

1

00:00:00,000 --> 00:00:12,540

2

00:00:12,540 --> 00:00:15,390

I don't say that they
were not a disaster.

3

00:00:15,390 --> 00:00:18,280

They were.

4

00:00:18,280 --> 00:00:23,580

And now one can see this fact
even more clearly than before.

5

00:00:23,580 --> 00:00:26,550

I would even go so far as to
say they were more of a disaster

6

00:00:26,550 --> 00:00:28,840

than I thought at one time.

7

00:00:28,840 --> 00:00:31,630

Yet, again, we can
see the mechanisms

8

00:00:31,630 --> 00:00:34,050

by which this happened.

9

00:00:34,050 --> 00:00:38,640

We can see how, step-by-step,
the Jewish councils--

10

00:00:38,640 --> 00:00:39,810

not only the Germans--

11

00:00:39,810 --> 00:00:42,930

propelled themselves
into a situation

12

00:00:42,930 --> 00:00:47,510

which became the Final Solution,

the denouement, the end.

13

00:00:47,510 --> 00:00:51,990

And from that sense
and that perspective,

14

00:00:51,990 --> 00:00:55,080

we have learned a lot.

15

00:00:55,080 --> 00:01:04,190

We know the psychology, as well
as the administrative steps,

16

00:01:04,190 --> 00:01:10,670

which lead people in charge of
a community in such conditions

17

00:01:10,670 --> 00:01:15,720

into the inevitable
posture, which, at the end,

18

00:01:15,720 --> 00:01:20,050

gives them absolutely
no opening,

19

00:01:20,050 --> 00:01:21,955

save to join the victims.

20

00:01:21,955 --> 00:01:25,160

21

00:01:25,160 --> 00:01:27,110

Which they wouldn't keep,
as a matter of fact,

22

00:01:27,110 --> 00:01:28,490

voluntarily or not.

23

00:01:28,490 --> 00:01:35,370

And they were victims, quite
exactly, quite precisely.

24

00:01:35,370 --> 00:01:44,330

But in the entry
of July 8, 1942,

25

00:01:44,330 --> 00:01:51,640

which is barely not even
two weeks before his death,

26

00:01:51,640 --> 00:01:58,610

Czerniakow writes because he
was criticized by some people

27

00:01:58,610 --> 00:02:02,360

because he organized a kind
of a children's festival.

28

00:02:02,360 --> 00:02:03,680

Yeah, absolutely.

29

00:02:03,680 --> 00:02:07,180

30

00:02:07,180 --> 00:02:11,090

Obviously, he saw a
film before the war.

31

00:02:11,090 --> 00:02:15,220

And he compares himself
to one of the protagonists

32

00:02:15,220 --> 00:02:19,990

of this film, of the
hero of this film.

33

00:02:19,990 --> 00:02:22,240

He writes that he
think of a film

34

00:02:22,240 --> 00:02:28,620

where the captain
of a sinking ship--

35

00:02:28,620 --> 00:02:30,210

The Wannsee Conference.

36

00:02:30,210 --> 00:02:33,120

And even though Czerniakow
in Warsaw, behind the walls,

37

00:02:33,120 --> 00:02:36,060

has no idea of such a
conference going on in Berlin.

38

00:02:36,060 --> 00:02:39,450

Yet he is concerned that
Auerswald, the ghetto Komissar,

39

00:02:39,450 --> 00:02:40,630

is going to Berlin.

40

00:02:40,630 --> 00:02:44,190

He can't imagine why, unless
it is for a purpose that

41

00:02:44,190 --> 00:02:46,630

bodes no good.

42

00:02:46,630 --> 00:02:50,440

And so, in February
there are more rumors.

43

00:02:50,440 --> 00:02:54,220

In March, the rumors are
becoming even more specific.

44

00:02:54,220 --> 00:02:57,790

He now begins to record
the departure of Jews

45

00:02:57,790 --> 00:03:00,580

from the Lublin
ghetto, or Mielec.

46

00:03:00,580 --> 00:03:01,540

Or Krakow.

47

00:03:01,540 --> 00:03:02,620

And Lvov.

48

00:03:02,620 --> 00:03:04,180

And Lvov.

49

00:03:04,180 --> 00:03:06,640

Those four that he
mentions specifically

50

00:03:06,640 --> 00:03:09,880

as having had deportation,
said there is absolutely

51

00:03:09,880 --> 00:03:13,630

no doubt or question that this
is what he is talking about.

52

00:03:13,630 --> 00:03:15,520

But he never mentions
any destination.

53

00:03:15,520 --> 00:03:16,900

Nor does he ask--

54

00:03:16,900 --> 00:03:18,460

nor does he ask--

55

00:03:18,460 --> 00:03:20,300

where the transports are going.

56

00:03:20,300 --> 00:03:21,430

He never does that.

57

00:03:21,430 --> 00:03:22,210

He doesn't.

58

00:03:22,210 --> 00:03:24,870

And we don't know that it
once was the went to Belzec.

59

00:03:24,870 --> 00:03:27,140
Yes, but he does not ask that.

