[INAUDIBLE] in about 10 seconds.

OK.

OK.

You were talking about camp inmates who might do acts, even small acts, that could very dramatically affect the life of others or outright kill them.

Well, what I was going to talk about is an illustration. So we all had to queue up for this once a day bowl of soup-turnip or whatever. If we are lucky, we got some peas in it. And even if we are even more lucky, we were getting some meat in it.

And that happened occasionally. Even Auschwitz-Birkenau, I remember, I came as a tremendous surprise when we were getting a kind of pea soup with some meat in it. And that was just like a unbelievable stroke of luck.

So when we got this soup, whatever kind of soup it was, and we queued up, the people who came first usually got the water. And later, those people who queued up got more thicker stuff, let's say a little bit more turnip or potato, if there was any potato. Very early, it was. And the ones who waited too long, they may have received nothing because there was nothing left.

So if you queued up in a strategic way, that means that you got more than someone else. And therefore, by virtue of the fact that you got more, other people got less. And that's how it actually started. And most people didn't think about the morality of it but thought about the fact that they are getting a little bit more substantive soup rather than just water or just flavored turnip water.

And I've learned it, and I was very good at it. And so the more alert, the more young, you were, the better chance you had to adjust to this sort of novel situation and make the best out of a dreadful situation. And so that's how it started. That's how you learn.

The only thing, the only place, where some of us-- of course, many of us-- drew the line is to steal directly from a fellow inmate. And once you were caught, that means that the chances were that they would beat you to death.

And so people did not do it out of fear of reprisal. Or some other people didn't do it because they agreed and were convinced that this was not the thing to do. Because it was, according to the camp rules, an immoral thing to do.

Was it an immoral thing in camp rules to take a strategic place in mind?

No, no, no. That was totally accepted. As a matter of fact, that was viewed as being clever. And if anything, that was admired. Not everyone could do it, or just to disappear when you needed to disappear because if you had not, something would have happened to you, something dire would have happened to you, either by a kapo or by an SS person or whatever.

And so you had very, very specific rules and regulations in terms of what was desirable and facilitated survival or what was against camp rules and was defined, in terms of camp reality, as immoral. And so one adhered to that. And, of course, stealing was totally OK and even admired if you stole from the SS or stole from food supply, which was not to be divided, or not part of the inmate's staple.

And I did all of these things. And I learned to be invisible. I learned to be visible. And it was of interest to me when it was useful. And I was invisible in it when it was dangerous. And I still can do this today. As a matter of fact, I keep on training myself in this and do it in order to stay alert. I think it's a very interesting sort of game.

It is, and could you talk a little bit about that?

What I call a concentration camp game. Well, I mean, as I said--

How do you make yourself invisible?

Well, for example, I can, without too much of an effort, go to a movie without paying, a movie house. Or I could get into places which is only open to some people who have invitations. Or I can be part of a group without belonging to it. So these sort of things I am talking about.

And so it's, in some sort of a way, it's kind of a deceptive game where you just pretend to be something or someone in a situation in which you really do not belong.

Continuing the idea of the camp morality, you could actively do violence to another. But what about the notion--

No, you couldn't actively do violence to one another.

Or not do violence, but--

You could do violence only if you were an inmate functionary, if your role was that of an overseer. And then you could do violence which was supported by the Nazi authorities. But if you were equals doing violence to an equal or fellow inmate, it was not acceptable unless you sought out a fight for whatever reason.

And that was usually undesirable. Because people were beaten and injured enough without these sort of petty fights among each other, among themselves. So you found that relatively seldom. It happened, over a piece of bread or something, if someone with a large bed. But that was usually a battle of words rather than of just physical aggression.

And then, in a much less obtrusive way, you could be struggling for your own life, which you described in the boxcar situation, but it totally affects the life of another.

Yeah.

And then, what about the situation where you are a bystander to something that, normally, you would feel the desperate need to interfere, but you don't.

Well, all right. You were a bystander if, let's say, someone who was in charge of a barrack or some kapo or whatever beat up or even, if under circumstances, just beat someone to death or an SS man came and did some dreadful stuff to someone, dreadful thing that you witnessed but did not interfere because, if you would, it would be your end. You know, it was suicidal to do that. So people did not do it.

If, however, you could see that one fellow inmate was attacked by another fellow inmate, then you may have interfered. Because you felt that you accepted the order of the camp, which means that some people have power, and they can apply that power and that this is legitimate. In other words, what used to be illegitimate outside the camp became legitimate.

So you had a different type of legitimacy. You had a different type of law altogether, which, then, people had to accept if they wanted to survive. And again, survival was at stake. And if you want to survive, you simply will adjust.

And one of the important things to remember is that the ability to adjust to novel situations, the ability to stay alert, was absolutely essential for survival. And the interesting thing was the younger people were, in most cases, the easier it was for them to adjust. The older people were, the more difficult it was to adjust.

And that's why the older people just died by the droves. Because they couldn't take the hurdles. They were punished and beaten and didn't get enough food and all that so that the older ones were the people who didn't live long. Their life span was very short in a camp.

Thinking about, as you say, that changes inside the camp, the power situation, I have a note here that in your writing, you had made the statement that the lower echelon SS were more identified with the power roles than those that were in them. And how do you explain that?

I'm not quite sure which passage you are referring to.

Well, the notion, to me, was that the people in the lower echelons of the SS were more identified with the roles of people in the upper echelon than those very people were, themselves. Now, maybe this doesn't sound familiar to you.

No, I'm not quite clear in terms of what you're saying, actually.

OK, well, maybe--

Well, let me see if I understand when I rephrase it.

OK.

What I said in some of the things, one of the things I can recollect, is that the inmates did not identify with the persons who occupied SS roles. Because the SS role was a destructive role. And SS, of course, were perceived as archenemies, a deadly enemy.

However, in order to survive in a camp, you had to use the little power to the best of your ability in order to survive. Now, the SS, of course, had the utmost power in a camp. So what people did, they tried to learn from the SS to lighten themselves, not to SS people but how to use the little power which was available to them. That's what they identified.

So they identified with the SS person's power because their power decided whether they were going to live or not. So they identified with that, but they did not identify with the purpose and the role of the SS, as such, at all, other than the power. Is that how I understand your question? I don't know whether this is--

No, I understand what you're saying about the camp inmate. This was a statement more related to lower echelon SS themselves being more fervently identified with the higher echelon's position than those higher echelon themselves were in their own roles. But maybe this is sounding confusing. So we can let this go.

Well, first of all, higher echelon people, you hardly had any contact in the camps with, anyway. And so that was all relative. And the contact you had with SS was primarily only limited to low-echelon people. The high-echelon people you saw very rarely, if at all.

