1 00:00:00,000 --> 00:00:08,070

2 00:00:08,070 --> 00:00:10,900 Bauer, 4.

3 00:00:10,900 --> 00:00:12,320 OK.

4 00:00:12,320 --> 00:00:19,830 I think one ought to make the very clear picture

00:00:19,830 --> 00:00:24,030 of the periods in which the Judenrate operated.

6 00:00:24,030 --> 00:00:27,210 You find in Eastern Europe, especially in Poland,

7 00:00:27,210 --> 00:00:30,690 that in the first, what they call at that time, Kadenzia,

8 00:00:30,690 --> 00:00:31,560 which meant--

9 00:00:31,560 --> 00:00:32,945 Who called this Kadenzia?

10 00:00:32,945 --> 00:00:37,170 The people themselves, in the ghettos.

11 00:00:37,170 --> 00:00:42,510 The first period of the first Judenrat,

12 00:00:42,510 --> 00:00:46,110 you find a very high

proportion of Judenrate

13 00:00:46,110 --> 00:00:49,860 who were supported by the population

14 00:00:49,860 --> 00:00:52,890 and of whom the population thought

15 00:00:52,890 --> 00:00:55,200 that they were good people.

16 00:00:55,200 --> 00:00:58,800 Afterwards, they thought that they had been good people.

17 00:00:58,800 --> 00:01:02,880 What you found when afterwards in Israel was the people

18 00:01:02,880 --> 00:01:08,590 said the Judenrate were bad, but our Judenrat was good.

19 00:01:08,590 --> 00:01:14,330 We had a research made of 128 Judenrate in Poland,

20 00:01:14,330 --> 00:01:18,890 where you could define exactly what they did.

21 00:01:18,890 --> 00:01:21,000 There were about 250 altogether.

22 00:01:21,000 --> 00:01:25,970 But 128 you could say exactly what happened.

23 00:01:25,970 --> 00:01:33,590 And we found that of these 128, 107 were of the kind 24 00:01:33,590 --> 00:01:37,100 that the people said they were good,

25 00:01:37,100 --> 00:01:40,640 or that we found that they resisted

26 00:01:40,640 --> 00:01:43,700 the Germans, whether it was already

27 00:01:43,700 --> 00:01:48,320 in the economic persecution at the beginning or later

28 00:01:48,320 --> 00:01:51,290 on when they were asked to supply lists.

29 00:01:51,290 --> 00:01:54,920 In other words, none of these 107 Judenrate

30 00:01:54,920 --> 00:01:59,420 went to the point of handing over Jews to the Germans.

31 00:01:59,420 --> 00:02:04,940 That is the decisive line of these 128.

32 00:02:04,940 --> 00:02:06,950 Now, that's the first period--

33 00:02:06,950 --> 00:02:09,139 Because they didn't stay long.

34 00:02:09,139 --> 00:02:11,550 No, no, some of them stayed a very long time.

00:02:11,550 --> 00:02:15,190 Some of them stayed till the destruction.

36

00:02:15,190 --> 00:02:19,090 And then you have the second group.

37

00:02:19,090 --> 00:02:21,160 Now, the second group after the first big murder

38

00:02:21,160 --> 00:02:23,470 action, the Germans chose usually

39

00:02:23,470 --> 00:02:25,990 people who are suitable to them.

40

00:02:25,990 --> 00:02:29,740 And there, the proportion of the Judenrate

41

00:02:29,740 --> 00:02:33,400 who cooperated with the Germans to the point of handing over

42

00:02:33,400 --> 00:02:36,490 people is much higher.

43

00:02:36,490 --> 00:02:40,810 But when you look at the situation

44

00:02:40,810 --> 00:02:43,450 that the Judenrate were in, you find

45

00:02:43,450 --> 00:02:48,070 that whether they resisted, or whether they refused

00:02:48,070 --> 00:02:52,990 to hand over lists, or whether they did hand over lists,

47 00:02:52,990 --> 00:02:55,660 the possibilities, the parameters,

48 00:02:55,660 --> 00:03:00,930 of what they could do is extremely limited.

49 00:03:00,930 --> 00:03:04,510 They were part and parcel--

50 00:03:04,510 --> 00:03:08,260 and in that the other historian colleagues of mine

51 00:03:08,260 --> 00:03:10,030 who say this, I think are right--

52 00:03:10,030 --> 00:03:15,310 they were part of a bureaucracy, which was set up by the Nazis

53 00:03:15,310 --> 00:03:18,850 all over Europe to facilitate cooperation

54 00:03:18,850 --> 00:03:20,590 or collaboration with them.

55 00:03:20,590 --> 00:03:26,350 This is true of Czech mayors of French mayors of French cities,

56 00:03:26,350 --> 00:03:30,940 of puppet governments all over Europe.

57 00:03:30,940 --> 00:03:33,650 I mean, you have to ask yourself,

58 00:03:33,650 --> 00:03:38,920 how many French mayors resisted the German call

59 00:03:38,920 --> 00:03:46,480 to send French slave workers to Germany after February 1943?

60 00:03:46,480 --> 00:03:52,510 How many Czech officials objected

61 00:03:52,510 --> 00:03:56,710 or acted against the German design

62 00:03:56,710 --> 00:04:01,330 to send hundreds of thousands of Czech workers

63 00:04:01,330 --> 00:04:02,440 into Germany factories.

64 00:04:02,440 --> 00:04:04,000 Yes, it is true, but the conditions

65 00:04:04,000 --> 00:04:05,083 were completely different.

66 00:04:05,083 --> 00:04:07,150 But nobody knew that.

67 00:04:07,150 --> 00:04:08,740 Nobody knew that.

68 00:04:08,740 --> 00:04:14,230 In Holland, when they sent the Dutch workers to Germany,

00:04:14,230 --> 00:04:16,600 many Dutch people were utterly convinced

70

00:04:16,600 --> 00:04:18,490 that they will never see these people again.

71

00:04:18,490 --> 00:04:21,339

72

00:04:21,339 --> 00:04:24,520 You have the same situation in Poland, in Warsaw,

73

00:04:24,520 --> 00:04:27,040 after the big Polish rebellion, when

74

00:04:27,040 --> 00:04:30,690 the Germans evict all the Polish population out of Warsaw.

75

00:04:30,690 --> 00:04:32,440 The Poles were utterly convinced that they

76

00:04:32,440 --> 00:04:35,590 were going to be murdered just like the Jews.

