

United States Holocaust Memorial Museum

**Interview with Frode Jacobson
April 30, 1995
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PREFACE

The following oral history testimony is the result of a videotaped interview with Frode Jacobson, conducted by Judith Goldstein on April 30, 1995 on behalf of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. The interview took place in Washington, DC and is part of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum's collection of oral testimonies. Rights to the interview are held by the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum.

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FRODE JAKOBSEN
April 30, 1995

Q: Can you describe the setting of your childhood?

A: I was born in the countryside, the real countryside in a small island _____ and my father was my teacher. It was a certain circle where the people thought the state should mix in as little as possible. The state should have nothing to do with religion, therefore they had their own church, built their own church and had their own priest. Also, they made their own school, and my father was chosen as the teacher. We were not allowed say _____, as people usually do. It was two fine words. About 75 children went to my father and only nine children when to the official school.

Q: Your father was a teacher?

A: Yes. He started being a teacher of the first high school. That's different from a high school. The first high school were usually young people come to learn. But when they had no school at this free school, they asked my father to take it over and he did.

Q: How many children were there in your family?

A: Twelve. My father's first wife died when she had borne three children. And my mother had nine children, and when we were 12 years old we had to go out to work, to work for the farmers. That meant in a way, even if my father would protest, that our childhood was taken from us. To go in the fields and here other children of our age were playing. That was awful.

Q: Why did you have to go to work at 12?

A: Because we were poor. My mother said sometimes to my father who was educated and a school teacher, that he should leave this free school and he could earn double. But he was an idealist.

Q: What were the strong ideals that he believed in beyond the state not intervening.

A: It was only that people should choose their own priest, choose their own teacher. That was a personal question. That is called _____ in Denmark after the famous poet _____.

Q: You went to work in the fields when you were twelve, then how long did you continue to work?

A: From 12 to 18, and then people told my father that this intelligent boy, that's what they called me, he ought to be a priest. That is the place they always used for studying. I never

thought of being a priest, but I would like to study. That was impossible when I worked on the farms. But then I worked for a community making ditches and they would stop when it suited me and go to the only person in the village who could teach me foreign languages. That was the doctor. There I learned English and German so much that I could start in the gymnasium in _____. That was the nearest place at that time. They laughed at little old me and said that my pronunciation was rather different than what they used there.

Q: And you went to gymnasium at what age?

A: Eighteen. I was 22, I could not get into the gymnasium. We had to take something called _____ before that. So, I went four years to school and then I went to _____ to study, and what interested me is what I would call the history and ideology _____ something like that. I wanted to study literature. What interested me was the ideology in different times. The development of the human spirit. So, I started with something called comparing literature. Comparing all the different cantors literature. Then I was in love with a young lady and all told me that this would not give me an earning. Only if you should be a professor and that would be two places in Denmark. So, I started to study as other people two literatures and that was German and Danish. And I finished that. My first book was comparison between _____ and _____ who are completely different ideas but who psychologically are very alike. They don't like the people as they are. _____, you would say that it was first an ape then it was a mensch, and then the next step must be an _____ mensch. And _____ in the same way but his mensch was the real Christian.

Q: In your studies and in your growing up, did you know any Jews, or did you know anything about the Jewish religion?

A: We had as much bible history as Danish history, so of course we did. We learned that the Jews were the chosen people, and they the Danish could only be number two. There were no Jews in _____.

Q: When did you meet Jews for the first time?

A: When I went to Copenhagen and was a leftist in the students assembly of leftists. _____ was the leading figure and later came a problem that Hitler took the power in Germany and so many Jews came from Germany and communists and social democrats and I was very anti-Nazism and asked what can I do and they told me that great problem was that nobody knew what happened in Germany. Whether Hitler really had all the people behind him or the secret groups worked. I said I'm willing to go as a _____ for -- it was his best Trotsky, there's a certain history because we have Trotsky to speak here in Copenhagen in '32.

Q: Had you been to Germany before this?

A: Yes.

Q: When was your first trip to Germany?

