ARCHIV HORST VON WÄCHTER Audio recordings Summary

RG-90.147.0004 part 1 of 7

Kassette 3, Seite 1 [45.41 minutes]

Label: "Frau Wächter (1) 28/9/1984"

Interview by Dr. Hansjakob Stehle, German historian (1927 - 2015), with Charlotte Wächter (CW) recorded on September 28, 1984; her son, Horst von Wächter (the collection's donor) and her daughter Traude are present and occasionally contribute to the discussion. CW recounts when they got married; Otto Wächter's time in Lemberg (Lviv); how she was in hospital during the attempted putsch against the Dollfuss regime; discusses her family's strict religiosity; that her family was Protestant and OW's family was Catholic; that only one of their children was baptized Protestant, the rest are all Catholic; how she became Catholic at 23 years old; her political engagement on behalf of the Nazi party by distributing Nazi leaflets and swastikas; how she knew in advance about the coup attempt but did not know the details; the Dollfuss assassination was not planned and entirely accidental; describes in detail how her husband fled after the putsch; Dr. Stehle asks whether Otto Wächter was the head of the putschists, CW is non-committal; CW recounts how she followed her husband after his escape; how they met up in December under the false last name "Wartenberg;" subject changes to Vienna after March 1938 and Cracow; CW claims how Wächter hated his position as State Secretary in charge of cleansing the public administration in Nazi-annexed Austria and how he requested his transfer to the East in 1939; how there were no career prospects under Bürckel; how he was appointed District Governor of Cracow; that Otto Wächter's main rival was SS Police Chief Friedrich Wilhelm Krüger; how Krüger was a "devil" and schemer; CW recounts their friendship with Governor General of occupied Poland Hans Frank (1900-1946) who she describes as a highly cultured person and excellent musician; [tape skips] Hansjakob Stehle talks about Lviv (Lemberg), reads through a historical report by a Dr. Frederick (?) about the Ukrainians' involvement in massacres of Jews, Ukrainian antisemitism, Ukrainian collaboration; CW talks about her husband's desire to involve local "Galicians" (i.e. Ukrainians) in political decisions and the good will that this resulted in; compares the good situation in Lemberg with the terrible situation under Koch in Kiev (Reichskommissar for Ukraine Erich Koch, 1896-1986); recounts their good friend, the former Finance Minister Fischböck who was told by Koch to shoot anyone who is not acceptable and how Fischböck immediately requested his transfer to the Netherlands; [tape skips. See Kassette 4 Seite 2] CW talks about a letter from Himmler received by Otto Wächter in which Himmler told him to inspect the concentration camps and how her husband refused and how he refused other orders by Himmler; how the assassination of Bauer was actually targeting Otto Wächter; [tape skips] Stehle asks about Wächter's relationship with

the Ukrainian Metropolitan Andrey Sheptitsky, how Wächter visited the Metropolitan to ask for his support and blessing for the Galician SS division established by Wächter; CW explains how and why Wächter established the Galician SS division; how she cared for wounded Ukrainians; Stehle mentions Bishop Josyf Slipyi who held the festive mass to bless the Galician SS division; CW thinks that it might have actually been Bishop Slipyi with whom Otto Wächter had a good relationship; [topic changes] Stehle wonders how come no Austrian historians know about Otto Wächter's wife and children and how come no one has contacted them in the past; CW mentions that Lohsacker is still alive, that she just spoke with the former City Commander of Lemberg Dr. Egon Ambros Höller yesterday, that the former secretary of her husband who is now 80 is alive as well; [topic returns to Lemberg] Stehle asks what the situation there was like, CW mentions that the situation was good but Traude calls it a "dark time," calls it "unloving and cold", CW suggests that this might have been due to the fact that she was always away and busy with her husband's career; Stehle asks about relationship between Wächter and Frank; CW: her husband's relationship to Frank was not as good as her relationship to the Frank family; Wächter did not like Frank's erratic ways and Krüger did his part to sow discord; CW offers to invite Höller for the afternoon, Stehle accepts. [tape skips – see Kassette 5 Seite 1] CW talks about physical dangers towards her husband and her family in Lviv, how she always used code when speaking with her husband on the telephone; Stehle asks whether Wächter wanted to work more or work less with the Ukrainians than what was allowed, CW affirms "more, more;" Stehle asks about Wächter's move to Cracow. [tape ends – see Kassette 5 Seite 1 for recorded gap between Kassette 3 Seite 1 and Kassette 3 Seite 2]

## RG-90.147.0004 part 2 of 7

#### Kassette 3, Seite 2 [45.02 minutes]

Label: "Wächter (2) 28/9/1984"

Interview by Dr. Hansjakob Stehle, German historian (b. July 25, 1927), with Charlotte Wächter (CW). Her son, Horst von Wächter (HW) (the collection's donor) and her daughter Traude are present in the room – continued.