Well, maybe your statement is more within the context of the SS and had nothing to do, in fact, with the camps. That's a possibility.

Well, I still don't-- like to clarify that. But the low-echelon SS only identified with what all of them identified with, the ideology. And that was not limited to rank. The higher rank people, of course, had privileges which the lower ones did not have.

And there was a social distance, to some extent, which was much greater than they advocated. Because they said, we all are SS. Well, that's very true, but, I mean, there was a tremendous social distance between someone who was a high-ranking officer and someone who was a small man with a very low rank.

At one point, you made the comment that the SS were as clients to Hitler. I don't know if you remember that. But I thought that was interesting and wanted to know if you would elaborate on that notion.

Well, the client as much as the they didn't know, they didn't realize that, but they're clients to his designs and manipulative power. And I went one step further and said that, for all practical purposes, the SS were a sort of victim

themselves. And yes, they're victims to Hitler's designs.

Because obviously, they subjected themselves to his designs without really understanding fully the outcome or understand the danger, the dire consequences, which this meant for them, having accepted Hitler's orders, so to speak, blindfolded. I don't think they understood.

And that is something which I brought up in the discussion, the roundtable discussion, with the SS during this one broadcast in which I made it very clear. And they saw the point. And that's why they said, if we had known the consequences of our joining the SS, in retrospect, it would have been better if we had not. And that's why they expressed regret. If we had known what will come of it, we would have not joined.

And that's precisely the type of insight which is very important. So they were victimized, for practical purposes, in some sort of way, which seemingly and de facto gave them power over other people and made them satisfied for a period of time. But it led to their doom, too.

So they were clients, as in consumers, at first.

That's right.

And then became victims in the [INAUDIBLE].

Clients to someone who was, for all practical purposes, conning them. And because he imposed his notion of reality on them, somehow was able to con them, sell it to them, so that they accepted it. But for all practical purposes-- and that is something which came out, also, in Hitler's secretary writings.

And that was reflected in one particular incident, which she told me and also wrote about, because I considered that to be a very important pronouncement made by Hitler when they were in one of the headquarters during the war back in the east. And there was an air raid, or danger of an air raid. And they had to turn out all the light and all that.

And during that particular time, she was looking for a flashlight and sent one of the SS people who was kind of a combination of servant/guard, to look for that flashlight. He came back and said he couldn't find it. And Hitler was around, and he felt that he may have been indirectly accused of taking the flashlight or something and said one very, very important thing, which, to me, was really decisive in order to gain some insight.

He said, I may be a thief of countries or lands-- and he said that in a dialect, in his Austrian type of dialect-- I may be a thief of countries, but I'm not a thief of flashlights. The small thieves are caught. The big ones are let off scot-free.

And I think that was a type of admission which we just had tremendous value for someone who is studying the personality and characteristics of Hitler in which he actually admits to be a thief, a robber.

Well, do you know of any reaction from the people present to that conversation?

Well, there are not many present, only three present. It was this one person, that SS fellow who was sent to look for the flashlight, Christa Schroeder, and Hitler. That's it, at that particular point. Because the chances are, he wouldn't have said it to anyone else.

Did this imply they knew this already?

Who?

The witnesses, that they knew already that he viewed it as thievery, what he was doing, and that he would get away with it?

I don't quite understand that.

That he said this in their presence because it was an already-known fact.

No, it was supposed to be a joke. It was not supposed to be a serious pronouncement, but it was a very serious-

Admission.

--connotation, yeah. No, it was supposed to be a joke. He was saying, hey, you know, I didn't steal your flashlight. I may be stealing countries but not flashlights. You know I don't bother that. I'm a big one. I'm a citizen beyond reproach or a citizen above reproach, you see, because I stand above the law. No, it was supposed to be a jocular sort of jocular response.

Among the SS in general, do you feel like some people sort of over-identified with their role, went further than was demanded of, even, the role of SS officer?

Well, yes. That that's one thing which is quite interesting. And just recently, I came out with some sort of a definition-- I hope to be able to discuss it with some people who can more objectively assess my new theoretical conceptualization-- is that we all have roles. And the roles are fairly closely defined. But even if we play these roles, there is always a momentum, a margin where we have the ability to act upon based on our discretion.

So this role margin, I call, or I equate, with discretion. And so some people used the role margin in a way which was not more than they understood they had to do. And some other people used that role margin in a way which would reduce the suffering. And there are still some other people who used the role margin in order to hurt people more than they were asked to hurt.

And so you've got the three major groupings. And in life, we all play roles, I think. When we understand the role definition of the set of roles we play, we can look for this role margin and observe how these people played and where they have, indeed, the type of leeway which they can use in so many different ways, and the discretion. And how you use the discretion tells you quite a bit about that person.

And so you had assessed people who did what they were asked to do, not more and not less, which complied to their role definition. And some people made concessions, and they're not as severe, and said, well, I'm not going to hurt that person. Maybe I'll help that person. So I've witnessed that. That also existed.

And then you had people who used the role margin to do more than they're asked to do in terms of cruelty. In other words, they're more cruel than they're asked to be. And that's how they used the role margin. And we can see that in everyday life, too.

And that is something which I think is-- this notion which I've developed, I think I have to primarily thank Erich Fromm, who didn't define it in this specific detail, but he said, well, instead of giving people a test or psychological inventories to find out to what extent they are sadistic or not-- and he was referring particularly to the Stanford simulated prison experiment developed by Philip Zimbardo-- he said that all these tests, he felt, were not very accurate. But if you really observe people in real life, I think you could find out much more about them than if you give them some psychological inventory.

And he used that particular-- and gave me an example and said, well, you've got this person who is a clerk in some sort of a post office. And there's still one person waiting. And all the other ones were served. And it's now exactly closing time. And although he's the only one and he could serve him-- that was within his what I call role margin or discretion-but he chooses to close the window and have a smirk on his face.

So that means he gets satisfaction out of the fact that this man is not-- so and that, he said, well, it's typical for someone who has a sadistic streak. Now, he didn't talk about growth. He didn't talk about those specific things which are developed. But it is based on what Fromm said, except it's more specific.

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With that notion, what might be the difference in acting in the role margin if the person was being observed by his superiors?

Well, that's a very good question. This depends what he would expect, depending on his superior. If he feels that the superior would reward extreme cruelty, then he would do that. If he would see that he would think that the superior will be critical to a severe response which would go above and beyond his call of duty, then he would not risk doing it because that means that he would be reprimanded or might jeopardize his promotion or what have you.

