1 00:00:00,000 --> 00:00:05,090

2 00:00:05,090 --> 00:00:07,580 (film slating)

3 00:00:07,580 --> 00:00:12,650 The news about the Holocaust were not put together

4 00:00:12,650 --> 00:00:16,580 into one big picture.

00:00:16,580 --> 00:00:19,160 There were the individual news that came in.

6 00:00:19,160 --> 00:00:23,480 For instance, you have in March 17, 1942,

7 00:00:23,480 --> 00:00:26,900 in the Hebrew paper, Davar, an article

8 00:00:26,900 --> 00:00:31,760 by a very well-known journalist who complains

9 00:00:31,760 --> 00:00:33,530 about the spreading of rumors.

10 00:00:33,530 --> 00:00:37,850 He said, "don't those who spread the rumors about tens

11 00:00:37,850 --> 00:00:41,000 of thousands and about a quarter of a million of massacred Jews

12 00:00:41,000 --> 00:00:43,010 feel that the majority does not tend

13 00:00:43,010 --> 00:00:46,310 to get overexcited from the facts and the numbers

14 00:00:46,310 --> 00:00:48,140 in these news because of their being

15 00:00:48,140 --> 00:00:51,440 unreliable and exaggerated?"

16 00:00:51,440 --> 00:00:56,810 And in fact, in July 1942, Gruenbaum--

17 00:00:56,810 --> 00:01:03,268 Yitzhak Gruenbaum, who was in charge of relations with Jews

18 00:01:03,268 --> 00:01:05,810 in the diaspora on behalf of the Jewish agency in Palestine--

19 00:01:05,810 --> 00:01:07,640 He was a very important member--

20 00:01:07,640 --> 00:01:10,220 He was a member of the Jewish agency, yes.

21 00:01:10,220 --> 00:01:12,410 A Jewish Agency Executive.

22 00:01:12,410 --> 00:01:16,520 And he was asked in the executive, what

23 00:01:16,520 --> 00:01:19,965 about all these news about Vilna, that masses of Jews 24 00:01:19,965 --> 00:01:20,840 were killed in Vilna?

25 00:01:20,840 --> 00:01:23,000 He said, it can't possibly be true

26 00:01:23,000 --> 00:01:27,440 because the rumors talk about more Jews in Vilna being killed

27 00:01:27,440 --> 00:01:30,230 than there were Jews in Vilna before the war, which

28 00:01:30,230 --> 00:01:33,140 shows that all these news are exaggerated.

29 00:01:33,140 --> 00:01:42,590 Now this same Gruenbaum later on, in December 1942,

30 00:01:42,590 --> 00:01:45,800 says that he knew about the slaughter in Poland in August

31 00:01:45,800 --> 00:01:49,100 but refrained from making it public because

32 00:01:49,100 --> 00:01:52,200 of the threat of the German invasion

33 00:01:52,200 --> 00:01:54,590 to Palestine, which was then overwhelming,

34 00:01:54,590 --> 00:02:00,020 and he did not want to make the atmosphere in Palestine, 35 00:02:00,020 --> 00:02:03,710 in Jewish Palestine, deteriorate even more.

36 00:02:03,710 --> 00:02:05,240 There is something in that.

37 00:02:05,240 --> 00:02:09,020 He received news, very detailed news, and one of these--

38 00:02:09,020 --> 00:02:11,000 or rather, two of these--

39 00:02:11,000 --> 00:02:14,210 dealt with the Holocaust itself.

40 00:02:14,210 --> 00:02:21,000 There was a news item coming out of England of the Bund report,

41 00:02:21,000 --> 00:02:24,680 which came which was publicized in Britain in June,

42 00:02:24,680 --> 00:02:29,480 and which reached Palestine in July, that the Jews were

43 00:02:29,480 --> 00:02:30,980 being killed in Poland.