Stehle asks CW about Wächter's work for the Reichssicherheitshauptamt (RSHA) in Berlin. CW maintains that Wächter hated the RSHA assignment. Stehle asks how Wächter came to Italy in July 1944. CW states that a certain Wolff had him transferred (most likely **Karl Friedrich Otto Wolff**, 13 May 1900 – 17 July 1984), a short discussion ensues whether Wolff is still alive or not. CW is surprised that he has died, "would have loved to have still talked to him;" she states that Wächter's main concern in getting transferred to Italy was to protect the Ukrainian volunteers in his Galician division. Mentions Russian General **Andrey Wlassow**. [tape skips] CW recounts how Wächter received a stern letter from **Ernst Kaltenbrunner**, who she says was one of

Wächter's best friends, warning him to distance himself from General Wlassow or face the prospect of being charged as a Russian spy. CW states that Wächter refused. Stehle states that in the end the command came to form the so-called Wlassow army unit. Horst von Wächter chimes in that they learned about the whereabouts of his father through his letters from Italy. Stehle continues to press on about the Galician division which, he states, was still used in Czechoslovakia, then in Austria, and at the very end of the war was stationed in Carinthia. CW confirms this and also that Wächter was with the Galician unit at that time. CW recounts how Wächter hid for years in the mountains and how she provided him with supplies. Stehle asks when Wächter got in touch with CW; CW says "soon after the war;" how she asked him when he called her what to do with the boxes (of documents?) and he told her on the telephone to get rid of them, which she now regrets doing; how her jewelry was stolen; how CW and Wächter would meet clandestinely every two weeks; [tape skips] CW recounts how Wächter told her that at the end of the war he did everything in his power to assure that the Ukrainians of his Galician SS division won't be handed over to the Russians; Stehle asks: "by the Americans?;" CW corrects him "no, by the English" and Stehle concurs; they discuss some confusion towards the end of the war involving the Ukrainian volunteers; Traude offers some additional insights; [tape skips] CW recounts how Wächter found a "young SS fellow" who was also fleeing and how they travelled together; how she would meet them in hiding; [tape skips] CW recounts how she was able to produce a fake ID for Wächter from the ID of a deceased person in the name of "Reinhardt"; how she met a former concentration camp inmate ("KZler") which she was loath to do but how her mother insisted in introducing her to the survivor; how the survivor was a "Monarchist" who was interned in Dachau for political reasons and how he had served during World War I under her father-in-law; how the survivor, a strict Catholic, adored her father-in-law and also knew her husband; how she broke down when the former camp inmate asked her about her husband; how he offered his help as she went through worse hardships than the relatives of those interned in the concentration camps who at least received aid from the Nazis; how a deep friendship developed and how he procured the fake papers for Wächter with the help of the "KZ-Verband;" how the camp survivor's son personally brought the fake papers to Wächter; how Wächter stayed in hiding until Christmas 1948 and they spent the holidays together but Wächter would hide in the apartment; how the low-ranking "SS boy" by the name of "Burghardt" was always with him; how this man is still alive; how they would be fed by mountain farmers; Stehle asks how Wächter ended up in Italy; CW recounts that going to Italy was too much for her; how she sold her porcelain in order to buy a little hut; how Wächter told her that he did not want to go to Germany, that he wanted to emigrate to Argentina via Italy instead; how CW told him to go to Bozen where they had friends including Schirach from "before;" [tape skips] CW recounts a certain "Nora" and a journalist by the name of "Riedel" who took care of Wächter; how "Neubacher," the former ambassador in Belgrade (most likely Hermann Neubacher 1893 - 1960) was released from prison and volunteered to be a character

