

2ND INTERVIEW WITH T. WERNER SCHWARTZ  
HOLOCAUSE ORAL HISTORY PROJECT  
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Q WERNER, I WOULD LIKE YOU TO BEGIN THIS SECOND INTERVIEW BY SHARING WITH US ANY THOUGHTS THAT YOU HAVE HAD SUBSEQUENT TO THE LAST INTERVIEW. FOR INSTANCE YOU BROUGHT UP THE ISSUE OF YOUR MOTHER NOT LEAVING GERMANY AND WHY.

A Well this issue occurred to me actually after the interview because somehow I expect as a sequence to my talk to your question why I left. I left in '39, left my mother behind, never saw her again. We corresponded until it stopped and a brother's of hers and one sister, two sisters stayed behind and the question is didn't they know what was coming and didn't they have some inkling, but nobody to discuss it with but I would think it was inconceivable, murder on such a scale would ever take place. No incident in man's history that's anywhere near genocide was ever performed. We see examples of it with Armenians during World War I.

Murder in masses by Turkey, examples like that in the present history and some of course in past history, but never to the extent, never to the thoroughness that the Nazis exhibited so there was no reason to believe this is what they have to expect, being annihilated, deportation to work camps. Where no people were sent to camps for forced labor, but that maybe in their future. I don't think anybody anticipated and naturally they would have tried to get away from it which was difficult, but no attempt was made and my mother

had to take in a second person to room with her and she had heard something about transportation, and again I make that assumption, based on very little talk with one sister of my mother's who she and her husband were in (Trasinstrat) and lived through it and then moved to Los Angeles. We didn't talk much about it. It was a sore topic but when we touched on it, that it was beyond their comprehension, of that extremity, could ever happen and after all even in Germany, even the Nazis, were people that had the same education that we had and no matter what they believed about the Jews, I think it was incomprehensive and unimaginable that it could happen and this is one reason why they were not prepared even when they were loaded in a train and taken eastward. They probably thought these were intermediate camps and maybe would have to go to labor camps. But there was systematic murder, elimination of all of them. I don't think that really occurred to them or even if it had by the time the war broke out there was very little opportunity to get away, though some people went via Trans-Siberia Railroad to China and Shanghi and so on and from there, come to this country. But that there was no opportunity to talk to them except one aunt of mine and not much could be said and not much could be contributed to what went on. They were not dumb people. They had ideas about it but it didn't go that far. I said there was nothing ever in man's history, one having an inkling this would be a possible future. So that's all I have to say about it or can say about it. Unless you get more out of me with questions.

Q WHY DO YOU SUPPOSE THAT SO MANY PEOPLE HAD A JUMP ON THIS

SITUATION IN THE EARLY 30'S THAT THEY PREDICTED THERE WERE A VIABLE NUMBER OF PEOPLE WHO PREDICTED ACCURATELY THE SITUATION. WHAT DO YOU THINK THAT THEY SAW?

A Well there were many people who had escaped before who they got out, even before. They got out when they could take some goods and money along. Partially these were business people and partly had had their education cut off and had the means of getting away and they had perhaps relatives or contacts in foreign countries; England, France, America too, who would help them. France is a good example. A number of Jewish intellectuals went to France and they were rounded up by the invading Nazis, German troops when they occupied France. And some who were caught and not immediately incarcerated; some committed suicide and some well-known poets or artists of pre-Nazi Germany, Jews, committed suicide and others escaped. (Thomas Mann) he was not a Jew but he knew what was coming and may have anticipated and left. Of course they burned his books in 1933. So that was a good sign to get out of it. I don't know, if he got out before that, that burning feast which (Gergels) arranged, I don't know. But he got out quite early to Switzerland, had no problem getting into Switzerland. The others would not be accepted by Switzerland or other countries unless they had sizeable means or had a profession which was desirable. So that's just about all I can say. Most of these people who escaped or who left before had means, took their family, many of them. I shouldn't say many, many a family took even their belongings and furniture along '34, '35, '36, then came the (Nurenberg Laws) and that made it really difficult.

Q WHAT MADE THESE PEOPLE WILLING TO, MORE WILLING, LESS WILLING

TO DENY IF INDEED DENIAL WAS THE MECHANISM THAT WAS GOING ON THAT SOMETHING TERRIBLE WOULD HAPPEN TO THE JEWS, VERSUS, THOSE WHO STAYED BECAUSE THEY FELT NOTHING SO MONSTROUS WOULD INDEED GO ON?

A It's difficult to say. Those who left didn't leave I would assume, did not leave with eagerness or with a certain lightheartedness, because they were all rooted in Germany.

They grew up there, the education and went through the schools and perhaps universities there, their children went to school there. To uproot all is not easy and that applies to all people who leave their home and their environment and the cultural environment which has shaped them and start something new. If they were business men and traveled frequently to foreign countries it was easy and if not it was very difficult and in a few cases where people did and took their money along and lost it all, either by speculation, trying to build a new career or just had no means of income and spent it all and at the end was nothing. But what prompted them? I don't know. That's maybe some anticipation or some fear but there is also nothing I think in Jewish history that explains or that really points to large groups of Jews leaving suddenly or within a short period and going somewhere else. Usually they were caught and exterminated by pogroms or during pogroms. Did that answer your question in part at least? I must say that is speculation because I know of some. But the questions which I asked were not as probing because as well an interim period between the arrival of the Nazis and beginning of the Holocaust. Assume the Holocaust as such began really in 1939 when they started or when they decided at a conference near Berlin, that

would be the solution of the Jewish problem; ship them all out, exterminate them and so called a conference at a villa near a suburb of Berlin.

Q PRIOR TO 1933, DID YOU, YOU WERE A YOUNG MAN AT THE UNIVERSITY? DID YOU IDENTIFY THE NAZIS IN THEIR RISE TO POWER AS A THREAT AND SOMETHING THAT YOU DISCUSSED WITH FRIENDS, YOUR MOTHER, YOUR FAMILY OR WAS IT MORE OF A SURPRISE TO YOU? DID YOU SEE IT COMING?

A A surprise it was not. Again it was not conceived with the idea that would follow it or with any anticipation of what followed. It was clear that universities were no longer accessible to Jews and just thrown out, so to speak. And so the future for someone who went to the university to become something or preparing himself for a profession was cut off. Companies subsequently had to dismiss all Jews. My mother was working and she was working at the same job she had before until about 1937 or '38; '38 I think it was. And then she was dismissed from a relatively large company. She was dismissed as well as the man who was in charge of it was Jewish and she looked for some other job that she could still get. Then she also should have thought that maybe there will come a time when I will not have a job. And again this is the question, how far did you think ahead, how sinister did you anticipate the times would be?

