

I'm Sandra Bendayan. I'm here interviewing John Steiner. This is the final interview of your work. Today is the 11th of July, 1994, and we're doing this interview for the Holocaust Oral History Project. Today we are focusing completely on published works, works that you have either published in the whole book form or articles or other parts of books in which your work is featured.

So let's begin with the first one. And you have several documents there. Could you hold up one, and then you can-- and you can please read the title and discuss it.

Yes. Well, what I consider to be one of my more important contributions to the study of perpetrators was published in 1970, and in two languages, actually two versions, one in the so-called [SPEAKING GERMAN], which means Cologne Journal of Sociology and Social Psychology.

And that dealt with a very elaborate study of an interpretation of about 700, 600 to 700 questionnaires in which I compared members of the SS to members, former members of the armed forces who were serving in different parts of the German Nazi armed forces, and studying their authoritarian and ideological attitude and come out with whatever findings I have had.

And that came, as I said before, it came out in 1970. And it's a study of only one kind because no one else did that. Many people who participated in the study and filled in questionnaires have died since so that anyone who would like to continue that and all that couldn't do it anymore because these people, most of these people are dead by now.

And certainly, those people who helped me with it and the person without-- whose, without his help, I couldn't have done it, was an SS general who was my first interviewee. And the name was Felix Steiner. And he wrote a letter of recommendation, which was sent to the various former members of the SS with the questionnaire.

And without this sort of letter of recommendation, the chances are, no one would have filled that in. And that guaranteed the success, and we've had a very high rate of returns of about-- between 60% and 70%, which is a very, very excellent rate.

So that then was translated, and with the help of some Dutch-- a Dutch senior colleague of mine, who was also my mentor. And that was translated-- the German title of that particular thing was translated to the following remarks of the authoritarian attitude and formal members of the SS and the armed forces, a study by questionnaire. And I've had a friend of mine, colleague, a professional clinical and research psychologist, professor at the University of Freiburg work with me and help me, assist me with publishing that. So he's my co-author.

Where was that published?

That was published-- that was published, this one was published in, the English version was published, I think, in Holland. And in the abstracts on criminology and penology in 1970, and the other one was, as I mentioned before. The Journal of Sociology in Germany, the Cologne Journal of Sociology and Social Psychology.

Can you please hold up the Cologne Journal? Because I really couldn't see the printing in that. Oh. Yes, that.

And the other one, the English version.

Can you just hold it again, because she needs to focus?

For her to scan.

Thank you.

And this is the English version, which was published in the Netherlands. And then I've had several other publications which were either chapters in books or actually articles in journals. And one of these is "Totalitarian Institutions and

German Bureaucracy, a Process of Escalation into Destruction." And that was published in, actually before that, in 1968 in the excerpt of *Criminologica*. And that is a British, there was a British journal.

So this is just one of these, just an sample. And then I've had this thing here, which came out in 1973. It's about ideology and political crime. And that was published in the *International Journal of Criminology and Penology* in England in, as I said, 1973, and became rather well known and was reprinted on several occasions as a chapter in a book.

Do you know what the title was?

I have no idea that at this point. No, that's not true because I have an idea. It was reprinted in-- see. Yeah, it was reprinted in *Readings in Contemporary Criminology*, which for the first time in any of the textbooks deals primarily with political crime, which at that particular time, it never had been published about anything.

So that-- they took that. I didn't ask that to be done. But a man who since has died, a professor, Stephen Schafer, is the person who approached me and asked me if that could be redone a little bit and be published as a chapter in *Readings in Contemporary Criminology*. And that was published by Prentice Hall and in 1976. And Professor Stephen Schafer, as I said, who has died since, was a professor of criminology at Northeastern University.

Could you hold that up too, please?

I'll do that. But then when I was a Alexander Von Humboldt fellow, which was in from 1965 to '68-- no, '64 to '67, I already had worked extensively on the topic of my choice, namely perpetrators, and was asked to give a lecture, which then became a chapter in a book regarding the belief system of the SS, and I was the first one to talk about the metaphysical ideological background of the SS.

And Himmler, who was the man in charge of the SS, Heinrich Himmler, wanted to replace the Christian faith with a pagan, new updated ideology and a ritual, which was to be started in the SS and then be applied and adhered to universally by Germans. And so I picked it up by, virtually, accident after I had interviewed extensively an SS general man called Karl Wolff who asked me to-- when he was in prison, I went to visit him in prison, who asked me to have a chain with a hammer repair.

It had broken the chain, a silver chain, or could have been platinum, but I think it was silver, to have that repaired. And he said that that was his most treasured talisman, which he wore around his neck. So I looked at it and went to do some research, talked to some leading German historians who could not help me and said, doesn't make any sense to us. We really don't know what it means, this hammer.

And so then I discussed it with him when I returned it to him and did some more research. And he told me that this was the hammer of the god, Thor, Thor, T-H-O-R, and that this was part of the new belief system, which was in preparation but didn't get off the ground because of the demise of the Nazis in 1945 by virtue that they lost the war.

But that was in preparation and already practiced among the SS people in some as a circle, not all of them, but it became the practice of the SS people and the dominant creed within the SS at that particular time already. And so that somehow-- this hint certainly motivated me to do more research. And I found out that indeed, they prepared a new belief system, a new creed, a new religion, which was to replace the Judeo-Christian religion. And that is the article, which I published the results of my research. And that was the first publication of the kind, dealing with the more mythical and religious aspects of Nazi and, more specifically, SS ideology.

And do you know when that was published?

That was published in 1975.

OK, and could you read the title of that book please, as hold it up?

In German?

Yes.

The title of that book is [SPEAKING GERMAN]. And what it means, Tradition and New Beginning International Research Concerning German History of German History of the 20th Century. And that was edited by people [Personal name] man called Reinhardt [Personal name] and was published by a rather well-known Munich publisher called Carl Heymanns Publishing Company, which is quite interesting in an irony because they used to be known for, during the Nazi-- during the Third Reich, used to be known for publishing National Socialist literature.

We were able to get-- could you hold it? Yeah. These articles that are appearing in Germany, did you write them in German in the first place?

Yes. Now, this then was picked up by a Swiss journal of, quote, Journal of-- History Journal, Historical Journal. That's what it's called. History-- Historical Journal, which was published in Switzerland. And they came out, with my help, with another version, similar version of what had been published in that book with illustrations, with excellent illustrations.

And they helped me with that. And that's the article. They picked it out because they felt it was the most interesting to them in the book.