So people are very opportunistic. And when we talk to each other, we usually also think in terms of, how is the other person going to respond to me when I say this or that? So I'll say things which will be responded to favorably. And so I won't tell you things which, the chances are, which would leave me unrewarded.

Now, some people don't care, depending on the reward and what they can expect. And some people tell you unpleasant things and know that they will be negatively rewarded. But then, it's usually a situation that they either feel that they have equal power to yours or they are more powerful. But it really doesn't make a difference because they don't need you that much, or they want to get rid of you, or they are frank with you because they think they can be frank with you.

So there are different sort of motives. And we have to look in terms of what is expected. And in most interaction, we do say things which will be favorably received and returned with some sort of favor which we want to receive from them. And that's why we say what we say. That's why we do what we do.

Because life is based on interaction. And this interaction, we need because we could not survive without the support of other people. So what we do in our interaction, we reward each other. And if you do something to me which I don't like, the chances are not going to reward you positively but negatively in either cutting off the relationship or getting back at you in one way or another and so forth and so on.

In the area of the discretion, say, toward the positive, would an SS person be viewed as weak or some other negative thing?

Well, they could be, yeah. And so, for example, whenever I was supported by an SS-- and there are some few occasions, not many, to be sure-- they are always by themselves, not in the presence of some other SS, which is interesting. It may have been a coincidence because there are not that many cases in which I can say.

And excessive cruelty also was also without witnesses. Because there are guidelines which condemned excessive cruelty and made it punishable. So excessive cruelty was not something which was advocated.

What was advocated is cruelty which would be necessary to accomplish what they set out to accomplish, namely to have a relatively conflict-free program of mass destruction, in case of the Jews, or control over the conflict-free conduct in concentration camps where you had non-Jews or mixed inmate population. And Himmler was very clear about it, that anyone who was going to be excessively cruel, which was not going to accomplish what they set out to accomplish, would be punishable. And he made that very clear.

Do you think that the notion of excessive cruelty would go too far over the line in that SS person having their own desires acted out or control over their own internal wishes?

Well, again, I would go back to what I said earlier. In any role, whether SS or inmate or whatever, the margin of discretion we have playing that role is used in one way or another. It may be used which is totally consistent with the major role so that it's just an integral part of that role, or it is used in a way which would be excessive or constructive. And in most cases, I think the SS played the role in a way which they understood they were supposed to play, consistently with what was expected of them.

So that excessive cruelty would not be considered like working overtime.

No, no. And it was not necessarily rewarded, depending on your superior. If the superior was into cruelty, then, of

course, it'd be a different thing.

The notion of the externalization of conscience is talked about a lot. How do you think that process takes place? Is it a process that can take place in anyone? Or do you think it has any relation to German culture or German style?

Well, I think that's cross-cultural. I don't think it has anything to do with one particular society or culture. What it has to do is where a society's so controlled that it either can be defined as totalitarian or a autocracy or anything of that nature so that people, in order to survive, will do things which they are ordered to do, which they are imposed to do, or imposed upon to do, by virtue of the fact that if they don't do it, they'll be punished-- in other words, negatively rewarded. So they do these things.

And in a relatively free society, you have sufficient flexibility to use your own judgment. But in a totalitarian society, your judgment will be only marginal in terms of the role margin. I don't know whether I've answered that.

Yes. It suggests to me further, do you think that the existing culture in any way makes a contribution toward people being more dependent on authority to make decisions?

Yeah, OK. Yes, certainly. And it just depends how people are socialized. If you have parents who say, well-- I hear that very frequently, back at home in Czechoslovakia, I used to hear that, or here, also, in the States-- when you have children and they are told to do something, and they question that and say, why? And they answer, because I say so. Now, that's the step in this sort of authoritarian direction. Rather than explaining and say, because and say, you know-on their level.

Now, they externalization of conscience is precisely where my individual conscience is relegated to those who give me the order. And therefore, I feel that I'm not responsible because it's not my initiative, which is true. And it's on the conscience of those who gave the order. So therefore, my conscience is free because I do it not because I necessarily like it or identify but because I'm told by someone who counts.

And therefore, I delegate that to that particular person who is in charge because of the situation, which does not give me enough leeway to get out of it with impunity. So I'd rather do it and not be punished, or not get into some sort of unpleasant situation rather than disobeying.

In your interviews, did you find that notion, or explore that notion, that people felt that they did not have to be responsible for their own conscience?

Well, they said, some of the things we didn't quite understand, but the Fuhrer said so. Or my superior said I should do it, and I had to obey orders. Because that's how we have been brought up, to obey our superiors.

And the notion which seemed to play a large role of the euphemisms that Hitler-- I presume Hitler-- invented.

Well, Hitler, I don't know. Hitler may not have invented it, but they all were inventing the euphemisms. Because they didn't want to call the baby by its name. And that has very important moral implications. Because on one hand, they are brought up with different set of morals. And they're, in the process, successfully changing morality.

And because they're fearful that there'd be too much resistance of the old type of morality versus the new type, they felt that they didn't want to tell the truth in a way which would be offensive to those people who still were with one foot in the old morality. And they're much more successful.

And that's why you've had quite a disparity between the older guard, the older people who were in the SS-- well, as a tendency, we can't generalize that easily-- but the tendency was that there was a difference, a conflict, between those who were around before the Nazi time and already were mature people and those people who were brought up during the early pre-war Nazi time and then during the Nazi time. Because these people were, of course, imbued and indoctrinated with very different sets of morals. And so, therefore, they did things because they more readily identified with that particular set of morals. And the old ones said, hey, you can't do that.

And I remember that Steiner told me-- and I put it also in my book-- that he listened to a speech in Posen, I think it was in '43, when Himmler told only SS generals and people of that rank and people who had a need to know or were informed, about some of the mass destruction and just gave a speech on that and said, well, we have to do something which we don't necessarily like to do, but because of the situation and the fear, and because of the nature of things, we have to do it, even if we don't like to do it. And then he went into some details, which are pretty awful and totally against the type of morality which used to be embraced by the older members of the SS prior to the Nazi time and couldn't make, quite, the step accepting it.

And so Steiner, after this speech by Himmler, went to see him-- and I don't have any question that he told me the truth-and said, Reichsfuhrer, this is irresponsible. It cannot be done. It's totally irresponsible to do these sort of things. And Himmler, according to what he told me, Himmler just simply brushed him off without responding to him, without replying to him.

So there were things which were done and responded to by, particularly the older ones. The younger ones didn't question it. And if anyone was questioning, it were the older generation who still were socialized with the type of morality where the sort of thing which took place under the Nazis was simply out of the question, and it was totally unacceptable.

So does this mean that, despite the euphemisms, the SS people knew what they really meant?

