

HOLOCAUST ORAL HISTORY PROJECT
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA

INTERVIEW

of

PHILLIPE BOURGOIS

December 17, 1991

by

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1 MS. BERER: Today is Tuesday, December 17,
2 1991. We are in San Francisco, California and I am
3 Barbara Berer, interviewing Philippe Bourgois, with Lisa
4 Barnett as a second and Laurie Sosna on camera.

5 Philippe, I understand you are the son of a
6 survivor.

7 A. Yeah.

8 Q. Your father?

9 A. Yeah. He doesn't call himself a survivor.
10 It's interesting, he thinks his story isn't worth telling.
11 I think that's sort of a classic phenomena of some kind.

12 He was at Auschwitz, but not in the death camp part
13 of Auschwitz. He is not Jewish. He is French. He was
14 part of what they call in France the le service du travail
15 obligation, the STO. I guess in English the obligatory
16 labor service, which was -- I wrote a paper on it as an
17 undergraduate at one point.

18 Basically everyone born in 1922 in France. I think
19 it started out with months specifically and was broadened
20 more or less for the whole year, was drafted into German
21 industry. Now my father had gone underground. Not really
22 underground in the resistance, but when he was drafted,
23 when his birthday fell, it was announced everyone of his
24 age, which is basically 18, 20 year olds, 19 year olds, I
25 guess. He falsified his birth date papers. His family

1 had fled to the south of France following the German
2 invasion. So they were living at that point with cousins
3 in Nice, which is on the Mediterranean Coast. So he was
4 seized in a routine identification check at a movie
5 theater in Nice and then was put on a train. He didn't
6 know where at the time.

7 Q. Why would they seize him?

8 A. The extraordinary thing with the STO is it
9 was all administered by the French. It was the Vichy
10 regime that made it possible in the non-occupied part of
11 France for that whole plan to go through. It's
12 interesting. I wrote a term paper on it in terms of what
13 the implications were, in terms of France's coloraboration
14 with the Nazis.

15 Q. What was the goal?

16 A. STO program was a labor program. I imagine
17 it was two-fold. One was to get labor. The other was to
18 sort of demobilize a potential problematic age group. To
19 a certain extent it had the reverse effect of pushing
20 people also underground.

21 Now in his case he was picked in a routine
22 identification check. He said one was identified all the
23 time and most of the time -- I mean all the other times
24 they just looked at his papers and hadn't seen there was
25 anything wrong with it. This time the police officer

1 happened to see that he scratched out the two and changed
2 it to a four. They seized his document. He wasn't even
3 worried enough at that point to flee or go into hiding.
4 He went on home. It wasn't until three weeks later he was
5 actually seized by the police and put on the train for
6 what he thought was Germany at the time.

7 He ended up at Auschwitz. He says he even had a
8 moment when he could have escaped. Another person on the
9 train car escaped in Lyon, when they reached the center of
10 France. They realized the guard had left. Gone to the
11 bathroom, whatever. There was no guards posted on the
12 train car.

13 So the guy standing next to him said "Hey, quick,
14 let's go". My father actually jumped off the train. This
15 is the banality of those kinds of moments. He realized he
16 had forgotten his rain coat. He got back on the train.
17 While he turned his back, another guard got on the train.
18 At that point the security was tightened up. He had no
19 more options to escape.

20 Ultimately he did escape from the labor camp that
21 he was in. So anyhow, it was at that point they were
22 locked in, or guarded in. I am not sure how long the trip
23 was.

24 They were unloaded at Auschwitz. He was put at
25 that time -- He was put into barracks. The whole thing is

1 a little bit confusing in terms of his presentation. What
2 it sounds like from his presentation of Auschwitz is
3 Auschwitz was a series of many different camps. Everyone
4 was categorized by race, by politics, by all the different
5 categories that the Nazis had invented.

6 Of course, living conditions, prisoners of war,
7 Ukranians and so forth. One's life conditions were
8 determined by whatever category one had been put in. What
9 his experience was --

10 Q. Which category was he in?

11 A. He was in a relatively good category.
12 French. Whatever. They were called actually volunteers.
13 They were called free workers. Within the French there
14 were subdivisions because there were those that
15 volunteered. There were those that were prisoners of war
16 that had been put whatever, with the Vichy Government that
17 had been passed over to semi voluntary status. So there
18 were subdivisions within them.

19 It sounds like there were also just petty criminals
20 as well within the same categories, which is where he was
21 initially put into. He is not sure if he was put in a
22 barracks of petty criminals by coincidence or because they
23 had it marked on his passport that he had falsified his
24 papers.

25 He did get interrogated at that point. He hadn't

1 been interrogated before that. He got interrogated at
2 that point. They were trying to find out if he was part
3 of an organized group. In his case he wasn't part of an
4 organized group. He had his papers falsified by a friend
5 who worked in the municipality.

6 First they fled. From Paris they fled to the
7 center of France where we have cousins.

8 Q. He fled from what?

9 A. It's an ironic question. In fact, my grand
10 father was basically a Petainist.

11 Q. Which is what?

12 A. The French government that essentially
13 collaborated.

14 Q. Spell it.

15 A. Petain was, Marechal Petain, the person
16 that became the figure head government, so-called
17 unoccupied France during World War II, who signed all the
18 collaboration agreements with the Nazis.

19 My grandfather had been --

20 Q. Your father?

21 A. My father's father had been sort of an
22 upper level functionary in the ministry. When France was
23 invaded those ministries fled basically and I don't know
24 if they were put -- wherever, they were rescheduled.

25 The family itself went to where they had cousins in

1 the center of France, Limousin. They ended up in Nice,
2 which is as far as you could get. In some level they were
3 fleeing.

4 Ultimately I think during this period I think my
5 grandfather retired just at this moment, because he never
6 actually he worked for the Vichy government. My father
7 says, and this is one of the many mini lessons from the
8 whole thing. My father says or claims my grandfather was
9 basically a sympathizer, thought Petain was good.

10 At the same time, my other uncle, my father's older
11 brother, was in the French Navy and fought at the Battle
12 of Dunkirk and I think joined DeGaulle's forces sort of in
13 semi-disarray. So he got medals for fighting and that
14 whole bit about the Honor of France.

15 Q. How many were in your dad's family?

16 A. There were three of them. The other
17 younger brother was too young to be effective.

18 Q. He was in the middle of the three?

19 A. Right. So the whole family fled to the
20 South of France in Nice where they had the connections,
21 where they had family relationships.

22 The whole issue of the flight -- My father won't
23 talk about this clearly. He likes to present it all as
24 very simple and easy and unthinking.

25 Q. Let me ask you something from the outset.

1 When did your father first start talking about this? How
2 old are you now?

3 A. I am 35. It was always a very, very
4 difficult thing. It still is a difficult thing to get him
5 to talk about it.

6 Q. What was your first introduction about
7 anything being different about your dad?

8 A. The first time I remember it would be
9 probably around ten or eleven. It was always a very
10 frustrating thing because he would always dismiss it as
11 having not -- as not being something really worth talking
12 about and his experience was really incidental, that it
13 wasn't traumatic.

14 Q. How did you know about it in the first
15 place?

16 A. From him it had to be. I don't have a
17 clear first memory. I have a memory when I remember him
18 talking about it. Basically, he is not a heavy drinker or
19 anything, but the times one could get him to talk about it
20 would be at a party type situation where he had been
21 drinking wine and then someone would bring it up. I don't
22 know if it was me or someone else. So at that point he
23 would tell sort of a short story and of course everyone
24 would become transfixed with it and want him to tell more.

25 The story was always the opposite of as a child of

1 you would want to hear -- You wanted to hear of heroes
2 and the resistance and of black and white. He always had
3 this very ambiguous story. Everyone was absolutely
4 horrible.

5 All the classic things now I have been reading
6 about it some from different perspectives that you hear,
7 certain patterns of survivor type guilt, some of the sort
8 of fundamental lessons that are still being digested about
9 the whole thing, about the whole holocaust.

10 As a child I remember that was always very
11 troublesome. The exciting thing for me as a child is that
12 he was in the resistance at his labor camp, which, of
13 course, he has forgotten the name of, which is part of the
14 classic thing. He's actually gone back and visited it as
15 a guest of the Polish Government. His barracks had been
16 razed, but there is a plaque there. The factory they were
17 building, he was very upset about this, is functioning
18 still.

19 Q. Let's go back to where he was on the train
20 with the rain coat.

21 A. Before that, in terms of the flight, the
22 flight was somewhat traumatic to the family in the sense
23 my grandmother lost all her jewels in the flight. She
24 dropped them in the woods when she went out of the car to
25 urinate. He will present it as "Oh, well, it was the

1 French Foreign Ministry had to move and we sort of moved
2 and went to the cousins". The whole thing is played down
3 as a normal type experience.

4 So what happened was his first experience in the
5 camp was very negative in the sense -- Well, first thing
6 he did -- It was dark. He walked into the wrong barracks,
7 which were barracks of people with typhus. They were
8 lined with what he calls it chalk. It would have been
9 lime, with white lime. They arrived in the middle of the
10 night. Somehow he walked into the wrong barracks. As he
11 walked in everyone started shouted rous rous rous, get
12 out. So he did get out. He was lucky there. Had
13 someone, an administrator of the camp, not allowed him out
14 because those were seeing segregated barracks -- Once
15 someone got typhus the whole thing was sealed off and no
16 one was allowed out and a large proportion of people I
17 guess died of typhus.

18 That first step, he was very lucky. No one saw
19 him. He stumbled out of the typhus barracks and walked
20 into the right barracks.

21 Now that barracks he said -- It's not clear whether
22 it was petty criminals. He calls them dur de dur, street
23 toughies. They weren't young people his age. It
24 obviously wasn't people drafted his age. He said they
25 were older men. Some of his survival starts there.

1 He presents everything as total luck and accident
2 and naivety on his part. He does talk about calculating
3 constantly and figuring out what the consequences of one's
4 acts are.

5 What he presented as the head toughest, meanest guy
6 in the barrack, who was some kind of a longshoreman, pimp
7 type guy, petty criminal, took immediate liking to my
8 father. He said that's how he got food. The soup would
9 get delivered and the strongest, this guy in command of
10 the barrack would then ladle it out. He said what
11 happened the first time, I don't know if it was the first
12 time. I think he threw his knife on the table and said le
13 petit mange premier, the little guy is going to eat first.

14 My father got the first bowl of the soup. It
15 wouldn't be all water. In his whole experience the way he
16 presents it is sheer luck.

17 Q. How do you see it?

18 A. He does have his personal charisma and
19 charm. He is an outgoing person, that's easy to like.

20 As a child, I always wanted -- Obviously you want
21 your father to be a hero and you want there to be good
22 guys and you want there to be bad guys and you want
23 everyone to know which side you are on and what to do.
24 There were always elements of the story that pointed to
25 that, in the sense he joined the Communist party cell. I

1 don't know it was Communist. It was the resistance cell
2 organized by a Communist in the camp. At the same time he
3 presents that as total accident. He liked the guy, he was
4 a little kid, the guy was intellectual, it was fun and it
5 was exciting, you know, that's how he presents it.

6 It actually enabled him to escape and get concrete
7 benefits for the year he was there. They had a whole
8 system of falsifying food stamps. So they got personal
9 benefits.

10 Q. Do you know anymore details?

11 A. That is what I always wanted him to talk
12 about, of course. He doesn't present it as a self
13 conscious political or humanitarian decision. He presents
14 it as "I was 20 years old, I didn't know what I was doing.
15 Here was this 30 year old, 32 year old who was an
16 engineer, who took this liking to me and so, of course, I
17 thought he was God's gift to humanity and followed and did
18 whatever he said".

19 Now the other thing that he talks about, he talks
20 about in class terms as well. He will say "Of course, I
21 did well at Auschwitz because I was upper middle class.
22 The rest of the people were working class, so I was able
23 to talk my way out of situations".

24 What it was is he got himself promoted from being a
25 laborer to being an assistant accountant, figuring out the

1 hours. His firm was a -- The firm he was working for was
2 a German subcontracting firm for I. G. Farben. The plant
3 apparently is there. It's a petro chemical plant, three
4 kilometers outside the town of Auschwitz.

5 At first he was just put in with day laborers, with
6 common laborers. It's not clear whether it was a
7 punishment thing. He wasn't interrogated. And then he
8 says he lasted about a month under those conditions in
9 those barracks, until this guy -- The name is Sarger. I
10 imagine he died. He would be an extraordinary person to
11 interview.

12 The Russians, when they liberated the camp, made
13 him head of the repatriation of all the French in the
14 Auschwitz area region. They went via Bulgaria, via Greece
15 and so forth.

16 What he says is this guy noticed him because he was
17 the only literate, articulate upper middle class type
18 person, and invited him to be, and would arrange his
19 papers so he was transferred from the laboring job to the
20 materials and supply shack, which was actually outside the
21 barracks. So he was taken out of the barbed wire thing
22 with the guards and the whole thing and brought over to
23 where the equipment was held, which was right on the
24 worksite.

25 The rest of the workers were trucked in. At the

1 worksite, it was multi-racial and multi-political. At the
2 worksite you had all the different people from different
3 camps, from Auschwitz and the death camp itself brought to
4 work. You had Jewish laborers. You had prisoners of war.
5 You had the whole, you know.

6 Then at the end of the work hours everyone was
7 segregated out, counted out, and taken back to their
8 separate barracks.

9 Before getting there, the stories he has about the
10 initial work that he had was he was pushing a train car
11 that was carrying sand for mixing with cement. It's
12 interesting because his whole presentation is "My
13 experience is not worth talking about. I was not slated
14 to be killed, it was easy. I had enough to eat" he will
15 even say.

16 When you hear the stories. The first story, the
17 guy threw his knife down and says "The little guy eats
18 first". There was something else going on. He talks
19 about trading cigarettes coupons or food coupons and you
20 hear stories about being hungry coming up. The way he
21 wants to present it is "Don't listen to my story because I
22 wasn't slated to be killed and everyone else was being
23 killed".