A: Oh, my when I went to school on the vacations I always went -- rode on my bicycle. My first trip was around England and then I went on bicycle to Rome and on bicycle to Paris, and I had to go through Germany and I slept in _____. There I have memories in Berlin when I wrote my name Jakobsen some guy said Jackobsen and I found that I would fail in my duty to the Jews if I told them I am no Jew. In Denmark there were many Jakobsen who were not Jewish so I let them believe I was a Jew instead of that.

Q: Did they treat you badly?

A: They were about to throw me out, the leader of that thought he could not throw me out into the street in the middle of the night.

Q: When did you begin these vacation travels to England and to Rome and to Germany? What years are we talking about?

A: I work from when I was 12 until I was 18 and I was born in '06, so it must have been in '25. And in '25 there was still so much unrest and little bureaucracy in Germany so I was told that it would be too dangerous to go to Germany and therefore I went to England the next time.

Q: Did you only spend vacations in Germany or did you ever study in Germany?

A: I had not studied in Germany, only vacation. But I studied German and if I choose between taking English and Danish and German and Danish I preferred the Danish literature. People like _____.

Q: The German?

A: Yes. I think I can more than 100 _____ verses by heart.

Q: Can you tell me a bit more about the experiences with Trotsky and then going to Germany to find out what's going on there?

A: The difference between Stalin and Trotsky must be the first thing. Stalinism says you can build socialism in one country. And Trotsky said if you do that this country will be surrounded by enemies and there would be so many enemies our socialism within that country and therefore it would be a dictatorship and he learned permanent revolution and that means not as some people believe that yes there will always be a revolution but that

if there was not a revolution in Germany or in other more progressive states then the revolution in Russia would fade. Also, according to Marxism the revolution should come in the most industrial states and areas, not in a state like Russia. And it failed in Russia. Different from what people believe I could see this plan had not led to anything. That Russia is much backwards.

Q: Did you meet Trotsky? Did Trotsky come to Denmark?

A: We had a great meeting made by the social democratic students of Trotsky, and I heard him there. He spoke German and his German was not as good as I believed. The day afterwards I went to see him and there I was forced away by his _____.

Q: The people close to him?

A: Yes. They were so afraid that he should be killed. At that time I thought it was exaggerated, but a couple years later he was killed in that way. But I felt so much for Trotsky that I visited his home in _____, but that was when he was killed.

Q: The trip that you took to Germany to find out what was going on, occurred in what year and what did you see in Germany? What did you report back?

A: That those groups, there were so many different groups Trotsky and Stalin and social democratic, there were really very few people, when I was in Hamberg they told me to go to Berlin and meet him there. They were very weak. He had really a dominant position, and also many people who had been socialist were now in favor of national socialism.

Q: Did you see or were you aware of what Hitler was doing as far as the Jews were concerned?

A: No, there were no Jews in Germany.

Q: In the 1930s?

A: Yes. I went to political groups, and the political groups found that it only endangered their position if they had Jews in leading positions. Some of the people who sent me had been leading, and in Hamberg and Berlin they told me that all the Jews were dropped in their leading positions because of the Hitlerism that told that the Jews dominated the Germans through their Marxist organizations.

Q: So, therefore when you went to access the political conditions of the left of the social democrats and the Trotskyots, you didn't meet Jews because they had been removed. Were you aware of the general conditions of Jews in Germany?

A: I met Jews in _____ because I had married a German Jewish refugee but she was unpolitical but she had friends in Hamberg, of course not Jews, but also met them

privately. But they were very cautious of course.

Q: When did you meet your wife?

A: My wife came here as _____. I think you know what it means, but I think I have to explain it. The British had Israel as _____ and they would not allow Jews to go to Israel if they had not learned something agricultural. The Jews are not very agricultural but she chose to learn poultry farming. She went to Sweden to learn poultry farming. And one day when one of my Jewish friends from Hamberg proposed that we should make a trip to Sweden and meet one of his Jewish friends in Hamberg who was working poultry farming there. And so we met. I like to come to Denmark and that could only happen if we also married. Also the Danish government did not want to take all the Jews from Germany to Denmark, but when we married there was no problem.

Q: What was her name?

A: _____. The family is still in Germany and they change the name Goldstein, because anybody can hear that it's Jewish to Gotten. Even in Germany after the war, they found it better to hide that they are Jewish. They call themselves Gotten.

Q: So they went back after the war?

A: They didn't leave.

