

Recollections Concerning Canadian War Crimes Investigations and Prosecutions

Wady Lehmann

After the fighting ended in May 1945, I was posted to the Northwest Europe Detachment of 1 Canadian War Crimes Investigation Unit (1CWCIU). My service with 1 CWCIU covered a broad range of cases. Some led down blind alleys, while others did not involve Canadian servicemen. In due course I was assigned to the Kurt Meyer case as translator for the defence.

I was born near Tallinn, Estonia on 22 October 1917. My mother was Baltic German and my father a Moskow Russian, an artillery captain in the defeated Russian army. We fled to Denmark from the Russian revolution the same year. I acquired a basic knowledge of the German language from my family. I started school in Copenhagen in the St. Petri school, which also taught German. We emigrated to Canada in 1927, living successively in Calgary, Vancouver and Burnaby. I attended Burnaby South High School, concentrating on Latin, French and sciences. I began work during the Depression at the Swift meat packing plant in New Westminster. I enlisted in 1941 in Vancouver, after the fall of Paris.

My military background to mid-1945 was with the Canadian Intelligence Corps (Ia) - Battle Intelligence. I had taken basic training with the Westminster Regiment reserve in 1941, whereupon I trained for a year with the 12 Canadian Field Ambulance. At Debert Camp in Nova Scotia, I transferred to the 3rd Armoured Brigade as intelligence clerk/driver. I was commissioned in the UK in 1943 into the newly formed Canadian Intelligence Corps. This was

followed by specialized courses in signals and battle intelligence with the British Army in Cambridge, Matlock, and London.

I sailed to Italy in January 1944 with the Canadian Wireless Intelligence detachment serving 1 Canadian Corps. In this capacity I was seconded to the 13 British Army Corps on the Sangro River and at Cassino. Then I served for a few months as prisoner of war interrogator at 8 British Army POW cage near Rome. I subsequently served as intelligence officer with 1 Canadian Infantry Division, and finally on the intelligence staff of 1 Canadian Corps, specializing in enemy documents, weapons, and dispositions.

I accompanied Corps headquarters to Holland where I was promoted to captain. There I accompanied Lieutenant-General Charles Foulkes on the dykes near the town of Ede to his truce meeting with German Army Group commander Blaskowitz in March 1945. This meeting was held in preparation for the ceasefire, so that food shipments could be carried by road to the starving population of western Holland which was cut off altogether by the German occupation troops.

A few months later the war ended and I was assigned to the North-West Europe Detachment of No.1 Cdn War Crimes Investigation Unit at Bad Salzuflen, Germany, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Bruce Macdonald at CMHQ (Canadian Military Headquarters) in London. The detachment was commanded by



Wady Lehmann

Major Neil C. Fraser, who was later succeeded by Wing-Commander Oliver Durdin. My role with the detachment was that of interpreter, translator, interrogator and investigator.

The detachment operated in several teams of about five people each. These included linguists - German and one French. They acted both as official interpreters and as investigators. Their army or air force operational experience helped them to understand the military aspects of the German organization and customs. Our legal components, the lawyers and court reporters, had valuable experience in military law and procedures. Indispensable to each team was the driver, untiring, resourceful and patient. We usually managed to pack ourselves, our rations and our belongings into one vehicle - a Jeep, passenger car, or HUP (Heavy Utility, Personnel). Our work routine consisted of tracking down witnesses who might be dispersed anywhere in Europe, including the Russian Zone, take down depositions which would later stand up in court, and examine public records, and, of course, ultimately apprehend and deliver the suspected war criminal.

At detachment headquarters in Bad Salzflén, a peace-time spa, we were attached to a British mess presided over by a

moustachioed major of horse-drawn artillery, who invariably dressed for dinner in formal blues complete with spurs and mail. Tennis and soccer matches were laid on, and the spa provided evening relaxation to the music of a string ensemble. We shared these amenities with ladies of UNRRA (United Nations Refugee Relief Agency, paraphrased as 'You Never Really Relieved Anybody'), and other organizations. On one occasion, ENSA, the British services entertainment corps, even featured a troupe of the Rambert ballet. These diversions, however, did not deter us from diligently pursuing our assignments.