60
00:03:27,140 --> 00:03:29,290
And we also know, of
course, from other sources,

61
00:03:29,290 --> 00:03:31,570
that the existence
of death camps

62
00:03:31,570 --> 00:03:35,980
was already known in
Warsaw, certainly, by June.

63
00:03:35,980 --> 00:03:38,110
Oh, yes, we know
this absolutely.

64
00:03:38,110 --> 00:03:38,960
We know this.

65
00:03:38,960 --> 00:03:39,680
We know this.

66
00:03:39,680 --> 00:03:43,180
I mean, there is no doubt
that the leaders of the Bund

67
00:03:43,180 --> 00:03:43,990
knew it.

68
00:03:43,990 --> 00:03:45,073
Yes, of course, of course.

69
00:03:45,073 --> 00:03:47,780
That Adolf Behrman knew it.

70
00:03:47,780 --> 00:03:49,290
Yeah, Ringelblum mentions it.

71
00:03:49,290 --> 00:03:51,930

Ringelblum knew it.

72

00:03:51,930 --> 00:03:52,960

Mentions it.

73

00:03:52,960 --> 00:03:53,560

States it.

74

00:03:53,560 --> 00:03:54,595

Since he was-- what is--

75

00:03:54,595 --> 00:03:56,410

it seems to be a very
interesting point

76

00:03:56,410 --> 00:03:59,200

because he was cut off.

77

00:03:59,200 --> 00:04:00,820

He was cut from the Jews too.

78

00:04:00,820 --> 00:04:03,720

79

00:04:03,720 --> 00:04:07,770

Yes, but we cannot really
decide that he had no knowledge

80

00:04:07,770 --> 00:04:09,840

whatsoever about these camps.

81

00:04:09,840 --> 00:04:12,810

All we know is that he didn't
mention them in the diary.

82

00:04:12,810 --> 00:04:16,079

We cannot make the ultimate
determination of what is in his

83

00:04:16,079 --> 00:04:17,910

mind.

84

00:04:17,910 --> 00:04:19,769

We cannot be sure.

85

00:04:19,769 --> 00:04:22,134

But you--

86

00:04:22,134 --> 00:04:23,940

But he had premonitions.

87

00:04:23,940 --> 00:04:25,890

He was in no doubt
when, for example,

88

00:04:25,890 --> 00:04:29,460

the deportations in Krakow
took the form of taking away

89

00:04:29,460 --> 00:04:31,950

people not productive and
leaving their people who

90

00:04:31,950 --> 00:04:32,700

were productive.

91

00:04:32,700 --> 00:04:35,092

He had no doubt,
knowing what he already

92

00:04:35,092 --> 00:04:37,050

knew about the treatment
of women and children,

93

00:04:37,050 --> 00:04:38,940

who weren't being
given enough food.

94

00:04:38,940 --> 00:04:40,980

That once they were
taken out of the ghetto,

95

00:04:40,980 --> 00:04:45,240

their survivability

was hardly likely.

96

00:04:45,240 --> 00:04:47,310

Their survival
was hardly likely.

97

00:04:47,310 --> 00:04:49,200

He had no doubt about that.

98

00:04:49,200 --> 00:04:51,715

That is why he cut
out of the newspaper--

99

00:04:51,715 --> 00:04:54,090

and mind you, that's where he
got some of his information

100

00:04:54,090 --> 00:04:56,370

from-- he got out of
the Gazette of Zydowska

101

00:04:56,370 --> 00:04:58,830

the official paper of the
ghettos, and the General

102

00:04:58,830 --> 00:05:01,770

Government, which is to say
those four districts or five

103

00:05:01,770 --> 00:05:03,960

districts, by 1942.

104

00:05:03,960 --> 00:05:07,650

The news that that at Krakow
the unproductive elements

105

00:05:07,650 --> 00:05:10,050

were no longer there, and
that, therefore, the leadership

106

00:05:10,050 --> 00:05:12,300

of the ghetto was
restructured in order

107

00:05:12,300 --> 00:05:17,047
to reflect the new economic
character of the community.

108

00:05:17,047 --> 00:05:23,070
Yet even-- there's a truth much
more under his eyes, directly.

109

00:05:23,070 --> 00:05:24,600
Because, after all,
the people were

110

00:05:24,600 --> 00:05:28,508
dying every day in front
of him, inside the ghetto.

111

00:05:28,508 --> 00:05:29,550
Well, of course, he had--

112

00:05:29,550 --> 00:05:30,960
He knew that this was a policy.

113

00:05:30,960 --> 00:05:35,340
He knew because he
is sarcastic enough,

114

00:05:35,340 --> 00:05:37,650
if that is the word,
in December, 1941,

115

00:05:37,650 --> 00:05:39,165
to remark that now the--

116

00:05:39,165 --> 00:05:42,390
He mentions a prominent Jew,
by the name of Rappoport,

117

00:05:42,390 --> 00:05:44,220
who laughed before he died.