Q WERE YOU POLITICALLY ACTIVE IN THE . . . ?

A In the Jewish movement, yes, but not let's say in the German politics. The German politics was cut off too and there was a famous flyer of the German Reichstag which the Nazis engineered and which gave Hitler the chance to outlaw all parties. So there was only one

party and they had absolute power and they could do what they wanted and indeed did what they wanted to prominent Jews. I was just 20 years old when they came to power.

Q DID HITLER'S APPOINTMENT AS THE REICH CHANCELLOR, DID THAT STIMULATE YOUR INVOLVEMENT IN THE JEWISH YOUTH MOVEMENT?

A No, I was involved in the Jewish Youth Movement before and the change it produced and I think I talked about that last time and that the group to which I belonged to was a German Jewish-Youth Movement then shifted to Zionism. I was up to that time in the last year or year and a half before that happened a liaison man of a German-Jewish organization, the (Centralia-fine), between that organization and youth groups. But when the group to which I belonged shifted to Zionism that ended that particular position and it was not filled afterwards as far as I know, because there was really no organizational Jewish activity allowed except to have representation of all German Jews which was subsequently established again. I mentioned that in the previous interview and characteristically it was renamed the representation of the Jews in Germany while previously it was the German Jews. Maybe a minor point, but it was very significant to the Nazis and was very significant to the Jews in Germany, suddenly everything stopped and they were foreigners. We all had to change our names or add something. My name was Werner, first name and then I had to add Israel and Werner Israel and the women had to add Sarah and then there were a couple of names, Daniel was allowed I think and they didn't have to add another name to it, but I had to change my name from Werner to Daniel to Danny.

After I came here I realized it wouldn't have made much difference

but today there was a reluctance to do so. But in my passport was Werner Israel and therefore I identified without having to say so as a Jew, besides the German's still ask, still asked for religious identification, that was at that time, was called Mosaic after Moses. Didn't say Jewish something was Mosaic and I don't know what to say now.

Q DID YOUR INVOLVEMENT WITH ZIONISM BEGIN IN 1933 THEN OR WERE YOU INVOLVED WITH THE YOUTH GROUP?

A Could you say that again, I didn't quite get it.

Q WHEN THE YOUTH GROUP BECAME MORE INVOLVED IN ZIONISM WERE YOU INVOLVED THEN WITH THE ZIONISM?

A Well we were then and the group then shifted toward Zionism and began not only to the members studied Hebrew and took a greater interest in Jewish history in general, Jewish history, also in connection with other people. One who then became known was Martin (Gruber), he had close relations with that group. He was not known as a particularly Zionist philosopher but he could set up a professorship in Jerusalem and so that was a direction in which all Jews went. It was not really a religious conversion or conversion to a more conservative way or any religion, it was, you might say ethnic, that is the closest word. It was not a nationalism, in fact the question of Zionism, ethnic nationalist or political or racist group still plagues the Jews because you know that the United Nations has passed, a number of years back a resolution that labeled or tried to label Zionism as racist. I am not familiar with the details but it comes up all the time again.

Q HOW OFTEN DID YOUR GROUP MEET, THE YOUTH GROUP MEET AND

WHAT DID YOU DISCUSS AND HOW MANY PEOPLE WERE THERE? COULD YOU JUST TALK A LITTLE ABOUT THE STRUCTURE?

A I don't know. Once the Nazis came to power, meeting was a little more difficult. I know that at one meeting which took place in a private home, the Nazis had heard about it and came up and took everybody away in cars or in transports and were later released. But regular meetings did not take place to the same extent and people stayed in contact and were also shifting to prepare themselves to going to Israel and the youth to Israel and many of them, even the older ones went to (Hasara), that is preparation for existence in Israel. This book which you showed me today on (Wilfred Israel), shows in pictures too, many of the groups which later formed into a kibbutz had to live several years in tents. I think well so that was the meetings took place, meetings were there but most of them were in private homes. It was not that one could go to halls or public rooms as we did before. That was partly because it was safer and the Nazis took laws into their own hands. As I just mentioned, they came once to a meeting at an apartment and just rounded up everybody, so there was no security and you couldn't call the police because those storm troopers told the police where they could go and they had the power and nobody could interfere. It was anarchy in a way and it was wise to stay out of their reach if possible.

Q WHEN YOU WERE ARRESTED THAT TIME OR PICKED UP THAT TIME FROM THAT MEETING, DO YOU REMEMBER WHAT KIND OF QUESTIONS YOU WERE ASKED?

A Not, not very many. I was interrogated and I was hit over the head a number of times and I lost part of my hearing at that time.



What questions? They were not interested in questions and they had me. I think I had something on me that seemed to be suspicious and so they kept me a few days longer but no charge, just released and I was in good company. Some leading politicians of the Social Democratic Party were in the same prison, not that we mingled or anything like that but they were all there longer and the fact that there was no particular charge and no knowledge of what would happen and actually besides a few hits over the head, I was not maltreated, but the lack of knowledge, what might happen and the anxiety of course was a pretty fearful thing, particularly for one who was just 20 years old.

Q AND WAS YOUR MOTHER AWARE THAT YOU HAD BEEN PICKED UP?

A Oh, yes. She was notified by one of the people that got away later that same day, I mean that same night. No pleasure either for her to realize there was nothing that she could do. She knew that, that I had not committed a crime but it was a little freak accident you might say, that I had something on me which seemed to be suspicious but it didn't have to be, in order to be a pretext for taking somebody into custody.

Q AFTER THAT INCIDENT DID IT MAKE YOU MORE CAUTIOUS AND MORE FEARFUL AND MORE COMMITTED TO. . .

A No, actually, the situation became a little more stabilized, not for me, but in general, because these excesses at first were the result of Hitler being appointed as the president or the head, to head the government and the euphoria at first demonstrated and shouting and loud demonstrations and this type of anarchy. And later on it was not terminated but it was a little bit stabilized so that life became more not secure, but not as dependent on freak

accidents. Not regular judicial process but at least tried to establish some sort of government, some sort of regulation and until 1936 I mentioned the (Nurenberg Laws) when Jews were, were simply being declared no longer to be German citizens and that did not mean at the time that, they did not lose protection, but it foreshadowed the possible future which nobody really anticipated or to the extent.

Q DID YOU, WERE YOU COMMITTED TO IMMIGRATING TO ISRAEL, TO PALESTINE AT THAT TIME? DID YOU TALK WITH YOUR MOTHER AND FAMILY ABOUT THAT?

