

1
00:00:00,000 --> 00:00:02,898
[BEEP]

2
00:00:02,898 --> 00:00:06,187

3
00:00:06,187 --> 00:00:06,770
(film slating)

4
00:00:06,770 --> 00:00:10,560
[NON-ENGLISH]

5
00:00:10,560 --> 00:00:17,620
Above all, however,
I can admire Kasztner

6
00:00:17,620 --> 00:00:23,110
in the way in which I also
have feelings for Czerniakow,

7
00:00:23,110 --> 00:00:25,870
chairman of the Jewish
council in the Warsaw ghetto,

8
00:00:25,870 --> 00:00:29,530
or Mordecai Anielewicz, the
leader of the Jewish rebellion

9
00:00:29,530 --> 00:00:31,360
in the ghetto.

10
00:00:31,360 --> 00:00:35,320
Because all three share
one characteristic--

11
00:00:35,320 --> 00:00:39,240
they saw events as they
actually transpired.

12
00:00:39,240 --> 00:00:43,930
They did not substitute

illusions for reality.

13

00:00:43,930 --> 00:00:47,860

They all died, each
in a different way.

14

00:00:47,860 --> 00:00:50,830

For Czernaikow, the
only out was a suicide.

15

00:00:50,830 --> 00:00:55,090

For Mordecai Anielewicz, it
was fighting with gun in hand.

16

00:00:55,090 --> 00:00:58,570

For Kasztner, it was
also to pay with his life

17

00:00:58,570 --> 00:01:05,890

eventually for what he had done,
castigated by his own people.

18

00:01:05,890 --> 00:01:09,400

But in any case,
there is no question

19

00:01:09,400 --> 00:01:18,790

that what I look for in
my own personal appraisal

20

00:01:18,790 --> 00:01:21,910

of the participants
of the process,

21

00:01:21,910 --> 00:01:26,290

in the process, Jews
who were caught in it,

22

00:01:26,290 --> 00:01:28,420

is clear-sightedness.

23

00:01:28,420 --> 00:01:32,350

Now, there are reasons

why people knew.

24

00:01:32,350 --> 00:01:35,020

Obviously, after the
major deportations

25

00:01:35,020 --> 00:01:37,750

in the summer of
1942, people would

26

00:01:37,750 --> 00:01:41,530

know in Warsaw what was in store
for the rest of the community.

27

00:01:41,530 --> 00:01:44,530

And after that rebellion,
how could anyone

28

00:01:44,530 --> 00:01:48,640

have major doubts about what was
to happen elsewhere in Europe?

29

00:01:48,640 --> 00:01:50,560

Kasztner, in
particular, was a person

30

00:01:50,560 --> 00:01:57,040

who had gathered reports
in 1941, in 1942, in 1943.

31

00:01:57,040 --> 00:01:59,620

Hungary was the place
to which refugees

32

00:01:59,620 --> 00:02:03,700

came, first from Poland,
then from Slovakia, then

33

00:02:03,700 --> 00:02:06,070

from yet other places.

34

00:02:06,070 --> 00:02:08,380

Reports were

multiplying and were

35

00:02:08,380 --> 00:02:10,600
sent on to the outside world.

36

00:02:10,600 --> 00:02:13,990
Here was a collection
agency for information.

37

00:02:13,990 --> 00:02:17,830
He did not, of course,
have every detail,

38

00:02:17,830 --> 00:02:20,440
but he knew what Auschwitz was.

39

00:02:20,440 --> 00:02:22,850
He was in no doubt about it.

40

00:02:22,850 --> 00:02:28,940
And knowing what he knew, he
drew the correct conclusion,

41

00:02:28,940 --> 00:02:32,590
which is that the Hungarian
Jews would not be spared.

42

00:02:32,590 --> 00:02:36,010
There would be no
exception made for them.

43

00:02:36,010 --> 00:02:40,390
Of course, we are
talking now about 1944.

44

00:02:40,390 --> 00:02:43,270
And by then, a
lot of information

45

00:02:43,270 --> 00:02:44,800
had been flowing in.

46

00:02:44,800 --> 00:02:47,020

He is in a better
position to appreciate

47

00:02:47,020 --> 00:02:48,970

what had happened
than those who had

48

00:02:48,970 --> 00:02:52,470

to make those kinds of
decisions two years earlier.

49

00:02:52,470 --> 00:02:53,835

Mm-hmm.

50

00:02:53,835 --> 00:02:54,790

But, so--

51

00:02:54,790 --> 00:02:56,613

But even so you
must grant, you see,

52

00:02:56,613 --> 00:02:58,280

that there were other
people in Hungary,

53

00:02:58,280 --> 00:03:00,830

there were members of the
Jewish council in Hungary,

54

00:03:00,830 --> 00:03:03,320

there were prominent
Jews in Hungary,

55

00:03:03,320 --> 00:03:05,110

there were simple
people in Hungary

56

00:03:05,110 --> 00:03:08,920

who did not think that just
because the rest of European

57

00:03:08,920 --> 00:03:11,890

Jewry had already
disappeared, that inevitably,

58
00:03:11,890 --> 00:03:14,350
Hungarian Jews would
follow and also

59
00:03:14,350 --> 00:03:17,360
march into the gas chambers.

60
00:03:17,360 --> 00:03:20,440
So he does deserve
the credit for making

61
00:03:20,440 --> 00:03:26,860
a prediction that was true,
for it isn't enough to know.

62
00:03:26,860 --> 00:03:32,710
One must also conclude
from the knowledge what

63
00:03:32,710 --> 00:03:35,850
is most likely going to happen.

64
00:03:35,850 --> 00:03:37,520
He did that.

65
00:03:37,520 --> 00:03:38,970
Yes, he did.

66
00:03:38,970 --> 00:03:43,440
He did it, and he choose
who he would save.

67
00:03:43,440 --> 00:03:46,020
He chose whom he would save
because he did not really

68
00:03:46,020 --> 00:03:49,410
think that he could save
the entire population.

69

00:03:49,410 --> 00:03:52,290

And he chose whom he would
save because he had to make

70

00:03:52,290 --> 00:03:54,540

these decisions very quickly.

71

00:03:54,540 --> 00:03:58,710

He was, without doubt,
tilted in his choices.

72

00:03:58,710 --> 00:04:02,910

He tilted in the
very first transport

73

00:04:02,910 --> 00:04:07,020

the rescue of a mere
1,600 or 1,700 people

74

00:04:07,020 --> 00:04:09,120

in such a way that an
undue proportion of them

75

00:04:09,120 --> 00:04:13,710

came from his
hometown, from Cluj.

76

00:04:13,710 --> 00:04:17,399

And for that, he has
not been forgiven.

77

00:04:17,399 --> 00:04:19,980

Furthermore, he made
no bones about it.

