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Rochus MISCH

Translation of Transcription in German of Testimony by Rochus MISCH on January 28, 2004

Translation made by Ed Swecker, February 2006

Tape 1

Q: May I just ask you to give your name?

A: My name? First and last name?

Q: Yes, first and last name.

A: My name is Rochus, first name, Misch

Q: And when were you born?

A: I was born in July 1917, in the middle of the war.

Q: What day in July?

A: On 29 July 1917.

Q: And where?

A. In Altschalkendorf...known then as Altschalkowitz; that is in the vicinity of Oppeln.

Q: Were your parents from there or somewhere else?

A: No. My parents...my father had been seriously wounded during the war and he was in a local hospital in Oppeln. And he was given a furlough from there for a few days which my mother had not expected...she was at the end of her pregnancy. And that was on the 24th. And on the 26th he suffered a hemorrhage...and my father died. In the village there was no doctor and naturally that was a very difficult time for my mother, you know. And on the third day the men came in order to....in order to fetch the coffin with my dead father. And my mother had seen that, from the window when they carried him on their shoulders, my father and that caused her to scream terribly. That's what the people said, screamed terribly, she wanted above all to join him. Then my father was brought into the church...the afternoon mass and, well, things continued, after the mass my father was carried to the grave and while the bells rang along the way, you know, for the midwife was already there and at that point I was born. My father passed away and I

was born. And so that's how I got the name Rochus, my father's name. But I was the second born; I already had a brother, five years older.

Q: Were your parents originally from Upper Silesia, or not?

A: They were from the same area.

Q: And what happened then, after the death of your father?

A: Well, then I had already been born an orphan and after two and a half years my mother also died. Then I became a full orphan. I was lucky that I had a grandmother and grandfather. They became the people who raised me.

Q: Maybe I can ask a short question. In other words, your father's name was Rochus, right, and what was your mother's name?

A: Viktoria.

Q: From what kind of milieu, in other words, what was your father's occupation?

A: My father was a construction worker, worked on constructions. And my mother, we lived beforehand in Berlin, here in Berlin-Steglitz. That's where my mother was employed, with the BVG (trans. note: stands for the Berlin transportation company which runs the busses and trams). And then during the war when she became pregnant they moved to Silesia and we stayed there for a while.

Q: And you then went to the grandparents?

A: Yes, I stayed with my grandparents and they were my substitute parents.

Q: Did your brother also go to the grandparents or not?

A: Yes, yes. When he was eleven years old and I five, he died from a bathing accident.

Q: There were a lot of deaths in your early life. Well, how was your childhood with your grandparents? Was it a happy childhood?

A: Very, yes. I had a very nice childhood. Wonderful grandparents. It was strict but I was a, probably a very quiet teen, in other words, they had no trouble with me.

Q: What was your grandfather's occupation? What kind of milieu?

A: He did excavations. He worked on constructing canals in Berlin.

Q: But I believe you also had a house, you said.

A: Yes, my grandparents had a house.

Q: And then you went to school. How long...how was it then.., a pleasant time?

A: Yes, [I] went to school and after finishing it, I can still remember, and then the school director who had been a friend of my father's said I should go to Oppeln to continue going to school. That my grandfather clearly rejected. "People can always go to school. He has to learn a manual craft. And he always has had school _____ (sic) painter, so he will be a painter." And then my cousin came to visit us. She was in favor of taking me with her to Hoyerswerda here in the Upper Lausitz because she had found an opportunity for me to learn a trade. .

Q: What was that like? What exactly did you learn?

A: Well, during the learning priod I gained an awful lot. In the third year of instruction I went to Cologne, Master Craftsman School for Interior Design, advertisement painting and letter advertisements. I spent six months in Cologne on the Rhine.

Q: During that time were you specifically in any kind of youth organization, of any sort?

A: No, not a all, no, absolutely not. I lived alone by myself. I wasn't interested in anything else. I had to care for myself, you know. I had no one.

Q: Did you like, did you like to read, did you have anything, can you then.....

A: Well, I did read, yes.

Q: That was a turbulent time then, a difficult time, the end of the Twenties, the beginning of the Thirties. You were certainly still rather young, thirteen, fourteen. But can you still remember scenes which have stayed in your memory. In other words, there was mass unemployment, German national consciousness was on the floor, bitter feelings about the costs of reparations and so forth. Do you still remember anything that perhaps is a bit vivid?

A: There is nothing. Because I had to really concentrate on taking care of myself, that I did things right, because I lived with my teacher but didn't have a house key. Whenever I wanted to leave, I had to arrange how to get back in the house by waiting in the work shop. In other words, food and lodging was with the teacher. But there was also another young student there in addition.

Q: In other words it was a very busy time in which you had relatively little free time probably, or not?

A: Yes _____ time _____ had school (sic). The teaching period was certainly hard. Well, simple it was not.

Q: Can you still remember if you were affected by the designation of Adolf Hitler as Reichskanzler. That was certainly greatly celebrated actually throughout the country.

A: Not at all. When I was in the middle of the teaching cycle and so forth, I didn't care.... or we didn't know who Adolf Hitler was or politically nothing at all. I was so interested in my profession and that_____ in Cologne I had very good training and there I also participated in the theatre. Well, it happened because we had made the stage settings. That was part of the training. And there the stage director said I also had to participate but I didn't want to. And then I got five marks for it. That was a lot of money. And so I participated. But I_____text_____Then I worked. The theatre was the Cologne "Cathedral Building Shed." And I worked there in the theatre as a stone mason for work on the cathedral. And the architects, they were all monks and so forth and they kept watching me, you know. And they didn't know what to do with me, you know. Because we who did that work had to do penance in order to work on the cathedral. Well, in time_____after observations on stage, a woman came to me with a child in her arm and said, "so, I was born in a convent." And I said only, "Maria." That was the only word that I had to stammer. Well, I did penance because the child that I produced and she given birth to the child in a grain field. Then for the architects and monks the lights dawned.. Why I had done penance. Well, that was what it was like, the theatre in Cologne.

Q: You liked your work, your course of study, right?

A: Yes, it gave me pleasure. I learned as a result that I could paint well and knew enough that I was given a work contract for the Olympic games, for the shooting contests, and I had, then I earned a lot of money. And that had to be _____from my teacher through my guardian_____...the money had to be somehow used, right. And we had agreed to that so that I could go to Cologne to school.

Q: The Olympics in Berlin. That was certainly very impressive for anyone who really comes from the country. Do you still remember the Olympics?

A: Well, my guardian, in other words my mother's sister who lives here in Berlin and since I have visited her often from (?), it is not so far. And since I became the best marksman among the young men [at the hunting association], I was given three tickets to the Olympics in Berlin, you know. And since I had in reference....the.....was impressive for me, this Olympic stadium, the masses of people...and when my aunt brought me there and we were at the entrance to the Olympic stadium and then came...black vehicles came, Hitler was in them and the people screamed; that stays well in my memory up to today how...that was very moving for me and I can picture now the people there who accompanied Hitler. They were dressed all in black with white uniform belts and everything like that. That was so moving for me because I come from a village and think like that, and felt totally involved and tears came to my eyes. And my aunt said, "What is wrong with you?" Well, that, not such, to be there, you know. That was so moving; otherwise a party or such didn't interest me in the least. And at that point I felt involved in it which became reality. Really. I can well remember that because at that time it was a

powerful event to experience that, how the people screamed and celebrated, you know. And how his entourage, they kept the people away from the car who were supposed to be _____ the car. Those were memories which you don't forget. But otherwise life was generally hard.

Q: Was that the first time youHitler personally?"

A: Yes, the first time. He came there, standing in the car....oh, ten meters from us, very nearby. My aunt had arranged that I could get right in his vicinity. Yes, I can well remember that. But what that otherwise meant, really nothing.

Q: Well, there are you know definite things that were really said publicly over and over, in other words, one people, one leader, through willingness to make sacrifices, gaining fame by that, and so forth. Was that done there for the first time?"

A: Well, that was when I lived with my teacher; he was very reserved in that direction. His son too, you know, but the other teacher—we had two, one of his sons came from a Napola school (trans. note: secondary schools established by the Nazis to combine education with Nazi indoctrination.) but I myself didn't know what that was. He was raised as a Nazi....in the Napola school, as a young boy, as a child he went somewhere but I don't know either.

Q: So from political talks with your grandparents, being informed, wasn't it usual that they talked also about the economic situation, about specific ideas.....German territories which had been lost after the first World War, again ____?

A: No, nothing, absolutely nothing. I was always dependent upon myself alone. And nothing else bothered me. I became then, during the teaching sessions the son of my teacher influenced me so much....my teacher was very much against it because something could happen to me, that I was permitted to play soccer. Then I joined a club. That was the first.....when I was in a club.

Q: In other words that feeling of belonging had to be already very important as an orphan.

A: I had grown up rather alone; I wasn't interested in anything else. Sports had then interested me, I played soccer with good success, you know. And my teacher came to a game and saw that and...from then on I was permitted to play. He was very strict. He had co-responsibility that nothing would happen to me. Because I lived in his house during the instruction, he was my foster father.

Q: And then you soon became eligible for military service, in other words...

A: Yes, then I came through, by reason of my good education, you know, in the artistic area, a teach... master craftsman who went to Homburg in the Black Forest to establish his own business and took me along. That was a change of scenery. Then I worked in

Hornburg.....well, it was in that area; Germany was supposed to become more beautiful.....And I drew plans for specific houses which had to be implemented. In the Black Forest there was a kind of English summer colony, it was always called; there were always many Englishmen there. You had work there. For the firm Schill and Bruchsal (ph)_____ I painted advertisements and well, I was able to exploit my artistic bent. Yes and then came the time, you know. One had become in the meantime....Then I became twenty years old and had to join the armed forces. Then I was in Offenburg with my friend to report for duty. I had friends, you know. And then we were called up, there was one place where you....could fulfill your military obligation with the service troops ("Verfuegungstruppe"). Four years enlistment but without labor service and then there is a pause and then you would enter the army. Three years would already be over and then from the advertisement I don't know either what happened next. After four years service you would become a state employee. And my friend said, "Yes, of course. You serve one year longer and then...." He really wanted to join something that was new then, the Autobahn police. That was completely new. Well, I was not for that but I really wanted to enter government service. My first choice was to enter service with the railroads, in other words, no kind of office work or such. I was not suited for that, I needed activity. Well, you took the information sheets and filled them out. And then I went to another roll call in Munich and there we were did it again in Munich and well,.....then came the enlistment into the armed forces. And I came to Berlin, at that time there were this_____treaty_____100,000 men and they had secretly established 3 regiments of men who would fulfill their military obligation but who were not included in the 100,000 men....And since they had completed the organization of the 3 regiments which

Q: [garbled transcription]_____a kind of gray zone so that the service troops then were regimental troops but just not directly officially allowed...

A: So we were trained, we were assigned everything....But that was such, at that time _____but that bothered me as a solitary person since childhood....In the meantime I had grown older_____and otherwise what happens in government offices. Then I thought, "well, you have to become a soldier anyway.".....And then I agreed to it and was enlisted, and from then it was off to Berlin Lichterfelde, well, the service troops._____

Q: Then you were divided up, you didn't especially ask for_____?

A: No, absolutely not, enlisted, divided up into five companies and anyway...And then began military service and training within a short time, in other words perfectly normal, the military instruction, nothing different.

Q: And then you were probably in the cadet school in Lichterfeld or not?

A: Yes, yes and then from these service troops the Waffen-SS was formed. That was at that time not yet the case with the three regiments, afterwards they misrepresented it, then no longer made it conform to the Versailles treaty, on the contrary came....in the meantime Hitler came, then it happened, the occupation of the Rhineland, so one thing after the other.

Q: How was it then, the atmosphere in the barracks when you just maybe [talked] with your comrades?

A: Well, there were six of us assigned to one room. All were well brought up sportsmen and of the six only two were smokers and that in moderation. I have to say the military training, the barracks instructions, were just right.

Q: What were the ideals that you were taught? Can you still remember about them; what were then maybe the priorities for military service?

A: Well, we didn't actually have ideals, you know....you could move around freely, when you were off duty and so forth. Had friendships...Pretty early on I met a girl at a police party—it was like a garden party. I didn't want to go at first but they told me, "Come on" and so forth, you know. I was kind of a bit of a loner. And then I went along and there I met my girlfriend. She immediately invited me home the next____. She had a lot of respect for us.

Q: In other words I assume that she then became your future wife?

A: No, no, that was then a long....but we maintained a formal relationship (addressing each other by the formal pronoun "Sie.") for almost two years. In other words I really found here substitute parents, you know. That was the____later and so forth. And there wasn't even a telephone. I came _____he left, was with his girlfriend. Well, that wasn't just something on the side. But love at first sight it was not. But she had invited me and I then accepted...soldiers get in that respect.....a fried potato relationship, well,, that's exactly also so. And my substitute father had only one hand, couldn't work....had an accident at work. And so I helped a lot in the garden. But it was not like love at first sight.

Q: What kind of social milieu was your girlfriend from? What was her father's occupation____his political leanings?

A: Well,, then the war came.

Q: If I could just return a bit, your girlfriend's father, what was his political orientation?

A: He was very left-wing. I know _____in other words SPD (trans.note: socialist party) even before the First World War. In other words in favor of the SPD. My future wife was too, you know, in the BDM (trans. note: stands for "Bund Deutscher Maedel", the main Nazi women's organization)_____ didn't belong to it either. She was raised here at home. And in 1916 she became a member of the SPD, you know. That was.....a hundred percent worker's party.

Q: This housing development here where you lived at the time, that was also a working class area, more or less?

A: Yes, yes, here nearby there was a lot of activity_____and then AEG (trans. note: stands-for General Electric Company, a major company based in Berlin today) cable factory, you know, everything was here, office workers, factory workers, all....They all knew each other here. There was also still a lot of space between things. And I rode my bicycle to work. That was built up after the First World War, everything was changed into agricultural land and then was sub-divided. Actually it was too much for a one-family house but it was supposed to be for six houses. That was supposed to be for people who provide for themselves. For that reason the parcels were a little large.

Q: Herr Misch, you said before that you were not very interested in politics but didn't the Anschluss with Austria affect you a little?

A: Yes, certainly, I was part of it. I was already in connection with_____we were then deployed. Yes, honestly, so_____to Vienna, there we were housed in a cloister. I can still remember that well. The nuns were so intimidated, but then....we sat in the courtyard in the evening and the company arranged for some music. They fetched a piano from the cloister and then we sang, you know, and the nuns, they found that so beautiful, they then put mattresses down on the floor of the dining room for the night.....well, that was the beginning of the war, this time as a soldier.