And what is the translation of that article?

Well, it's pretty much the same as I've mentioned, except you have just simply printed differently. There are some minor deviations. And it is illustrated.

But the title is basically the same as the one--

Basically the same. And the illustrations are really a tremendous choice. And I couldn't have done it without the help at that particular time because I didn't have the access to all the archives, but they've done a terrific job, really terrific job. And it was read by most of the SS people I've interviewed. And that created some problems.

What were the problems?

Well, the problems is it was highly embarrassing to them that, indeed, they had deviated from Christianity. Embarrassing to them because national socialism had failed. And so had the to be religion. And now these people had offsprings, had children.

And they simply couldn't continue in that. So they had to put them someplace. And they certainly didn't put them in the synagogue, right? So they had to revert back to the Christian faith. And that, to them, was an embarrassment, that indeed these people were developing a heathen religion which, without Jesus Christ, without the Old Testament, based on racial superiority and then trumped up things, which fitted into the general Nazi ideology.

So other than that, that's interesting because I've had the response, which I've had to this sort of thing was primarily by SS people who were very unhappy with me.

That you exposed this. That's right. And also question, of course, the accuracy and all that. But I've done so much research so that the accuracy of that particular research writing is pretty high, which doesn't mean that I may have perhaps overemphasized one or the other.

But by large, it was a very objective and non-inflammatory writing of a person like myself with a social science background and so forth and so on.

Did that, in any way, affect your access to the SS [INAUDIBLE]?

Well, to some extent, yes, because some people were disappointed in me because so many people whom I had interviewed felt that I was sympathetic or open to their background. And now they read something which was a critical analysis of what they had believed in, and they're taken aback. So I had a problem mending some of the problems which had been created by my writing.

And in most cases, I succeeded in telling them, so asking m about, what do you think was wrong, and then talking to them about that and listening to them. And once they got it off their chest, the conflicts were pretty much resolved.

And next.

This is something which has come up, which is a little bit different because I was very interested in the literature and the writing, which was done in Theresienstadt. And I had-- I was very fortunate to be surrounded with young, brilliant people, to geniuses. And I was kind of embarrassed not to be as creative, not to be as nearly creative in any situation as they were at that particular time.

And one particular person came to my notice, and that would be a chapter by itself to describe that. And as I said, that took place in the ghetto of Theresienstadt was a 13-year-old Czech, partially Jewish fellow called William [Personal name] Jewish name. And he was very advanced for his age.

He was not at all a 13-year-old as we know them. He was very advanced and exceedingly sophisticated, introspective, reflective, and very well read. And he wrote amazing, awesome poetry. And he read that to me because we all were sleeping, existing in one room, which is perhaps as large as this one, a little bit larger, where we had bunks and story bunks, and doubled up as people.

And they're crowded in that particular small room. And he was one of them. 13 was kind of interesting number in that particular room, and he was one of them. And he was the youngest of all of us. And he wrote this unbelievable poetry.

And I've read or listen to most of what he had written. And also, I'm so impressed that I said my god, what can be done in order to save that? Of course, I had no way of saving that because he went to a different camp. And I went to another one and so forth.

So we lost each other because we all eventually were deported from Theresienstadt to destruction camps, and so was he, and perished in one, along with some other people who happened to be also part of that group of people, 13, and perished under dreadful circumstances. So after the war, I came across some friends who also were in Theresienstadt and said, by the way, I was able to save two or three poems by William [Personal name]

And I said, I really would appreciate if you would give it to me because I'd like to publish it and write something about it. So that is that publication, which is a very short one, the small, minute collection of some of his writing, which helps the reader to develop a taste for it, which I published in Czech and English in one of the journals, intellectual journals, which was published in-- was published for many, many years, tens of years actually, which is called The Witness.

In Czech, translation is The Witness. And it's a quarterly for politics and culture. And that was published in 1964 and contains those poems, which were-- which we could save. And the name of that, in Czech, name of that poem is "I Saw," "I Saw." And it tells the experience in concentration camps in a way which I've never read before, probably never will read again.

You say there was an English translation of that? Yeah, there is an English translation, but this happens to be the original in Czech.

I see. I was going to ask you--

And it's one of the most moving things I've ever read in my life, written by a 13-year-old who perished.

So you wouldn't have the English translation?

No, I don't think I have it here, no.

Ah.

So he wrote-- he was able to write, he started to write when he was about 13 until-- he stayed about two years in Theresienstadt, so he wrote about for two years. And some of the things which were written in Theresienstadt could be saved. And that is what I got. There may be more, but that's all I got.

And I wrote a story about that in that particular, very short publication. But it's very powerful. And these people published it in '64. So that is actually older than all the other ones we have discussed up till now.

Could you possibly give a rendering of that poem in English?

Be very difficult, because it's very complex and fairly long. And it is very complicated symbolry. And I don't think I could do it justice by simply describing it. It's much too-- it's much too involved and complicated to really-- what it actually says in just a few words, maybe just to hint, merely hint, insinuate in some sort of a most delicate way one can possibly do it without doing it injustice, it talks about people who have suffered and those who have not suffered and are bystanders.

So it is actually an attempt to start a dialogue between those people who have not survived and those people who have survived without really having understood the dreadful things which took place in death camps. And so it hints upon what has happened there and also what their response to all that suffering, people who have survived and have not suffered, what their response would be to their suffering and tries to relate it to them so that they understand, comprehend, appreciate what took place in these death camps. And that is done in such a way which is just one of the most remarkable things I've read in the form of a poem.

Would you hold up the book please, so I can see? OK.

Now, we worked on that translation for a very long time. But the translation doesn't do any justice to the original, as most translations don't. So then, again, in the International Journal of Criminology and Penology, some of the things which I wrote was just picked up. And "Power Ideology and Political Crime" became a very important research article in this International Journal. of Criminology and Penology.

And I was asked to be a member of the editorial board, but that was not the reason why my article appeared in it because it was selected by some other people. I had nothing to do with it. And that was one of the leading criminological journals of that time, published in London and by Seminar Press in London and New York and was exceedingly successful.

What year?

And that year is 1973.

Did you become a member of the board?

Yes.

And how long did you serve? For about, just about seven, seven years, just approximately. And they published some other things in it as well, which has nothing to do with actual Holocaust matter, but deals with deviant behavior, which is typical in the Western world, namely price tag switching. And price tag switching is something which people, and I've seen them by accident, I came to witness that by accident, had not been described in professional literature at all.

