He Walked Through Walls

A Reading and Discussion of Survival Ethics
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Speaker: Dr. Myriam Miedzian

Transcribed by: Izabella Sekowska

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Time	Transcription
00:02	[The Library, UC San Diego]
00:04	[He Walked Through Walls: A Reading and Discussion of Survival Ethics]
00:07	Susanne Hillman: Welcome to so many of you to the first Holocaust workshop of the new year with a wonderful speaker, very interesting speaker, I am sure, professor and doctor Myriam Miedzian. As some of you know, the workshop was launched in 2007, and particularly at the time, the goal was to connect community members, the students, and with Holocaust survivors. So for a number of years, for three or four years, most of these public events were dedicated to local Holocaust survivors, and they were always a success. I mean the audiences kept, the audiences kept growing over the years, but every time people, students, in particular, came away from these events thinking that this was really a meaningful experience for them. And it cannot be denied of course that meeting an eyewitness, somebody who was there is particularly meaningful and unforgettable. However, we also felt that over the years, that we should expand or broaden our focus a little bit, so increasingly we've invited other people too, like, for instance, second-generation Holocaust survivors. Now Dr. Miedzian, am I pronouncing your name right?
01:19	Dr. Miedzian: Good enough.
01:20	Susanne Hillman: Good enough, thank you [laughs]. She is a second-generation survivor, but she is much more than just a second-generation survivor. So let me give you just a very short, and imperfect overview over her many achievements and accomplishments. Dr. Miedzian holds a Ph.D. in philosophy from Columbia University and she has taught at a number of universities, including Hunter College, and, no, that's not true. I'm sorry, you got your, you also got your masters in clinical social work from Hunter College. So an unusual combination there.
2:00	Susanne Hillman: She's also a prolific writer. She wrote a book which created quite a stir, and here I have an older copy from the library. It's called *Boys Will Be Boys.* It was reissued in a second edition more recently, *Boys Will Be Boys: Breaking the Link Between Masculinity and Violence*. And she frequently writes and blogs on various cultural, social, and political issues. To give you a sense of the wide, very wide range of Dr. Miedzian's interests I just want to quote a couple of titles of hers that just struck my attention when I went through her website. *Time to Detox from Guns and Violence and Entertainment* - this was in the *Denver Post,* August 7th. *Capitalism Uber Alles: How the American Working Class got Brainwashed, The Huffington Post,* October 2010. *How the Split on the Jewish Left helps AIPAC and What Can be Done About It, The Huffington Post*, March 26, 2012. And finally, *Anti-Semitism: A Tale of Two Countries* in *Jewish Currents*, January-February 2008. There are merely four, and I printed them out, so afterwards, if you want to look at them. I was immediately attracted to these very varied pieces. So, there's many more on her website. And I was wondering, I found, I found myself wondering, what's the link between all this. The topics that interest, that seem to interest Professor Miedzian seem so very varied, and I think I may have found what is the core of her interests. I found it when I looked at the dedication in her

book *Boys Will Be Boys*. In memory of Golda, Walter, Jacob, - more names - and all my other aunts, uncles, and cousins killed in their prime and in childhood, victims of the Holocaust, one of the endless waves of senseless violence which have sullied human history.

4:00 Susanne Hillman: So it seemed to me, and you can tell us more about this, that your major concern is violence and prevention of violence, whether in the family, whether it is how to raise boys to be more compassionate and empathetic, or in the historical realm, to understand terrible catastrophes like the Holocaust. So without a doubt, everybody knows that the Holocaust was one of the worst catastrophes, one of the worst episodes of violence that the 20th century has experienced. And some people have been interested, I think increasingly people have been particularly interested with this figure of the survivor. Who was this person, or who were these people who were able to survive things that seemed almost unendurable? And it is interesting from the historical point of view that in earlier decades people did not refer to camp inmates as survivors. They would refer to them as victims. So the idea, the name, the label, survivor was only becoming more popular in recent years. And I think and hope that Dr. Miedzian will tell us something about what survival entailed for her father. Her father is, some of you saw her books, her father is the topic of her latest book *He Walked Through Walls: A Twentieth-Century Tale of Survival,* and her talk today is dedicated to a reading and a discussion of survival ethics. So please help me welcome Dr. Myriam Miedzian. [Applause]

6:06 Dr. Miedzian: Well, first of all, thank you Susanne for the glass of water. Thank you for inviting me to speak today. It's really a pleasure for me to be here. This is not just another talk at another university. I have a very close connection to La Jolla and to, and to this university. I actually was around, during the Marcuse, Angela Davis days, a long time ago. I actually taught one course here, although, back in those days, the faculty wives were usually relegated to San Fran - San Diego State, which is where I taught. That's changed a lot, I gather. There were not too many women on faculty in those days. And I think in literature there were, that was considered a feminine field but otherwise not very much. So also my two daughters were born right up the road here on Genesee at Scripps Hospital, so this has a special meaning for me. I wrote *He Walked Through Walls* in my father's voice. So it reads like a memoir, which is it obviously it is not. But it's based on the stories that my father, who was born in Poland in 1901, told over and over again. Is this mic working, by the way, can you hear me, everybody? Yeah, Okay. Okay, let me, I am going to focus mainly on my family's escape from the Holocaust, but as I understand it my father's extraordinary foresight when it came to the Holocaust had a lot to do with his having just escaped death in two previous wars.

8:00 Dr. Miedzian: So I want to give you a little taste of what happened to him before. During WWI he, his brother, and father were falsely accused of being German spies. This was apparently a common accusation, against Jews in Poland. All it took was one jealous neighbor, or one, one enemy, to say these Jews are spying for Germans and you were out of the picture. And they were taken to prison. I'm going to read you a little excerpt about that, of that. He was, they were pardoned literally the night before they were to be hung. So that was his WWI experience. Shortly thereafter, Poland, just very soon after Poland got its independence, one of the first things the government did was attack the Soviet Union. They wanted the

Ukraine and some other territories back. So my father, who is by then 19 years old got, well 18 or 19, he got drafted into the Polish army. And he for a while worked in the kitchen. As he said, cutting potatoes and onions. But then when they wanted to send him to the front, he had no interest in killing Russians. He went AWOL [Absent Without Official Leave]. Which was really, to put it mildly, risky in those days. If they had caught him, he would have been shot on the spot. No, you know, in a brigade for three months or anything like that. So the first half of the book covers these two narrow escapes of his from death. The second half of the book is devoted to the story of how my father, and my mother, in this case, succeeded in getting our family out of Europe and into the United States by July 1941.