118

00:05:44,220 --> 00:05:45,780

And he liked that
line so much that,

119
00:05:45,780 --> 00:05:47,970
forgetting that he had
already written it once,

120
00:05:47,970 --> 00:05:48,977
wrote it down again.

121
00:05:48,977 --> 00:05:49,560
Twice in the--

122
00:05:49,560 --> 00:05:51,570
Twice.

123
00:05:51,570 --> 00:05:53,780
You see, he never
crossed out anything.

124
00:05:53,780 --> 00:05:55,020
He never read anything over.

125
00:05:55,020 --> 00:05:55,945
He repeated himself.

126
00:05:55,945 --> 00:05:59,590

127
00:05:59,590 --> 00:06:03,400
And this sardonic sense-- this
sardonic sense comes through,

128
00:06:03,400 --> 00:06:05,060
you see.

129
00:06:05,060 --> 00:06:07,230
He lives with death.

130
00:06:07,230 --> 00:06:09,834
And he also approves
of the statement--

131
00:06:09,834 --> 00:06:18,550

132
00:06:18,550 --> 00:06:23,720
When Czerniakow hears the rumors
about the deportations from

133
00:06:23,720 --> 00:06:29,660
Lublin, [NON-ENGLISH],, and
Krakow, which is around March,

134
00:06:29,660 --> 00:06:37,540
1942, does he ask in his
diary where they are shipped,

135
00:06:37,540 --> 00:06:39,280
what happens to them?

136
00:06:39,280 --> 00:06:41,140
No.

137
00:06:41,140 --> 00:06:42,940
He never does.

138
00:06:42,940 --> 00:06:45,710
He never speculates.

139
00:06:45,710 --> 00:06:48,715
And he has no
suppositions, theories.

140
00:06:48,715 --> 00:06:51,340

141
00:06:51,340 --> 00:06:58,090
But at the same time, he places
that news into the entries

142
00:06:58,090 --> 00:07:02,860
that he writes in such a
way as to leave no doubt

143
00:07:02,860 --> 00:07:04,780
that the development
is very ominous.

144
00:07:04,780 --> 00:07:07,390

145
00:07:07,390 --> 00:07:16,060
He has a feeling of doom
for the Jews of Warsaw.

146
00:07:16,060 --> 00:07:19,120
And he recognizes
in the deportations

147
00:07:19,120 --> 00:07:23,050
in the very early spring,
from the four ghettos

148
00:07:23,050 --> 00:07:26,980
that it does mention,
that something may well

149
00:07:26,980 --> 00:07:30,220
be in the offing
for Warsaw itself.

150
00:07:30,220 --> 00:07:35,800
And every subsequent entry
is replete with the anxiety

151
00:07:35,800 --> 00:07:37,030
that he feels.

152
00:07:37,030 --> 00:07:37,990
But why?

153
00:07:37,990 --> 00:07:42,880
Why doesn't he say
specifically there, they

154

00:07:42,880 --> 00:07:45,580
went to this, they were gassed.

155
00:07:45,580 --> 00:07:47,410
Because he didn't know or--

156
00:07:47,410 --> 00:07:50,170
No, I rather doubt that it
is because he didn't know.

157
00:07:50,170 --> 00:07:53,500
I think we find in the records
of Jewish council members

158
00:07:53,500 --> 00:07:56,230
and of Jewish bureaucrats
the same absence

159
00:07:56,230 --> 00:07:59,530
of a direct reference
to killings,

160
00:07:59,530 --> 00:08:02,290
to death camps,
that we also find

161
00:08:02,290 --> 00:08:03,790
in the German correspondence.

162
00:08:03,790 --> 00:08:05,660
This is something that
they have in common.

163
00:08:05,660 --> 00:08:07,810
And I suspect for
the same reason.

164
00:08:07,810 --> 00:08:11,260
They can't really
mention these things.

165
00:08:11,260 --> 00:08:17,950
For once they do, they can no

longer go on with their conduct

166

00:08:17,950 --> 00:08:22,240

as though there were still a
chance, as though continuity

167

00:08:22,240 --> 00:08:24,610

were still possible.

168

00:08:24,610 --> 00:08:28,990

In order to do that,
one must shut out,

169

00:08:28,990 --> 00:08:31,480

however difficult
the process may be,

170

00:08:31,480 --> 00:08:34,840

the ominous implications
of the news.

171

00:08:34,840 --> 00:08:36,549

And while even
mentioning them, one

172

00:08:36,549 --> 00:08:40,090

must at least not
say, in writing,

173

00:08:40,090 --> 00:08:43,299

that this is a death sentence.

174

00:08:43,299 --> 00:08:47,930

As soon as one does that, life
has already come to an end--

175

00:08:47,930 --> 00:08:50,180

for this man, certainly.

176

00:08:50,180 --> 00:08:54,550

And indeed, pretty soon
he has reached that point.

177

00:08:54,550 --> 00:08:57,250

But even then-- even then--

178

00:08:57,250 --> 00:09:03,610

even in his last entry,
he doesn't say it exactly.