And I'm the first one who described it and defined it, namely that people-- nowadays it's no longer done-- but at that time, it still was and to some extent also today it's been done, that you simply unpeel-- you peel off a label, a price tag,

from an item and replace it with one of the lower value.

Or you take another one and stick it over the existing price tag and then go to the counter and pay whatever amount says on it because most people are not familiar with the prices, so you really can save a great deal of money. And that to me was an interesting sort of novel way of fraud.

And so I described that, and that became one of the most successful-- not necessarily in terms of my estimate or assessment, but most successful because it was United Press brought it, and it was in virtually all places in Canada, United States, in all peoples, Hawaii, in some parts in Europe and all that, and actually made front page news. And so the irony is that I don't particularly feel that this is very important, although it's interesting and original, but none of my things which I think are considerably more important made the front page news.

The Holocaust.

The Holocaust. And so also in the same 73 publication, there was one thing which, because I was a member of the editorial board of editors, I asked Philip Zimbardo to give me his simulated prison research writing. And I had it published in the International Journal of Criminology. And that is being widely cited, although this is not, by any means, the last writing on that subject. He wrote one which is much more complete.

Did you ever pursue more research on such topics like price tags, would you?

Oh, yes, yes, yes. And I did that and some few things, which were published, yes, in field of criminology, and another one which I don't have here because it was on a topic which, what was it? Was on internal politics in the United States and deviant behavior of politicians.

And that was published in Europe in a German criminological journal. Right. So this was my first book called Power Politics and Social Change in National Socialist Germany. And the subtitle is A Process of Escalation into Mass Destruction.

That has been fairly successful. It came out-- fairly successful, not that fully successful, unfortunately. And that was the two versions, actually, pretty much the same thing. One was published in Europe by one of the leading German-Dutch publishers and one which was published here in the United States. And that was in 1975 was the European edition, and the American edition was published in 1976.

Was the European edition published in German?

No, the European publication was actually published in English, just as you see now because that's the European publication and with a lot of German in it because I'm quoting extensively German original texts for two purpose-- so make it more accessible to German reading public on one hand and also showing the original documents in German language so that I could not be accused of having translated it in a way which was inaccurate.

So of course, most of the German has been translated into English, but I have the German and the English text. And that's kind of unusual. Makes it a little bit cumbersome reading, but on the-- it's not for the general public, but has been written for people who are more interested in the scholarly aspects of this analysis.

[INAUDIBLE].

Oh, well, it was-- two people have-- foreword has been written by my friend Philip Zimbardo. And the cover of the book has been written by Dr. Eric Fromm, who wrote some very nice things about it on that paper cover.

And I know you've talked at length in our previous interviews, but I presume this book contains the major findings of all your research with the-- well, I think I went beyond that. But at that particular time, it certainly did and still is valid. There are very few things which are-- actually would have changed if I had to rewrite it.

There are some few things, but very minor things. And so that the contents of that particular book is, to me, the type of recognition which I developed at that particular point in time but hasn't really appreciably changed since. I still would say that most of it, I adhere to and think is accurate and has validity even today.

And I know this book has been used, I don't know, earlier, as a text?

No, this one has never been used as a text.

It was never used as a text?

No. Only once-- only in my courses, which I taught, the Sociology of the Holocaust and Genocide.

Right, that's the course.

That's right. And that may have been a mistake because it may have been a little bit too difficult for undergraduates.

You mean, using this book as a--

That's right. Although it has basic things in it, starts with fairly basic, but the basic things are already on a level of sophistication which is not necessarily relatable for people who are undergraduates.

Maybe you want to read the titles from chapters to give the person an idea.

I don't know, I don't know.

[INAUDIBLE].

Well, I don't know whether this will-- I'll do it, but it's just--

Well, we can see if it seems useable.

OK, well, so the book is divided into four parts, five parts. And the first part is power ideology and political crime. And the first part of that first chapter part is "Towards a New Conceptualization of Power," and the second one is "The Historical Setting of National Socialist Rise to Power and Its Sociological Implications."

Part two is "Sociological Factors in the Development of the National Socialist Party Bureaucracy." Part three is "Devoted to the SS-- an Example of a Totalitarian Bureaucratic Institution," because the SS was indeed a very bureaucratic institution. And then this is the original, subdivided into original and early history of the SS-- "Himmler's Rise to Power-- the Emergence of the SS as an Independent System of Power and the Role of Its Subsystems."

Then another subchapter, "Promulgation and Application of Racial Doctrines in the SS." Number five, "Racial Criteria for Selection of Personnel into the SS," "Ideological Criteria for Selection, indoctrination, and Training," which was number six. Seven, "[INAUDIBLE]-- An Example of Any Social Institution." Eight, "Jewish and Non-German Descent in the SS," which for the first time deals with members of the SS who were tainted with, quote, unquote, "non-Aryan" blood, Jewish blood.

10, "Consequences of Hitler's Influence on National Socialist Ideology in the SS." And 11 is "The Perception of God in the SS," which was the basis for the other things, which I showed you before. Discussion and, conclusion and then we have part four, "Totalitarian Institutions and German Bureaucracy-- A Process of Escalation into Destruction." And that's fairly long. And I have a discussion and a conclusion of part four. And part five is "Sociological Implications of Deviance and Accountability in National Socialist Political and Bureaucratic Institutions." And that is subdivided into one, "The Sociological Vision of Walter [Personal name] Concept of Social Change," and two, "National Socialist Aggression and Psychoanalytic Theory."

And then we have notes and references, appendices, bibliography, and all that. And they take up quite a bit of the book because I have many, many original excerpts from Nazi documents, SS specifically, SS documents, I should say, and Nazi, but primarily SS. And some autobiographical notes, one, for example, an autobiographical note written by Hitler, Goering, and Goebbels, and some of those people, Ribbentrop, and Kaltenbrunner and all that. And that also are very original writings, which were gathered by a psychiatrist, who was a psychiatrist to the major, major Nuremberg people who were, before they caught them, so the major Nazi perpetrators.

[INAUDIBLE].

Oh, this is a book here, Criminology Between the Rule of Law and the Outlaws. And there is another version of my price tag switching in that. And that was published by a publisher, well-known Dutch publisher [INAUDIBLE] in the Netherlands in 1976.

And you want to hold that up too, please? OK.