24 Q. Did he have a number tatooed?

25 A. No. You see, he didn't. That's the first

1 thing he will say. "I didn't have a number tatoo. I
2 wasn't Jewish. It didn't happen to me. Mine was a
3 picnic", which on some levels is true.

4 On another level, the first thing you hear -- First
5 think I hear, sort of wanting there to be heroes and
6 wanting it to be clear, the job he had before, the guy who
7 had his position was killed in a work accident.

8 Then all of a sudden later -- I had been tape
9 recording him over the years because I would like to do as
10 an anthropologist, as the son, I would like to do some
11 kind of an analysis of it.

12 Q. Are there children in your family?

13 A. I have an older sister also.

14 I was listening to the tape recorder and he said,
15 "Oh, yeah I survived. Maybe I wouldn't have survived if I
16 stayed at that job". I go "Why"?

17 He goes "Because the guy before me was killed in
18 that accident and people were dying of typhus". So all of
19 a sudden you get a different sound of the conditions.

20 You ask him, "Did you ever see someone killed on
21 the job"? Then you read the holocaust books and you hear
22 the whole horror. He says "No, no, no, I didn't see any
23 of that".

24 Then you ask him another question like "Did you
25 ever talk to a Jew"?

1 He goes, "Oh, no, you couldn't talk to Jews. If
2 you spoke to them the Shupo would come and beat them up".

3 Q. Beat the Jew up?

4 A. Right. Which, of course, is the way he
5 will present things in the sense of "Don't be
6 irresponsible in your action because you are going to
7 bring destruction to someone else", which is one of the
8 messages that he keeps having. But at the same time he
9 will say "No, no, I didn't see people getting beaten up".

10 He will start talking about Shupos being decrepit
11 old men, limping along, sick like everyone else, in bad
12 shape.

13 Then he will go into the thing the camp was
14 administered by the inmates. That was an extraordinary,
15 upsetting thing for him. That is one of the lessons that
16 needs to be learned from the holocaust as well and he will
17 start talking about that.

18 Q. What lesson?

19 A. The self-administration on a daily basis of
20 extraordinary forms of oppression, and all the individual
21 petty sort of colloaborations that make it possible.
22 That's something he keeps talking about things like that.

23 But before getting into all that, he was
24 transferred to a cushy job, a job that didn't take
25 physical energy, that was good living conditions. He was

1 no longer in a barracks.

2 What they did, he said, they actually built
3 individual bedrooms for each one. They had to sleep
4 there. They justified sleeping there to the Nazis, the
5 Germans, in terms of because they had to protect the
6 equipment, so there needed to be people there, so they
7 were watchmen.

8 That was where the site of the resistance
9 organization, being separate like that made it possible
10 for them to organize a complicated resistance. I can talk
11 about that.

12 After that his job became keeping track of hours
13 that were worked in order to be able to charge. It all
14 sounds so petty in the context of the holocaust. In order
15 to charge the subcontractor, to charge I. G. Farben enough
16 money so the subcontractor could make a profit. That's
17 what his job was. He had a real accountant who was
18 supervising him.

19 His other position, and this is what gave him
20 mobility, enabled him to escape and also made him
21 valuable in the resistance organization. He was in charge
22 of getting medicine for the sick workers, which meant that
23 he had to travel to the town of Auschwitz, which is three
24 kilometers away, he says almost on a daily basis. So he
25 was traveling around.

1 Q. How did they travel?

2 A. Trucks. There were trucks carrying workers
3 back and forth and carrying equipment back and forth.

4 So his position in the underground organization was
5 spreading information from the radio. They had a
6 clandestine radio. It was a Soviet station and they
7 reported on the war. He had six contacts. The contacts
8 were good, because he had the ability to move around the
9 camps. He had access to different camps. He was in
10 charge of taking orders from his head guy, I think Sarger,
11 an Alsatian French, who was able to parlay whatever it was
12 called, Gross Volk Dutch racial status into getting more
13 trust with the Nazis. So he was able to bargain sort of
14 better conditions and so forth for his work setup.

15 And then that was the guy that was actually the
16 head of the resistance thing. From my father's
17 presentation of it it was relatively effective.

18 They worked on several a different front. It was
19 organized like a classic cell. You weren't allowed to
20 know more than a few people. You consciously limited what
21 you knew so if anyone person got captured, got discovered,
22 they could only give up a certain number. A classic
23 whatever it is. Not Leninist cell model. A classic
24 corporate cell model.

25 My father was aware more than most people, because

1 he became the guy's confidant and personal assistant.
2 They became close friends. They were sleeping in the same
3 room. They had partitioned off the beds. They were
4 eating, sleeping, plotting together. My father said he
5 never knew more than ten or 12 people at most.

6 He talks about the other things he knew about he
7 shouldn't have known about, but he overheard it type of
8 things. One thing they were doing was they were losing
9 equipment and pieces to equipment so that the work wasn't
10 getting done.

11 They did -- They went as far as having cranes fall
12 down and knock things down. Most of the time he said it
13 was bureaucratic losses. We got this shipment of
14 equipment from France. They were getting equipment from
15 France. It didn't come with ball bearings. Or the ball
16 bearings that came with it are too big so we can't work
17 today.

18 Q. Sabatage?

19 A. Right. They also had caches of dynamite
20 they never ended up using. They were organized enough to
21 have it. From his description, for him it will sound too
22 heroric and he wants to emphasize that he was nothing but
23 an ignorant 20 year old, who didn't know what he was
24 doing, who had no consciousness of anything of what was
25 going on. It sounds like from his description they were

1 actually practicing manipulation of dynamite, with a
2 notion of there might come a time when we will be
3 dynamiting things.

4 On the tape I was listening, he will say "I never
5 touched a gun. I never touched a gun in my life. I hae
6 never fired it". He will say jokingly "I do know how to
7 use dynamite. I have manipulated dynamite".

8 I ask "Oh, were you blowing things up"? "No, we
9 never blew up things. We used tons of dynamite because
10 they used it for construction. We thought there might
11 come a time when we would use it".

12 That was one part of it then was the sabotage. He
13 wasn't involved in the sabotage part himself. The kind of
14 stories he gives about it were, you see, he was trusted by
15 everyone because he was always with the head guy. He said
16 some of the workers who were, were the working class, they
17 were upset. They agreed with it politically, but were
18 upset at doing bad work. They would say c'est dommage,
19 all this beautiful work we could be doing and we haven't
20 done anything for three months.

21 He said the guy was very effective, they got very
22 little done. The guy was trusted by the Germans.

23 He had been a prisoner of war, Sarger, when France
24 was initially occupied. He had been seized. He was
25 originally in the prisoner of war camp. The guy was a

1 card carrying communist party member from several
2 generations, which is a classic thing in France. So when
3 Stalin signed the non-aggression pact he then volunteered.

4 Yeah, he said "I am not going to be a prisoner of
5 war. I will volunteer. I am Volk Dutch". This and that.
6 The Germans took him, switched him from prisoner of war to
7 volunteer worker. Then when the Nazis invaded the Soviet
8 Union he stayed and became a saboteur following party
9 line.

10 My father, of course, is very upset about all those
11 kind of things, is very shocked by those kind of issues.
12 He says the whole time they were arguing politically, my
13 father was basically a centrist, upper bourgeois French
14 family, sort of bureaucratic government family. But the
15 guy was effective.

16 The other thing my father was involved with was the
17 radio. He said what they did is they somehow built a
18 radio. They weren't allowed to own a radio. They built a
19 radio because they had access to everything. They were
20 workers so they had access to people who knew electronics.
21 They had people that knew whatever it was. The guy was an
22 engineer.

23 My father was actually the one in charge of
24 listening to the radio under the covers. They put it
25 under the covers and listen to it in the bedroom and he

1 would spread it out to the people who were his contacts,
2 who would spread it to their contacts. He said it was
3 funny because you could hear the rumors that started with
4 his story.

5 He felt that was important because -- Which raises
6 the issue what was going on in people's minds in terms of
7 what their future was and what hope there was and what was
8 politics. He said the year he was there was a crucial
9 year. He escaped the day after the Allied Forces invaded
10 France, which is why he made it out alive, which is
11 another story of coincidences.

12 In all the escapes there were a lot of coincidences
13 that allowed someone to survive. He was there that whole
14 year previous to that. He said that was a crucial year in
15 terms of the conditions of the war. It was a period when
16 the Russian forces started being able to fight back and
17 there was a notion there was hope that the Germans would
18 get defeated. He said because of that, not just because
19 of that, he was convinced the Germans were going to lose.
20 He thought it was going to take 20 to 40 years and they
21 were going to be living in this concentration camp or work
22 camp situation for the rest of their lives.

23 Q. Did he have any contact with his family?

24 A. He did. We have one post card, which is
25 pretty unbelievable. Post card from the town of

1 Auschwitz, dated 1943. Of course, I have managed to lose
2 it. It's somewhere in our papers. It's an extraordinary
3 thing. It has the classic thing. Everything is great. I
4 am eatting a lot. Conditions are fine. Good heating. I
5 have all my clothes.

6 "Why did you write that"? He said "I didn't want
7 my mother to worry". That's the whole logic of the whole
8 process.

9 He did receive packages also. That was also part
10 of the escape thing. He got a package from a friend of
11 his who was in the resistance. It was in a sardine can.
12 It was notes on how to fake an illness.

13 The whole compexity, you see each camp, each race,
14 each category of worker, enemy, person to be exterminated,
15 had different amounts of rights, different shadings of
16 rights and one of the rights the workers had was in case
17 of certain illness they were allowed to get medical
18 treatment or something like that.

19 That was the way this friend of father's who was in
20 the resistance, who had never been seized. He was the
21 same age. He had gone underground. He had gone into an
22 armed cell and actually fought in the French resistance.
23 He sent my father this sardine can with these notes in it
24 saying -- My father has pop eyes. There was apparently
25 some disease going around. I haven't been able to figure

1 out what it was medically. There was a disease my father
2 said the Germans were scared of, which was this pop eyes.
3 Some kind of a fever thing. The guy had I think pills as
4 well. It was probably some form of amphetemine, speed up
5 your heart beat. He explained how to fake this. Your
6 temperature fluctuates, your heart beat goes up and down
7 and your eyes pop out. Maybe that way he could get
8 himself transferred and sent out.

9 He was put in the infirmary. The doctor -- He says
10 he was very lucky. The doctor was a local Polish guy, who
11 had no commitment to the whole process. After a month or
12 a few weeks, he told my father "You are not fooling
13 anyone. I am being transferred tomorrow. There is a
14 German doctor coming. You can get in trouble. I am going
15 to check you out of the infirmary". That was the end of
16 that attempt.

17 So he was receiving mail. He doesn't talk about
18 receiving food. He does talk, for example, you hear anger
19 in the way he was talking about it. He talks about
20 British prisoners of war receiving Red Cross packages,
21 with chocolate and they were actually better fed than the
22 Shupos. They were able to buy off their prison guards and
23 be in Polish patisseries in downtown Auschwitz while
24 prison guards stand guard outside the door of the pastry
25 shop eating chocolate. Which, of course, the British were

1 the superior race. They were given all these other
2 rights. They were getting Red Cross packages.

3 My father doesn't talk about getting any kind of
4 food or supplies or anything like that. He must have
5 because there was the sardine can. They must have had
6 rights to receive food.

7 Q. Was the family still in Nice?

8 A. They were in Nice the whole time. Their
9 situation apparently wasn't all that good in terms of food
10 in any case. He says he remembers being hungry at that
11 point in the war. Maybe they didn't have the means. They
12 received a post card everything is fine, I am working, I
13 am getting a wage.

14 The whole thing was done with this facade of being
15 free workers. They were given a wage. The hours were
16 calculated. There were skills associated with it. They
17 had Sunday off. They were allowed to travel within a
18 certain radius. I forget how many miles it was, but it
19 was substantial.

20 Q. Do you know what they did on their day off?

21 A. Yeah, he talks about it. They would go to
22 Misloviets, I think the town furthest away. He said they
23 would go and drink beer.

24 Q. Without a guard?

25 A. Misloviets -- Yeah, they could go without a

1 guard. They were getting carded. They had some kind of
2 identification papers. They were only allowed to be doing
3 that Sundays and vacation days. But they didn't need --
4 They didn't need some kind of laissez passer. They didn't
5 need a special paper. This is what is confusing.

6 The next thing you hear him saying "I had this
7 special position. Since I was getting medicine, I had
8 this excuse for being outside and I had contact with
9 people". There is some confusion there.

10 So yes, what he talks about they didn't have food
11 papers. They couldn't get anything. They couldn't eat
12 outside of camp. But they could drink beer. You could
13 trade tobacco for beer. Beer was easier to get ironically
14 than food.

15 Now they had to be back by curfews and stuff like
16 that on those days off. There was a certain mile
17 limitation.

18 The other things the resistance organization did
19 was forging food stamps. What they had, there were petty
20 criminals there. They had a counterfeitor in the
21 organization, who forged bread stamps. Actually all the
22 food stamps. What they did is they stole a roll and
23 forged the stamps. It was easy to do.

24 As he says one of the only beautiful things, as he
25 puts it -- Actually the other beautiful thing, some

1 people were arranging escapes for war prisoners. They
2 were working during the day at one point in the
3 construction of this petro chemical plant with French
4 Jewish laborers. It was all hierachization by race.
5 Jewish workers would do the hardest labor, canalization,
6 digging the canals. They were installing underground
7 canalization. I guess for the passage of water, or whater
8 the liquid. It was a plant built -- I think now they are
9 making tires at this factory. It was some liquid
10 petroleum, type of energy, petro chemical, I guess plant.

11 He said because they were French Jews they were
12 able to establish a rapport. What they did was they
13 started smuggling bread into the worksite, because they
14 had access to extra bread, and were distributing it to the
15 workers, to the Jewish workers, who he said were starving
16 to death.