77

00:04:35,590 --> 00:04:40,340 But the Polish underground signed a treaty

78

00:04:40,340 --> 00:04:44,620 after the rebellion, when they surrendered

79

00:04:44,620 --> 00:04:48,430 to the German, in which they enabled the Germans to do that.

00:04:48,430 --> 00:04:49,710 They had no other choice.

81 00:04:49,710 --> 00:04:52,110 They had to surrender.

82 00:04:52,110 --> 00:04:57,770 So within that framework of the Nazi terror machine,

83 00:04:57,770 --> 00:05:01,440 the possibility of action were very limited.

84 00:05:01,440 --> 00:05:03,740 Now, we are talking about what the Judenrate did

85 00:05:03,740 --> 00:05:06,560 within that framework.

86 00:05:06,560 --> 00:05:08,270 And within that framework what they

87 00:05:08,270 --> 00:05:12,770 did was Lvov, for instance, the first head

88 00:05:12,770 --> 00:05:16,370 of the Judenrat in Lvov refused to hand over

89 00:05:16,370 --> 00:05:21,520 Jews for slave labor, not destruction, slave labor.

90 00:05:21,520 --> 00:05:23,480 And he was killed.

91 00:05:23,480 --> 00:05:26,120 So they put a second one in. 92 00:05:26,120 --> 00:05:29,990 And when he did not collaborate or cooperate with the Germans

93 00:05:29,990 --> 00:05:31,995 as the Germans expected him to--

94 00:05:31,995 --> 00:05:35,630 he opposed them in a way, in his own way--

95 00:05:35,630 --> 00:05:37,890 he was removed.

96 00:05:37,890 --> 00:05:41,040 So you could say that the result is the same.

97 00:05:41,040 --> 00:05:44,230 But again, what we are discussing

98 00:05:44,230 --> 00:05:48,160 is the attitude and the policy.

99 00:05:48,160 --> 00:05:51,310 The fact that very few people survive

100 00:05:51,310 --> 00:05:54,340 is a result of the German policies, obviously.

101 00:05:54,340 --> 00:05:59,800 And so let me tell you a story, which I think makes this clear.

102 00:05:59,800 --> 00:06:04,690 In the Eastern Galicia, there is one of these 128 Judenrate, 00:06:04,690 --> 00:06:08,140 which I mentioned before.

104

00:06:08,140 --> 00:06:12,820 The place is called Kosow Huculski.

105

00:06:12,820 --> 00:06:17,170 And it was a small Jewish town.

106

00:06:17,170 --> 00:06:20,680 And there was a Judenrate.

107

00:06:20,680 --> 00:06:23,390 The Jews were in an area in the town.

108

00:06:23,390 --> 00:06:25,840 It wasn't really a ghetto.

109

00:06:25,840 --> 00:06:31,330 And the Germans came from the neighboring town

110

00:06:31,330 --> 00:06:33,490 to destroy the Jews of Kosow.

111

00:06:33,490 --> 00:06:35,770 At least that is what the Jews of Kosow

112

00:06:35,770 --> 00:06:38,410 got by telephone from that neighboring town,

113

00:06:38,410 --> 00:06:39,020 from Kolomyia.

114

00:06:39,020 --> 00:06:41,590

115

00:06:41,590 --> 00:06:45,400

And the road from Kolomyia to Kosow

116

00:06:45,400 --> 00:06:50,800 took about 25 minutes, half an hour, by car.

117

00:06:50,800 --> 00:06:53,770 The Judenrat in Kosow decided that they

118

00:06:53,770 --> 00:06:57,010 would warn all the Jewish population

119

00:06:57,010 --> 00:06:59,830 and tell them to hide.

120

00:06:59,830 --> 00:07:05,290 In order to hold up the Germans when they came to Kosow,

121

00:07:05,290 --> 00:07:11,380 four Judenrat members remained in the building of the Judenrat

122

00:07:11,380 --> 00:07:14,470 to hold them up for 5 minutes, for 10 minutes,

123

00:07:14,470 --> 00:07:16,690 for a quarter of an hour.

124

00:07:16,690 --> 00:07:19,540 Out of these four people who stayed behind,

125

00:07:19,540 --> 00:07:21,370 while all of the others ran around

126

00:07:21,370 --> 00:07:25,370

to tell the Jews to

hide, one of them

127

00:07:25,370 --> 00:07:29,900 became faint, understandably so.

128

00:07:29,900 --> 00:07:31,730 And the other three told him, well,

129

00:07:31,730 --> 00:07:36,600 we cannot have you with us.

130

00:07:36,600 --> 00:07:38,375 You are too weak.

131

00:07:38,375 --> 00:07:40,940 And they sent him to hide.

132

00:07:40,940 --> 00:07:44,180 And the three people in the Judenrat in Kosow

133

00:07:44,180 --> 00:07:48,620 remained behind to meet the Germans.

134

00:07:48,620 --> 00:07:52,250 Now, this isn't armed rebellion, yes?

135

00:07:52,250 --> 00:07:53,870 There were no arms.

136

00:07:53,870 --> 00:07:56,810 The environment was the Ukrainian.

137

00:07:56,810 --> 00:08:01,070 Ukrainians hated the Jews, collaborated with the Germans.

138

00:08:01,070 --> 00:08:04,590

There's nowhere to hide on a large scale.

139

00:08:04,590 --> 00:08:06,860 And they dug bunkers.

140

00:08:06,860 --> 00:08:09,620 They dug places to hide in.

141

00:08:09,620 --> 00:08:12,706 But what they did was the only thing they could do.

142

00:08:12,706 --> 00:08:17,730 And I think, as a historian I think,

143

00:08:17,730 --> 00:08:22,420 that the action of these three people in Kosow

144

00:08:22,420 --> 00:08:24,235 was a heroic action.

was a licroic action.

145 00:08:24,235 --> 00:08:26,860

146

00:08:26,860 --> 00:08:30,610 And so you have that as against Holland.

147

00:08:30,610 --> 00:08:35,370 You have that on the opposite scale to the Dutch case.

148

00:08:35,370 --> 00:08:40,990 Yes, but I am thinking of the case of Gens, for instance.

149

00:08:40,990 --> 00:08:43,960 Although the speeches he delivered. 150 00:08:43,960 --> 00:08:45,780 he didn't stop to talk, said Chevalier,

151 00:08:45,780 --> 00:08:48,980 because he wanted to explain what he was doing.

152 00:08:48,980 --> 00:08:51,340 He wanted to explain his policy to the Jews

153 00:08:51,340 --> 00:08:55,630 and ask for their understanding.