09:57 Dr. Miedzian: Now, both my parents told these stories, the second World War stories. But my father was always the better storyteller. And this, our survival story is, I think, is a different kind of story. Because, unlike so many Holocaust survivors, we did not suffer. The family did not suffer through years of being hidden in an attic, or in the forest. No one ended up in Auschwitz and managed to survive. My parents managed to get the family out. And that's the story that I, the whole second half of the book is devoted to that. So it is, for our narrow family, but not for the rest of our family, we lost many, many. It was a success story. So what I want to do first, is I want to start by reading an excerpt from a letter my father wrote to my older daughter when she was three months old. The letter appears at the very front of the book and is part of the inspiration for this book. My parents ended up living in Los Angeles.

11:08 Dr. Miedzian: So it is: Los Angeles, July 18, 1968. My dear Nadia, I hope that this letter will find you in good health. Dear Nadia, I miss you very much. When you left our house, every room was empty. I hope that peace will be in this crazy world. All my life I have seen only wars. 1909, oh no, 1905, even when I was a child, it was the Russia-Japanese War. 1911-12, the Balkan War. 1914-18, WWI. 1919-20, Polish-Bolshevik War. 1939-45 WWII. 1956, no 1950-51, the Korean War, and now the Vietnam War and a few smaller wars. I hope when you will grow up, you would not have such terrible times, like those your Pepe went through, and I wish you a life full of happiness. With great love, Pepe.

12:18 Dr. Miedzian: Pepe was the French word for grandpa. Unfortunately not much has changed. Forty-four years later, my daughter Nadia, the recipient of the letter, is a professor of history who specializes in European Jewish history. And she wrote the introduction to the book and provides historical framework to the stories. And she clarifies certain issues, which I, I'm just going to go through one issue that she clarifies because it is one that is, a lot of people are mistaken about this. So it's a little bit off the topic but not entirely. When my father starts to tell his story, he explains that his grandfather was a farmer. And that his father inherited the farmland and enlarged it and became a wealthy wood merchant, who owned twenty-five hundred acres of land. This is very, very contrary to a common belief that Jews could not own land in Poland or did not own land and that they were not farmers. There were no Jewish farmers. Ah, I heard people say that when I tell my family story. I say my father grew up on a farm in Poland, oh ah, that's impo- how could that be. Well, it can be.

13:46 Dr. Miedzian: In the introduction to the book my daughter explains that in the 1860s when the serfs were freed by Tsar Alexander II, the good tsar, some Jews were

allowed to purchase land including obviously those who were already farmers. However, and this I think is where the misunderstanding comes up, it was against, it was indeed against the law for Jews to own land. So what the Jews who owned land had to do was take on non-Jewish Polish names. And my full name Miedzian is one half of my name, my full name is Miedziangóra, which is very, very Polish name, Miedziana is copper, and góra is a mountain. And we've always wondered, how did we get this sort of unique and very, very Polish name, and so this really elucidated it for me. So she clarifies a lot of issues in her introduction. So, okay, so the book is divided into three parts, and these first, the first two near-death experiences, as I see it, shed a lot of light on his actions during WWII.

15:03 Dr. Miedzian: So what I am going to do is just read you one brief excerpt from part one of the book, which is entitled: *My life in Poland: World War I and the Russian Polish War.* [reading from the book *He Walked Through Walls*] The war changed everything for my family. The armies started requisitioning food, they took whatever they wanted, and so a lot of time we were going hungry. But the food shortage was small trouble, compared to what happened to us one evening in the spring of 1915. It was a Friday night, and we were sitting in our dining room, finishing dinner. The table was set with a bright white table cloth, and our best silverware, and dishes that we only used for Shabbos, [the Sabbath], and holidays. In the middle of the table were two big candlesticks, with candlelight shining so bright. We were all dressed up, but we were eating potatoes with fried onions, and bread. During the war, this is what we ate almost every day for lunch and dinner. Because it was Shabbos, the bread was challah and we had a small lekach, pound cake, for dessert. My father was just pouring some homemade cherry brandy. My brother Jakob and I were old enough to get a little bit, when we heard from outside the sound of a drushke - a drushke is a horse and buggy. We were living in the middle of the country on a farm, about ten kilometers from Przedborz, a small town where we had a lot of family and friends, by drushke this was very far away. Nobody dropped in to see us at night. We looked at each other. Who could this be? Soon we heard a loud knocking on the door. Tatte, his father, went to open it.

16:55 Dr. Miedzian: [reading from the book *He Walked Through Walls*] Three soldiers carrying rifles marched in. One of the soldiers stepped out. He was wearing an army cap, but still, I could see that his hair was red and curly. We didn't see very often people with red hair. He said, We are looking for Pan Józef Miedziangóra, and for his sons Jakob and Henyek. I am pan Józef Miedziangóra, my father told them, and here are my two sons. By then, everybody had gotten up from the table and was standing near the front door. Besides me, everybody was my parents, my brother Jakob, who was sixteen, two years older than me, and my two younger sisters Balche and Fella, she was only four. Now the redhead soldier told us, Józef, Jakob, and Henyek Miedziangóra you are accused of spying for our German enemies and we are here under orders to arrest you and take you to the prison in Kielce. These words put a knife through me. Only six month before, two Jews were accused of being spies for the Germans. They took them to the prison in Kielce. And a few days later they hanged them. I had heard that one of them had gotten into an argument with a rich Polish farmer, something about a horse, so when the Russian army was in our area, the farmer told them the Jew was a spy. Officer, I understand you are following your orders, but someone has made a mistake, Tatte said. My sons and I would never - The soldier interrupted him. I give you five

minutes if you want to take something with you. And then we go. No discussion. We have here a warrant.

18:41 Dr. Miedzian: [reading from the book *He Walked Through Walls*] We wanted to hug everybody goodbye, but the soldiers pulled us away. They pushed us into the back of the drushke and took us to the prison in Kielce. The whole night we didn't close our eyes. The next morning the guard took us to see a high officer. He told us that since we were German spies they were going to execute us. Don't worry, you still have a day, a few days left, he said with a smile on his face. Probably he thought this was very funny. Killing a few Jews was for him the same as for me stepping on a few cockroaches. My father tried to say something but he cut him off just like the soldier the night before. We have witnesses, he said, I don't have to listen to your lies. When we got back to our dark cell - it was maybe nine feet by six feet with a tiny window so high up you couldn't get near it - Tatte put his arms around us and said, children, don't worry. Your mother is a very, very smart woman, you'll see, she will get us out of here. Whether he really believed this or was just trying to make Jakob and me feel a little better, we were both shivering, I don't know, but in the end, what he said turned out to be true.