We regularly exchanged information with the British War Crimes unit at nearby Bad Oyenhausen at the headquarters of the British Army on The Rhine (BAOR - nicknamed 'Beyond All Ordinary Reason!'). Many of our cases were filtered to us through them.

Much of the investigation consisted of routinely checking out these leads. This could be very frustrating. After explaining the procedure to the witness and the swearing in, there would follow the invariable opening remark "That I can no longer remember today." As interpreter, I was then caught between a perplexed witness and an infuriated legal interrogator. Often we barely got a corroboration of the original testimony, which would bring the case to a dead end. However routine, the excursions were never dull.

There was the case near Paderborn which turned out to be an Australian fighter pilot. He was identified through one of his dentures which I found in the turf about ten yards from the skid mark made by his downed Spitfire. I believe that we located his grave and had his body exhumed, although without my presence; there were three men accused of the killing, and we turned the case over to the British unit for trial.

A case near Verneuil-sur-Avre, Normandy, concerned a Canadian airman who had joined the Resistance. As he had not been wearing the distinctive armband of the French Resistance which passes for a uniform, he had lost his POW status and the protection of the Geneva Convention. However his autopsy conducted for us by a US Army pathologist did suggest that the victim had been tortured. In any case we



Above: A detached vehicle of the Canadian War Crimes Investigation Unit crossing the Dutch border.

Right: A jeep of the Canadian War Crimes Investigation Unit sits outside its headquarters..



could not determine the identity of the SS unit which was alleged to have committed the crime.

A case in east Berlin involved a plane which had crashed into one of the lakes. After futilely interviewing the two witnesses referred to us, we were only too eager to exit from the east zone as the Russian patrols were beginning to take too great an interest in our activities. Even the Allied Control Commission pass was not enough to prevent a lengthy detainment. East Berlin was an eerie city by day as well as by night. In the daytime refugees and German soldiers in tattered uniforms and feet wrapped in rags were drifting in from the eastern battlefields. At night rubble in the darkened streets lay in huge mounds etched against the starry sky. Yet in the shell-pocked opera house I sat in a capacity audience of survived Berliners and Allied service people alike taking in a performance of *Fidelio*.

The Johann 'Neitz' case¹ took us to Wilhelmshaven, to its vast harbour installation ravished by war; huge block-sized air raid bunkers for the workers; twisted wreckage spread across the docks; the huge brooding hulk of the moored heavy cruiser, the *Prinz Eugen*, in the mist. Our experience included being piped aboard a German minesweeper, still manned by its former German crew, to be ferried out to interview a lighthouse keeper out at sea. Unfortunately the witness had nothing to add.

The Dermoid case took us into a Displaced Persons camp. There our informant contributed little in an hour of interrogation beyond making the point that they were allowed only 1,200 calories of food per day. In a village near Lueneburg, we had a basement full of rubble shifted by POWs only to find that the bodies of

two alleged victims were not to be found. An interesting trip to Ostend in a drenching downpour aggravated by a broken axle resulted in a futile exhumation. The witness, an ex-medical sergeant named Lehmann, had misconstrued the spinal opening in the base of the skull for a bullet hole! We learned from him the incidental information that German POWs still in camps could get accelerated repatriation points by clearing mines on the beaches - they had a separate cemetery plot for those who did not make it! That summer we also had to travel to Grenoble and Aix-les-Bains in southern France on a long trip which was more memorable for its beauty than for our achievement.

In the industrial Ruhr a British security detachment showed us an arsenal of improvised weapons: sawed-off Mauser rifles, vicious skull-cracking lengths of steel cable welded at the ends, etc. These had been taken off liberated Russian forced labourers who roamed the ruins nightly to extort food and avenge themselves on their former German masters. Everywhere were the rusting remains of huge foundries and rolling mills with massive armour plate still in place. On a street corner civilians crowded around a spouting end of a water pipe protruding through the pavement to fill their pots and pails. Overhead droned a four-engined Lancaster taking sightseers over the ruins of armaments factories it had taken part in bombing a short time before. We worked in a sort of twilight zone between the shooting war and conditions of peace which had not yet fully materialized.