78

00:04:19,980 --> 00:04:21,180

He did not lie about it.

79

00:04:21,180 --> 00:04:23,940

He says so in his report.

80

00:04:23,940 --> 00:04:29,160

And no one schooled in
any theory of ethics

81
00:04:29,160 --> 00:04:36,420
can possibly laud
him for doing that.

82
00:04:36,420 --> 00:04:40,293
But he also states, and I think
it is important to repeat,

83
00:04:40,293 --> 00:04:42,210
that while it would have
been tempting to make

84
00:04:42,210 --> 00:04:47,040
that first transport, one
exclusively of children,

85
00:04:47,040 --> 00:04:48,150
that was not feasible.

86
00:04:48,150 --> 00:04:50,070
Because then the
Hungarian authorities

87
00:04:50,070 --> 00:04:51,720
would have become
very suspicious,

88
00:04:51,720 --> 00:04:54,150
and the Hungarian authorities
would have stepped in,

89
00:04:54,150 --> 00:04:56,140
and then the negotiations
would have collapsed.

90
00:04:56,140 --> 00:04:59,640
So from his standpoint, it
had to be a stratified--

91
00:04:59,640 --> 00:05:01,380

a stratified transport.

92

00:05:01,380 --> 00:05:04,740

It had to include
all kinds of people.

93

00:05:04,740 --> 00:05:08,580

In this group were, of
course, Orthodox Jews.

94

00:05:08,580 --> 00:05:11,040

In it were Jews
from Cluj, and in it

95

00:05:11,040 --> 00:05:14,460

were Jews who were paying
money to be on the transport.

96

00:05:14,460 --> 00:05:19,440

That's corruption
by any definition.

97

00:05:19,440 --> 00:05:22,260

But from that, we should not
conclude that he could simply

98

00:05:22,260 --> 00:05:25,020

have made a positive
choice of the most worthy,

99

00:05:25,020 --> 00:05:27,840

the most innocent, or the
youngest or the weakest.

100

00:05:27,840 --> 00:05:31,860

He could not have
done that either.

101

00:05:31,860 --> 00:05:35,360

Do you think that Czerniakow
would have behaved like him?

102

00:05:35,360 --> 00:05:35,860

No.

103
00:05:35,860 --> 00:05:40,050
Czerniakow was trying
in his own way.

104
00:05:40,050 --> 00:05:43,800
Because as we know, in the
last hours of his life,

105
00:05:43,800 --> 00:05:45,690
on the very last
day of his life,

106
00:05:45,690 --> 00:05:49,260
he was still petitioning--
petitioning for exemptions,

107
00:05:49,260 --> 00:05:52,860
members of the community or
members of the eelemosynary

108
00:05:52,860 --> 00:05:55,140
organizations operating
within the community--

109
00:05:55,140 --> 00:05:56,790
Jewish self-help.

110
00:05:56,790 --> 00:05:58,470
And he was, above
all, petitioning,

111
00:05:58,470 --> 00:06:01,140
as we know, for the children.

112
00:06:01,140 --> 00:06:03,820
But he couldn't play that game.

113
00:06:03,820 --> 00:06:06,090
He could not persist.

114

00:06:06,090 --> 00:06:09,310
He could not continue.

115
00:06:09,310 --> 00:06:14,750
That's why he died right
after the deportations began--

116
00:06:14,750 --> 00:06:18,050
different person,
different personality.

117
00:06:18,050 --> 00:06:20,160
Yes.

118
00:06:20,160 --> 00:06:22,207
(film logistics - cut)

119
00:06:22,207 --> 00:06:22,790
(film slating)

120
00:06:22,790 --> 00:06:27,610
[NON-ENGLISH]

121
00:06:27,610 --> 00:06:32,200
If we look at the entire
institution of Jewish councils,

122
00:06:32,200 --> 00:06:35,710
Judenraete, all
over Europe, we do

123
00:06:35,710 --> 00:06:39,130
have to focus some attention
on the first one, which

124
00:06:39,130 --> 00:06:42,280
was in Germany itself.

125
00:06:42,280 --> 00:06:51,640
Long before there was a
decree instituted in 1939,

126

00:06:51,640 --> 00:06:56,260
pursuant to which all Jews
so defined under German law

127
00:06:56,260 --> 00:06:58,990
had to belong to a single
Jewish organization, which

128
00:06:58,990 --> 00:07:03,610
would henceforth be
responsible for the execution

129
00:07:03,610 --> 00:07:05,920
of various directives.

130
00:07:05,920 --> 00:07:09,280
Before that happened,
as a matter of fact,

131
00:07:09,280 --> 00:07:12,490
six years before it
happened, almost immediately

132
00:07:12,490 --> 00:07:18,100
after the assumption of
power by Adolf Hitler,

133
00:07:18,100 --> 00:07:21,910
the Jews themselves organized
a national organization,

134
00:07:21,910 --> 00:07:27,220
Reichsvertretung, which
specifically means,

135
00:07:27,220 --> 00:07:32,260
an organization which would
represent the Jews of Germany,

136
00:07:32,260 --> 00:07:36,970
with a view to conducting
an open and honest debate

137

00:07:36,970 --> 00:07:42,550
with the new regime,
presumably about Jewish rights

138
00:07:42,550 --> 00:07:46,600
and Jewish hopes in the new era.

139
00:07:46,600 --> 00:07:49,580

140
00:07:49,580 --> 00:07:53,150
This is the very organization
that later on, of course,

141
00:07:53,150 --> 00:07:58,970
is taken over by the
interior ministry,

142
00:07:58,970 --> 00:08:04,120
and which becomes
a tool for property

143
00:08:04,120 --> 00:08:07,870
administration, deportations,
and all kinds of measures.

144
00:08:07,870 --> 00:08:08,440
Excuse me.

145
00:08:08,440 --> 00:08:13,090
You mean that the
Jews themselves in 1933

146
00:08:13,090 --> 00:08:18,250
disbanded voluntarily
all their organizations?

147
00:08:18,250 --> 00:08:22,610
No, they did not in 1933
disband any organizations.

148
00:08:22,610 --> 00:08:25,360
They did, however,

create a new one.

149

00:08:25,360 --> 00:08:27,490

They created a
national organization,

150

00:08:27,490 --> 00:08:32,230

one which was going to
represent the Jewish communities

151

00:08:32,230 --> 00:08:36,460

of Germany in debate
with whatever authorities

152

00:08:36,460 --> 00:08:38,590

would be willing to engage
in debate with them.

153

00:08:38,590 --> 00:08:41,600

It turned out there were
no such authorities.