A Well my mother knew and I went to Frankfurt to participate in the establishment of what was called a (bit halutza), a home of people who did some preparatory work for Israel. It wasn't Israel at the time it was Palestine and so she knew about it, I knew about it and the intention was, and I mentioned that last time, and by sheer luck I got a position as assistant or professor whose job was, assignment was to help scholars and scientists; young established scientists and scholars to get abroad. There were a few openings and his intent was to establish more connections and get people out. It was possible to get out at that time and I got out too. Eventually I got an American student visa and left completely legally. I couldn't take any money along, a few books I could take, but didn't amount to much, and \$10 just to be out. But even then at that time I did not visualize that I could never see my mother or her family or my family again. It was more or less considered a temporary time. Although at the time I left it was July 1939. People in the street talked about already of going to war against Poland and the date was pretty much determined after the harvest was brought in. That was just a few weeks, a

couple of months before I left.

Q WERE THERE OTHER MEMBERS OF YOUR FAMILY, YOUNGER PEOPLE PERHAPS COUSINS, THAT WERE ALSO INVOLVED IN ZIONISM?

A No, I don't think any of my immediate or my mother's immediate family was. Two of my cousins, younger than I, were taken by Swedish people, there were quite a few young German Jews, who were taken in, not adopted, helped by Swedish families. If they had a profession then they continued to do that. I had one cousin who was training already as a baker, as a pastry baker and he continued there in Stockholm and his younger brother went to work on a farm and that happened to quite a few, so they were secure there. And I was the only one who openly declared that I would go to Palestine, Zionist.

Q HOW DID YOU, HOW WAS IT DECIDED WHAT TRADE WHEN YOU DECIDED TO IMMIGRATE TO PALESTINE AND YOU WERE GOING TO LEARN A TRADE, HOW DID YOU PICK THAT OUT OR WAS IT PICKED OUT FOR YOU?

A How I again, I didn't quite understand that.

Q WHEN YOU STARTED TO LEARN A TRADE FOR IMMIGRATION, HOW DID YOU DECIDE WHAT TRADE?

A Well it was my own preference and I didn't particularly cherish being a farmer and work on the farm. I started working as a baker and I started that in Berlin. And I got a hernia and after that healed I went to Frankfurt where I continued as an apprentice. It wasn't really an apprentice in the formal sense, it was simply as a volunteer but it didn't make any difference, I didn't get paid, but I learned as much as I could and so if I went to the relatively hot Palestine I was supposed to work a living as a young half-experienced baker.

Q HOW DID YOUR MOTHER FEEL ABOUT THAT AND YOUR SHIFT FROM THE

## UNIVERSITY TO LEARNING A TRADE?

A Well she knew that the university was terminated though I later got back again and she supported me as much as she could, but I did get a little bit of her salary. She was pleased, but otherwise she did not let on what she felt. She pretty much kept her thoughts to herself and I did not inquire too much, maybe I was a little bit selfish not as considerate of other people, including my mother, as I would have liked to be in retrospect.

Q WHEN DID YOU DECIDE THAT YOUR FUTURE REALLY LAY OUTSIDE OF GERMANY, DO YOU REMEMBER?

A Oh, that was even before the Nazis came. When the university terminated the attendance of the Jews, the hope that the Nazi empire didn't, wouldn't last a thousand years, nevertheless it appeared whose end was desired perhaps, but really was not foreseeable and that such a tremendous war would erupt was also not anticipated. The politicians at the time did, but more perhaps within Germany. I really can't say when the actual when the future of the whole group of all the young German Jews was questioned or was as a matter of fact. There was no more future and the only way to continue life was outside of Germany and there were not very many options; Israel or Palestine at the time was actually the only realistic option for the majority of the people. Those that finished, those that had studied medicine could go and get jobs. I had a friend, a woman friend, who had studied medicine in Italy, came then to Germany and had a job in England but decided to stay with her parents and ended up in a concentration camp administrating medicine to the inmates and survived but she was so charred you might say, by the experience that she

committed suicide.

Q WHO WERE THE LEADERS THAT YOU LOOKED UP TO AT THAT TIME AND WHY?

A Well spiritually you might say it was (Martin Gruber) and his concept of Judaism impressed this group and the older people who were more mature and formulated ideas, his ideas impressed them very much and impressed us as a young people. But there were a few people and I mentioned it last time already (Tietz) was one of them. But he also committed suicide in 1933. (Wilfred Israel) whose autobiography you have now was not a leader in the sense he did a lot of things, because he had both German and British citizenship but then he was shot down in a plane flying from Portugal to England. The plane was shot down and that was the end, I don't know it was '43 or '42. There were a few people who were prominent then in Germany but then not so prominent when the groups, step-by-step, or one-by-one, small groups went to Palestine. That required people of a different caliber then were the mental or you might say the ideological leaders and needed people with practical ideas. Practical ideas that were still loyal to the basic intellectual, intellectual ideas but one might say "movers and shakers" and this type of thing.

Q DID YOU HAVE CONTACT WITH PEOPLE THAT HAD ALREADY IMMIGRATED TO PALESTINE?

A Not at that time, or very briefly because a man for whom I worked, a professor in Bonn, for whom I assisted had gone to Israel with his wife and daughter. The son had also gone as a member of the Jewish orchestra but contact was small. I could not really form an

opinion. It was a life, saying more for them, and any opinion of what life would be there, I did not have. In fact it was not the question. If I didn't like it I could see what else I could arrange and I had decided that some time before. When I got this particular position as an assistant and lived in that family's home, I already knew that Israel or Palestine was not my first choice. I could fall back on it but fate would have it differently.

Q DID YOU ATTEND ANY CLASSES ON JEWISH HISTORY OR THOUGHT? DID YOU STUDY HEBREW DURING THE '30S?

A In general that was part of the turn to Zionism but before that too, it was something I mentioned, I think last time. At the high school we had an hour or two hours a week and where the Jews were separated. There were two of us in the class who were instructed by the rabbi. There was Jewish history involved and the Catholics were separated from the protestants. So there I knew something and naturally the moment we turned to Zionism, even before it, it was a Jewish-German group and we became quite familiar, supposed to be familiar with Jewish history. There were a number of German Jews(writers, authors) who reflected a good deal of the history and we knew of the history of let say the (Hasidim) and sects similar to that and leading up to that, so we had more than just a superficial relationship and I had to, and that didn't stop by my going to this country.

Q IN 1935 WHEN THE (NUREMBERG LAWS) WERE ENACTED, WHAT EFFECT DID IT HAVE ON YOUR LIFE SPECIFICALLY?