179

00:09:03,610 --> 00:09:07,480

The last entry takes
place how long before--

180

00:09:07,480 --> 00:09:11,860

The last entry's a few hours.

181

00:09:11,860 --> 00:09:18,580

The last entry precedes
his death by a few hours.

182

00:09:18,580 --> 00:09:22,570

And what does he write,
exactly, in the last entry?

183

00:09:22,570 --> 00:09:24,500

Here's the last entry.

184

00:09:24,500 --> 00:09:26,330

You want the whole entry?

185

00:09:26,330 --> 00:09:28,010

I can read to you
the last paragraph.

186

00:09:28,010 --> 00:09:29,530

Yes.

187

00:09:29,530 --> 00:09:32,700

The last paragraph is like this.

188

00:09:32,700 --> 00:09:35,850

"It is 3 o'clock.

189

00:09:35,850 --> 00:09:39,270
So far, 4,000 are ready to go.

190
00:09:39,270 --> 00:09:43,560
The orders are that there
must be 9,000 by 4 o'clock.

191
00:09:43,560 --> 00:09:45,660
Some officials came
to the post office

192
00:09:45,660 --> 00:09:49,470
and issued instructions that
all incoming letters and parcels

193
00:09:49,470 --> 00:09:53,260
should be diverted
to Pawiak prison."

194
00:09:53,260 --> 00:09:56,710
This is the last entry of a
man on the afternoon of the day

195
00:09:56,710 --> 00:09:59,140
that he commits suicide.

196
00:09:59,140 --> 00:10:02,080
Ready to go-- this means
ready to go to Treblinka.

197
00:10:02,080 --> 00:10:02,920
Yes, of course.

198
00:10:02,920 --> 00:10:05,910

199
00:10:05,910 --> 00:10:06,847
There's no question--

200
00:10:06,847 --> 00:10:07,680
We have to say this.

201

00:10:07,680 --> 00:10:13,660
He committed the first
transport of the Jews of Warsaw

202
00:10:13,660 --> 00:10:19,230
for Treblinka was the
22nd of July, 1942.

203
00:10:19,230 --> 00:10:23,220
If he cannot even get the
words, what can he think?

204
00:10:23,220 --> 00:10:25,000
Well, it's very,
very [INAUDIBLE]..

205
00:10:25,000 --> 00:10:30,010
I think that the orphans are
completely symbolic for him.

206
00:10:30,010 --> 00:10:31,110
They are completely.

207
00:10:31,110 --> 00:10:34,380
This is the massacre
of the innocent.

208
00:10:34,380 --> 00:10:38,640
That is the-- well, and
completely dependent on him.

209
00:10:38,640 --> 00:10:41,940
After all, all sorts of people
may conceivably help themselves

210
00:10:41,940 --> 00:10:45,795
or whatever, but what can an
orphan do, without parents?

211
00:10:45,795 --> 00:10:50,280

212
00:10:50,280 --> 00:10:53,040

But we could say that the
orphans for him are symbolic.

213
00:10:53,040 --> 00:10:53,665
Oh, absolutely.

214
00:10:53,665 --> 00:10:54,660
Symbolic of the
will of the people--

215
00:10:54,660 --> 00:10:55,440
of the will of
the Jewish people.

216
00:10:55,440 --> 00:10:58,310
Of course, that's why he has
a children's month every time.

217
00:10:58,310 --> 00:11:01,470
That's why he is not above
extorting money from rich Jews

218
00:11:01,470 --> 00:11:03,120
to give it to these children.

219
00:11:03,120 --> 00:11:05,610
That is why he
agitates for schools.

220
00:11:05,610 --> 00:11:07,193
That is why he
especially worried,

221
00:11:07,193 --> 00:11:08,610
throughout the
time of the ghetto,

222
00:11:08,610 --> 00:11:11,370
that it is precisely children
who are climbing over the wall

223
00:11:11,370 --> 00:11:12,932
and who are engaged

in smuggling.

224

00:11:12,932 --> 00:11:14,640

He doesn't want them
to leave the ghetto.

225

00:11:14,640 --> 00:11:16,830

He wants them to
be taken care of.

226

00:11:16,830 --> 00:11:19,080

He, rather, wants to
be able to buy food

227

00:11:19,080 --> 00:11:20,820

on the open market
on the other side.

228

00:11:20,820 --> 00:11:23,100

Of course, he's turned down.

229

00:11:23,100 --> 00:11:25,110

And he is not in favor
of the smuggling,

230

00:11:25,110 --> 00:11:27,820

precisely because
children are doing it.

231

00:11:27,820 --> 00:11:31,510

And this is his
principal responsibility.

232

00:11:31,510 --> 00:11:34,720

If he cannot take care of the
children, what else can he do?

233

00:11:34,720 --> 00:11:35,890

And don't forget his wife.

234

00:11:35,890 --> 00:11:38,040

His wife is an education person.

235

00:11:38,040 --> 00:11:42,160

His wife is an educator--

236

00:11:42,160 --> 00:11:45,650

Niunia Czerniakow, or Dr.