Q: But you were put into a very good mood when you were there?

A: Yes, certainly, that made us happy. That wasn't at all bad, not bad.

Q: A little later, wasn't that a different story which was not so positive....in other words in November the Reichskristallnacht occurred. Did that affect you?

A: Not at all, Really not.

Q: Also from the newspapers, or not so?

A: No, no. I was not yet a soldier.

Q: No, I mean whether you then....whether you were affected by the mood or by any kind of event?

A: I can't remember at all about it. That something like it existed.

Q: Did you have any premonition, we're slowly getting into '39, did you then have like a premonition or was there already in the barracks a bit, sometimes of talk that things were heading to a war...?

A: No, no, before the war, then we were.....our company....on the.....where Hitler had a house, there was also a barracks...and the company....I still remember...six weeks, was a time to recuperate, you know, there we had a terrific time in Berchtesgaden, we

engaged in the usual sports and exercises and _____four hours _____ and....was a wonderful time. That was just before the war.

Q: And then, can you still remember when movement orders came, what they told you....what it was about....Do you know?

A: That I _____know, right? _____completely motorized, often being driven here into the field, in the mountains and so forth, but about....That war started, you didn't notice that at all. Then I thought...we are being transported on maneuvers or something since militarily.._____very little. In two years we had been twice to the maneuver area for ten days a piece. That was all.

Q: When the Wehrmacht invasion of Poland began, were you part of it?

A: Yes.

Q: Did they tell you anything that.....?

A: Nothing, absolutely nothing.

Q: How was it then...?

A: We were loaded [on to trucks], frequently....This time we were sent to Silesia. And from Silesia...and...yes, about two or three days from Silesia we passed over into the combat zone, on the way to Poland.

Q: And wasn't it clear to you at this point in time....?

A: No, absolutely nothing. There wasn't any war, we were then fairly far into the Polish countryside and then we came for the first time together with....in combat with the Poles. Then there was firing. Well, but that lasted only a short time...and there were....not many Poles, soldiers, in other words, there had not been many either.

Q: And you have then....?

A: And then the Wehrmacht sections are such, they have it then so....support elements...were attached to the company, you know, in that respect we were not deployed at all that much. We were basically parade soldiers...That's the way it was, really.

Q: And did you receive an order, I believe which....?

A: _____during the war_____it was. Sometime there were just shootings,....a fellow soldier...who is....received a shot in the head, you know. Here and there it got serious. And there I found myself in a combat situation. But the war in Poland was not that hard., at least not for our unit there. I can only say where we were. And then we went so

far until shortly before Warsaw. And arriving there before us were regimental units, German infantry units before we went in. Yes, and then a single shot was fired now and then, somehow, but nothing serious_____an officer and two others in addition and then we entered the fortress to_____before Warsaw.

End of Tape 1

Tape 2

Q: Before we continue, what happened to you later in Germany, I would just like to ask you about “water Polish” you use as an expression. That is a mixture which is used in Upper Silesia, like a ____break..a mixture from the Polish_____a corruption.

A: Yes, yes.____just saying a sentence.._____Kucharka (ph) was the cook, Putzawawa (ph) cleaned, Hellschafter (ph) the gentlemen, the Zugeh (ph) the only one, the cook (laughter) that is “water Polish.”

Q: As corrupted Polish.

A: Yes, that’s it, German words polanized. Our _____taught us that.

Q: Good, then back to your circumstances in Warsaw, how did it continue?

A: Yes, then I was in Warsaw and then I was assigned to the far forward [line] and then I came back to the barracks in Lichterfelde. Yes, it wasn’t long afterwards that I was moved again....there were certainly....the first wounded, the earliest casualties and such who had expended so much effort, in that respect I went then to the mountains to a recovery hospital. You know, there I spent maybe four or six weeks, so long...as one of the seriously wounded. I had been seriously wounded, you know and then it was back to Berlin in the barracks. There I was placed in a company for recovering soldiers, in other words, you didn’t have to perform any duties, just confined to the barracks. And then I have...with my company commander...we met each other there, who had also been wounded but in the meantime in the West....He was also in the recovery company_____” and where are you then going?” and then I shrugged my shoulders, “So of course,” he knew that I had no parents. And he made a proposal to me, the brother of the battalion commander who was called up for duty. They have a farm in Holstein. And there is.....a Polish helper and a girl from the labor force come every day....because there are three children there and a peasant woman who is permanently employed there_____and then was....still a good mood concerning the war. And then I agreed to it. And then I spent a good four weeks there until the end of April in Holstein. There was....there I experienced again. English bombers all of which flew over the farms and there was firings there, you know. We had trenches...That was at the mouth of the Elbe, you know, there in Holstein. And then you could go over as far as Cuxhaven. And Cuxhaven was also bombed in the evening, you know, then, I remember how I wrote to my aunt, “Here there is a real war.” I then came back to the barracks, then I was again in the recovery company. And then an adjutant of the Fuehrer’s came....Well, they need,

somehow...in other words a proper young man. Well, the battalion commander...had from the Fuehrer's adjutant...he turned to my company commander whom he knew well and said yes, he had someone, you know...He could recommend someone.._____In no case should he caused us any trouble.

Q: What kind of people were they looking for, as couriers?

A: No, no___in other words they were_____well, he recommended me. But they were___heard from his sister-in-law that I there...had handled everything in an orderly fashion, had kept the farm going more or less. Had the...in the meantime a child was born....I have the___and so___horse and so everything worked out by itself..And they praised my work. Well, then I was introduced to him... and within an hour and a half he had taken me to the Fuehrer's living quarters, you know. I didn't know at all what I should think.___and all such and suddenly I was there___there was no barracks any more, it was the Fuehrer's quarters directly. And then....he took me there....good....then they showed me my room.._____quarters, well...I had to work the next day already___do, for Hitler was not there; he was somewhere at the front. The house was rather empty. They showed me around...not....throughout the quarters, you know...."And here the Fuehrer lives. And when he meets you, then you should stand a little to the side, he will either speak to you or not." Then in the meantime he was there again because he was away only for one or two days and then I had to fight my apprehension._____Well, you go out from here and into the wing [of the house], to the adjutant's wing. But_____I met the Fuehrer.

Q: Was that strange for you?

A: Strange, actually not_____, but what was I supposed to do? I am after all a soldier. Well, then I did that in the _____. And kind of like___but not having gone through the living quarters. I still was afraid of encountering the Fuehrer. Well, then the chief adjutant then had me_____. I had brought him the newspaper and cables. He was designated there as a messenger. And telephone operators were there and the _____here who___is received. ___And on one side was the _____. And also the living quarters of the Fuehrer, in this section.

Q: Before we examine again more thoroughly your work, I would like to interrupt you again, excuse me, but I just wanted to ask a follow-up question....How did it happen then that they suggested you as a young soldier for a job who hadn't been in the Hitler Jugend or belonged to the Party?

A: Yes, my company commander had suggested me for the job by reason of___had a good certificate from the sister-in-law, but rather because....."I had someone"___right, a good soldier, you know, very correct, very trustworthy, in other words....and there was an order___deploy me in the field, but rather in the_____area. And I was_____. In other words I was not assigned again to the front but rather___found of use. Soldiers as part of the reserves or something like that were

needed, you know, in communications, who did not work at the front. Well, all that went together with it.

Q: And at that point in time they needed couriers because then the first_____ had already been opened?

A: Yes, they needed more personnel because between Hitler just before the election and the government as such, it continued on. There was for example_____Meissner did that who had worked before for Hindenburg, you know.....He handled matters for the Reichs President. Now they didn't have a Reichs President but a Fuehrer....and now he continued handling matters for this Fuehrer. And couriers were used daily, one from there to here and another in the opposite direction, daily. So they needed more personnel, no, reinforcements. Well, and then it happened that they thought of me....a total orphan....about my deployment at the front..., then seriously wounded, in other words one thing after the other.

Q: And now it would be very nice if you could tell us a little how it was when you began work as a courier. What colleagues did you work with, for example?

A: Well, it all went.....no longer according to strict military rules but rather more comfortably like work in an office etc., you know. And mostly there were people who had risen straight out of the Party, you know, in_____who in part had been with Hitler before his assuming power ("Machtuebernahme"). And well, that really began, I was still a very correct soldier, well, and then I had a meeting with the chief adjutant after I had been there for ten, twelve days...and he interviewed me, "How are your comrades?...But to walk around on the rugs with those shoes, the chief doesn't like that, just to to_____, your comrades will tell you where it is. You have to get some proper shoes, not military or barracks shoes....on the rugs," So in this form, it was also an order from the First World War, he had been a regimental commander who worked here for Hitler. Well, then we talked. You know, where I came from, how I grew up, where I had_____, decorated for a wound with_____, in other words I had to.....What I had done already, in the war, well, in any case he stood up, went in the direction of the door and like any well trained soldier opened it suddenly, who was standing there behind the door, Hitler. That was my interview, he had heard everything, then he came in with a letter to give the chief adjutant for forwarding onward. Well, then I was standing there, you know, and I felt ice cold, also hot, everything. Now I was standing one meter away from Hitler. We looked at each other for the first time, you know, I will never forget it. Well, the chief adjutant had made it clear to him that we needed more help, a young man, but probably he had already been told that a strange face was present in the living quarters. Either he or another adjutant had told him already and so he just said, where does the young man come from? And I answered...."I come from Upper Silesia, in the vicinity of Oppeln." You know, and then, that he said, "Do we have any Silesians here?" and the chief said, "I don't know, I don't believe so." "Well, then he can do something for me right away and gave me this_____ for my sister Paula in Vienna." Then he turned around and went away, that was all. And then Hitler was for me not just Hitler, but that was really, like with my comrades, that was the chief. That was no monster....That was no_____person,

that was like an encounter, the first moment. That then stayed like that. Well, then the chief called me in again, he said, "well, your comrades will arrange everything else", you now....and I had to take the letter away that same day, it was not supposed to be left there. Well, that they reserve a _____ compartment for me and then I got appropriate food from the kitchen for one night...well, and so from the house _____ I obtained the package for Hitler's sister, well and so prepared in that manner I left at 8:00 in the evening right away by the night train for Vienna. And then in Vienna, they gave me complete directions, there and there the street, house number....no name on it...on the fifth (European) floor. I was supposed to ring the bell. The sister was naturally already informed that someone was coming. Well then I delivered the package. I couldn't say much....I was new, but the chief adjutant, he said, we have in the Hotel Imperial, there are always three rooms reserved there, for last minute visitors, government and so forth...and there I would overnight. And my comrades had explained that completely. Well, now I was in the sister's apartment...about a half to three quarters of an hour. There was tea and cookies. I couldn't tell much of anything. And then I went immediately to the Hotel Imperial. There I was afraid to enter...to enter into such a beautiful place, very elegant...But then I said.....at home in the direction of Breslau, there you could also stay for a few days. So that happened....no more barracks....just a little talk...And then I...I was afraid to enter the hotel, then I went to the train station and two hours later there really was a train that departed in the direction of Breslau. And then I took advantage of it, then transferred to a local train....to my home village. And there I stayed at home for a full three days. He had certainly said that I could stay three days. And then I stayed with my grandmother there.. and then I went to Berlin.

Q: So the first courier run has stayed in your memory...and...

A: Yes, I will never forget it.

Q: Are there others which have stayed in your memory perhaps for other reasons, some specific examples?

A: _____ that was gone automatically, you know.

Q: They had then....

A: I didn't _____ with the recipients, the _____ the courier service did some shopping, you know.....that's what his body guard unit took care of so that around him...those were the telephone operators...With someone like him...there was a lot of telephoning. There are the ambassadors, the representatives, the adjutants, the personnel, you know, there are the two telephone operators who were always on duty, there are in effect six telephone operators. And then the reserve telephone operators. Yes, and then also people assigned to receive visitors. And also people to man the clock room, to hang things up and so forth, you know...to perform such duties. And then things changed all the time at the switchboard, things changed, they had to be learned, practice them and so forth..an explanation..a very modern Siemens apparatus, no longer just to insert cables, but switches.

Q: That means you slowly went from runner to even....?

A: doing duty, at the beginning. But as I said, then I was in the living quarters and there Hitler moved around, that was his home. And that [was] certainly not very large. And when you...when you went inside, or even in one of them, in the Hindenburg room, where they showed films. Because until then there had already been an encounter...but that was nothing special, that was somehow....I always still afraid _____I made a detour,_____to encounter him directly.

Q: But afterwards you were then.....as a body guard?

A: Yes, that is part of it. The body guard has to do something. He can't sit there and wait until Hitler begins moving and that he then has to accompany him as he is going, to protect him, you know. That was the...Our duty was as bodyguard...but we worked in other ways, with the telephones, as couriers, receptionists and so forth. There were about twenty of us.

Q: What kind of security measures were there, were you armed?

A: Yes, just ordinary pistols. Military gear. But nothing unusual, nothing at all. For that there was the security service there. They were policemen. We were Hitler's personal entourage people and the others who_____there as such, whenever it was necessary. We also had never, that Hitler would never have permitted us to check out his guests, that.....such a thing didn't exist. Whoever was invited to Hitler's or came to see him, his personal entourage people did not screen them. I mean that's what the policemen did when it was necessary, you know. Whether it was Goering or such...people were so used to that, others were around.

Q: You said you worked with about twenty people. Who was in this group and what was the atmosphere like among them? Can you just give me a few names?

A: _____was really so comfortable as I have already said...no barracks routine, that was set by his associates, the older ones who were all Party people who grew up with Hitler who went from few in numbers until things were stabilized with larger numbers. In 1933 many more personnel were needed then when they had to accompany him to a Party rally, from the Party side....but afterwards when he became Chancellor, the personnel became more numerous. And increased even more at the beginning of the war. Then more and more personnel were needed than couriers.

Q: Who among your work colleagues do you remember specially, can you perhaps name a new?

A: Well,Adolf_____, August Kerber, _____those were people with_____Party badges, you know. And that was the case with us, to keep a distance between the old people who also had uniforms but were zeros in a militarily sense. They had thin

things____these military uniforms, shoulder insignia..and thin, well they had ranks of an Obersturmbandfuehrer (ed. Lt. Colonel), but militarily they were worth nothing. Not, they are different than also.....wanted to be recognized, and volunteered for the front as soldiers...many were killed. And Hitler had not paid attention and said to Dietrich, the chief of his guard detail, "Dietrich, you are taking my best people away. But what should I do," you know. The widow who had____are____he, our people allowed, and he doesn't need them as much as you do, I can't now say no so that the old people, his.....who had grown up with him, you know who were almost permitted to use "du" with him, as he said....that they.....pissed together behind a tree or such,____and well and there are some-----people among____there where I am now in Holstein who were also killed in battle. There was also a widow with four children. Yes, they wanted suddenly to become soldiers. But how were they supposed to be soldiers with this military rank, he couldn't.