154 00:08:55,630 --> 00:08:58,580 On the beautiful speech he gave, he

155 00:08:58,580 --> 00:09:05,260 informed those intellectuals of Vilna

156 00:09:05,260 --> 00:09:09,650 when you said, "I am the one who has the dirty hands.

157 00:09:09,650 --> 00:09:13,770 You will get out of this with clean--

158 00:09:13,770 --> 00:09:15,420 you will be very clean."

159 00:09:15,420 --> 00:09:17,323 So could you talk about this?

160 00:09:17,323 --> 00:09:18,010 Yes.

161 00:09:18,010 --> 00:09:25,240 That is another Judenrat policy, which, again, was engaged

162 00:09:25,240 --> 00:09:27,970 by some Judenrat heads--

163 00:09:27,970 --> 00:09:30,220 Gens was one of them--

164 00:09:30,220 --> 00:09:36,670 to sacrifice a minority, so they hoped, in order

165 00:09:36,670 --> 00:09:40,870 to save a majority, so they hoped.

166 00:09:40,870 --> 00:09:43,930 In the speech that you mentioned,

167 00:09:43,930 --> 00:09:49,060 Gens was justifying the action of the Vilna Jewish police

168 00:09:49,060 --> 00:09:54,100 in the ghetto of Osniany, where the Nazis came in

169 00:09:54,100 --> 00:10:00,400 with the Jewish police help to kill old people.

170 00:10:00,400 --> 00:10:01,570 And the Jewish police--

171 00:10:01,570 --> 00:10:04,397 The Jewish police participated in the killing,

172 00:10:04,397 --> 00:10:05,980 yes-- well, they didn't actually kill.

00:10:05,980 --> 00:10:10,540 But they helped the Germans to select the old people,

174

00:10:10,540 --> 00:10:13,060 to hand them over to be killed.

175

00:10:13,060 --> 00:10:16,150 And Gens justified it by saying if I

176

00:10:16,150 --> 00:10:21,310 hadn't done that, they would have taken women and children.

177

00:10:21,310 --> 00:10:26,990 This kind of policy was done not only by Gens.

178

00:10:26,990 --> 00:10:30,430 There were a few others who did that too.

179

00:10:30,430 --> 00:10:37,210 A very extreme case happened in Vilna in that very same ghetto.

180

00:10:37,210 --> 00:10:40,720 You had there the head of the Jewish resistance

181

00:10:40,720 --> 00:10:45,610 movement, a Jewish communist by the name of Yitzhak Wittenberg.

182

00:10:45,610 --> 00:10:50,530 He had been elected head of the Jewish resistance movement.

183

00:10:50,530 --> 00:10:54,490 A Lithuanian, apparently a Lithuanian communist,

00:10:54,490 --> 00:10:57,010 was caught by the Germans outside the ghetto.

185

00:10:57,010 --> 00:10:58,750 He told the story about Wittenberg.

186

00:10:58,750 --> 00:11:03,310 The Germans demanded Wittenberg to be delivered to them.

187

00:11:03,310 --> 00:11:05,350 Gens knew that Wittenberg was in the ghetto.

188

00:11:05,350 --> 00:11:06,970 He had met him.

189

00:11:06,970 --> 00:11:09,010 He demanded that Wittenberg be handed over.

190

00:11:09,010 --> 00:11:15,250

191

00:11:15,250 --> 00:11:16,100 Bauer, 5.

192

00:11:16,100 --> 00:11:19,410

193

00:11:19,410 --> 00:11:25,450 The Nazis demanded that Wittenberg be handed to them.

194

00:11:25,450 --> 00:11:28,350 This means that, of course, the Nazis knew

195

00:11:28,350 --> 00:11:29,970 that there was an underground--

00:11:29,970 --> 00:11:32,070 They knew that there was an underground movement

197

00:11:32,070 --> 00:11:32,790 in the ghetto.

198

00:11:32,790 --> 00:11:34,410 And Gens is the head--

199

00:11:34,410 --> 00:11:36,810 And Gens was the head of the ghetto.

200

00:11:36,810 --> 00:11:38,670 And they demanded of Gens that they

201

00:11:38,670 --> 00:11:40,620 wanted the head of the Jewish underground,

202

00:11:40,620 --> 00:11:45,300 the communist Yitzhak Wittenberg to be handed over to them.

203

00:11:45,300 --> 00:11:48,420 Now, Gens was faced with a problem

204

00:11:48,420 --> 00:11:55,740 of either resisting the Germans or acceding to their demand.

205

00:11:55,740 --> 00:11:59,850 And he called in the heads of the Jewish underground, whom

206

00:11:59,850 --> 00:12:01,170

he knew--

207

00:12:01,170 --> 00:12:02,700 And he knew who they were.

208

00:12:02,700 --> 00:12:04,630 He knew exactly who they were.

209

00:12:04,630 --> 00:12:06,180 And they do.

210

00:12:06,180 --> 00:12:07,620 And they went into him.

211

00:12:07,620 --> 00:12:13,260 And he demanded that they find Wittenberg and hand Wittenberg

212

00:12:13,260 --> 00:12:16,410 over to him, to Gens.

213

00:12:16,410 --> 00:12:18,720 And they refused.

214

00:12:18,720 --> 00:12:21,060 They refused.

215

00:12:21,060 --> 00:12:26,460 Gens organized the ghetto against the Jewish underground.

216

00:12:26,460 --> 00:12:28,725 And you have here a case where the underground,

217

00:12:28,725 --> 00:12:33,120 the resistance, faced not only the Judenrate.

218

00:12:33,120 --> 00:12:36,120 It faced the whole Jewish population,

219

00:12:36,120 --> 00:12:41,640

because the Jewish population saw that if Wittenberg was not

220

00:12:41,640 --> 00:12:46,320 handed over to the Nazis, the Nazis would come and destroy

221

00:12:46,320 --> 00:12:47,620 the ghetto.

222

00:12:47,620 --> 00:12:50,580 This is the way that Gens presented it to them.

223

00:12:50,580 --> 00:12:56,260 And probably, it is not far away from the truth.

224

00:12:56,260 --> 00:12:59,070 The fact that in the end Wittenberg

225

00:12:59,070 --> 00:13:01,110 was handed over to the Germans and the Germans

226

00:13:01,110 --> 00:13:04,590 nevertheless destroyed the ghetto is beside the point.

227

00:13:04,590 --> 00:13:07,560 Therefore the population started to demonstrate.

