ONE QUESTION, ROGER. WHEN YOU MENTIONED THAT WHEN YOU TOOK SOME GERMAN SOLDIERS, THE ENLISTED MEN, THE YOUNG MEN, THEY DIDN'T STRIKE YOU AS MASTER RACE OR THEY DIDN'T LOOK BIG AND THE WAY YOU HAD THOUGHT OF THEM, BUT THAT YOU HAD A DIFFERENT -- WHEN YOU CAPTURED THE GENERALS AND THEY WERE BEING HOUSED IN THAT CASTLE, YOU HAD SOME TIME TO LOOK AT THEM.

HOW DID THEY STRIKE YOU, THE GENERALS, THE LEADERS?

(A. The initial prisoners we took, which happened in Normandy, a couple of officers and their equivalent of GIs, were not very impressive as I recall. And they had been pounded and they were scared and they were meek.

Later we took some S.S. prisoners and they'd been pounded too, but they were very tough looking, unpleasant types.

The generals were extraordinarily disciplined and arrogant really. And when you would come into the castle, you would be met by the senior general, the one lieutenant general of the whole bunch, and then you would go into the room where there were all these major generals and brigadier generals and they would stamp to attention. They were a very different cut of cloth and you didn't feel at all comfortable with them. They were professional military types, but very, very tough and I think smart, and Germanic. And they fit more the prototype that I had in mind of a customer you don't want to cross.

(MR. AYRES): Q. HAD SOME OF THEM OR MOST OF THEM BEEN COMBAT LEADERS?

A. They had all been combat leaders or staff in the war. And they were there to be checked and screened to see if any of them should be sent to the war crimes trial.

Q. DO YOU RECALL WHETHER ANY OF THEM WAS?

A. I have heard, and I don't remember to tell you the truth. I left, as I say. I came home.

Q. THE REVELATIONS OF NUREMBERG, WHAT DID THAT DO TO YOU? DO YOU RECALL? THE NUREMBERG TRIALS?

A. No, I understand the question.

Strangely enough, I always had some question in my mind. I thought, you know, we get Hitler and all, you want to execute them all. Finally we had them and we had (Tojo) in the Pacific, and as time went on and before they were executed, I wondered just -- are we executing them because they are villains or are we executing them because they lost?

They executed Julius Streicher, for example, and I remember he used to make the Jews eat grass. And I had read that before going over there. And I could see no reason to show any mercy to a fellow like Streicher. But I did wonder about (Keitel) and whoever those other generals were that they had, as I wondered a little bit about Tojo. I have never been quite sure in my mind to this day whether we did the right thing.

And I had the same reaction in watching "The Civil War" on television recently when they imprisoned Jeff Davis, the President of the Confederacy, and I think didn't treat Robert E. Lee too well either. He had to get out of the country.

There is a tendency, if you lose, you are in deep yogurt.

But I did learn -- that's where I think I heard about the Einsatz (group), now that you remind

me, was in the Nuremberg trials. I never heard of that stuff before.

Q. AND AUSCHWITZ?

A. Yes.

Q. AND THE KILLING FIELDS?

A. Right. That's where it came out.

Q. THIS IS A RATHER INVOLVED QUESTION, BUT I WOULD LIKE TO POSE IT TO YOU ANYWAY. IF YOU WOULD BE WILLING TO EXECUTE JULIUS STREICHER, THE JEW BAITER AS EVERYONE KNEW HIM, WHO PROBABLY NEVER EXERCISED ANY REAL AUTHORITY IN GERMANY _____, BUT YOU HAVE DOUBTS ABOUT PEOPLE LIKE HIGH STAFF OFFICERS, (KEITEL), GOERING, WHO ACTUALLY SET THE PLAN OF ANNIHILATION IN MOTION BUT WHO WERE ARMY OFFICERS OR HIGH GOVERNMENTAL OFFICIALS, DOES THAT STRIKE YOU AS --

A. I think I felt that if we had lost, that Eisenhower and Patton and the rest would have gone to the gallows. And I have never considered them as bad men.

No, the Germans were beyond the pale, there is no question about it. I don't think I gave it too much thought. But you asked me, so it crossed my mind at the time of Nuremberg are we doing the right thing with these guys. I think Himmler committed suicide, too, if I recall. Well, I surely -- and Heydrich was assassinated. I surely would have given

them very short shrift if I had had the authority myself. And Goering I would have given very short shrift to. I suppose all of them, including (Riefentrop) and all the rest, I wouldn't have been too merciful. And the trial did bring it out. But it was a one-way street. I mean, I think about the only one who got off was Schacht or someone like that.

Q. ONE OR TWO OTHERS.

A. Yes, one or two others. And all I know is you better not lose, even if you are on the so-called side of right.

Q. ANYTHING ELSE AT ALL? ANY INSIGHT AT ALL FROM ANY ANGLE ABOUT WHAT WE'VE BEEN TALKING ABOUT?

A. Well, I am glad this Holocaust Center is trying to find everybody that was involved because one hears continuously that it never existed, that it is all ersatz. And if people keep saying that enough, you start to wonder, did it exist or didn't it? And unless you get people who have been in the camps, that is, were inmates, or photographs or both, these folks who say it is a myth I think are going to get louder and louder as time goes on. So I am very glad that the Holocaust Center is going through this activity.