So that is one of the books which had very, very many editions and was edited by a very well-known German historian, man called [Personal name] and another political scientist fellow called Jacobson, all of them from the University of Bonn. And they've asked me to deal with the-- take pretty much as it existed already, the SS chapter on ideology, the belief system of the SS.

And they came to me and asked me if they could publish that because by that time, it had become fairly well known and that's part of the leading overviews of National Socialist dictatorship. That's what it's called, in German [SPEAKING GERMAN] 1945, which is from 1933 to 1945, National Socialist dictatorship from 1933 to 19-- and overview [INAUDIBLE].

And that has become a very well-known text, which is also given for free to major schools, universities, and all that by-- not this one. This is the normal edition, but there is another edition which has been funded by the German government and distributed to anyone-- organizations, schools, and all those who would be interested in this because they felt it was one of the leading things and has been reviewed in the major German papers and on all that and has been exceedingly successful because leading people of the German historians and political scientists and other people of that kind have been published in that.

And it was, to me, very gratifying that they selected me. I didn't sell anything to them. They came to me and asked me to. And so that was one of the most satisfying things which happened to me in terms of my research and its recognition.

Did you ever receive any revenues from this book?

Oh, yes, I received some revenues, which would amount to about roughly \$100. But I gave that to the Alexander Von Humboldt Foundation, just about 150 because they made it possible for me to do that research and write that and was rightfully theirs, actually, I felt. So--

Right, and then this one is-- this one was published in 1980, and I sweated blood over that. And that's what I consider to be perhaps the most important contribution as far as my assessment is concerned. And I'm obviously biased.

And I was also asked by a Harvard psychiatrist by the name of Joe Dimmesdale who had-- who graduated, also, from Stanford, got his undergraduate degree from Stanford and I think his master's-- happened to be also a sociologist. And for some reason or another, he heard about the other book, which I showed you just a moment ago, the Power Politics and Social Change, and apparently was impressed because it was very well reviewed by some Harvard social scientists in one of those, whatever, where they review some books.

And he had read it and asked me if I would write a contribution to what he wanted to write. And we decided, I'll work on the title and I'm a co-author of that book, although he's the initiator and editor of it-- Survivors, Victims, and Perpetrators-- Essays on the Nazi Holocaust.



And they asked me to write a chapter on the SS. And that has been the most successful work up to this point because it has been cited by very, very many people in particularly psychology and history, not so much by-- oh, yeah, sociologists too, particularly those who are interested in genocide.

So that's called The SS Yesterday and Today-- A Sociopsychological View. And as I said before, that was published after a great deal of delay in filing 1980. And that is the book.

All right. OK, next.

The next thing that I wanted to bring is the German version of the Stanford prison experiment, done by Philip Zimbardo. And what we have done-- this colleague of mine, a man called Guenter Bierbrauer a professor at the University of [Place name] because I've been asked to give lectures when I was a Fulbright research scholar back in Germany at the University of Freiburg, I went around and gave lectures on the stimulated prison experiment, Phillips, because I considered that to be that important and try to make the points which were made and just simply agreeing to help some German social sciences be acquainted with that.

And so much of that I had to translate, of course, into English. And then I came across this-- [INAUDIBLE] was there when it actually happened here in '71. And we became friends. And so he then suggested that he would develop a more organized translation and go through that.

And as a consequence, we have come out with a-- or he has come and I have come out with a terrific manuscript, which then has been published in some sort of a strange-- it's neither book nor chapter nor journal, but simply deals very specifically with the Stanford prison experiment, which includes the text, the text and interpretation, which is fairly substantive, although it is only about 53, 54 pages.

But it includes, and that's a novel, it includes a videotape of that experiment. And so that these two go together and being sold for ungodly money. It's still being sold, but only institutions and organizations can afford it, very rarely individuals because in American money, it would be over \$300.

Why is it so high?

Well, I have no idea. And I think other than that it would really published. And that is very important for German, but a very important publication because it's done very well. And it's novel in its form and could be actually-- I could easily say that's just kind of a book.

But I won't because I don't think it would be accurate. It could be misunderstood. Anyway, so that's what it is. And that came out-- that came out in, let me see, 1984.

Is this used as a text in the schools?

Oh, yeah, well, it's being used very widely, except, as I said, because it's prohibitive cost, not many people own it. But it's being sold all the time.

Do you receive revenue from it?

Oh, yeah, we split them. And just recently, I got about-- the enormous sum, which has changed my lifestyle, of \$40. Yeah.

This paper?

No.

No.

This is-- oh, wow. OK, makes no difference what we-- so because of my archival research, this is just an example of documents which I found and then distributed. It was my fault that I was very generous with this particular document, which I had found many years ago in one of the German archives, which is a response to a statistical overview of killed, or whatever, killed Jews, and a statistic of how many Jews were killed in death camps.

And that was sent to Himmler and Hitler's chancellery. And as a response, they wrote in a top secret, Reich's secret, only two copies, only two copies, this particular one-page long document in which the response is, "The Reichsfuhrer-SS has read the statistical overview of the final solution of the European Jewish question.

"And he asks you, he orders you or he wishes"-- more exact translation" --"he wishes that in no place in these statistical reports there should be the word 'special treatment' of Jews should not be used as a phrase." And it said on page 9 and 0.4, should be "transportation of Jews from Eastern parts to the Russian East, or Eastern provinces to the Russian East.

"And they were processed through camps in the general government and the camps in the so-called [INAUDIBLE]," which is the part of the general government. "A different formulation is not to be used, and I'm sending the document sent to the Reichsfuhrer-SS-- I'm returning the document of the Reichsfuhrer-SS with the wish to-- with asking you to make the changes as suggested before you send it."

Now, these things will also send to the Reich's chancellery, to Hitler and all that. And then Bormann also has written-- it's not that one by Bormann, but by Himmler, and response. So that's quite interesting because it talks about the secrecy which was kept, which was kept by those perpetrators, or desk-chair perpetrators, to keep mass destruction secret.

And that's an evidence for it. And that was 1943 when this was in full sweep. So I've found it because of my research in archives. I think I found that one in Koblenz, if I'm not mistaken, and showed it to other people who, of course, jumped to the occasion and then made copies and all that. And this is the original one, which I got from the federal archive in Koblenz, when I found it.

Now-- so this is just one example of many other documents, which I found, which point to the fact that, indeed, the highest circles not only were privy and knowledgeable of what happened but were receiving reports. And absolutely no way that, number one, Hitler couldn't have known about it, and number two, no way that anyone would have initiated an action of that magnitude by themselves other than responding to the wishes or the orders of Hitler.