Q: As a telephone operator, did you have, you must have also listened in for quality control of the conversations. Did you often hear what was being discussed?

A: Yes, naturally, we could hear everything that was said.

Q: You could but you really were not permitted to do so?

A: When there was a phone call for Hitler, we have____or a very loud voice, we made it fainter. That was naturally, we had____which was next to us, in other words like a radio which you could tune to make the voice fainter or louder or ____had, when____everything was clear, Hitler would then be connected. That was the only lamp which was red when lit. The others were white, green and yellow.

Q: That means theoretically or practically that you actually could listen in to every conversation but were really only permitted to do so to____control? Nevertheless though sometimes too.....do you perhaps remember any conversation?.....

A: ____did nothing, especially the young guys didn't, they were a little afraid. Maybe some did____also some were let go. You know, they had done what you weren't permitted to do, within a very limited circle of people. That was perhaps.....That proceeded day and night with such a head of government nourished by reports whether yesterday____or____sometime Hitler, they were kept informed continuously. That is like.....specialists, you know, then certain reports are, and so many dripped through, that and that all would then be sorted, bla, bla, bla, you know.....into a summary. And with this paper, with this cable, which I was not yet responsible, to bring these things to Hitler. We brought them to either, to the Reichs press chief or his deputy, all according to what had happened, it wasn't so exact in our case. And then one person collected them You understand, we weren't supposed to do that.. and he left, he was also fired. And for that job then a new person was hired, you know. The staff total had to stay about the same. A little bit of reserves...in other words we were really utilized, we had to complete our tasks. There was then you know, everyone coming or that____or so, I say it only with the____on the____to be. ____had such a pile of photos from Africa which he

wanted to present as a gift to the Fuehrer but the Fuehrer already had a visitor, so he had to wait...and I then went with him, I accompanied.....to Hitler. And when the adjutant wasn't there at the moment which was what he was supposed to do, then we went to the winter garden or the room for smoking. We always knew where Hitler was sitting,____. Yes, in the case of these reports we were often better informed than Hitler himself. We weren't supposed to be____ what's going on in the world, what's new and such. Well, then going to Hitler and handed it to him, you know, and then he read it and when it interested him, he stuck it under his arm....Then he tore it up and gave it to us and then I went to the paper shredder which was in the hall and destroyed it.. so they couldn't be collected any more because he, what was there in it, he, as he was not negotiating with someone, who, what, how, where, you know. Then he would be called, Rippentrop was supposed to come who had just left, or such. Well, that's why we were there, always in his vicinity, close to him, day and night. The others....he also knew....when Hitler wanted something at night, he always turned to us because he knew that we were there. But really maybe already his real servant. You know, or the adjutants who weren't always there but were only there when they were needed. Our people were always there. For that reason nothing escaped us.

Q: So you had a room in the Reich chancellory which was assigned to you, or was it just for you? And you also had another room here in Rudo (ph), or not?

A: Yes, when I was off duty, then I could go home. Or when it happened that I had to stay there because a reception was scheduled in addition....like a big reception, Molotow coming or not.....Then someone had to be there, you know. Then it was beyond eight hours.

Q: Were you present during meetings when guests were there, important ones.....?

A: No, we weren't there for meetings. The adjutants were there and then the most important people...to present the subject matter. There were the adjutants who were present at the conferences, at the meetings, they were always present. We weren't there. We were the people who brought things, somehow, to do what had to be done. Often it was the simplest things, like Wolfgang Wagner who is now in Bayreuth, the Boss....I can remember indeed, Hitler saying....yes we have to send him a few flowers, he told the adjutant. He was his contact. The adjutant came to me and said, wow,____take flowers there, you know, to travel_____, Wolfgang Wagner is there, to deliver flowers there, he had become engaged. Well, we delivered flowers there. So to take care of things, that's why were there. But we didn't directly participate in the meetings, only when it happened by chance, otherwise not.

Q: Who of the.....whom have they then especially...?

End of Tape 2

Tape 3

A: At Christmas time a lot of actors, artists received some kind of Christmas package from the Fuehrer. We were there for that. I was at the home of _____, at _____, at the home of theatrical directors, then at the home of singers _____ something.....we had a lot to do.

Q: Who among them, of the Party leaders have you then.....they certainly were also going in and out, actually.....whom especially do you remember a little? Were there some people there?

A: _____ nothing in particular.....a very normal course of events...of the Party leaders.

Q: So they simply went. You then received them at the door?

A: Yes, had dined with Hitler, then the adjutant said, "invite the guests." He [Hitler?] had them, the adjutant didn't, we telephone operators had to invite the guests, but that was perfectly automatic with us, normal, we could say, we had located _____, never two physicians, two architects, in other words never two people from the same profession, they would then argue at the table.....so for that reason we had to be careful, in other words one physician, one from the Party, in that case I telephoned the Party headquarters,....."Is there a Gauleiter from out of town in Berlin? Yes, where is he staying?"There and there, hotel _____. "Thank you very much, the Fuehrer would appreciate your coming to dinner..." In this form. That was also what we did, to invite people....And in that case knew it....Gauleiter so and so, you know, whom we had telephoned, you know, telephoned the foreign office, some kind of state secretary, or something of the sort, that was completely automatic. We were supposed to invite six or seven people. Many said, the _____ for example, he said that he wasn't coming....no time. Otherwise, no one dared to say "no." For that reason we said among ourselves, "Dornen (ph) out, Goebbels in," we liked him more. And especially a member of the government, the Goebbels, who also told things to the Hitler, you know. Against _____ definitely not.

Q: So there were few who contradicted the Fuehrer?

A: Few, almost none, but Goebbels, yes. That which people _____ heard of. _____ the people involved in the meetings.....we got wind of.

Q: But things like political discussions among colleagues, wasn't that also normal? Because you said before that you.....?

A: Ach, they talked about the earlier days, things like also.....but like political things about....., not at all, with us doing that was _____ political. We had our jobs to do, you know, to be..... Hitler, our task, you know, to do it correctly, that was our task as his personal staff.

Q: That certainly sounds then also as if you had a good life then, for....?

A: Very good...very good life...

Q:then I assume that the guests who came, they were also very friendly to you because you certainly.....

A: Yes, all were friendly, also_____, all, they were all to us...they had to, you know, if we then were able to say to the Fuehrer because we spent so much time in his direct vicinity so that we might say something, especially the parents.....certainly also, there was also, you know, especially_____ who told the Fuehrer his opinion, who was at the front and then told the Fuehrer his opinion how it really looked_____you see that from your perspective, you know, and so forth....that also had happened between our people and Hitler but it was the old ones, the Party....who had been with Hitler from the beginning, they had also dared to say something....but we didn't.

Q: You told me before we began a very nice story which the old comrades had given you, where Wolfsburg, the name_____in other words, the wolf story.....

A: Well, because today_____Werwolf,_____Wolfsburg, Wolfsschlucht (ed: wolf's ravine), in other words everything with wolf. Yes, how did the name wolf come about?...That was before the takeover of power, somewhere Hitler had made a big speech and in the evening then.....off to a hotel, he certainly had to sleep. And they weren't all Nazi partisans, there was, it happened.....exactly when we knew, they said, "I'm sorry, you know, we are completely booked." And the people on his personal staff said in the future we will not reserve a room in Hitler's name, but always in....we invented the name Wolf. But whether now that is connected with.....his secretary whose name is Wolf. But that must have been earlier, the name Wolf. That resulted because there had been difficulties, you know. That had.....there were enough opponents of Hitler, you know and.....in anticipation, the name Wolf was used.

Q: Because you just mentioned the Fuehrer headquarters, can I just ask you perhaps just about the Felsenest (ed: literally nest on the cliff) that was established in the meantime. Were you ever there, do you know how it appeared?

A: well, that was a sort of earth bunker, that was here in the vicinity of Bad Nauheim, this..

Q: Were you there yourself?

A: I was, at the end....

Q: I thought that was from 1940...

A: But I was not in the Wolfsschlucht, that was somewhere in the Black Forest...and then in Belgium_____, I wasn't there either. That was just everything right at the beginning of the war.

Q: But you were at the Berghof?

A: What?

Q: You were on the Obersalzberg.....detailed there?....If you could perhaps just....You have now given a little impression of the Reichs chancellory, maybe can you give us also an impression of the Berghof?....You went there as a telephone operator or bodyguard or as....?

A: As bodyguard. And telephone operator because there was a lot to do there. There was a permanent telephone operator there, on the mountain, in the open._____but there was a permanent telephone operator there and when sometimes there was a lot to do....a reception or something....you know, then we jumped in and helped out.

Q: How was the atmosphere there, at the Berghof?

A: It was like a hotel for us. Also very informal.

Q: So the day's routine, it wasn't at all so much planned in that sense? How did the time pass, maybe a short impression?

A: We had our quarters in one of the building's wings, all.....also where the Fuehrer went walking...and on the terrace, everything was in front of our eyes, everything was small, not large, you know. And we had a wonderful.....I would say, a beautiful hotel. Then we didn't have any special duties, as bodyguards. It's clear when there was a reception,_____or the_____or Musollini. Then we were present as his personal staff. Maybe to grab something, to take something down or such, to open a door, when somehow a guest came....someone certainly had to be there.

Q: Did other politicians, government people really come to the Berghof then to the other....in other words to the Reich chancellory....was that a privileged circle or were they basically the same people?

A: No, in the Reichs chancellory, in Berchtesgaden there was also a chancellory...._____but that was not our job, no....only the Berghof itself. There were only six people of us there.

Q: I mean though people as guests at the Berghof....who came there? Can you just give me a few names?

A: Well, at the daily briefings on the military situation....the military people, there was.....they came every day you know and then the guests who were invited.....to the meetings...

Q: But directly...

A: There were also many private (non-official) guests, you know...and so forth...whether that was the captain or somehow a...I don't know any more...friends of Eva Braun and State Secretary Esser, you know, because like.....the physician who was also almost always there, like a small family. And when guests came, well, I can't count them all....People were coming there constantly. Either from the Foreign Office or the Reichs chancellery from_____meetings and so forth, of now and then a Gauleiter. But I was not present during the meetings.

Q: I wanted to ask just about that. You were never accidentally present because of some specific event during one specific briefing on the military situation...or present during a state reception?

A: No, we weren't there...the adjutants were there who were there in their capacity as both bodyguard and adjutant.

Q: And when you say the physician, do you then mean Professor Morell or also the...

A: No, he was always there.

Q: He was always there.

A: _____but there as guests, you know, I can't come up now with names..Hasselbach, you know, who always came there as a guest but they weren't always present.

Q: All right, good, then I still want to ask you some questions about....well, we're approaching '41, so a little....Hess' flight? You also said at our beginning that you could tell something about it. That was when Rudolf Hess....to England?

A: Yes, I know that fairly well, thoroughly, because I was a close friend of Hess' servant, and so forth. The flight by Hess really originated up there at the Berghof, you know...but I don't know..... That was again a dinner, we invited and there_____Hess then_____in his house. He also had a house there...he said, "He should also show himself here occasionally, invite him, he should come to dinner." And he came too. And at the end of the dinner, you know, a messenger came and gave Dietrich (ed: Sepp Dietrich?) another cable and Dietrich gave the cable to Hitler....and Hitler read it and said, "My God, what am I supposed to do now? I can't just fly there and fall on my knees. But I don't know what it's about, what's on it and in general. I then heard kind of in between...it was some kind of meeting between ambassador von_____, Hitler'a mail man (sic) and count Bernadotte there. And they were meeting somewhere in Portugal. But I don't know what it was about., that I don't know. And then Hitler said, "what am I supposed to do?" and that upset Hess' stomach more of less..and thought, he can't but I can. And he then excused himself, after the dinner at the proper time when it was breaking up....and then with his adjutant....and Hess's servant..they then drove to his house and there they began. Then he said, "No, the Fuehrer can't." And then he had____his servant, only him, otherwise no one else know about it....then Hess ordered him to obtain two history books, English ones....and so forth, you know. And even

Hess's adjutant wasn't to learn of it....only the _____ to do it. He told _____ which in any case the Gauleiter in Austria had who somehow had a beautiful mountain chalet....whether I could just have it. And naturally he got it. Because Hess had made preparations there, he had read the history who he....two books which he procured. And then he needed to know the flight safety zones of the English and the Germans so as not to be shot down by his own airplanes or by Flak. You know, it changes, into three zones, A. B. C, but the English too. And the maps and such the flight captain _____ got directly from Hitler. He obtained these daily editions, you know, the pass words. And to get access to them was difficult, _____ had refused to give them. "I can't do _____, impossible, that's not possible" you know....and well, Platzler said _____ passed a few instructions....You know about that....and such. Somehow they then reached an agreement...they requested the second edition from Gehring (sic) _____ and Betz obtained it, flight captain Betz. And complained about it...Betz obtained the second edition and then passed it on to Hess. And Hess had cut it all up, pasted together the flight paths.....various ones...and studied them in the mountain chalet, lying in bed, where he was supposed to fly, where the German B zone was and the English A or C zones.....Then he had to cross the channel to England, had to change his flight path, you know, he had to memorize it...in his head, you know, they glued it to the wall and he studied it (the route) from his bed and then removed everything again and hid it. In that way they made preparations. But in the meantime planning for the parachute jump he said, "You have never made such a jump and beginners, those jumping, the beginners, they use specially braced boots...so that they won't break their ankles and such. Those things I obtained and told them, "Then you have to fly in uniform and if you came down in civilian clothes, then....you would be stood up against the wall by the nearest gendarm and shot, but not as a soldier. The English are very strict about that. All these preparations we made. Until finally then...it was then in November '40, you know, in the war....but Hess had continued to make practice flights, he had....was a passionate flyer, he also was at Headquarters and Hitler...meeting together..."Hess, what are you doing here?" Well, he asked him to assign him to do courier flights. He had no duties indeed, er had _____ they were immediately forbidden to fly, Goehring too. For Goehring was the _____ of the Fuehrers in the region (sic) (ed. probably means 'Regierung', the government) and Hess in the Party. That was the difference. Well in any case Goehring _____ then turned to me, Goehring _____ didn't either. And yes, he was always disappointed, always so.....and then.....once Hess gave the adjutant a letter, "if I am not back by 20:00 hours, then open the letter. Well, then they knew, you know, it's now, he's taking off now, now something is going to happen...and they opened the letter immediately. Right away, that was again a....an immediate....to the Fuehrer. And I said, "Now he has taken off, he's gone, what are we going to do?" We opened the letter...but after 7 minutes he's back again _____ has returned again. Now you don't know, you suddenly become afraid, turn around, think again and land again _____ and _____ the machine had a problem although he had flown it every day. And it was loaded with explosives and extra tanks. Flight engineer Wollmeier or Wollmann had done that, he had done everything. That could have put you in a concentration camp, you know, no one betrayed anything. And yes, he landed again, angry....then after some discussions with the engineer, the flight engineer. And then they took off in the direction of Munich. And then he said....and in other words, when he came back again, he said, "we were dealing

with fear....we had opened the letter immediately.” At first there was no answer given, none at all....and then they took off and then Platzer said, “Herr Hess, here it is really a long way, you like so much to go hiking in the woods”...wanted to distract him too, you know, they got along so well together. And....no answer. And after a while....converses_____is the driver....Wait, Platzer meant, I was supposed to go walking, then I’m just going walking.” And after a half an hour he came back and reminded people that above all they had to keep their mouths shut from saying something, what was going on and so forth, you know, that doesn’t have to be, but you may not under any circumstances make it public in any way. Well, we kept the secret and in February_____he wanted to start again. And then he was in the aircraft again....and the engine was running, the motors....all....but he didn’t take off but climbed out again. And then for the third time, in the meantime it was now May....and in May for the third time he then flew really longer than 20 minutes. For then he was already outside German territory....area...already outside it. And then we went and delivered the letter and Hitler was awoken and was very excited, “What has he...? He certainly can’t do that to me – I don’t understand it, that’s not possible at all. Hess, Hess has.....that’s not right” and always like....and pointless....he didn’t come downstairs for three long days, for the meetings, the military ones and so forth, didn’t let anyone see him. Only on the third day did he come downstairs. And then they let it be known that Hess (suffering) from mental derangement_____.