20:04 Dr. Miedzian: And they were literally pardoned the night before they were supposed to be executed. And that's one of the numerous wild stories that, wild but true stories, in the book. And my father was not inventing any of this, actually, both my daughter and I had researched the history of Jews being accused of being spies, and there were in fact, many Jews were executed, including in this area. The two that he, that I have been mentioning here. Part two of the book is entitled *My Life in Belgium: Ten Years of Peace in the Shadow of Hitler*. My father immigrated to Belgium in 1930. His family had lost their wealth. My great, my grandfather, who, this always blows my mind, was born in 1839, my grandparents were both in their second marriages, and my grandfather I think when he married for the second time, was in his maybe fifties or later or early sixties. So he was in his sixties when my father was born. So he was born in 1839, so by the time World War I was about to start, he was in his seventies, and he wanted to retire so he sold several of his estates. And he lent out the money to, probably mostly to Polish nobility. When the war ended the inflation was such that, as my father put it, for all the money he got, he had left, he could buy maybe a pair of shoes. So my father had all these, both financial and life disasters happening. So anyway, this is kind of funny, but as a result of this experience - I will share this little family lore with you. My father never bought a stock in his entire life. He referred to stocks as schmattas, which means rags in Yiddish, and completely stayed away from them.

22:08 Dr. Miedzian: Okay, so by the late [19]20s his older brother was running their farm, and there really wasn't very much for him to do. He already had an older half-brother living in Belgium, and anyway he, and their, and his other family in Belgium convinced him to come to Belgium, so which he did in 1930. By 1931 he married my mother whose family were German Jews, who had also lost everything although they were never that wealthy in Germany and then started all over in Belgium. And they were all okay, but not, you know, not wealthy. They managed to lend my parents just enough money for rent, for a few months to rent a shoe store, a very small shoe store, in a working-class neighborhood in Brussels. And for some reason, virtually my entire family in Belgium was in a shoe business. I'd never really known how that started, but you know, it's wherever you go there is a

shoe store that someone in my family-owned. Anyway, my parents ended up being extremely successful in business, which is very important to our getting to the U.S. Let me explain what happened. The shoe store was in a working-class neighborhood. Women, working-class women in those days essentially wore clogs, or very clunky, heavy shoes. Only rich ladies could go to bootmakers, either have boots, shoes or boots made or buy very high-quality boots. My parents came up with the idea of buying some of these very expensive shoes and having the manufacturers who make these clogs and cheap shoes make cheap copies.

24:00 Dr. Miedzian: Basically they came up with the idea of the knock-off [laughter] in shoes, in Belgium [laughter]. As a result of this, women were waiting in line, literally, to get into their tiny little shoe store, and they soon, a few years later got a somewhat bigger shoe store. The fact is that by 1936 - and this really kind of blows my mind - because I don't, still don't get it, how they could have accumulated, done so well in, you know, such a relatively short time. My father, in 1936 sent $10,000 to First National City Bank in New York. And which would have been the equivalent of about a $100,000, at least, now. And without that at the bank, we would never have gotten into the United States, so it was the shoe business, and the knock-offs, were very important. Let me just read you a brief paragraph of my father commenting on, about having to send this money in 1936.

25:01 Dr. Miedzian: [reading from the book *He Walked Through Walls*] What is paranoid in a world like ours. If I had not been so paranoid about Hitler, we would have been in Auschwitz in 1943 instead of on Central Park West. Starting in the early 1930s, I was listening on the radio to Hitler's speeches and reading the newspapers. A lot of people, including Betty - that was my mother - were not so worried about Hitler. They laughed at him. He was such a mashugana, such a crazy person. Soon the German people would be rid of him. They were not paranoid enough.

25:38 Dr. Miedzian: And this is doing a fascinating thing here. I mean obviously, most Jews in Europe did not, or not, didn't have enough money to be able to send, you know, $10,000 to New York, but the fact is that you know, a certain percentage did, or you know, but they didn't do it. And as my father says, they were not paranoid. His, I think his early experiences of those two wars in Poland, his family losing everything as a result of war, gave him a very pessimistic outlook on things. Which you know in general is not good. It's nice to be happy and cheery. Not, not that my father was an unhappy person, but you know to be positive and all that. But in this case, his pessimism worked very, very well. So now I get to World War II. Part three is called *World War II: How My Family and I Escaped from Europe and Came to America.* The Germans started, well, let me, must give you a little bit of background. The Germans started bombing Brussels around 5 am on May 10, 1940. By midmorning, my parents had packed an overnight bag and the family was on our way to a small beach town near the French border. Really to get away from the bombing. After about four days the Germans marched into Brussels, and they never went back. They just, they had chosen, this little town next to the French border because I am sure my father was already thinking if the Germans, you know, get here fast, we'll be right next to the French border and we'll be the first to get in there. So, and he also had taken some money. He had a money belt, and he had taken, put some money - enough, from what I remember, it was about an equivalent of about $2,000. And that actually saw the family through something like fifteen months, until we got to the U.S. And here, from the rest of the - what I was

going to read you - the excerpts, will all be from the exodus. And as I see it, it's really through a combination of chutzpah, or a lot of, I don't know, what's the English word for chutzpah [laughs], does everybody know what chutzpah means, pretty much? You don't?

28:18 Speaker 1: It's nerve, a lot of nerve.

28:22 Dr. Miedzian: A lot of nerve, whatever, so a combination of chutzpah, creative thinking, risk-taking, crisis ethics - we'll talk about that later - and just plain luck, they made it through France. First, to begin with, there were tens of thousands of refugees going south in France. You might have seen some movies. There are a lot of movies in which that appears, that whole scene and it appears there were constant dangers. The German army was very close several times. There were many, many hurdles of all kinds. One of, one of the first hurdles was that gasoline had become rationed in France, because of all these refugees. And my parents were lucky by the way, they had a car. It was an old Model T Ford, but they had a car. A lot of people were on foot or on bicycles.

29:15 Dr. Miedzian: Ah okay, now an excerpt from the book. [reading from the book *He Walked Through Walls*] When we got to a gas station, this is in France, the man would ask, Do you have your ration stamps? We would say, Yes, of course, we do. So we would fill up the tank. When it came time to pay, we had the money ready and then the guy would say, Where are your stamps? Betty would answer, oh let me get them. And she would look through her bag. It was a big beige leather bag, with many pockets, compartments, zippers, and she would make a big fuss. Oh, my God, where are the stamps? She would take everything out, and then she would say, I just can't find them, somebody must have stolen them. She did this so good, I was thinking she could have been an actress. The gas station guys got very upset, but what could they do? Take the gas out of the car? We gave them a nice tip and we left. For a while, I was calling Betty Sarah Bernhardt. This was a very famous French actress of the nineteenth century. Everything was so bad, it was good to laugh a little bit.