Sometime in November of 1945 I was recalled from these somewhat abortive excursions to Aurich in north Germany and attached to Lieutenant-Colonel Maurice Andrew



Photo by B.J. Gloster, NAC PA 132444

Brigadeführer Kurt Meyer, handcuffed to Major Arthur Russell, commanding officer of the Winnipeg Rifles, arrives in Aurich, 31 October 1945.

as interpreter for the defense of SS Major-General Kurt Meyer. What follows are impressions I formed as the trial proceeded without attempting to give a chronological account.²

Meyer had gained notoriety in the Canadian press as the prime available suspect in the killing of Canadian prisoners of war during the first days following D-Day, 6 June 1944, in the fighting north of the key city of Caen. Altogether, 112 such cases were reported by escaped POWs and local townspeople. Forty-one of these were attributed to the sector held by Meyer's 25th SS Panzer Grenadier Regiment. He was eventually captured near Namur in Belgium on 5 September 1944. After months of intensive interrogation he was brought to trial by court-martial at the former naval barracks in Aurich, north Germany, in the Canadian occupation zone. Major-General Harry Foster was selected to preside over the trial. As a brigadier he had commanded the units which Meyer had opposed at the time of the alleged killings.

The trial lasted from 10 to 27 December 1944. It found Meyer guilty of counselling his troops to deny quarter, and as commander, being responsible in the killings of Canadian prisoners of war behind his headquarters at the Abbaye d'Ardenne. He was found not guilty of actually giving the order. His sentence was execution by firing squad. However, this sentence was commuted to life imprisonment in the New Year

by the area commander, Major-General Chris Vokes. Meyer served part of his prison time in Canada and the remainder in Germany. He was released in 1954 and was employed by a brewery which, ironically, supplied the messes in the Canadian occupation zone. He died in 1958.

The prosecuting officer was Lieutenant-Colonel Bruce Macdonald, who had led the investigations and was then placed in command of the newly-formed Canadian War Crimes Investigation Unit in June 1945. I first met Lieutenant-Colonel Macdonald at the opening of Kurt Meyer's trial. I knew him by name only as Commanding Officer (CO) of our unit at its London headquarters. Nor had I heard of him in connection with his previous activity in investigating war crimes, nor as a commanding officer in the field. As I was at the time a captain we did not share the same mess at Aurich in off hours, so I had no contact with him during the trial.

My impression of him was that he was an aggressive prosecutor. He seemed overly intent. This was born out by his reading into the proceedings regarding the Malmedy shooting of American prisoners of war during the Ardennes battle, which he construed as evidence of a pattern among SS formations. It also appeared when he had witness Jan Jesionek³ take the stand dressed in a Canadian uniform. As a POW, Jesionek would normally have worn the basic German uniform as did the accused. He also stretched a point with his interpretation of the term, *vernichten* - 'to annihilate,' which Meyer had used in training. The same word also translates as 'to destroy,' as in to destroy the enemy, in the same sense as it was used in our training, as well as in the regular German army training at the time. Clausewitz enunciated this phrase in the 'Conduct of War' in the eighteenth century. It had nothing to do with the treatment of POWs.

In other respects I found Macdonald's presentation to be meticulous, if on the dry side. It reflected a justifiable zeal to track down the perpetrators of the alleged shootings of Canadian POWs in the Normandy fighting.

My first conversation with him was when I reported to him in London a few days into the New Year of 1946, after leaving Meyer and delivering the appeal to Major-General Chris Vokes in Oldenburg. He had just learned of Vokes' revocation of the death sentence and appeared visibly annoyed.

Both Lieutenant-Colonel Bruce Macdonald and Lieutenant-Colonel Maurice Andrew had commanded units in action. Both had a soldier's understanding of Meyer's case. However, while Macdonald had diligently scoured the POW camps for testimony to build the case against Meyer, Andrew had spent most of his time with the Perth Regiment in Italy and Northwest Europe. He maintained an arms length relationship to Meyer.