17 What happened with that was they got seized. It
18 got stopped. From what I understand, it was the
19 counterfeiting operation itself got stopped. From one day
20 to the next they no longer had access to the extra supply
21 of bread.

22 This is sort of the issues he talks about that were
23 very upsetting for me as a child and of course still
24 upsetting for me as an adult. What he says, the guy got
25 seized or got stopped somehow. They went and told the

1 workers "We can't be bringing you bread anymore". The
2 starving workers said "If you stop bringing us bread we
3 are going to denounce you because we are going to starve
4 any how. We are going to die anyhow".

5 Q. They would expose them?

6 A. Yeah. Saying these guys have been giving
7 us bread.

8 What they had to do from then on to the end was
9 shave their legal ration of bread and give it to them.
10 It's a powerful and upsetting story. When you think in
11 terms of the nitty gritty of survival, this is what
12 survival is all about.

13 So that was that. I guess at some point it
14 probably ended in that the job was completed and they no
15 longer had access to be delivering the food.

16 The other thing is someone else, I guess that
17 person wasn't in the resistance group, but it was someone
18 who was seized and presumably killed. They were Dutch.
19 It was a Dutch father and son, who had a system for
20 smuggling -- You see the voluntary workers, the free
21 workers -- The voluntary workers were a subset of the free
22 workers. The free workers weren't counted as carefully as
23 the death camp workers or the political prisoners and
24 stuff like that.

25 Q. Who would be the voluntary worker?

1 A. There is a whole bunch of French working
2 class, unemployment, out of work, here's a job, especially
3 in the early years of the war. It's incredible how banal
4 all that stuff seems. It seems impossible to deal with
5 it. Unemployed, whatever, advertisement comes on there is
6 jobs, you will be paid well and support this and that,
7 come work in Germany and so forth, be a creit to whatever
8 it was.

9 So he said they were living in a separate barracks
10 from them. Although there was some confusion there.

11 Actually, you see a picture, I think in the Sorrow
12 and the Pity, a train of voluntary workers leaving France
13 for presumably Germany or Poland or Austria.

14 This Dutch father and son, who I assume would have
15 been drafted, although I am not sure how the draft, the
16 labor draft worked for Holland. Somehow had this system.
17 They would go in and switch clothes with some political
18 prisoners at the worksite. Then they would leave with the
19 political prisoners, as political prisoners, and the
20 political prisoners would leave as voluntary free workers.
21 Then they would escape at night.

22 Like I was saying, the guards on the free workers
23 weren't as tight. They could slip out and run away. The
24 next day they would come back and someone would smuggle in
25 the old clothes for them and they would dress back as free

1 workers and leave. That would be when the alarm would be
2 sounded two political prisoners had escaped. By that time
3 they had 24 hours to get away.

4 They succeeded in doing that several times. I
5 guess one of the people that fled got caught and they got
6 given away and they got put in the death camp.

7 Q. The Dutch father and son?

8 A. Yeah, the Dutch father and son. It's
9 funny, my father's reaction is "It was irresponsible for
10 the father to lead his son into that. The son was an 18
11 year old who didn't know what he was doing".

12 When I asked him "What about the risks you were
13 taking"? He said "I just didn't know what I was doing".

14 You ask if he thought it was worthwhile. You never
15 get him to say I was a self conscious resistance person,
16 opposing the Nazis, horrified by the situation and wanting
17 to feed the starving Jewish workers and stuff like that.

18 His whole presentation is one of total ignorance,
19 which is interesting. That brings the subject of what
20 they knew what was happening, which is an incredible story
21 from his perspective.

22 Those are the kind of things that he talks about in
23 terms of the resistance. You see some of the debates
24 going on. I saw this, I don't know if it was some a show
25 or a discussion in different resistances there was a

1 debate do you do something to help yourself or do
2 something to sabotage, to hurt the system. You can see
3 that kind of thing going on.

4 He will keep mentioning "We weren't that hungry
5 because we faked tickets". They were taking care of them-
6 selves. They also were smuggling bread in. They also
7 were sabotaging and also doing information, political
8 stuff. He says that his situation was better off
9 physically because he was in the resistance also. So you
10 see that issue.

11 The whole organization, the reason he escaped was
12 that the organization got caught. Heat started coming
13 down on the organization. Here there is a lot of
14 ambiguity in how he talks about it. There are sort of
15 hidden messages. I don't know if I am over
16 intellectualizing and reading into it.

17 One stories he tells, one of the guys presumably in
18 his network of news givers got seized by the Germans
19 after curfew, outside their labor camp. So the Germans
20 started suspecting the guy being in this news distribution
21 network. When he says Sarger did, he won't say it, you
22 hear the horror. "Without consulting me Sarger denounced
23 the guy to the Germans as a traffiker of cigarettes". The
24 guy got condemned. One doesn't know. My father says "I
25 don't know. You don't know whether he was put in a common

1 camp, a death camp or political camp, what would have
2 happened.

3 Then at this point it becomes ambiguous in
4 terms of why he then escaped. I might be reading too much
5 into it. What happened is my father came under suspicion.
6 They all came under suspicion. They all started getting
7 interrogated. My father was interrogated. You get him to
8 tell the story of the interrogation. "Oh, yeah, they asked
9 me questions. I couldn't tell them anything because I didn't
10 know anything. They saw I was a fool".

11 You push him on it and it turns out he passed out
12 in the interrogation. He goes "No, no, they didn't hit
13 me, they didn't do anything to me". Yet you find out he
14 fell down, passed out and hit the floor.

15 Then you find out that he faked it on some level.
16 He talks about the Germans talking about what a fool he
17 was. He even remembers this comment. "Der comic is a
18 fool. Throw him out. We won't get anything out of him".

19 He said he had been waiting all day. They were
20 interrogated one by one. They were put in a room and
21 interrogated one by one. He was freaking out totally by
22 the time his interrogation came. He was a nervous wreck.
23 He said what he remembered as a child, from school exams,
24 or wanting to get out of school is if I breathe real fast
25 my head will start spinning and I will fall on the floor.

1 So that's apparently what he did. He fell on the floor.

2 Then he heard them saying this guy is a fool. You
3 ask him "What did you tell him them"?

4 He said I was probably telling them totally stupid
5 things, because I was freaked out and I didn't know
6 anything. That wasn't unusual. Sarger told him he better
7 escape because he was being suspected too much of being in
8 charge of the news infiltration network.

9 What is interesting there, my take on the thing is
10 I think Sarger was too personal to him to denounce him.
11 That's basically how he would work. He was able to
12 maintain credibility with the Nazis by periodically
13 denouncing people. The Nazis couldn't possibly suspect
14 him.

15 My father said he had friendly relations with him.
16 I don't know if it went to the point of playing cards with
17 him. He had this kind of racial right to be friendly with
18 him as Alsatian with German descent and he knew how to
19 joke with him He spoke fluent German.

20 One gets the impression Sarger liked my father too
21 much to do that to him. Sarger arranged his escape, which
22 was very simple. He faked some papers for him.

23 Oh, that's it. He pretended that they needed some
24 equipment because the German subcontracting firm had an
25 office in Paris. I don't know if it was part of that

1 thing of reshuffling French industry to German territories
2 or not. They were getting equipment. He pretended they
3 needed equipment from Paris that my father had to go to.
4 That didn't work.

5 He faked some kind of a medical paper, I think, or
6 maybe equipment getting paper. What he did is he put a
7 cast on my father's leg and took him to the train station
8 and threw him in the window of the German officers
9 compartment.

10 You get the impression that is stupid. The guy is
11 not going to make it too far with forged paper, that's
12 already been refused once, doesn't speak good fluent
13 German, is French, presumably skinny. My father lost half
14 his teeth, and got ulcers and talks of being in a state of
15 dysentery. You would think he would stand out like a sore
16 thumb.

17 What happened was that it was the day after D-Day,
18 the day after the invasion of France. The train was full
19 of German troops being switched from the Eastern Front to
20 be sent back to France to fight.

21 They were being bombarded by the Allies. So the
22 lights were off the whole time. The train was super jam
23 packed and Germans weren't carding at the normal places
24 you would have gotten carded.

25 When you hear the escape stories there is some

1 unbelievable stroke of luck that allows the person to
2 survive. Presumably there were tons of others that just
3 got caught and killed along the wayside.

4 So he says says basically the German troops were
5 drunk, that they took a liking to him. Whenever there was
6 a carding it was without lights and the whole thing. The
7 Germans would throw the guy who was carding out of the
8 room. "Can't you see we are German officers? Get out of
9 here". Have another hit of schnapps or whatever they were
10 drinking. So my father never had to show his papers until
11 he got to Paris, the gare de l'est

12 There he got seized once again not by the Germans,
13 Nazis, but the good old French police. This whole issue
14 of self administration of the whole process. So he got
15 seized. His papers. The guy seized his papers. French
16 officer seized his papers.

17 He said at this point, he was sick and had
18 diarrhea, dysentery. The guy had to let him go to the
19 bathroom. He got in the bathroom. He said he used the
20 bathroom. You can imagine this French guy couldn't deal
21 with this emaciated, stinking, camp survivor type thing.
22 So he didn't even go in the bathroom with him. My father
23 just jumped out of the window and ran home, which was the
24 stupidest thing he could have done in that sense in terms
25 of where to choose to run.

1 He ran home. Here again, third stroke of total
2 luck. It just so happened that the concierge, the
3 superintendent of the building, his parents' building, was
4 in the French resistance and didn't identify himself as
5 such. That's what ended up saving him.

6 He knocks on the superintendent's door. He says "I
7 am here to stay in my parents' apartment". The guy says
8 "Your parents' apartment no longer belongs to them, it's
9 been taken over by one else". He looks at him and says
10 "I will put you up in the basement".

11 He basically hid my father for the rest of the war
12 in the basement, let him know the French police had come
13 searching for him. That was the address on the
14 identification papers they had seized from him.

15 He didn't find out until the end of the war that
16 the guy was the block leader of the French resistance in
17 the neighborhood.

18 What happened is another petty stroke of luck. I
19 don't know if she was a girlfriend. Some friend of the
20 family was in the resistance. He looked her up. She is
21 the one who fed him. He would come out at night and eat
22 at her house and go back and basically stay in the
23 basement. They were the maid quarters in the French
24 buildings.

25 He actually even managed to get, and this is how

1 you see the whole ambiguity, how these operations work.
2 It's sort of hard to understand. He was scared of getting
3 seized without papers. He had no papers at this point.
4 He actually went to the office of the company, of the
5 German subcontracting firm, and told them "I am here. I
6 am sick. I can't work. Could you give me a paper"? The
7 secretary gave him a paper.

8 One doesn't know if that was a petty sort of
9 resistance collaboration on the secretary's part, there
10 was communication between Sarger and wanting to help him
11 out. He got papers and never showed up again. He
12 presumably never got carded. He was coming out and
13 minimizing how much he was coming out.

14 Although he talks about the night, the week before,
15 the night before Paris was liberated of being in a
16 restaurant. There was some mobility. There were some
17 risks.

18 Q. What did he talk about?

19 A. That was the story. All his stories have
20 these double-edged human type things. What it was, there
21 was a German official, a secretary for the Germans, who
22 loved France and who didn't want to flee, who had been
23 given her orders to flee and didn't want to flee. No,
24 France is so nice, everyone is friendly. I hate Germany,
25 all my parents have been killed in the bombardment. I

1 don't have anything to go back to, the French are nicer.

2 And he said he was eating alone, he wasn't going to
3 talk to obviously a German official. It was the waitress
4 in the restaurant was telling this woman to get the hell
5 out of there or she was going to get killed. She was
6 going to get killed, raped and hung in public if she
7 didn't get out of Paris.

8 So my father said he turned around and argued with
9 the woman. They were called soulie grise, some local
10 expression. I am not sure what soulie grise would be. I
11 don't know if the uniform was gray or what. So he said he
12 argued with her and told her to leave France and get out
13 of there if she was going to be killed.

14 Of course, he is super horrified by how people were
15 treated at the liberation moment as well. He is horrified
16 all along the way. When he talks about the administration
17 of the camps, he was aware of the distinctions between the
18 prisoners and aware that the political prisoners didn't
19 get along with the Jewish prisoners, who didn't get along
20 with, you know, different categories didn't get along.

21 He remembers the stars. He's confused the colors.
22 He doesn't remember which one was Jewish, which was
23 political. I was the one that told him homosexuals had a
24 particular one as well. I don't think he knew for example
25 about gypsies at all.

1 That issue of what he knew, and what they knew,
2 it's mind boggling. When he came back to Paris he was
3 telling people, and people he had contact with were
4 resistance people basically, which was this girl, which
5 was the superintendent, the concierge.

6 I don't know how much he told the concierge. You
7 can see people didn't trust each other so much, the
8 concierge saving his life didn't even let him know he was
9 in the resistance or anything, but did allow the hints to
10 say the French police came looking for you and I told them
11 you weren't here. That was the end of the discussion.
12 They never took anymore risks to let each other know where
13 they stood.

14 There is all these levels of distrust that you can
15 imagine going on. He said people thought he was crazy for
16 his stories of Auschwitz. These would have been --

17 Q. What people?

18 A. The resistance people he would have been
19 talking to one presumes. There wouldn't have been that
20 many people he was talking to. He said they said to him
21 Tu divagues, you are hallucinating, you are mad, you must
22 mean something different.

23 What is frightening about the whole thing is he
24 wasn't even telling them about the death camps. That he
25 managed to censor out of his consciousness, which is

1 pretty unbelievable when you think about it. All he was
2 telling them about was the fact they were under bad
3 conditions and starving to death. The Jewish persons were
4 systemically starved to death.

5 So they had persuaded themselves in the labor camp,
6 their way of dealing with the situation, my way of
7 analyzing is, the Germans were starving men to death and
8 then burning their bodies after they were dead. This is
9 what is unbelievable. They had to deal with the fact
10 that bodies with being burned. You can believe this, they
11 were smelling it. They were that close to the death camp.