30:32 Dr. Miedzian: Okay, another hurdle, in France, was that they needed a permit to go from one town to another. Again, because of these tens of thousands of refugees. So they didn't have any permits. So they made up a story. They said that they were Polish diplomats and that the Polish consul in Toulouse, in southern France, was waiting for them to fly them to London. Well, the story flew. I mean they managed to get by all these barriers. And I must admit, in thinking about this and writing the book, I wondered myself whether, did all these French gendarme really believe their story or did at least some of them think, oh you know, let these people go, you know it's a good story, and they didn't want to stop them.

31:24 Dr. Miedzian: I don't know. I'll never know, but anyway, so they finally got to Toulouse, but they didn't have, they didn't even have any Polish passports at all, after making up this story. And the reason was that they were about to become Belgian citizens, in a couple of months. They would have, if the war had started three months later they would have probably been Belgian citizens and everything would have been infinitely easier. So they didn't, they didn't bother renewing their Polish passports, although it was a little bit more complicated, because they actually did at one point try to. They went to the Polish consulate in Brussels to

renew the passports. But the official at the consulate threw them out because my mother laughed when he asked if spoke Polish. And he didn't like her attitude and told them to come back when she was more respectful of the Polish nation and the Polish language. My mother, you know, was born German and in those days the wife had to adopt her husband's nationality. She had been to Poland once for four weeks to visit my father's family after they were married. You know, she, to her, if you knew my mother you'd understand why she laughed. This was ridiculous. You know, like his thinking, that you know that she would have any great interest in Poland or speak Polish. Anyway, they never got the passports. So now, back to the book. They are now in Toulouse, and they desperately need these passports.

33:05 Dr. Miedzian: [reading from the book *He Walked Through Walls*] Betty and I knew that to have any chance of getting into Spain legally we had to go to the Polish consulate in Toulouse and get passports. The morning after we arrived in Toulouse we got the address of the consulate. Betty found an iron and ironed my shirt, my suit pants, and her flower dress. This was the only time in my life I saw her lift an iron. I shined our shoes. It was a pretty long bus ride, and Betty asked me to write down how you say in Polish, Good morning, I am Madame Miedziangóra. I like Poland very much. [laughter]. I am sorry that I do not speak more Polish, and other stuff like this. I wrote everything down phonetically. And she was repeating it over and over. By the time we walked into the consulate building, she had learned maybe twenty new Polish words. But she didn't have a chance to impress the consul. We followed the signs to the office and soon we were stopped by a couple of boy scouts standing in a hallway. They were talking to each other and laughing. But as soon as they saw us, they stood up straight like soldiers. Betty and I looked at each other. What are boy scouts doing here?

34:24 Dr. Miedzian: [reading from the book *He Walked Through Walls*] Bonjour, I said, we are here to see the consul. The consulate is closed indefinitely. The consul has fled from Toulouse. He went to London. But we are Polish citizens, and we need passports urgently, urgently, I told them. There are plenty of passports in the office, but we have no right to let you or anyone in. But pan Kowalski is an old friend of mine from Poland, I told them. I had read the name of the consul - Roman Kowalski - on the plaque near the front door of the building [laughs]. Pan Kowalski was expecting us. He must have left very suddenly. Isn't there someone else who can help us? No, there is no one from the consulate here, just us. We were asked to make sure no one gets in. We cannot make exceptions.

35:18 Dr. Miedzian: [reading from the book *He Walked Through Walls*] This was a very bad situation, but while we were talking to them and thinking what to do, another couple came over. These people were also, they were very angry when they found out that the consul had run away. They were yelling very loud at the Boy Scouts and swearing in Polish. The boys were so busy with these people, they didn't see us walk towards the consul's office. I tried to turn the doorknob and couldn't believe our luck. The door was not locked. Probably the consul left in such a hurry he forgot to lock it. We went into the office. The boys will think we left the building, Betty whispered to me. Yes, but how will we get out of the building? Well, let's find some passports first, then we'll worry about getting out. Very, very quickly we opened drawers, and pretty soon we found blank passports. We took two and filled them out. We had brought pictures. I found some glue and reattached them. We looked around some more and found the official Polish government stamp. I

stamped the passports. While I was doing some of this, Betty was looking around the room to see if there was another way to get out - if there was any way to get out.

36:44 Dr. Miedzian: [reading from the book *He Walked Through Walls*] When I was finished she said, Listen, we could jump out the window but the ground floor is very high on this side of the building. Do we have a choice? I asked. I noticed when we were sneaking down the hall, that the hallway continues to the left just a little bit after the entrance to this office. If we can make it to there and turn the corner the boy scouts won't be able to see us and maybe we can find another way out of the building. Let's wait until the boys are busy with some people and then try to get out. What if they do see us? Give me the passports. I'll put them inside my girdle. That's a very good idea. If they stop us, I'll tell them that my good friend Roman was always writing to me about what a beautiful office he has, so I wanted to take a look at it. See those big oil paintings on the wall, the Polish countryside, the portraits of Piłsudski, and other big shots. See that big Persian rug on the floor. Roman was telling me about all these things in his letters. Very good, Betty said, between your talent for telling stories and my girdle, I think we will be fine. [laughter] What are they going to do? Ask to look in my girdle? They'll look in my pocketbook and in our clothes pockets, and that's all. Exactly.

38:10 Dr. Miedzian: So it worked. They got out with the passport. The next, the next stop was Perpignan, you know, which is a town very very close to the Spanish border, near the mountains into Spain. There they could try to get transit visas through Spain and visas to either Morocco or Portugal. So in Perpignan, just by chance, the very first day they spotted my mother's cousin, one of her first cousins had already fled Belgium and they just saw him walking down the street and so, of course, they hung out with him all the time. And so the next day Bernhardt went with my father to try to get visas to Morocco. Tragically Bernhardt himself went back to Belgium. A lot of Jews went back to their home countries after they had fled. I mean, I don't know if a lot, but some did because the Germans didn't start deporting Jews until, big time, until 1943 and to some extent [19]42, and this was 1940. So these people were getting letters from home saying, Oh the Germans are very nice, you know, no problem. You know, they're not bothering us. So he ended up in Auschwitz. Okay, so my father and Bernhardt are now waiting in line there to get the visas to Morocco for my family.