Q: It was about secret negotiations with the English, for peace negotiations?

A: Yes, Hess, he wanted.....he flew to Scotland, you know. And he had never jumped from an airplane. He had to jump with a parachute. Well, it worked then to such an extent that (flying) rather low, at 150 meters as I heard, he then jumped and still sprained his ankle. The aircraft exploded, caught fire. And then civilians arrived, a policeman respectively and also officers from a camp,,,The captured him and he wanted to go to Lord Hemmington (ph). Because he supposedly had an good connection to Zetsche (ph), you know. But to negotiate something and.....in any case....Hess he received secret reports every day, telegrams. I don’t know the connection because not, well in any case, as much as we could ascertain and had learned every day almost everything, at least also the.....we talked among us, it had not been on Hitler’s orders. He had really done it on his own, Hess. So as _____told us. But it had worked.

Q: Good, then I wanted to just ask you, in the meantime there was the Wolfsschanze (ed. literally wolf’s lair), the Fuehrer’s headquarters in East Prussia. Were you there too?

A: Yes, naturally....from the first day.

Q: Maybe you can tell us a little bit about it, as they say, what kind of duties exactly did you have?

A: Well, they were_____they were not a lot, the Wolfsschanze. These_____from the army, that is like a ministry, there were many departments but they all came to the meetings with Hitler_____basically they weren’t especially large ones. But there was a

person from the press to organize the work, then the secretaries,____the physician who all had to be given quarters, the ones who belonged to the innermost circle. And then when we came there, for the old____, who were already____where I hadn't been yet, it was in the Wolfsschanze, I was there for the first time. Well, we had barracks for us, somehow....workers barracks which were originally made of wood and that lasts....because of splinters or such____had perhaps that you didn't have real privacy, you know, but it was relatively quiet. Then there were airplanes always flying over the headquarters...so it was reinforced with concrete. A lot of concrete was used, you know in case....the Russians and the English...they were then also in Germany, so....Russians and the English, they kept flying over the headquarters but nothing happened. Even when the alarm sounded, in camp.

Q: Was it difficult to stay there for a long time? How long were you there then approximately?

A: Different lengths of time, we were rotated...or (sent) as couriers, like for example on the 20th of July. I was here at that time. I had come here in the early morning hours, went to bed, and so and then so.....my....had....I was there with State Secretary Meister...delivered. And then I went home. And went to bed...and my wife woke me shortly after midnight. I had a direct telephone connection here...like I had in the Fuehrer's quarters, you know, I had here a direct connection. I had to be reachable. And ____"is on the line, speak, or you can" ____"immediately, but come here immediately."..."What's happening?" "Nothing is happening, come here immediately, you understand?" Well, and then I....got dressed and really immediately, right, you know, was____driven____yes, and then.....and

Q: And then did they tell you that....?"

A: Yes, that was then...but on that day I did not____was in the Fuehrer's living quarters. I had to go there because....it was guarded by his security battalion here. Not____replaced. And on the telephone____to be, we weren't really prepared and for that reason I had to go there immediately to work. Well, but maybe when I came there and had been there for a good half an hour, you know, in the meantime it was already.....settled, and then I learned about the assassination plot...had called Goebbels from our place and from our place had talked by telephone with____, with Hitler and Hitler had then said he didn't recognize him by the voice, he convinced him that it was me. I then said, "Yes Sir, my Fuehrer" so and so____"well, they had carried out an assassination attempt againstme but it didn't work, but the other thing, what happens, that you have to do in Berlin with Goebbels...And Goebbels had telephoned him earlier, you know. Well, and then he received orders from Goebbels to go immediately to the radio station...and all that stuff went out by radio...."Occupy the radio station immediately and not the Reichs chancellery...the center. And then he drove with his people, with his whole company, to the radio station, to____, there was a non-commissioned officers' school there and the company commander, he didn't know what it was about. And then ____ explained to the company commander, "there was an

assassination attempt on the Fuehrer.” So and so....we have to occupy the radio station. Then we occupied the station, right, for the advantage of.....on Gerlitz’ orders.

Q: Stauffenberg is often described as the person who attempted to assassinate Hitler. But you had a different opinion?

A: Yes, I have a completely different opinion. He was the one who made the attempt, that’s right. Also the people present in the meeting room....against all, against all twenty. An assassination attempt against all those present. But what there.....he certainly had put his briefcase down, like the others too....everyone had papers with them...and then it was...that didn’t...in the...didn’t cause any notice. He put it down and went out, to, to our telephone center____.There he said, ”I have a car, isn’t my car here?____called the motor pool. They said, “The car, yes, it’s not there yet, but must arrive any moment...and it also did. Then he climbed into the car and drove off. But in the meantime the _____had moved the case because....it was in his way. No, he said, move it somehow. He was also killed....so badly wounded and then died of the wounds. Right, but it could have been that in the time that Stauffenberg was not there...it could have occurred that the telephone operator reported a call for Hitler, right,...and then he would have gone in and said, “My Fuehrer_____” then Hitler would have left because he couldn’t telephone from that room, that would disturb things, like here too. Then if Hitler had been outside, in the hall where he could use the telephone_____the bomb would explode. Hitler wouldn’t be inside at all. So there would be no direct attack against...

End of Tape 3

Tape 4

Q: We stopped at the year 1944 but I want to come back again to a somewhat earlier time so that we can simply stay in the chronology of the story. In ’42 there was a Werwold Fuehrer headquarters in Ukraine. Were you there too?

A: Yes, yes, yes.

Q: Could you describe a little what you did there, how it looked?

A: I was earlier....I was in Karlsbad for rest and recovery, on furlough. And the Fuehrer had spoken to me, I didn’t look good, I ought to go to Morell to be examined. Well, I said, I don’t feel sick but my stomach doesn’t feel right....”Well, go see Morell.” And he sent me then to Karlsbad, right, he had examined me...and sent me to Karlsbad...that is...the Fuehrer...When the Fuehrer says something, it will be carried out, right. And when the Fuehrer says that I don’t look good and then Morell has to take care of me so that....well...and then I came back at the end of July and the Fuehrer was in the Werwolf, I was not familiar with it. And then I was taken there immediately, with the next courier flight which flew on a daily basis, arriving in _____. It was really very pleasant there.

Q: And how were your duties there, specifically? ...Your work, what did you do, again?

A: Ach, nothing more than to just be there. Some telephone service, nothing, only a little there...in the Fuehrer's vicinity, someone was always there, somewhere, was also available to speak to.

Q: Herr Misch, in that connection I just wanted to come back again to something that struck me earlier in connection with the Reichs chancellery, when you said you were actually a body guard but for controlling visitors the security service was also there. But that sounds....in other words the security precautions for the Fuehrer do not sound very, very strict because...So how did that appear, you were only lightly armed, in the meantime was that strengthened again or, was is simply not yet so....?

A: That actually had....hadn't changed yet, right, because the_____there was the_____, the chief, we....all of the ministers had their own personal bodyguards, right.. and so did the Fuehrer.

Q: But his protective service, it sounds so lightly (armed).

A: Well, he....they actually had also only....one present....also no more. Also only one was there, in the living quarters...on duty too, at headquarters too, only one who was on duty. The others were in the barracks. But one was always in the Fuehrer's vicinity. We too, we were very close, always available to be spoken to...and as for the bodyguards, from the police, the people, they went on patrol, they covered areas on patrol, also a little farther away, made the whole_____, patrolling areas.

Q: But that sounds nevertheless such as though it would have been completely possible to approach the Fuehrer, relatively easily.

A: Actually yes, it was very lax...actually very light. That was certainly also known, right, In Berlin, in the living quarters....people could go from the street and as far as the bedroom. There was only a single delivery entrance, a single guard on duty_____, right...staff personnel also lived there, anyone arriving for a visit, said_____, "Please, take a seat"_____"You have to fetch a visitor"_____. Yes, _____the visitor, whom I didn't know, he could have squirted something in my face, I would have collapsed....and then they could have walked up the 22 steps to Hitler's living quarters, bedroom, living room, study,_____room. There wasn't anything more there.

Q: Herr Misch, back to the Werwolf quarters....at the time there were reversals already. The winter had been very hard, the Russian campaign, that was problematic....had itself there.....were you assigned there as a telephone operator?

A: No, no, also only as bodyguard. And naturally I also learned about all the reversals, the units....we all learned about it And once there was an argument between Hitler and the army chiefs of staff. And I don't know what it was about, in any case I was then.....on duty around 2:00 o'clock midday...and then very beautiful music was coming from Hitler's study and I looked through the window inside, there was Hitler sitting there

at the table in a sunken posture.... And such beautiful music was emanating then, I don't know..."You're my whole heart"_____, then a servant came in and I said, man, that's so beautiful, who's singing that then, who is on the record?" He then said, "Our Schmidt," the servant said....Hitler had requested that the music be played. That was....an argument with the army chiefs of staff. There was_____there were frequently differences of opinion.

Q: But you didn't hear directly what was said, only loud voices coming through the door or beyond.

A: Yes, yes, only so. The adjutant, in connection....forming the group....because he was always present. _____We were only onlookers at the gate.

Q: You just mentioned Joseph Schmidt, that was a very famous, a beloved Jewish artist. Now we are up to '42 when mass killings had already started in the concentration camps, as we know today. My question to you would be....you said sometime earlier in the interview that you knew a lot of things already before Hitler even knew, so to say. Have you also heard about these things, either directly from conversations or which you...nothing? Nothing at all?

A: In the Werwolf (headquarters) for example, or also in the Wolf's bunker, we never learned about these dispatches. It was different here in Berlin, but it....otherwise the reports also didn't come earlier. You could if you had wanted...but we hadn't, we also didn't do it.

Q: Did you know at that time...in other words, what kind of idea did you have about the concentration camps, what the concentration camps were?

A: There were concentration camps of course...but what happened there, we couldn't find out because whoever thinks_____to the Fuehrer_____everything's already gone. When we then....orally but not publicly established.....that doesn't have anything at all to do with it. We were never in conversations.....comrades, you know.

Q: So everything was very secret?

A: Yes, totally classified....mail....around Hitler....total silence, nothing, no one. If someone had known something, we would have talked about it. "Imagine, I have this, I was there," nothing, nothing at all. We just didn't go...where Hitler didn't go, we didn't go there either.

Q: There was a little episode which Traudel_____described in her book when Henrietta von Schirach...I don't know any more exactly when it was, '43 I think, when she was at the Berghof and was a bit naïve, in question marks, at a tea party Hitler had arranged and she said to Hitler whether he knew that Jewish women were being deported, that....it seemed things were not going so well with these poor people, whether he knew

about it. Then a painful silence reigned and right then she was not invited again. Were there any kind of remarks, public scenes like this....Have you?

A: I never learned of any, not really. It's possible that a secretary was somehow present at such receptions, but also not so often, if they were needed.....but for tea or conversations, then secretaries were also invited whom we called to invite, right.____ requested to come to tea with the Fuehrer. The Fuehrer didn't go to sleep at night until four o'clock. After the midnight status report, there followed then this....to Hitler...a....there were neither military nor political...., nothing at all about that would be discussed. So in general. Ordinary people were there.

Q: That means basically you were very close to the center of power but you were very restricted and very....in other words almost hermetically sealed off, from information and so forth...could you say that...?

A: We could also learn a lot, that's right.

Q: So if you had wanted, if you would have done something against an order?

A: If we had wanted to, we could have learned something. But.....you didn't do it. People performed their duty...and...well, whatever happened, is external...the whole failure at the front which people heard about, right, the collapse of the fronts. There was for example....I learned a lot in that respect...Stalingrad, right, just mentioned. I was on duty. In other words morning duty lasted until two in the afternoon. A servant came out after Hitler had finished his breakfast and said, "You can now fetch____, he can come see the chief now." Well, I went to____, he wasn't there,____ from____ said, "No, they are in the casino (ed: generally means the officers' club)." So I went to the casino and then spoke to____ and said, "you may now see the Fuehrer." Well, that was our responsibility to do like that. Then I accompanied____, to the meeting....there in the headquarters bunker and...then I had contact with the servant which whom____ and actually he wasn't inside but outside. But____ was inside, he had heard just as well everything. He also went inside____ also the ones here.____ during the discussions between Hitler and von Paulus. And so described____ the front____ comes back, up to it, behind it up, on the____. He said, "Yes, they just talked about that, to pull back the front," right. And that he had agreed as much with von Paulus. Well, Paulus was at the meeting with Hitler...for the extensive meeting on the situation Hitler was informed beforehand by the respective commanders____ so there was Paulus in the case who described everything, the whole situation in Stalingrad. And then there was a break and then came the extensive meeting on the situation. And two groups arose at that time: Goering and Hitler....and Paulus. And Goering asserted then...I don't know how many hours it lasted, I went home at 2 o'clock, then went to the casino at 1600 hours and the situation meeting was still going on. And now Goering had convinced Hitler that for the.... German troops shouldn't be permitted to leave the Volga. The Volga has to remain sealed off. The Volga is central for Stalin, without the Volga he can't exist because no reinforcements can arrive. The whole Siberian....or Serbian, reinforcements, oil, everything...everything goes along the Volga. Well, it went back and forth...and that

for hours, until Hitler was also of that opinion, that the Volga would not be allowed without being limited. Otherwise, without limitations then Stalin would get everything that he needs. His life's blood in the Volga. And Hitler is responsive about that point and will remain so. So, right, it also resulted in _____ where Stalingrad was, that Paulus had described, exactly the same which I knew before, right...have it...I have to get the book by _____, right...He was a confidant of Paulus'. In any case there was nothing else for Hitler than....he had to remain iron-willed, like he and Paulus had agreed on at first, to remain there. Hitler now wavered and said, "Paulus, I _____ of the opinion _____ there is now only one thing: I have to give you the order: you stay in Stalingrad." We cannot win against the others _____. And...