44 00:02:30,980 --> 00:02:34,480 And there was a letter from Lichtheim,

45 00:02:34,480 --> 00:02:36,890 who was the representative of the Jewish agency

46 00:02:36,890 --> 00:02:41,210 in Switzerland, who was the only one of Gruenbaum's

47 00:02:41,210 --> 00:02:44,960 correspondents who put this in very clear language

48 00:02:44,960 --> 00:02:47,630 that the Jews are being systematically killed

49 00:02:47,630 --> 00:02:49,220 in Europe.

50 00:02:49,220 --> 00:02:52,310 The reply of Gruenbaum to Lichtheim

51 00:02:52,310 --> 00:02:55,580 is different from what, in December 1942,

52 00:02:55,580 --> 00:02:58,520 he said because in his reply to Lichtheim,

53 00:02:58,520 --> 00:03:01,340 he said he did not believe him.

54 00:03:01,340 --> 00:03:06,350 The fact is that he did not make Lichtheim's letter

55 00:03:06,350 --> 00:03:09,860 public, either to the Jewish agency executive

56 00:03:09,860 --> 00:03:13,460 or to the general public, whatever his reasons were.

57 00:03:13,460 --> 00:03:15,050 But why? 58 00:03:15,050 --> 00:03:16,130 What was the reason?

59 00:03:16,130 --> 00:03:18,500 I think that the real reason was that he did not want

60 00:03:18,500 --> 00:03:21,410 to believe what he was reading.

61 00:03:21,410 --> 00:03:26,480 And when the news did come through,

62 00:03:26,480 --> 00:03:32,660 the shock was tremendous, both to Gruenbaum himself,

63 00:03:32,660 --> 00:03:36,020 who felt himself responsible for not having reported what

64 00:03:36,020 --> 00:03:39,530 he knew before, and to the general public

65 00:03:39,530 --> 00:03:45,440 because in November, these 69 largely women and children

66 00:03:45,440 --> 00:03:49,610 came who were Palestinian subjects, citizens in Europe,

67 00:03:49,610 --> 00:03:51,920 exchanged for Germans in Palestine.

68 00:03:51,920 --> 00:03:54,740 They reached Palestine with the news they had seen! 00:03:54,740 --> 00:03:56,100 They were coming from Poland.

70 00:03:56,100 --> 00:03:58,700 They came from Poland, from Germany, from Belgium,

71 00:03:58,700 --> 00:03:59,630 from France.

72 00:03:59,630 --> 00:04:02,750 They came here and they told the story of the Holocaust.

73 00:04:02,750 --> 00:04:04,400 They saw it.

74 00:04:04,400 --> 00:04:06,810 And suddenly, you see, all of a sudden,

75 00:04:06,810 --> 00:04:10,490 from one day to the other, there was a shock

76 00:04:10,490 --> 00:04:13,370 to the whole population.

77 00:04:13,370 --> 00:04:19,519 Newspapers appeared in black margins, black borders,

78 00:04:19,519 --> 00:04:22,910 and the reaction of the agency executive

79 00:04:22,910 --> 00:04:25,400 and of the leadership of the newspapers

80 00:04:25,400 --> 00:04:29,780 and of Gruenbaum, who was responsible for rescue action--

81 00:04:29,780 --> 00:04:32,060 Yet this must be said, he was a--

82 00:04:32,060 --> 00:04:32,977 He was, at that time--

83 00:04:32,977 --> 00:04:34,102 Palestine Rescue Committee.

84 00:04:34,102 --> 00:04:35,315 He was the Rescue Committee.

85 00:04:35,315 --> 00:04:37,190 But I'll say something about that in a moment

86 00:04:37,190 --> 00:04:39,020 because it's not as simple as that.

87 00:04:39,020 --> 00:04:43,160 He was responsible and the reaction

88 00:04:43,160 --> 00:04:47,240 that you see in his activities, and in fact,

89 00:04:47,240 --> 00:04:50,120 in the activities of the leadership in Palestine

90 00:04:50,120 --> 00:04:53,150 altogether, is one that says, look,

91 00:04:53,150 --> 00:04:56,310 there is no chance of saving anyone in any case.