Andrew had me visit Meyer on a daily basis with specific questions. Initially these were designed to clarify points from the reams of previous depositions. His questions for Meyer were to the point. He encouraged me to keep the scope of my talks with Meyer broad in order to add to his understanding of Meyer's mind and background. His own meetings with Meyer were less frequent. At the outset he clarified for him

the provisions of the Allied conventions covering war crimes.

I first met Kurt Meyer in December 1945 in his cell in the Aurich barracks. He was of medium height, dark brown hair, arresting grey eyes, and in seemingly good physical shape. He was straight-forward in his speech, direct and intelligent, neither ingratiating nor arrogant, easy to talk with, and he had a touch of humour.

Meyer was convinced, despite my protestations, that the trial was to be a show with the outcome already decided. His concern was not for himself but for his wife, Kate, and their children. He made no excuse for his Nazi orientation, which to him represented loyalty to Germany, the sanctity of the family and the Nordic religion. He was convinced that the Allies should join the defeated Germany to push Russia out of eastern Europe before it was too late. Once we agreed to differ on our political thinking he did not raise the subject again. In other respects we had some wide-ranging discussions.

He enjoyed his vigorous daily walks handcuffed to his guard who was supplied from the Royal Winnipeg Rifles. Within the limits of



Left: Kurt Meyer enters the court room under escort, 10 December 1945.

Below: The defence and prosecution staffs pose in front of the renamed Normandy Building of the Maple Leaf Barracks. Wady Lehmann is on the far right, front row in the the light-coloured overcoat.



Reflections on the Trial of Kurt Meyer

In retrospect, I had largely forgotten about the Kurt Meyer trial when I was approached, first by Tony Foster of Halifax, then by Patrick Brode of Toronto, both in the process of writing about the case, to ask me about my recollections. Next I was interviewed by Paperny Films for *Murder in Normandy*. When that was aired in 1999, many of my service friends asked why Meyer was not shot as an SS general and what I thought about it. That tells me that the time has come for a version to come out which would lay out the cold facts about the atrocities.

supposed to be a complete vindication of the war crimes perpetrated against Canadian prisoners of war in Normandy. There was no miscarriage of justice. In fact the prosecutor, Lieutenant-Colonel Bruce Macdonald, did an outstanding job of making the most of the evidence he could gather against the highest ranking SS commander he could apprehend. The time has come for the myth of Meyer as Canada's unpunished arch Nazi criminal to be laid to rest and a definitive account of this sad episode be incorporated into the annals of our history.



Kurt Meyer (centre, no hat, back to camera) stands in the courtroom before the Canadian judges (l.-r.): Brigadier J.A. Roberts; Brigadier H.A. Sparling; Lieutenant-Colonel W.B. Bredin (judge advocate); Major-General Harry W. Foster (president); Brigadier Ian S. Johnston; and Brigadier Henry P. Bell-Irving.

All the 140 documented cases of shooting of Canadian prisoners of war during the first weeks of the Normandy invasion were attributed to Major-General Fritz Witt's 12th SS Hitler Jugend Division. Of these 79 were by the 26th Regiment under SS Colonel Wilhelm Mohnke, 13 by SS Colonel Max Wiinsche's 12th Panzer Regiment, 7 by Major Mueller's 12th SS Pioneer Battalion and 41 by SS Colonel Kurt Meyer's 25th SS Regiment. At his trial Meyer was found not guilty of 23 of his regiment's cases nor of ordering the execution of the remaining 18. Meyer was the only commanding officer in the division to be tried as a war criminal. General Witt was killed in action a few days later. Colonel Mohnke was captured by the Russians in Berlin and no charges were laid against Wiinsche and Mueller. In Meyer's case Major-General Chris Vokes, the reviewing officer, concluded that Meyer's degree of responsibility at the time was too indirect to warrant the death penalty and accordingly commuted the sentence.