Q: You are certainly (ed: transcription unreadable) be of the opinion. Well, Paulus ____

A: I accompanied Paulus, I took him to Hitler. But _____ was to take back the front up to the Kocher _____, that I know....That's right. But that was mostly unspoken, that it was. But it was confirmed when I was in Stalingrad.

Q: You were then also...

A: That was also once on TV...the Russian chief of the general staff...He described for me the situation in Stalingrad. If Paulus had withdrawn in late fall up to as late as the beginning of November, in October we would have just observed it...we wouldn't have been able to do anything. We were not organized at all for it, the Russian chief of the general staff said, _____ goes together, I don't know what.

Q: You traveled also with the Fuehrer's special train.

A: Yes.

Q: How much of the reality of the war did you get then. In other words the....during the situation meetings had Hitler naturally from.....he also received in part eye witness accounts, he looked at the maps but how much of the reality of the war did you see from the maps then?

A: Nothing at all. The Fuehrer went to the meeting room in the command center which was behind the dining room, right, or for small meetings _____ came in, but we had absolutely nothing to do with it. We were only present there, that was all. Now one or the other heard a fragment but didn't take any notice of it, absolutely not.

Q: Have you really....?

A: Over and over;, the adjutant, he was always missing on such occasions.

Q: Did you ever hear directly that....in other words, '42 was the year when also...Nuernberg as the first German city that suffered carpet bombing, by the British.

Then the population couldn't react much because they were restrained. Did you hear anything about that? That was also an example of war reality which...?

A: I don't know. _____ military things which _____

Q: You had already told me that you valued Hitler, the boss, when he was friendly and so forth. Have you....Did you see him in another light as the statesman, have you seen him in other guises? Or was he always in regard to you _____?

A: Well, he was the head of government. And you had to follow him. There was...it was mostly in wartime...particularly all such things could occur when during the meetings, with the military people, right....that had also been so in the case of Finland and so....there were arguments, right. I heard them outside _____ and Hitler, they had arguments, right...it was about Finland because...the people couldn't get through, up to the _____ command staff. The Germans suffered serious losses there. And the commander who was in, then at headquarters, he came to make a report and then it became known, the commander said, "It's impossible with seven _____ howitzers in this area..." _____ Losses. And then _____ happened because the army command was of the opinion that more than 300 howitzers _____ they were in the port, in Reval, on ships which had not been unloaded. And then there was a lot of noise, right. "I am really not responsible for that" and so forth. Since.....no report arrived. The _____ had requested it, right, had also given the same quantity of tons. I had to pay attention, was it Hitler or was it the _____. But you heard things in such moments. I only know that it was about the fact that the army command staff had not received the appropriate reports...about transportation.

Q: Did they suspect treason, really, or was it...?

A: Probably it wasn't intentional not to unload that. _____, you know, so....otherwise the army command staff wouldn't then have _____...the commander there had not given the order.....to complete this and that in Finland. And everyone did so, but not with the appropriate weapons.

Q: Herr Misch, really up to this point now, in this time period, at some time did you have the feeling that the war perhaps had not been necessary or legally justified? Did you ever have doubts about it...you personally?

A: _____ doubted it, yes, yes _____ I said to myself, "that was _____ no one will be able to stop it any more. You know, treason...ach, that is connected to a lot of things that you always heard, kind of in fragments, you know....Treason in the case with the....of the Allies, you know, was also betrayed. Because I also have pictures of colonel so and so, showing Scherburg (ph) (trans. note: could this be Cherbourg, the French port?), this large installation, you know, _____ no shot was fired....They received photographs of it in contact with the English and others through Sweden....from Sweden _____ Colonel....I don't know the names any more, well _____ that shocked them, in England.

Q: That was already in 1944, in other words relatively late....?

A: ____the first act of treason and so forth, and this large telephone interception center there, ____or wherever it was. And also the launch locations, I don't know them any more____what we heard through the telephone net. And the ____....nothing had succeeded, not at all. Frau Heinz was.....victim of sabotage during manufacture, you know, it was our guidance system. They were fired off and then crashed.____Shot....exactly...in order to determine what caused it____Chiemsee because Hitler had asked why we didn't have any men for it....a woman had to do it? Well, he said,____she is small, she fits well inside. You know, and well....but those were kind of moments. It hadn't succeeded, the English were well informed.

Q: But thoughts like that naturally were not permitted to be expressed? That would certainly be a defeatist attitude. Herr....Let's go back again to the year '42...and simply because also, because you also had your own private life...and at some time your girl friend became you wife. That was '42. The marriage, when was it?

A: New Year's Eve '42.

Q: You have your family, that is, I wanted to ask you as a follow-up, did you have children, then or one child?

A: '44 yes.

Q: You weren't able to spend a lot of time with you wife? What was your private life like?

A: We had here in Berlin....then I had duty, when I was based in Berlin, we exchanged tours of duty between headquarters and____in Berlin. ____And....yes...I then only stayed over night, at night around two....night duty or like it that I wouldn't....but otherwise I always went home.

Q: How was your relationship with your parents-in-law. If I remember correctly, your father in law was a left winger or such?

A: ____I want to say so, yes. He was____in that direction.

Q: Were you able to talk about it or was that....?

A: Yes, we have....he had from his time in the party there....talked about it and so forth and also with his friend, Uncle Paul who was a big SPD man, still friends with....and with Reuter, the mayor, you know (trans. note: presumably Ernst Reuter who became the first mayor of postwar Berlin)...he was also...they also picked him up, he was in a concentration camp but only for one week and then released again....With my help, I went____and then I said, "A relative of mine"...I also said of Uncle Paul,____" he

is _____picked up, here” .and so forth, but I would put my hand in the fire,...he was politically active in the party....that he was once but now no longer. Right, I know that absolutely because I got that from my father in law. But_____just once bothering about it...and three days later he was home again. I said, “Uncle Paul, what was it like? Well, what’s it supposed to be, the worst thing was the paper shirts”, that you had to wear, the paper shirts, otherwise he said nothing more.

Q: What did your wife do in the meantime? In other words....she stayed at home?

A: Yes, at first at home and after our child was born, but not before. She had a higher education_____in the economics ministry. She received formal training there. For that reason she spoke English and Spanish. She had to go for formal training_____to learn foreign languages. I still have certificates here....hers. And then...I can’t remember any more...why she changed jobs. She then came here in the Ziegel street (ph) university and was a secretary there for a professor Dr. so and so_____I still have certificates here, there are medical expressions there_____concepts and so forth...She worked there until then....until she became very pregnant and then she stopped work.

Q: And your wife...?

A: _____at home.

Q: And your wife was completely satisfied with the work that she had? Because she was in any case in...?

A: Yes, of course, she was also_____Fuehrer’s living quarters_____sent to pick something up...mainly_____it was always important. Then,_____my wife_____sent back_____could use. You know, it....she_____from the living quarters.

Q: Yes, it there...?

A: _____had identity papers._____to enter. Yes, she could go in.

Q: Did Hitler in the course of time when the losses became greater and greater, more and more difficult...did he actually change, or did people then not so grandly_____so directly?

A: _____play acted well in other words. He didn’t allow things to be clicked on (sic). But people certainly already perhaps...if you really were with him, you didn’t notice it so much....or when perhaps a few months had elapsed in the meantime so that you could say, “Ach yes”_____a change. But otherwise, nothing.

Q: Did you later really continue to work as a telephone operator or did you stay then on his personal staff so-called, in other words only as a body guard, let’s just say?

A: Mainly as a body guard but also doing a lot of telephone service. Why? Because they had _____ and I had completed the training, at _____ a school....completed a fourteen day course so that I could operate the apparatus....the teletype. And for that reason I was also then assigned at the end to the bunker, at the end of the war, because I could operate this apparatus.

Q: We'll get to the bunker immediately....

End of Tape 4

Tape 5

A: _____ you don't need to be afraid, the _____ aren't coming today, we know that already.

Q: We have heard just a little snippet here. I want to pose the question to you again, first there is, were you able to help your family a little when you were traveling in Ukraine?...well, by means of your work, too. Could you just tell us now, maybe [give] an account? What could you do, we haven't recorded that. In other words were you in the position to also....your family?

A: Well, my wife, I had _____ informed, when again they...the neighbors here, who had children, woke them up also because there was an air raid alarm...we were informed in time. And people had pressed the button here...And the _____ had done that for me, in other words the technician, you know. And....yes....but we were not in Berlin but at the headquarters in Ukraine, way far away, but we knew _____...also knew in plenty of time, in other words often already....that the English had just taken off already...we knew, they were coming today to Berlin. The intelligence service with whom we had contact, they had radioed us, whether they were coming to Berlin or not. In other words you couldn't really make it so secret. Well, in any case....Or here for example, in Berlin, I didn't get any connection here in the apartment, what to do, but for the alarm...was given. It was because the transmission line _____ cut. Yes, what to do? I couldn't inform my wife, before the sirens sounded. Then I initiated contact with Munich, yes, that was the _____ 280 conversations could be conducted at the same time. Then I told Munich, "my dear colleague, can you call for me a specific number in Berlin?" "Yes, naturally, that's possible." "Well, then do it." Then the number here would ring. And I could inform my wife that the alarm...I would say, "hurry up, the alarm will sound in five minutes"...so late...but it worked. Or conversations _____ ambassador in Madrid... Well, (the telephone line) to France is busy. And nevertheless _____ you are able to make contact by telephone in time. Well, that worked then with tricks...would be....Frankfurt/Main comes and so...Well, that wasn't then any professional trick, but rather _____ and then we had the mail....also a few women who then worked for us. In Winterfeld street was the main post office. We had to...

Q: (transcription garbled).to ask you something again. What occasion or several occasions do you remember when your telephones became especially hot . In other words when was there a lot to do? Or in terms of what was said, was it about specific situations, in other words, some kind of specific situations?

A: Well, there is really nothing that sticks in my mind, right, because I, we were only the means, to transmit the conversations, right...and then any kind of nonsense people did at Christmas, right. Frau Heilig called on_____evening, connected.

Q: Was she happy about it?

A: Well, it didn't_____work initially, right, only after the third call. We had to determine first who was at the switchboard, who was working there and who first had to go to the (other) switchboard? That had to work, well, it was Christmas Eve, we certainly knew and we could not and private calls, well, we also indulged naturally in nonsense.

Q: Good, then we just wanted to get away from the nonsense and come back again to the bunker a little bit. In other words, if you could just say a little something about the story of the "Bogen" (trans. note: means file or bend, whatever significance that has). There was an air raid shelter which had been enlarged but you learned that it really was not big enough and that there would be a new one. Maybe you could just a little....?

A: Well, the present bunker, the last bunker, that came about because of Molotow's visit, right. And....after dinner Molotow was taken to the Schloss Bellevue where_____also lived and I...and the participants at the dinner...who were in the smoking lounge and were talking together...always....at such an event. And I was also in the room operating the telephone lines. I received notice of the situation in the air and right in my vicinity was also _____who asked what was going on, in the air_____and the chief of the_____, Herr Dornberg was there who_____in the area_____but in the direction_____.And then _____said, "What are we going to do with Molotow if they fly to Berlin and they drop a bomb on his head?" Up to then nothing yet_____.Then the ambassador added to Hitler, "Mein Fuehrer, we have to fetch the ambassador and take him to the Hotel Adlon." Those were the kind of discussions that I heard completely. Hitler said, "Yes, how come, why that now?" "Well, it could be that an airplane was coming to Berlin...and...there...and we have to somehow shelter Molotow." Because he had_____his guests bomb proof shelters. Yes, yes, that's the way it was but the German chief of state can't do that. There was never aenlarged bomb shelter, under the winter garden, in the small festival hall, _____was an enlarged air raid shelter....couldn't call it a bunker or such. But I am secure from bombs. And that was the impetus so that Hitler said there is time for the German chief of state to be able to shelter his guests. And not only at the Adlon. And that was the impulse that a bunker was then built.

Q: (transcription garbled) really....?

A: But that didn't happen immediately. I don't know why it was delayed. Well, because of the situation at the front...Hitler was seldom in Berlin...it was thus drawn out. But I can still remember well _____ next to the current air raid shelter, right next to it, right, in the garden but rather huge cement blocks were placed there. They were sitting in water there.

Q: Was that really a relatively small, enclosed bunker complex or was it instead a system...?

A: It was not really a bunker to live in or something. It was a...in cells, individual cells of maybe 10, 12 square meters per cell. And there....Hitler had his study, living quarters and next to it a snack area, bathroom, toilet and _____, right, there was also there a room. And on the other side was Hitler's bedroom...nothing more. There was no more room that that. And on the other side was....the first cell was a room for machinery which provided light, air and water and then there was my room, as a study and eventually...also place for someone to stay...there wasn't room for anything else. Then there was the physician's room and then...the physician had to.....inside, then Goebels came inside and the personal servant, adjutant...that's it, no more room. That wasn't any bunker to serve as real living quarters.

Q: In other words I believe that the general public imagined a little that it was a fancy bunker....but?

A: No, no, it was roughly constructed between the new Reichs chancellery, which was a new building, that was also relatively....a lightly built bunker, in other words fairly solid, the room below, like catacombs. There were large rooms there. There was also in there a room to display (architectural) models, right, for Hitler....models were on display, technical or architectural one, all depending. It was a large room. Or he had discussions, dictated his speeches in a machine, there he then walked up and down in one of the larger rooms and Frau_____or Frau Scholl who typed it up. Right....and we got to see that right away. We said, "Dr. Dietrich, I can print that up right away. The chief will repeat it like an actor his.....my heart."