Felicja Czerniakow, of course.

237

00:11:45,650 --> 00:11:49,470

238

00:11:49,470 --> 00:11:51,750

So he has it also from his wife.

239

00:11:51,750 --> 00:11:55,320

He has this constant awareness--

240

00:11:55,320 --> 00:11:57,071

the children.

241

00:11:57,071 --> 00:11:59,100

It runs throughout the diary.

242

00:11:59,100 --> 00:12:01,860

And it's his last thought.

243

00:12:01,860 --> 00:12:07,950

Some people who report that he wrote a note after he closed

244

00:12:07,950 --> 00:12:15,480

the book on the diary, in which he said words to the effect,

245

00:12:15,480 --> 00:12:18,355

they want me to kill the children with my own hands.

246

00:12:18,355 --> 00:12:24,820

247

00:12:24,820 --> 00:12:28,750

Yes, and this was
a point for him.

248
00:12:28,750 --> 00:12:32,520
The signs that he
had-- he lost his war.

249
00:12:32,520 --> 00:12:35,230
He lost it.

250
00:12:35,230 --> 00:12:40,810
And it's remarkable
that he knew when

251
00:12:40,810 --> 00:12:43,450
he lost, how few are the
people that know that--

252
00:12:43,450 --> 00:12:44,830
that moment.

253
00:12:44,830 --> 00:12:48,850
Know it exactly, know it
immediately, know it clearly.

254
00:12:48,850 --> 00:12:52,670
He knew it on the
afternoon of the 23rd.

255
00:12:52,670 --> 00:12:58,510
He had one more meeting with the
Germans, apparently, that day.

256
00:12:58,510 --> 00:13:01,060
And he didn't wait beyond that.

257
00:13:01,060 --> 00:13:03,720
In the early evening,
he took his poison.

258
00:13:03,720 --> 00:13:10,140

259

00:13:10,140 --> 00:13:10,640

Yes.

260

00:13:10,640 --> 00:13:25,490

261

00:13:25,490 --> 00:13:27,688

[NON-ENGLISH]

262

00:13:27,688 --> 00:13:38,460

263

00:13:38,460 --> 00:13:41,460

Well, Czerniakow
knew, obviously,

264

00:13:41,460 --> 00:13:44,070

since already a long time.

265

00:13:44,070 --> 00:13:47,970

And the very fact of his
suicide is the best proof

266

00:13:47,970 --> 00:13:50,640

of this knowledge.

267

00:13:50,640 --> 00:13:58,550

268

00:13:58,550 --> 00:14:07,210

I think that when we look,
for example, at Ringelblum,

269

00:14:07,210 --> 00:14:15,640

who also wrote a diary, we see
that knowledge in evidence.

270

00:14:15,640 --> 00:14:21,250

And we even see the reasons
why, with that knowledge,

271

00:14:21,250 --> 00:14:22,780
the Jews went to their deaths.

272
00:14:22,780 --> 00:14:27,830

273
00:14:27,830 --> 00:14:31,450
Ringelblum writes on June 17--

274
00:14:31,450 --> 00:14:34,100

275
00:14:34,100 --> 00:14:35,300
1942.

276
00:14:35,300 --> 00:14:39,950
1942, five weeks
before the evacuation

277
00:14:39,950 --> 00:14:47,660
began in Warsaw, that he
had talked to a friend

278
00:14:47,660 --> 00:14:54,870
from another town, in
which the conversation led

279
00:14:54,870 --> 00:14:58,290
to the topic of Sobibor.

280
00:14:58,290 --> 00:15:01,890
And he mentions Sobibor,
where the Jews, he says,

281
00:15:01,890 --> 00:15:05,960
were choked to death with gases.

282
00:15:05,960 --> 00:15:06,980
Choked.

283
00:15:06,980 --> 00:15:08,420
Choked to death with gases.

284
00:15:08,420 --> 00:15:12,020

285
00:15:12,020 --> 00:15:14,570
The friend asked
him, how long will we

286
00:15:14,570 --> 00:15:17,720
go as sheep to slaughter?

287
00:15:17,720 --> 00:15:19,610
Why do we keep quiet?

288
00:15:19,610 --> 00:15:23,660
Why is there no call to
escape to the forests?

289
00:15:23,660 --> 00:15:24,635
No call to resist?

290
00:15:24,635 --> 00:15:27,230

291
00:15:27,230 --> 00:15:32,453
And Ringelblum says, this
question torments all of us.

292
00:15:32,453 --> 00:15:33,620
But there's no answer to it.

293
00:15:33,620 --> 00:15:36,770
Because everyone knows that
resistance-- and particularly,

294
00:15:36,770 --> 00:15:40,730
even if one single German
soldier is killed--

295
00:15:40,730 --> 00:15:44,930
its outcome may lead to a
slaughter of a whole community,

296

00:15:44,930 --> 00:15:47,675
or even of many communities.

297

00:15:47,675 --> 00:15:49,175
The first who were
sent to slaughter

298

00:15:49,175 --> 00:15:51,830
are the old, the
sick, the children--

299

00:15:51,830 --> 00:15:54,310
those who are not
able to resist.