00:04:56,310 --> 00:05:01,000 The only way to save the people is to win the war quickly.

93 00:05:01,000 --> 00:05:03,810 As Gruenbaum says in December 1942,

94 00:05:03,810 --> 00:05:08,170 in an article in a Hebrew paper, he says,

95 00:05:08,170 --> 00:05:11,440 if there will be rescue, it will come from the American

96 00:05:11,440 --> 00:05:12,910 and Soviet armies.

97 00:05:12,910 --> 00:05:14,305 It will not come from us.

98 00:05:14,305 --> 00:05:18,610 He talked exactly like the Americans, like the British,

99 00:05:18,610 --> 00:05:19,960 rescues through victory.

100 00:05:19,960 --> 00:05:21,395 A rescue through victory.

101 00:05:21,395 --> 00:05:23,050 And what is the use of this?

102 00:05:23,050 --> 00:05:23,860 Precisely.

103 00:05:23,860 --> 00:05:27,130 Now that was the attitude of Gruenbaum. 104 00:05:27,130 --> 00:05:29,950 Now one must, however, understand that Gruenbaum--

105 00:05:29,950 --> 00:05:32,140 [AIRPLANE ENGINE HUMMING]

106 00:05:32,140 --> 00:05:33,430 Shall I repeat this again?

107 00:05:33,430 --> 00:05:37,669

108 00:05:37,669 --> 00:05:39,090 OK.

109 00:05:39,090 --> 00:05:39,860 Let it go.

110 00:05:39,860 --> 00:05:40,685 Let it go, OK.

111 00:05:40,685 --> 00:05:46,320

112 00:05:46,320 --> 00:05:50,420 The attitude of Gruenbaum has to be

113 00:05:50,420 --> 00:05:52,160 understood against the background

114 00:05:52,160 --> 00:05:53,810 of his position in the agency.

115 00:05:53,810 --> 00:05:57,150 He was a minority representative.

116 00:05:57,150 --> 00:06:00,950

He was shunted onto the Rescue Committee

117

00:06:00,950 --> 00:06:03,800 because the majority party in the Jewish agency

118

00:06:03,800 --> 00:06:07,730 executive, the Labor Party, occupied the major positions.

119

00:06:07,730 --> 00:06:11,120 Finance, foreign policy, leadership, and so on

120

00:06:11,120 --> 00:06:12,140 and so forth.

121

00:06:12,140 --> 00:06:14,300 Gruenbaum was a member of the Hashomer Hatzair?

122

00:06:14,300 --> 00:06:17,420 No, Gruenbaum was a member of the General Zionists.

123

00:06:17,420 --> 00:06:21,200 He was a minority representative.

124

00:06:21,200 --> 00:06:24,410 When you look at the actions that were done,

125

00:06:24,410 --> 00:06:27,560 whatever was done, it wasn't through Gruenbaum.

126

00:06:27,560 --> 00:06:31,220 Gruenbaum never sent the emissaries to Istanbul

127

00:06:31,220 --> 00:06:34,340

to contact the Jews in Slovakia, and Hungary, and Romania,

128

00:06:34,340 --> 00:06:36,635 and Poland and send their money.

129

00:06:36,635 --> 00:06:38,760 That wasn't done through Gruenbaum, that was done--

130

00:06:38,760 --> 00:06:40,550 OK, but why such a man was appointed

131

00:06:40,550 --> 00:06:42,335 as the head of the Rescue Commitee?

132

00:06:42,335 --> 00:06:43,168 [INTERPOSING VOICES]

133

00:06:43,168 --> 00:06:45,620 This means as a rescue of the very side--

134

00:06:45,620 --> 00:06:49,760 That was one-- you can say that here, you

135

00:06:49,760 --> 00:06:56,930 had a scandal of a lack of proper organization

136

00:06:56,930 --> 00:06:59,780 at a time when such an organization was needed.

137

00:06:59,780 --> 00:07:02,420 I'm just explaining the facts.