228

00:13:07,560 --> 00:13:11,520 The population demanded the handing over of Wittenberg

229

00:13:11,520 --> 00:13:12,270 to the Germans.

230

00:13:12,270 --> 00:13:14,790

00:13:14,790 --> 00:13:19,650 In the streets of the ghetto, and the ghetto was very small,

232

00:13:19,650 --> 00:13:23,640 whoever looked like he could be a member of the underground,

233

00:13:23,640 --> 00:13:24,570 he was attacked.

234

00:13:24,570 --> 00:13:25,350 He was asked.

235

00:13:25,350 --> 00:13:27,600 He was pushed.

236

00:13:27,600 --> 00:13:29,280 They shouted and so on.

237

00:13:29,280 --> 00:13:31,470 People whom they more or less knew

238

00:13:31,470 --> 00:13:33,900 must belong to the underground were in trouble,

239

00:13:33,900 --> 00:13:36,780 in serious trouble.

240

00:13:36,780 --> 00:13:43,200 s the question really became one of a decision

241

00:13:43,200 --> 00:13:48,150 for the underground either to yield,

242

00:13:48,150 --> 00:13:52,260 to hand over the command of

the underground to Gens--

243

00:13:52,260 --> 00:13:55,260 that means to the Germans--

244

00:13:55,260 --> 00:13:57,480 or to rebel.

245

00:13:57,480 --> 00:14:02,100 To rebel means not only against the Germans,

246

00:14:02,100 --> 00:14:05,130 not only against Gens, but against the ghetto,

247

00:14:05,130 --> 00:14:09,270 against the population, against the very population

248

00:14:09,270 --> 00:14:12,960 whom they wanted to lead against the Germans.

249

00:14:12,960 --> 00:14:15,720 This means there would have been a kind of avant garde

250

00:14:15,720 --> 00:14:17,090 without any support.

251

00:14:17,090 --> 00:14:21,120 Avant garde without any support whatsoever, left in front

252

00:14:21,120 --> 00:14:25,020 without anyone to follow them.

253

00:14:25,020 --> 00:14:27,000 Nevertheless, they could not bring themselves 00:14:27,000 --> 00:14:29,310 to make that decision.

255

00:14:29,310 --> 00:14:33,090 According to material that we now have,

256

00:14:33,090 --> 00:14:36,990 it was apparently a decision of the cell,

257

00:14:36,990 --> 00:14:42,480 of the Communist Party cell, that

258

00:14:42,480 --> 00:14:47,550 forced the issue by having the representatives

259

00:14:47,550 --> 00:14:49,890 of the Communist Party in the leadership

260

00:14:49,890 --> 00:14:53,040 of the underground support the handing over--

261

00:14:53,040 --> 00:14:57,870 No, but as far as I know, Wittenberg himself was himself

262

00:14:57,870 --> 00:15:04,530 as distrustful of his comrades as he was of Gens--

263

00:15:04,530 --> 00:15:06,480 He was distrustful not only of--

264

00:15:06,480 --> 00:15:08,130 He was alone.

265

00:15:08,130 --> 00:15:09,570 He was really alone.

266 00:15:09,570 --> 00:15:13,530 But he accepted-- this is the information that we now

267

00:15:13,530 --> 00:15:16,470 have of some of the people who were members

268

00:15:16,470 --> 00:15:21,570 of the communist cell and who participated in the decision,

269

00:15:21,570 --> 00:15:29,190 they say that Wittenberg was not in agreement.

270

00:15:29,190 --> 00:15:31,480 But he accepted the decision of the cell.

271

00:15:31,480 --> 00:15:35,310 Yes, but this not only a decision of the communist cell.

272

00:15:35,310 --> 00:15:37,350 It was a decision of the whole underground.

273

00:15:37,350 --> 00:15:40,590 But they would not have decided--

274

00:15:40,590 --> 00:15:42,750 this I think this is quite clear-- they would not

275

00:15:42,750 --> 00:15:46,020 have decided to hand over Wittenberg

276

00:15:46,020 --> 00:15:49,463 if they had not been supported

by the communist cell.

277

00:15:49,463 --> 00:15:50,130 All right, but--

278

00:15:50,130 --> 00:15:50,713 This is quite.

279

00:15:50,713 --> 00:15:53,220 Yes, but I don't think it is exactly the point.

280

00:15:53,220 --> 00:15:58,620 Whether the communist cell decided this or not,

281

00:15:58,620 --> 00:16:00,480 the fact is that the whole resistance--

282

00:16:00,480 --> 00:16:02,610 Yes, but you see, the interesting thing

283

00:16:02,610 --> 00:16:06,450 is that in their decision, the communist cell

284

00:16:06,450 --> 00:16:13,710 reflected the view of the whole underground at that point.

285

00:16:13,710 --> 00:16:15,000 They were very united.

286

00:16:15,000 --> 00:16:15,990 They were united.

287

00:16:15,990 --> 00:16:18,510 But they waited for the cell to decide,

288

00:16:18,510 --> 00:16:19,980 because he was one of them.

289

00:16:19,980 --> 00:16:21,390 Yes, all right, but--

290

00:16:21,390 --> 00:16:22,900 Then they went over--

291

00:16:22,900 --> 00:16:26,790 then this came to discussion in the general meeting

292

00:16:26,790 --> 00:16:27,900 of the leadership.

293

00:16:27,900 --> 00:16:30,630 And the decision was taken.

294

00:16:30,630 --> 00:16:34,560 And Wittenberg handed himself over to the--

295

00:16:34,560 --> 00:16:36,040 No, no, it's not so simple.

296

00:16:36,040 --> 00:16:39,210 They said, OK, we can then ask to surrender.

297

00:16:39,210 --> 00:16:41,830 And they went to him, as far as I know.

298

00:16:41,830 --> 00:16:42,970 And he didn't want--

299

00:16:42,970 --> 00:16:46,230 you see, he fought for one night.

300

00:16:46,230 --> 00:16:47,800

He didn't want to go.

301

00:16:47,800 --> 00:16:51,270

He knew that he was going to his death.

302

00:16:51,270 --> 00:16:53,100 I'm talking already after that.

303

00:16:53,100 --> 00:16:53,790

Yes.

304

00:16:53,790 --> 00:16:56,910

In other words, the after that night--

305

00:16:56,910 --> 00:16:58,650

I made it short.

306

00:16:58,650 --> 00:16:59,730

You're right.

307

00:16:59,730 --> 00:17:01,170

There was first a decision.

308

00:17:01,170 --> 00:17:02,080

They went to him.