39:56 Dr. Miedzian: [reading from the book *He Walked Through Walls*] A few hundred people were waiting in line outside the building. We got behind them and were waiting almost an hour and the line moved maybe six feet. So I said, Bernhardt, stay here. I will come right back. I want to see something. I left the line and took a walk around the building. On one side was an empty lot. The line, it was in the other direction. I saw that the visa office had a window in the back, and it was open. I went back to Bernhardt and I said very loud, I'm tired of waiting in line. Let's come back tomorrow. He looked at me like I was crazy. But it will be just as bad tomorrow, he said. I pulled him by the arm and from the look on my face he could tell that I had a plan. By the time we would have gotten to the office, they may have already given out all the visas, I told him.

40:55 Dr. Miedzian: So my father takes, my father, takes Bernhardt to the back of the building. Bernhardt gives him a push and my father climbs into the visa office.

[reading from the book *He Walked Through Walls*] A man was standing right near the window and saw me. What are you doing here? Get out. So right away. I pulled out a few francs and I said, Monsieur I have small, sick children. I am desperate. Please help me. And I gave him a nice amount of money. After about ten, fifteen minutes he brought me the visas. You can't go through the front, the people in line will kill you, the man told me. He showed me another exit from the back of the building. Bernhardt was waiting for me near the window that I had climbed in. Fait accompli, I told him. The Moroccan visas are in my pocket. Let's go have a coffee, and then I will try to get the Spanish transit visas.

41:51 Dr. Miedzian: That was not a problem. So this is another one of the issues which maybe we could discuss in terms of the ethics of, you know, my parents' behavior in a crisis situation. The transit visas were not a problem. Hmm, so it had taken about three months for them to get from Belgium to Morocco via Spain. In Morocco, all refugees were centered in Casablanca. So what happened was the French, it was at that point a French colony, do you remember from the film *Casablanca*? The French decided that there were too many refugees in Casablanca. So they dispersed the refugees to other parts of the country. So my family was sent to a town in southern Morocco called Safi, known for its, it was a port town, known for sardines and also pottery. But the problem was this. All the consulates to go to the United States, not just the United States, to any country in the Western Hemisphere, all the consulates were located in Casablanca. But in order to go to Casablanca to apply for visas, you had to get a special permit. And the permit, if you, if you were lucky enough to get, it was only for two weeks. So my parents had gotten a permit to stay in Casablanca for two weeks. I think they had gotten it extended once and now they needed, they felt they were very close to getting their visas to the United States. They needed one more extension and here you will see the key role that I played at the age of three in helping them get this extension.

43:48 Dr. Miedzian: [reading from the book *He Walked Through Walls*] We were waiting for the American visas, but our permit to stay in Casablanca was expiring. They gave us one extension, but when Betty went back for a second extension, the French official said, No you have to go back to Safi. She was begging him to give us a little more time. But again, he said no. So Betty made up a story. She said, Listen my little girl Myriam is very, very sick. She has a terrible sore throat and a very high fever. She can't be moved. He told her, I don't believe you, and I am going to get in my car right now and go to your hotel. If you are lying, you will have to wait a very, very long time before you ever get another permit to come to Casablanca. Betty answered him very calmly. Okay, I'll see you back at our residence. Later, she told me that in her whole life, she never felt her heart beat so fast. She ran out of the building and was lucky she got a taxi right away. So she arrived at the hotel before the French official. She ran into our room and grabbed the bottle with some blue medicine inside. People used to smear this on the tonsils and throat for sore throats. She grabbed Myriam and tried to paint her throat with it, but Myriam started screaming and crying so a lot of this blue stuff got on her lips and around your mouth. Betty put her in bed and told me to stay there. While she was doing all of this, she was explaining to me what had happened. A couple of minutes later the official comes in and takes a look. Myriam is lying in bed screaming with the blue stuff on her face. So he says, Pardon me, Madam. I made

a mistake. I can see now that your daughter is very sick. I will give you an extension for two weeks. We waited a few minutes and then we took Myriam out of bed and washed her face. We told her that she can have an extra fancy dessert when we went for lunch.

45:52 Dr. Miedzian: So I think this story really illustrates the combination of the chutzpah, the nerve, the risk-taking but also the luck. Because the truth is, if my mother had not been able to get a taxi right away, I don't think we would have ever gotten out of Morocco. I mean, we would, we were already safe from the Germans, except the people at that time in Morocco, Jews were very worried that they would be with, that the Germans would come into North Africa, which you know, they did. There was a whole battle in North Africa. And also from my perspective, this was fortunate, because apparently, I have no recollection of this, but I was very sick in Morocco. I had amoebic dysentery and it was a constant fainting spells from the extreme heat, which can go up to a hundred and ten degrees, which was not my cup of tea apparently. It still isn't [laughs]. Anyway, so from my perspective it was very lucky we got out of there because the doctor my mother took me to said that I might not make it if we had to spend the whole war in Morocco.

46:58 Dr. Miedzian: So, so they got the extension and then they eventually got the visas and we arrived in New York City on July 22, 1941. One year and two months after leaving Brussels. Now what to me is very significant in all of this, is that in spite of the $10,000, they had so much difficulty getting visas. And it wasn't just to the United States. When my parents were in Madrid, they literally divided up all the consulates and embassies in the Western hemisphere. My mother went to half of them and my father went to half of them and tried to get visas. And they were turned down. There was a long story around the Brazilian consulate, which I won't get into, but there was basically, they were turned down by everyone in spite of having all this money. There was no way that they could be the financial drain on any country, but they could not get the visas. Most of you are probably familiar with the Evian International Conference on Jewish refugees, which was held in July 1938.

48:11 Dr. Miedzian: I think it was President Roosevelt who called for that conference, which was held in France, you know, two years before the war broke out in Western Europe and the upshot of that conference was that essentially no one wanted to let any Jews in. The Dominican Republic for some reason took a few thousand Jews. The U.S. took 150,000 Jews between 1938 and mid [19]41 and then 21,000 more between December [19]41 and May [19]45, which was the worst period. So my daughter, who wrote the introduction, the historian, had a told me that Evian, that some historians refer to Evian as the red - as the green light to the Holocaust. Because if those, if those countries had taken in any significant number of Jews, they would not have been murdered. So that's the end of our story and so now I would like just to raise well, you know any discussion or questions, comments, whatever but also just be ethical issues involved and by which I mean as I think you've gathered, the ethical issues inherent referring to my family, not the larger ethical issues of countries not allowing people who are about to be slaughtered in. Not the ethical issue of starting wars, which - in the case of World War II - led to 55 million dead people.