And I've discussed it with the secretary, and said yes, anything of that magnitude he never gave in writing. But he always said verbally in order to cover himself. So that's just one of those things which I've been working on the way I've researched the material, went to the archives, and looked for material of that sort, which really got me much closer to the truth.

Let's have the counting thing, yeah. So this is something which I have named reflections on experiences in Nazi death camps, which is just about, probably 25%, 30% of what it really should be or will be even when I finish it, if I finish it. I hope I will.

And that-- actually, this version was started in 1953 when I came to the United States. That was the first time I started writing these things. A friend of mine, considerably older friend of mine, who was herself a writer and author, and she suggested that I should put these things down, which I did. And she wanted me, and almost happened, wanted me to publish these things after my arrival in the United States and had good connections, good contacts with publishers, and almost happened.

And if I had not started my at the University of Missouri, my graduate studies, the chances are I would have completed the things which they wanted me to write and publish in New York, let's say in a year or two. But I did other things which were more important. So I wrote down some of the things, which I consider to be-- to me-- the most important, so that actually my memory, in terms of most of the stuff which I wrote in this experience in this booklet here, started in 1953, updated later on and published in just about three, four years ago, so that the final version has, of what has been written up to date, has appeared in this sort of thing.

And I included the documents which pertain to that, the fact that, indeed, I have a certificate that I was indeed in proper Dachau camp because so many say they're in Dachau and were not even close to it. So there's a lot of interesting sort of deception among people who are survivors for reasons which I really don't have any answers for.

But anyone who survived in Dachau proper got a certificate of this nature here, saying that he was released from Dachau, and those people who claimed, for example, who were interviewed by some of the people here in Oral History, claiming that the survivors of Dachau don't have that, and were not in Dachau because if they were in Dachau, they would have had to receive that.

And there are some other documents in it, for example, that I conducted myself at all times in concentration camps in a proper manner and did not cause any unpleasantness or betrayal to the cause of people, moral and Democratic and all that. And that was signed by fellow inmates, one of whom is the, we'll say, former Cardinal of Czechoslovakia and Archbishop of Prague and personal friend of mine, Joseph Baron. And so he's one of the signatories.

Of that document which says you had been in Dachau?

That's right, that I will behave myself in a proper way, and I did not do anything undo, which should have been immoral, whatever, or irresponsible or whatever.

And the document that says that you were in Dachau, who issued that?

Who issued that? The person who was the camp secretary of Dachau, a man called Jan Domagala who is known in literature, has been cited in literature. He was the official camp secretary of Dachau at that point, at the time of the liberation. And that document was issued on June 12, which is quite interesting by the way, which is just, we're talking 45.

So today we have July, so it's just almost-- so we talk now we will be talking 50 years ago. And then also the official register of the concentration camp, Dachau, Dachau, and my name appears and my number and where I came from, plus some other things, and plus a picture of while I was in Dachau and showing some American colonel around. And so this is that also.

So this-- we had that in the picture.

Oh, you did, yeah.

This was a publication that you had published yourself.

Well, I mean, I didn't publish it myself. I produced it myself, but I wouldn't call it a publication. It's a manuscript. It's still in manuscript form. And that, by the way, has been the most lucrative of all the things because I get it for about 250, every printed for about 250 or 300, and I sell it for 700.

So the proceeds, which I read, I partially gave-- part of them I gave back to the center for many years until I no longer was paid. And then I used that to cover some of my expenses and pocketed what it was. But I'm making more money on that than on any other publications, which is a kind of an irony because that's not even properly published.

But you do use this as part of your teaching material?

Yeah. Well, I've used that as teaching material for the lecture series as one of the texts, introductory texts because for students, it is interesting to read that, particularly since I'm used to be, or whatever, active in being the director of that whole enterprise. And so to them-- and that may change, but most of the people who work with us don't understand these finer points and don't appreciate it and, therefore, will do things which will become not the same, and put it nicely and politely.

Do you want to read the names of the two studies? If you want to.

Well, it's just-- it's, again, divided into subchapters, "Slave Labor at the Blechhammer and for Synfuel Plant, Synthetic Fuel." And the second is, on a death march from Blechhammer to Reichenbach." And the third chapter is, "In a cattle wagon to Dachau." And the whole thing is about 50, 49 pages.

K, next.

Yeah, well, and then we can talk about the lecture series. No, well, let's talk about the things which I have done. In addition to publications, I've been a consultant to a number of documentaries and the foremost of which was a very analytical and sophisticated movie on Reinhard Heydrich, in which I was a consultant by virtue of the fact that I had interviewed people who were very close to him and, therefore, had understood his personality a little bit more than other people who just looked at documents and not at people who were close to him.

Then I've done a number of broadcasts, which were based on my interviews of former members of the SS. And that was the first type of broadcast ever in Germany, which lasted longest also, which lasted close to three hours, two and a half to three hours. Then I did a documentary on my research, which was a movie made of-- a TV movie made out of that. And a crew came from Germany, and people came to interview me. And so that was done.

What was the name of that one?

The name was-- the name of that was, let's see here. This was Adventures in Research, was part of the series Adventures in Research-- Interviews, Experiences, and Insights Gained through Dialogues with Former Members of the SS.

And what was the name of the Heydrich? And the Heydrich was Reinhard Heydrich. And unfortunately, it didn't-- it appeared only once and then disappeared. I thought it was just a fabulous movie. I tried to get it here somehow. They promised me to send me a copy, but they never did, as it happens.

As a matter of fact, the person who was in charge of that particular enterprise happened to be an Israeli employed by the West German TV people-- a strange person too. Anyway, so then-- and that came out-- that came out in 1989. And then there is another one which came out in 1988, I trust, or also in '89. And it's called the so-called Steiner Tapes-- Interviews and Dialogues with Former Members of the SS Interpreted and Commented by John Steiner and Klaus [Personal name] And this Klaus [Personal name] is a well-known anchorman, TV anchorman in Germany.

And yes, it was two and a half hour documentary radio production by the so-called Sudwestfunk which is the Southwest broadcast station in Baden Baden, which is covering the Southwest of Germany and part of Switzerland and Austria. Then I did-- was a consultant to what I consider to be a very well done TV documentary called Hitler-- Myth and Man.

And that was shown even Australia, Canada, and some other places. Some people even call me from Australia on that. And so I was a consultant and was asked to travel with the crew to Germany and get them the people-- I had contact with former members of the SS who were then interviewed in my presence.