We cannot leave the public and next-of-kin with the impression that the Meyer trial was

During the trial Lieutenant-Colonel Maurice Andrew had me bring two regular army German generals to Aurich as character witnesses. They were General Geyr von Schweppenburg, Panzer army commander, and his successor, General Heinrich Eberbach. Neither of them had any allegiance to the SS, yet they had praise for Meyer in his role as instructor of the newly-formed 12th SS Division which had been trained in Holland. Most of the instructors were NCO's who had been transferred from the Russian front where quarter was rarely given. Meyer was concerned about the effect this background would have on the young recruits both in the crash course of training and the forthcoming battles. Later Eberbach gave the same views in court. In the meantime Meyer, who had fought the western Allies during the invasion of France, assured me he well knew the difference between their conduct of war and that of the Russians and that he had impressed these rules on his instructors. Had he not done this, there might have been more killings of POWs in the sector of his regiment than there were.

Wady Lehmann, November 2002

the English he had acquired in captivity he spoke a soldier's language to which his guards related and he developed a good rapport with them.

In court, Andrew's questioning was brief and to the point using army terms with which the members of the court-martial and witnesses were familiar. My recollection of the first day of the trial is that Andrew drew attention to the difficulty of ascertaining the exact point at which a soldier capitulates and technically becomes a prisoner of war in the confusion of combat.

Meyer must have become familiar with the incidents during his many previous interrogations. His attitude was that the battles in his sector after the landings were extremely fluid with the 12th SS Division heavily involved with heavy losses. As far as he was concerned the maltreatment of POWs would not benefit the course of the battle. I cannot recall whether he was aware of the incidents at the time that they happened.

Macdonald's potentially most damaging witness was an SS Corporal, Jan Jesionek. He claimed to have brought the first seven prisoners to Meyer's headquarters on 8 June, and alleged that he had heard Meyer order them to be shot.

Jesionek testified that he had subsequently seen the corpses behind the courtyard wall.

Meyer's reaction to Jesionek's statement was a feeling of contempt. He saw the corporal as an opportunist who had betrayed his unit in the same way as he had first betrayed his Polish people. This must have shown in the intensity with which Meyer fixed Jesionek with his gaze, causing Macdonald to object to the effect it was having on his witness. His contempt was heightened by Macdonald putting Jesionek on the stand dressed in Canadian uniform, rather than the customary POW's basic German uniform.

I believe that it was in discussions over this testimony that Meyer mentioned that he had been made aware of the fact a sergeant in the medical aid post behind the headquarters had become demented over the news that his family had been killed in an air raid, and that he might have avenged himself on the first Allied prisoners he saw. Even though Meyer ordered an investigation into the killing of the POWs, the battle was too fluid for this to be carried out.

Andrew had subpoenaed two German regular army generals, Geyr von Schweppenberg

Wady Lehmann escorts Kate Meyer (wife), Mrs Meleni Feindt (sister), Alma Meyer (mother), and Ursula Meyer (2nd daughter) to Kurt Meyer's war crimes trial.





Wady Lehmann talks with General of Panzer Troops Heinrich Eberbach, who was Meyer's Heer superior during the summer of 1944 and appeared as a character witness for the defence during Meyer's war crimes trial.

and Eberbach, both with command experience going back to the Great War, as character witnesses. They confirmed Meyer's claim as to his experience in combat command and his military ideology. They were aware of the fact that the 12th SS Division had been transferred from the Eastern Front where the Russian armies sometimes did not take prisoners, which had resulted in a pretty rough type of German soldier in its ranks. Meyer had discussed the measures he was taking in his training to counteract the influence of his hardened troops on the new recruits. This support from old-time, non-SS generals gave Andrew confidence in Meyer's testimony and helped in preparing the defence.

Meyer remained alert and to the point both in his cell and in the courtroom. He was cooperative and his general disposition did not change, nor did contradictions develop in his testimony.⁴ He showed respect for and confidence in his relation to Lieutenant-Colonel Andrew.

During the trial I had doodled sketches of members of the court including Meyer which they all agreed to autograph when the trial adjourned. Meyer signed in a steady hand which suggested a man who had himself under control.

For my benefit he added an unsolicited "With gratitude."