12 Q. Were there any women there?

13 A. I asked him that question. What about the
14 whole thing of arrival at the train situation, separation,
15 did you arrive at the same train station? He says he
16 doesn't know, which is unbelievable. He doesn't remember
17 his arrival. He was actually passing the entrance, the
18 death camp of Auschwitz virtually every day. It was on
19 the way to get the medicine from the town of Auschwitz,
20 which was -- I haven't been there. I imagine the two are
21 close together. So he says "Yeah, I remember the
22 entrance" and he can describe it to you.

23 The sentinels, the barbed wire, people waiting. He
24 can describe that. He doesn't remember Freedom Is Work.
25 He said that was all over the place. That was used for

1 them as well. There were all these slogans.

2 He remembers, for example, the slogan at the
3 brothel, Force par la Joie, Strength Through Joy. He said
4 everything was in terms of these slogans.

5 He said they didn't know that people were being
6 gassed, that it was a systemic extermination. What he
7 thought was Jewish prisoners and political prisoners were
8 being starved to death. They were working with them.
9 They were seeing them starved. He's got descriptions of
10 that. He's got basically one very strong description that
11 talks about this issue.

12 Q. Verbal description?

13 A. Ignorance and how one dealt with it. He
14 said he found himself on a cart of French Jews. He says
15 he doesn't remember where he was going, whether he was
16 getting medicine or going to give an order to the people
17 in his subcontracting firm of tomorrow you are going to be
18 working on a different canalization project. Somehow he
19 found himself out of the ear shot of the Shupo, who was
20 looking the other way, and the Jewish prisoner I guess
21 recognized his French accent and was French. So they
22 started talking.

23 He describes the Jewish prisoner as someone who was
24 going to soon die. He said what he would look at is the
25 man's knees. He said what happens is your joints become

1 swollen and transluscent.

2 So what he says is that the prisoner told him "I
3 got picked up I forget, Longchamps, or Fontainebleau,
4 the horse racing arena in Paris.

5 My father said it wasn't until the end of the war
6 that he understood what the guy was saying. At the time
7 he said his reaction was how stupid of you to go to the
8 horse races. What it was is Jews fwere being rounded up
9 in the horse racing arenas of Paris. My father couldn't
10 imagine that.

11 To the point the guy was saying I got rounded up in
12 the horse racing, he thought the guy was saying I had gone
13 to bet on the horse races. My father's reaction was the
14 same thing. How stupid of me to go to whatever, the movie
15 theatre where I got got. How stupid of you to go to the
16 horse races. How stupid of me to go home. It was that
17 kind of petty thing, which is pretty unbelievable
18 actually.

19 Then he goes on he will talk for example about one
20 day they smelled the burning bodies. He says the way they
21 explained it to themselves was there had been a revolt of
22 Ukrainian prisoners who had been machine gunned and were
23 being burned in an open grave.

24 At the same time he also says that the prisoners,
25 that the labor camp inmates were cracking jokes. He said,

1 for example, when they had sausage, the workers would say
2 Encore du Juif, meaning we are eating ground up Jewish
3 meat. He said jokes were being cracked like that, that
4 revealed the extent of the horror.

5 At the same time they had persuaded themselves --
6 He actually says the way he was thinking of it is that
7 burning a dead body is something that grotesque
8 Protestants do and that shows the grotesqueness of the
9 Germans that they would burn their dead. Even though he
10 is not religious, he would say that's something the --

11 Q. What religion was he?

12 A. Well, he is typical French baptised
13 Catholic, who has nothing to do with Catholicism in a sense.
14 There is that secular tradition in France with whatever
15 cultural respect. Not respect. He is not religious.

16 Yes, the other thing I asked him about the train
17 docks where people were separated out for extermination
18 versus slow extermination in the death camp. He said he
19 didn't see that.

20 "Didn't you see women and children"? He will make
21 a remark that all of a sudden changes the level of
22 understanding. He will say something like "No one on
23 earth has ever seen more naked women than me". Yeah. He
24 goes, "I use to have to go get the things and I would have
25 to pass where they were shaving the head, delousing the

1 Ukrainians.

2 I remember a shipment", I don't know what term he
3 would have used. "I remember contingent of Ukrainian
4 women". He would say "Bodies didn't, don't have any
5 meaning for me. No one has seen so many different naked
6 bodies in a row that are skinny and this, that and other
7 thing". So there you get the holocaust. You get a sense
8 of witnessing the holocaust.

9 Then you have this guy thinking why did this guy go
10 to the race horses? You talk to a Chilian today about
11 whatever Social Democrats, union members being rounded up
12 in the soccer stadiums and they won't have known about it,
13 they won't have believed it. Why did that so and so go to
14 the soccer stadium? You get the same levels of ignorance
15 that people are able to construct or not see. For me,
16 that is one of the biggest lessons.

17 So that's basically what he talks about in terms of
18 that.

19 The other details were for example, he talks about
20 the brothel, for example. At one point Germans were
21 bringing in French prostitutes actually. He can tell you
22 where they were from. I forget what it was. Two
23 Italians, 14 French. He said it was completely organized.

24 There was a head line and workers were distributed
25 condoms and they were lined up and there was a fee they

1 paid. One reason he knew so much about it, one of his
2 friends in the resistance organization was, I think the
3 counterfeiter, was a pimp, had been a pimp in Marseille
4 and so he became the pimp in the camp.

5 At one point my father got very sick with
6 dysentery. The pimp in that sort of classic manner said
7 "You need to be taken care of by women. I am going to
8 arrange to have one of the prostitutes be your nurse". He
9 said "You can move into whatever. She will take care of
10 you. She will bring you food and so forth".

11 You see the next thing he will tell you, "No, my
12 conditions were great. I had good living conditions. I
13 had plenty to eat". You find out "Half my teeth fell out.
14 I had this dysentery. I was in bed for a period of time
15 and so forth". Of course, relatively his conditions were
16 good. They weren't slated for extermination.

17 He says that he was worried about dying, to the
18 extent that people were dying of typhus, people were dying
19 in work accidents. He thought they were going to be there
20 20 to 40 years.

21 Even though he had access to the radio he still
22 thought they were going to be there 20 to 40 years.

23 He will say the classic kind of things. He will
24 point to the house. I never thought I would own a house
25 like this. I never thought I would have a son being a

1 professor. He thought life had changed, and they would be
2 occupied by the Germans in a long-term grind down of the
3 German conditions where conditions would get progressively
4 worse and worse.

5 He says the feeling was one of constant terror
6 about the future, but it was a slow terror. And he had a
7 lot of time to think about what to do. That's what he
8 spent his time doing. "What should I do to maximize my
9 living chances"?

10 Q. What did he do to maximize it?

11 A. You see this is the ambiguity in the sense
12 that he was in this underground group.

13 The kind of things he will talk about, "I made a
14 winter coat. I bargained my, whatever it is. I traded my
15 cigarette supply for a piece of cloth. I got a bunch of
16 newspapers and I made a winter coat stuffed with
17 newspapers".

18 That was the other thing he talks about. There
19 was all this business going on among the inmates. In
20 order to get a decent pair of shoes. They were clogs.
21 Wooden. It was sabot. It was wooden things with cloth
22 covering. He said in order to get better ones or get one
23 that fit, one that wasn't splintered, you had to bribe
24 this guy. This was his horror: The petty, human greed.
25 You had to bribe the guy to get a pair of shoes.

1 He said he was able to get a pair of boots. He
2 will talk about that. However, he bargained his food
3 stamps, with cigarette allotment, with this or with that.
4 Presumably, they had access to stealing equipment
5 obviously, being the watchmen for the equipment.

6 The other thing is -- He actually did try to
7 escape several times. The first time was without Sarger's
8 approval. Using whatever they were. Amphetemine pills,
9 which didn't work. So there was that time.

10 Then there was Sarger. He put him on a train. So
11 he is going through the, I assume cost benefit experiences
12 of whether he should escape or not or what one should do.

13 The other thing is you get him to talk about -- The
14 other thing, he presents it as I was just trying to
15 survive. I was in the resistance.

16 Q. What happened to his buddies?

17 A. He doesn't know.

18 Q. He was separated?

19 A. He never talked to any of them. For
20 example, this is to show you that. At some point when I
21 was a kid, about 14, 15, we were walking down the street
22 in Paris. We had been on summer vacation. There was a
23 poster on the wall, Communist party poster. This guy
24 Sarger was giving a talk at the Centre de la Juinnesse.
25 We were going to be there. He recognized the name. He

1 said "That's the guy who I worked with, who was head of
2 the resistance in our work camp". At that point he called
3 it Auschwitz. Then when he went back and visited he
4 realized he wasn't in Auschwitz, but was three kilometers
5 away, a camp with a different name. He refused to go. He
6 couldn't deal with it.

7 I was a little kid. I was dying to go. "Let's
8 talk to him". It's frustrating in retrospect. I should
9 have insisted. He said "No, no". He wouldn't contact the
10 guy, talk to the guy. One doesn't know why. He won't
11 explain it to you, he won't justify it. He won't condemn
12 the guy. He will say things like "I will never kill
13 someone even though I know I am right". He will make
14 comments like that. One doesn't know if there is a whole
15 level he just doesn't talk about or hasn't processed.

16 My reading into it is this issue of he denounced so
17 and so as a traffiker of cigarettes because so and so was
18 going to be captured. You wonder was it because of that?
19 Or what he will talk about is Sarger hated the
20 bourgeoisie, was a working class communist.

21 He wanted there to be a Stalinist style revolution.
22 He Sarger talked about putting the bourgeoisie in camps,
23 recreating the order, flipping the roles. My father being
24 bourgeoisie and sort of liberal and so forth would argue
25 with that. At the same time he will talk about

1 worshipping the guy. "I did whatever he told me to do.
2 It wasn't my political thing. I thought he was great"
3 type of thing thing.

4 It's obviously a confusion. One doesn't know. He
5 is going to be in San Francisco, so I will try to get him
6 to be interviewed by you.

7 Q. I interrupted you.

8 A. Not at all.

9 Q. When I asked you that you were going to say
10 something else.

11 A. It will come.

12 Q. When did he go back to Auschwitz?

13 A. He worked for the United Nations.

14 Q. Let's go back. How did it end for him?
15 You left off he was in hiding and the superintendent was
16 protecting him.

17 A. He was fed by this friend. She was very
18 active in the resistance to the point of she knew the
19 whole subway system of France, and she would bring the
20 news to the French resistance fighters of where the German
21 troops were, where the Allied troops were at the very
22 moment of liberation of Paris.

23 Q. Did he have any contact with his family at
24 this point, do you know?

25 A. That's interesting. That is pretty

1 unbelievable. I guess he didn't.

2 Q. Or what was going on?

3 A. One presumes he would have had a way to
4 contact them. Nice, we have tons of cousins, he could
5 have contacted one or another cousin. I don't know
6 whether he did or whether he is back in Paris, everything
7 is fine, I got transferred here.

8 Q. Neither brother had this kind of
9 experience.

10 A. His older brother, I am not sure if he
11 ultimately joined DeGaulle. He was at the Battle of
12 Dunkirk. His ship was sunk.

13 His story is also one of total horror. We lost the
14 battle partially because the English and the French were
15 fighting as much against them as much as they were
16 fighting the Germans. He talked about the life boats, the
17 British, whatever, would hit the French who were drowning
18 as they would grab the life boat, would smash them with
19 oars on their fingers so the lifeboat wouldn't overturn
20 and hates the British for the rest of his life type thing.
21 He went through that experience.

22 I think he brought his boat to North Africa. He
23 went somewhere with his boat. I don't know if because of
24 his hatred of the British that prevented him from joining
25 DeGaulle because DeGaulle was in England or what. He did

1 get awarded some medals for his Dunkirk thing.

2 The younger guy was too young. His other friends,
3 cousins and friends, one of them was sent also through the
4 STO to a factory, but had a completely different
5 experience. He was sent to a normal factory, not a
6 factory around a death camp, but in a normal part of
7 Germany. In Austria.

8 He was what they called free. His experience
9 wasn't one of total trauma. What it was, in his case,
10 it's a cousin of mine. His experience was one of terror
11 of Allied bombardment because their factory was being
12 bombed all the time. There wasn't the death camp
13 atmosphere.

14 My father, for example, talks about the bombardment
15 with anger, total anger. His feeling is that Auschwitz
16 should have been bombed. It was great crime against
17 humanity of the Allied Forces not to have bombed
18 Auschwitz. The irony is he would have been blown up with
19 everyone else. He is straight forward about that.

20 When the documents were released by the U.N.
21 recently, a few years ago, his first response, he read the
22 newspaper, I was watching him. He said finally "We are
23 going to find out why the Allies didn't bomb Auschwitz".
24 He said the joke in Auschwitz was they weren't being
25 bombed, because, I don't know, because Churchill had an

1 investment in I. G. Farben". So he can't understand that.

2 His friends or whatever, the family members. There
3 is this one cousin who had an experience in a normal
4 factory in Austria. He talks about two things. One is
5 the fear. You have all the ironies of what surviving is
6 about. He had the fear of bombardment from the Allies and
7 the other big trauma was the Russian liberation. They
8 were liberated by whatever it was. Cossacks or Tartars
9 who went wild. They started raping the women and so
10 forth.

11 He apparently saved some family of women, peasant
12 women that he befriended, the way he sees it from getting
13 ganged raped by this regiment.

14 In the breakdown of the thing he had fled to this
15 farm house. There were no men, just women. I guess
16 everyone was in the war. He hid the women in the attic.
17 When the Cossacks came he hugged them and they drank all
18 night, vodka, and they left. As a result, the way he
19 presents it, no one was damaged.