154

00:08:41,600 --> 00:08:45,730

But the Jewish expectation
was that out of the diversity

155

00:08:45,730 --> 00:08:48,430

of Jewish organizations
and agencies

156

00:08:48,430 --> 00:08:50,200

that existed up to
that moment, there

157

00:08:50,200 --> 00:08:54,670

was going to be one centralized
body, one which would represent

158

00:08:54,670 --> 00:08:55,670

the Jewish communities.

159

00:08:55,670 --> 00:08:56,170

160
00:08:56,170 --> 00:08:56,440
And they were built--

161
00:08:56,440 --> 00:08:57,315
The Reichsvertretung.

162
00:08:57,315 --> 00:09:01,470
--on the model of
the unique party.

163
00:09:01,470 --> 00:09:04,020
There was in Germany a
unique political party,

164
00:09:04,020 --> 00:09:06,570
the Nazi party, very quickly.

165
00:09:06,570 --> 00:09:07,260
And they--

166
00:09:07,260 --> 00:09:09,600
Well, there was-- I
say centralization.

167
00:09:09,600 --> 00:09:11,490
I do not wish to
imply by that there

168
00:09:11,490 --> 00:09:15,465
was an imitation of the Nazi
party in any sense whatsoever.

169
00:09:15,465 --> 00:09:17,250
No, I don't think this myself.

170
00:09:17,250 --> 00:09:21,570
But it was clear to the Jewish
leadership that inasmuch

171
00:09:21,570 --> 00:09:25,590
as there was now within

Germany one block,

172

00:09:25,590 --> 00:09:28,800

if not yet one single

[NON-ENGLISH] movement with

173

00:09:28,800 --> 00:09:33,180

which they would have to deal,

that they in turn had to have

174

00:09:33,180 --> 00:09:36,780

one body speaking

through one voice,

175

00:09:36,780 --> 00:09:41,670

insofar as there was agreement,

and thereby engaging with this

176

00:09:41,670 --> 00:09:44,880

new entity, with this new

phenomenon, in an open debate,

177

00:09:44,880 --> 00:09:46,380

as they saw it.

178

00:09:46,380 --> 00:09:48,330

So they saw it as a necessity.

179

00:09:48,330 --> 00:09:51,630

They could not approach

this single body

180

00:09:51,630 --> 00:09:54,600

through a variety of voices

and sort of special pleaders.

181

00:09:54,600 --> 00:09:56,280

They were going to

have one viewpoint.

182

00:09:56,280 --> 00:10:00,330

They were going to have

one representation.

183
00:10:00,330 --> 00:10:01,200
Yes.

184
00:10:01,200 --> 00:10:03,270
And they called it
Reichsvertretung.

185
00:10:03,270 --> 00:10:05,730
Strictly speaking,
the representation

186
00:10:05,730 --> 00:10:10,030
for the entire Reich of
the Jews who resided there.

187
00:10:10,030 --> 00:10:11,920
And how would this
Reichsvertretung

188
00:10:11,920 --> 00:10:16,840
became later on, let's say,
a tool in the machinery

189
00:10:16,840 --> 00:10:19,120
of destruction?

190
00:10:19,120 --> 00:10:25,510
It became a tool by decree
signed on July 4, 1939--

191
00:10:25,510 --> 00:10:26,470
rather late.

192
00:10:26,470 --> 00:10:28,190
I mean, six years later.

193
00:10:28,190 --> 00:10:30,700
An interior ministry
measure, which

194
00:10:30,700 --> 00:10:35,350

was signed by Frick and by Hess
and by Education Minister Rust,

195
00:10:35,350 --> 00:10:37,360
and Minister for
Church Affairs--

196
00:10:37,360 --> 00:10:40,030
one of the last
he signed, Kerrl.

197
00:10:40,030 --> 00:10:43,570
And in that decree, the
name of the Reichsvertretung

198
00:10:43,570 --> 00:10:46,720
was changed to
Reichsvereinigung.

199
00:10:46,720 --> 00:10:47,890
And now, of course--

200
00:10:47,890 --> 00:10:49,510
Which means exactly?

201
00:10:49,510 --> 00:10:51,790
Reich association of some sort.

202
00:10:51,790 --> 00:10:55,090
And now, of course, the
various community organizations

203
00:10:55,090 --> 00:10:58,570
became branches of
this Reichsvereinigung.

204
00:10:58,570 --> 00:11:00,520
They now lost their
autonomous character.

205
00:11:00,520 --> 00:11:02,740
They were going to
receive directives

206
00:11:02,740 --> 00:11:06,810
from the Jewish
Reichsvereinigung in Berlin.

207
00:11:06,810 --> 00:11:07,680
It was a half.

208
00:11:07,680 --> 00:11:11,378

209
00:11:11,378 --> 00:11:11,920
[NON-ENGLISH]

210
00:11:11,920 --> 00:11:15,860
(film slating)

211
00:11:15,860 --> 00:11:23,030
The general tendency today is
to try to exonerate Germany,

212
00:11:23,030 --> 00:11:28,280
not of a collective guilt,
but of an historical

213
00:11:28,280 --> 00:11:33,350
responsibility, and
to try to convince

214
00:11:33,350 --> 00:11:35,180
the people that
the Holocaust was

215
00:11:35,180 --> 00:11:42,530
a act of a handful of people,
and not of the whole--

216
00:11:42,530 --> 00:11:45,800
not of the German
state as a whole.

217
00:11:45,800 --> 00:11:49,390

They would like you to
help us to understand

218
00:11:49,390 --> 00:11:51,740
how the destruction
process could only

219
00:11:51,740 --> 00:11:55,550
be accomplished on the
basis of a general consensus

220
00:11:55,550 --> 00:11:58,190
of the German nation.

221
00:11:58,190 --> 00:12:01,010
Because an annihilation
of six million

222
00:12:01,010 --> 00:12:03,740
Jews was a very
complicated task which

223
00:12:03,740 --> 00:12:12,280
created numerous problems, huge
problems to the perpetrators.

224
00:12:12,280 --> 00:12:16,840
Nothing is as salient
and immediately obvious

225
00:12:16,840 --> 00:12:19,930
about the process of
destruction itself

226
00:12:19,930 --> 00:12:25,570
and the immense complexity
that is involved in rooting out

227
00:12:25,570 --> 00:12:31,080
an entire people, which as
of 1932, is fully integrated

228
00:12:31,080 --> 00:12:37,800

in society, and 10 years
later dies in gas chambers.

229
00:12:37,800 --> 00:12:41,880
One cannot begin to imagine,
until one sees the actual

230
00:12:41,880 --> 00:12:45,270
documents and
correspondence at hand,

231
00:12:45,270 --> 00:12:48,480
how many steps had to be taken,
by how many people these steps

232
00:12:48,480 --> 00:12:53,440
had to be planned, and
what sort of expertise,

233
00:12:53,440 --> 00:12:55,840
and what kinds of
specializations were called

234
00:12:55,840 --> 00:12:59,020
upon to solve the
innumerable problems,

235
00:12:59,020 --> 00:13:01,660
from definitions
and expropriations

236
00:13:01,660 --> 00:13:06,150
and the concentration
measures and the deportations,

237
00:13:06,150 --> 00:13:09,900
and the final construction
of gas chambers.