At 1:30 pm on 27 December 1945, the Court rose to consider the verdict which it handed down nearly three hours later. The scene was tense. Not only was the verdict at issue, but there was also curiosity over how the court would interpret the special covenant governing war crimes for which this would be the first test: the question of shared responsibility, latitude in the admission of evidence, and the question of reasonable doubt. These questions had been hotly debated amongst the press representatives in the mess.

At the pronouncement of the verdict and the death sentence by Major-General Foster, Meyer stood at attention and his composure did not change. Lieutenant-Colonel Andrew's reaction was that he was satisfied that the outcome was the correct one under the war crimes convention. He spoke no more about it to me nor to Meyer. He then conferred briefly with Captain Plourde about filing the appeal before leaving Aurich to return to Canada with his regiment.

The autograph which Major-General Foster, the President of the Court Martial, signed on his sketch shows a quiver which suggests that he



Wady Lehmann's sketches of Kurt Meyer (left) and Harry Foster (right).

had not taken the pronouncement of the sentence lightly. There must have been a recognition between Meyer and himself across the court room. As opposing commanders the two had faced each other in some of the fiercest battles of the war.

After the trial, I met with Meyer in his cell in the company of Captain Plourde to frame the appeal. At first Meyer refused to even consider it. Why should the appeal be any more successful than the trial which he lost, despite Andrew's skilful defence?

To get things moving I asked Meyer to list any reasons he could think of why he might not have ordered the killing. Our discussions narrowed down to his contention that the tactical situation of the 12th SS Division from D-Day to the time of his capture consumed all his energy and attention. He showed us on a map how the division which started with about 15,000 men was decimated, and shrank to about 4-500, while its front remained much the same. At the same time he had to replace his divisional commander who was killed. The likelihood therefore of his concerning himself with ordering the execution of anyone who had not already fallen in battle was remote. With the necessary legal phrasing this then became the thrust of the appeal which Captain Plourde prepared, and which I delivered the same night to Major-General Chris Vokes.

I saw Meyer again for the last time on New Year's morning 1946, after I had been shown a copy of the order for his firing squad. He had

been moved to roomier quarters. I inadvertently said "Happy New Year" to him and promptly apologized. He accepted this, adding that under his command he had seen many comrades die, and was not about to make an exception for himself. That was my last contact with him, his family or his associates.

My last case was to track down one George Schumacher, a corporal in the Landschutz (Home Guard). He had been ordered to shoot Flight-Sergeant Marten, RCAF where he had bailed out in the area south of Baden-Baden. I only followed it to the point of locating him and transporting him to Aurich. I missed attending the prosecution due to illness.

I found the experience of picking up his trail and locating him after the disruption of war an interesting exercise in investigation. However the actual arrest in his plain farmhouse late in the evening in the presence of wife and family gave me no pleasure. I did not handcuff him, and he followed me out without protest and caused no trouble en route. In fact he even asked to help with changing a tire to relieve his cramped muscles! I was also annoyed that up to the time I left Germany soon after, I had not succeeded in apprehending Gauleiter Diefenbacher who had given the order which was transmitted to Schumacher to shoot Martens. Had I had time I should also have gone after the Landesschuetzen commander and the then mayor of Oberweier, both of whom should have refused to transmit Diefenbacher's order to Schumacher. Considering the power of command in Germany

at the time and the unquestioning need to obey on the pain of severe punishment or death, Schumacher had no alternative but to carry out the order. There was no collusion on his part nor was the act deliberate. His sentence of death was not warranted.

I left the North-West Europe Detachment of 1 CWCIU on 28 March 1946, having recently been promoted to the rank of major, and proceeded to return to Canada for my discharge from active duty.

For Canada to enter into the field of War Crimes Trials at all was a bold step. Our cases could have been left to the British war crimes tribunal to take care of as did Australia and other Commonwealth countries. It is to the credit of Lieutenant-Colonel Bruce Macdonald that he rose to the challenge of organizing a separate Canadian investigative and legal framework on short notice to take on this task and carry it through to an early conclusion. I had no idea then of the historical significance of the trial I was privileged to witness.