20 Q. Do you know if your father was ever
21 sexually abused in any situation he was in?

22 A. You know I don't. He wouldn't tell me
23 about that.

24 Q. Did you ever ask him?

25 A. No, I didn't. I guess I wouldn't have

1 dared to ask. I have an open relationship with him, but I
2 never did. It did cross my mind, of course. It crossed
3 my mind. I would be embarrassed to say. It crossed my
4 mind in terms of how he was able to get such good
5 relationships, like with that tough pimp. That crossed my
6 mind. Who said le petit mange premier. I wondered about
7 that, how he was able to be liked by everybody.

8 When you meet him you see he does have a lot of
9 outgoing charm, that's low key. He is not as hyper as I
10 am. It's more charming.

11 Q. Do you think if you hadn't asked him these
12 things on tape that he ever would have told it?

13 A. Not in as much detail. I still have very
14 little. All I have is -- I have three 90 minute tapes.

15 Q. What kind of things do you ask him?

16 A. I have tried to get petty details, the way
17 I have tried to jog it. Basically we start out with an
18 account. Now the problem is any time it's something he
19 told me about in the past, he remembers he told me. "I
20 don't need to tell you about that because I told you about
21 that".

22 Q. Is there anything you have asked him that I
23 haven't asked you?

24 A. I have gone into depth with the issue of
25 exploring his ignorance about the gassing and systematic

1 killing.

2 The other thing is the living conditions, because
3 he keeps saying "They were great. They were great. They
4 were great". And there was all these contradictions to
5 it.

6 I was always upset he wasn't in the resistance
7 because he knew what he was doing, the way he presents it.
8 He wasn't in the resistance out of moral, political
9 heroism, and he didn't join the resistance when he got
10 back to Paris. He said "All I wanted to do was survive; I
11 didn't want to take risk".

12 Q. He got back to Paris and continue from
13 there.

14 A. Basically, the way he presents it, "I went
15 out at night, minimized my daylight travel, and minimized
16 the number of people I talked to and I ate via this woman
17 and the Allies liberated it".

18 Q. Any details of that day?

19 A. I tried to get that, for example. What he
20 will talk about is the abuse of coloborators and that
21 upsets him. He does that with all of this story. All he
22 will talk about is inhumanity of individuals against
23 individuals. That's his whole message. No one was right.
24 Everyone was bad. All survivors are bad.

25 That's the other thing he will say. It's painful

1 to hear. He will say "Most survivors have a lot on their
2 conscience:

3 It's interesting how he understands it as well.
4 What he says -- One thing, even though he is a diplomat,
5 non racist, he detests Germans. He will do this anti-
6 German thing will constantly slip out. That is teutonic
7 style. With respect to anything. Some guy's accent. The
8 way some guy walks down the street. "He walks like a
9 German".

10 Q. Did he buy a Mercedes?

11 A. He did. He bought a German car. Is
12 Porsche a German car? He won't buy German stuff. He did
13 buy a Porsche. Used, as he says.

14 What he will say, he will say "The German Jews were
15 better off than the other Jews and German Jews have a lot
16 on their conscience". That is one thing.

17 Q. Do you know what he means?

18 A. Yeah. He means in terms of daily survival.

19 When one pushes him on that he doesn't talk about
20 it. You don't know whether he got it from reading the
21 literature on the holocaust or from Sarger's experience or
22 his own experience.

23 Here they were being interrogated, you don't know
24 what was going on, were people giving people away? Then
25 all of a sudden he will say to you Mouille "We were wet".

1 Like for example, "If someone got caught, we all
2 would have fallen. We were Mouille. So and so would give
3 up the names". He doesn't talk about any ethical
4 compromises of his own. Although the implication is that
5 he had no ethics in the sense -- His first message is "I
6 wasn't a hero. I was a naive punk who didn't know what
7 was going on, who was silly, dumb, I should have jumped
8 out of the car train, I should have left my mother's
9 house. I could have avoided this".

10 At the same time you ask him "Supposing you left
11 the train you wouldn't have to go through that".

12 He goes, "Yeah, but maybe I would have gotten
13 killed anyhow" is his reaction. "Why"?

14 "Well, maybe I would have been in the resistance
15 and gotten killed". Who knows what would have happened".

16 "Does that mean you would have joined the
17 resistance"?

18 "No, I didn't have any understanding of the
19 resistance. I was 18 years old. I was concerned with
20 going to parties, having girlfriends, being 18, 20 years
21 old. I wasn't concerned. I was an apolitical person and
22 didn't know what was going on".

23 I pushed him on his daily life in Nice. He talks
24 about one of his friends was a wealthy Jewish family, a
25 girl. They were the people that had the best parties with

1 the best foods and everyone use to hang out there. So he
2 says there was this aura of unreality, of denial. They
3 weren't aware of what was going on. People were warning
4 them. They weren't accepting it. They were throwing big
5 parties. They weren't changing their name. Whatever it
6 is that they might have done to survive.

7 In fact, the girl who was 18 was concerned about
8 being a pretty girl with boy friends, not about the war,
9 the invasion or anything like that.

10 He has one friend -- When I told him he should be
11 interviewed here he said, "No, I am a waste of time. I
12 don't want to waste their time. They have to use their
13 equipment for better stuff".

14 Q. Why does he not consider himself a
15 survivor?

16 A. I don't know either. In that sense I am in
17 denial as well. I was worried about that, whether I was
18 worth interviewing.

19 Just to finish the other thing. He says for
20 example, you should talk to one of his best friends is
21 bona fide survivor, a Jewish survivor with a tatoo who
22 escaped. In his case he ran through the snow for two
23 weeks, lost his toes.

24 Q. Where were they friends from?

25 A. The guy I think works for the Red Cross.

1 Q. He is a friend he knows now?

2 A. Professionally. He doesn't have any
3 contact with anyone from the period, doesn't remember a
4 single name. I am surprised he remembers Sarger's name.
5 He doesn't remember the name of the town. Seems like
6 everyone he hung out with was older than him. He was the
7 only young one. I guess that would be a smart survivor
8 thing. Go with older people who have more ability to
9 manipulate the system, more maturity.

10 He will tell stories about two Polish workers,
11 father and son, who drank themselves to blindness. They
12 made wood alcohol. All of a sudden he will tell you a
13 story like that without prompting. You sort of see the
14 horror of the situation.

15 Then he will say, "I didn't get frost bite, I
16 didn't starve. I didn't get typhus". All of a sudden you
17 hear a lot of the workers were getting typhus. A lot of
18 workers were dying in work related accidents. But he
19 wants to present it as "Don't worry about me". That is
20 why he doesn't consider himself a survivor. He wasn't
21 meant for death.

22 Q. He was like a prisoner of war?

23 A. Yeah. He does call himself a concentration
24 camp person. He uses that term. Camp concentration.

25 I did a term paper. That was the first time I got

1 him to talk about it in detail. Before that it had only
2 been in parties in a dismissive way, in festivities, in a
3 self deprecating way, in a joke type way. "Let's talk
4 about something else, this is boring or I talked about
5 this".

6 Q. What course were you in?

7 A. I took a course on Vichy France at Harvard
8 by this famous French historian Higeaunot. The French are
9 classic trying to regain France's honor by condemning the
10 colloboration. He adored my paper. I was trying to do
11 this understanding of labor on the theoretic level in
12 relation to labor. It makes the perfect argument. STO is
13 the perfect proof.

14 Q. I don't understand why your father was
15 seized in the first place?

16 A. Okay.

17 Q. He doctored up his papers. Let's start
18 with who your father was, where he was born and his name.
19 Your father's name is?

20 A. Pierre Bourgois. Same spelling of mine.

21 B o u r g o i s. Pierre, classic, whatever, Peter. He
22 was born November 13, 1922.

23 Q. Do you know the town?

24 A. In Paris. They were straightforward
25 promulgations, I guess by the Vichy government, that were

1 forced on them by varying degrees by the Nazis. They had
2 to supply them with a certain number of thousands of men.

3 Q. A draft?

4 A. It was a labor draft. They had to provide
5 them with a certain number of men. It was organized in
6 various ways. He said it would be published in the
7 newspaper. Everyone born between this month and that
8 month present themselves at the Mairie, at the Mayor's
9 office and get ready to go to --

10 Q. What did he do?

11 A. He did that in Limokusin, in Limoges, the
12 little peasant village in the province of Limousin in
13 France. What it was, the Mayor's son was a friend and did
14 him the favor of arranging to doctor his, I guess it would
15 be his birth certificate.

16 Q. In which direction?

17 A. It was changed from 1922 to 1924. Just so
18 he wouldn't be the age that has to go.

19 Q. He got caught. When he got caught he was
20 not drafted, he was sent to the war camps?

21 A. This is unbelievable. I asked him that.
22 He says he doesn't know.

23 Q. How did they know he was born in 22?

24 A. They seized the papers. It took three
25 weeks to compare. The French are extraordinary with these

1 bureauacracies. The Napoleanic method. The guy I guess
2 saw on his card, recognized that the two was scratched
3 off. Somehow he recognized something was wrong with it.
4 He seized it and let my father go. It wasn't even like it
5 was that much suspecting.

6 I guess presumably they sent it back to Paris and
7 checked the records. There was no Pierre Bourgois born in
8 24. There was a Pierre Bourgois born in 22. Therefore,
9 this guy has to go. He had no understanding what the real
10 implication was. That was basically most people's
11 experience, most people that didn't flee experience.

12 His doctoring of the thing wasn't something he
13 discussed with his parents. It was just something you do
14 so you don't have to go. It's not clear, the whole thing.

15 His father remained a pro-Petain person. You would
16 think your son is in Auschwitz, and you are supporting
17 this government that made it possible for that many French
18 to get that efficiently sent to those places. That's the
19 big thing with the collaborationists, is the deportation
20 of French Jews and deportation of French labor. That was
21 made possible in greater numbers because of the
22 colloboration. Had there not been, it would have been
23 much more difficult obviously for the Germans to do it for
24 themselves.

25 Q. Do you think the grandfather didn't know

1 what your father was experiencing?

2 A. Oh, absolutely. He says that. There is no
3 question about that. I asked him "Did you confront your
4 father? Did you discuss it with him"?

5 He said "I never talked to my father about it. I
6 didn't agree with his politics. He was a hard person to
7 talk to about those kind of things. He was old. He was
8 eccentric in his political views". He will dismiss it in
9 those terms.

10 Q. So he got through it and the liberation
11 came?

12 A. He went on with life.

13 Q. Where did he go? Was he reunited with his
14 family?

15 A. He doesn't talk about that. He talks about
16 going to business school.

17 Q. In Paris?

18 A. Yeah. He went to Aseche.

19 Q. By himself?

20 A. He doesn't talk about that. For example,
21 what he talks about is he wanted to get a drivers license.
22 The only way you can get a drivers license after the war
23 is to drive a truck so he is got a truck drivers license.
24 That's the kind of person that was surviving is the one
25 who figured out to get a truck drivers license. Yet he

1 presents himself as this ignorant, stumbling kid.

2 Q. So he went to the business school in Paris?

3 A. Yeah.

4 Q. How did he finance that?

5 A. It's all free there. The school itself is
6 free. He was from a bourgeois family. Presumably they
7 were able to get retirement funds back. His father would
8 have been retired. I imagine they moved to the house, got
9 their apartment back. He then presents it as non-
10 problematic.

11 Q. Did he live at home and went to school?

12 A. I think so. He says, for example, France
13 wasn't completely liberated by the time he went back to
14 school. There was a bunch of men in his class that
15 actually left halfway through the semester to go fight. I
16 forgot where it was. In the Voges or some pockets of
17 Germans and got killed. His class is the class of the
18 killed. Each class gets titled. His class is the one
19 with the killed, of the killed fighters.

20 As a kid, I was worried about that. "Why didn't
21 you go fight"? "No. No. I wanted, I thought I wasted
22 enough time in my life. I wanted to get my degree and go
23 on".

24 Q. So he is was about 20 then?

25 A. He was 1922. D-Day was 1944. In June, I

1 think June 6, 44, something like that. He says it was
2 approximately a year that he was there. He is relatively
3 sure about the day being, being on the train two days
4 after D-Day. He was there about a year. He can't tell
5 you exactly a year. It's eleven months, 12 months. It
6 changes. That would make him 22 at the time he was there.
7 That makes sense. Might have been 21 to 22, something
8 like that.

9 The postcard I am pretty sure is dated 1943 that we
10 have. Those would be the dates. He remembers those dates
11 from his radio stuff as being the crucial dates in terms
12 of the war turning

13 Q. Does he know what date he was seized?

14 A. No. No, he doesn't. He doesn't know if he
15 was sent to Auschwitz because he faked his papers. They
16 might have sent people that were somewhat suspicious or a
17 problem further away so they couldn't escape. He doesn't
18 know if he was put in that barracks of petty criminals. I
19 asked him these questions, because he faked his papers.

20 Even within the work camps each barrack was
21 segregated by type. Voluntary barracks would be separated
22 from this barracks and that barracks.

23 Q. He was guarded by German guards?

24 A. Let's see. I guess Shupo is the word he
25 uses, which he describes as these old men. He says the

1 internal security in the camp was done by the inmates. He
2 talks about -- Here I am not sure if he is talking about
3 the death camps.

4 He said there was the petty criminals, the
5 criminals were the ones that were doing the security. He
6 talks about the political prisoners being the most
7 organized.

8 At some point one doesn't know, and one could ask
9 him this and he would be as honest as he could be in
10 separating out what part comes from reading and what part
11 comes from memory. I know the political ones didn't like
12 the Jewish prisoners. I know everyone hated the criminal,
13 the petty criminals. His big thing is the German
14 prisoners, within, even within the death camp, the German
15 Jews were favored by the Nazis over the non-German Jews,
16 which is something I hadn't heard that much about.

17 "The reason we were feeding those Jewish prisoners
18 is because they were French". Then the language thing is
19 funny. He spoke German and Polish. Of course, now he
20 can't speak a word of either one.