138

00:07:02,420 --> 00:07:05,090 And the facts are that when--

139 00:07:05,090 --> 00:07:08,060 at the same time, at the end of 1942,

140

00:07:08,060 --> 00:07:12,680 the Jewish Agency tries to send parachutists, large numbers

141 00:07:12 680

00:07:12,680 --> 00:07:13,730 to Europe.

142

00:07:13,730 --> 00:07:15,650 There was a plan to send, immediately,

143

00:07:15,650 --> 00:07:20,960 500 parachutists from Palestine to organize resistance

144

00:07:20,960 --> 00:07:23,090 all over Jewish Europe.

145

00:07:23,090 --> 00:07:25,700 And this was proposed by the Jewish Agency Executive

146

00:07:25,700 --> 00:07:28,010 without Gruenbaum even knowing about it,

147

00:07:28,010 --> 00:07:30,380 never mind acting in it.

148

00:07:30,380 --> 00:07:35,180 So the personality of Gruenbaum is important,

149

00:07:35,180 --> 00:07:38,480 but it has to be taken in the proper context.

150

00:07:38,480 --> 00:07:41,810

The Jewish Agency Executive in Palestine at the time

151 00:07:41,810 --> 00:07:48,170 was generally of the view that very little could be done.

152 00:07:48,170 --> 00:07:51,180 Now, let's examine whether more could have been done?

153 00:07:51,180 --> 00:07:53,930 Yes, but I think that this lack of organization

154 00:07:53,930 --> 00:07:56,450 came from something much deeper.

155 00:07:56,450 --> 00:07:57,320 It's because--

156 00:07:57,320 --> 00:07:58,220 I'm coming to that.

157 00:07:58,220 --> 00:08:03,050 Now, you see, the problem with the Zionist movement

158 00:08:03,050 --> 00:08:04,940 in Palestine altogether, at the time,

159 00:08:04,940 --> 00:08:09,470 was you had a very weak Jewish population in Palestine,

160 00:08:09,470 --> 00:08:11,330 half a million.

161 00:08:11,330 --> 00:08:13,940 There was the British Empire that 162 00:08:13,940 --> 00:08:21,350 was opposed to the continuation of the Zionist endeavor,

163 00:08:21,350 --> 00:08:23,690 and there was a threat from Germany.

164 00:08:23,690 --> 00:08:28,010 In 1942, Rommel stood in Al -- stood in Alexandria.

165 00:08:28,010 --> 00:08:31,700 In this kind of environment, the Zionist leadership said,

166 00:08:31,700 --> 00:08:34,130 there was no possibility, whatsoever,

167 00:08:34,130 --> 00:08:36,289 for us helping European Jews.

168 00:08:36,289 --> 00:08:40,130 But we must help ourselves, we must defend Palestine,

169 00:08:40,130 --> 00:08:43,309 we must recruit ourselves to the British army

170 00:08:43,309 --> 00:08:46,280 against the Germans, and so on and so forth.

171 00:08:46,280 --> 00:08:53,150 The lack of Jewish power, the lack of Jewish influence

172 00:08:53,150 --> 00:08:55,970 caused the Zionist leadership to say,

00:08:55,970 --> 00:09:00,230 all we can do is to look after Palestine.

174

00:09:00,230 --> 00:09:02,240 There's very little we can do abroad.

175

00:09:02,240 --> 00:09:03,410 Some, we can do.

176

00:09:03,410 --> 00:09:05,780 Whatever we can do, we should do.

177

00:09:05,780 --> 00:09:07,880 But there's very little we can do.

178

00:09:07,880 --> 00:09:09,270 What can we do?

179

00:09:09,270 --> 00:09:14,630 We can press the British to send parachutists, military people

180

00:09:14,630 --> 00:09:16,490 to organize Jews in Europe.

181

00:09:16,490 --> 00:09:19,650 We can send money, whatever we can collect in Palestine,

182

00:09:19,650 --> 00:09:21,740 it's a very small community.