Q: They were hidden?

A: No. They were half Jews and the half Jews were soldiers. They had been fighting the Russians in eastern Germany. In the start Hitler took half Jews in his army but when they have success he thought he did not need half Jews and then they were sent back. He had hoped that when he fought in Poland he would be acknowledged as a real German, but he was not.

Q: How many trips to Germany did you make in the 1930s?

A: I can't tell.

Q: Were there many?

A: Yes. Because I do not make distinction between those before Hitler and after Hitler and meeting the family and political trips.

Q: Was her family becoming more and more afraid as the years progressed?

A: In the end they also preferred to immigrate and came to Denmark.

Q: Her family did?

A: Yes. Only one brother was left and that was because he had been a German soldier. He could stay there.

Q: Let me ask you about your deep interest in German literature and German ideas.

A: It is not deep interest in German literature and German ideas, it is a deep interest in literature and ideas. But it is correct in that way that once I had to decide where I would choose English and Danish as my fields at the university or German and Danish and I chose German, and that was because I preferred _____ to Dickensian.

Q: Why did you prefer _____ and _____?

A: Because I thought that _____ ideologies, how the people have thought so different movements. There was much more of this sort in German. It is quoted _____.

Q: When you talk about movements can you describe a little more what you mean?

A: Well, the first _____ through the office catholic church, catholic means they said no _____ church.

Q: Can you describe a little more about the ideas of _____ - and _____ that so much interested you?

A: _____ is not so much his own ideas as his formulations and _____ they met in Paris but _____ is a great poet in that way that he can formulate things and Shuller's ideas that is old ideas about thought, the unreal things, the immaterial things, the unreal things that are very far from people today.

Q: Did Shillar thought affect your moral judgments?

A: I think I would be moral before I knew Shillar. I like Shillar it his pathos. _____, that is Shillar and that is the same as the Christian that if you will not risk your life you will lose it, but if you risk your life you will keep it.

Q: As you made your trips to Germany in the 1930s did you sense that war was coming?

A: Oh, it was a usual idea among the people against Hitler that it would mean war and it was really clear it would mean war. One of the reasons that Hitler could take power in Germany was that Germany felt that it had been badly treated after the last war in 1918, and they spoke about it. The _____ and they would have back what they had

lost. I think where people knew German, I know this _____ fairly well because I was a delegate to the Council in Europe in _____ and they really speak German but they are not German speaking and Denmark had also taken part of old Danish part of _____. Hitler would restore the old strong German.

Q: So you felt the war coming? You felt almost the inevitability of it?

A: Yes.

Q: How did this affect your career your thinking about what you would do with your life?

A: In April 1940 I had to make a great decision. In April 1940 my first book came out and that was a comparison between _____ and _____ whose ideas are very different but whose psychs are very much alike. It was accepted very good and I was told that that was the beginning of a university career. Berlin also I learned that that can't be no great difference between what you say and write and what you do. And it would be against my own philosophy if I would sit quietly studying philosophy when what I love was _____ and what I hated. Therefore my philosopher would tell me that now it was time to go out and take a knife if necessary and I did.

Q: How did you start to resist? What happened?

A: The first thing was that the political parties who made this agreement and told us to do nothing I thought that was only --

Q: Let me ask a question. Where were you when the invasion took place?

A: I was sleeping in my bed in Copenhagen and then I said I heard so much flying and I said to my wife do you think they are British or do you think they are German. Whenever I said that if it was not because I was sure they were Danish, but then we heard so much noise in the streets, people talking and we came to the windows and we heard that they were Germans. And we heard that some Germans were landing in _____ and I took my bicycle and out I went. Then also I knew at once that it would change my life completely and I could hope I could return to my studies. That is what I wanted since I was a boy but had to watch the cattle in the fields. That is what I felt was a sacrifice ending my studies and going into politics.

Q: How did you being to participate in the resistance?

A: I knew many political names especially social democrats and radicals and I went with them and said I was willing to use all my time for building up something. One of those I went to was _____, who was a conservative and he said oh, that's fine I have some money for that work. I can give you and I said you can't take money for that work, and he said if you can't take money then he's not serious because you have to stay in

hotels and eat in restaurants all the time, and he convinced me that was necessary. And he sent me to _____ and said I could go there and he would give me money and I did. I never thought of them because they were very conservative, and I was very much to the left. And that was the order, and they told me when they gave me 3,000 and that was much money at that time, and I was told it would come again when I had more money.