309

 $00:17:02,080 \longrightarrow 00:17:02,700$

He objected.

310

00:17:02,700 --> 00:17:04,329

There was a long discussion.

311

00:17:04,329 --> 00:17:08,460

And then what decided the issue was the decision of the cell.

312

00:17:08,460 --> 00:17:10,260

They went back.

313

00:17:10,260 --> 00:17:13,470 He agreed to accept the decision of his own comrades.

314

00:17:13,470 --> 00:17:16,800 He did not agree with it, but he accepted it.

315

00:17:16,800 --> 00:17:20,130 And he handed himself over.

316

00:17:20,130 --> 00:17:24,450 I think what comes out in this episode is a--

317

00:17:24,450 --> 00:17:26,400 Kind of a lesson.

318

00:17:26,400 --> 00:17:27,210 Yes.

319

00:17:27,210 --> 00:17:30,330 I think that what comes out very clearly

320

00:17:30,330 --> 00:17:40,410 is the terrible moral problem of an underground, which

321

00:17:40,410 --> 00:17:45,180 sees itself responsible for the lives of the whole ghetto.

322

00:17:45,180 --> 00:17:49,320 Whatever they do, they may be accused

323

00:17:49,320 --> 00:17:54,180 of causing the death of the people in whose name they

324

00:17:54,180 --> 00:17:55,230 want to fight.

00:17:55,230 --> 00:17:58,350 But it is exactly the same problem as for the Judenrat,

326

00:17:58,350 --> 00:17:59,340 in one way.

327

00:17:59,340 --> 00:18:00,300 Exactly.

328

00:18:00,300 --> 00:18:02,250 And therefore, you find, for instance,

329

00:18:02,250 --> 00:18:07,620 in Vilna and in Bialystok, that the policies of the Judenrat

330

00:18:07,620 --> 00:18:09,600 and the policies of the underground

331

00:18:09,600 --> 00:18:13,800 sometimes have a very similar tinge.

332

00:18:13,800 --> 00:18:14,880 They converge.

333

00:18:14,880 --> 00:18:19,050 They conver-- they are parallel.

334

00:18:19,050 --> 00:18:23,640 And there are points of meeting.

335

00:18:23,640 --> 00:18:28,800 You have another case, which is even clearer, where

336

00:18:28,800 --> 00:18:36,990 in Bialystok in February

1943, the Germans tell Barash

337

00:18:36,990 --> 00:18:40,830 that they will deport 5,000 Jews.

338

 $00:18:40,830 \longrightarrow 00:18:45,160$ And the underground has to decide whether to rebel or not.

339

00:18:45,160 --> 00:18:47,490 And there's a terrible discussion.

340

00:18:47,490 --> 00:18:51,210 And they decide in the end, no, because if we

341

00:18:51,210 --> 00:18:54,060 wait for another few weeks, we'll have more arms.

342

00:18:54,060 --> 00:18:56,590 The rebellion will be greater.

343

00:18:56,590 --> 00:19:01,950 And if the Germans take only 5,000, then we won't rebel.

344

00:19:01,950 --> 00:19:08,200 So in effect, they sacrificed 5,000 Jews in order,

345

00:19:08,200 --> 00:19:12,150 so to speak, to make a rebellion for the whole ghetto.

346

00:19:12.150 --> 00:19:16.490 Yes, and I think that this was one of the great dilemmas of--

347

00:19:16,490 --> 00:19:17,980 It was a terrible dilemma--

348 00:19:17,980 --> 00:19:20,940 Resistance in many ghettos, because they said,

349

00:19:20,940 --> 00:19:23,370 we prepare ourselves to resist.

350

00:19:23,370 --> 00:19:25,950 But when?

351

00:19:25,950 --> 00:19:26,570 Exactly.

352

00:19:26,570 --> 00:19:27,570 When will we start?

353

00:19:27,570 --> 00:19:30,210 And they said, the day of the liquidation.

354

00:19:30,210 --> 00:19:31,260 But what is--

355

00:19:31,260 --> 00:19:33,480 But nobody knows what the liquidation is.

356

00:19:33,480 --> 00:19:36,460 And in Bialystok, the 5,000 Jews who

357

00:19:36,460 --> 00:19:40,770 were supposed to be taken out of the ghetto became 12,000.

358

00:19:40,770 --> 00:19:42,870 Yeah, and it is a liquidation too--

359

00:19:42,870 --> 00:19:45,450 And no rebellion occurred. 360 00:19:45,450 --> 00:19:49,350 Or to be more precise, a small part

361 00:19:49,350 --> 00:19:51,450 of the resistance group in Bialystok

362 00:19:51,450 --> 00:19:56,670 nevertheless rebelled in February without arms,

363 00:19:56,670 --> 00:19:59,910 without any hope, and with no results whatsoever.

364 00:19:59,910 --> 00:20:03,210 And this means, why do I insist on this, because I

365 00:20:03,210 --> 00:20:07,870 think there was a cooperation--

366 00:20:07,870 --> 00:20:10,590 Between the Judenrate--

367 00:20:10,590 --> 00:20:13,140 Of the resistance too.

368 00:20:13,140 --> 00:20:15,930 Well, you can't call it cooperation.

369 00:20:15,930 --> 00:20:22,470 There was an acceptance of the same situation

370 00:20:22,470 --> 00:20:24,870 that the Judenrate had to accept. 00:20:24,870 --> 00:20:28,290 And in Bialystok, Tenenbaum was in touch with Barash.

372 00:20:28,290 --> 00:20:30,660 It's not as though Tenenbaum did not

373 00:20:30,660 --> 00:20:33,840 know what the problem was before Barash.

374 00:20:33,840 --> 00:20:34,860 They met.

375 00:20:34,860 --> 00:20:36,720 They discussed this together.

376 00:20:36,720 --> 00:20:38,220 It was one decision.

377 00:20:38,220 --> 00:20:39,330 It was one decision.

378 00:20:39,330 --> 00:20:40,710 Yes.

379 00:20:40,710 --> 00:20:44,100 I'll give you another example of the same thing.

380 00:20:44,100 --> 00:20:53,700 In a small place near Vilna, two Jews, two young Jews,

381 00:20:53,700 --> 00:20:55,620 escape to the forests.

382 00:20:55,620 --> 00:20:57,660 This is an area which was not too far 00:20:57,660 --> 00:21:00,900 away from the Rudniki Forest.

384

00:21:00,900 --> 00:21:05,160 And they were caught by the Germans.

385

00:21:05,160 --> 00:21:07,710 And they were put into prison.