Q: He had an unbelievable memory.

A: He must have had. Yes, yes...and that's also right. He had dictated into the machine, not by shorthand but into the machine_____with big letters, right.

Q: Herr Misch, when did they start using the bunker on a regular basis? '43 I believe it was finished.

A: Yes_____from February...yes, then it was only in case of an air raid alarm...seek cover...When the air raid siren sounded all clear, they came up again.

Q: And since when did he stay in Berlin...?

A: ____stayed in Berlin..____maybe so...12th or 16th of April...or maybe already a little earlier...an exact time I no longer remember. Because my duties were____split...down under.. but I only went down there when the air raid siren sounded. I had to learn about things there, in other words things so....primitive...the exchange....by means of cable____had to be learned...and then he had to always go back upstairs. Only during an air raid. Then once he went up to the garden, looked around how the search lights caught the airplanes in their sights and how the anti-aircraft guns fired. Now I know, ____he said to Hitler, "Mein Fuehrer, you have to take shelter right away____." ... "Ach, nothing will happen to me," was his answer. But then he went because ____splinters were coming down when the anti-aircraft guns____well, that was thus...But then he always again.....after the all clear was sounded he went again to his room to go to sleep.

Q: The atmosphere down there was also.....maybe you.....?

A: It was unpleasant, damp. Not at all good...It was never totally dried out. But then he stayed down there....middle of April....I don't know exactly any more.

Q: Before we get to the last days about which you are able to say a few things, I would just like to ask you, would it have really been possible theoretically that you could have gotten yourself transferred or wouldn't have gone there.

A: Not at all, no, I was a soldier. I belonged to a military unit, right, I had...I had to...yes, to do something stupid in order to be transferred by the adjutant.

Q: That would be unimaginable, probably, or?

A: ____in my long service time, two or three were sent away.

Q: But no one voluntarily, in other words, had asked to be transferred?

A: No, then we would be transferred to a combat unit. But I don't know any more, maybe..____the telephone operators so that that would be monitored...and that they had done something stupid, I don't know.

Q: Good, then we are coming to the last days when you were in the bunker more or less constantly. There was then, so that naturally it is very difficult to say such in a few words, this excitement...in other words there was a lot going on. But maybe you can try just once describe a few scenes. Let's just say from around the middle of April, or?

A: Yes, Hitler was then only rarely there, I can't remember exactly. But I had to stay down there mostly, in the bunker...telephoning people. On short notice...Hitler came in and out...the teletype and telephones were busy all the time, then.

Q: Did you have a lot to do in that time?

A: Rather, yes, rather...very much. I then had to do, down there

Q: And what was it about...?

A: About military things which I had to transmit to the new Reichs chancellery. In other words...in which I...which I had.____new Reichs chancellery....Hitler was now partly____.

Q: When had you actually personally...also like....You had said a bit earlier that in the meantime you had the feeling that the war maybe could not be won.

A: Yes, in talking among ourselves, my comrades, we thought the war could no longer be won. What should we do in that case, professionally or...what's going to happen to us, right? We were soldiers. You were fearful in part of the Gestapo that they would kill us or something. Was that also...I also thought up to the last moment. The____.On the 22nd of April, right, my company commander said, right, "I still have reserved a place for your wife in the very last airplane. If you want, go fetch your wife"____bring her here...my wife then" no, that won't work." My daughter was just a year old, had a high fever...And then also wouldn't leave her parents in the lurch and so stayed at home. I came back and said to my company commander, "My wife will not come along, he said, "I can't do any more so I give up my place on the aircraft.." And then I met____the radio man...I said, "____that is for the chief, then I will take it with me, I am going to work now." Then he said, "No, I don't have anything. And then after around a half an hour, three quarters of an hour he came back really excited and again also with reports he had intercepted, to____from____adjutant who had to give them immediately to the Fuehrer...had then knocked on the door, showed...And then had____then asked____, "What is going on, what's so urgent, what has happened?" And then he told me...the Allies ____Berlin...within 14 days had to, would be defended in three weeks. And the Germans are supposed to have the possibility of defending Berlin in 14 days, three weeks. ____Russians so fast____suddenly are at Berlin's border.

Q: Was there indeed an agreement that the Americans would halt at the Elbe river and the Russians at the Oder river?

A: They didn't somehow understand that the Russians had arrived so quickly across the Oder river. Also with German help. They knew that. And then Hitler had said, "____the war is certainly lost." And he had...he now released us all...had released us all...and then...but this report dragged things on still. Hitler said, "Only those have to stay when it's otherwise not possible (to leave)." Which everything was not...The equipment certainly had to be operated up to the end. And then they caught me.

Q: But Herr Misch, how does that fit with the fact...?

A: All the others were leaving.

Q: But how does that fit with the fact that on orders from Hitler...his personal order only six days earlier, I believe, Karl Brandt was arrested because of defeatist remarks...in other words because of doubts about ultimate victory? When even a short time later Hitler himself said that victory was lost? How did this sudden opinion...in other words, did that go back and forth too?

A: Well, what kind of discussion happened between General Krebs and _____, who were still there, you know...military side...Then again the others came for his birthday...to congratulate him again. Spaehel and all the ones, they just came in for a short period and then disappeared again. I took part in all that and....saw, you know, who all came. But they came and disappeared again. After that _____ General Krebs and _____ were _____ and the _____, those were the ones who remained, all the others went away....all of them gone.

Q: And the ones who remained, where were they now? In the....Were they still in the Reichs chancellery?

A: They were often in the...had a long stay in the bunker down there. _____ office....that was all _____ in the Reichs chancellery. _____ right, andthe _____ he was supposed to come for a meeting, because of some kind of reason, I don't know, because of something in which he was involved beforehand. And so he wasn't there and you couldn't reach him by telephone either...and then people from the Reich Security Service went, to _____ street where he lived... and came back and said... _____ he was there with a woman who was not _____, in other words with a woman and sent word back, "what am I still supposed to do...The war is certainly almost over in any case." Well, that had _____ the _____ very loud, _____ arrested, _____ you know, then they went back there again but they didn't find him there. In the meantime _____ had turned himself in. The woman was also not there.

Q: And _____ was the liaison man between Hitler and Himmler.

A: Yes, the liaison man, Hitler's representative. But I don't know what it was all about, why he had to come above all. In any case he was not there for the military briefing although he would be needed. And well, the people from the security service came back and _____ also came in the meantime, drunk. I didn't see it because that happened in the new Reichs chancellery. And the whole time I was in the new Reichs chancellery....maybe to eat something or such, I don't know. And then I saw _____. In the company with some people.

Q: And he was then hanged.

A: Yes, then he was interrogated and so forth. And stripped of his rank by Hitler...in other words there was no order to shoot him but rather...he was immediately...stripped of his rank....to ordinary recruit. Right, we heard about that in the cellar. And then Hitler had somehow requested in that connection...but I don't know. I didn't learn about that.

Q: That was her brother-in-law...?

A: How that turned out, I don't know. In any case _____ was in a wing. I knew that from one of the security people...from a, _____ he was shot there, in one of the wings.

Q: I thought he was shot in the garden of the foreign ministry.

A: So _____ said. He colleague shot him. I also know his name. I'm not going to say any more. I believe his wife is still living.

Q: Then....

A: In other words from the....who gave the order, Hegel..."Kriminalrat" (trans. note: like police inspector) Hegel, his superior.

Q: I just wanted to come back again for a little bit to Hitler's belief in final victory. Didn't he still hope indeed up to the last second that the English would eventually change their minds?

A: Yes, yes, Hitler always believed in the English up to the end. He was pro-English. He couldn't understand that the English people...they were such business people... could certainly not have any common ground with communists, in order to destroy Germany. In this respect, in this way. He was pro-English....the chief then, Schmidt, he also said it. He had to be very careful because Hitler understood every word. He also spoke it well. I didn't hear it but the interpreter Schmidt who I believe could translate in five or six languages. And that was...he was an interpreter with acting ability. He could, whenever someone had such..... could imitate that...and had....emphasized it, played a role. Well, on the 20th that was the end. And then Hitler probably would have taken his life. But he hesitated again...Like _____ also said, he still kept his belief that there would be a dispute between East and West...That Herr _____ had told me, the Reichs press chief because he was always present there.

Q: And then there were the last, the last certainly very chaotic days then...who were killed within Hitler's presence.

A: Yes, in the meantime the Goebbels family also came...and they took over a space down under _____ and he himself in the deep bunker, in the room where Morell, the physician, had his space. And...well, there was a little movement, the children came down in a playful mood and I had to chase them again, you know _____. And Frau Goebbels made contact with another wife and Eva Braun...they had also again....they went then again....into the new Reichs chancellery and they then agreed that they would not leave their husbands but rather would stay there. Well, then....then it was all about the children, even before...so on the 24th or such. Then _____ was flown in _____.....She had also heard that children were there, then she went to Frau Goebbels, "If you want to stay here, that is your business but the children shouldn't remain here. I will fly the

children out. Even if I have to do it twenty times.” I heard all that. Then the....I...this thing that was happening in the deep part of the bunker, there were the people from the kitchen and also the office personnel and so forth, that would _____ Frau Goebbels _____ always down under in the bunker.

Q: So the children above wouldn't be able to make preparations, without an interruption...?

A: In any case there were a lot of tears and they tried to go downstairs but the Reichs security service was there, they had....wouldn't let them go down.

Q: Yes...and how did it continue to the end? If you then....

A: I have _____ Goebbels was there with the children _____ at the table _____ played the harmonica, they sung then. The _____ talked...right, that was before the death of the children. _____ described it, then...Yes, with a _____ who had not been able to achieve anything. I had with _____ drank a glass of wine. Which Goebbels' _____ had pored for me. And then...”Ritter” (trans. note: literally, a Knight, the lowest rung of nobility) _____ had been wounded during a flight...he arrived by plane. And then...yes...that was then around the 24th. Then.._____ always came for the briefings...other people came to Goebbels...and the Reichs Youth Leader _____, there was always still a lot of commotion down under, you know. And even afterwards when Hitler had dismissed everybody. And then I was standing there with _____, then a man came with two people I didn't know. I said, “Well now, who is that then” I don't know them at all.” Those were the....he said. “They are the people to perform marriages.” I said, “What?” “Yes, they are the people to perform marriages. The Fuehrer is going to get married.” “Well, I said, that's not possible.” “On the contrary, the Fuehrer is going to get married..” That is the group to perform it. Yes and then it's what happened.

Q: Were you present during it?

A: They went into Hitler's office there, in his cell, the civil marriage authorities, Goebbels, Baumann...I don't know who else went in. Yes and then...After some minutes the matter was over. Then the marriage authorities left, you know...and Eva Braun was married. I was not in there.

End of Tape 5

Tape 6

Q: Yes, well, at the same time...all these things happened of course probably very fast at the same time, then came, there were also calls from the military, because the front...they all continued on.

A: There were constant calls coming in, from civilians who knew our number.._____ had a girl friend, _____ in other words called on the telephone and that was the number 120050, which I can never forget. So and whoever called this number, _____ in the meantime the

Russians were already there_____, and the women, who _____raped, were screaming in the next room and so forth, like women. I said, "Wait a minute," _____gave it (the call) to Goebbels and...the telephone operator is, you couldn't answer, then...well, he consoled her then and then there were other calls again, everything mixed up. And, well, but he then had_____then further, the 30th, the next day. There had....with a secretary, in the back...they were....they still had tea behind the office, after the marriage ceremony there, they drank something. Maybe a glass of champagne, I don't know. They drank something in the new Reichs chancellery but not there in the bunker.

Q: Who all was still there at this point in time, approximately? If you could tell me approximately.

A: Yes, nobody lived down in the bunker. Down there was only Goebbels and Baumann...also not all the time, even not always...he didn't always live...Everything was in the new Reichs chancellery. A lot of people try to weld everything historically together. There would be singing and dancing... it was in the new Reichs chancellery, not in the deep bunker. No one lived down there. There wasn't enough room, we couldn't offer anyone a place there. Nowhere in any one room...there was a possibility to sit down.

Q: Well who was still left then, the entrance, access to the deep bunker?

A: Who was down there,_____those from the military, the _____, General _____ and then....well, then there was the end. Only the two....They were always there, there were meetings taking place, with Goebbels, with Baumann, who were still there...and who had something to say. Others were no longer there.

Q: The secretaries also not there?

A: _____sometimes in between, you know, also for a meeting. And then, well, in between there was of course....were then....the children had died, Frau Goebbels with all the children was with me in my room, you know...had...they all had white bed clothes on. And we had to of course, what had happened. Then _____came to where I was and did like that...and said, "If it had been up to them, the children wouldn't have been brought there.

Q: _____wouldn't have done it?

A: Yes, in other words, the _____ as I remember it, Frau Goebbels was_____. She is there crying_____had requested_____

Q: She didn't want to allow her children to grow up in a post war Germany

A: _____remain like iron, to take the children into the grave. That was then after Hitler was already there. There was also then.._____going over...into the Reichs chancellery. And there my comrade _____ who represented me now and

then...also had to take a break...and then...and then I spent a little time with him...he went then again to telephone...and then someone called "Inge, Inge"...That was the maid. I thought it was now it, I didn't hear the shot. But we had waited for it. Then it was as quiet as at church, not one sound...said a word.

____Everyone whispered. For a long time, maybe a quarter hour or even longer...until then...then a door was...I don't know now, was it ____or ____one of the two...they opened the door. The rest of them were at the back telephoning and so...Then I spied, the second door was opened, there is ____ and there I saw Hitler____the doors were opened...I didn't go inside. But there he was six to eight meters away. There I saw Hitler with his head down, on the table, you know, like that. And Eva was lying there with her knees pulled up, the knees almost up to her breast. Knees pulled up, she had a dark blue gown on with kind of white frills.....she was lying next to her ...on the coach. Then I went to my comrade and said, "Hey, I believe____I am going to report this." We____come right back...And then I went up to the upper part of the bunker and before I left the upper bunker, I got excited again and on the other hand wanted to know more.____to see, on the other hand to make a report...Then I went down and when I was down there Hitler was already on the floor and they were in the process of wrapping him up in a blanket. I was still able to see that..and then I didn't see Eva, on the coach,____Hitler up there. Well, what do we do now? ...The comrades...it went very fast, afterwards. Then the ____came and then still another from the _____, whom I didn't recognize...and they carried Hitler out. As they passed me, right, I said then, "Well, now____." Well I then went away and came back and told ____ what had happened. "When?" "well, I said, "now, right now." And I...I say...."____is coming right away"...Well, go do your work"...Well,, then I also went downstairs and then he said for the first time, "Yes, now they are burning the chief. Just go upstairs"...I said, "no, I'm not going up, you go up..." "No, I'm not going up, I'm taking off. So we didn't go upstairs. We could have. But on the other side we saw in the meantime, excited...a fearful atmosphere and the...that Gestapo Mueller was there. Yes, he said, "If they ____us all as state witnesses...all gone, to shoot everybody or something like that."