witness for OW; [tape skips – see Kassette 5 Seite 2 for the unrecorded segment] CW: Wächter continued living with her and his family in hiding; how at some point a neighbor stopped by informing CW that there are Czech agents at the neighbor's home watching the Wächter residence and that there are rumors that Wächter is hiding at his residence; CW states that at that moment she realized that the jig was up and she encouraged Wächter to go to Bozen at the beginning of 1949. From there Wächter went to Rome; Stehle: why Rome? Who did Wächter know in Rome? CW asserts it was the "Jugendfuehrer" (youth leader); Stehle asks if it was "Lauterbacher" and she affirms that Hartmann Lauterbacher (1909 - 1988) was Wächter's and others' main contact in Rome; [tape skips] CW says that 'they' told Wächter that they might be able to help him go to Argentina; Stehle: who are 'they'? CW says she does not know because this was secret; Stehle asks where Wächter lived in Rome; CW says that he arrived with very little money and stayed in a cloister. CW never saw him alive again after his departure for Italy. CW says that Wächter made money by being an extra in movies in the Cinecitta including in the movie "La Forza del Destino" (released 1949); how he also received support from Germans living in Rome, "a certain German group;" Stehle asks if CW has heard the name Willi Nix (1906 - 1988) who led the Zentralbüro für Deutsche in Italien and who he says still lives in Rome; CW says she does not know him but that she has a list of Wächter's contacts in Rome; Stehle says that he asked Willi Nix about Wächter and that Nix told him that he remembered the name "Otto Reinhardt;" CW affirms that "Reinhardt" was Wächter's false name and that he died under that false identity which caused some problems for her; Stehle asks when exactly did Wächter arrive in Rome; CW and Traude state that the family accompanied Wächter to the train to Rome on Easter 1949; how she had a terrible feeling that this might be the last time that she will ever see him; Stehle asks if Wächter knew Bishop Alois Hudal before Rome; CW says no, that Wächter was introduced to Bishop Hudal in Rome [presumably by the German group, Hudal "wurde ihm zugefuehrt"], that she was told this by Hudal himself, how Hudal enjoyed his walks with Wächter, how Hudal led OW's burial. Stehle recaps the chronology: arrival in Rome, then the stay in the cloister, Stehle asks again which cloister, CW says she does not remember the name but could point out the cloister on a map of Rome, that the cloister was close to the Tiber river, Traude states that she has a map of Rome; [tape skips] Stehle asks why Wächter wanted to go from Rome to Argentina; CW replies that the reason was "because so many other Nazis went over there and all of them created a good life for themselves" in Argentina; Stehle insists several times "why Rome," finally CW replies that Wächter chose Rome because there were "several of them there" such as the Carinthian Gauleiter; that Wächter had been told Rome was a good departure point to go to Brazil or Argentina but in the end no one really helped him; Stehle again asks why was Rome the departure point; CW says she does not know; Stehle asks about Wächter's false identity papers, that Wächter needed a passport and did not have the necessary documents to go to Argentina; CW affirms that this is true, that he did not have a passport when he arrived in Rome and never had one; Horst von