Q: What did they want you to do?

A: First of all I had a of names and I got them from people, members of parliament and people with whom I had studied and who were now teachers at gymnasiums, etc. I had first a meeting with one person who taught with him about what would you do and then we agreed that he should find more persons and I should find five persons who differed so I covered this part of the country.

Q: What were you telling these people?

A: First I had I could tell many things which could not be bought in a newspaper. The truth was forbidden and it could not be told in newspapers, and it could not be told at the big meetings, but we could make small in the evening newspapers. They made local newspapers and I came and told them what ought to be in.

Q: What did you tell them. What was the truth?

A: It was different at each time, each month. What was happening, what the Germans demanded and who made resistance, who had many no resistance of the politicians. When I talked about this then I some times met people who thought it was not enough to know. We should also do something and told about several and I thought it was a good thing to support local sabotages as much as possible.

Q: Did you help make sabotage possible?

A: I could tell what ought to be sabotaged and once I felt I had to see it myself and I went _____. That was not a very good exercise, and I rode down the ditch when the Germans came. But I felt that when you asked people to be sabotage, you ought to see the ones that are sabotaged, but I was told you should not do that anymore because it would not be good if I was taken.

Q: Your opposition was to the Germans and to the Danes, the Danes who had made the agreement with the Germans to become collaborators?

A: I could not talk to people who were collaborators but the Danish government were not collaborators, you could appeal. The collaborators that were the Nazi people, and I had three surrounded by Nazis already and they knew.

Q: You spoke of the government that was neutral in terms of the Germans. Did the government think you were in opposition to it?

A: The government chose to make no resistance and in that way could count economically better. If you open a war the _____ who fought with the Germans had no sympathy for the Nazis of the Germans, not at all, but thought that we spoiled their policy and the difference was not that both our wanted the best for our people. The difference was what we considered to be the best. They thought that it couldn't be with so little sacrifices economically. We thought that we should not be ashamed afterwards was the most important thing.

Q: Were you at all part of the policy the Danish policy to the Jews of the attitude that was taken to protect the Jews who had been threatened by the Germans every other place.

A: We did not fight the Nazism because of the Jews. That was one thing. Many things we didn't like of the Nazis. It was democracy and dictatorship and we heard that the Jews would be captured, taken. We must do all that we can.

Q: Can you describe that?

A: The first thing that we did was to tell the Jews, the Germans that we come and take you and you shall not be at home. The first thing was to tell the Jewish people that they should not be at home that and that night because they will come.

Q: How did you find out the roundup was going to take place?

A: I do not remember exactly.

Q: Did you expect it to happen?

A: It was a part of Nazism and we had wondered that it did not happen before. But the first thing was that they shall not be taken in their homes, and the next thing was to find fishing boats to bring them to Sweden.

Q: How did you find the Jews to tell them to go into hiding?

A: We went to the Rabbi. He knew them.

Q: And he gave you the addresses?

A: Yes.

Q: When you went to the Jews, did they resist?

- A: Some people wouldn't believe and some people stayed home. I think we brought seven or eight thousand and that about six that would not believe us and stayed at home and wait there until they hear a shot.
- Q: Was this operation to save the Jews to rescue them and to hid them and then to send them to Sweden, was this one of the largest efforts that was made before 1944? Was this a major effort on the part of the resistance?
- A: The meaning of resistance was that the Allies should win and we should be one of the Allies and Germans should lose. The other thing was a thing of sympathy. That has nothing to do with the end of the war, the Germans. The _____ to win the war was not diminished by news. That was a humanitarian thing. In Denmark we have a distinction where some of our friends were Jews and who were not.
- Q: You had many Jewish friends such as Eric Kone and Joseph and Fanny Davidson, what happened to those people?
- A: There were many Jews in the leftist front in Denmark, and my friends were there and I belonged myself. We were many called themselves Trotskys. There were many sects among the communists, but many Jews were on this leftist part politically and then of course the Jews -- but those who I knew personally they were from the leftist Jewish organizations.
- Q: Did that make them doubly vulnerable because they were Jews and leftists?
- A: All those who had been in Nazism all the time.
- Q: How did the rescue, the hiding of the Jews actually take place? Were there doctors who hid the Jews. Whom did you turn to. Whom was the network?
- A: There were all sort of people. It is true that the doctors in one hospital, a big hospital because they were my friends and I told them about it and mainly Jews who were told not to stay at home were sent to the hospital and people believed that they were ill, and they stayed there until _____ was there and somebody came and took them to the shore. First was a Doctor -- this would be a hospital where I corroborated before, and he had played a very great part in helping.
- Q: You had worked with him in the resistance is that right?
- A: I knew him in the resistance.
- Q: Can you describe for me the various parts of the resistance movement, the freedom council and the groups that made up the freedom council?