300

00:15:54,310 --> 00:15:58,730
The strong ones, the
workers, are left, meanwhile,

301

00:15:58,730 --> 00:16:00,830
to be, because they're
needed for the time being.

302

00:16:00,830 --> 00:16:03,480

303

00:16:03,480 --> 00:16:12,640
And then he says that's the
reason why 300 prisoners of war

304

00:16:12,640 --> 00:16:17,800
let the Germans kill them on
the way from Lublin to Biala.

305

00:16:17,800 --> 00:16:20,650
And these soldiers were known
to have distinguished themselves

306

00:16:20,650 --> 00:16:22,495
in the fight for
Poland's freedom.

307

00:16:22,495 --> 00:16:24,530

You mean the prisoners of war.

308

00:16:24,530 --> 00:16:25,030

Polish--

309

00:16:25,030 --> 00:16:26,475

Jewish-- Jewish

prisoners of war.

310

00:16:26,475 --> 00:16:26,975

Jewish.

311

00:16:26,975 --> 00:16:29,930

312

00:16:29,930 --> 00:16:36,200

Not to act, not to lift

a hand against Germans,

313

00:16:36,200 --> 00:16:41,360

has since become the

quiet, passive heroism

314

00:16:41,360 --> 00:16:44,330

of a common Jew--

315

00:16:44,330 --> 00:16:47,370

not to act.

316

00:16:47,370 --> 00:16:50,700

It is true that nonresistance--

317

00:16:50,700 --> 00:16:53,490

the deliberate decision

not to resist--

318

00:16:53,490 --> 00:16:55,530

was a rational act.

319

00:16:55,530 --> 00:16:58,830

And it is very important
to realize and recognize

320
00:16:58,830 --> 00:16:59,970
this fact.

321
00:16:59,970 --> 00:17:03,210
One may act rationally
and lose disastrously.

322
00:17:03,210 --> 00:17:06,220

323
00:17:06,220 --> 00:17:11,589
The rationality consisted
of the expectation

324
00:17:11,589 --> 00:17:15,500
that perhaps not
everybody will die.

325
00:17:15,500 --> 00:17:18,339
So if, at the beginning,
a few very capable people

326
00:17:18,339 --> 00:17:19,750
will take it into
their own hands

327
00:17:19,750 --> 00:17:22,750
to resist against the
Germans, bringing retribution

328
00:17:22,750 --> 00:17:25,839
upon the helpless people
inside the ghetto, what, then,

329
00:17:25,839 --> 00:17:29,950
would have been accomplished?

330
00:17:29,950 --> 00:17:35,210
For that reason, those
capable of resistance, didn't.

331
00:17:35,210 --> 00:17:41,530
No one expected,
in that circle--

332
00:17:41,530 --> 00:17:45,490
and it includes
Ringelblum's circle--

333
00:17:45,490 --> 00:17:47,350
that everybody would die.

334
00:17:47,350 --> 00:17:54,260
Although they began to be
mortified by the possibility.

335
00:17:54,260 --> 00:17:58,450
But they had not the feeling
that what was at stake

336
00:17:58,450 --> 00:18:00,790
was not the deaths
of some individuals,

337
00:18:00,790 --> 00:18:04,000
or the deaths let's say
parts of the Jewish people.

338
00:18:04,000 --> 00:18:05,800
But there was a pool
of the Jewish people

339
00:18:05,800 --> 00:18:08,740
as a whole-- that is, the
Jewish people of Poland.

340
00:18:08,740 --> 00:18:11,980
They didn't see
the final solution.

341
00:18:11,980 --> 00:18:15,430
They saw individual acts in
which Jews were being deported,

342

00:18:15,430 --> 00:18:18,890
in which Jews were being killed,
in which they were decimated.

343

00:18:18,890 --> 00:18:21,940
And they didn't see the
gestalt. They didn't see it

344

00:18:21,940 --> 00:18:24,340
as the inevitable
process whereby

345

00:18:24,340 --> 00:18:26,790
the European Jews were doomed.

346

00:18:26,790 --> 00:18:30,110
Had they come to
that conclusion,

347

00:18:30,110 --> 00:18:34,150
and had they taken the
consequential steps, then

348

00:18:34,150 --> 00:18:36,560
perhaps the picture would
have been different.

349

00:18:36,560 --> 00:18:41,260
But that is a speculation
that we may now engage in only

350

00:18:41,260 --> 00:18:43,000
with great futility.

351

00:18:43,000 --> 00:18:50,790
To them, the positive step of
resistance, as early as 1942,

352

00:18:50,790 --> 00:18:53,460
was fraught with
too many dangers.

353

00:18:53,460 --> 00:18:56,010

They could not take
it upon themselves

354

00:18:56,010 --> 00:18:58,560

to bring about their disaster.

355

00:18:58,560 --> 00:19:01,320

Were it to happen,
they at least would not

356

00:19:01,320 --> 00:19:07,110

be its active accomplices
or its active precipitators.