183

00:09:21,740 --> 00:09:26,930 We can try to influence the powers diplomatically.

184

00:09:26,930 --> 00:09:30,680 But let us not kid ourselves that we can do more than that.

185 00:09:30,680 --> 00:09:32,930 That was the attitude of the leadership.

186 00:09:32,930 --> 00:09:36,500 That was not the attitude of some of the youth movements,

187 00:09:36,500 --> 00:09:38,373 of some individuals, and so on.

188 00:09:38,373 --> 00:09:40,040 But that was the attitude of leadership.

189 00:09:40,040 --> 00:09:41,960 It was accepted.

190 00:09:41,960 --> 00:09:43,310 By the majority--

191 00:09:43,310 --> 00:09:46,090 There is a text of Gruenbaum, precisely about

192 00:09:46,090 --> 00:09:48,435 the approach of the Germans.

193 00:09:48,435 --> 00:09:49,310 Well, that's what I--

194 00:09:49,310 --> 00:09:52,430 Where he says, we have to fight, and if we

195 00:09:52,430 --> 00:10:00,020 know that the Jews are killed like sheep in Europe,

196 00:10:00,020 --> 00:10:03,180 this will destroy our fighting spirit.

197

00:10:03,180 --> 00:10:03,680 Yes.

198

00:10:03,680 --> 00:10:04,330 There is--

199

00:10:04,330 --> 00:10:07,490 Now this is-- Yeah, but you see, this

200

00:10:07,490 --> 00:10:15,170 is what he said in January 1943, about August and September,

201

00:10:15,170 --> 00:10:19,220 what is true, it is true of January 1943.

202

00:10:19,220 --> 00:10:23,840 In other words, he does not want to emphasize too much the news

203

00:10:23,840 --> 00:10:29,480 about the disasters in Europe because, and he says it openly,

204

00:10:29,480 --> 00:10:33,602 because he says, they will go, they went like sheep

205

00:10:33,602 --> 00:10:34,310 to the slaughter.

206

00:10:34,310 --> 00:10:35,970 We here must defend ourselves.

207

00:10:35,970 --> 00:10:38,400

We must be different.

208

00:10:38,400 --> 00:10:42,560 The point is that Gruenbaum and his group

209 00:10:42,560 --> 00:10:44,000 and the people who agreed with him

210 00:10:44,000 --> 00:10:48,200 did not change their basic attitude that nothing could

211 00:10:48,200 --> 00:10:50,890 be done, even after they knew about the Warsaw ghetto

212 00:10:50,890 --> 00:10:53,950 rebellion, which is three months after this.

213 00:10:53,950 --> 00:10:56,110 Because this is held in January.

214 00:10:56,110 --> 00:10:58,540 In April, they knew about the Warsaw rebellion,

215 00:10:58,540 --> 00:11:01,870 it was immediately publicized.

216 00:11:01,870 --> 00:11:03,820 And they did not change.

217 00:11:03,820 --> 00:11:07,330 They said, we can't do anything.

218 00:11:07,330 --> 00:11:12,820 Now what was done was done.

219 00:11:12,820 --> 00:11:13,640 Tres bien. 00:11:13,640 --> 00:11:15,710 Very good.

221

00:11:15,710 --> 00:11:19,120 (film slating)

222

00:11:19,120 --> 00:11:23,830 The problem is what they could have done, you see?

223

00:11:23,830 --> 00:11:27,520 For instance, you have here a quotation from Gruenbaum,

224

00:11:27,520 --> 00:11:29,680 early in 1943.

225

00:11:29,680 --> 00:11:32,770 He says, "Zionism is above all.

226

00:11:32,770 --> 00:11:35,710 This has to be said whenever a big Holocaust takes us

227

00:11:35,710 --> 00:11:38,980 from the struggle for redemption in Zion."

228

00:11:38,980 --> 00:11:43,060 "Redemption in Zion," whose redemption in Zion?