Well, some did and some did not. But anyone-- and that is my recognition because I've mentioned the Streicher's Sturmer, this Jew [INAUDIBLE] thing. And I, in my book, I went through 1940 to the end of '44 until it no longer was published. It went through all that Institute in Munich and Institute of Contemporary History and went through all these things and made some sort of a content analysis.

And what I saw there was very clear cut, that if you wanted to read and read it carefully, you could see that they're talking about mass destruction in that paper. That was the only paper where these sort of things were publicly advocated. And even some SS people came back and then talked about it and said, they're really lice, vermin, and all that. We've seen these ghettos and all that.

So they came out with pronouncements which were pretty bare of these euphemisms. So in spite of the-- anyone who wanted to know in order to have some not specific, of course, picture but know that this was not just some sort of a work assignment, hard work, and all that, that this was mass destruction or that it was something dreadful and dire and all, they could have gotten that information in public.

Because this sort of weekly newspaper, it came out weekly. I think it was weekly newspaper. It was posted in public. They had these sort of boxes, wooden boxes, in which they posted these papers for everyone to read. You didn't even have to buy so that anyone who wanted to be informed could be informed.

And that also reminds me of the situation in Dachau. And I was in Dachau during the early time of the museum, the exhibits, which was very simple and all that. They just had started. That was very different from what it is today. And we went through some of the things.

And there was this old lady next to me and said, did you know about all these things? And so I responded, not answering the question, but saying, did you have any Jewish neighbors? And she said, yes. Did you see that their apartments were sealed, and they disappeared? And she said, yeah, yeah.

You say you didn't know anything about-- you didn't know anything about it? And then she's, oh, my god, you know. Well, they didn't know. Because, well, certainly, they didn't want to know. But, of course, some specific things, in terms of what actually happened, they didn't know.

But I mean, how much do you need to know if, all of a sudden, you can see people in the street with hand-carried luggage, getting out of the someplace, being shipped someplace else? I mean, that, by itself, should stop you in the

tracks, you see. And that was public.

Because I remember when people had to go to the assembly places. They were in streetcars. They had to go in streetcars. So they had to go. So people saw that and knew about that and in all of these places.

And even there was one incident when I interviewed a person who was responsible for writing a complaint to Himmler. And he himself was an SS officer who observed an assembly place that was Berlin. I think it was Berlin. Yeah, I think it was Berlin. I also wrote it in my book about that.

And he observed the mistreatment of Jews who were about to be deported. Yes, it was Berlin. And in one, it was a nightclub which they converted into this sort of assembly place and the courtyard and all that, and so there was a Gestapo person in civilian clothing, kicking and beating people and all that.

And because it was in a courtyard and all the other houses were just nearby and higher floors, they could see what was happening from second, third floor. And all they could see what took place during the day. So they looked out of the window. So they're told to just not-- go and close the windows and all that.

So there happened to be, also, there some sort of a group of SS people who published the weekly SS paper, The Black Corps. And so they saw that. And they, of course, could not be ordered about. So what they saw there they just felt was absolutely disgusting and excessive in terms of cruelty.

And so this person whom I interviewed-- I found out about this person. I published his letter in the documents. By chance, I could get ahold of him. And I interviewed him on that thing and say, you complained about that and all that, about excessive cruelty and all that? And he said, yes, not because I like the Jews but simply because I felt it was excessive and not dignified for a conscious National Socialist person.

Of course, he didn't know specifics about gassing and all that. But this sort of excessive cruelty, he felt, was getting the SS, and whatever was being done, into ill repute. So he was also very pragmatic about it. So he wrote and got a response. And the whole thing was investigated, and the man was sent to the front.

So the ill repute with the population, the exterior population, the townspeople or whatever might--

Yeah.

So it sounds like, if you didn't want to know, the euphemisms would help you.

Oh, yeah.

But they didn't totally prevent you from knowing if you wanted to.

That's right. Well, because you didn't want to know because it was very threatening because, as I said, you know, people were in conflict. Because, on one hand, they had the morality from bygone days and, on the other hand, they're asked to accept the morality of the present day. And that got them into conflict. So they were in some sort of a situation in which they had to make some sort of a decision. And one decision was just, simply, look the other way.

And with the Nazi policies, even from the beginning, at no point along the way, it seems, was there much active protest from the population.

Well, the interesting thing is that the active protest was very strong when it dealt with German citizens, people who were incurably ill and otherwise a burden to the society and economy and what have you. So there, you've had the churches and people who were German saying, you know, what is happening there? And they band together and protest it and successfully so that the whole thing was stopped to a large degree and continued only the trickle, you see.

Well, but, I mean, what comes first, the skin or the shirt? So because when Germans were involved, then they're

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But you see, when they are not related to the Jewish situation in any shape or form, they felt it's not me. It's too distant. And therefore, I'm not going to be that dreadfully concerned. And so they, so to speak, became bystanders and let it happen. They were indifferent. And in this situation, we can say indifference can kill, see?

Now, the different thing was also in Berlin when they started to deport Jewish spouses. And so all these non-Jewish spouses started, in the so-called Rose Street in Berlin, a big demonstration. Why they demonstrated because German people were involved, as well.

And the interesting part was that the SS people who had something to do with it and all, supported in that, actually supported it. They're not opposing them or didn't beat them up, but they're very much in support of it. Because it concerned them. All of a sudden, they were concerned because Germans were inextricably involved. And that made a difference.

So then, they went on the bandwagon and protested and successfully so. And the people are not deported. That's quite a big thing which only relatively recently has been written up and made something of.

So no protest took place when it was purely the Jews involved.

Mm-hmm.

And this, one might expect, would reflect a deep Jew hatred, despite the fact that the Jews felt assimilated.

Well, the deep Jew hatred, there was antisemitism, but this antisemitism was not to be compared with the one which was developed under Nazis, you see. It build up on it and reactivated it, became more virulent again. More virulent is the right-- but without the Nazis, it would have not been-- actually, it would have become less than more severe.

And that's why I think it's something which needs to be understood. It's not all black and white. And simply because there are so many writers who never were living at that particular time and think they know it all, and they've looked at some documents, and had, even, possibly some interviews and all, now they think they can come out with decisive conclusions.

And only, they're very, very inaccurate-- very, very inaccurate. And I think one has to be very careful with that. Because so many people really haven't had their own personal experience. They have not come out with any sort of balanced indices which would really be sufficiently objective to really depict the reality as it actually existed.

You talked before about researching the laws at the time. Legally, it sounded that it was quite OK for the Jews to convert to some Christian religion, even though they couldn't become this inside Germanic [INAUDIBLE].