238
00:13:09,900 --> 00:13:12,720
One cannot imagine this process
without the participation

239

00:13:12,720 --> 00:13:17,730
of lawyers and of diplomats,
of accountants and various

240
00:13:17,730 --> 00:13:19,950
technicians in the
engineering sense,

241
00:13:19,950 --> 00:13:22,230
in the engineering branches.

242
00:13:22,230 --> 00:13:24,450
One cannot imagine
it without clerks.

243
00:13:24,450 --> 00:13:28,350
One cannot imagine it without
the all ever-present system

244
00:13:28,350 --> 00:13:31,230
of records and paper--

245
00:13:31,230 --> 00:13:33,890
tons of paper.

246
00:13:33,890 --> 00:13:36,590
And the reason is that we live
in a bureaucratic society.

247
00:13:36,590 --> 00:13:38,240
And thus, the
destruction of the Jews

248
00:13:38,240 --> 00:13:42,500
necessarily also had
to be bureaucratic.

249
00:13:42,500 --> 00:13:48,890
It involved the civil service,
the military, industry,

250
00:13:48,890 --> 00:13:51,200
and the party.

251
00:13:51,200 --> 00:13:54,230
And it could not
have been brought off

252
00:13:54,230 --> 00:13:59,510
by a single group of
ideologically convinced Nazis,

253
00:13:59,510 --> 00:14:06,140
or of a singly mobilized
force, like an SS.

254
00:14:06,140 --> 00:14:08,270
It required for
its implementation

255
00:14:08,270 --> 00:14:12,400
the talents of all
of these people.

256
00:14:12,400 --> 00:14:16,780
In fact, nothing
is ultimately so

257
00:14:16,780 --> 00:14:21,100
bizarre about the destruction
of the Jews as the fact

258
00:14:21,100 --> 00:14:24,820
that looking at it in
its small components,

259
00:14:24,820 --> 00:14:29,320
we see very mundane, ordinary,
day-by-day activities

260
00:14:29,320 --> 00:14:31,240
and procedures.

261
00:14:31,240 --> 00:14:33,820
The land on which a
death camp is to be built

262
00:14:33,820 --> 00:14:36,797
has to be condemned in
condemnation proceedings,

263
00:14:36,797 --> 00:14:38,380
much in the way one
would acquire land

264
00:14:38,380 --> 00:14:40,960
for any other public purpose.

265
00:14:40,960 --> 00:14:45,130
The trains that carry the
victims to the gas chambers

266
00:14:45,130 --> 00:14:48,430
must be paid for.

267
00:14:48,430 --> 00:14:52,240
Wherever one turns, there
is the regular procedure

268
00:14:52,240 --> 00:14:57,460
of ordinary bureaucrats
employed for irregular

269
00:14:57,460 --> 00:15:00,970
and extraordinary events.

270
00:15:00,970 --> 00:15:06,360
That is what is the basic
characteristic of this process.

271
00:15:06,360 --> 00:15:11,790
We see juxtaposed every
day and in every office

272
00:15:11,790 --> 00:15:15,510
the ordinary
bureaucrat utilizing

273

00:15:15,510 --> 00:15:19,590
the traditions, the know-how,
and the procedures to which he

274
00:15:19,590 --> 00:15:22,440
has been accustomed, and
which will immediately

275
00:15:22,440 --> 00:15:24,840
be familiar to all
of his colleagues,

276
00:15:24,840 --> 00:15:27,810
to accomplish unheard of things.

277
00:15:27,810 --> 00:15:33,300
He is capable of mobilizing
this bureaucratic expertise

278
00:15:33,300 --> 00:15:38,040
for this ultra-new, at
least in the final solution

279
00:15:38,040 --> 00:15:41,070
phase, completely
unprecedented undertaking.

280
00:15:41,070 --> 00:15:43,650
Could you-- could
you state, could you

281
00:15:43,650 --> 00:15:48,660
show some of the
difficulties they encountered

282
00:15:48,660 --> 00:15:50,970
in the-- in the
process, because there

283
00:15:50,970 --> 00:15:52,950
must have been a lot of them.

284
00:15:52,950 --> 00:15:53,670

Well, I can--

285

00:15:53,670 --> 00:15:55,080

We have contradictions, though.

286

00:15:55,080 --> 00:15:56,010

I can list the--

287

00:15:56,010 --> 00:16:01,650

I can list the administrative
difficulties and problems

288

00:16:01,650 --> 00:16:03,300

almost randomly.

289

00:16:03,300 --> 00:16:06,270

To give an example,
the Jews of Warsaw are

290

00:16:06,270 --> 00:16:09,510

deported in the summer
of 1942 so precipitously,

291

00:16:09,510 --> 00:16:12,750

so fast, that the German
administration, that

292

00:16:12,750 --> 00:16:15,570

is to say the trusteeship
offices and the--

293

00:16:15,570 --> 00:16:19,050

that managed the real
estate, are saying now,

294

00:16:19,050 --> 00:16:21,330

who's going to pay the rents?

295

00:16:21,330 --> 00:16:23,610

And the German city
administration is saying, now,

296

00:16:23,610 --> 00:16:26,280
who is going to pay the electric
bills and the gas bills?

297
00:16:26,280 --> 00:16:28,860
And they must deal
with this problem.

298
00:16:28,860 --> 00:16:30,600
They have to have
meetings about it.

299
00:16:30,600 --> 00:16:34,950
They have to reestablish
the equilibrium, which

300
00:16:34,950 --> 00:16:38,430
is the budget, you'll see.

301
00:16:38,430 --> 00:16:41,280
This is-- it's a small
problem resulting

302
00:16:41,280 --> 00:16:44,155
from the sudden exodus
of 300,000 people.

303
00:16:44,155 --> 00:16:45,780
It means there are
no Jews anymore to--

304
00:16:45,780 --> 00:16:46,970
There are no Jews,
and they have--

305
00:16:46,970 --> 00:16:48,340
But the bills are--
they have to be paid.

306
00:16:48,340 --> 00:16:49,260
The bills become due.

307
00:16:49,260 --> 00:16:49,710

Of course.

308

00:16:49,710 --> 00:16:50,100

Of course.

309

00:16:50,100 --> 00:16:50,700

Of course.

310

00:16:50,700 --> 00:16:53,670

And this is just

one small segment

311

00:16:53,670 --> 00:16:57,900

in one particular place

which occupies as a problem

312

00:16:57,900 --> 00:16:59,820

the people that had

to deal with it.