A A frightening effect, particularly when you saw the pictures of these masses of Nazis marching in rows of 16 or 32 endlessly past a

reviewing stand with their banners and flags and slogans against Jews. It was not comforting, so what impression I had was very difficult to say. Frightening and no way out. As if you run against the wall, want to climb over it and then when you get there you find you can't climb over and the people behind you want to kill you.

Q WERE YOU AWARE AT ALL OF THE EFFORTS BEING MADE OUTSIDE OF GERMANY BY BRITAIN?

A Yes, yes and they were very small. We were aware of it and have told of this when the Zionist paper was still published and they talked about it. For instance the incident about the boat that took a lot of people to Cuba, because the Cuba counsel sold visas and then they turned them away. That was known, what was not, was that a lot of people jumped into the water before they came back to the German port, but that was known. Many other efforts became known only after the war ended. The attempts by Swedish,(Swede Volenberg), to help Jews escape. Attempt by others to help Jews from East Europe escape were not known at that time.

Q THERE WAS SOME DISCUSSION IN THE BOOK ABOUT (WILFRED ISRAEL) ON THE ANTI-NAZI BOYCOTT THAT TOOK PLACE OUTSIDE OF GERMANY BY NON-GERMAN JEWS AND THERE WAS A DEBATE ABOUT THAT; WERE YOU AWARE OF THAT?

A No, I don't know how effective it was. I will say that in retrospect.

Q IN AUGUST OF 1937 THERE WAS A NEW WHITE PAPER PUBLISHED WHICH WAS ENACTED, WHICH RESTRICTED JEWISH IMMIGRATION TO PALESTINE. WERE YOU AWARE OF THAT?

A No, No, by that time already I was away from the movement. I

was still I would not say I was a Zionist and I won't say I was a non Zionist that was always an option, but I was not aware of it and I do not know to what extent it was published in Germany. The British attitude was known. They did not like the mass immigration to Palestine and it did not change with the declaration of the Jewish state in May of 1948.

Q WITH THE ANNEXATION OF AUSTRIA, WHAT EFFECT DID THAT HAVE, DID YOU TALK ABOUT IT WHEN YOU FOUND OUT WHERE YOU WERE AND PICTURES YOU MAY HAVE SEEN?

A It was expected. The Austrians were a greater Nazis then the Germans and would openly declare to be Nazis. They all lined up I think and the subsequent history of Austria including up-to-today seems to underline that. They're lovely people and a lovely country but they had also a relatively unfluent Jewish community there, prominent and as prominent as it was in Germany; literary circles, musical circles, cultural circles, professors, journalists, lawyers, philosophers, professors in various subjects. So they had developed both an admiration and hatred. The ambivalence was also something that was characterized before the Nazis came to power, the attitude of many Germans, prominent. Einstein was there and some people were even allowed by the Nazis to stay. There is also one biochemist who's Jewish, one of the, belonging to the the Warberg financial family that goes back a couple of centuries and one of its members, I forgot the first name, I think Auto, was a very famous biochemist and he was allowed to stay there at the Rockefeller Institution, whose money had built him an institute in Berlin and he was allowed to stay there because somehow the Nazis hoped he would find a cure for cancer and



not knowing much at the time that it is not something of which one cure might possibly do, or one drug might do it. But they had that hope and another thing was the head of the German Air Force was half Jewish and was at that time that Goering said "I determine who is a Jew". And in defense of the appointment of a very capable officer to head the Air Force.

Q IN '38 THE POLISH BORN JEWS WERE EXPELLED FROM GERMANY. DID THAT HAVE ANY IMPACT OR SIGNIFICANCE ON YOUR LIFE?

A Yes, we feared something would happen because kristallnacht followed it. Yes it was publicized of course widely and the effect exaggerated. Sure it was Polish Jews that shot a member of the German embassy or concillate in Paris and those people of mine including myself feared very bad consequences. This needed an incident like that to justify the excess and the excess was the kristallnacht and of course taking in of many Jews, most prominent Jews who were free up to that time. Take them into custody and no legal procedure, not justifiable, simply because they were Jews. And so that changed the situation. It remained somewhat changed though there was a flairup that did not continue night-after-night, week-after-week, but we had fears.

Q COULD YOU TALK A LITTLE BIT ABOUT KRISTALLNACHT AND WHERE YOU WERE, WITH YOUR FAMILY, ABOUT KRISTALLNACHT AND WHERE YOU WERE?

A Well I was in Bonn and was not aware of it because the man of the house had left. He was warned by a friend and could still get away. He did, they came looking for him, but he wasn't there and they never came after him to the top floor where I was. Besides I wasn't anybody prominent, who was on their list if it went that way. I

suppose that they had such a list and a number of people were warned. I found that out later. Also that was true in Berlin. But they looked for prominent Jews. What they did with them, nobody knows. Some of them came back to their families, others did not.

Q HOW DO YOU THINK THAT THEY WERE WARNED, I MEAN HOW DO YOU THINK THAT HAPPENED?

A I don't know. Apparently since it wasn't done, since kristallnacht was not the same day and this was anticipated as a reaction of the Nazis and the people who knew, non-Jews warned their Jewish friends. That's the only way that I can explain it, but I have no definite information of that, not everybody escaped.

Q DID THAT HEIGHTEN YOUR SENSE OF URGENCY TO LEAVE GERMANY?

A Oh, yes, well the sense of urgency was there all the time and I had already applied at that time for a student visa and it took quite a long time before that came through. I had to be accepted by the university. First I had to be accepted by a Jewish fraternity, that they would give me room and board. And there were a number of people whose biographies, so to speak, were sent around. Jewish fraternities weren't particularly quick in deciding and once it was decided they would take one and looked at the pictures and characteristics I cannot say what, then contact was made with the university, for qualifications for professorship or student acceptance as a student were acceptable, were possible. That they didn't act with any particular speed became clear after I got there. They didn't know much about it, they asked some which I would have said then already were silly questions. Don't you read the papers in America, they must report about that. They did not. They read the sports section nothing

else and then they asked, my roommate who came from Austria and me, and the boys wondering about the lack of alacrity in those people. They were Jewish and their parents and their father's came from somewhere in Europe and established themselves, most of them and they had a good life. They didn't know what went on really and they could hardly believe it, and if they believed it or not, I can't even say. If they just asked the question then went on with their usual activities, silly it appeared to me then and more so today.

Q WHEN WERE YOU AWARE OF THE EXISTENCE OF THE CAMPS, WHEN DID YOU BECOME AWARE OF THEM?