Q: Who did you see still down there in the bunker?

A: ____, had____ seen him, that he was present, Gestapo Mueller, and well, then he went away and then I took my gloves..then...then gathered up, then ____came again, Krebs and Baumann and ____ and...after Hitler now had been burned, right...they stood around for about two hours, right, since _____they, what there was to do. Goebbels was _____, in other words one day before...also....as he prepared his children for death, then, I don't know, after one or an hour and a half they came down again, crying, passed me, it didn't work, ducked under me, they went into the room where ____lived. There was a table there and he seated himself down and dealt a hand of solitaire...and played cards. Then a child came, looked inside, you know, didn't want to go in, I could also see everything....that they dealt cards for solitaire____I first learned what that was from my wife, solitude, you know...The Fuehrer was no longer there, you know, that was the end...Well, then the discussions started. And in the meantime a Herr____came with the cable drum (sic). He said, "I'm going to the first Russian I see." That was up to____. "O.K. where is that then?" Zimmer street." Until Zimmer street

the traffic was still moving. There was the nearest Russian who was reachable. And then he showed me...Which plugs should not be blocked. Right, they have to remain open. After a while he came back. He was with _____, with soldiers when his wife _____ was gone. Then he came back, I didn't get a connection, functioned...somehow not working. He went away again and then came back again....In the meantime the Russians were on the line, right. Then I said, "Wait a minute, wait, General Krebs is on the line, I now have _____," "Well, give him to me"....Then I connected them, right, and General Krebs talked on the phone with the Russians. But fluent Russian. I could hear everything, was now naturally curious, I could hear everything...they spoke Russian, you know, I didn't understand a single word. The whole time. And then there was another meeting with those people who were there, the ones I have already named, also the _____ had come in the meantime. And then he went away and came back after two or three hours. And then there was another meeting, well, the ones who were still there...the rest of them. And then he went away again and came back again without any concrete results...And what he wanted to accomplish, General Rauch....he wanted to bring us. But there was supposed to exist a kind of armistice so that General Rauch with his people...the division to the West.

Q: (transcript partially garbled at the beginning) he was negotiating a partial capitulation?

A: Yes, but the Russian still insisted on unconditional surrender...two times, right,...had no success, yes, then after the second attempt, that was it. You know, then they were....because they were already earlier...but it had already been agreed upon, in groups, always....in other words so and so many people...we were divided into five groups, I learned of that, accidentally. Then nobody bothered about me. Nobody came downstairs. Not even our company commander, not (even) one of my fellow comrades...But they were all gone on the 24th and 22nd....members of the whole bodyguard contingent, there was not one left. They were all gone.

Q: So basically you and Henschel who was responsible for water and electricity...he I think....?

A: Yes, Henschel and I.

Q: And he was also, in other words, he had to stay too because water and air was also for the hospital upstairs....

A: Yes...and from our point of view, you know, the security center which had functioned. It could be supplied with electricity, air and water.

Q: And you actually wanted to leave, at this point in time?

A: Yes, yes...I also wanted to leave. In the meantime Goebbels was Reichs chancellor. I said, "Herr Reichs chancellor, I also want to leave. I heard the soldiers are now being assigned. I want to join a combat unit"...you know..."Well, I'll let you know". Then it

was again...always again...I tried again and again...Then the ____ came. "Well," he said, "You're still needed. I'll come for you then, you can come along with me." Well, his appearance was caused by the war, full of filth. His clothing which was...indeed, because he had crawled up out of a lot of cellars ____ took them along. ____ tanks....and then the tank would be hit. The thought, "what should I do now," you know, I had the thought. _____. Then I went to Henschel. "Tell me whether Mueller is going to kill us?"

Q: Gestapo Mueller?

A: Yes....then I said, "_____ can the bunker blow up? Can it explode? You are the expert here." "No, it won't blow up. You can be assured." Well, until then Goebbels, "What do we still have here?" And then I told him, this and that, your _____ and so forth. "There are not a lot any more" "Well, I'll tell you"....And then nothing more. Well, then he came very quietly, very quietly. "So, who wants to live? ____ understands how to die. You can finally make an end to it." So I obliterated the Third Reich. All can come quickly, all can come outside, all of them....all the telephone operators left, everything smashed...I went over to Henschel and said, "Hannes, I have now been dismissed." Yes, I have already heard that". "Yes, yes, I have now been dismissed. I am taking off now. Here is the address of my wife..." and he gave me his, that had been agreed upon beforehand. Right, and so forth. He said, "I still have to stay, stay here still." You know, but Goebbels was still alive. Later when I came out of Russia I asked him (presumably Henschel), "What happened after I left? Were all the others gone?" "No generals, Baumann told me goodbye giving me a real hand shake, _____ needed, _____ that is _____ Friedrich street _____ the _____ over...yes, thank you, thank you. And then he left. He had on a black leather overcoat and under it a military uniform. And a black leather briefcase. And he left together with Dr. _____ everything over the _____ Square and to the subway station and so forth.

Q: Is that the way you took afterwards?

A: Well...when...I was then...then I took my leave from him and....you know...the bunker was still intact, right. In the meantime there were maybe some small things but they, they always exist. Then I went to the Reichs chancellery, there was already water in the halls, I _____ ran through it. And then...the chief, whom I caught up with. And (I) said, "I have been dismissed now, can not..., well take off." Well, he said again "_____ make sure that you go in that direction, they are gathering there in that direction." He knew what was going on. And then I went out since he had shown me the way...after he had shown me the way, I went outside. For me it was strange. _____ I could _____ out at the _____ square, _____ cellar window. And then _____ that was on the 2nd of May. And then I went as far as the subway, then I halted, turned around, and saw the old (original) Reichs chancellery and the...the _____ it had been hit on top by a bomb, a part of it _____. Then I went down below into the subway. Now I was coming out of the death bunker and there they were sitting, a lot of people were naturally...had sought shelter in the subway. In there were two people who played the guitar. They played lively music there. And they I had to observe how order was maintained or _____ was and

so _____. There were people everywhere, you know. And there...then I was able..._____from Hitler, yes...I said "Where are the others? I don't know what we are going to do now? Well," I said, "We'll go upstairs, we ought to_____." They were there_____there was a German tank which had been hit and then there were dead bodies around and the Russians, they were....had (you) perfectly in their sights, they could observe everything. And then we went downstairs again...and then.."Yes, what do we do now?" Yes, what do we do now? There were soldiers there and discussions were held, with the soldiers, we are now going on our own from the subway in the direction of _____. And then we encountered Helmut_____ and the subway there passes under the Spree River. The bulkheads were there, then we broke up the group and squeezed through, then ran 80 meters and...in order to come up out of it with the idea_____and the bulkheads....they will fire....Then we will be sitting in a trap, then it's all over, but we still had pistols, I too had loaded pistols ...in the bunker, always lying on my desk...ready to be used...to shoot myself. Well, in other words...we all came through it and along the way was a _____crater, which the Russians had at hand, tossed it down....take cover_____one after the other got through, as far as the Stettiner train station. Then there was a kind of air shaft belonging to the subway and there was a kind of...climbing ladder attached to the wall, then one of us soldiers climbed up and could see through the air vent that there were soldiers standing around, Germans. And I said,"They all got through, they are all now here, you know, then_____"Now, come out." _____prisoners. _____the Russians welcomed them as appropriate_____also and_____with the _____together and Helmut_____, I don't know, _____agreed upon who had _____ambassador _____received as a gift, you know. An now stood _____2000 _____placed....let fall and she was gone. He took a kind of _____and away. In front of us were houses, in them were Russians, behind us an open field, there was nothing there. Then a woman went to the entrance....to give the prisoners some water.A Russian chased her away from there. But I saw how _____threw away the watch and said, it was from the chief. Now I don't know if the watch that he had received as a gift was from the chief or was it Hitler's watch. _____well, in any case I saw the woman pick up the watch, you know. And then, in front of us, on the other side, the Russians all of a sudden shot at each other. They had before our eyes...simply shot themselves down.

Q: You said, at each other?

A: Yes, they were drunk or something..I don't know. And then there was a "Rosetta" (trans. note: literally something shaped like a rose but probably a garble for possibly some kind of automatic pistol) on the sidewalk, then another person came, took the automatic pistol away from him...and shot into the apartments, into the windows. Since_____shot. He had then his garrison cap, his ordinary cap pulled over his face, you know. And he wanted to _____shoot himself. _____had pistols, "So, now I'm going to shoot myself." Then I _____and said, "You can certainly see," "Yes, then _____ought to do." _____, "Don't do something stupid" and struck him on the hand. And the pistol under it and threw it away. Then we were_____. But I did not see if someone picked up the pistol, I didn't see it. Yes, that was the _____the beginning of our being taken prisoner. _____the end of the_____. The dead, Hitler, _____so later it...I looked for

Henschel later, I said, "Yes, what happened after I left _____ was left, what was there after me.?" "Yes," he said, "you had just left five minutes before when Goebbels died. Then they poured gasoline over him, he (Henschel, presumably) said, "that won't burn, there is much too little oxygen." And I have to believe that, you know, what should I report here, that Goebbels along with his wife were shot in the garden, that can't be right. I have to believe Henschel because the Russians showed a corpse which...Goebbels...a corpse____. And____ said, "it doesn't burn up, there's too little oxygen," then that is probably so.

Q: That means in contrast to Hitler, whose body was incinerated upstairs, Goebbels' was incinerated downstairs? Because the bunker didn't have enough oxygen?

A: Yes, it _____ went out again, he wasn't totally burned up. But if he had been (taken) upstairs, he would have burned more. But the Russians always show the corpse of....later I came in contact with the Reichs Security Service (Reichssicherheitsdienst) _____, as _____ was a captive, coming out of the bunker, you know, and so....from where he _____ had, _____ and then they were the _____ the Russians had... _____ to Ploetzensee (trans. note: a prison in the northwest section of Berlin)....Goebbels' children were lying on the grass. Since _____ bad, threw stones at them, smuggled there and....the children. _____ the Berliners. What he saw, _____ but it happened.

Q: The Berliners had, had at the children....?

A: Yes, the Berliners. The Russians had assembled them, they had to pass by them, the children.

Q: Herr Misch, what happened to you later? Perhaps we don't have to be so completely thorough like earlier, but...how did you get out of captivity?

A: Yes, then I was for several _____ said, "Hey, I believe _____ he had thrown his pistol away, _____" were _____ still about 155 other soldiers...I said, "now we should separate." Just stay here, I'm going 50 meters ahead. We didn't want to stay together because we'd be recognized or such...I had the idea. He now left, I was then _____ together with the other soldiers. And then it was to leave Berlin, in the direction _____ somewhere, in other words right then _____ landed in Posen...or even earlier.. _____ Landsberg an der Warthe...a huge military installation was there and there I also met Flugkapitän (air force captain) Brauer, you know. _____ next to me...he done. _____ lost an arm...they sawed it off, without anaesthesia, simply sawed it off. And now _____ bandage. _____ tied it. _____ to help, we were acquaintances, had _____. And _____ I had helped care for him, tied his bandages, massaged (the wound) so that it would not become stiff, the joint and fetched food and such....Until then _____ come to Moscow _____ military back and he could also take anyone with him. And he looked at me and said, "Herr Misch, I may take someone with me. Would you like to come along with me?" Like I was supposed to handle _____? That would be better than here in the POW camp." And naturally I said yes. And then we were taken to Moscow. But

when I tell you about the military, _____. We were there together and then the interrogations occurred which were really hard...they beat us and such. And then he said on one occasion, "well, why not ask the person who accompanied me, he knows it better than I." And then it was my turn.

Q: What did they want to know from you?

A: Yes, then we were together for some more days and then we were separated.

Q: What did they want to know from you, Herr Misch?

A: Well, down there, that wasn't really Hitler but instead a double" and "you lie, you lie, you lie." And then I was tortured...in a cruel way. Each separately. We were always kept apart. Each separately, we were always kept apart...totally naked, whipped, the testicles_____, we had to...and then they would drag us away, give us a cold shower, you know, in a crater, without a mattress, a kind of steel thing there.

Q: How long were you there?

A: In the _____?

End of Tape 6

Tape 7

A: Yes, then we were with the Flugkapitän_____, the interrogations. And in 1946, in May, we were brought back to Berlin, for the Nuernberg trial. Right, as principal witnesses. Well, and the person at the Nuernberg trial...he said...the Russians at the interrogation, "I said...I'm not going to speak, I am not a defendant here, I'm been invited here as a witness...in other words brought here...and well, "You can shoot me now, I'm not speaking, I want to see my wife, my daughter, I'm entitled to...the prisoners" and so forth and well, _____my wife came...then my wife came and gave me a shave, nice..."When you wife comes_____interrogation." I didn't speak again, but _____took me along to the bunker. But...and such...well, I had_____on the floor I had....I had to lie on the floor and sleep. A kind of water jug,_____for everything, eating, the toilet, for washing, for everything. That I would...well, after seven weeks....The Russians said, "principal witness_____, principal witnesses are not needed." And then it was back again, you know, to Moscow. That took some expenditure, that_____. My wife_____five kilometers. And you didn't know what would happen to you...and then back again.

Q: Did they tell you against whom you were supposed to testify?

A: No.

Q: Nothing, not at all?

A: Not at all, said totally nothing about it.

Q: And you couldn't see you wife the whole time?

A: No, not, she also didn't come.

Q: And then it was back to Russia?

A: Yes, yes, then it was back to Russia. So on the whole I was there for almost three years, in _____ and _____...almost three years long, you know... and then we went..we were loaded aboard and transported to Kazakstan...32 days_____the wooden beds there, from _____, you know, just sitting like that, 32 days long, we were on the road, until Kazakstan, to Siberia, 32 days. Right, we were there for a long time and then...as a work colleague _____considering the camp, we were already...we were able to move around a bit freely and work_____renovating things locally...electrical, a little masonry, painting and there were twelve of us there_____and then we were sent completely back again...back to, traveling back as far as...in the Urals and then from the Urals to_____until St. Petersburg, Leningrad. From Leningrad loaded again aboard to Moscow, after_____, that is an airport_____that was...yes and from there again to the Urals to_____and from _____to Stalingrad and from Stalingrad to home.