People have short memories is a problem I think. And I am not so sure how many good guys there are in public leadership throughout the world. I think

a fellow like (Von Weissenger), the President of Germany, is definitely a good guy but he's sort of a rarity. I look upon Gorbachev very fondly myself, but I am not so sure how effective he is at stamping -- of course I think now the poor fellow is finished, but I am not sure he has been very effectual about doing anything about anti-Semitism or whether he and his friends have even cared about the rise of anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union.

So that given the dearth of really gutsy leaders and given extremely tricky conditions, when you see Mrs. Bhutto, the elected prime minister of Pakistan, literally plucked out of office by the military there, for example, given the Japanese who have all the money who don't give a damn about any of this stuff, we are in for tricky times. That's all.

Q. DO YOU THINK RUSSIA, LETTING JEWS EMIGRATE, SIMPLY FEELS THAT THEY ARE EXPORTING THEIR PROBLEM NOW AS GERMANY DID AT ONE PERIOD OF TIME?

A. Yes, I understand the question.

I have simply assumed, perhaps incorrectly, that they felt it would be a policy which would be appreciated by the Americans whose friendship they are obviously seeking. Whether it is to reduce friction or lessen an internal problem or not, I have no idea. I am very glad they are doing it. I think

for the Russian Jews, it is becoming increasingly untenable. And I think they all have a healthy role to play in Israel and I hope they will be used properly.

Q. DO YOU THINK JEWS IN RUSSIA ARE GOING THROUGH WHAT YOU FORETELL MIGHT OCCUR HERE BECAUSE THEIR SYSTEM IS CRUMBLING?

A. Yes, I do.

Q. POINTING AT SOMEBODY?

A. Absolutely.

Q. DO YOU HAVE SOME DOCUMENTS OR PICTURES OR SOMETHING THAT YOU WANT TO SHOW US?

A. I do have a couple of things. I don't know if they are worth looking at.

Q. LET'S HAVE A LOOK.

(MR. AYRES): Any further questions?

(MR. KIRSCHMAN): Does Helga have any questions.

MS. TANNENBAUM: Q. SINCE I AM A SURVIVOR MYSELF, I AM MOST INTERESTED TO KNOW, SINCE PART OF MY FAMILY WAS KILLED IN (TERISSEEMSER) WHERE YOU HAVE BEEN, IF YOU HAVE SEEN MEN IN THE OTHER PART. AS I UNDERSTAND, WOMEN WERE IN ONE PART AND MEN IN THE OTHER PART? You ONLY SPOKE OF WOMEN WHO YOU SAW.

A. Yes. I didn't see any men. Not that I remember.

MS. TANNENBAUM: Q. MAYBE THEY WERE ALL

KILLED ALREADY.

A. Might well have been.

MR. AYRES: Q. THAT PLACE WHERE YOU SAW THEM, YOU ARE UNABLE TO PINPOINT THE PRECISE LOCATION, BUT YOU WOULD GATHER IT WOULD BE EAST OF (WORDOFF)?

A. Yes.

Q. TOWARD THE CZECHOSLOVAKIAN BORDER?

A. Yes. We went into Czechoslovakia.

Q. YOU DID GO INTO CZECHOSLOVAKIA?

A. Yes.

Q. DO YOU KNOW HOW FAR YOU WENT IN?

A. We went pretty close to Prague. We went

to the end of the Bohemian border, as I recall.

(Krakaveechi) or something like that. I have a lot of pictures in my album of me in Czechoslovakia with horses and whatnot.

Q. SO IT IS POSSIBLE WHERE YOU SAW THE WOMEN COULD HAVE BEEN IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA?

A. It could well have been. I am pretty vague on that, I am sorry to say.

I know they were women, I know they were Jewish, and I know they were prisoners. I don't know what nationality they were or where it was really. I thought it was (Terisseemser) (site).

Q. I KNOW THAT SOME OF MY RELATIVES WERE LIBERATED _____; THAT THEY DIED SHORTLY

AFTER BECAUSE THEY COULDN'T TAKE THE FOOD AND THE TREATMENT.

A. Is that so?

Q. UH-HUH. I THINK THAT'S ALL ON THIS.

(End of tape number 1)

(Beginning of tape number 2)

Q. BASICALLY WE ARE ROLLING. WHY DON'T YOU TELL US WHO THESE PEOPLE ARE, WHERE, WHEN.

A. This was in April of 1945. The date I have in my album is April 4. The figure on the left side belongs to that of a Lieutenant Bernard Smith, who was an observer pilot. He flew a Piper Cub plane. Considered quite brave. Won the Silver Star. The person on the right is me. And we are, it says in my notation in my album, standing on a German gun mount on the German Autobahn near (Bauttershaus) in Germany which is three miles west of Ohrdruf where we found the concentration camp.

The Germans had a plan to, I have learned since the war was over, build a redoubt for their military headquarters in this general area and pull out of Berlin and fight on the war from this area. So they had it pretty well ringed with armament.

(End of interview)