It didn't float. No, no, no. Well, first of all, they could convert, but that did not protect them. The only thing they are not permitted to do, they were not permitted to be believers in God. They are not permitted to become that. That was not open to them. So they could not become-- why? Because that was reserved to the ultra-Germanic SS, the Nazis, and all that. So they couldn't become that. That was only open to Germans.

However, the religious conversion made seemingly no difference as far as being viewed as racially impure.

No, no, no, particularly when it happened after 1935. See, before the laws, they could convert, and it still counted, to some degree, depending on the circumstances, so that they could be Jews of different-- the two ways and more complicated according to the Nuremberg Laws.

Do you know of any body of knowledge or historical precedent that Hitler may have drawn on in his plans, as in knowing that he needed to systematically, over time, dehumanize people in order to be able to commit genocide using euphemisms and all these strategies.

Well, we have to be very careful here. Because we don't really to what extent Hitler wanted to commit genocide, to what extent he really embarked upon that path to commit-- I don't think we have any proof of that, at least I don't know of any. That only develop when he couldn't get rid of them, you see.

Because, yes, they tried to get-- people were let out of concentration camps in '38 if they had some sort of a guarantee to leave Germany. So they were let out. And we have plenty of people who came to the United States on that basis. Bettelheim was one of them, for example. And he was in Buchenwald and in Dachau and was let go because he could come to the United States, emigrate.

So only until the beginning of World War II, they could leave-- just about 1939, actually. And after that, the borders were closed. And then, this no longer was an option. And that's when the destruction program was developed, not that Hitler didn't have that in mind.

Because he already talked about in Mein Kampf that, during World War I, they were supposed to be sent to the front, Jews, where France used poisonous gas. And during World War I, they used poisonous gas. So he said that, this way, we would have gotten rid of the unwanted. It would have been a very simple sort of procedure. And it would have been done by the enemy.

And so he talks about it very specifically just in these terms. And so it was not something which obviously was distasteful to him to the extent that he would have not done it. He already talks about it in a very callous and cold-blooded way. But this only may have become activated during the war. Before that, the question is to what extent he really wanted to do that the way he described it.

Do you know of any historical readings or any other kinds of precedents that Hitler used using these notions, these notions of the euphemistic language?

Well, euphemistic language, of course, euphemistic language is used by the Americans. Euphemistic in terms of the Vietnam War, in terms of the Desert Storm and all that. All this euphemistic language is not something which was dreamt up by Hitler. And that is something which should be very clear, that this existed before.

Yes. And the process, the dehumanization process in its steps.

Yeah, well, that goes hand in hand, doesn't it?

I'm thinking maybe this might be a good place to stop and start working on the pictures.

OK. You didn't ask any questions.

Well, we have a whole lot.

Do you?

But it's too much for--

10 seconds to get going here. OK.

OK. This picture is something I remotely remember, believe it or not. And I was just about one year old. And it was in our summer resort near Prague in Roztoky. And I remember that I was gnawing. I was in this what you call, the--

Playpen?

Yeah. What is it?

Playpen.

Playpen.

And I was nibbling on the plastic. I remember that. I was nibbling on the plastic with my newly developing teeth. And I still remember that. I still remember because it was a very interesting sensation. I had a very strange, very interesting sensation, nibbling on the plastic of that.

And so I was just about, and it was a very interesting level of consciousness at that particular time. And I was quite happy, as a matter of fact.

That would have been, what, 1926?

That was 1926. My mother was very anxious to have official kind of professional photographs taken of me periodically. And that is one of them. And I must have been, at that time, around three years old. And I still remember the situation and the toys.

The one belonged to me. The one monkey on the right, that was my toy. And the other one was supplied-- the left one-was supplied by the photographer. And the outfit which I wear, and most of the outfits, were hand-knit by my mother or relatives.

And that, in itself or by itself, is a reflection of the kind of love and care I received when I was a small kid. And that sustained me throughout my life, until now. It's wearing kind of thin. But without that, I'm sure-- I'm virtually sure, I cannot be sure, but I'm almost sure-- that I wouldn't have survived without this care, love, and affection which I received. And that's reflected in most of these pictures.

So that was just about 1928. This is my very beloved Aunt Leah, my father's sister, who was roughly about one year older than he. A very gifted, intellectual person who survived Theresienstadt. She was blue-eyed, reddish blond, and a very attractive person. I've had some pictures of her when she was young.

And that is in her one-room flat in a little bit outskirts of Prague where I visited her until virtually her dying days. And her pension was so small that she hardly could survive and all that. So I tried to help her, tried to get her to the United States. But she wouldn't budge. She wanted to stay in Prague.

And that's where she died, in that particular apartment of hers, which only had one room and a kitchen and a toilet. That was all. And her pension was so minimal that she virtually could not afford any sort of amenities other people enjoy.

John, how were you able to get these pictures?

Able to get these pictures? I took some of them myself. This one, I took myself.

Your small baby pictures, too.

Oh, the small baby pictures. The small baby pictures were left in safekeeping with friends. And they returned these after the war, after we came back. And I don't know exactly who was the one. We left lots of things with friends and distant relatives, whatever.

And some returned things to us, and some simply disappeared. We never heard from them again. And some people said, well, if we had known that you would come back to claim them, we would have not taken them. Because they didn't want to return them. And they didn't. So it was a mixed bag.

This is actually my favorite picture of my father, when he was very young. Because my father was born 1900, and I was born 1925. And this was perhaps when he was around 30. And a picture-- I remember him when I was still small.

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I didn't see him that much, actually, although, of course, we are together all the time. But he was very busy and very active person-- culturally, athletically, and otherwise. And this, I think, is probably the best picture I have of him and the way I remember him when I was very small, and he was very young.

Now, this is a picture which is much later-- well, not that much later, but certainly in the '30s and, I would say, certainly before the Nazi business, before the occupation of Czechoslovakia. So he still was very young and a person who worked as a banker and working his way up into some higher positions at that particular time.

He was very hardworking and quite dedicated. I don't to what extent he really enjoyed what he was doing. Actually, never found out. But he was very good at what he was doing. And he was an accountant and had worked in that and had his education as an accountant, kind of equivalent of a public--

### CPA?

CPA or something like that, yeah. This was a picture-- I think there was a picture before I actually was sent to a camp. So that was just about roughly the time before I was sent to a camp. And I was just about 16 years old, I would imagine. 16 years, it would have, yeah. I don't think it was after. Because I didn't change very much.

And although I was, after the war, came back and all that, I was considered much younger, many years younger, than I actually was. And that was a cause for my embarrassment because I was always looked at as some sort of a teenager, although I was way in my 20s. That was all taken in Prague. So all the pictures which you can see were taken in Prague, most of them.