A Not at all, until I was in this country and pretty much after the war and before we sat down here I mentioned that many of the German people, non-Nazis and perhaps Nazis were not aware. Certainly it was not published, on the contrary it was forbidden to talk about it. But one wonders what people in close vicinity to let's say Auschwitz or Buchenwald must have smelled, because the smell of burning bodies, burning flesh wafted from the camp and pretty much, at least in the neighborhood. I don't know how far but they must have known something, but they couldn't talk about it. Maybe they had an idea but if they talked about it, they were in danger of being picked up and sent there too. So really they did not talk about it and it only underlines the fact that many Germans, non-Jewish Germans may have had ideas about it. But couldn't act, couldn't even ask questions about what is going on there. In fact the whole thing was pretty much suppressed here in this country. It was known but any attempt to urge or to get the government to do anything about it, was well it was not obvious as much as talked about and they could have bombed

the railroad tracks and the railroad yards and the places where the people were shipped, they were released. That was denied and the planes could have landed in Russia but no such plan was actually, I don't know how seriously or not seriously it was considered. We only learned after the war that it was proposed and was not carried out.

Q WERE YOU ACTIVE IN THE JEWISH COMMUNITY HERE AFTER YOU CAME?

A Not, very much. I was in Berkley a little bit and that came more so by the (Hillary Foundation) then by my own initiative. What went on here nobody could even impress me. I have a contact here in San Francisco but I don't belong to a synagogue and no, but if you speak of activity or role or leading role, simply I would have to say no.

Q HOW DID THIS EXPERIENCE THIS WHOLE EXPERIENCE AFFECT YOUR LIFE AND YOUR VALUES?

A When you mean talk of experience, in America or the whole Jewish experience?

Q THE JEWISH EXPERIENCE IN GERMANY.

A There was, that was shaped already while I was in Germany and it was disillusioning to see here how little is known and I mentioned the attitude of the students in the fraternity. They were Jews after all the Jewish fraternity is a sign that the others don't want you in their little community of fraternities or sororities. That didn't affect them at the Jewish golf club and they have a few non-Jews to show that they are not restricted to Jews. But it was very disappointing because there is a feeling, there was a feeling, there still is a feeling, that there should be some sort of solidarity. It shouldn't limit itself to Jews, but there should be solidarity and my

impression was shortly after I came, that it was lacking and that may partly have determined my desire to go into the armed forces and be just as assimilated here as I was in Germany hoping that no Hitler will come here.

Q WOULD YOU TALK A LITTLE BIT ABOUT YOUR FEELINGS ABOUT GERMAN REUNIFICATION?

A Yes, I can talk about it. If you want to specify say something, otherwise I will tell you my opinion.

Q NO, I WANT TO HEAR YOUR OPINION.

A It was done very hastily. East Germany or East Germans did not decide that they wanted to live in a communist governed state. They simply lived there and the division was done. The way it was administered, it was a pseudo-communist state. There was no private property, people had subsidized housing, subsidized food, subsidized everything. They had very little money of their own and what they had deteriorated or devalued in comparison with the west. So what happened in the reunification is the border fell, the wall was demolished and the east was left with worthless industrial facilities that were not kept up.

So as a result when the government collapsed, there was nobody there to tell the people what to do or tell the factories what to do. There was no money to support them any more so they closed. If they would have tried to continue, they would have not been in any way able to compete with others and so it was logical that they would stop manufacturing things and as a result the people who worked there lost their jobs. They had some social net but the money has to come from somewhere and the Chancellor Kohl promised that the West Germans

would do that, but the West Germans didn't think of any sacrifices that they would have to make and just the idea of reunification, oh yes. and sacrifices, no. And that is still the attitude today because it costs money to, not only rebuild the factories and invest in the east. but to provide help for the unemployed. West Germany has unemployed and East Germany has many times as many people without any hope.

Houses were not kept up, I remember distinctly. I visited the house where I grew up. It took time to get perhaps to the apartment where my mother lived and I, and nobody was home so that was a good solution. Didn't know what I would have said or how I would have reacted, but since nobody was home, I did have the courage to go there and nobody was there to really tempt me. But the steps were hollowed out from the years of people walking up the stairs and down, the houses hadn't been kept up, hadn't been painted. Plumbing from what I learned later was in disarray. All these houses, okay they have roofs but the conditions are terrible. Not only there at the houses, but the houses belongs to the state. There was no private property. Now the state is gone and the invitation to those that have money and you can buy condominiums and you can buy houses and come. The people who left that area that was east because they couldn't take it anymore or had political reasons to leave. They come back now and say this was our property. We want to occupy it again, if not we want to be compensated. That was not considered at all. The chancellor wanted to have a political victory, wanted to be the chancellor and wanted the reunification to take place and he didn't care. I don't think he really cared or gave a damn, what would happen.

The reunification took place, he persuaded the East Germans that it would be in their interest, that he would do a number of things which they hoped for. They exchanged money but then he didn't do anything and the Germans don't want to do anything there and then point at some leading industrialist to arrange that and he was murdered a couple of months ago. It's really chaos and that chaos was predictable and similar to what, not similar but I compare it to (Peristroieka) in Russia. People expected miracles overnight. You cannot go from a planned economy to a market economy. Furthermore since the end of the war two generations have lived in Germany. They had no initiative left, they didn't need any. It was all determined what everyone had to do. There was no unemployment because well in such a state you don't have unemployment, something has to be given to everybody. If they got unemployment insurance or should have gotten, or they got some job, it paid, it paid for the minimum requirements of life. If they wanted more there were some stores but they were only accessible to the upper group in the communist government. They had their own housing and they got updated plumbing and they had restaurants with servants in uniform and they had silver and flatware and things like that and the rest of the people, no. Up to a certain level that penetrated that went to a slightly lower echelon in the government but I think the majority of the people, 16 million, did not have any benefits from that and they lived okay. Their life was bearable and they yearned for all the goods in the west. And when the border fell and they got a few thousand German marks they immediately went and bought things which they hoped to buy before which they saw on television and saw in pictures and they