357

00:19:07,110 --> 00:19:09,570

And this is the reason
they didn't act.

358

00:19:09,570 --> 00:19:12,630

And here I speak of
men like Ringelblum

359

00:19:12,630 --> 00:19:15,630

and those of his friends
who are being celebrated

360

00:19:15,630 --> 00:19:19,470

for being heroes,
for being steadfast,

361

00:19:19,470 --> 00:19:23,100

and for speaking the true
mind of the Jewish people.

362

00:19:23,100 --> 00:19:28,740

And yet, they rationally
decided the very action

363

00:19:28,740 --> 00:19:31,890

which, indeed, was taken
by the Jewish councils--

364

00:19:31,890 --> 00:19:35,130

365

00:19:35,130 --> 00:19:43,050

we can see the bigger example,
in a sense, in the Å Å³dÅ¼ ghetto.

366

00:19:43,050 --> 00:19:47,970

Because the Å Å³dz ghetto
existed for the longest time.

367

00:19:47,970 --> 00:19:51,420

It was not disbanded, you
see, until the summer of 1944.

368

00:19:51,420 --> 00:19:53,280

It was the first one to--

369

00:19:53,280 --> 00:19:56,040

It was the first
and almost the last.

370

00:19:56,040 --> 00:20:00,720

And because of that very fact,
the argument, even today,

371

00:20:00,720 --> 00:20:05,550

is perhaps the strategy
of minimization,

372

00:20:05,550 --> 00:20:10,770

the strategy of giving up
Jews in order to save others,

373

00:20:10,770 --> 00:20:14,010

could not be said to be totally
false because it almost,

374

00:20:14,010 --> 00:20:16,890

if not quite, succeeded in Å Å³dÅ¼.

375

00:20:16,890 --> 00:20:19,500

I happen not to agree
with the argument.

376
00:20:19,500 --> 00:20:26,010
I happen not to think that
Å Å³dÅ¼ was capable of survival.

377
00:20:26,010 --> 00:20:30,870
The Red Army was too far away
to deliver the Jews of Å Å³dÅ¼ from

378
00:20:30,870 --> 00:20:32,580
bondage.

379
00:20:32,580 --> 00:20:34,740
And it is remarkable, on
the other hand, you see,

380
00:20:34,740 --> 00:20:42,090
that in Å Å³dÅ¼, particularly,
the deportations began so early

381
00:20:42,090 --> 00:20:48,960
that by the spring of 1942
there was great certainty within

382
00:20:48,960 --> 00:20:51,990
the ghetto as to what had
happened to the deportees.

383
00:20:51,990 --> 00:20:54,690
And the deportations are people
who are shipped to Chelmno.

384
00:20:54,690 --> 00:20:56,160
They were shipped to Chelmno.

385
00:20:56,160 --> 00:20:59,880
The deportations from Å Å³dÅ¼
itself began in January.

386
00:20:59,880 --> 00:21:02,400
They continued till

mid-April, 1942.

387

00:21:02,400 --> 00:21:04,200

And in the course of
these deportations,

388

00:21:04,200 --> 00:21:07,860

44,000 Jews were deported
from Å Å³dÅ¼ to a death camp.

389

00:21:07,860 --> 00:21:08,520

To Chelmno.

390

00:21:08,520 --> 00:21:10,140

To Chelmno.

391

00:21:10,140 --> 00:21:15,330

On April 12, an SS officer
came and told a story

392

00:21:15,330 --> 00:21:19,020

that there were 100,000 Jews
in a place called Waldbrucken,

393

00:21:19,020 --> 00:21:21,630

that they were having
a nice life there.

394

00:21:21,630 --> 00:21:25,140

That they had all the amenities
of civilized existence.

395

00:21:25,140 --> 00:21:27,630

That 30,000 ethnic
Germans had passed through

396

00:21:27,630 --> 00:21:31,620

and had left them furniture and
barracks and everything else.

397

00:21:31,620 --> 00:21:35,650

The provisions were excellent,
and so on and so forth.

398
00:21:35,650 --> 00:21:39,090
But by May, trucks were
coming into the ghetto

399
00:21:39,090 --> 00:21:43,110
and were unloading the personal
belongings of people, including

400
00:21:43,110 --> 00:21:45,360
blankets and bed sheets and--

401
00:21:45,360 --> 00:21:47,280
[NON-ENGLISH]

402
00:21:47,280 --> 00:21:50,340
Even tallism yes.

403
00:21:50,340 --> 00:21:53,490
They found skirts there,
pants, underwear, jackets,

404
00:21:53,490 --> 00:21:58,710
coats with torn seams, out of
which personal identification

405
00:21:58,710 --> 00:22:02,160
cards and valuables
were falling out.

406
00:22:02,160 --> 00:22:03,960
And when they looked
at the addresses--

407
00:22:03,960 --> 00:22:06,640
and I'm now speaking of Jewish
workers in the warehouses

408
00:22:06,640 --> 00:22:07,680
and so on--

409
00:22:07,680 --> 00:22:10,590

and saw who these
deportees were,

410
00:22:10,590 --> 00:22:12,870
then they also knew what
had happened to them.