313

00:16:59,820 --> 00:17:03,330

Or take the diplomat who had

to negotiate with satellite

314

00:17:03,330 --> 00:17:07,020

countries to convince them to

implement anti-Jewish measures,

315

00:17:07,020 --> 00:17:09,420

much in the way in which

the Germans have implemented

316

00:17:09,420 --> 00:17:10,619

these measures.

317

00:17:10,619 --> 00:17:14,250

The diplomat is

pressuring and trying

318

00:17:14,250 --> 00:17:18,150

to induce satellite states

to institute legislation,

319

00:17:18,150 --> 00:17:20,339

beginning with the
definition of the term Jew

320

00:17:20,339 --> 00:17:21,990

in the way in which
the Germans want

321

00:17:21,990 --> 00:17:24,510

the term Jew to be defined.

322

00:17:24,510 --> 00:17:27,599

And of course, this requires
diplomatic expertise.

323

00:17:27,599 --> 00:17:29,880

This requires the
lawyers, who are

324

00:17:29,880 --> 00:17:31,830

familiar with the
international law

325

00:17:31,830 --> 00:17:35,100

and the international
procedure of negotiating.

326

00:17:35,100 --> 00:17:38,880

And this kind of problem
also has to be solved.

327

00:17:38,880 --> 00:17:42,270

Or you might take, as
yet another example,

328

00:17:42,270 --> 00:17:44,100

the whole question of the cost.

329

00:17:44,100 --> 00:17:46,770

Not that the cost was
so great, but still,

330

00:17:46,770 --> 00:17:49,590

the cost of the
materials that had

331

00:17:49,590 --> 00:17:53,670

to be used for the construction
of a concentration camp,

332

00:17:53,670 --> 00:17:54,990

of a death camp.

333

00:17:54,990 --> 00:17:57,870

Or the correspondence in this
connection between Speer,

334

00:17:57,870 --> 00:18:00,780

the minister for
armaments, and Pohl,

335

00:18:00,780 --> 00:18:03,240

who was, of course, in charge
of all the concentration

336

00:18:03,240 --> 00:18:04,470

camps in Germany.

337

00:18:04,470 --> 00:18:07,500

Speer, after looking at one
concentration camp says,

338

00:18:07,500 --> 00:18:09,600

you are proceeding
too extravagantly.

339

00:18:09,600 --> 00:18:11,880

You're using too many materials.

340

00:18:11,880 --> 00:18:14,900

And Pohl says in
answer, [NON-ENGLISH]..

341

00:18:14,900 --> 00:18:20,310

342

00:18:20,310 --> 00:18:22,410
And he says, what does he want?

343

00:18:22,410 --> 00:18:25,110
Doesn't he realize
that by his insistence

344

00:18:25,110 --> 00:18:27,870
upon primitive
construction, the death

345

00:18:27,870 --> 00:18:29,910
rate, which is
already indescribable,

346

00:18:29,910 --> 00:18:31,710
will be higher still--

347

00:18:31,710 --> 00:18:33,600
an administrative problem.

348

00:18:33,600 --> 00:18:38,190
And it comes from a man who
is in charge of [NON-ENGLISH],,

349

00:18:38,190 --> 00:18:40,560
who is in charge of the
mobilization of Germany

350

00:18:40,560 --> 00:18:43,170
for the war, and
who says to the SS,

351

00:18:43,170 --> 00:18:45,510
you are using too
many materials.

352

00:18:45,510 --> 00:18:49,350
You are not being primitive
enough in the construction

353

00:18:49,350 --> 00:18:51,720
of these camps.

354
00:18:51,720 --> 00:18:54,570
So many of these problems
recur again and again,

355
00:18:54,570 --> 00:18:56,520
and they're only administrative.

356
00:18:56,520 --> 00:18:59,910
Mind you, the principal
problems were psychological.

357
00:18:59,910 --> 00:19:03,240
The principal difficulties
were in the psychic domain.

358
00:19:03,240 --> 00:19:05,340
They also had to be dealt with--

359
00:19:05,340 --> 00:19:10,050
the morale and questions
of morality, discipline,

360
00:19:10,050 --> 00:19:14,340
corruption, the bad conscience.

361
00:19:14,340 --> 00:19:17,640
And they too required expertise.

362
00:19:17,640 --> 00:19:21,490
They too required solutions.

363
00:19:21,490 --> 00:19:23,170
Thus, we see that
there is hardly

364
00:19:23,170 --> 00:19:27,430
a segment of the German
administrative structure which

365

00:19:27,430 --> 00:19:32,080
at one point does not make
its appropriate contribution

366
00:19:32,080 --> 00:19:34,800
to the final result.
And it matters

367
00:19:34,800 --> 00:19:36,930
not whether you are
looking in places

368
00:19:36,930 --> 00:19:41,640
as remote as the churches, or
in those bodies where you expect

369
00:19:41,640 --> 00:19:45,450
extreme action to be taken
in the police, or in the SS,

370
00:19:45,450 --> 00:19:48,300
or in anybody in between.

371
00:19:48,300 --> 00:19:54,410
Everyone at some point is
called upon to do something.

372
00:19:54,410 --> 00:19:57,620
And the critical fact of
the destruction of the Jews

373
00:19:57,620 --> 00:20:04,370
is that everybody did his
part at the right time.

374
00:20:04,370 --> 00:20:05,210
Yes.

375
00:20:05,210 --> 00:20:08,550
But could you give
some real examples

376
00:20:08,550 --> 00:20:12,670

of this, of the involvement?

377

00:20:12,670 --> 00:20:15,080

The involvement in the
destruction process

378

00:20:15,080 --> 00:20:17,840

follows the process itself.

379

00:20:17,840 --> 00:20:21,440

A destruction process
has an inherent pattern.

380

00:20:21,440 --> 00:20:24,300

Before people can be
gassed in the gas chamber,

381

00:20:24,300 --> 00:20:26,180

they have to be
concentrated so that they

382

00:20:26,180 --> 00:20:28,670

may be seized for deportation.

383

00:20:28,670 --> 00:20:30,440

And before they
are concentrated,

384

00:20:30,440 --> 00:20:33,890

one has to define who the
Jews are, who the victims are.

385

00:20:33,890 --> 00:20:37,570

Could we talk about the
problem that they encountered

386

00:20:37,570 --> 00:20:39,230

with a definition precisely?

387

00:20:39,230 --> 00:20:40,880

Well, you take the
definition as one

388

00:20:40,880 --> 00:20:43,480
of the earliest problems
which faced the bureaucracy

389

00:20:43,480 --> 00:20:44,480
in an interior ministry.

390

00:20:44,480 --> 00:20:45,890
Yeah, but is it a key problem?