A: About Christmas '42 I knew that now we have come so far that there were four organizations that covered the whole country. Two political parties, the communist party and the _____ party and then _____ which was people from all parties, but I knew they were dominated by government, which was not dominated by the communist, we had nothing against the communist. And the I felt it would be very important if we could make a common organization. We could prevent shoulders from the different organizations and the men who I had to go was _____. He was a member of the communist party and he was the leading figure in _____. And I had to talk with him and we agreed that either no should political parties be in this organization or this should be the both of them. That is something that I said. In the beginning we said, Anna Shotts, who was the leader of the party would not be a member because his _____. People knew him and we were not as well know. But when we came to Christmas he was in _____. Then we was eager to remember himself that we accepted it.

End of Tape #1

Tape #2

Q: What was your life like during this period? I assume that the government was not happy with the activities that you were engaged in?

A: The government told us that it would be great unhappiness. We felt that the great danger was that when Germany lost the war, which we hoped then we would be considered as the people who helped Nazism. Usually when three people are fighting for the freedom on Europe, it also means the freedom of Denmark, it would not be acceptable to sit and doing nothing when our people were losing their lives to win for our freedom.

Q: Did you have to move around a great deal?

A: Already in the first summer in '40, and it came so that we were told that the offices would be central Germany, the military offices. And they came to me and asked me if I could find hiding places, and I had a list of 5,000.

Q: You were saying that you found 5,000 hiding places?

A: For the offices, the military offices, but I could use it freely and I was realistic enough to take some of the best for myself. But I never spent more than a week at a place. If I observed the first time that there were some Nazis in the same house, then I left at once. But even if there were no signs of that, I never remained in one place more than one week.

Q: Did you wear different disguises? Did you change your appearance?

A: Not very much. At that time there were very few people yet and I thought that wearing a beard was almost to tell you that you were working underground, so I did not. But I had a very big hair, completely straight and short. And you expect this which was only usual -- I had no reason.

Q: Were there many other resistance people who led the same kind of life that you did?

A: Yes. People who are less known than I was, many people knew me before from books, they were not nearly to take so much caution.

Q: Did you come into very dangerous contact with the Nazis? Did they ever get close to you?

A: I was arrested by Nazis. I was in _____, or _____ and it was in Springtime and the birds do not leave the land until they are forced to do it. So, in Spring time they get in formation and I was looking for birds there and I had been out and at the

same time I saw a German patrols, it was on the way to protect their way to _____.

Q: What happened to your wife during the war?

A: When the Jews were persecuted, she was sent to Sweden like the Jews. She got work in Stockholm as a photographer, what she had been in Germany. She had worked in the famous _____ House in Hamberg founded by _____. And she got work in the same sort here and even she went to Sweden and her sister also and her sisters become Swedish. She is a sculpture. She did youth work. She has become Swedish. They didn't come back.

Q: How did you actually arrange for her wife and her sister to go to Sweden? Can you recreate how they did that?

A: She went in a great boat, not with a fisherman, a great boat from _____ and I drove her myself and that she should be hidden. I remember very well when I came there and a man should be standing at a certain place and he would show me which ship to bring her.

Q: Were there other Jews on that same boat?

A: Not that I know.

Q: When did this happen? Was this in October? Was this right when the roundup was taking place, when it began?