411
00:22:12,870 --> 00:22:16,050
Because these were
their own people.

412
00:22:16,050 --> 00:22:17,820
And there could no
longer be any question.

413
00:22:17,820 --> 00:22:19,320
There could no
longer be any doubt

414
00:22:19,320 --> 00:22:21,960
as to the ultimate
fate of the deportees--

415
00:22:21,960 --> 00:22:24,480
and that, as early as May.

416
00:22:24,480 --> 00:22:27,150
And ever since then,
when in the Å Å³dÅ¼ ghetto,

417
00:22:27,150 --> 00:22:29,490
there was fear of deportations.

418
00:22:29,490 --> 00:22:31,920
One could see it in
the fluctuating price

419
00:22:31,920 --> 00:22:34,710
of one black market commodity,
or one commodity that

420
00:22:34,710 --> 00:22:37,830
was traded in the free market.

421
00:22:37,830 --> 00:22:40,770
And that was saccharin.

422
00:22:40,770 --> 00:22:45,540
The price of saccharin went
up or fell with the anxiety

423
00:22:45,540 --> 00:22:47,040
felt by the Jews.

424
00:22:47,040 --> 00:22:47,670
And why?

425
00:22:47,670 --> 00:22:49,030
Towards future deputations.

426
00:22:49,030 --> 00:22:49,530
Why?

427
00:22:49,530 --> 00:22:52,690
It's an exact measurement
of their anxiety level.

428
00:22:52,690 --> 00:22:54,270
The greater the
anxiety, the more

429
00:22:54,270 --> 00:22:56,240
the purchases of
saccharin in the market,

430
00:22:56,240 --> 00:22:58,920
and the higher the price.

431
00:22:58,920 --> 00:22:59,650
Yes, but why?

432
00:22:59,650 --> 00:23:02,880
Because they wanted to
take saccharin with them?

433

00:23:02,880 --> 00:23:04,210

Oh, I don't know.

434

00:23:04,210 --> 00:23:07,500

I don't think they wanted
to take it with them.

435

00:23:07,500 --> 00:23:09,810

Saccharin is sweet.

436

00:23:09,810 --> 00:23:11,550

It's the only sweetness
that was left.

437

00:23:11,550 --> 00:23:16,070

438

00:23:16,070 --> 00:23:17,540

Deportation is very bitter.

439

00:23:17,540 --> 00:23:21,600

440

00:23:21,600 --> 00:23:24,220

While if you read the
chronicles of the Å Å³dÅ¼ ghetto,

441

00:23:24,220 --> 00:23:26,790

you'll see that until
you're startled by it.

442

00:23:26,790 --> 00:23:28,350

But there it is.

443

00:23:28,350 --> 00:23:31,590

We have an exact measurement
of the mood of the population

444

00:23:31,590 --> 00:23:34,590

of the Å Å³dÅ¼ ghetto in the
fluctuating price of saccharin.

445

00:23:34,590 --> 00:23:36,360

And what is even
more interesting,

446

00:23:36,360 --> 00:23:39,720

the chroniclers in the Å Å³dÅ¼
ghetto who wrote this record

447

00:23:39,720 --> 00:23:43,410

recognized the fact, and note
down the price of saccharin

448

00:23:43,410 --> 00:23:45,420

as the barometer.

449

00:23:45,420 --> 00:23:46,470

Of the anxiety.

450

00:23:46,470 --> 00:23:48,510

Of the anxiety felt
by the population.

451

00:23:48,510 --> 00:23:49,710

They so labeled it.

452

00:23:49,710 --> 00:23:51,690

They recognized it
for what it was.

453

00:23:51,690 --> 00:23:53,880

There wasn't any
question in their minds.

454

00:23:53,880 --> 00:23:56,640

455

00:23:56,640 --> 00:24:01,560

What is the formula, exactly,
of Ringelblum's mute heroism?

456

00:24:01,560 --> 00:24:03,520

Of the common Jew,

was passivity.

457

00:24:03,520 --> 00:24:06,090

458

00:24:06,090 --> 00:24:11,130

It is a heroism, but we
must not confuse two things.

459

00:24:11,130 --> 00:24:13,140

Heroism can be disaster also.

460

00:24:13,140 --> 00:24:15,800

461

00:24:15,800 --> 00:24:18,140

And in this case, it is.

462

00:24:18,140 --> 00:24:23,900

Yes, but on the Warsaw
ghetto uprising?

463

00:24:23,900 --> 00:24:27,470

The Warsaw ghetto uprising comes
very late in the chronology

464

00:24:27,470 --> 00:24:29,570

of events.

465

00:24:29,570 --> 00:24:33,770

310,000 Jews were deported
from the Warsaw ghetto,

466

00:24:33,770 --> 00:24:39,890

from the end of July to the
beginning of September, 1942.

467

00:24:39,890 --> 00:24:42,100

1942.

468

00:24:42,100 --> 00:24:48,000