Notes

1. Editors' note: On the trial of Neitz for an alleged war crime against an RCAF officer in the vicinity of Wilhelmshaven, Germany, committed in October 1944, see Patrick Brode, *Casual Slaughters and Accidental Judgments: Canadian War Crimes Prosecutions, 1944-1948* (Toronto: Osgoode Society for Canadian Legal History, 1997), pp. 122-24, and Department of National Defence, Directorate of History and Heritage, file 159.95023(D6).
2. Such accounts can be found in the further reading section.
3. SS Mann Jan Jesionek was a young Polish conscript who had served with the 15th Reconnaissance Company of the 25th Panzer Grenadier Regiment, and voluntarily provided information against Meyer to the Americans as a POW. He later testified against Meyer at the trial.
4. Editors' note: There were, however, contradictions between Meyer's courtroom testimony and earlier statements taken under oath. These he admitted and discussed explicitly during the trial.

Further Reading on the Kurt Meyer Trial and Canadian War Crimes:

Brode, Patrick. *Casual Slaughters and Accidental Judgments: Canadian War Crimes Prosecutions, 1944-1948*. Toronto: Osgoode Society for Canadian Legal History, 1997.

Campbell, Ian. *Murder at the Abbaye: The Story of Twenty Canadian Soldiers Murdered at the Abbaye d'Ardenne*. Ottawa: Golden Dog, 1996.

Department of National Defence, Directorate of History and Heritage, file 159.95023 (D7). "Record of Proceedings (Revised) of the Trial by Canadian Military Court of S.S. Brigadefuehrer (Major General) Kurt Meyer held at Aurich, Germany 10-28 December 1945." P.W. Lackenbauer and Chris Madsen are currently editing the trial transcript and accompanying documentation for publication next year.

Fenrick, Bill. "The Prosecution of War Criminals in Canada," *Dalhousie Law Journal* 12 (1989). 256-97.

Foster, Tony. *Meeting of Generals*. Toronto: Methuen, 1986.

Lackenbauer, P.W. "Kurt Meyer, 12th SS Panzer Division, and the Murder of Canadian Prisoners of War in Normandy: An Historical and Historiographical Appraisal," *Gateway* 3 (March 2001), available online through <http://grad.usask.ca/gateway/>.

— and C. Madsen. "Justifying Atrocities: Lieutenant-Colonel Maurice Andrew and the Defence of Brigadefuehrer Kurt Meyer," in *Canadian Military History Since the 17th Century* ed. Yves Tremblay. Ottawa: National Defence, 2001.553-64.

Macdonald, B.J.S. *The Trial of Kurt Meyer*. Toronto: Clarke, Irwin & Co., 1954.

Madsen, Chris. *Another Kind of Justice: Canadian Military Law from Confederation to Somalia*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 1999.

Margolian, Howard. *Conduct Unbecoming: The Story of the Murder of Canadian Prisoners of War in Normandy*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998.

Meyer, Kurt. Grenadiers. Trans. Michael Mende. Winnipeg: J.J. Fedorowicz, 1994.

Whalen, James M. "The Face of the Enemy: Kurt Meyer: Normandy to Dorchester," *The Beaver* 74 (April/May 1994).

Wady Lehmann, Major (Retired) served as an intelligence officer in the U.K., Italy, and Northwest Europe from 1941-45, and as an interpreter, translator, interrogator and investigator with the North-West Europe Detachment of No. 1 Cdn War Crimes Investigation Unit from 1945-46. After he returned to Canada, he worked as an accountant for Swift Canadian Co Ltd. and has actively promoted and directed numerous community causes in education, the environment and the arts. He lives with his wife Betty (who he met on VE Day in London) in Surrey, British Columbia. In 1993, Mr. Lehmann received the "Surrey Citizen of the Year" award.

Mr. Lehmann wrote these recollections in December 1993, prior to a recent flurry of publications on the Meyer trial. Rather than updating his reminiscences and interpretations in light of these studies, Mr. Lehmann has agreed to allow them to be published as originally recorded.