21 He went back to Germany recently when the two
22 Germanies were reunited. He said his German started
23 coming back and within a month he could speak German
24 again.

25 Q. Why did he go?

1 A. He claims it was an architectural tour. He
2 has an interesting relationship.

3 Q. What education does he have?

4 A. He went to Aseche, a fancy school. France
5 is hierarchical in terms of schooling system. That's the
6 Harvard Business School of France. Also got a political
7 science degree as well. Then he went straight into the
8 United Nations as an international civil servant, not for
9 the French government, and spent his whole life working in
10 the United Nations.

11 He was anti-, in some sense he was anti-business,
12 anti-this, because you have to serve. Your profession has
13 to be serving people.

14 Q. How do you think his life was affected by
15 this?

16 A. That's one obvious thing. He is very
17 righteous in his own way, which isn't the American
18 puritanical sort of austere righteous. He has that French
19 joy of living and immorality on some level. He is totally
20 righteous about these other things in terms of business is
21 bad. If you are in a situation of privilege you have to
22 help people, those kind of things.

23 Of course, that affected our family upbringing
24 dramatically in the sense that he would be constantly
25 making comments. It's embarrassing to talk personally.

1 I told him I was going to take the LSAT, lawyers
2 exam. His reaction was "Don't prostitute your mind". He
3 was obviously very, very righteous about those kind of
4 things.

5 He is not completely radical. By American
6 standards, sure, he is left wing Social Democrat type. By
7 French standards he is mainstream Social Democrat. His
8 whole thing was working against hunger in the world.

9 Q. Would you say he was emotionally affected?

10 A. Yeah, of course. I have never been able to
11 figure that out. He claims of course not. The thing is
12 when he gets in an argument with you or when you start
13 talking about some extraordinary moment, he will argue.
14 He will say "You don't know. You haven't seen people.
15 You don't know what humans are capable of". He will say
16 that over and over.

17 Another thing, if you are hanging out and say were
18 you emotionally affected? "What did you learn"? He will
19 deny it having been intense. Some level he will deny it
20 having been an intense experience.

21 The other thing is this calculating thing. This is
22 really interesting. There are two dimensions. One is you
23 think of calculating as cynical, unethical, cynical
24 calculating. In fact, half of his calculation is this
25 ethical one. "If you don't understand all the

1 consequences of your act you are not going to be able to
2 live with yourself in the future".

3 All of a sudden, it's an interesting balance
4 between the two. It isn't a cynical, self-seeking
5 calculation. Ultimately, of course, it is. It is one you
6 have to be ethical and that people aren't ethical. And
7 human beings, you know, that kind of argument. It came up
8 several times.

9 The time it came up most clearly in my relationship
10 with him was I witnessed a massacre in El Salvador,
11 killing civilians by the government troops. When I came
12 home and started talking about it, his first reaction was
13 "Oh, so you have seen the kind of thing I saw at
14 Auschwitz".

15 He started talking about specific things. I would
16 tell him about the Commander did this, whatever, the
17 wounded person did that, the medical person did that.

18 "Oh, yeah". It was as if he knew how people were
19 going to act and what it was all about. One time in the
20 interview he said "You have seen that".

21 Q. You had shared experience?

22 A. Yeah, right. Which was interesting in
23 terms of that. That was one time where somehow he felt he
24 knew that kind of horror he was completely capable of
25 understanding and then taking it onto a different level.

1 What he was interested in -- What happened was I was 14
2 days under fire where the government troops were
3 bombarding a 40 square mile region and killing everyone in
4 sight. That's the scorched earth strategy. There were
5 civilians and guerillas there, about a thousand people.
6 We were running at night and hiding during the day.

7 What he wanted to talk about was what people do to
8 survive. Who was helping, who was out for themselves, who
9 was carrying the wounded, what the fighters were doing,
10 what the relationship to the civilians were, guerilla
11 fighter. So that's the kind of issue that was immediately
12 interesting to him.

13 Then the other thing was what happened to me was we
14 had to hide all day and you had to figure out what your
15 options were.

16 He said "At Auschwitz we had to wait and wait and
17 you had all this time to think and figure out what you
18 should be doing".

19 Q. Do you think you learned anything from the
20 experience that you applied?

21 A. Retrospectively it's sort of obvious to me.
22 At the time it never occurred to me. It wasn't until
23 later that I figured out there was a relationship between
24 the two. What happened in my case was that it's become in
25 a sense a pattern in my life. I have gone out to seek

1 these micro holocausts in a sense, small level types of
2 extraordinary human suffering.

3 One thing was going into the war zone in El
4 Salvador. Interesting thing is I picked the spots that my
5 government is directly involved in so there is this issue.
6 Americans don't know it.

7 It was a Jimmy Carter human rights helicopter that
8 blew up the people around me, blew up the house, I saw
9 everyone getting blown up. We were given the human rights
10 helicopters where you had to open the door of the
11 helicopter to shoot, instead of having the machine gun on
12 the tri-pod.

13 I did the same thing in Nicaragua where I went and
14 did a bunch of political and human rights work. Most
15 recently I spent five years in a crack house in East
16 Harlem. Once again the same thing. Massive denial and
17 ignorance about the inner city, the concentration
18 holocaust genocide type parallels. On some level people
19 recognize them and another level they deny them.

20 Q. How do you think you were affected by your
21 father?

22 A. You see, I only have an intellectual
23 awareness of it. I don't have enough understanding of
24 myself emotionally, psychologically to really understand
25 it. There must be something going on if I keep throwing

1 myself into life and death situations where my government
2 is responsible in some sense and where the ignorance,
3 where you have the lessons of the holocaust haven't been
4 learned and where there is a lot of ambiguity. Especially
5 the crack house thing is perfect for that. We have the
6 self-infliction, self-management of destruction of your
7 people going on.

8 In this case it's the Puerto Rican community of
9 Spanish Harlem. I lived there with my wife and brought up
10 my kid there and actually brought my kid to the crack
11 house. I was imposing -- I was not allowing myself to
12 not see it.

13 Q. What did your father think of that?

14 A. He kept talking about Auschwitz all the
15 time. That was his response. "Oh, yeah, this is what
16 people of capable of. You are seeing the same thing I was
17 seeing in Auschwitz".

18 That was his immediate response. He had no trouble
19 there. He came to the crack house, he got to like East
20 Harlem, can't understand why Americans are so racist. Is
21 baffled by Americas class and ethnic segregation.

22 Obviously, on some level he doesn't trust anyone.
23 On another level, it hasn't made him -- As survivors, you
24 get a hatred of humans. The classic "This way to the gas,
25 ladies and gentlemen". this total hatred of human beings.

1 He doesn't have that on some level. Really, he is in some
2 sense a corny idealist. The United Nations is going to
3 save the world. We are going to have economic
4 development.

5 Q. What was his role in the United Nations?

6 A. He was in economic development. So he
7 picked the apolitical part of the United Nations. He
8 wouldn't work for the government of France. He just would
9 work for -- He was in the UNDP, United Nations Economic
10 Development Program.

11 Q. Where were you raised?

12 A. I was raised -- I started out in New York
13 and we lived in Senegal West Africa and then back in New
14 York. I basically grew up in New York.

15 At the end of his career -- This is the east
16 Europe part. That's why he went back to Auschwitz. He
17 was made head of UNDP of Eastern Europe, economic
18 assistance to Eastern Europe. That's when the Polish
19 Government invited him. They gave him a guide and drove
20 him all around and took him back to Auschwitz. The German
21 government offered him all these medals and awards. I
22 know one case --

23 Q. What awards?

24 A. It's not totally clear. It sounds like
25 because he is in the U.N.. I am not sure it has anything

1 to do with his Auschwitz experience. He says "I got sick
2 and I couldn't go. No, it didn't fit in with my
3 schedule". He will say "I can't stand the Germans any
4 way". He won't admit to any kind of petty playing into
5 those kind of hatreds. Obviously, it's there.

6 We went to Germany once together as a little kid.
7 I remember it came up then that he really hated the
8 Germans. As a little kid I noticed it even that early.

9 I also remember being totally shocked that he could
10 speak German. Of course, he never uttered a word of
11 German. I never even knew he knew how. Of course, he
12 knew how to speak German. He also, of course, knew how to
13 speak Polish.

14 He had a girlfriend, for example, who was Polish,
15 who was a nurse's aide and so forth.

16 Q. What is your mother like, what nationality?

17 A. My mother is American. Basically a WASP.
18 Multi-generational, long-term American from Philadelphia.
19 She is a liberal. Now she is more than liberal in some
20 sense. She got a second career, went into social work.
21 She now heads up a literacy program in the South Bronx for
22 Spanish speaking people. So she is very much involved in
23 sort of humanitarian and political in some sense. Not
24 political. She is aware of the issues, cleavages in
25 American society and the problems in American society.

1 She always tried to get my father to talk about it
2 also and he never would talk about it with her either.

3 Q. Do you think she has any insight?

4 A. It turns out I have never talked to her
5 one-on-one, where I said tell me everything you know about
6 my father's experience.

7 That might be an interesting thing to do. There
8 might be little things that come out. I should do of
9 course the same with my sister. Part of it is what one
10 remembers.

11 As a kid I wanted to heroize him in the experience.
12 I noticed myself clearly doing it, in the sense where I
13 would remember certain things and make the connection of
14 whatever. The doctor got seized. Something like that. I
15 remember it Oh, yeah, the doctor got found out. Where in
16 fact, the way my father talks it was one doctor was
17 replaced by another. There wasn't this danger type thing.

18 At the same time one doesn't know. If a pro German
19 doctor came in would he have gotten in trouble for faking
20 it? Would he have been sent to another camp?

21 Q. What do you think happened when your father
22 encountered the Jewish holocaust survivors?

23 A. He has one close friend, one of his best
24 friends in Geneva is a holocaust survivor with a tatoo.
25 Tom Lueck. Probably an Austrian or German Jew. His

1 father was an industrialist. They are good friends. I
2 think they have only talked about it officially once,
3 where they have discussed it and compared experiences.

4 Q. Officially, publicly?

5 A. I say "Have you talked to him about it"?
6 "Oh, just once. We were at a party and started talking
7 about it. He remembers this and I remember that". So
8 they have never dealt with it even amongst themselves.

9 Q. Do you feel there would be any need or room
10 for like a support group for men like your father, like
11 holocaust survivors?

12 A. I think in some sense. At this point in
13 his life he is too much of a successful survivor. I think
14 he has found his way of dealing with things. Obviously at
15 some point in his life that would have been right.

16 The thing is, my sense is there is this, might be
17 my denial of it, might be socialized by him, there is this
18 real ambiguity of it. He wasn't slated for death. He was
19 getting enough food to keep him alive. He was three
20 kilometers outside Auschwitz, not in the death camp.

21 Yeah, a lot of people did survive. I don't know
22 what the percent. That would be a obvious thing to find
23 out. I don't know if it exists. What was his real chance
24 of death?

25 Q. Did he ever come close to death? Was his

1 life ever threatened?

2 A. He talks about the typhus thing, walking
3 into the typhus thing. He talks about the guy before me
4 got killed pushing the train. He talks about the sense of
5 people dying. "If I stayed here too long I had a good
6 chance of dying and I want didn't want to take that".

7 You get the impression his decision to escape
8 wasn't just the organization was found out and he was the
9 next to be denounced, which might be my childish over
10 reading into the horror of that. But apparently he was
11 already wanting to escape before that. He made some kind
12 of a rational decision the chance of getting caught and
13 killed in an escape were better than the chance of dying
14 here because so many people are dying.

15 That's all I get there in terms of that. I guess
16 the condition of the STO workers would have varied
17 tremendously from site to site. I don't know whether his
18 site was for punished STO workers.

19 There was this thing he doesn't remember there
20 being other young men of his category. I think he said he
21 remembered there was, this is unbelievable. There was
22 like a Boy Scouts contingent that had been sent over with
23 their Boy Scout Camp Director. I am not sure if that's
24 something he read or something he saw there. Those are
25 the kind of things he likes to talk about.

1 Q. A real twist of fate involved by changing a
2 two to a four?

3 A. Right. Coming back for his raincoat. The
4 other thing is his relationship to the underground. He
5 presents it as my upper middle class access to better
6 conditions. Otherwise, he would have been on that
7 assembly line, in that hard physical work where more
8 people were dying. Then again he said "No, we weren't
9 meant to die".

10 Q. Go ahead. What do you think are the
11 important things in telling us this story? Why is it
12 important to tell it?

13 A. Well, basically -- I teach a holocaust
14 section in my introduction to anthropology course. I
15 introduced it without realizing I was even introducing it,
16 without realizing I was in anyway a concentration camp
17 survivor's son. Basically total denial to the extent I
18 don't feel myself to be that. And yet I realize obviously
19 that's what pushed me into politics and all my notions of
20 what one should do in my own righteousness and my own deep
21 frustration at my own country and humanity's treatment of
22 itself.

23 I think what I try to do, where I realized I had
24 all these lessons from is the lesson I was trying to get
25 to the students. The first thing is they should not be

1 ignorant, they should question authority, they should not
2 be cogs in a wheel that destroys people.

3 You see, the thing I keep hearing from him is all
4 these people were doing all these things that were making
5 this possible, without being evil individually, with just
6 going through the logic of surviving and the bureacracy.
7 You get that clearly in something like the show as well.
8 I just saw a show actually recently. The idea is so more
9 Auschwitz don't happen again. It was Albert Guildner, a
10 sociality professor said that in the '60s. We have to
11 teach our students about the holocaust so more Auschwitz
12 don't happen.

13 But then I think it's actually more than that.
14 More holocausts are happening all over the place right
15 now. None of them perhaps with that extraordinary
16 intensity. But they are happening all over the place.

17 You see it being recreated with some exact same
18 patterns of ignorance, of compliance, of colloboration.
19 My work in Central America was direct. Well, if Americans
20 knew what their tax dollars were doing they wouldn't want
21 that to happen. They wouldn't want kids to be blown up,
22 people to be tortured and so forth. There was no way you
23 could get anyone to believe that was happening.