spent their money. There was nothing left and not only that, the problem who pays rent, rent went up right away. In spite of the fact there was no government, no determination and nobody was told how much to charge for an apartment and the problem is still not solved. So there is great unhappiness about it. Yesterdays's Time Magazine showed a picture of Chancellor Koe in East Germany being pelted with eggs. Well they realize what is going to happen and he promised things would smooth out, maybe ten years from now, not overnight. The anticipation was for the people who had suffered. Well we are all Germans and these are our brothers, brothers and sisters that will be treated somewhat like that, well they are not, they are looked down as second class citizens. That's the picture that shows and it does not change even if a government changes, because there is no desire on the part, no apparent desire on the masses of the West Germans to really make sacrifices. Money is needed and Germany has committed itself already to paying not only Russia for withdrawing the troops and helping Russia with its financial problems, but they have pledged I don't know how many billions for the gulf war. So there really is not any money left to pay for the gulf war. Of course right now in Washington, I don't know what is even arranged, but that is the answer. It is sad and nobody has really expected that. Nobody has stood up and said you can't do this in such a short period overnight or without having some structure which will take over and the problem which I have already mentioned, is still not solved. What about the people that said we have property there and we want it back and that property was occupied by other people who have in some cases, most cases kept it up. But what right to people that have abandoned their



property without having any hope or intention of ever clammering for it to be returned and now they come and courts don't know what to do. There is really no law, no attempt made to resolve that. There would be money necessary to either help people buy apartments or buy the houses in which they lived or the apartment or house in which they live but there are no regulations and no suggestions and nobody to turn to and meanwhile prices go up because people who have money drive the price up. There is an inflation in the east and speculation and the people who live in East Germany cannot participate and they are the victims of it and so it is a pretty bad situation brought on, I couldn't say brought on, but without having been foreseen by the people in charge. That means the West Germans and the East Germans simply have quit and okay it's not ours anymore. Hanakah, an old man in Russia, to spend the last years or days of his life in relative comfort, years of his life, but a sick man and those that worked with him are gone or certainly in no position to do anything about it. And where are now the people that can be pointed out and say it is your fault. So I really this is I think the answer I would give you and it is not a pretty picture because nobody foresaw and those that should have foreseen it and had an example of Russia to go by, did not and it was essentially for political victory of their chancellor.

Q WERNER SCHWARTZ WE GO BACK TO LIFE IN GERMANY IN THE 30'S. CAN YOU DESCRIBE MEETING WILFRED ISRAEL? DID YOU MEET HIM, WILFRED ISRAEL?

A Did I meet whom?

Q WILFRED ISRAEL.

A Oh, Wilfred Israel I met him.

Q CAN YOU DESCRIBE MEETING HIM?

A I met him, I have letters from him. Well I don't think that I can contribute more, anything additional to what it says in the book. He was a strange man who kept to himself and was, not one given to make quick friendships. He was wealthy. He had a good collection at that time already of Oriental art which a good deal of it was shipped to the kibbutz where I would have gone had I stayed with the group. He wanted to be buried there and it couldn't happen because he was shot down over the Atlantic. No it's difficult to say, it was impossible to get close to him. He addressed me by my first name and I addressed him by his first name. I was really considerably younger than he, I think 12 years or so and it was a different generation. Besides he was a very wealthy man, he could travel back and forth. He spoke fluent English and fluent German and expressed himself very well. He had a fancy apartment with servants but all of that and he managed not to get close. Talked about, and very informally but see no possibility of becoming friends. First of all I was not in his generation and anyway I was a messenger at best. He had a reading hall, but the cordialities you sometimes find among people who do work together was not there. This was I would say, this was his whole attitude and I think it is also expressed in the book.

Q HOW DID YOU MEET HIM AND WHAT MANNER DID YOU WORK WITH HIM?

A Oh, I didn't really work with him. I met him as a messenger and when I left this country I don't even know if I wrote him or he wrote me before and wished me good luck. I stopped in London at a Jewish council there but I really can't recall. I haven't even looked at a couple of letters I have from him I saved, and I threw some

correspondence with (Martin Gruber) away. He simply sent me a couple of postcards, not thinking why should I keep all of this. I have so much and there comes a time when I have to sort it out rather than to leave all this to my heirs. I didn't think it would be important. It's not even important in this connection here because what can I contribute or say about him. It is much better said and it is very thorough in an autobiography. I just have a political opinion about the politics there and it doesn't affect me. I can say it affects me as much as it was a division which was arbitrary and the people who lived east of the dividing line didn't choose that and had an entirely different life system, political system and life and they're being treated now as if they're personally responsible for it. But it has really nothing to do with my reaction as a Jew or reaction today. The whole thing, I have ambivalent feelings about it and I, yesterday on T.V. one of the stations(A&E) an hour was entitled from (Kruschev) was the end point of it. Then I saw part of it, just certain episodes that were shown and Kennedy was there in Berlin and I think from Kaiser and from before World War I to (Kruschev) was the title from the (Kaiser to Kruschev). I have different feelings about it. Some of them I know, I am horrified, seeing the marching Nazis, and then again this period is over and there are some different attitudes today. I have mixed feelings about what I read in the paper today, about Valencia being in Israel and speaking there, but this has nothing to do with my reaction at that time. This is today's reaction after 50 years in this country.

Q     WHAT IS YOUR REACTION TO READING ABOUT NEO-NAZI VIDEO GAMES IN GERMANY?

A Well I am horrified but I am not surprised. I am also not surprised that more of it is in Austria then in Germany. They can't be stopped any more than the press can be stopped, any press articles about whatever happens in this country. Whether it is the Kennedy family or something like that and the papers need something to print and they exaggerate and they don't ask anybody. They have to sell their papers, but this does not surprise me. You can have anything and just ask what I think about pornographic tapes, it's the same thing. And what do I think about the 900 telephone number? Anybody, any kid can call, it's of the same order. Make it available because there is a market for it. And because kids learn to use computers in school already, at least in many schools and certainly in Europe where they're much more advanced in that respect than here. This is to be expected. Imagine what it would do here if it were available? People, even students are probably less, what would I say, less sophisticated and would grab that too because it is exciting, murder or shootouts, it is very exciting. The T.V. is full of it. so what do you expect the kids to do when they see all that daily. So the same is true that feeds their fantasy whether it is space travel or whether this type of things, it's all imaginary and the young mind grabs it. And parental control is probably there, just as lacking as it is here. Leave the kids alone. We don't have to bother him, if he doesn't bother us. Again that has nothing to do with my experience why I am here, but I answer the questions I'm asked.

Q CAN YOU GIVE ANY INSIGHT INTO YOUR MEETINGS WITH PEOPLE LIKE (ADOLPH HURSH)? DID YOU KNOW (SIEGFRED MOSES), ANY OF THESE PEOPLE, HEAD OF THE JEWISH GERMAN COMMUNITIES, DID YOU KNOW OF

THESE?