Q: That was an incredibly long stretch.

A: Always on the road...rather a lot on the road. But with the German Embassy, they did it too like that, the Russians. They were also...always on the road for months.

Q: When did you finally return to Germany?

A: Yes and then it was...end of December 1953..and came exactly...as of '54 I was home. I came here as far as Fuerstenwalde, there was a reception camp there and from there I was given clothing and...

Q: Had you heard anything from your family the whole time?

A: _____earlier, received mail from '51, yes...and also package...packages too.

Q: And then you came back to a Germany that you didn't know at all? How was the readjustment then?

A: Well...well, arriving. We had_____couldn't still believe if we were really free, all of us, with a few_____and we went to the train station and now you could actually travel with the S-Bahn (streetcar) to Berlin and so we arrived in _____, I said, "Now we are in the West." Right, now we out fast. I then went to a taxi and the taxi man brought me here. I told him then, "I'm coming home from captivity"..well, I had already said that

earlier..and then he wouldn't take money from me and wished me good luck. And then I knocked on the door and then I was home.

Q: And your wife had waited for you? That isn't so clear.

A: Yes, yes...she had become a teacher in the meantime, after the war... had begun study again at a university..and that was an abbreviated study, they looked for people like my wife...wasn't politically active...she was just a completely normal person...didn't have any difficulties so that she could study here, could work again.

Q: And she is also then politically....?

A: _____was interrogated, you know,_____I don't know.

Q: And did she then become politically active?

A: Well, she was raised as a full-blooded politician, by her father-in-law....by her in laws.

Q: Could you tell us a bit about it _____from the SPD (Trans. note: German Socialist Party)..?

A: Right here...full professional,_____and then later in the House of Delegates.

Q: So your wife had established herself very well in the meantime and what happened to her further professionally? Because you were certainly a late returnee and it was difficult then. What happened next?

A: _____came home but _____my name had not disappeared, no.

Q: What happened to you here then, professionally, what had...?

A: _____a pause for a year. Adjustment and such....then I was sent by the Welfare Office, so that they then again_____sent..I was then in_____in the museum and then...well, then it was about finding a profession...had to do something. But there was also very great unemployment..was difficult to...My wife could perhaps have done something. But she did not._____. But that was _____. I could have worked, but _____as far as I was concerned, that wouldn't work. _____hospital I could have become a hospital orderly...Well then...resulted in their saying to me, "Don't you know about colors and such." I said, "Yes," he said, "Then you could take over a business." _____76, a woman and a young man did that together...and to take over the business. And I looked them up...Yes, to purchase, right...27 thousand marks....where to get that? And then we...In the meantime I had been circulating, a year of running around, then I looked up a friend that I could work for, he wanted to offer the sales area for rubber articles, in Wuerttemberg and Baden. In that case I would have had to leave my wife, but [it was] a well established area, it included Bayer [presumably the company] and I would get that

then. You know,_____.Then I was in Munich [so see] the director of Mercedes, who____, he knew us all. So I was...I looked him up, you know....And who could get me a job too. But also in Munich, in....such since Mercedes had....in Stuttgart.

Q: What was that earlier, the director, because they said, "They knew all of us"?

A: _____came to the Fuehrer, you know, for a presentation and such....They came somehow....whether it was Porsche or...they certainly knew us all....to meet us all....to talk to us, you know. Since the director_____, Jakob _____who was the boss of Mercedes, who had_____of vehicles and of...which in the exhaust system already...well, in any case....which had so many advantages...said, "When we get so far that we can manufacture automobiles, then there won't be a car built without catalytic converters."...These discussions always took place. And Porsche [presumably Dr. Ferdinand Porsche] too, who came with his....He had built the tiger tank, Dr. Porsche. And this model, it was shown as a model.

Q: Good, when you wanted to go back again, it didn't result in anything at Mercedes and then they had however...Did you eventually get some money?

A: _____I first...I went to a general because he had contact with the princess of Isenburg. He concerned himself with cases of late returnees, to help them. And then I____, I spent almost eight days with him, because...I would have been able to make myself independent, but to do that I needed money. And there was 2.8 million for Berlin, I would not have received any of it, since there were so many other requests...Then I was...She arranged for me to meet the Delegate Seibold who then introduced me further to Schaefer, to Finance Minister Schaefer. And who then made it possible....then Berlin received 7 millions reconstruction money. And with this money they couldn't tell me that they didn't have money. And so I got this_____loan, you know...to pay it back in ten years in other words_____.Well, very favorable terms....I could buy a business.

Q: And with that you...your business?

A: And then I was taken care of...Then I had my business, you know and I got by...well. I managed.

Q: Herr Misch, at first you were naturally very busy to find your family again, so to speak, and to build up your business and in general get back on your feet.. Later did you ever look into books, in order to see what they had experienced in the war because they all had responsibilities etc. Did you ever get another perspective, overall view of the war...about Hitler?

A: Absolutely not_____completely.

Q: You did read anything...?

A: Nothing, nothing at all.

Q: You didn't want anything about the time...?

A: _____my wife here...and the courts and the party and everything like it...

Q: But haven't you at least learned from fragments then, it slowly became known that the extent_____?

A: _____got enough verbally, what....in general was not in Moscow...the KZ [concentration camp]...that I learned by reading all about it here, also from my wife, from party reports and so forth...from the SPD [German Socialist Party] and all that. But in Moscow I was_____whipped, really cruelly tortured. Not a single word about the KZ...and they whipped me....Stalin, that was a Jew...Or _____they were Jews who whipped me. But _____said it was now such, over, time to relax. But what was supposed to....in reality...during the time because I worked directly for Hitler_____ things happened in this time, you didn't hear anything at all in captivity.

Q: Didn't they then about the Fuehrer, in other words the Fuehrer whom you knew...?

A: _____didn't believe. If he had put on such an act, we certainly would have known.

Q: Hadn't you sometimes....?

A: _____Herr Frenz who had produced films, he might have certainly filmed KZs, somehow, you know....We would have been shown them...No, that was completely, completely at a standstill, nothing, absolutely nothing...Everything after the war, after captivity...Also in captivity we were with those people who had been in the KZs..._____in the KZ, what happened there?...."Why...were you put there....political?" "No, not at all, how come....counterfeiter."

Q: That was at the beginning...when, when...it must have been, when was that?

A: In captivity.

Q: No, when you talked about that with people who had been in a KZ, or in the middle of the Thirties.?

A: In Russia.

Q: Ah, in Russia.

A: The Russians took everything, also the Jews, they carried away everything. Yes, the real Jewish persecution in Russia was in 1951. A person came to us then in the hospital. We had a camp...there were 3000 prisoners. We had_____...But when_____were surgical matters, _____to operate or such, a woman always came_____hospital....was made clear to us, what it really was....otherwise a hospital. And once after some work

she began to cry. And Dr. Schwarze, the German said, "No, no, why are you crying..What's wrong? It all worked out fine." Yes, she said, probably that is the last work today I will do for you."..."Why is that then?" "I am Jewish." "So what." "Well, they are all going away." Her camp chief, a captain in any case, he has already gone, you know. We are all going to the_____we will all....we will get....She talked about it. The people who had something to do with the camp, who were Jewish._____The camp leader and someone else, said, she told us, "We are all going to the_____That is....And then a shot to the head...It was_____to the head and_____." She was right about that. I have to tell you how it was. We were really there....after 1951....was the expulsion of the Jews which we experienced. We didn't know that the people who treated us, that they were Jewish. They told us that. They no longer came.

Q: It would interest me now again, Herr Misch, did you read some books which reported also about this time? Where you, what was another kind of appraisal, for example...There is an American, O'Donnell, who wrote "The Bunker," "The Catacomb."

A: Well,....

Q: Or, or...there is also by...Schirack, I believe ha,_____or published anecdotes, the wife_____, the secretary._____had also written something. What do you think about these books. Have you again...?

A: Yes, yes, there I stop at a lot of them...what I can correct and what has been said correctly, or_____what one dictated to her, it's obvious... I already noticed that, you know...It isn't written really freely. The wife of _____who was offered two million_____. She did that_____.

Q: Herr Misch, you said you were never interested earlier in politics, you were no political_____. Have you.....Did you at sometime regret maybe that you hadn't cared much about politics, like it...?

A: Not at all, I was a loner. Childhood, teenager, you know that. I was such a loner. I had absolutely no interest, I didn't even know what a swastika was.

Q: No, but I mean, did you maybe change your thinking later on when you maybe looked back again at the war, about the politics that evolved. Was there at some time another understanding that was introduced or do you just say, "That was it and so...?"

A: I was...despite my wife_____you know, we got along well together. I was a complete professional. "Yes," I said, " stop everything about your politics" and so forth. When I..I had here.._____distributed notes and such, you know...But that was all too. It didn't interest me. And when I now see what happened, then I say, "no."

Q: Would you have agreed to leave the bunker open? Because it is, it was filled in.

A: Yes, yes, it was filled in.

Q: Would you have found it important to maintain it?

A: ____ said, it is gone, you know. But the main bunker which...thick walls, that still exists. Only the top has been removed. The top has been removed and I have some aerial photographs here so that I can say to that point,, here the Third Reich ended...here Hitler took his life, you know. And right afterwards Goebbels died. The Third Reich ended here. Here and down under. There is now grass over it and it is now closed. But I have aerial photographs and the____, they are standing there,____extending exactly, right at the bunker's exit, right there....you can see that to the exact distance.

Q: Have you actually talked to your daughter about such things or didn't she have any interest in them?

A: What?

Q: Your daughter?

A: My daughter, never, she has a political affiliation which was FDP ["Free Democratic Party", the German equivalent of the British Liberal Party].

Q: Do you have grandchildren?

A: _____by her husband who is a lawyer, _____member.

Q: Has she asked you sometimes who it was at that time or was that not a topic of discussion?

A: No, absolutely not.

Q: You have grandchildren?

A: She attended the university, is educated, she is a graduate engineer ("Dipl. Ing."), an architect.. we had contact with Jewish people. Here people have also lived in our building. The____and the____. He was a major....you know and my daughter was in Israel....and there she got to know Dr. Jakob...the lawyer. And then she married him.

Q: Do you have grandchildren?

A: Yes, twins. Two boys, they are 20, 21.

Q: Then let's say again the names and then we can...____Your daughter...What's her name?

A: _____no real contact. I understand it...don't understand my daughter.You know, you do so much for her, everything, everything...let her study at the university, give her

freedom, complete freedom in every way...Had to support her constantly..and...she withdrew. Married then Dr. Jakob, so approximately...The_____complete her degree.._____said, "it won't work...had only one more semester." If they marry....together and are dead because they drove into a tree, with the car, then_____my daughter she wouldn't have a degree, nothing, nothing at all. Yes.._____studied further, got the degree and then they got married. That was...Then she was taken care of,_____

Q: What are the names of the two sons, the grandsons? Only in that way will we have an end again, for the new generation?

A: _____done for them, everything...remain strangers.

Q: What are the names of the two grandsons?

A: Yes, one is called Rochus, the third. My father, I...and now...Not to renounce_____. And Alexander, the other one.

Q: Herr Misch, we thank you for this conversation. Many thanks.

A: No problem.....a pleasure...History has to somehow remain alive. But that...that was basically my life. But I...politics didn't interest me. I mean, that under Hitler things went so....bad...And now things also go bad, right? I also have my own thoughts. How could such a German country like Germany....world renowned. _____universities, they were the bastions...the universities. Today they are in the cellar. Why is that? That's exactly right but that's now the present situation. And the whole policy that they now pursue, it's all for the present. The talk, they talk..talk...all the TV debates...They only talk....about the present, that's the way it is...we know it too...but how did it come to that? That goes back decades.

Q: And that is now a whole new topic. For that_____

A: _____, yes...But that is....the policy, the present day...You can see..., well, why should I care about politics. Earlier I was also non-political. I could have said "Heil"...and cheered, could have also....Hitler, could have also marched smartly outfitted, nothing...not for me, not at all.

A: This here is the Wolfschanze (trans. note: means literally the wolf's den) headquarters...Here I am in front of the barracks where the 20 July 1944 assassination attempt took place.

Q: Could you just tell me again what rank you had, Herr Misch?

A: Yes, I was here....."Oberstabsfuehrer."

Q: Thank you very much, it was nice.

A: Here I am...that is the "Werwolf" headquarters. That was the main air raid bunker. And we guarded it because when Hitler came into it, when he needed rest, it was always very pleasant in the bunker. And that was in summer, consideration was also made for cooling.

Q: In what year, Herr Misch?

A: That was in the year...beginning of 1942...

A: Yes, here we are...that was the special train "America". That was Hitler's...also a headquarters...And then there is...our cook who now works for Mitropa and...because he was so small. And far right is Hitler's personal servant Arndt...Was actually Hitler's favorite servant. The others are members of _____ and our _____ group, we were on the way from Berlin to East Prussia...And that there was taken in Salsa...the Salsa station.

Q: Do you still know when?

A: It must have also been '41, '42...I don't know...it was '42. Our rail car for the security detail was always with _____ from Hitler...On the left is Hitler's rail car and here is _____ one rail car ahead was the dining car.

Q: Do you know approximately where...In other words, where and when?

A: That was in Munich, _____ Munich, about 1941.

A: Here is in _____ from...on the way from the Wolfschanze to _____ in the Ukraine. That was also in 1942.

Q: Do you know anyone in the photograph?

A: Yes, that is Graf, Michael Graf, the others I don't recognize.

A: Here is a village, in the Ukraine, in the Wehrdorf headquarters. It was about 10 minutes away by foot. The village was populated and we made some trades...with the inhabitants there. For example, I brought them sewing needles, salt and utensils and they really had a good inventory of sunflower oil and chickens, you know. That was then always a barter. It was situated about ten minutes away from headquarters...the Werwolf headquarters in the vicinity of _____ in the Ukraine.

A: Yes, that _____ then still...people in the Ukraine..They didn't know....I don't know if they were aware that the headquarters was, no more than 10 minutes away was a wooded area and in this wooded area was the Werwolf headquarters. That was also in the year 1942.

A: Here I am also in 1942 in Karlsbad, I was there on a “Kur” (trans. note: visiting a spa) for recovery. And that was on Hitler’s orders. He thought that I didn’t look good, that I should...have his physican Mortell examine me. And he arranged for me to go to Karlsbad, for recovery. And I have here the sleeve strip for “Leibstandarte Adolf Hitler”...is on it. We were members of the “Leibstandarte.”

End of Tape 7

Conclusion of Interview