24 So in my class with the students that was one thing
25 is understanding the implications of your actions and

1 where you fit in.

2 This is the other holocaust, to take it to one of
3 it's furthest parallels or comparisons in terms of daily
4 life. The inner city, the U.S. ghetto is obvious. Human
5 rights violations in war zones are obvious.

6 I wrote a book on the United Fruit Company in
7 Central America. It's a lot less obvious. Here you had a
8 work camp, a concentration camp. That's what. What did I
9 do? I threw myself in the barracks and lived there for a
10 year with the workers. It was a racially organized work
11 force, with the indians spreading the pesticides, you
12 know, blacks working this section, Hispanics working
13 another section, white Americans working here.

14 The size of your room was determined even
15 practically on the basis and certainly your pay and
16 certainly your chances of getting poisoned by the
17 pesticides.

18 So, yes, for people to be aware of even what
19 owning stock in United Fruit Company implies in terms of
20 the human suffering that the United Fruit Company represents.
21 No one does, of course. It's impossible for one to under-
22 stand the implications of one's actions.

23 Basically, I want my students to not sort of be
24 ignorant and understand the ethical implications of where
25 they are fitting in.

1 Q. Do you think a holocaust could happen in
2 this country to the Jews again?

3 A. Like I say, I think it's happening, not to
4 the Jews, but it's happening to Puerto Ricans, it's
5 happening to blacks, it's happening to Mexicans trying to
6 cross the border. It's happening to whatever. Workers at
7 DuPont that are poisoned by their work, whatever. Agent
8 Orange. The homeless on some level. So I think that's
9 what is upsetting to me is that we haven't learned in this
10 case from it. That we focus in on these technical issues,
11 without understanding the big picture.

12 The other thing, of course, sort of a moral
13 perspective, I still want there to be heroes in life and
14 want there to be good and bad and that's still confusing
15 to me. I haven't been able to deal with that on a
16 personal level.

17 There is one thing I do think about. If you were
18 there would you be separating people at the train station
19 or would you be putting your brothers and sisters in an
20 oven. On one level, no, I wouldn't. I wouldn't have gone
21 to San Salvadr and gotten bombed. I wouldn't have lived
22 for five years in East Harlem. I wouldn't have lived in a
23 workers barracks.

24 Even the contrdictions, I got thrown out of
25 Nicaragua by the Sandinistas. I went down there to help

1 them. My government was violating their political rights.
2 I saw them being racist toward the Mosquito Indians. I
3 wrote a thing and got thrown out. I wouldn't have
4 succumbed to bureaucratic authority, to self-interest.
5 That's what I worry about.

6 Obviously one does on another level. Basically I
7 think that was that. First time I had any awareness that
8 it affected me, that my father's experience affected me,
9 and I still don't know how in a real way. A few years ago
10 the psychologist I was seeing said "Oh, you are a
11 holocaust survivor. You are a holocaust survivor's son.
12 You should go to a support group of holocaust survivors".

13 I said "What me, are you kidding? I am not a
14 holocaust survivor. My father wasn't in the holocaust.
15 He wasn't a general laborer, he was a privileged laborer.

16 Q. So what were you seeing a psychologist
17 about?

18 A. Just general life type stuff, upper middle
19 class indulgence, whatever the reasons are.

20 I never did go to a support group. He was very
21 interested in it and tried to make me talk about it. I
22 never got very far with it. I went and talked to my
23 father. "My psychologist thinks it's very important that
24 you had this experience and you are a product of it". My
25 father's response is "No, no, it's not important to you

1 because I never talked to you about it when you were
2 little. I was always very careful never to talk about it.
3 When I talked about it I always contextualized it", which
4 was interesting. It never occurred to me he did anything
5 conscious whatsoever around it.

6 I tried to push him on that. He just says "No,
7 that's ridiculous. I wasn't Jewish. I wasn't meant to be
8 killed. I didn't suffer". So basically that -- I
9 thought about that now. I have only been able to see
10 intellectually that it affects me.

11 I know I do worry about that thing of collaborating
12 with the enemy to torture your people all the time. When
13 I taught it, I used two different books. It was very
14 interesting.

15 First book I used was Bettelheim's The Informed
16 Heart, which worked well. Of course, it went out of
17 print. You can't use it anymore in teaching.

18 Then I made the mistake of using This Way To The
19 Gas, Ladies and Gentlemen. The students rebelled, which
20 was interesting. It was a very interesting thing. I
21 think the message is the same in the two books.

22 Q. What did they talk about?

23 A. As an anthropologist that studies racism,
24 ethnicity and so forth, they rebelled in the same way you
25 will see cultural nationalists of different ethnic groups

1 rebelling about how their people are portrayed.

2 The response was a non-Jew doesn't have the right
3 to write about this, which was an extraordinary response.

4 In that same class I was also using a book about
5 black poverty in America, very powerful and horrible book,
6 photographs of poverty. There were several black students
7 in the class who said a white person doesn't have the
8 right to write about my people and portray us like this.

9 As an anthropologist I could listen to the
10 language, and the same response was coming forth. I think
11 personally Bettelheim's argument is the same as
12 Berrofsky's, except Berrofsky is really horrible. He is
13 totally horrible. Whereas, Bettelheim has been able to
14 frame it in terms of ultimate love.

15 But they didn't have that reaction to the
16 Bettelheim book. Maybe it was because of the
17 presentation, maybe it's because he is Jewish. I don't
18 know. I wish the book was still in print in that sense.

19 The other books I haven't been able to get the
20 message I am looking for in terms of writing about it.

21 Q. Which is?

22 A. Which is not just the horror of it, because
23 that people grasp that six million people were killed,
24 maybe more, extraordinary suffering. It's that issue that
25 the whole thing was done bureaucratically, with

1 collaboration at all levels and it wouldn't have been
2 possible without that collaboration and this issue of
3 ignorance is so extraordinarily important and people are
4 not able to understand what is going around them with
5 implications are, if anything, of what they are living in
6 in terms of suffering that inflicts on people and they
7 just can't trust authority. They can't trust mainstream
8 judgment of their society, of their family, of everything
9 around them. That they have to question everything.

10 Otherwise , they will be participating in
11 micro versions of different holocausts.

12 Q. Let me ask is there anything about your
13 father's story that you want to tell about that I didn't
14 ask about?

15 A. I don't think so. I am sure there will be
16 an idea that will come up here and there. Most important,
17 of course, would be for you to interview him. I always
18 worry. It's funny, I have this worry all he will do is
19 sort of deny it.

20 One could go through it. I was looking at a tape.
21 "I was hungrier in Nice than I was at Auschwitz". Then
22 you push him on it. "Well, we had access to the
23 counterfeit tickets".

24 "What about that first month you were with the
25 petty criminals"? "Well, there the guy threw his knife on

1 the table and said I ate first".

2 Q. He won't offer, but he will respond to
3 probes?

4 A. He will offer indirectly. "Well, the guy
5 working my job before me was killed". And then, on but I
6 was sure -- He would say "I was sure half of us were going
7 to die and I escaped". Things like that.

8 He will start describing the starving Jews that he
9 was working with. It's incredible. He will describe the
10 women. I think one example I think was Ukraine. I am not
11 sure. Ukrainian women being deloused and there would be
12 miles and miles of them. You all of a sudden get an
13 awareness of it.

14 But most frustrating thing for me, one of the most
15 frustrating, was he didn't know that people were being
16 selected out and exterminated.

17 The other thing, of course, that is interesting is
18 people didn't believe him when he got to France. Even
19 telling the simple story there are work camps where people
20 are starving to death.

21 Q. Did you discuss with him the interview?

22 A. Yeah. He thinks the story is a waste of
23 your time, which is amazing. Of course, I agree with him,
24 I am worried that's true in a sense. On another level
25 it's super important to get all these, the other labor

1 camps around Auschwitz.

2 Q. That was dramatically different. You
3 pretty much covered what I was covering. What was your
4 overall sense of your father's story? Do you have a
5 feeling? What else do you think he is hiding? Do you
6 think there is stuff he hasn't told you?

7 A. I think on some level he doesn't remember
8 things, I think, in an organic way. As in the process of
9 denial.

10 I don't know. I just don't know. It isn't like,
11 there isn't a pattern where you can get him to tell you
12 more and more and more of issues in a certain direction.
13 That doesn't happen. There isn't anything obvious I can
14 point to. Like, let's say, that issue of Sarger denounced
15 so and so. I focused in on that. I felt it was super
16 interesting. It has a super interesting message.

17 He will say something like "I am not like those
18 people that believe if they are right politically they
19 have the right to kill someone". He will say that
20 dogmatically, he will say that very righteously. He will
21 say that all all the time about anything. You can't get
22 him to say that Sarger was systemically denouncing people
23 so that, you know, for the better good of his cell. It's
24 not like you dig deeper and then there is a little more
25 and a little more. You don't get a sense -- You get this

1 sense of anyone who survived is guilty. You get that
2 totally clearly. Yet, you can't get from him sort of
3 hidden evilness, a sense of hidden evilness that he
4 performed.

5 At the same time you get the sense of one has to
6 live with one's ethics. If he gives you advice on
7 something, totally unrelated to anything, it will be just
8 unbelievably ethical.

9 Q. What is his ethnicity?

10 A. He is basically, I guess, a hard core
11 athesis. It's not too much of an issue. Everyone it
12 seems in my family is a hard core athesis on both sides,
13 up through the grandparents. My French grandmother was a
14 normal French Catholic, which meant she went to church
15 four times in her life, or whatever. Baptism, death, and
16 whatever, communion. I was actually baptized Catholic for
17 no reason except to satisfy her because it's a pretty
18 ritual. So it wasn't like that was deviant.

19 We grew up in a secular environment in New York
20 City, upper middle class school. It was, my school was
21 probably mostly Jewish and it was basically secular Jews,
22 with Jewish identity, but not a religious identity. That
23 was just normal. That wasn't something that needed to be
24 addressed or needed to be confronted or I think was even
25 changed perhaps by the experience.

1 Now the ethical thing was changed. Here he was,
2 like he pushed himself through this business school right
3 away knowing exactly. But he says he made a decision I
4 couldn't be a banker. You get a sense I couldn't
5 colloborate with the system. I had to work for humanity.
6 You get this righteous sense.

7 The other day with my son, who is four years old.
8 My son was four years old. We had the video camera. My
9 son's birthday party. "Papa, tell us a story". Tell
10 Ettienne some advice. He laid this heavy trip on my poor
11 son, which I realize was the trip laid on all of us. You
12 are being born into a family with privilege, you are being
13 given all the advantages, make sure you return it to
14 humanity. Wow. What kind of a sense of guilt and so
15 forth. You know that would have to come, I think on some
16 level, probably from the Auschwitz experience. But maybe
17 not. Maybe it had to do with coming from a French
18 bureaucratic service oriented family.

19 Q. Do you have a sister?

20 A. Yes.

21 Q. What does she do, how does she fit in?

22 A. She works for Dow Jones. She works for
23 international capital. She started out working for human
24 rights organization and did several years of very
25 effective human rights organization. She is not your

1 typical -- She is a typical wall street success in terms
2 of the extent of her career, whatever, being the second
3 highest woman in Dow Jones type of thing. She is
4 effective and does it well.

5 Her politics aren't that of the -- She is very
6 liberal politically. She doesn't like the people in
7 business. She doesn't approve of their human interaction
8 and their values. So I know that's an issue for her.

9 It leads to big arguments between her and I, of
10 course, because I have too much of my father's
11 righteousness or my mother's as well.

12 Q. You keep saying your father says "All
13 survivors are guilty". Is that because the Jews bribed
14 people to give them bread, because the Jews helped in the
15 death camps to survive? Not just the Jews, but people in
16 the camp had to do things they wouldn't ordinarily do to
17 survive? Where is that guilt coming from?

18 A. He doesn't let you know how much of that is
19 from what he witnessed, how much of that is from what he
20 read afterwards. He doesn't read. Actually, he refuses
21 to read anything. Not refuses. He never finds the books
22 and hasn't read them. He says none of them are accurate.
23 None talk about how horrible it was. It's much worse than
24 that. These are Mickey Mouse. Like the Sorrow and Pity,
25 the French movie. That's a Mickey Mouse picnic with how

1 horrible it was, what the colloboration was really about.

2 He likes the one that had total contradiction. He
3 likes that movie where the boy falls in love and becomes a
4 Nazi.

5 Q. (Inaudible question)

6 A. Not that one. That one he hasn't seen yet.
7 I am going to force him to see that. He has a good
8 discussion after it. I haven't seen the movie. It's a
9 story of an 18 year old boy who falls in love with some
10 woman and joins the SS troops. He has those kind of
11 stories where the colloborator is not evil, where you are
12 a survivor -- No one is aware what they are doing.
13 Everyone is acting like a human.

14 In terms of what it's about, part of it you get
15 from the bread story, for example. In the same breath he
16 will say they were just surviving. Anyone would have done
17 that to survive.

18 You do get some kind of sense of the horror of
19 humanity.

20 The other thing is his description. Here he says
21 he just doesn't remember. He seems to remember that there
22 were Jews who weren't starving. He says now in retrospect
23 that maybe that is not right, maybe they weren't Jewish,
24 maybe they were something else. He thought they were
25 Jewish prisoners with the yellow, and now he uses the word

1 they were fat, which is sort of the expression of the time
2 or whatever. Isn't that horrible nowadays?

3 He will bring that up. He is very upset about
4 that. There isn't a clear answer to that.

5 At the same time he won't say all. He will be
6 cautious about it. He will say "Many people have a heavy
7 conscience" type of thing. The other thing he is more
8 subtle about it. He will do a self blame thing of being
9 from the upper middle class. "I was able to survive
10 because I was articulate and knew how to count, I had been
11 to high school, therefore I got promoted to a non-death
12 job, non-mortal job".