A: It was when they started to tell that half Jews, because she was a half-Jews would not be taken, and Jews married to a Dane, would not be taken, so in that way she should be secure. But we did not believe the Nazis and it also came so. She would have been taken had she remained here. There were two reasons. It was much as you would be taken as hostage from me. The Germans had sought me already for more than a year and they took hostages, and I could not let her sit as a hostage and I could not go to the Germans to get her free.

Q: What was she doing when you were living underground, when you were moving place to place all those years?

A: She had her work and that was as a photographer in a hospital.

Q: How did you keep in touch with her?

A: In other places where we would meet our friends, but we did not see each other so much and therefore when it was _____ for her it was no problem to go to Sweden.

Q: What was the relationship of the Danish police and the resistance movement?

A: The Danish police is not one person. They had different attitudes. The Danish police of course had to obey the Danish government, that's the usual attitude. But as the military people in the summer of '44 came to us and said they would acknowledge us as the underground government and obey us. The resistance was very much against it and in the same bed later they could _____. The police were, in my opinion, more loyal to the freedom council than the office.

Q: So you felt that you could rely upon them, you could work with them?

A: Oh yes. But their job was more, not the actual sabotage, but if it should end in a real fight in Denmark, Denmark was divided into six regions and the military man had the command in each of them. That was for fighting. We believe a long time that the British would go ashore in _____. It came in another way. We didn't know that and as late as the 2nd of May we were not sure who would come first, the Latvians, or the rest of the powers. The Latvians were at _____. I have the impression that even many communists would prefer that the western powers would come first.

Q: So, then the resistance prepared many different eventualities, one was, as I understand, one was the military engagement when the invasion came. What about sabotage? Was that a different part of what the resistance did?

A: Sabotage was the main thing all the time. We start with information but when I came out of those people and told them about this information and asked them to make local newspapers, somebody wanted to do something more. And we talked about sabotage and some were ready for that. Later we made what we called the _____ military force. That was when Germany was about to lose if there should be fighting in Denmark. Sabotage came very early. There had been sabotage in May 14, and the Germans came in April 14. But in the beginning it was very often only some boys, some very good boys. Later there were two big sabotage organizations, _____ which was organized by the communist and _____, which was organized by the _____ party. At one time the _____ people came to me and said that they had been organized by _____, but he made it his policy and not -- he was more interested that it would support him when freedom came that it would be _____ and they would prefer to be under me. He was very bitter against me because of that. I, of course, was very glad. That was the largest, most effective _____ was the largest sabotage organizations.

Q: Did you influence the choices for sabotage?

A: Yes.

Q: How did you decide?

A: First we had to know and that was through the ministers where many of my friends were. What the Germans were doing there and there, what was important, who sent their wares to Germany was very important. I could always -- I had some people who were working all the time and ministers who knew everything about that. They could tell us what was important to sabotage.

Q: The trains, the factories, what?

A: The train was a late thing, but very important. The train was not just delivering wares to Germany. The train was when Hitler needed troops more on the western front, Holland, Belgium and Norway. Then they went through _____ and it was important to make sabotage in the start some trains were blown up but then also some innocent people were killed, and we forbid that and made only railway sabotage. So, the railways when the trains came and had stopped troops for a couple weeks. Sometimes it was _____.

Q: Was there sabotage on the coast also, boats, Danish ships, any of that?

A: I do not know.

Q: Were any of the Danish boats --?

A: At one time, and this is a very great thing, one time we knew that the Germans would take the complete Danish fleet and the high marine officer _____ did sink them. That was for only people who knew about it, something. They were sunk. That was a very important thing. That was at _____.

Q: The rescue of the Danish-Jewish community or the Jews in Denmark, has promoted a great feeling of sympathy towards Denmark, do the Danes deserve this great honor and sympathy?

A: We would have done the same. We did not make that distinction, but we were certain if we had been told that the Danish teachers would be taken to Germany then we had done something for the Danish teachers.

Q: The Danish Jews were welcomed back into Denmark?

A: Oh yes. There never had really been anti-semitism in Denmark, only in this small net of socialist party. In the Danish parliament there were 150 members and three of them belonged to the national socialists. Only once did they get anybody elected during the German occupation but it was 150. It never was a big party.

Q: Why is Denmark different from other European countries in regard to anti-semitism and what happened during the war?