386

00:21:07,710 --> 00:21:09,780 And they were tortured.

387

00:21:09,780 --> 00:21:10,650 And they escaped.

388

00:21:10,650 --> 00:21:12,733 They managed to escape in the middle of the night.

389

00:21:12,733 --> 00:21:14,820 They went and hid.

390

00:21:14,820 --> 00:21:17,070 And the Germans came to the Judenrate.

391

00:21:17,070 --> 00:21:20,230 And they said, look, if these two people don't come back,

392

00:21:20,230 --> 00:21:22,710 we are going to execute all the Jews of the village.

393

 $00:21:22,710 \longrightarrow 00:21:26,310$

394

00:21:26,310 --> 00:21:31,860 And the message was given to these two young men. 00:21:31,860 --> 00:21:33,300 And they decided not to come back

396 00:21:33,300 --> 00:21:38,670 to the village and not to hand themselves over to the Germans.

397 00:21:38,670 --> 00:21:43,680 And the next day, 150 Jews from the village were killed.

398 00:21:43,680 --> 00:21:46,450

399 00:21:46,450 --> 00:21:50,020 Now, this was the type of dilemma

400 00:21:50,020 --> 00:21:53,260 which the resistance faced.

401 00:21:53,260 --> 00:21:55,360 The Germans made them collectively

402 00:21:55,360 --> 00:21:59,350 responsible for the whole ghetto, for the whole village,

403 00:21:59,350 --> 00:22:01,570 for the whole population.

404 00:22:01,570 --> 00:22:06,810 And in this kind of a situation, they had no way out.

405 00:22:06,810 --> 00:22:07,310 Yes.

406 00:22:07,310 --> 00:22:10,870 This is a reason why I think that to emphasize

00:22:10,870 --> 00:22:18,070 too much the contrast between the resistance of the Judenrat

408

00:22:18,070 --> 00:22:21,370 can lead to a completely distorted picture of what

409

00:22:21,370 --> 00:22:22,690 was a real situation.

410

00:22:22,690 --> 00:22:28,880

411

00:22:28,880 --> 00:22:32,650 Bauer, 6.

412

00:22:32,650 --> 00:22:37,400 We talked about the fact that in certain respects

413

00:22:37,400 --> 00:22:41,380 and in certain cases, the conditions that

414

00:22:41,380 --> 00:22:45,700 were imposed on the Judenrat and on the resistance

415

00:22:45,700 --> 00:22:53,020 forced both sides to adopt similar policies, to converge.

416

00:22:53,020 --> 00:22:55,420 But, of course, there is a vast difference

417

00:22:55,420 --> 00:22:58,870 between the resistance and the Judenrat in these two ghettos

00:22:58,870 --> 00:23:00,100 and in a number of others.

419

00:23:00,100 --> 00:23:02,500 Of course, there were Judenrate that were resisters.

420

00:23:02,500 --> 00:23:04,870 We are not talking about those.

421

00:23:04,870 --> 00:23:08,380 Because in the case of Bialystok or in the case of Vilna

422

00:23:08,380 --> 00:23:11,140 and in other cases, the resistance

423

00:23:11,140 --> 00:23:15,130 realized that there was literally no way out.

424

00:23:15,130 --> 00:23:17,320 They accepted the fact that the Jews

425

00:23:17,320 --> 00:23:19,630 were being killed by the Nazis.

426

00:23:19,630 --> 00:23:23,890 And that the only possible reaction to that kind of policy

427

00:23:23,890 --> 00:23:25,250 was armed resistance.

428

00:23:25,250 --> 00:23:28,270 There was no other-- although they knew perfectly well

429

00:23:28,270 --> 00:23:30,430 that everybody would be killed.

430

00:23:30,430 --> 00:23:31,510

Themselves too.

431

00:23:31,510 --> 00:23:32,260

Themselves too.

432

 $00:23:32,260 \longrightarrow 00:23:36,100$

So in that sense, there

was a clear cut line

433

00:23:36,100 --> 00:23:40,090

of difference between

themselves and the Judenrat.

434

00:23:40,090 --> 00:23:43,540

435

00:23:43,540 --> 00:23:47,200

I think I'll read

this letter now.

436

 $00:23:47,200 \longrightarrow 00:23:56,140$

It's the speech of Jacob

Gens after the destruction

437

 $00:23:56,140 \longrightarrow 00:24:00,160$

of the ghetto of Osniany

with the help of the police,

438

00:24:00,160 --> 00:24:01,690

Jewish police from Vilna.

439

00:24:01,690 --> 00:24:04,990

Exactly what did the Jewish police do?

440

00:24:04,990 --> 00:24:08,427

They selected old

people in Osniany.

441

00:24:08,427 --> 00:24:09,010

They selected.

442 00:24:09,010 --> 00:24:12,400 But did they participate actually in the shooting?

443 00:24:12,400 --> 00:24:13,610

444 00:24:13,610 --> 00:24:14,110 No.

445 00:24:14,110 --> 00:24:14,530 No.

446 00:24:14,530 --> 00:24:15,030 No.

447 00:24:15,030 --> 00:24:16,310 It is sure.

448 00:24:16,310 --> 00:24:18,880 They didn't have weapons.

449 00:24:18,880 --> 00:24:20,040 Yes, it's what I thought.

450 00:24:20,040 --> 00:24:25,240 But they led them to be killed.

451 00:24:25,240 --> 00:24:25,740 Yes.

452 00:24:25,740 --> 00:24:27,400 And this was known in Vilna?

453 00:24:27,400 --> 00:24:29,590 This was known when other people came back

454 00:24:29,590 --> 00:24:32,390 and this became general knowledge.

455 00:24:32,390 --> 00:24:35,830 "Many Jews regard me as a traitor," Gens says.

456 00:24:35,830 --> 00:24:38,770 "And many of you wonder why I show myself

457 00:24:38,770 --> 00:24:41,080 at this literary gathering.

458 00:24:41,080 --> 00:24:44,620 I, Gens, led you to death.

459 00:24:44,620 --> 00:24:48,250 And I, Gens, want to rescue Jews from death.

460 00:24:48,250 --> 00:24:54,190 I, Gens, order the uncovering of malinas"--

461 00:24:54,190 --> 00:24:56,510 that's the hiding places.

462 00:24:56,510 --> 00:24:59,380 "And I, Gens, try to get more food and more work

463 00:24:59,380 --> 00:25:02,350 and more certificates for the ghetto.