And then I read the scripts and made suggestions and corrections. And so that-- and that was also a very nice thing because of the very interesting experience I wouldn't like to miss because that was a primer for me. And I was very spoiled because they had a lot of money, and we stayed in the most expensive hotels and ate the most expensive food and did a lot of other things. We won't go into detail here.

You appeared in it too.

Huh?

You appeared in it too.

Yes, and I appeared in it too, for just a minute or so, probably not even that. And so that also received two Emmy Awards, which is kind of nice, and made me feel better about some of my activity. And it was very lucrative. They paid

very well, except that was during the time of my divorce.

So most of it went either to the attorney or to my wife, so that-- my ex-wife, and so that I got relatively little out of it, other than the benefit of the experience. So--

Before we go to some of the current events, do you want to mention your work on either the Warsaw Ghetto Diary translation or the Hitler Secretary?

Well, so because of my interview techniques, which apparently were not too bad, I made very many contacts and was able to penetrate into the circle of people who were close to Hitler. And so I took advantage of that as much as I could.

And one of these people was one of Hitler's senior secretaries. And I not only interviewed her, but developed some sort of friendly relationship with. And she somehow wrote me letters about some of the problems she had and some of the things she --

So I also helped her and suggested things for her to write down, and which now has become a book years ago. And she died of cancer in 1983 or '4. And she didn't want that book to appear before her death. And although she had tremendous offers, she didn't have any money, didn't have any hidden money, because whatever she had of valuables-- and she had considerable valuables-- were taken from her when she was in American internship, when she was interned by Americans.

And so she was very bitter about some of the things because I know what-- they just simply stole things. Said, well, we'll keep it for you, safekeeping and all that. And then they stole it and all that. I know the people and all that. And it was pretty awful.

Anyway, so that's a story by itself. So she shared that all with me. And then because of one of my mentors and professors in Germany, I got to know-- because he wanted me to continue what he had started, namely see to it that she would write her memoirs.

And she did to a large extent until the time she had a dreadful case of arthritis, had no one who could type, and she was, of course, a professional typist and a secretary-- very, very, very capable person and very intelligent. So it was very easy and most interesting to talk to her. And so finally, I go to her.

She had a manuscript, and that was published after she had died. And I'm still trying and tried for many years, unsuccessfully, to have it translated and published in English. And so far it has not. A lot of people made promises but didn't keep any of it.

So I've not been successful. So all right, so then I, of course, of my interviews of dozens of people, of SS people, so some of the people wrote to me, wrote accounts for me, their accounts, which are exceedingly unique. And one of them is an SS officer, lieutenant, first lieutenant, who was a witness of the destruction of the Warsaw ghetto.

So he has written an eye account of that for me. And that has been translated by one of the professors at the University, German professors in German language. and it needs to be reviewed again and all that because there are still some bugs in it. But Carol and I and some other people looked at it and corrected some of the things which needed to be corrected.

But there are still some things-- I looked at it just not so long ago and said there are some things which need to be changed. Now, he also edited a little bit and left out things which he considered unimportant, but he left out things because he didn't understand them, because he doesn't know beans about the Third Reich, and is to be my successor and we are not particularly happy about that. So--

Do you expect to publish this at some point also?

So this is going to be part of a book which we have planned to do, Carol and I, we've planned a book which we would want to do on different perspectives on the Holocaust, which would include survivors, rescuers, perpetrators,

contemporary students, how they respond to the Holocaust. Then-- what else? Some other people who have different perspectives and put that together and see the perspectives on the Holocaust.

And I would like to be clear that your colleague Carol Hurwitz is here today who always accompanies you in these interviews.

Yeah, because of her, identification with what I'm trying to do, and she felt it was important to her, not that she was recognized or rewarded by that. Perhaps we will be rewarded by--

The next life.

Next life.

OK, I think that--

Then we have this Holocaust lecture series, which is-- for reasons which do not escape me-- many things do. But this one doesn't. I'm the director, still director, officially director of the Holocaust Studies Center. And the major activity is not just have courses, which I indeed had courses before we've had the Holocaust lectures--

Why don't we review that first because that is the background?

Right.

So when did you begin teaching Holocaust?

Well, I tried to teach it very long against tremendous resistance because some of the colleagues in my department didn't particularly feel that it was of sociological relevance-- genocide and Holocaust-- and simply put roadblocks in my way to really teach that. So actually, I started to teach that sometime in the '70s, the first one.

When did you begin teaching at Sonoma State?

'68.

You taught in the sociology department--

That's right.

--the whole time.

Right.

And so from '68 to '70s when you began Holocaust work, you were just teaching--

Well, I started Holocaust work much earlier, before I came to Sonoma State. So the Holocaust work, or particularly-- yeah, I started in the end, about the end of the '50s, you know, I mean, I already started my interviews and all that.

Oh, your research, but I mean the teaching.

Well, the teaching, I started-- of the Holocaust, I actually started, that would be-- well, I've done some teaching at the University of Freiburg, actually, which was a little bit, but not strictly that, by virtue of the fact that I was a visiting professor or assistant professor, visiting assistant professor at that particular time at the Institute of Criminology, so in terms of deviant behavior and all that. So I lectured and also brought in political crime and all that. But the more systematic teaching I started at Sonoma State in the early '70s.

So after you were able to surmount these obstacles and this resistance--

I was doing that also-- although still resistance state, but I simply overcame the resistance and still taught it. And then the Alliance for the Study of the Holocaust initiated the Holocaust lecture series.

When did the alliance form?

The alliance formed--

'83.

--just about '73 or '77, yeah.

In the '80s.

'83?

Yeah, '83. That's right, '83. That's right, that's right, '83. And so they started. They send in, of course-- it had only one person who knew something about that. No one else did at that particular time. And so he gave his lecture, which is always the same, about the American aspect of immigration policy, of letting in people who were persecuted, Jewish persecution of-- persecution of Jews.

And so he gave that lecture, but they didn't have many other people who knew anything. So I was then brought in, and I brought other people in. And then we started the lecture series where we invited people outside of the campus, people who were well known or less well known, and experimented for many years before it really got off the ground because the alliance made a selection of speakers, to a large extent, and many of these speakers turned out to be not too hot, actually, were not at all very good.