229

00:11:43,060 --> 00:11:46,270 "Our redemption struggle does not develop from,

230

00:11:46,270 --> 00:11:51,310 and does not directly merge with the actions for the diaspora.

231

00:11:51,310 --> 00:11:54,430

This is our disaster."

00:11:54,430 --> 00:11:56,530 See, there is a contradiction there.

233

00:11:56,530 --> 00:12:00,735 The contradiction is that you want to create a state.

234

00:12:00,735 --> 00:12:02,110 If your are a Zionist, you wanted

235

00:12:02,110 --> 00:12:06,070 to create a state in Palestine for whom?

236

00:12:06,070 --> 00:12:07,660 For the Jews in the diaspora.

237

00:12:07,660 --> 00:12:10,750 I mean, who would populate such a state?

238

00:12:10,750 --> 00:12:13,240 It is a question for the Jews in the diaspora,

239

00:12:13,240 --> 00:12:15,100 for an elite of the Jews.

240

00:12:15,100 --> 00:12:16,000 No.

241

00:12:16,000 --> 00:12:18,730 But they wanted to create a mass Jewish state.

242

00:12:18,730 --> 00:12:20,530 For the mass Jewish state, they needed

243

00:12:20,530 --> 00:12:22,930

the masses of the Jewish people in the diaspora.

244

00:12:22,930 --> 00:12:26,350 They saw themselves as an avant-garde,

245

00:12:26,350 --> 00:12:28,490 and the others would follow.

246

00:12:28,490 --> 00:12:30,070 But if there was nobody to follow,

247

00:12:30,070 --> 00:12:33,040 they would remain an avant-garde without a following.

248

00:12:33,040 --> 00:12:35,350 And that would be a tragedy.

249

00:12:35,350 --> 00:12:37,330 Yes, but [INAUDIBLE] avant-garde.

250

00:12:37,330 --> 00:12:38,350 Yeah, all right.

251

00:12:38,350 --> 00:12:39,520 But what for?

252

00:12:39,520 --> 00:12:42,790 So they are struggling with themselves all the time.

253

00:12:42,790 --> 00:12:45,040 There's a contradiction in the very-- in the sentences

254

00:12:45,040 --> 00:12:46,240

that I was reading.

00:12:46,240 --> 00:12:48,370 The contradiction inside.

256

00:12:48,370 --> 00:12:49,960 This was a contradiction with which

257

00:12:49,960 --> 00:12:52,570 they were living at that time.

258

00:12:52,570 --> 00:12:56,200 They were trying to establish-trying to fight for a state,

259

00:12:56,200 --> 00:12:58,840 because if they did not fight for a state,

260

00:12:58,840 --> 00:13:00,850 nothing would be safe.

261

00:13:00,850 --> 00:13:04,900 If they fought for a state, something would be saved.

262

00:13:04,900 --> 00:13:09,310 If there was, after the war, no Jewish state and no country

263

00:13:09,310 --> 00:13:11,440 that would absorb whatever's left,

264

00:13:11,440 --> 00:13:12,880 then everything would be lost.

265

00:13:12,880 --> 00:13:16,780 Yes but in one way, what you say is complete, perfectly true.

266

00:13:16,780 --> 00:13:21,370

But they took, in one way, easily.

00:13:21,370 --> 00:13:22,633

Or too easily--

268

00:13:22,633 --> 00:13:23,550

They did not take it--

269

00:13:23,550 --> 00:13:27,280 --for granted that there was nothing that could be done.

270

00:13:27,280 --> 00:13:31,960

Well, now the problem

arises what could be done.

271

00:13:31,960 --> 00:13:34,510

As I said, there were

differences of opinion.

272

00:13:34,510 --> 00:13:37,690

We take Gruenbaum as the extreme example.

273

00:13:37,690 --> 00:13:39,610

There were other members

of the Jewish Agency

274

00:13:39,610 --> 00:13:42,100

that acted differently.