Well, this was a picture taken after the war. And I think that was taken when I was already in Australia, around I was 1949, 1950, in Melbourne. That's it.

That was one of my mother's favorite picture in which she just simply posed. She certainly played the guitar all right, and a cigarette in her mouth, and just kind of a Gypsy type of appearance. And that's at my uncle's summer resort house, which I inherited but has been confiscated, first by the Nazis and then by the communists, the Czech communists. And that is in front of the house.

And I still remember the same chairs. Because they were not altered. And the bench which you can see in the background was there when I was. And she was then very young and very single and just simply playing this role, just out of-- it got away-- hamming it. And how old was she then? She probably was in her early 20s then.

You should say her name.

Huh?

You should say her name. Oh, yes, her name was Ilse.

And your father was Kurt, right?

Well, that was also in my uncle's summer resort. And we stayed there always for quite a number of weeks during the summer. And that was my favorite time because I was taken care of and the only kid in the whole place. So I got a lot of attention and a lot of care, a lot of love, spoiled rotten, and enjoyed myself thoroughly.

And these were my happiest days, and I'll never forget them. I didn't have that many happy days after the war. And so I'm very grateful-- very grateful-- for this just unbelievable childhood I've had with all these fantastic relatives. And at that time, I must have been close to four years.

This is a photograph I don't remember to have been present. That must have been someplace in Prague, I believe. And these are my grandparents with some sort of a ice bear. And I don't know who the ice bear is. But my grandfather was Edward Steiner, blond, blue-eyed, as you see him when he was in his better years.

And my grandmother, on the left side, was a very loving and relatively simple individual, although she was not simple, but she was very easygoing. I've never seen her angry. I've always seen her in a balanced mood. I've never seen her upset in one way or another, other than upset when my grandfather was dying. And that was very upsetting. And fortunately, he died before the Nazis could get to him.

And what was her name?

She was called Mina, but her name was Wilhelmina. And so they called her Minny, Mina. And she was a bundle of love. That's what she was.

And you referred to that character in the middle as an ice bay or something?

Ice bear.

Ice bear.

Like polar bear.

Ice bear. Oh, I see. OK.

And i don't know who the ice bear is. I really don't. Because I don't remember that anymore. I don't think I was present, actually. But it's a kind of a nice photograph of my grandparents. And they are always good sports. They did all sorts of things, although they were very conservative and very set in their ways, no question about that.

Now, the interesting story about my grandfather, his parents were Joseph and Marie. And Joseph Steiner converted to Judaism for reasons which escape me. I've never been able to really-- because all the people are dead. And so that couple, Joseph and Marie, decided to go back to Bethlehem--

# [LAUGHTER]

--and become Jews. And so thanks to them, just wound up in a situation which I would have preferred to have avoided. So I've never been able to really find out. My grandmother also comes from a very strange background.

And my great-grandmother-- I have a photograph of her, I don't know whether I brought it with me-- was a countess, you see. And that, also, was a very romantic sort of thing, that she was found in the woods because robbers had killed her parents and robbed them. And then, she was adopted by some well-to-do Jewish family.

And so the whole thing, the whole family, is just a bundle of tales and mysteries. And even at Auschwitz, I've met a distant relative and discussed it with her before she was gassed. It was really bizarre and surreal, actually. And so she told me a few things.

Because I've been able to get official pictures-- not pictures but documents, I should say-- of all the birth certificates and marriage certificate and all this in which these names are made very clear and recorded. And that's the only thing I have to go by, what I only surmise. But it's an interesting history.

Yes. OK. This is a party I did not participate in. It's just a picture which was left to me by my aunt. And there, you can see, in the front left, is my grandfather. Right, as you can see, my grandmother, much younger than the previous picture.

And next to my grandfather is my Aunt Leah. And next to her is my cousin Tommy. And at that particular point, Tommy must have been about four or five years old, and Leah, on there, was a real beauty. And you only can see a little bit of it, but she was a very attractive woman.

And the other people there are just distant relatives. I forgot their name and all that, but they belong to the family. And

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that was in one of the typical restaurants, typical sort of restaurants, as you find them cheaper by the dozen in Prague and Bohemia, in general.

And obviously, it must have been during a spring or summer or maybe autumn. But it looks like, to me, it must have been spring, late spring, early summer, the way they are clothed, clothing and all. Yeah, right.

I was very fortunate to have received all this, being given these pictures, because they were in my aunt's property and, partially, also, my father's. But this I think I got from my aunt. And that is the last picture taken of my cousin Tommy before he was taken to the camps. That is how I remember him.

And it's very difficult for me to just reflect on that. Because it's a very moving sort of situation. And we were very close. He was just about 10 times or more intelligent than I was, just a fantastic human being in so many ways-- exceedingly, unbelievably intelligent. And if one thinks of-- and that's why I say-- if one thinks of what would have become of him had he survived, the sky's the limit.

And this also leads me to conclusions. Because the best people I knew, my closest friends, the people who were my role models, the people I loved most, they all did not survive. And that leads me to say that the best of us have not survived. So that was Tommy Vogel, was his name-- Tommy Vogel. His father was Vogel.

Well that's another picture of my Aunt Leah after the war, shortly after the liberation, I would say, roughly in 1945, '46. And I think some of what happened to her, I think, is still visible in her face. Because she lost her husband in Theresienstadt-- died of tuberculosis. And her only son Tommy died in the concentration camp death camp, also-Schwarzheide.

And he was there in Theresienstadt. And he stayed, actually, longer in Theresienstadt than I. Because I was sent in 1943, late 1943, to Auschwitz-Birkenau. And he accompanied me to the closed boxcars, covered boxcars. And he accompanied me and gave me his favored talisman for good luck.

And that was his only thing which he had saved, more or less, which he really wanted most. It was very important to him. He gave it to me when I left for-- and, of course, we had no idea where we were going. But he gave that to me when we said goodbye to each other.

What was it?

It was a sort of medal, a kind of a good luck medal for skiers. This is one of my favorite pictures of my grandfather because that's how I remember him when he was still all right and so on and healthy and active and the way he was.

And he was a person who was the only one in the whole family who identified with the Jewish, and practiced, the Jewish religion. And we had special meetings at his place, at our grandparents' place, which was in walking distance from where we lived, on Saturdays, every time. And after the meal, it was my responsibility—he made it my responsibility—to bring him a cap and a prayer book to pray after the meal.

And that was a ritual-- very moving. I had no idea what it all meant because he never explained it. But I knew it was something which he considered to be very important. And he was not at all dogmatic. He was not imposing. He let us do whatever we wanted to do.