And so then I, more or less, took over, and then we made selections which were better, and then we improved even further because we learned from our mistakes. And I also lectured in the various Holocaust lecture series on different topics in which I've had some expertise. And that, in spite of all the obstacles, was very successful. But--

And the format-- the format is usually a speaker on either a scholarly subject or personal accounts.

Then I started this sort of-- rather than having a Holocaust lecture series, which were not at all systematic or anything, just simply hodgepodge of things, then I started on themes, you know, to concentrate on themes. So we have for example here in this thing, we have 92-- no, I don't know, there are 93 here for reasons --

It's OK.

--is Holocaust learned and unlearned lessons. So that was the theme, and around that theme, we've selected the lecturers. And I've had a thing here, who gave a lecture, researching the Holocaust film, liberation documentary, and researching the Holocaust. So I told them something about my research, in which I learned a few lessons, a few.

And then we got the last thing here, which is 94 Holocaust lectures, which is the making of a Nazi, emergence of the genocidal society. And around that topic, around that theme, we then have invited speakers, and they somehow gave us a feeling for the students-- it is a feeling-- of different aspects, different perspectives, interdisciplinary aspects of the making of a Nazi.

In addition to that, we always have an introduction, which gives the students an overview of contemporary, more contemporary German history. And then occasionally we've also added someone who gives a lecture on the political, scientific, political science aspect of Germany, not necessarily Holocaust. And so that has become usually an integral feature as well as a panel of survivors so that the audience develops some sort of an emotional, motivational tie with the subject.

And that has been most successful. And then also, in more recent years, we also included rescuers and usually end with rescuers because it's an alternative. There were rescuers who understood what was being done and had sufficient courage to respond to that and save lives, the people who were known as philanthrops, and philanthropic, and liberators.

This is also unique in that the lectures are open to the public on a free basis as well as the students. And you have always had a number of different departments in the university involved.

Right.

Could you name those, please?

Well, just the ones which usually involved people in the history, political science, English literature, then Hutchins School, which is a school by itself, a college, Hutchins, and psychology whenever we have someone who can make a contribution. What else?

We've done women's studies once.

Women's studies.

[INAUDIBLE].

German [INAUDIBLE].

German.

German.

Communications.

Yes.

Drama.

Yeah. That is more recent. That's in more recent times. Yes. And philosophy, yes. And philosophy, that's it.

Could you hold that up, please?

Ah, did you not have biology also?

No.

No.

No, we can't. It's mostly social science involved.

Yeah, primarily social science.

We also gave credit in video department because we always had some people involved in the videotape and film on the series.

And you were also continuing to teach your sociology of the Holocaust outside this.

That's right. That's right. Off and on, but with very varied success because usually we didn't draw many students. And it



was on a level of sophistication which actually should have been a graduate course because it assumed that they had some sort of background, which most of them didn't.

And the alliance, how was that funded?

The alliance simply is able to obtain money via donations. And that's what they-- that's how they finance the lecturers who come outside, from outside, and not part of the university faculty. And so they are getting about \$3,500 to \$4,000, between \$3,000 and \$4,000. And this finances the people who will come from the outside and lecture.

How long have you been the director of--

Well, ever since the beginning actually.

Ever since the beginning. And exactly what is your status today?

My status today is in this organization that because I have officially retired, they feel that someone should be in charge who is still an active faculty, at least that is their version and are looking for a possible alternative and someone who would succeed me. But I still am supposed to stay there as senior scholar in residence, what they call that.

And to what extent this still needs to be approved, I've got some-- a few thousand dollars to finance my research, which we will need because she needs to be paid. And I hope to get a little bit of a pocket money out of it. And whatever other people will type and all that should benefit from that. So all of that money, whatever help we can get will be financed. And yeah, so that's just in a nutshell.

When did Carol join you?

Carol joined in '75, when was it? You're in the wrong decade.

'85?

Actually, I took your course in '84.

'84.

Began to help and volunteer already that year, but didn't really take an active, defined role until about four years ago, about four years ago.

You know, I would love if Carol would sit there and talk about her role for a few minutes.

Right. I think that would be very useful. And we can have a discussion all together, whatever that comes.

OK, great.

Did I comb my hair properly?

Yes. OK, Carol Hurwitz. So you began as a student--

Mm-hmm.

--in the Sociology of the Holocaust course.

Right.

And I guess you became very interested. And as you say, you volunteered, even during that year. And then how did you

become, more or less, a professional?

I actually was recruited initially as a community member because I was not even officially a student at that point. By the Alliance, I began to volunteer in whatever roles were needed, whatever jobs needed to be done. And that began to grow and grow.

I saw how much the center and Dr. Steiner needed help in many different capacities. I began to do editing, research. I took on organizing a conference called Women in the Holocaust, which was the first West Coast Conference on women's experiences of the Holocaust, which was in November of '87. And I also taught a course at that time. And by '87, had begun to matriculate as a re-entry student.

What course did you teach in '87?

Women and the Holocaust, along with the conference. I taught a seminar course through women's studies on women and the Holocaust. So that was the first time I taught a Holocaust-related course. And I also was working as a student assistant with Dr. Steiner, grading papers in his courses, the lecture series, and began to just take over roles that needed to be done.

About four years ago, I began to informally act in the function of program coordinator, where I began to do a lot of the work of the center. Also was working doing-- editing manuscripts with Dr. Steiner. And about two years ago, had an official function in the university where I was paid as lecturer and program coordinator for the last two years to assist Dr. Steiner in presenting the Holocaust lecture series, and other auxiliary functions of the center, which include publicity, community and student information, large number of small jobs that have to be done on an everyday basis to run an academic center.

You also taught that evening course.

Yeah, that was, I think, '92, I believe it was, I taught a full semester course on women and the Holocaust, which was quite successful. We had about 20 students. And it was a very gratifying experience, indeed. Yeah.

Yes, it was excellent. [INAUDIBLE].

Thank you.

And what is your status today?

My status is non, in that, given the circumstances that were presented to us with the limited budget, the complications and obstacles of university structure right now, there really was no clear role for me unless I continued in a low-paid, mostly volunteer position. And I felt that at this time in my career and life that this was no longer feasible to be giving away all of my time and energy, even though I completely support the cause, I will always be interested in studying Holocaust, and hope to teach it again and research it again at some other point in my life.