464 00:25:02,350 --> 00:25:05,710 I cast my accounts with Jewish blood

465 00:25:05,710 --> 00:25:08,200 and not with Jewish respect. 00:25:08,200 --> 00:25:11,320 "If they ask me for 1,000 Jews, I

467

00:25:11,320 --> 00:25:15,040 give them, because if the Germans themselves came,

468

00:25:15,040 --> 00:25:19,210 they would take with violence not 1,000, but thousands

469

00:25:19,210 --> 00:25:21,280 and thousands.

470

00:25:21,280 --> 00:25:23,890 And the whole ghetto would be finished.

471

00:25:23,890 --> 00:25:27,460 With 100"-- meaning that he gives them 100--

472

00:25:27,460 --> 00:25:29,620 "I save 1,000.

473

00:25:29,620 --> 00:25:32,980 With 1,000, I save 10,000.

474

00:25:32,980 --> 00:25:36,400 You are a people of spirituality and letters"--

475

00:25:36,400 --> 00:25:37,270 He's addressing--

476

00:25:37,270 --> 00:25:40,240 He's addressing the intelligentsia

477

00:25:40,240 --> 00:25:42,590 of the Vilna ghetto.

478 00:25:42,590 --> 00:25:46,960 "You keep away from such dirty doings in our ghetto.

479 00:25:46,960 --> 00:25:48,940 You will go out clean.

480 00:25:48,940 --> 00:25:51,970 And if you will survive the ghetto, you will say,

481 00:25:51,970 --> 00:25:54,580 we came out with a clear conscience.

482 00:25:54,580 --> 00:25:58,150 But I, Jacob Gens, if I survive, I'll

483 00:25:58,150 --> 00:26:00,910 go out covered with filth and blood.

484 00:26:00,910 --> 00:26:03,610 Blood will run from my hands.

485 00:26:03,610 --> 00:26:07,810 Nevertheless, I would be willing to stand at the bar of judgment

486 00:26:07,810 --> 00:26:09,310 before Jews.

487 00:26:09,310 --> 00:26:13,240 I would say I did everything to rescue as many Jews as I could.

488 00:26:13,240 --> 00:26:15,970 And I tried to lead them to freedom.

489 00:26:15,970 --> 00:26:18,610 And in order to save even a small part

490 00:26:18,610 --> 00:26:21,160 of the Jewish people, I alone had

491 00:26:21,160 --> 00:26:23,710 to lead others to their deaths.

492 00:26:23,710 --> 00:26:28,840 And in order to ensure that you go out with clear consciences,

493 00:26:28,840 --> 00:26:33,580 I have to forget mine and wallow in filth."

494 00:26:33,580 --> 00:26:36,670 It's a fantastic declaration.

495 00:26:36,670 --> 00:26:42,200

496 00:26:42,200 --> 00:26:44,195 What do you--

497 00:26:44,195 --> 00:26:48,260 I think this is, first of all, an attack

498 00:26:48,260 --> 00:26:49,820 on the Jewish intelligentsia.

499 00:26:49,820 --> 00:26:52,340 You are with your clean hands.

500 00:26:52,340 --> 00:26:54,530 You don't do the dirty work that has to be done.

501 00:26:54,530 --> 00:26:56,090 Somebody has to do it.

502

00:26:56,090 --> 00:26:58,280 I am doing it.

503

00:26:58,280 --> 00:27:00,620 I hope to try to save--

504

00:27:00,620 --> 00:27:05,580 I hope to save a section of the Vilna ghetto.

505

00:27:05,580 --> 00:27:10,370 I think he was actually convinced then by his policy

506

00:27:10,370 --> 00:27:15,200 he would manage to lead a remnant of the Jews

507

00:27:15,200 --> 00:27:17,070 to the world after the war.

508

00:27:17,070 --> 00:27:19,310 But there is something else which is striking,

509

00:27:19,310 --> 00:27:23,040 whether it is Gens or Rumkowski or even

510

00:27:23,040 --> 00:27:26,870 Czerniakow but Czerniakow is very different we know.

511

00:27:26,870 --> 00:27:31,940 But all of them were insisting on the saving of the youth.

512

00:27:31,940 --> 00:27:32,870

Yes.

513

00:27:32,870 --> 00:27:36,620 They said that the youth was the hope.

514 00:27:36,620 --> 00:27:38,840 And this is extraordinary, because--

515 00:27:38,840 --> 00:27:44,840 Well, it's a tradition really.

516 00:27:44,840 --> 00:27:47,780 You can find, in a different setting,

517 00:27:47,780 --> 00:27:50,390 of course, a continuation of the Jewish tradition

518 00:27:50,390 --> 00:27:52,640 from previous times.

519 00:27:52,640 --> 00:27:59,780 During the time of the tsars, the Jewish communities

520 00:27:59,780 --> 00:28:05,270 in Russia sent poor youngsters to be

521 00:28:05,270 --> 00:28:07,040 sent into the Russian army, which

522 00:28:07,040 --> 00:28:12,350 meant either death or conversion away from Judaism.

523 00:28:12,350 --> 00:28:19,190 In order to save the spiritually valuable youth

524 00:28:19,190 --> 00:28:23,270 of the community, there too you had a sacrifice of some

525

00:28:23,270 --> 00:28:24,320 in order to save.

526

00:28:24,320 --> 00:28:26,060 To save who?

527

00:28:26,060 --> 00:28:34,640 To save, in those days, it was the intelligent, rich, young

528

00:28:34,640 --> 00:28:37,370 population of the Jewish community.

529

00:28:37,370 --> 00:28:40,730 Here, the concentration is on the youth.

530

00:28:40,730 --> 00:28:44,900 All the Jewish parties and groups

531

00:28:44,900 --> 00:28:49,200 had this orientation on young people.

532

00:28:49,200 --> 00:28:50,690 There's no doubt about that.

533

00:28:50,690 --> 00:28:54,080 And it was the hope of these leaders

534

00:28:54,080 --> 00:28:57,360 to save youngsters in that way.

535

00:28:57,360 --> 00:29:01,670 But, again, I'm afraid that if we overemphasize

536 00:29:01,670 --> 00:29:05,270 Gens and Barash and Rumkowski, the impression

537 00:29:05,270 --> 00:29:10,550 will be gained as though that was the general picture.

538 00:29:10,550 --> 00:29:13,280 And I insist that this is not the general picture.

539 00:29:13,280 --> 00:29:15,080 It is part of the picture.

540 00:29:15,080 --> 00:29:18,200 And there were other parts of that picture too.