Waechter interjects that he does not know how well planned the transfer to Rome was, that CW refused to go; CW says that is true, she refused to go due to her children but that Wächter loved Italy, that he spoke Italian because his father hailed from Triest and Wächter had gone to school there; that in the end Wächter had gone to meet someone at Lake Averno, an encounter from which he returned deadly ill and that Bishop Hudal told her that it was his opinion that Wächter had been poisoned; Stehle asks who was the person whom Wächter had gone to meet at Lake Albano; CW responds that unfortunately she does not know but there could be a reference in Wächter's letters although no, he never used names in his letters; Stehle: could it have been a German officer? CW says that Wächter met with all kinds of people, that he did not have a choice under the circumstances, that he had to be trusting with those "who had been part of it;" Stehle asks whether CW was notified by the hospital about her husband's death; CW states no, not at all, that at the time she was in the hut in Salzburg and that she would receive Wächter's letters, many of them, that he had written that he had developed a fever at Lake Albano. Stehle interjects that Hudal lived at the lake as well. CW affirms this, she states that maybe Hudal had given the address of "those people" to Wächter, Stehle asks whether Wächter lived with them, CW says she does not know but in any case he returned to the cloister, developed a high fever, how he was transferred to the hospital, how she was informed in a telegram she received from a doctor by the name of "Markisani" (?) - who comes from a Salzburg family but by that time was already an Italian citizen - about her husband's grave condition and that it was difficult to transfer Wächter into the care of the hospital because of his lack of authentic identity papers; CW describes how she made arrangements to send away her six children and join Wächter to take care of him but was told by the doctor on the telephone that Wächter's condition was on the mend; another telegram arrived [tape skips] CW states how she was met by doctor Markisani (?) at the train station, how she wanted to go immediately to the hospital but that he insisted they go to the hotel first, how she insisted that "if he is still alive, I want to see him" and how she was told "he does not live anymore." CW recounts how she broke down and sat there "like a corpse." [tape skips] Stehle asks if she visited Hudal; CW replies that she was often with Hudal; that she enjoyed their conversations; how she first met Hudal when he came to pick her up to take her to go to the cemetery; how she insisted to see Wächter's body and Hudal obliged; how she saw Wächter's body which was completely "black like a negro" and "burned like wood." Stehle asks: "poisoned?" CW affirms "poisoned." [tape skips] The conversation changes to Wächter's political views and his world view after the war. CW talks about how Wächter warned so many people including Frank whom he told that he might end up "under the guillotine." Stehle asks whether Wächter wrote anything down after the war, CW states that he did but nothing of consequence, that he was always writing, even a film script, that he knew after the war that his career was over, that he was at loose ends. Stehle asks whether Wächter realized after the war that things were not quite what they were supposed to have been; Horst von Wächter interjects that his father was

adrift after the war, that he tried unsuccessfully to write political essays, Stehle asks whether Wächter wanted to reconcile his political views with the realities after the war or whether he broke with his past; Horst von Wächter states that his father only kept his anti-Bolschevist sentiments intact but everything else was a matter of the past; CW talks about an assassination attempt that was motivated by his intense anti-Bolschevist views, Stehle confuses this with the alleged poisoning in Rome, CW corrects him, she was talking about during the war, Stehle presses on about Wächter being a "dedicated National-Socialist," CW corrects him "a former National-Socialist," Stehle asks "at what time was he no longer one?," CW states "when it collapsed," Stehle asks whether "he no longer was one because things did not work out or because it was a moral collapse," CW agrees with the notion of "moral collapse" because the ideal of a Greater Europe under German leadership no longer was attainable; Stehle: "Did he [Wächter] question the system itself and why it failed?", CW blames mismanagement and suspicion; [tape skips] Conversation about the Munich Putsch; CW affirms that Wächter was part of it; that Wächter was studying at the time in Vienna but travelled to Munich to join the putsch attempt; that he was a "Alter Kämpfer;" [tape skips] Conversation about where Wächter was buried in Rome for 10 years, how CW travelled every year around Easter to Rome to visit the grave, how the first year she brought a wooden cross that her children had made, how his remains were later transferred to Austria. Stehle asks again about the circumstances of Wächter's death, he states that according to Bishop Hudal Wächter was poisened by a former German officer working for British intelligence but that this account seems rather far-fetched, CW vehemently disagrees and states that on the contrary she believes this to be true because the English wanted to hide their guilt in going back on their word and delivering the members of the Galician division into the hands of the Soviets; Stehle argues that this is a historical fact documented in archival evidence, CW replies no matter - maybe he knew too much, Traude can be heard in the background asking "Who?" and CW replies "Your Papa." [tape skips – see Kassette 6 Seite 1 for gap segment] Conversation about Hans Frank; about his "Diensttagebuch," how he employed 2 or 3 stenographers, that the Americans gave the 13 volumes of this work diary to the Historical Archive in Warsaw because "it is their history." Stehle asserts that in reading Frank's diary it is apparent that as time went on Frank grew more rational in his views, Stehle provides as an example how Frank first praised the notion of "Herrenvolk" but then towards the end of the war condemned it as "stupid." Stehle talks about the conflict between Wächter and Frank, begins to discuss the situation in Galicia when the tape suddenly ends [see **Kassette 6 Seite 1** for continuation].