49:57 Dr. Miedzian: You know, those are the mega issues. I'm focused on my parents, you know. I'm taking a look at some of their actions which certainly under normal circumstances would not be viewed as, you know, a proper way to behave. And I'd like to open this up for discussion. Let me just make a few preliminary comments, as I see it. Their actions in, you know, basically forging their passports, or their stories about flying to London, they're getting an extension in Casablanca, to me those really don't raise any serious ethical issues. They didn't hurt anybody in a crisis situation. They did what they had to do to survive and there, as I see it, is no big deal. For me the only issues worth talking about are the lying about having rations to get the gasoline because by doing that obviously somebody else didn't get that gasoline, and then using bribery, you know to get visas to Morocco because there again they put they put themselves ahead of other people which in under normal circumstances, you know, they would not do and which would be very certainly unacceptable from a moral point of view under normal circumstances. And so certainly from a utilitarian perspective they were not, they were not behaving in accordance with the greatest, the happiness of the greatest number although you know to those of you familiar with it there is an issue of what's the greatest number, or who are you talking about? You know, is it the other people - the other refugees, whatever. They were acting in accordance with the greatest good for their immediate family. And then of course from a, either, kind of, Christian do unto others as you would have them do unto you, or - which is very similar to a Kantian perspective of act only on a maxim that you would be wanting to have as a universal law. They certainly weren't acting in accordance with that.

52:17 Dr. Miedzian: But I must say as, I thought about the Christian maxim, that must have appeared like a joke if they ever thought of it. To them since in real life their Jewish experience in Europe was the exact opposite of that so, you know, they - But, nevertheless. So do we make a distinction between normal situations and situations where one's survival was an issue? Certainly, the case for my parents' survival was an issue. There was never any doubt in their mind that if they had had to go back to Belgium we would have all ended up in Auschwitz. They, they were known in Brussels. They felt like they were, you know, clear potential victims for, you know, the camps and if we had remained in France, in southern France, the odds would have been better. Not considerably better but still considerable risk. Twenty-five percent of the Jews in France ended up in concentration camps or killed. So I'd like to just open this up for discussion of what - as I was reading these stories - what was your reaction? Were you thinking, ooh how awful, or hey, pretty shrewd? Okay, I'm sorry. Yes, would you speak, please, very loudly?

53:41 Speaker 2: Couple of things. Couple of observations. One is, sounds like a cross between Hitchcock, Casablanca, and Groucho Marx. It's a great story, and the other is, all is fair in love and war. And the second is, Satchel Page said - he's a great American ballplayer - 'Don't look back, something might be gaining on you.' Don't look back, something might be gaining on you. In a serious way, as far as I'm concerned, I work on the Holocaust, anything that is done to combat the Germans and the Holocaust is fair - to survive, yourself and your family, and that's a greater good for the entire world, not just a small population. So I applaud everything that your parents did and you playing your part. Others might disagree but in my point of view, having studied this, I think it was ethical and it was [unclear].

54:35 Dr. Miedzian: So you feel the circumstances fit the actions.

54:41 Speaker 2: That might be my own ethical thought, but that's how I would -

54:44 Dr. Miedzian: Yeah, okay, okay. Yes.

54:45 Speaker 3: First of all, I don't think any of us should be judging. We don't know the situation. Your parents saved themselves. They saved your lives. They saved Jews, whatever they saved, and we can't judge those times. Brilliant man. Curious, what did he do when he arrived in the United States, your father?

55:11 Dr. Miedzian: What did he do?

55:13 Speaker 3: Yeah.

55:14 Dr. Miedzian: Well, actually he did something he really, really didn't like. My father, you know, didn't speak English. So it was almost impossible for him to get any job and the only job he was able to get was the, you see, the diamond industry was heavily Jewish and a lot of refugees were involved in it. So he became a diamond cutter. And he said he hated it and that it made him extremely nervous. He had never done this before and it was, I think, I mean, you know obviously he was delighted to be in New York and the United States, but as a work experience, it was I think really the bottom of the barrel for him and he knew you know he would never come near that. I can see it's a you know, cutting diamonds, I can't even imagine. That, there was really not much more he could do. And for my mother, it was a wonderful time. My mother had started working when she was literally fourteen years old. She was pulled out of school in Germany because they had lost their money and all her, you know, she wanted to be a physician and everything was gone and she worked very hard all her life. So she loved being an American housewife. It was, you know, for her it was like a five-year vacation. So she had a good time. Yes, let's go down this line and then back. Yes.

56:34 Speaker 4: There is this saying: It's not the survival -

56:36 Dr. Miedzian: I'm sorry, could you speak louder.

56:37 Speaker 4: There is this saying - It's not the survival of the fittest, it's the survival of the wittiest - and you do have to give [unclear] to get by, by your wits.

56:52 Dr. Miedzian: I am sorry, I don't really, I didn't really -

56:53 Speaker 5: Survive by your wits.

56:54 Dr. Miedzian: Survive by your wits. Okay, so you're saying basically -

57:02 Speaker 4: Not the survival of the fittest but the survival of the wittest.

57:04 Dr. Miedzian: Oh, oh I am sorry, I got it, so okay. Very good. Okay. That's great.

57:06 Speaker 6: Professor Miedzian, first of all, I think I believe in situational ethics as obviously, your father did. You have to take everything into account, and as well as I believe in enlightened self-interest, meaning, look at the big picture, not just the immediate self. It's a big balance and he made that choice and weighed those balances. Forgive my lack of knowledge of Europe during the time, but were they aware of Auschwitz, at that point? And when, when did these concentration camps,

when were they established and when did people start really being wholesaled there? I mean, it seems like back where he was - that they weren't worried?

57:54 Dr. Miedzian: They weren't.

57:56 Speaker 6: Maybe many people in Europe weren't even aware of these camps at the time.

58:02 Dr. Miedzian: No, absolutely. That's, and that's the point about my mother's cousin Bernhardt going back to Germany. You know 'cause he got these letters saying the Germans aren't harming anyone. But you see, and that's, I think, where my father's mentality comes in. My father, I mean the fact is that the Germans had persecuted German Jews in the worst possible way. I mean they - you've all heard of Kristallnacht. They deprived them of everything, their German citizenship. Including all the Jews who had fought in World War I, you know who were, had their chest full of medals for serving the Fatherland. Nothing mattered, you know, the Germans essentially got rid of their Jews. So I think, in my father's mind, you know, he probably thought anything could happen. I mean he did not know the camps, there were already - there were some camps in Germany- where they had sent some Jews and some political prisoners, not just Jews.