But he adhered to these things very, very religiously, that after every meal, he asked me to-- because I was the oldest grandson. He only had two. He only had two. He had Tommy and myself, that's all. Because we are single children.

And so that was my responsibility to bring it from that room and into-- and on the table where we ate, he silently started to pray. And I was always very impressed with that. And it always was a very momentous occasion. And the food of, course, was just terrific. My god.

Again, this is a professional photograph, or a photograph made by a professional. And I must have been around four

Contact reference@ushmm.org for further information about this collection then. And you can see how I am dressed, all this sort of meticulous care and all that. And my mother took it very seriously.

I always looked like Lord Fauntleroy, well-dressed and elegant and nice. I wish to god I could go dressed like that today and be careful like that. And so she, then, took me periodically to this professional photographer to have photos taken by him. It was a he, not a she.

Well, I was very small then. Oh, god, I must have been about one to two years old. And that's a picture taken of me in the park which we frequently-- which was just about five minutes from where we lived. And it was a public park, very large and very well-kept and very organized.

And they had guards there so that everyone would behave properly. And people are not permitted to step on the grass there at all. So it was guarded and was very strict. And so my mother enjoyed going there and met some friends and acquaintances.

And so we sat at these various small chairs there, which were all put together and connected with some sort of wiring underneath and which couldn't be removed so that they couldn't be removed. And we went there during nice weather and even less. So that was just one of those occasions when I was still very small and apparently couldn't run yet or, if so, just very inadequately.

Well, this is, again, a professional photograph. This is what I would say just to-- my mother wanted to have a picture of this cute kid. And she succeeded, actually, quite well. And so she wanted to leave that for posterity, and I'm grateful that she did. Because it reminds me of the good old bygone days.

And again, you can see the outfits, you know-- all handmade-- all handmade. And how old? I was just about, just close to not quite three years old, I would imagine-- just around three, I guess. Yep, that's it.

Now, I was not privy to this assembly. I was not part of it. And that seems to me that, in the forefront, there is-- I can't even identify all the people. But they somehow must have been close or distant relatives. To me, they must have been distant because I don't remember a single one of them, with the exception of my grandfather and my grandmother, who sit there.

And that was in a spa. You can see that she's holding a cup. And that was, I think, if I'm not mistaken, it was in Carlsbad in a spa. And they were there to drink the waters, the hot waters of Carlsbad. And that's where it was taken. So they may be friends. They may be relatives. Who knows? I was not part of it. And that was in the '30s, early '30s.

### I call him--

Well, it's typical, again-- typical, again-- of my mother's intentions. I stand there with the sort of clowning there. And she felt that this probably was cute and appropriate. And I think I must have felt like an idiot doing that. But I didn't like to go to these photographers, I'm sure. But she wanted me to do that. So I did, and it didn't last long. And I must have been around three years then.

Just one of those many photos which were taken by a professional photographer. And again, I'm just focusing on the hand-knit outfit and the apparently essential ape, which I was to hold in my hand, which was not one of my toys but belonged to the photographer.

So that's all you need to say about that. And I think my expression is very, very inauthentic. Because I'm sure I didn't feel that, well, clowning around and being portrayed in this the way they did.

So there, it's, again, in this park, and when I was still a baby, obviously, and my mother sitting there. I don't know. I think my aunt took that picture, my Aunt Paula. And she may or may not appear in one of those photographs. And you can see that you have two happy people there, one a partial person and a full-blown person.

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And these sort of strange hats I still remember because my mother used to go to the hatmaker's all the time, getting all sorts of strange thing. And she dragged me with her. And for reasons which now escape me, I was always fascinated with all the unbelievable forms they developed.

These hats were just really something else. And so I didn't quite understand how people could wear pots and all sorts of stuff which looked absolutely, to me at that time, ridiculous.

--together, do you?

No.

That's interesting comment. They divorced when he was, what, 13?

Yeah. This is, again, a picture of my grandparents in Carlsbad, or it could have been, also, Francisbad or Marienbadone of the spas. And you can see my grandmother, who, by the way, developed diabetes, with this glass in her hand, where she just drinks out of these glasses, typical glasses, which people walked around with these hot waters, which they drank.

They taste awful, but apparently, people thought that they were helpful. I have my doubts about that. It may have helped your digestion, at best, but not much else, I guess.

Well, that is a photograph which-- none of us in the family, although they could have afforded it, had a car. So I was very fond of cars and always wanted to have a car. But no one ever wanted to buy one because they didn't want to drive themselves and simply were too set in their old ways to buy. So they always hired taxes and all that for the entire day.

And my Uncle Otto, who was Aunt Leah's husband, he was the only one who had a auto with a chauffeur. But anyway, this photograph must have been taken when I was about five, six years old, back in front of the house in Rostock, near Prague, during the summer.

This is a photograph I like very much because that's how I remember my mother. Somehow, that type of impression of her, I have kept with me for most of the time. And that was taken around 1937, '38, before the catastrophe. And I think that's how she looked when we still had a normal life in Prague.

And somehow, it reflects how I see her and the way I related best to her. And also, the hairdo and all that was part of the later time, when she was already-- she was born 1893. So by that time, she must have been in her early 40s.

This is the last picture, I think, of my grandparents. And at that particular time, if you look at my grandparents, he was already on his deathbed and no longer could walk on his own and had to be moved about. And you see also the expression of my grandmother, full of sorrow. And that was already, must have been, when the Germans occupied Czechoslovakia. That was, I think, in '39-- '39 or early '40. And that was shortly before my grandfather's death.

What was he sick with?

He died of sclerosis of the brain and was totally demented before he died-- totally demented. It was just terrible, you know, what he must have gone through and was just awful, terrible. He was not himself anymore. He just totally lost his mind.

And then, tell what happened to your grandmother.

Well, my grandmother died in one of the ghettos, the chances are.

But you don't know for sure.

Or she died at Auschwitz. We don't know. We don't know. Yeah, Grandmother, in Czech, they called her Minka. My

Contact reference@ushmm.org for further information about this collection grandfather called her Minka-- short for Wilhelmina-- Minka. That's the last photograph of both, period. That's it. And again, I'm very thankful that it was preserved.

Well, this is my mother and I. And I must have been just about two years old, I guess. And that's how I remember her, just as far as one can remember that far back, when she was young-- hairdo and all that, which was late '20s, the fashion of the late '20s. And she was always very well-dressed. And so I liked it very much. That's how she looked when she was still young. Well, young. She was not that young. She was 35.

She looks younger in that picture.

She always did.

Did she?