RG-90.147.0004 part 3 of 7

Kassette 4, Seite 1 [30.09 minutes]

Label: "Interview Dr. Stehle I" Insert: "28.2.1986" illegible, maybe: "Kitzbuehl"

Interview by Dr. Hansjakob Stehle, German historian (b. July 25, 1927), with Charlotte Wächter (CW). Her son, Horst von Wächter (HW) (the collection's donor) and her daughter Traude are present in the room – continued.

This tape appears to be the same recording as **Kassette 3**, **Seite 1** but the tape has a different starting point. At the beginning HW and Stehle appear to be discussing the manual operation of two cassette tape recorders; it appears likely that there were two recordings made on two machines at the same time. However, the date notation between Kassette 3 and Kassette 4 is different.

#### RG-90.147.0004 part 4 of 7

## Kassette 4, Seite 2 [10.02 minutes]

Interview by Dr. Hansjakob Stehle, German historian (b. July 25, 1927), with Charlotte Wächter (CW). Her son, Horst von Wächter (HW) (the collection's donor) and her daughter Traude are present in the room – continued.

# This tape features segments that were not recorded on Kassette 3 Seite 1, with continued overlap.

Recording starts in mind-sentence of Dr. Stehle reading a quote in which the Ukrainian Metropolitan Andrey Sheptitsky accuses the Germans of crimes against humanity by having murdered over 100,000 Jews in Lemberg alone. In the quote, the Metropolitan offers justification for the antisemitism present among the Ukrainian population but nevertheless refers to the German actions as "unacceptable." Stehle quotes a Dr. Frederick that the Ukrainians were willing participants in these massacres. Stehle asks CW whether her husband OW knew the Metropolitan. CW states that he did not but that the first thing OW tried to do was to form some sort of government administration together with the Galicians ("as an Austrian," she prefers not to use the term Ukrainians). CW states how close the Galicians were to the Austrians. CW mentions that she hosted the Galician leaders' wives for coffee. Because of OW's and her good relationship with the Ukrainians, CW maintains that the "mood was much, much better" in Galicia than in the other regions in the East. CW states that OW's worst enemy was his "neighbor" Koch (Reichskommissar for Ukraine Erich Koch, 1896-1986). Stehle states that he covered Koch's trial in Warsaw 25 years ago for the Frankfurter Allgemeine and that Koch, although he was sentenced to death, is still alive today in a Polish prison. CW is surprised by this. Stehle and CW agree that Koch was evil. CW recounts how Fischböck, a friend of OW's and hers, was assigned to Koch who ordered him to shoot anyone at the slightest provocation and how Fischböck, whom CW calls a sensible human being, immediately fled to the Netherlands instead in order to avoid having to carry out Koch's orders. Stehle explains the

historical background as to why the Ukrainians were sympathetic towards a German takeover and how Koch got to be in charge in Kiev whereas Lemberg was partitioned off and annexed to the General Government. Stehle calls Koch a "gangster." CW and Stehle call him "primitive." Horst Wächter and Stehle discuss the demographics of Lemberg. CW states that her husband had nothing to do with the whole Jewish matter ("die ganze Judengeschichte") as this was someone else's area of responsibility, how OW one day told her that he had received a letter from Himmler to inspect the concentration camps and how her husband refused [Interview continues - see Kassette 3 Seite 1].

# RG-90.147.0004 part 5 of 7

#### **Kassette 5, Seite 1** [30.16]

Interview by Dr. Hansjakob Stehle, German historian (b. July 25, 1927), with Charlotte Wächter (CW). Her son, Horst von Wächter (HW) (the collection's donor) and her daughter Traude are present in the room – continued.

Recording continues with CW offering to invite Höller for the afternoon, Stehle accepts. [followed by a short sequence deleted on Kassette 3 Seite 1] CW mentions that Höller was the "Stadtverwaltungschef" and the right-hand man of her husband. That this is a delicate matter. She would need to call Höller now. [recording continues with the sequence from Kassette 3 Seite 1] CW talks about physical dangers towards her husband and her family in Lviv, how she always used code when speaking with her husband on the telephone; Stehle asks whether Wächter wanted to work more or work less with the Ukrainians than what was allowed, CW affirms "more, more;" Stehle asks about Wächter's move to Cracow. [recording continues where Kassette 3 Seite 1 ends] Stehle asks where OW went as the Russians drew close. CW affirms that at the time she was back in Austria but that OW went to Berlin where "one did not know what to do with him." [Sound of the cassette tape being changed in the second tape recorder can be heard in background. Recording continues with the same recorded sequence as at start of Kassette 3 Seite 2, i.e. Stehle asking about OW's position at the Reichssicherheitshauptamt and how OW came to be in Italy.]