59:08 Dr. Miedzian: And I think they started sending the gay population to camps. I mean, you know that you know, this is not my area of expertise. They - things were already very bad. Did they imagine that the Germans would take, you know, just women and children, anybody, and send them to gas chambers in the millions and millions and exterminate them or shoot them and throw their bodies in, you know, huge holes, having them dig their holes? I can't imagine that they really, that they could imagine that, apparently by the - I think it's, you know, I think my daughter might have something in the book about that. I think it was by 1941, [19]42 - maybe, maybe it was, pardon. I'm not sure if there's anyone here who's more informed about this. I can't remember exactly when it was, but somewhere it might have been not till late [19]42. Apparently, the U.S. government people did find out about the concentration camps and did find out. They knew at some point that they were just sending Jews to camps to exterminate them. And they, you know, chose not to do anything about it. Part of the American story if, if you read anything about this period is that the State Department was, some of the leading figures were vehemently antisemitic. They just hated Jews and the last thing in the world they wanted to do was help Jews. I mean it was on the level of you know, Southerners and Black people. I mean, you know, you're going to go help Black people? Gonna help Jews? It was on that level. So, but Roosevelt didn't get rid of them.

1:01:00 Dr. Miedzian: I mean, you know, it's a complicated story, and obviously Roosevelt was in a difficult political position, but they didn't do anything even after they knew about it. And I think the excuse they used was, oh okay, one of the issues was bombing the railways. By 1943, [19]44, they knew that the Germans had established all these railroads to go to the concentration camps and there were people who were asking, insisting that they burn, that they bomb those railways, and they didn't. What they said was that it was more important to focus on winning the war and that that would help more. Anyway, this is a very complicated interesting issue. You know, I wanted to, someone out there. Yes.

1:01:54 Speaker 7: This was also very, in the [19]40s, there were a lot of Americans claimed that -

1:02:00 Dr. Miedzian: I'm sorry, could you speak a little louder?

1:02:05 Speaker 7: During the [19]40s a lot of Americans were claiming they were not aware of what was going on in Germany.

1:02:10 Dr. Miedzian: Yes.

1:02:11 Speaker 7: And yet it was on the front page of the *New York Times*.

1:02:13 Dr. Miedzian: Yes, there was, yes.

1:02:15 Speaker 7: So it was very well known.

1:02:17 Dr. Miedzian: Yes, in fact certainly the persecution of the German Jews. Yes.

1:02:18 Speaker 7: famously turned away that - shipload of Jews, 200 Jews and set them back to Germany to be exterminated.

1:02:29 Dr. Miedzian: Oh yes, they sent back a shipload of children to Europe, Jewish children who had arrived here. And then the *St. Louis* ship is, I think, is the one you're talking about where they sent them back to Europe too. Part of the problem was, ah, this came towards the end of the depression, so the Americans were worried that if they allowed immigrants in, they would take jobs away. And also only 25 percent of Americans favored letting Jews into the country. And there was also a lot of antisemitism. I mean some of this, you know, these were the days when, you know, Country clubs said, would say no Jews or dogs allowed. I mean, there were Jews, hey when I came to live in La Jolla in the late [19]60s, they had just opened the doors to Jews. There were no Jews allowed in La Jolla until the university. And then, when Jonas Salk came along and, you know, and all the other, you know, Jewish scientists and professors they just, you know, they had to stop it. And Jews, in the, I guess the university opened I think in [19]63, [19]64. I mean by the mid-late [19]60s Jews were allowed, Jews and black people, because there was, I remember, there was a black dean here. They just had opened the doors. But it was, the discrimination against Jews was just open and so there was a lot of just plain antisemitism, you know, we don't want them here. Yeah, I'm sorry, anyone else? Yes.

1:04:04 Speaker 8: Granted, what was just discussed, I wonder within your own family, however irrational, there was a sense of depression, a sense of guilt, a sense of shame about what had occurred. If you could discuss that?

1:04:22 Dr. Miedzian: You mean guilt about what they had done?

1:04:26 Speaker 8: Yes. The fact that they survived in that manner. However irrational that might be.

1:04:32 Dr. Miedzian: Yeah. Yeah. No, I can't say I can't say that they ever expressed feelings like, oh why did we really have to do this? I mean, which I think, they just felt they did what they had to do in order to survive. And I think their, their sorrow was focused on their family. My mother's only brother ended up in Auschwitz. He

was, this was in Belgium. Her father did survive the war. I mean, this was also you know, my grandfather had blue eyes and didn't look Jewish at all. So, he was able to get some fake papers and walk around Brussels and you know, he survived the war but his son didn't. My father literally when he was 80 years old, sat down and made a list of all his dead, murdered relatives in Poland and it came to 135 people. My father had something like, what was it, six or seven half-siblings from his father's first marriage who were much older than he was. Some of them were 25 years older than he. They had children, grandchildren and there were children. And his sister and brother from his immediate, his full sister and brother, then there was my grandmother who had a son from her first marriage. He and his five children were dead. I mean, it's all, it's not unrealistic at all. I don't think he had to make anything up. So I think their sorrow was about, you know, this terrible, terrible loss and I can't say that they, you know, ever expressed being sorry about doing what they did. They just didn't. So. Yes.

01:06:22 Susanne Hillman: I have a question about survival ethics. You may be familiar with this book by Lawrence Langer on *Holocaust Testimonies.* He studied the holocaust testimonies, the video testimonies in the Fortunoff Archives at Yale, and based on this study he came up with this notion of having choiceless choices in the camps. So he said we cannot really - from outside the world of the camps - we cannot judge what some people did. Now my question for you as a philosopher is, or somebody interested in ethics, how do you assess, let's say, the theft of bread in the camps. Because it seems to me, what you describe as your parents, things like unethical actions, they're fairly minor and most people would agree. Well, they had to do what they did. But when it comes to stealing bread from a fellow campmate as a philosopher how would you view this?