A Any insight, I don't know. I spoke with (Adolph Hursh) and I knew his son who went to Brazil and no it was all very short and wasn't related to any particular case. It was not anything friendly or not a personal relationship. He was much older than I. I was the age of his son. And again if I had anything, it was essentially as a messenger. I told him something and his answers were crisp and to the point. So anything personal, no. Those people did not let on how they felt and what were their ideas. I talked to Leo Baeck, the chief rabbi, while I was there and even had a letter I think of introduction from him when I left. He survived in (Tradenstadt). I heard him speak here in the synagogue and (Goering) now in California but I didn't approach him. He met so many people I felt it's really not, well he has so many things on his mind and why should I simply having met him, I talked to him a couple of times before, while I was in Germany and now tell him do you remember, no.

Q AT THE TIME OF BEING A MESSENGER FOR (WILFRED ISRAEL), DID YOU KNOW HE WAS WORKING AS HARD AS HE WAS TO GET THE GERMAN JEWISH YOUTH OUT OF THE COUNTRY?

A Yes, I did not work for him as a messenger. I brought him some information and went to his apartment. Yes, I was. Because it had directly to do with that and I knew that he was a citizen of England and Great Britian as well as of Germany and was a sign of an old and well-to-do family. Their family owned a department store that I knew. But the subject of our meeting of my message to him was an exchange of words but was essentially information that shouldn't be

sent over the phone or sent over the mail and so was brought personally. And then he sent, after we first established contact a few times in that connection, I got as I said a couple of letters. First very formal and second less formal, and more informal, addressed me by my first name and saying cordially, Wilfred. But that didn't mean that there was a cordial relationship. That was simply style.

Q DO YOU THINK HE HAD IN ANY WAY DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY INFLUENCED YOUR ABILITY TO GET TO THE UNITED STATES?

A He was glad that I did but he had no influence in it. He actually stepped into, on the stage you might say after the beginning of the war, much more than before, because he was the only one who could get out and leave Germany and come back. I think his activities were welcomed by the Gestapo as a contact and you don't know how much they supervised him and listened to him secretly, but he was not a conspirator in any way. He did it all openly as far as I know.

Q WERE YOU AWARE OF THE EVIAN CONFERENCE, THIS WAS IN 1938 WITH THE AMERICAN JEWISH DELEGATION, THE GERMAN JEWISH TRYING TO RAISE QUOTAS?

A No, no. Was it successful, no.

Q DID YOU HAVE ANY NON-JEWISH GERMAN FRIENDS BROUGHT UP IN THE 30'S?

A No, not close friends, acquaintances. Acquaintances, yes, but not close friends.

Q DID THEY REMAIN YOUR ACQUAINTANCES AFTER HITLER?

A No, there was too much time between. Either they died in the war or I had no desire of reestablishing any correspondence. I had some half Jewish relatives who were a cousin of my mother's, who was

baptised and married a non-Jewish woman and had two children. I met them after the war, a long time after the war and they lived in Berlin and they could continue living there, but no particular close relation. They went through some of the ordeal that the Jews went through but they were spared the deportation.

Q DID YOU KNOW OF (ADAM VONTROT)?

A No, I had heard about him and read about him only after I came to this country. After the war I knew of some students who were executed because of their anti-Nazi propaganda, that was publicized widely in the press, so that I knew. But anything that was not publicized in the press, I did not know. In fact that was the purpose of the whole propaganda machine only to let the people know what they want them to know and suppress what they don't want them to know.

Q DID YOU KNOW THOSE STUDENTS?

A No, in Munich that I think this happened. It was simply I knew about it because it was publicized.

Q DID YOU EVER HEAR ANY GERMAN NON-JEW VOICE ANY ANTI-NAZI SENTIMENTS IN YOUR PRESENCE?

A Yes, I mean not strictly anti-Nazi, they did not approve of what they did. The neighbors and people, and that type of people, who were horrified told me or told my mother or other relatives that they were horrified. But they didn't do anything, they didn't speak up and I don't know what they did in the last election, I mean before Hitler came to power, assumed power and how they voted. That was taboo, we didn't talk about it. That would have been embarrassing. What should they say if they had voted for the Nazis because they were disgusted with the whole situation in Germany and unemployment, inflation and

whatever. And people were fearful of saying something. They might say it quietly and privately, but not openly and a few people would say they regretted all of this and hoped that it won't hit my family or in a bad way but they didn't anticipate either of them would happen. But there were a number of non-Jewish families who hid Jews during the whole period and they could not stay in any one place, for any length of time. So there was a whole net of underground non-Jewish families who participated in helping Jews stay undetected and this was done at the risk of their own lives.

Now I had an uncle and a cousin who did this until two months before the war and they thought they could go and meet you in the day, when previously they only met at night and they were seen and picked up and shipped to the east and exterminated. But there were many others and I know about that from them personally and they knew a number of people who lived through the Nazi period, underground Jews or half Jews. Any other questions?

Q WHEN DID THE REALIZATION COME TO YOU THAT YOU WEREN'T GOING TO SEE ANY OF THIS FAMILY AGAIN, YOUR MOTHER, YOUR UNCLES AND YOUR AUNTS?

A I don't know. Even when I heard, got no more letters from my mother, I did not think that would be the end because we didn't know. I didn't know living here in this country at Berkley at the time or just before I got into the Navy that, what went on in the camps, that the camps as such were not just labor camps, but extermination camps. No I did not know and it was very difficult to ask non-Jews that survived because they would always say, no they did not know, and there were no Nazis after the war ended. Those who were Nazis and



belonged to either the Storm Troopers or the SS troops burnt their uniforms and membership cards. Nobody could govern the country without a large number of those people who run the offices that remain constantly there but don't make policy but in order to make the whole population work and have an organization, of that they need people. Those who stayed in their jobs had to be Nazis and they had to stay in their jobs because otherwise there wouldn't have been any government. It's the same here when parties change, when the president from another party of a previous one, changes a few positions. But the majority of positions are people who know what their job is and what they have to do and it doesn't make any difference whether they are Republicans or Democrats, conservatives or liberals. They have no influence on the policy and just carry out their routine jobs, but it needs hundreds of thousands of them.

Q SO HOW LONG AFTER THE LETTERS STOPPED?

A I don't know exactly, I think the last letter came through the Red Cross. And that still didn't mean no more and that's the end. It was simply a notice from my mother to me and it was delivered I don't know how much later.

Q HOW DID YOU HANDLE THE GRIEF OR HOW DID YOU GRIEVE FOR THE DEATH OF YOUR MOTHER THAT YOU NEVER...

A I can't describe that, can't describe that, that is not a time limit of grief, that is just a consciousness that stay's with me until I die. By the time I knew about it, learned about it was 1945. I had been in this country six years and I had been in the Navy. I had pretty much anticipated that and there was grief. It came to the

surface more so afterwards, then immediately at the time or during the six years up 'til the end of the war.