391

00:20:45,890 --> 00:20:47,810
It is an absolute key
problem because it

392

00:20:47,810 --> 00:20:50,580
is the first key step.

393

00:20:50,580 --> 00:20:52,350
And it is when the
interior ministry

394

00:20:52,350 --> 00:20:57,720
decides that a Jew is he who
has two Jewish grandparents

395

00:20:57,720 --> 00:21:02,400
by religion, and who himself
belongs to the Jewish religion,

396

00:21:02,400 --> 00:21:05,970
or else at the moment is
married to a Jewish person,

397

00:21:05,970 --> 00:21:09,600
or any person who has three
Jewish grandparents, regardless

398

00:21:09,600 --> 00:21:13,140
of his own religion, or four
Jewish grandparents, again,

399

00:21:13,140 --> 00:21:14,460

no matter what his religion.

400

00:21:14,460 --> 00:21:17,640

When they write the
definition in this way,

401

00:21:17,640 --> 00:21:19,140

they have solved
the key problem.

402

00:21:19,140 --> 00:21:27,160

For now, in a purely [AUDIO OUT]

403

00:21:27,160 --> 00:21:28,830

(film slating)

404

00:21:28,830 --> 00:21:29,455

(film slating)

405

00:21:29,455 --> 00:21:35,180

[NON-ENGLISH]

406

00:21:35,180 --> 00:21:38,810

The definition of the Jews
is a real breakthrough

407

00:21:38,810 --> 00:21:41,660

in that it sets up an
automatic procedure

408

00:21:41,660 --> 00:21:44,400

for trapping the victims.

409

00:21:44,400 --> 00:21:48,350

It's a bureaucratic and an
administrative solution.

410

00:21:48,350 --> 00:21:52,040

It makes possible the automatic
sorting of the victims,

411

00:21:52,040 --> 00:21:56,120

and therefore, prepares the way for subsequent actions.

412
00:21:56,120 --> 00:21:58,670
But even here, we see an administrative apparatus

413
00:21:58,670 --> 00:22:02,150
required to deal with the ongoing problems

414
00:22:02,150 --> 00:22:05,180
that this particular definition has generated.

415
00:22:05,180 --> 00:22:08,780
People have to find out who their ancestors were.

416
00:22:08,780 --> 00:22:11,780
A new profession is created, [NON-ENGLISH]..

417
00:22:11,780 --> 00:22:15,980
They have to look for records in the various offices,

418
00:22:15,980 --> 00:22:18,620
registration offices, and baptismal certificates.

419
00:22:18,620 --> 00:22:21,110
What this mean, exactly, [NON-ENGLISH]??

420
00:22:21,110 --> 00:22:24,585
These are people that have to find out who the parents were,

421
00:22:24,585 --> 00:22:26,210
who the grandparents were, perhaps even

422

00:22:26,210 --> 00:22:29,060
the great-grandparents
were, in order to answer

423
00:22:29,060 --> 00:22:30,710
the basic question.

424
00:22:30,710 --> 00:22:33,050
How many of your
ancestors were Aryan?

425
00:22:33,050 --> 00:22:34,850
How many of your
ancestors did not

426
00:22:34,850 --> 00:22:37,640
belong to the Jewish religion?

427
00:22:37,640 --> 00:22:39,800
And after all, for
important promotions

428
00:22:39,800 --> 00:22:43,550
and for important jobs,
proof that one was not Jewish

429
00:22:43,550 --> 00:22:44,780
was essential.

430
00:22:44,780 --> 00:22:48,440
So an entire profession is
being created as a consequence

431
00:22:48,440 --> 00:22:50,360
of this definition.

432
00:22:50,360 --> 00:22:52,970
Furthermore, the
courts are being given

433
00:22:52,970 --> 00:22:54,710
a certain amount of business.

434

00:22:54,710 --> 00:22:56,660

The definition says
that the half-Jew

435

00:22:56,660 --> 00:22:59,150

is to be counted as
a Jew if on the date

436

00:22:59,150 --> 00:23:01,370

of the issuance of the
measure he belonged

437

00:23:01,370 --> 00:23:03,050

to the Jewish religion.

438

00:23:03,050 --> 00:23:07,590

But what exactly does
belonging to the religion mean?

439

00:23:07,590 --> 00:23:12,090

Is a young woman whose
father is Jewish--

440

00:23:12,090 --> 00:23:15,660

not mother-- whose father is
Jewish, and who, therefore,

441

00:23:15,660 --> 00:23:17,310

under the Jewish
definition would not

442

00:23:17,310 --> 00:23:20,310

belong to the Jewish
religion ipso facto,

443

00:23:20,310 --> 00:23:23,580

but who would have accompanied
her father to the synagogue

444

00:23:23,580 --> 00:23:28,320

every Sunday, would such a young
woman be considered Jewish?

445

00:23:28,320 --> 00:23:32,070

Now, the Reichsvereinigung
decides that she is.

446

00:23:32,070 --> 00:23:34,680

She goes to court and wins.

447

00:23:34,680 --> 00:23:36,360

The court agrees with her.

448

00:23:36,360 --> 00:23:40,050

She is not Jewish because
she went to the synagogue

449

00:23:40,050 --> 00:23:42,450

to please her father,
not because she

450

00:23:42,450 --> 00:23:44,910

wanted to belong to
the Jewish religion.

451

00:23:44,910 --> 00:23:48,120

A court action has
been generated here.

452

00:23:48,120 --> 00:23:51,590

But even more important
in its consequence

453

00:23:51,590 --> 00:23:54,200

is the problem of what
to do with those people

454

00:23:54,200 --> 00:23:57,470

who are decidedly and
definitely not Jewish,

455

00:23:57,470 --> 00:24:02,840

but who, by the same token,
are not 100% German either.

456

00:24:02,840 --> 00:24:07,460
These are the people who have
one grandparent who is Jewish,

457
00:24:07,460 --> 00:24:10,550
the so-called Mischlinge
of the second degree,

458
00:24:10,550 --> 00:24:14,390
or people who have two
Jewish grandparents,

459
00:24:14,390 --> 00:24:17,240
but who do not belong
to the Jewish religion,

460
00:24:17,240 --> 00:24:20,090
and who are not married
to any Jewish person

461
00:24:20,090 --> 00:24:23,610
on that crucial date, which
is, of course, the cutoff date.

462
00:24:23,610 --> 00:24:27,680
So these are now Mischlinge
of the first degree.

463
00:24:27,680 --> 00:24:34,100
German bureaucrats keep
asking, into 1942, into 1943,

464
00:24:34,100 --> 00:24:37,820
how can the solution
of the Jewish problem

465
00:24:37,820 --> 00:24:42,440
be really final if
we have a third race,

466
00:24:42,440 --> 00:24:45,050
if we have Mischlinge
who will remain here?