A: I don't think we are different from Norway or Sweden. Not at all, and I do not know the relationship. The Jews helped the _____ in a difficult position many years ago. They were not allowed to have land, so they couldn't be farmers. They were not allowed in the guilds, so they had to be merchants. They could lend money. So, many people became very angry at the Jews.

Q: But not in Denmark?

A: Also in Denmark. Less perhaps because there were fewer, but it has in the middle ages something to do with history that the Jews killed Jesus, and that is not true. They didn't kill him. When the Jews killed people they stoned them. When the Romans killed people they had different methods, but one was crucification. In that way you can see it was not the Jews, but the Romans who killed Jesus. Jesus, was after all, a Jew.

Q: There is some thinking now that the Germans looked the other way when the Jews were being rescued. They didn't arrest the Jews when they could have. Do you feel the Germans eased the way for the Jews to escape?

A: I don't think it has any importance, but of course there were German soldiers who were against persecution of Jews. Like there were German soldiers who were not national socialists. But we did not feel anything of that therefore we had to hide the Jews as the first step.

Q: And you didn't feel that the Germans made it a little bit easier?

A: No. I'm sure there were many German soldiers who were against Hitler.

Q: There's another part of the reconsideration of the rescue, and that is the Danish _____ some of them asked to be paid a great deal of money to take the Jews to Sweden. Do you feel that was a big factor?

A: The rescue boats and many lost their boats and fishermen with a boat is in a difficult position. Of course they took money for the risk, but I don't know. I have not found that they behaved badly.

Q: Did you help to raise money or dispense the money for these fishermen?

A: The Jews paid themselves. The Jews never a politariat.

Q: Did you go to Sweden many times during the war?

A: No, only one time. I went to Sweden to help Denmark acknowledge as Allies, also by Russians. We did not know who would be first at our friendship. The Russians were very quickly forged through all of Germany and even the Navy could not know. The Danish government had joined the anti-communist pact with Italy and Germany and Spain so we were afraid whether the Russians would consider us helping the Germany. Therefore I proposed in the freedom council that we should take up the relationship with the Soviet Union, which Denmark had broken itself and sent back the ambassador. I proposed _____ who was a friend of mine a little family man and they agreed and so I went to Sweden as a fisherman and went through the British Embassy. The Russian Embassy did not know me, the British did, and they told the Russians I was good enough and the Latvians would accept a representative for _____ Denmark, not simply Denmark. Then I told them we would send an ambassador who was not very political or we could send a man who had not been an ambassador but who had played a role in the resistance movement and they could prefer whom they wanted. They preferred a man who had been in the resistance movement and he was sent Sweden and was accepted.

Q: What was the policy of the freedom council to collaborators. How did you feel Denmark should treat the collaborators?

A: The Danish freedom council had made a great complex of laws, _____ who regulates, he was _____ of an organization of all lawyers. He had made that and the political parties also made it and when we compared they were not so different. There was a question of death sentence. We were all against death sentence and it was not within but before we agreed we also had politicians and what these politicians did and I had to go around all Denmark and show it to resistance people. When they heard that there was no death sentence then they said I think we must kill that person before that law is made. I am sure that more people had been killed if I had not returned and told them we have this sentence. As a consequence of judgments and not what we call the _____ the long knives night.

Q: What was that long knives night?

A: That was when people killed the people who helped the Germans, especially what we called _____, in English, informers. If we had not had this sentence many informers had been killed by the resistance people.

Q: How many collaborators were sentenced to death?

A: I think about 90 were sentenced to death and about half of them were executed because in the summer of '45 it was necessary if people should not do it themselves without judgment but already in the autumn of '45 it was not like that. As a matter of fact we were against death sentences and nobody was killed after that.

Q: Why were you against that?