Q DID YOU HAVE THE CORRESPONDENCE FROM YOUR MOTHER?

A Yes, I have saved every letter that she wrote and what I wrote but I haven't looked at them and they are locked up, you might say, it's just too painful. It would be, I don't say it is, would be. So when I am gone, they will be burned with me. No, I simply didn't want to destroy them, tear them up or anything like that but I don't want to read them. I have corresponded and have telephone connections with the survivors of the family and the cousin in Sweden and the cousin in Los Angeles that is partly correspondence as long as they write but if they don't write, we talk on the phone. So there's that connection but it doesn't say anything, simply a network you might say of people. The only one in Los Angeles and the one in Sweden I have seen frequently and we know each other. The one in Columbia a woman, she has been here too and made trips together but the connection is well, it's there. And she can call me any time she wants and I can call her back, but there is 50 years between.

People change, interests change and which were connections. One in particular between the parents of these people and my mother and me as the oldest of a bunch of cousins has changed too. And we all have, you might say, assimilated and not only rooted but also assimilated in the environment. The one in Columbia less so then the one in Sweden and the one in Los Angeles.

Q DID THAT KINSHIP, DID THAT HELP YOU WITH YOUR GRIEF FOR YOUR MOTHER AT ALL?

A No, they had their own grief. The one in Sweden, there were two,

one died already. His parents went on the same transport as my mother from Berlin and the one in Columbia. No there is no way of doing it and the one in Los Angeles I helped his parents to get here. I knew a number of people who could give them an affidavit that they would not become a social burden to the government and they did not .

Q DID YOU MENTION THE DATE AND/OR DESTINATION OF THAT TRANSPORT FROM THE PREVIOUS INTERVIEW?

A No, you mean of my mother's transport? No. She indicated once in her letter I think it was my last type written letter I got that she had heard it and if I don't hear anything more, then I should assume that. But I am not even sure how clear that was expressed. As I mentioned before I am not going back to look it up. She may have said how imminent it was, she may, again I tried to well eliminate you might say the memory from that last thing because I can't imagine what happened there and what feelings they may have had. I think I can imagine but they couldn't do anything about it. They had to take it in a spirit of well that's fate. Then there was several of my mother's family who just went in that direction and never were heard from again. There's a register, I don't know if the Nazis maintained the register and it has fallen into the hands of the subsequent government. Their names are entered in Jerusalem at the memorial but that's simply our statement and not anything that comes from the exterminator. I don't know if they kept exact records if, the Nazis kept exact records. I don't know.

Q KEEPING HER LETTERS WAS IMPORTANT TO YOU?

A Yes, I wouldn't want to throw them away. It's something I, well I can't say what is the rationale of it. They don't take up that

much room and it would be a sacrilege I think, if I threw them away. You had me almost two hours. Are you going to cut some of it, I hope?

Q YES, IF IT'S TELEVISED IT WOULD BE.

A I mean something that is really not pertinent to the whole project.

Q NO. WE'RE GOING TO KEEP THE ENTIRE TAPE, OKAY?

A Okay.

Q I HAVE ONE FINAL QUESTION. HOW DO YOU THINK YOUR FAMILY WILL RESPOND UPON VIEWING YOUR TAPE?

A I don't know. I hope to get two copies and I will send one to each of my sons and I don't know if my cousin in Sweden would like to get a copy. I can send one and ask him to return it. I suppose it is possible if I wanted to get a third copy and pay for it or something. But just right now I would just like one for each son. I would like to view one. I had made arrangements already when I think you told me that it might come by the 9th of May. And I waited the whole week and then on Friday I called Lonnie and she didn't answer Friday, nobody was there. So then I called her today and she was gone last week and she had known and tried but she doesn't think it is ready, so that's it. If I made a fool of myself last time, I made the same mistake today.

Q HOW EXTENSIVELY HAVE YOU DISCUSSED YOUR EXPERIENCE WITH YOUR CHILDREN?

A With the older one to some extent. They do not have an emotional connection with that. I took them to Germany in 1970 when the older one finished high school. We drove by Buchenwald, first an

English military cemetery, and my older son asked me wasn't that a concentration camp and I told him, yes. The next day we went there. It was the first time that they, as well as I, saw the gruesome pictures, photos and the whole area, with a stone here and there and total, and no systematic way of doing it and a large plate, marble plate or something like that laid at the very end of it with inscriptions. So he knows to that extent and he knows a little bit more. Again it is very difficult to talk about it. There is a difference in generation, in experience and for him it is well how should I say, there is a word for it. Can't think of it right now. But it is an intellectual experience for him, while it is an emotional experience for me. So certain things which I refuse to see. I have not seen this television series about the Holocaust because I just couldn't stand it. I think I couldn't stand it and my imagination is good enough to visualize what went on. I have not many books about it.

The facts are there and I don't need a multiplication of the facts to realize what went on. I know in one case from a cousin of my mother's who knew of somebody who went through it and knew my mother in the camp and she was sick and was helped very much by the other inmates and got well again before she was murdered just like the rest of them. This I know but otherwise this experience and to transmit that to others who did not participate, who are not directly involved is very difficult. Vicarious is the word which I looked for. My son at best can experience that vicariously and still it is only intellectual and for me it is emotional and I cannot. It is impossible to transmit that. Or if you have a suggestion how that is done, how others have

reacted, then let me know. I certainly want them to know more than a little bit of an emotional experience. And what I gave you today, this copy of the German weekly Der Spiegel, I labeled at the bottom for Eric and Ron because that would be something to look up direct and though they are English books they would look at them just to read about that or the book on Wilfred Israel because they have no connection with that.

They have their own young which they can revive and relive and the relatives of mine, the ones in Sweden and the ones in Los Angeles. In fact the youngest son went to Sweden after we were first there in 1970. He was invited and went there in 1971 because that cousin has three sons and one is about the same age as the youngest son and they spent six weeks together and the other one didn't learn this, Swedish, but the relationship is that close. That is typical.

Those boys have grown sons now. My Swedish cousins know it but don't have any parents, as his parents were sent on the same transport with my mother and he should know as much as I know about it, and reaction as much and the sons know. We don't talk about it. They know but it's not a subject for conversation and I don't see how it can be. You cannot revive or relive the horrors and frankly I couldn't either. I can only imagine them. But if the different basis sent those without a direct connection with it and my sons don't know their grandparents, oh, yes they know, they don't know their grandparents on either side of, it's disconnected for them.

Q IT WAS THE FINAL QUESTION. I WANT TO THANK YOU, WERNER.

A Sorry I used up that much tape as I said.