467

00:24:45,050 --> 00:24:48,260

And now you'll see
an endless debate.

468

00:24:48,260 --> 00:24:50,990

You see the bureaucrats being
troubled by that question

469

00:24:50,990 --> 00:24:54,590

to such an extent that a fair
proportion of the content

470

00:24:54,590 --> 00:24:57,170

of even the most important
conference that was ever

471

00:24:57,170 --> 00:24:59,780

held on the subject
of the final solution,

472

00:24:59,780 --> 00:25:03,080

namely the Conference
of January 20, 1942,

473

00:25:03,080 --> 00:25:06,860

is devoted to the question of
what to do with Mischlinge.

474

00:25:06,860 --> 00:25:10,250

Should Mischlinge be deported--

475

00:25:10,250 --> 00:25:12,020

Mischlinge of the first degree?

476

00:25:12,020 --> 00:25:15,260

Should Mischlinge of the
second degree become Germans?

477

00:25:15,260 --> 00:25:18,020

Should mixed marriages
be broken up?

478

00:25:18,020 --> 00:25:22,280

And curiously, these
problems cannot be solved.

479

00:25:22,280 --> 00:25:24,560

They are so
intricate, they bring

480

00:25:24,560 --> 00:25:28,760

into play the
fundamental issue of here

481

00:25:28,760 --> 00:25:31,670

is a person with one foot
in the Jewish community

482

00:25:31,670 --> 00:25:33,530

and another in the
German community,

483

00:25:33,530 --> 00:25:35,450

and it can't be split.

484

00:25:35,450 --> 00:25:38,000

As one bureaucrat
pointed out, the problem

485

00:25:38,000 --> 00:25:40,130

is not to surrender
to the final solution

486

00:25:40,130 --> 00:25:43,140

that half of the
person which is German.

487

00:25:43,140 --> 00:25:46,110

They cannot solve the problem.

488

00:25:46,110 --> 00:25:49,340

So here you'll see, even in
this very relatively simple

489

00:25:49,340 --> 00:25:52,730

beginning definition, the
consequences extending

490
00:25:52,730 --> 00:25:55,970
until the very end of
the war in such a way

491
00:25:55,970 --> 00:25:59,000
as to engage the
attention of specialists,

492
00:25:59,000 --> 00:26:04,040
of courts, of party offices,
debates, correspondence,

493
00:26:04,040 --> 00:26:08,210
meetings, in a typical
fashion that is typical

494
00:26:08,210 --> 00:26:10,820
of a bureaucracy.

495
00:26:10,820 --> 00:26:14,810
Now, consider the definition
of a Jewish enterprise.

496
00:26:14,810 --> 00:26:17,930
Now this is a corporate
body, a corporate entity.

497
00:26:17,930 --> 00:26:20,600
It requires its own definition.

498
00:26:20,600 --> 00:26:23,060
It has to do with
who holds the stocks.

499
00:26:23,060 --> 00:26:26,540
It has to do with how many Jews
are on the board of directors.

500
00:26:26,540 --> 00:26:29,510
Very important questions,

because if something

501

00:26:29,510 --> 00:26:31,490

is a Jewish enterprise,
then it becomes

502

00:26:31,490 --> 00:26:36,170

an object for companies that are
interested in its acquisition.

503

00:26:36,170 --> 00:26:37,910

Again, there is debate.

504

00:26:37,910 --> 00:26:40,850

Again, there is a question.

505

00:26:40,850 --> 00:26:44,000

Sometimes these questions
are resolved, sometimes not.

506

00:26:44,000 --> 00:26:45,680

Sometimes an
enterprise will simply

507

00:26:45,680 --> 00:26:48,380

fire one or another of
its managing personnel

508

00:26:48,380 --> 00:26:51,410

and become Aryan by
process of firing itself.

509

00:26:51,410 --> 00:26:53,480

Sometimes this cannot be done.

510

00:26:53,480 --> 00:26:55,670

So you'll see, here is
the economy ministry

511

00:26:55,670 --> 00:27:00,350

coming into the picture
with its defining powers.

512

00:27:00,350 --> 00:27:02,600

Or take the finance ministry--

513

00:27:02,600 --> 00:27:05,330

it has to solve the
problem of taxation,

514

00:27:05,330 --> 00:27:08,720

special taxes such as
are imposed upon the Jews

515

00:27:08,720 --> 00:27:12,390

as a consequence of the
decrees of November 1938,

516

00:27:12,390 --> 00:27:14,460

which are essentially
property taxes,

517

00:27:14,460 --> 00:27:18,560

even though they are called
[NON-ENGLISH] and so on, that

518

00:27:18,560 --> 00:27:24,170

is to say, an exaction for what
the Jews did in November 1938

519

00:27:24,170 --> 00:27:27,470

to one German diplomat in Paris.

520

00:27:27,470 --> 00:27:29,780

The finance ministry is
very busy with trying

521

00:27:29,780 --> 00:27:31,640

to devise the formulas.

522

00:27:31,640 --> 00:27:36,140

How do you-- how
do you exact a tax,

523

00:27:36,140 --> 00:27:40,430

the final amount of which is
fixed at \$1 billion reichsmark?

524
00:27:40,430 --> 00:27:41,450
How do you do this?

525
00:27:41,450 --> 00:27:43,850
How do you impose any
measure in the form

526
00:27:43,850 --> 00:27:46,220
of a tax with the
requirement that you

527
00:27:46,220 --> 00:27:49,100
shall have collected at the
end so much and so much money?

528
00:27:49,100 --> 00:27:52,400
Could we say that these
are the bureaucrats who

529
00:27:52,400 --> 00:27:56,990
are not idealogues who
solve the contradictions

530
00:27:56,990 --> 00:28:00,320
of the ideologies?

531
00:28:00,320 --> 00:28:01,120
They are.

532
00:28:01,120 --> 00:28:01,520
Including possibilities?

533
00:28:01,520 --> 00:28:01,700
They are.

534
00:28:01,700 --> 00:28:03,050
They make the breakthrough.

535
00:28:03,050 --> 00:28:05,780

They make the breakthrough
because they see the problem,

536
00:28:05,780 --> 00:28:08,960
because they are pragmatic,
because they are goal-directed,

537
00:28:08,960 --> 00:28:10,670
because they are rational.

538
00:28:10,670 --> 00:28:12,710
Because they have time too.

539
00:28:12,710 --> 00:28:17,390
Well, at the beginning they
have more time than at the end.

540
00:28:17,390 --> 00:28:19,310
And at the beginning
they take the time.

541
00:28:19,310 --> 00:28:21,890
At the beginning they
make more mistakes.

542
00:28:21,890 --> 00:28:24,020
At the beginning, as one
researcher called it,

543
00:28:24,020 --> 00:28:26,180
it was a twisted road.