- A: If people are imprisoned they can be _____. If people have been executed, you cannot give them life again. That's a big difference. But I'm sure we're all against death sentence in Denmark today. There is no -- it was only in this law against _____, it is not been outlawed in other sorts of criminality.
- Q: Were there an unusually large number of collaborators, that is people who joined the German army or fought with the Germans on the eastern front?
- A: I cannot compare relations. It was very few compared with the French.
- Q: The king has received an enormous amount of credit for the story about wearing the yellow star in order to befriend the Jews. Do you know where that story came from?
- A: No, and I do not know whether it is true or it is untrue.
- Q: If you're not sure about whether the king wore the star or didn't wear the star, what do you think happened?
- A: The king was very popular and he was much against the German occupation, and it was a great help to many people when he rode through Copenhagen completely unprotected, and I believe that this star that is a myth sprung out of this popularity which really deserved.
- Q: After the war, the knowledge of the extermination camps became wide spread. When did you first learn about the camps.
- A: Long before the occupation. Haven't I told that I had a career already in '33 through Germany as a career from 40 German refugees here, communists, Trotskys, social democrats. And there of course I heard everything they knew in Germany. That was in the summer of '33. I had that relationship all the time and I heard that somebody had disappeared in Hamberg and never seen anything more. How we lived there you couldn't know anything about that, but they disappeared.
- Q: And disappeared into concentration camps?
- A: We did not know the concentration camps. I'm sure it was something like that because people disappeared completely. They could sit and know them there and one day they're away.
- Q: Did you have knowledge of the extermination camps before the end of the war?
- A: I did not make the distinctions. We knew that many of our friends disappeared from Hamberg or Berlin and how it became, only that they disappeared.

Q: So when the Jews were rescued in Denmark there was no sense that you were saving them from extermination camps but just from capture by the Germans?

A: We sort of saved them and found some things, that was enough. What that would be we couldn't know better than that.

Q: Were there women who were leaders of the resistance in Denmark?

A: No. But we were all in the resistance. The resistance means many things. There are sabotages and there are what we call the illegal army, illegal newspapers and I'm sure many women worked in the newspapers.

Q: And in hiding people?

A: We had lived in the underground for several years and when I had lived in one place one week, I left it because somebody might have seen me too many times there and they very, very often knew we went and did could tell us a good hiding place.

Q: As I understand it, there were some disagreements in the freedom council between the parties on the right and on the left between Helga _____ and the social democrats. Did these ever affect the rescue of the Jews, these differences, or was there?

A: I can't answer that. There was no difference. In the freedom council we never thought of who was a social democrat. There were two parties, the communist and the _____ and we were unpolitical. I knew the Jews because I was a social democrat but we never spoke of such things.

(viewing pictures)

A: This is my first wife. She was born in Hamberg and she wanted to go to Israel, but Israel was a British mandate, and to go to Israel they demanded that you have learned an agriculture thing. She was a photographer of x-rays in hospitals. Then she chose to Sweden and learn poultry farming. And one day one of my friends from Hamberg who had come here as a refugee asked me if we should not make a trip to Sweden and there we could meet one of his friends from Hamberg. In that way I met _____ Goldstein. She is called _____, but the two middle things she did not like especially.

Q: Can you explain this picture?

A: That is a picture of my wife _____ and me. She speaks as well Swedish as Danish because she immigrated from Denmark to Sweden and when my first wife died, we were married. We had no children together. I have two children and she has two children and that is one good family.

Q: This is about your _____. Can you say something about your love for birds?

A: It is not a special love for birds, it is love of nature, but there are very few memories in Denmark and the insects are small but after all I have a collection of insects, but the main thing are the birds in a country like Denmark. There is much listening of birds and knowing their voices as recognizing them and seeing them. This is from the council in Europe at Strassburg. The church is one of the main figures. When the European movements started I went to the park and was a Danish member of the first European movement and what we demanded was a council for Europe that came later in Strassburg. My father was really against it and he called it the Church Party and aptly warned against it. As I often did my own things during the war, I went there and later were very eager to build. This is a picture of my father. He is much older of course, but more than usual. He was born in 1854 and he remembered the war in Germany in '64 when he was 10 years old when we lost a certain part of _____. He belonged to those people who found that the state should not play too great a role in people and families should decide for themselves. He was against what we call _____, the people's church. Even the words, he called it _____ and he was also against people going to _____ school. People should choose whom they wanted to teach their children so it's a circle of people in my island where I had born had him as the teacher. At one time there were 65 children going to school in this unofficial school and only nine going in the official school. No person has had more importance for me than he and I think it's a very good thing when a son can say about his father that no person has meant more to him particularly.

End of Tape #2

Conclusion of Interview