#### RG-90.147.0004 part 6 of 7

### **Kassette 5, Seite 2** [30.23]

Interview by Dr. Hansjakob Stehle, German historian (b. July 25, 1927), with Charlotte Wächter (CW). Her son, Horst von Wächter (HW) (the collection's donor) and her daughter Traude are present in the room – continued.

**This tape features segments that were not recorded on Kassette 3 Seite 1, with continued overlap.** Recording begins with CW's daughter Traude stating that Christmas 1948 OW still celebrated at home with his family. CW states that the situation became untenable; how her brother one day came in and discovered that OW was staying at home. Recording continues with the segment in which CW states that a neighbor told her that Czech agents were watching the house [see Kassette 3 Seite 1].

## RG-90.147.0004 part 7 of 7

# **Kassette 6, Seite 1** [21.25]

Interview by Dr. Hansjakob Stehle, German historian (b. July 25, 1927), with Charlotte Wächter (CW). Her son, Horst von Wächter (HW) (the collection's donor) and her daughter Traude are present in the room – continued.

Recording begins with Horst von Wächter and Dr. Stehle chatting about a book Horst von Wächter had read about the Nazi plans for the Adriatic region. How the book mentions his father as one of the "bad guys" responsible for the murder of Dollfuss. Dr. Stehle remarks that in all of the books he has read in which Otto Wächter (OW) is mentioned, he is usually described as a moderate, especially in connection with his treatment of the Ukrainians. Stehle mentions a book he is reading now which was recently published in Poland in which OW is described as representing "enlightened colonialism," opposite to Koch and also Frank. [Sound of the cassette tape being changed in the second tape recorder can be heard in background. Recording continues with the same recorded sequence as at end of Kassette 3 Seite 2, i.e. Conversation about Hans Frank; about his "Diensttagebuch". The segment continues until the part where Stehle begins to talk about the situation in Galicia. The sound of the second (or third) tape recorder shutting off can be heard in background.] Stehle discusses the situation in Galicia and the various fighting factions. Stehle says that he understands the reasons why OW sent his family away, that the situation became too dangerous starting in 1942 or 1943. Stehle calls the situation a "type of civil war that was out of control." Stehle goes on to state that OW formed the Galician volunteer SS division against the will of Himmler and Frank to bring order to the situation. The idea was to keep the Ukrainians from joining the underground resistance movement. The Church supported in this effort, but out of a different motive. Horst von Wächter asks whether this effort was effective. Stehle states that it failed because things went too fast, the Russians took over Lemberg less than a year after the division was formed; 70,000 Ukrainians volunteered for the division in order to fight against the Russians; the Germans did not want to let them fight. They discuss the moral shortcomings of those in charge in the region and their internal political conflicts. CW goes back to Rome and unfolds a city map. She states that the orphanage where OW stayed was close to via Portuense, near the Tiber river where

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her husband liked to go swimming. Brief banter about OW having died of jaundice due to exposure to dirty river water versus OW having been poisoned. CW describes the orphanage as having been run by monks and as being situated on top of a hill that was surrounded by vineyards. CW states that OW stayed in the orphanage together with a "very prominent Mussolini friend." CW recalls that during her subsequent stays in Rome to visit OW's grave, she used to stay at the orphanage. CW has trouble remembering the orphanage's name or the order to which the monks belonged. Stehle asks whether CW could look for the address in her documents, CW states that it is not difficult, she will find it later. Stehle asks if she could also find Losacker's address. CW affirms this and states that Losacker lives in Heidelberg. CW then states that she will now call Höller and tells Stehle to not listen in because Höller is "terribly skittish." Stehle misunderstands that CW said the Höller has changed his name to "Schmidt." CW answers "yes." CW states that the last time she saw Höller was at the 75<sup>th</sup> birthday celebration of Losacker who was the successor of her husband in Cracow and at that occasion a number of "them" got together. [CW leaves the room to call Höller.] Horst von Wächter and his sister Traude chat with Stehle about how many years he has lived in Rome; his job; his children; his future plans.