544
00:28:26,180 --> 00:28:29,600
There were turns
and other turns.

545
00:28:29,600 --> 00:28:31,850
Even at the
beginning, however, I

546
00:28:31,850 --> 00:28:35,270
have the impression
of surefootedness,

547
00:28:35,270 --> 00:28:39,110
of people knowing
where they're headed,

548
00:28:39,110 --> 00:28:42,980
even if not knowing
the precise goal.

549
00:28:42,980 --> 00:28:45,620
They have at least a
sense of direction.

550
00:28:45,620 --> 00:28:50,120
They don't err in favor
of the victim at any time.

551
00:28:50,120 --> 00:28:52,940
They always resolve
questions in such a way as

552
00:28:52,940 --> 00:28:54,830
to make matters
worse for the victim.

553
00:28:54,830 --> 00:28:57,260
They know, at least, that much.

554
00:28:57,260 --> 00:28:59,300
Their problems
arise when they have

555
00:28:59,300 --> 00:29:02,480
to protect the German
nation from the consequences

556
00:29:02,480 --> 00:29:04,670
of anti-Jewish
action, when they have

557
00:29:04,670 --> 00:29:08,570
to worry about what is to
happen to a German creditor

558
00:29:08,570 --> 00:29:10,460
to whom a Jew owes money.

559
00:29:10,460 --> 00:29:12,020
And the Jew, of
course, can no longer

560
00:29:12,020 --> 00:29:14,210
pay because he has
been expropriated.

561
00:29:14,210 --> 00:29:16,040
Or when they have to
worry what happens

562
00:29:16,040 --> 00:29:17,780
to the German relative
of somebody who

563
00:29:17,780 --> 00:29:19,580
has been defined as Jewish.

564
00:29:19,580 --> 00:29:21,830
Or when they have to
worry in ghetto formation

565
00:29:21,830 --> 00:29:24,410
about the labor
supply, when that labor

566
00:29:24,410 --> 00:29:27,530
supply happened to be Jewish and
is incarcerated in the ghetto.

567
00:29:27,530 --> 00:29:30,440
So in every case,
the problem-solving

568
00:29:30,440 --> 00:29:34,850
is addressed to the consequences
of measures being taken which

569

00:29:34,850 --> 00:29:37,880

have adverse effects for
the German war economy

570

00:29:37,880 --> 00:29:39,320

or for German society.

571

00:29:39,320 --> 00:29:41,720

And they must
protect the economy,

572

00:29:41,720 --> 00:29:45,760

and they must protect the
society as much as possible--

573

00:29:45,760 --> 00:29:49,210

not to the nth degree,
not completely,

574

00:29:49,210 --> 00:29:52,650

but as much as possible.

575

00:29:52,650 --> 00:29:53,150

Right.

576

00:29:53,150 --> 00:29:55,710

577

00:29:55,710 --> 00:29:57,285

(film slating)

578

00:29:57,285 --> 00:30:02,730

579

00:30:02,730 --> 00:30:07,050

I agree with every word you
said, but it's very, very

580

00:30:07,050 --> 00:30:14,850

difficult to think clearly, this
bureaucratic, administrative

581

00:30:14,850 --> 00:30:15,510
procedure.

582

00:30:15,510 --> 00:30:19,140
Because in one way,
it's perfectly true

583

00:30:19,140 --> 00:30:24,630
that it is German
society as a whole who

584

00:30:24,630 --> 00:30:29,640
was involved in the process
of destruction of the Jews.

585

00:30:29,640 --> 00:30:33,720
But in another way,
when things like this,

586

00:30:33,720 --> 00:30:36,840
one has a feeling too that the
machinery is working completely

587

00:30:36,840 --> 00:30:41,010
alone and that nobody
is responsible.

588

00:30:41,010 --> 00:30:43,180
And you have the
two things together.

589

00:30:43,180 --> 00:30:45,880
Like this, they
are two together.

590

00:30:45,880 --> 00:30:52,950
But I think we should go
a little bit further on.

591

00:30:52,950 --> 00:30:55,290
Well, when you say
that it appears

592

00:30:55,290 --> 00:30:58,140

as if no one is
responsible, you're

593

00:30:58,140 --> 00:31:03,810

touching upon the
problem of initiative

594

00:31:03,810 --> 00:31:07,680

within the
administrative machine.

595

00:31:07,680 --> 00:31:11,100

It sounds strange to say,
but in a Democratic country

596

00:31:11,100 --> 00:31:14,910

with a president, a legislature,
and a Supreme Court,

597

00:31:14,910 --> 00:31:19,890

each branch checking the work
of the other, responsibility

598

00:31:19,890 --> 00:31:22,320

can be defined.

599

00:31:22,320 --> 00:31:24,310

Within Nazi Germany,
on the other hand,

600

00:31:24,310 --> 00:31:27,840

we see those four
major hierarchies,

601

00:31:27,840 --> 00:31:32,280

those agglomerates, if we
may call them that, the Civil

602

00:31:32,280 --> 00:31:40,290

Service, the army, the
industry, and the party each

603

00:31:40,290 --> 00:31:44,460

taking certain
responsibilities of its own,

604

00:31:44,460 --> 00:31:48,540

pushing ahead in its sector.

605

00:31:48,540 --> 00:31:51,690

Sometimes agreements
have to be made

606

00:31:51,690 --> 00:31:56,020

so that one is not going to
get into the way of the other.

607

00:31:56,020 --> 00:32:00,330

But it is essentially true
that the entire system

608

00:32:00,330 --> 00:32:04,230

rests upon the initiatives,
most especially of experts--

609

00:32:04,230 --> 00:32:06,870

people who recognize the problem
when it comes up, and who

610

00:32:06,870 --> 00:32:09,720

take timely action to solve it.

611

00:32:09,720 --> 00:32:12,120

And these experts
act not because they

612

00:32:12,120 --> 00:32:14,640

have received an order,
nor even because there

613

00:32:14,640 --> 00:32:16,800

is a law directing them
to do certain things,

614

00:32:16,800 --> 00:32:20,490
but because they recognize that
now the time has come to take

615
00:32:20,490 --> 00:32:22,990
care of a particular problem.

616
00:32:22,990 --> 00:32:24,120
And so they are ready.

617
00:32:24,120 --> 00:32:26,190
They are ready when
the time comes.

618
00:32:26,190 --> 00:32:29,340
Even if they are not
ideologically convinced.

619
00:32:29,340 --> 00:32:29,950
No, no.

620
00:32:29,950 --> 00:32:30,450
That's a--

621
00:32:30,450 --> 00:32:32,640
They don't need be
members of the Nazi party.

622
00:32:32,640 --> 00:32:35,030
Oh, of course not.

623
00:32:35,030 --> 00:32:39,000