1:07:20 Dr. Miedzian: With great difficulty, you know. I think the people in the camps, I mean, okay. I hate to say this but some people just survived those camps. They, they just survived them, and I don't know how but they survived them. Some people survived them by actions that were, that I would view as unethical. And my, my guess is that those people who acted in extreme forms of you know, unethical behavior probably were not the nicest people, you know, or the kindest or the most empathic people in the world, but I find it very difficult to make judgments about something like that and under these horrendous situations. And when you also, what does it do to your, to your mind - I mean - to your thinking to, you know, to be in this murderous environment, where people are being slaughtered constantly. I, I can't, you know, I find the idea repugnant, but I can't say these people were horrible or what they did. How could they do it? I mean who am I to say that? I mean, I just can't make that judgment. It's, 'cause I just can't even imagine what it would be like to survive at a camp like that and to be in a camp like that. It would almost be not human. And I mean it's so dehumanizing just the environment of those camps. Totally, totally dehumanizing. So I don't know. I would, I would refrain from passing judgments, you know.

01:09:10 Susanne Hillman: But if you were a strict Kantian you would have to condemn these. I mean I think it would be wrong to condemn these actions.

01:08:28 Dr. Miedzian: Yeah, no as a straight Kantian, definitely. If I were a straight Kantian I would probably condemn 95 percent of what goes on in the world. That's a

different issue, but I, you know, it's, it's really, really, very difficult to make judgments about people in that kind of a situation, very difficult. Oh, yes.

1:09:43 Speaker 9: It seems to me considering the major moral failures of the governments and whatever, Congress in particular because it failed from the beginning, that you mentioned, you know, it's very micro ethical issues probably. I don't mind it much.

01:10:02 Dr: Miedzian: Yeah, well, you know, I think, what your comment touches on - what you said in your introduction and for me the upshot of all this once I started to be - it took me about, like most Holocaust child survivors, your children of Holocaust survivors, it took about thirty years or more to begin to be able to deal with these issues. Because I know that for many, many years, I didn't want to hear anything about the Holocaust. It was just, in retrospect, was too painful. I totally couldn't deal with it. Then in the early [19]80s somewhere in the [19]80s, you know, I and a lot of other people apparently started to deal with it and that's when the Holocaust survivor groups started and so forth. And once I started - allowed myself to deal with it, my reaction. I mean my book *Boys Will Be Boys* grows straight out of this. I mean and then I felt what, the only thing I can do is do whatever I can to try to decrease violence. The problem is, yeah, as you say the problem isn't like how does someone behave in a concentration camp where people are being gassed and you know, the problem is why do we continue to wage endless unnecessary wars in which millions of people get killed. Lives are destroyed. Even survivors. I mean our own, you know, we know what's happening now to so many of our veterans who are returning from Iraq and Afghanistan. Their lives are a misery. I mean, I was part of a Vietnam veterans group for a while. This was, we would meet once a year at a [unclear] retreat. And I somehow, I got involved. I was let into the group because of my book which these veterans, the *Boys Will Be Boys* book, which they appreciated a lot, unlike some people. And also because of my Holocaust experience and these guys were like a total mess. I mean they, what kept them going were these once-a-year reunions.

01:12:23 Dr. Miedzian: I mean one of them had tried, had been in institutionalized, and tried to commit suicide and then he got involved in this support group and he, you know, he didn't try to kill himself again. Another one was on top of a mountain in Vermont, you know, and came down once a year to go to the veteran's group. I mean their lives were destroyed and that's not even the worst of it because you know thousands of our men were killed, two million Vietnamese were killed. I mean, to me these are the big, big issues and now, you know, more recent wars. How do you stop this? These mass - massacres? That's to me, that's the big ethical issue. Not that the other things aren't, you know, interesting and important to talk about, but the mega, the macro picture to me is what really matters. Yes.

1:13:24 Speaker 10: Dr. Medzian? Something came up. Like the perspective of the name of Wernher von Braun, who created weapons of mass destruction, as we know. Who ran Mauthausen Ebensee and was responsible for ten or twenty thousand slaves. We have members of our community who were there, at Ebensee and who worked with him and the satellite program - Judge Norbert Ehrenfreund and so on. So there you have a person who was relieved of being tried at Nuremberg for the convenience of the political strategies of the United States government, and I am wondering if you could comment on that issue.

1:14:13 Dr. Miedzian: Oh yeah, in case you're not, are you all familiar with the Wernher von Braun story? The rocket engineer. Wernher von Braun was a German, leading German rocket scientist who you know enabled the Germans to send rockets to London and kill, you know thousands of people and he was one of their major figures and then when the war was over he and all these other German scientists, Nazi German scientists, were brought to the United States to work on American projects. And well, of course, I mean this is like a nightmare. I mean as far as I'm concerned, they're bringing these Nazis here. These, these men who are responsible for the deaths of millions of people, and they become good American citizens and you know, no problem. I don't know if any of you are familiar with Tom Lehrer's Wernher von Braun song. If you aren't, listen to it, he's, he's got it. Um, yeah, that's another example of a sort of a mega, you know, not as mega as waging wars, but pretty mega immoral behavior as far as, you know, I'm concerned.

1:15:30 Speaker 10: What did President Carter, during his eulogy.

1:15:34 Dr. Miedzian: He used him?

1:15:35 Speaker 10: His eulogy

1:15:36 Dr. Miedzian: He did his eulogy? Oh, I was unaware of that.

1:15:40 Speaker 10: So you know, it gets institutionalized.

1:15:42 Dr. Miedzian: Yes, okay, I guess, you know, I guess, this would be rationalized by saying that we were worried about the Soviet Union and so we needed these scientists in order to develop weapons to counteract the Soviet Union. I, you know. Yes.

1:16:00 Speaker 11: Yeah, and in fact, we only got half of them. The other half went to the Soviet Union.

1:16:05 Dr. Miedzian: Oh, the other half went to the Soviet Union.

1:16:07 Speaker 11: And for the same reason, that -

1:16:11 Dr. Miedzian: To build rockets -

1:16:12 Speaker 11: That everybody was getting ready for the Cold War.

1:16:13 Dr. Miedzian: Yeah.

1:16:14 Speaker 11: And a possible hot war that was going to develop.

01:16:17 Dr. Medzian: So yeah, to know so, okay, so it would have been nice if instead of splitting them up, thanks for pointing that out, between the U.S. and Soviet Union if these guys have been locked up in Germany for the rest of their lives as part of the Nuremberg trials. Anyway, it didn't happen. Okay, I think we need to end.

1:16:36 Susanne Hillman: Yeah, I think we can allow people to approach Dr. Miedzian individually and if they have questions. I would like to thank, well, first of all, our wonderful speaker. [applause] I would like to thank you for your contribution and I

think you gave us a lot to think about. I would also like to thank each and every one of you for taking the time to come out and I hope to see you again at our next event. Um, you still have a couple of books for sale. If you're interested, they're over there, and have a good night. Oh and please sign in if you haven't done it yet so that I can put you on our mailing list. Thank you very much.