541 00:29:18,200 --> 00:29:21,590 And if I may introduce another case,

542 00:29:21,590 --> 00:29:24,800 it is the case of Slovakia, where

543 00:29:24,800 --> 00:29:31,670 you had a Judenrat, which became in 1942 in the course

544 00:29:31,670 --> 00:29:39,290 of the deportations, a Judenrat which represented groups

545 00:29:39,290 --> 00:29:42,560 of Jews who wanted to save the whole community,

546 00:29:42,560 --> 00:29:45,950 not part of it, the whole of it. 00:29:45,950 --> 00:29:49,460 And they did it in a number of ways-- by negotiations,

548

00:29:49,460 --> 00:29:56,750 but not only by negotiations, by trying to pay money

549

00:29:56,750 --> 00:29:58,700 to the Slovak government--

550

00:29:58,700 --> 00:30:01,670 Slovakia was a puppet state--

551

00:30:01,670 --> 00:30:06,770 and establish work camps for Jews in Slovakia.

552

00:30:06,770 --> 00:30:09,350 There too you have that emphasis on youth.

553

00:30:09,350 --> 00:30:11,630 But in a different setting altogether.

554

00:30:11,630 --> 00:30:13,910 The youth will work.

555

00:30:13,910 --> 00:30:18,950 They will give the Slovaks furniture and whatever

556

00:30:18,950 --> 00:30:22,250 they produce in these camps.

557

00:30:22,250 --> 00:30:24,950 And as a result of their work, the whole community

558

00:30:24,950 --> 00:30:26,750 will be safe.

559

00:30:26,750 --> 00:30:33,050 That same Judenrat also, in 1943 and in early 1944,

560

00:30:33,050 --> 00:30:37,400 tried to smuggle arms to the youth in these camps.

561

00:30:37,400 --> 00:30:39,770 And this is a completely different policy,

562

00:30:39,770 --> 00:30:41,900 although there is also that concentration on youth.

563

00:30:41,900 --> 00:30:44,330 Yes, but the conditions were completely different.

564

00:30:44,330 --> 00:30:45,800 Conditions were different.

565

00:30:45,800 --> 00:30:47,540 There were no ghettos.

566

00:30:47,540 --> 00:30:49,880 Well, if you want to take a similar condition,

567

00:30:49,880 --> 00:30:52,070 you can take the again the ghetto of Minsk

568

00:30:52,070 --> 00:30:58,820 or the ghettos of Wolinia and Belorussia,

569

00:30:58,820 --> 00:31:03,650 where the Judenrate, some of the Judenrate certainly,

570

00:31:03,650 --> 00:31:09,110 tried to organize the youth in order to go out into the forest

571 00:31:09,110 --> 00:31:11,570 and fight against the Germans.

572 00:31:11,570 --> 00:31:14,261 Yes, I know very well the case of Slovakia.

573 00:31:14,261 --> 00:31:23,230 In light of [INAUDIBLE] OK, now, you wanted to say,

574 00:31:23,230 --> 00:31:27,020 and I think it has to be said, about difference

575 00:31:27,020 --> 00:31:28,530 with the generations.

576 00:31:28,530 --> 00:31:30,590 Yes.

577 00:31:30,590 --> 00:31:35,130 I think what we find in the ghettos of Eastern Europe,

578 00:31:35,130 --> 00:31:40,430 but also partly in the West, is a rift, an abyss,

579 00:31:40,430 --> 00:31:43,385 developing between youth and older people.

580 00:31:43,385 --> 00:31:45,950

581 00:31:45,950 --> 00:31:48,500 The youngsters, especially the youth movements 582 00:31:48,500 --> 00:31:52,790 in Eastern Europe, whether they were Zionist or Bundists

583 00:31:52,790 --> 00:31:55,010 or communist--

584 00:31:55,010 --> 00:31:56,810 most of them were Zionist--

585 00:31:56,810 --> 00:31:57,900 The Jewish youth movement.

586 00:31:57,900 --> 00:31:59,720 The Jewish youth movement.

587 00:31:59,720 --> 00:32:06,260 They had not participated in the life of the adult community.

588 00:32:06,260 --> 00:32:10,970 The Nazi conquest forced them into redirecting

589 00:32:10,970 --> 00:32:15,180 their attention to the community, first in education.

590 00:32:15,180 --> 00:32:18,860 They had to try to encompass as many young people

591 00:32:18,860 --> 00:32:21,530 in the educational activity as possible.

592 00:32:21,530 --> 00:32:24,890 And later on, they found themselves,

593 00:32:24,890 --> 00:32:28,580 against their will really, representatives

594

00:32:28,580 --> 00:32:32,370 of the whole Jewish population in its struggle for life.

595

00:32:32,370 --> 00:32:35,360 And this is really what the resistance meant.

596

00:32:35,360 --> 00:32:37,700 These youngsters who made the rebellion

597

00:32:37,700 --> 00:32:44,480 in Warsaw or in Krakow or in Bialystok and in other places,

598

00:32:44,480 --> 00:32:47,000 before the war, they had no interest at all in what

599

00:32:47,000 --> 00:32:48,950 was happening in the community.

600

00:32:48,950 --> 00:32:52,370 And now because the old generation

601

00:32:52,370 --> 00:32:56,540 was so slow in understanding what was happening around them,

602

00:32:56,540 --> 00:33:00,950 it was under a shock, the youngsters

603

00:33:00,950 --> 00:33:04,370 freed themselves

quicker from the shock.

604

00:33:04,370 --> 00:33:09,080

And they established a life, a new life for themselves,

605 00:33:09,080 --> 00:33:11,300 in which they became the leaders.

606 00:33:11,300 --> 00:33:13,370 But while it is very interesting,

607 00:33:13,370 --> 00:33:19,340 why they were cut before the war off the community?

608 00:33:19,340 --> 00:33:23,240 Well, if there were Zionists, they wanted to go to Palestine

609 00:33:23,240 --> 00:33:24,530 and rebuild a new life.

610 00:33:24,530 --> 00:33:26,120 They have nothing to do with the life

611 00:33:26,120 --> 00:33:29,090 in Eastern European Jewish communities.

612 00:33:29,090 --> 00:33:30,080 This was old.

613 00:33:30,080 --> 00:33:32,180 They rebelled against it.

614 00:33:32,180 --> 00:33:34,220 If they were communists--

615 00:33:34,220 --> 00:33:36,860 Now, this is a very important point too. 616 00:33:36,860 --> 00:33:39,532 There is a discussion in the--

617 00:33:39,532 --> 00:33:40,032