But I could not-- I could not any longer carry on, having gotten so little remuneration and having gotten so much, what shall I say, resistance, resistance, from the organizations and the university administration who would support us in word but not in deed because in fact, all along, they have not supported us in a way which could sustain us adequately. And this is in spite of our having developed the largest public community lecture series that the university has ever had and which is probably not renowned at this point, but it's definitely unique. We don't know of one anywhere else that exists that is cross-disciplinary in 12 departments, that has the kind of depth and breadth that people can attend every year in a lecture series. So we're on to new digs and to new projects and new-- other possibilities, perhaps in the Bay Area.

[INAUDIBLE]. I know you were talking about this book collaboration.

Yeah, we've--

Please talk about it. Is there anything else?

We have actually several book possibilities that we're interested in attempting, including finishing his account and expanding his excellent three experiential accounts into a whole book, which we have some idea of how to do. It's a matter of time and fitting it in and also making a living at the same time, which is of difficulty for both of us if we stay in Holocaust work.

And I think it's difficult to express adequately the sense of frustration that we feel from having given so much of our life energy and commitment to a cause which is so worthy, so evidently worthy, but yet we somehow could not succeed in getting support adequately, either financially, psychologically, administratively, whatever. We simply could not succeed.

And even though both of us, I think, feel very satisfied, to some extent, in terms of what we've given to the cause, to the work of Holocaust in the world, to not have achieved the kind of recognition, the kind of acceptance, the kind of support that we've needed. It's ubiquitous to other Holocaust workers. Talk to Lanny, talk to Joel, talk to different people. It's certainly a problem broader than ourselves.

But in terms of our own life experience, it's terribly frustrating and does not-- it's not something that we can logically pinpoint as to why this might have occurred. Perhaps it's because we're too early. The for instance his work on SS perpetrators is pioneer work and that the world really isn't quite ready for it, at least not in a mainstream enough way that you can get supported for it.

Maybe the politics of Holocaust work are too complex at this point in time that without particular kinds of leaders or vision, people are unable to cut through the bull of competition between individual organizations and so forth. In any case, we have not been successful on the scale that we would like.

And I'm speaking for myself, but I think that he can contribute more too. I keep grappling with it on some kind of moral, spiritual plane where I imagine that the world just isn't ready for us and therefore can't see who we are and what we're trying to accomplish and that, at some point, they may. But it may be posthumous for him, or it may be post-professional for me and that, since I can't make enough money doing this, breaks my heart, but I have to go do something else because in fact, I can't get help. I simply can't get help.

Well, I think there's also insufficient recognition of relevance. And what Carol had said, that somehow the contemporary colleagues or people who work with have not recognized the relevance of what we're doing. So they just don't take it that seriously, don't think it is important.

A good example of that is that we've been fairly shocked by the difference between how the students are impacted by his account-- for instance, they're deeply impacted, they're profoundly moved by seeing their survivors speaking to him and then reading his account. And this is a very natural and human response that they're having and understandable. Then we have a faculty, the administration, and community organization leaders who read the same account or are familiar with the same story and are either completely indifferent, have no questions or responses, and many of them are not even interested enough to read it.

And this is profoundly disturbing to have a strong leader in their midst in this field of study who they're completely disinterested in, that they have absolutely no connection to for whatever reason psychologically academically, professionally, whatever, that they would take the interest to read it or, having read it, have any response.

Do you think it's just sort of the general tenor of bureaucracy, or--

I think it's deeper than that. And I think that is one of the problems. But I think that the field is still too disturbing for some people. I think that it-- this is my own observation. It's the kind of subject, like many other ones, that deal with some kind of human trauma or human destructiveness that in order to face it, you have to face yourself.

And if you don't, then you lack integrity in having looked at the subject at all, so that people, rather than having to face themselves and their own sense of morality or lack thereof, turn away altogether from the subject. And you can find this a lot of other subjects sexual abuse, physical abuse, you know, crime, a lot of other subjects that people have difficulty with. I think Holocaust is near the top of the list in terms of causing a sensation of personal threat and existential anxiety in people, that they simply either have to turn and face it head on, in which case it brings up all kinds of issues for them which are very painful or difficult, or which a lot of society does is just turn their head.

So for practical purposes, though, you have now to proceed, more or less, on your own.

To some extent, yes, and decide our own agenda, which will probably include working more on manuscripts and books. I'd like to see him become much more of a national or international consultant, which he's certainly qualified to do if we could figure out who to contact and how to network, how to network for a Holocaust consultant. In my case, I'm trying to finish my master's, which I hope to be finished with soon.

And right now I'm saying I have no future because I can't figure it out. But--

It's becoming.

Yeah, my future is becoming.

You're pregnant.

I'm pregnant with the future, yeah, the possibilities. So--

Well, the important thing is, which should be added, that it's very difficult to become known if you're not affiliated with an institution. And having recognized that, I'm pushing for being accepted to some other institution which possibly might evaluate and appreciate us more than Sonoma State has.

[INAUDIBLE].

And so that's what I'm working on. We are actually working on now on something which we are not discussing because--

Yeah, it's premature.

But we are working on that because we feel that this would be, I think, a very viable alternative to move to some other institution which would respond in a little bit more mature way to what we are trying to do.

Yes, and I think that highlights one of the other problems is that Sonoma State is a very provincial, suburban, laid-back kind of university, where serious issues tend to be of too much of a problem, you know, that they're not really considered.

What might be very helpful is what Ronnie has told us today that we might get some sort of recognition from some official--

Office.

[INAUDIBLE].

Right. Right.

--in California.

Politics and all that. And so that I think might help us to legitimize what we have done because when I retired, in spite

of all the things, all the various things which were to be obtained, I got a piece of wood.

Yes, the I've heard, congratulations.

Famous because of things, a piece of wood thanking me for 25 years of devoted services. I had two Fulbright, two Alexander Von Humboldt scholarships and all that. And that is not recognized because very few people have that in that particular institution. And I don't like the fact that someone who gets it, then they won't be able to get it.

So there is a great deal of envy and unpleasant about anyone who puts out something which is of value and may make a contribution of some significance. And so that is looked at with one or two jaundiced eyes and responded to with negativism.

I'd like to say, maybe if you have any more comment you'd like to make and then we can come back and talk more about this.

Do you have--

Yeah, I would just want to say one more comment, and that is that whenever he or I go out, outside into the larger circles, we have a very different reception. But we're not in a position to be able to go gallivanting around either the country or the world garnering support. When he goes to Europe, he has much more support, much more understanding of what he's trying to accomplish. And when I go to national Holocaust organization groups for instance, or network with other people with a larger sensibility, we find a great acceptance of what we're doing.

Thank you very much, Carol.

You're welcome.