13 Even about his friend, a real survivor. He will
14 say "Oh, well, he was the son of an industrialist. Of
15 course, he survived. He knew how to act. He had all the
16 cultural capital that it takes".

17 Q. You mean they weren't peasants?

18 A. Right. In that sense there is no blame or
19 anything, but there is some kind of a notion of guilt by
20 privilege in some sense. Maybe I am reading too much into
21 it. It's sort of my personal interpretation of it.

22 One of the things I like to look at in the
23 survivors stories is those issues of chance. I don't know
24 if you know, how often the medical dimension is present.
25 Whole bunch of people had some kind of connection with the

1 medical infirmary in the camps. I keep noticing it over
2 and over and over. Even they were the one, their job was
3 to clean up the medical infirmary.

4 I had a survivor talk in my class at Washington
5 University where I taught before, who was very effective.
6 He survived because he was a watch repairman. There, you
7 get this whole thing at what point does that become
8 ethical? You are repairing the watches of the people that
9 have been killed for the Nazis to make money off them. At
10 what point is that colloboration?

11 My father's response was he was repairing people's
12 watches that had been ripped off them.

13 The other thing that was funny, one quick thing.
14 The other night on the phone he talks about when he went
15 back to Auschwitz how shocked he was at how small it was.
16 He couldn't believe how small it was. He thought it was
17 going to be this gigantic place.

18 Q. What was the conversation the other night
19 you had on the phone?

20 A. I told him I was going to be interviewed.
21 Maybe I asked something specific. I tried to get the name
22 of the town, the name of the labor camp he was at. He
23 remembers it with a B. He says Mislovietz. No, that was
24 the furthest town we were allowed to go to.

25 He remembered the name of the first Russian city

1 where the war changed hands and the Germans started
2 retreating.

3 He said that was his happiest moment in terms of
4 propaganda network. I forget what it is.

5 That is not at all clear whether it's a generalized
6 thing or whether it's specific memories.

7 Q. It sounds like he makes a distinction
8 between guilt and conscience when he is referring to Jews
9 who survived or people who survived. It seems everything
10 turns on this colloboration, whether you colloborated or
11 not.

12 I am wondering if you think in your interviews with
13 him if he is holding back because it's you and not a
14 stranger. He has an emotional connection with you and no
15 matter how hard he tries he is still your father and there
16 is a protective edge.

17 A. I get the impression he hasn't told other
18 things to other people. There are ways to test that. To
19 ask all people who know him well, to tell me as much as
20 they possibly know about his experience, which I haven't
21 done.

22 Q. Or have him come and do an interview.

23 A. He is so self-reflective, to survive, on
24 some level he will know I might have access to this.
25 Everything is very calculated in his life, not in a

1 negative way. Any time you ask for any kind of advice
2 it's almost like you hear the holocaust each time.

3 "Should I ask for a raise from my boss? Should I confront
4 this bad person in my department who is doing such and
5 such"? "You have to think of this as how human beings
6 are. You have to understand human beings are there".

7 Q. Has this ever been a burden to you?

8 A. Not consciously. The only burden for me
9 has been this thing of him refusing to be politically
10 clear about it. I was in the resistance, I risked my
11 life, I could have been killed. We smuggled bread to the
12 Jewish workers. He just won't ever say that. That was
13 the thing. And he didn't join the underground after
14 getting out. That was another thing that came out.

15 For example, I pushed him on that. He said "Don't
16 you understand? I was sick".

17 Sure, he survived the camp. He lost his teeth.
18 He had ulcers. He had dysentery. He wasn't physically
19 capable of running around in the sewers of Paris and
20 fighting.

21 The other thing that's interesting is that so many
22 people with his entourage were involved in the underground
23 in some way. I don't know if that's typical of French men
24 his age. I don't think it is. The impression one gets in
25 France is that no one resisted. That's his impression.

1 At the same time all you hear about is this cousin
2 did that, the concierge did this. He will paint some of
3 them as heroes. He paints the woman, a girl then, the
4 girl that fed him, he paints as just a total hero.

5 What he points to, not that she fed him, she was
6 able to cross German lines because she was a little girl.
7 No one suspected her. She was bringing information about
8 where the German troops were.

9 Q. Did he ever have contacts with her?

10 A. Yes, she is a close friend of his.

11 Q. Really? Is she still in France?

12 A. No. She lives in the suburbs of New York.

13 They have dinner at her house relatively regularly. He
14 thinks she is great. That's the only person basically
15 from that period that he has contact with.

16 When we were in Paris, -- In Paris you get the
17 false idea of resistance. You have plaques all over as if
18 the whole city was resisting. Issi a tombe. Eighteen
19 year old who fought for the resistance. You have these
20 plaques all over as if the whole city was resisting. I
21 try to use that to jog his memory.

22 There is one on the building where my grandmother
23 lived. I think she moved into it afterwards. His thing
24 about that was the people in the building, it was
25 unbelievable, moved the plaque away from the entrance.

1 You see the bullet marks where the guy got killed. You
2 see the place where they drilled in the wall. They had
3 the plaque and they moved it.

4 I said "Why did they move that? "People didn't
5 want to be offended by the sight of death every time they
6 walked in their door". He was obviously sort of angry
7 about it. It is extraordinary. You see the bullet marks
8 and the screw holes and in the maid entrance to the
9 building you see where they put the plaque.

10 Then he will do a funny thing with the Vichy thing.
11 You would think someone like that would come out strong
12 against Vichy. He won't do that. He will say "You have
13 to figure out whether more people were killed because of
14 it or against it". It's an incredible thing for me to
15 hear. The whole message is the opposite. Don't
16 colloborate. Be aware what your collaboration is about.
17 Everything you do is colloboration.

18 Then all of a sudden he does the reverse. Don't
19 think it's easy to be a resistance fighter. Like, for
20 example, escaping from Auschwitz when you are in the death
21 camp. Some way he thinks that's a bad thing to do.

22 If you were Jewish or a political prisoner a
23 certain number of people were killed. For him, that
24 wouldn't have been the right thing to do. That's the
25 first thing that comes out. He will say "I ran into

1 somebody whose father escaped. His father got so many
2 people killed by escaping". It's a funny thing.

3 Q. Morality in here?

4 A. The issue is don't think you are so right
5 that you can get people killed for it. That's the other
6 thing.

7 In that sense he was never, for example, the
8 Communist thing, the cold war, he was never anti-
9 communist. He was anti-communist fundamentally, but he
10 was never anti-communist or pro-communist in terms of
11 thinking that communism was different than American
12 capitalism. All the systems were evil in some sense.
13 Some were more evil than others. But all of them are
14 ultimately. You get that kind of impression.

15 There is all kinds of human compromises that can be
16 made that make sense and have to be made.

17 For example, he worked in getting aid to Viet Nam
18 at the height of the Viet Nam war. Somehow the U.N. was
19 able to get some aid projects into North Viet Nam. He was
20 horrified at the Americans for their position on the whole
21 war. At the same time the communists were killing people
22 and putting them in concentration camps. He was totally
23 up front about that.

24 Q. Do you want your father to see this tape?

25 A. I will be embarrassed, of course, but

1 basically, yeah.

2 Q. It's something you would share with him?

3 A. What I will do is look at it and I imagine
4 I will show it to him. It's an embarrassing tape.

5 Q. In what way?

6 A. In all ways in one sense. I have been
7 thinking about this for a few weeks. I will say why don't
8 I say things that won't embarrass me so I can show it to
9 my mother, and sister and so forth and not hurt their
10 feelings or whatever. So I was going to be a little more
11 cautious than I was and obviously I wasn't cautious. I
12 held back some things on some level, but not as much as I
13 thought I would.

14 Q. What are you embarrassed about?

15 A. Some of the righteousness issues, my
16 political righteousness, sort of psycho analysis of my
17 father and myself and my sister.

18 The other thing is I am always scared of a -- I am
19 scared that I romanticized my father's experience. I
20 tried to hold back. His whole message is don't
21 romanticize it. I have romanticized it concretely in the
22 past.

23 As I am talking there's been like four places,
24 maybe a dozen places where I have stopped myself, where I
25 see myself about to romanticize it. It would be instead

1 of the guy died, people were dying on the train track
2 instead of the guy before him died in the work accident.
3 Because he would talk so little about it of course it
4 lends itself to romanticization.

5 It wasn't until recently that I learned there were
6 two escape attempts. One on his own, one through Sarger.
7 I sort of somehow combined the two of them. That's the
8 kind of think I worry about. That's embarrassing. It's
9 embarrassing to romanticize something.

10 Q. What are the things you didn't say you
11 might have said?

12 A. Well, I would have talked more, I could
13 have talked more instead of my El Salvador experience, my
14 work. I spent a year doing human rights work around El
15 Salvador, basically trying to testify in Congress, on
16 television, to the United Nations actually I provided
17 testimony on violations of human rights, killing of
18 civilians in El Salvador. So some awareness that I had of
19 how I was dealing with the memories of it.

20 It's amazing I haven't read systemically holocaust
21 accounts. I read systemically about the STO stuff. It
22 was great. I got my father to talk about it so I could
23 get an A. That was the first time he ever talked about it
24 in detail, real detail.

25 "If you don't talk to me -- He was saying "No, no,

1 no". I said forget about the other issues, whether your
2 story is worth it. I want to get an A on this paper.
3 Let's be cynical. I have a French professor who wants the
4 analysis to be the tragedy of French collaboration is
5 revealed in the STO experience". Wham. I started giving
6 all the statistics on STO, which he didn't know, of
7 course.

8 And then he didn't agree basically with my analysis
9 of it, which was that the Vichy Government made possible a
10 larger number of internments of labor migrations.

11 That's been well documented for the Jewish
12 deportation. I was doing sort of the equivalent of that.
13 They are sacrificing whatever, they sent their own
14 citizens and, whatever, that labor migration is a very
15 symbolic thing. Some of those kind of issues.

16 Q. I have a sense that you are proud of your
17 father.

18 A. I am. Because I think actually his message
19 is an important one. I think it's great he is self
20 deprecating about it on some level, because I think it is
21 honest in terms of his understanding of the experience. I
22 think it's right in some sense. I guess it's frustrating
23 to me that people aren't heroes. I still haven't accepted
24 that. I am sure it's true.

25 I guess that's the message, one of the messages

1 from the holocaust. I see the crack dealers selling to
2 pregnant women, selling to their cousins, beating up their
3 girlfriends, beating up their kids. You see the
4 extraordinary violence on the street.

5 I'm sure I have been sort of seeking out that kind
6 of thing in terms of understanding the extent of human
7 horror that are structurally imposed but acted out by
8 people trapped in it.

9 Q. Your father would remain totally non
10 judgmental about a situation like that?

11 A. Yeah. He will say "That reminds me of the
12 camp, the guys that use to sell the shoes". He won't be
13 surprised by any of it.

14 Q. You and your father both say he is not a
15 survivor, yet it's had such a major impact on his ethics
16 and yours.

17 A. I always wonder if I am over intellectualiz
18 ing it. The psychologist thought it was obvious that
19 would be the case. Everyone I talked to in any way
20 related to this kind of a project oh, yeah, of course you
21 are.

22 The other thing is my mother is a very righteous,
23 moral, political person also. She is in the more classic
24 puritanical style of total and absolute morality all over
25 the place and very judgmental and so forth.

1 You read these books on which generation became
2 politized and so forth. I am also the son of a social
3 worker, who had liberal Social Democratic politics, and I
4 carried them to their logical conclusion. So I could be a
5 product of that upper middle class sort of righteousness
6 as well. Probably there is a reason why she is married to
7 him and so forth.

8 In terms of that, what I don't understand, of
9 course, is why I haven't read all the books on the
10 holocaust.

11 As an academic, first thing you do is literature
12 review. I haven't done a literature review on the
13 holocaust. Each time I read a book it has an
14 unbelievable affect emotionally on me and I can't put
15 them down.

16 The most over powering one is the autobiography of
17 the guy who worked, putting dead bodies -- Sonndo
18 Commando. That's the most extraordinary one. He was a
19 Czech. I couldn't read that whole book. It got overdue.
20 I had to take it back. I saw him in the Showa movie. It
21 came back to me. I used it in lectures, the chapters from
22 that.

23 I haven't even been able to read Primo Levi. I
24 find his to be very mild. That is why I didn't use it in
25 the class. I thought it was much too mild. It doesn't

1 get the issues I am trying to get at.

2 I saw a movie that was good, I mean a play that was
3 good in Paris. Actually by an Isreali who was also, I
4 presume the son of real survivors, who wrote a play about
5 the Polish ghetto, which is unbelievable. I took my
6 father to that. He thought that was good. "Oh, yeah,
7 that's beginning to get at the right issues". There has
8 been a lot of good analysis of that.

9 For example, of the Warsaw ghetto and that whole
10 issue of the structure of collaboration versus resistance
11 that went on there. Europa, Europa just I saw a few weeks
12 ago. I thought that was terrific. There the message is
13 muted because it's a child. The fact of the matter is
14 that was an adult. That wasn't youthfull naivity that had
15 him do that. That was what human beings are about.

16 So the message gets muted. You can forgive a child
17 and you can make it that way.

18 Basically, I don't know what exactly in terms of --
19 The fact of the matter is maybe he probably wouldn't have
20 died, I guess because the liberation -- Well, I will say
21 he wouldn't have died because the boss was the guy that
22 was made head of the liberation. He definitely would have
23 had access to food, whatever. I don't know. I don't know
24 what his relationship in a sense to Auschwitz is.

25 Q. I think it's important you shared your

1 story and you have done a really good job. You really
2 have. I can't think of anything you haven't covered. No,
3 I can't. Other than to say thank you for sharing the
4 story. It's the kind of perspective that helps us in a
5 lot of ways dealing with this kind of analysis.

6 Anything else you want to say?

7 A. No; thank's a lot. Thank's for doing this
8 project.

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