Yeah, she always did. So that is when I was out of the-- could move about. Because I was one of the few who spoke English, and I was asked to show US personnel around and explain to them whatever I could explain. And that is, I think, a colonel whom I'm showing the Dachau crematorium. And that was possibly, let's say, about three, four weeks after the liberation, which took place on April 29, '45.

So it took about four or five weeks before I really could move about-- maybe four weeks. And so part of what I was doing, they asked me to show them around and talk to them about my impressions of it. And that was the picture whatever -- which I discovered in a book called Christ in Dachau. And I recognized myself and remembered the time when I was showing the US personnel around.

And that's what it is. And you can see, when you really see how I stand and all that, so I stand quite crooked because I still couldn't properly walk. I still had some problems with my frozen feet. See, I don't stand upright. I couldn't do it then, still.

Go with this one.

Better but--

OK.

Right. This is when I was a Alexander von Humboldt fellow from '65 to '68. And one of the things, which was supposed to be a great privilege, is that we were invited to the president of the German Federal Republic. And because of my language skills and because of what I researched and because the people of the foundation saw that I was going to wind up as a big man, they always introduce me and make sure that I met and talked more extensively than others to whoever was president at that time.

And at this particular time, I'm talking to a man called Lubke, who was not dreadfully intelligent and was accused of having participated in building, designing, and building barracks in concentration camps. And I confronted him-- and it's also in my book, by the way.

And he said, well, you know, let's let the past go by. And I said, well, Mr. President, if they accuse you or you say you have had nothing to do with it, why don't you go in public? Well, let them talk. I don't care, really. And besides, Professor Steiner, there were only a handful of Nazis in Germany, anyway.

So he came out with these sort of pronouncements and was known for that, that it was just totally off-base. And he had a very caring wife who was a teacher-- before they-- in a normal life. And so she always kept him out of trouble whenever he started to talk things which didn't make sense. So you can see how I look at him in some sort of degree of skepticism because some of the things which we were discussing.

And then, he took me upstairs. That's the White House. We were in White House in Bonn. And I went with him

Contact reference@ushmm.org for further information about this collection upstairs, and then we had a discussion on his part during the Third Reich. And he was very-- had a interesting talk. And some of it, I've written up in my book.

That's the same occasion, although I've seen him on several occasions. But that's the same occasion. This fellow next to me is a Polish fellow.

The gentleman in the middle?

The gentlemen in the middle who, I think, became very well known in politics, by the way. And the other one is an Indian lady. And the person next to me is a Alexander von Humboldt foundation person, I think a professor-- an official.

Well, this is a rather more recent picture. It was taken in 1990. Again, I was invited to the German White House. And there, I am in a conversation with the first lady, the wife of Richard von Weizsacher, who, with a distance, is the most humane and democratic and insightful and intelligent president, most efficient one, they've had probably since the existence after World War II.

And so, I was introduced to her by this gentleman, who is the vice president of the foundation, in the middle. And he was an official when I started in '64 and always somehow was very supportive of me and did things for me which were above and beyond his call of duty. And he also felt obligated to somehow introduce me to the first lady, who is, by the way, a very charming and attractive lady.

And indulge it.

This is a picture with my son taken in 1989, before he moved to Germany with his mother. And so I made sure that we had some sort of photographs, remembering my mother and all that. That is some sort of a milestone and also reflects the sort of relationship we have, I think, very well.

And he was a very handsome kid, very nice kid. Now, his face is full of acne and dreadfully tall and and will have to wear glasses and all sorts of things. So he was a very, very attractive kid. And I think is one of his problems that somehow, during his puberty years, his looks have changed, not to his advantage.

So he has a name and so forth.

And also, yeah, he's his name is Ingmar-- Ingmar Michael Augustus-- Ingmar Michael Augustus.

Born what year?

Yeah, he was born on April 22, 1979. And that's kind of a blessing because almost he was born on Hitler's birthday. And that, I think would have posed some problem for me. And he did me the favor that he waited two days before he came.

This was a very interesting occasion. That was one of my visits to the couple, which you can see, left, which is former SS General Karl Wolff and his wife. And next to her, on the right, is SS General Felix Steiner. And he was the one who was instrumental in introducing me to all the people he knew and made it possible for me to meet other people. Without his help, the chances are I would have not succeeded.

And he was also very helpful in my research. Because he wrote a letter to former members of the SS whenever I was sending questionnaires to ask for their support. Because without that, I wouldn't have done it.

And he was one of the most popular SS combat generals, period, who was cited during the Nuremberg trial as a person who never broke the Geneva Convention of human contracts-- in other words, behave in a way which was used as a model for others. And therefore, nothing very much happened to him ever. Because he never did anything other than serve in combat.

And I have no question. We've talked about many of the things which happened behind all that. So he was aware of

Contact reference@ushmm.org for further information about this collection some of the things, didn't condone them. And he also is the one who challenged Himmler. And I had exceedingly important and interesting conversations with him.

Wolff, on the other hand, was the person who had very little military experience and was what you call a political general and then, for quite a while, was Himmler's right-hand man and was sentenced to 15 years prison by the Germans for having aided and abetting and facilitating the transport of 300,000 Jews to the destruction camp, Treblinka. Out of the 15 years, he was in prison only for five years. And that is before that time.

And they owned, virtually, a small castle, which he had bought during his Nazi time because money was available to him. And he lived there in splendor, and he was just a fabulous host. And part of that sort of thing I still experienced. Then they had to sell the whole thing during the trial and all that, the whole thing. The family broke apart, and so forth and so on.

So that was during his happy days. And he felt very safe and all that. Because he also felt that he was protected by Allen Dulles with whom he entered into a special treaty, a peace treaty, while he was the highest SS police and SS leader in Italy, in northern Italy.

And so they had a special peace treaty which was initiated by him. And that helped him a great deal after the war. Because in-- when was it, '47, '48, '47?-- Allen Dulles and others were instrumental in starting the CIA.

Do you know Mrs. Wolff's name?

Yeah. Her name was von Bernstorff, maiden name.

You don't know her first name?

Oh, yes, I remember it, but I don't remember at the moment. Of course, I don't, yeah.

You wanted to write something--

So the countess-- Wolff's wife was married to a Count von Bernstorff and divorced him to marry Karl Wolff, with whom she had an affair. And she was known to be very attractive and a kind of model Aryan blond and Germanic looking person. And so was he, for that matter, and was therefore very much favored by Hitler, who aided his promotions so that he made a virtually lightning career in the SS, Wolff.

And Steiner, of course, also, in a way. But he had substantive background before he actually joined the SS after 1933 and was already at that time a major in the Weimar Republic.