275

00:13:42,100 --> 00:13:46,750

But what they essentially saw was a completely powerless

276

00:13:46,750 --> 00:13:49,090

Jewish people.

277

00:13:49,090 --> 00:13:54,070

And in 1942 and [? 1943, ?]

this is undoubtedly, exactly

278

00:13:54,070 --> 00:13:55,270

correct.

279

00:13:55,270 --> 00:13:57,580 The Jews have no influence.

280

00:13:57,580 --> 00:13:59,320 They are pushed aside.

281

00:13:59,320 --> 00:14:01,300 Nothing will be done for their rescue,

282

00:14:01,300 --> 00:14:04,210 and all you can do is to run to the British,

283

00:14:04,210 --> 00:14:07,930 please, please send few hundred parachutists into Europe.

284

00:14:07,930 --> 00:14:09,370 They didn't do even that.

285

00:14:09,370 --> 00:14:12,070 In the end, they sent 31 parachutists.

286

00:14:12,070 --> 00:14:12,730 Jewish?

287

00:14:12,730 --> 00:14:14,560 Jewish parachutist from Palestine

288

00:14:14,560 --> 00:14:16,750 to help save Jewish communities in Europe.

289

00:14:16,750 --> 00:14:18,250

It was useless.

290

00:14:18,250 --> 00:14:20,800

They wouldn't even send a few hundred parachutists.

291

00:14:20,800 --> 00:14:22,330 So what else could you do?

292

00:14:22,330 --> 00:14:25,633 We had no ships, we had no aircraft,

293

00:14:25,633 --> 00:14:26,800 how would you get to Europe?

294

00:14:26,800 --> 00:14:28,420 Swim?

295

00:14:28,420 --> 00:14:29,290 There was no way.

296

00:14:29,290 --> 00:14:30,730 This was a country at war.

297

00:14:30,730 --> 00:14:33,200 There was no way to get to Europe.

298

00:14:33,200 --> 00:14:34,720 And so the only thing they could do

299

00:14:34,720 --> 00:14:38,080 was to get those few pounds together, collect money,

300

00:14:38,080 --> 00:14:41,170 send it to Istanbul, get it to Europe,

301

00:14:41,170 --> 00:14:44,200 advise them, and the parachutists.

302

00:14:44,200 --> 00:14:44,960 And that was all.

303

00:14:44,960 --> 00:14:46,370 And that was all right --

304

00:14:46,370 --> 00:14:50,080 So practically speaking, there was the question

305

00:14:50,080 --> 00:14:53,530 that the leadership said, OK, you want us to do something.

306

00:14:53,530 --> 00:14:55,600 What shall we do?

307

00:14:55,600 --> 00:14:58,780 The youth movements, the kibbutz movements in this country,

308

00:14:58,780 --> 00:15:02,200 and others said, at least do what you can do.

309

00:15:02,200 --> 00:15:04,360 Yes, but about the Judenrat, you talked

310

00:15:04,360 --> 00:15:06,280 about the moral attitude.

311

00:15:06,280 --> 00:15:06,910 Yes.

312

00:15:06,910 --> 00:15:11,703 One could say that they behaved very--

313

00:15:11,703 --> 00:15:13,120

They were very rude, these people.

00:15:13,120 --> 00:15:14,110 Yes, now what--

315

00:15:14,110 --> 00:15:15,940

They were statesmen and politicians.

316

00:15:15,940 --> 00:15:19,270

Well, that is undoubtedly true.

317

00:15:19,270 --> 00:15:24,250

They had to decide where to put their effort in.

318

00:15:24,250 --> 00:15:25,120

The priority.

319

00:15:25,120 --> 00:15:26,110

Their priority.

320

00:15:26,110 --> 00:15:27,970

And they put their priority in what

321

00:15:27,970 --> 00:15:31,060

they saw that they could

do at that moment, which

322

00:15:31,060 --> 00:15:33,760

was to struggle for

the continued existence

323

 $00:15:33,760 \longrightarrow 00:15:36,610$

of the Jewish population

here and to establish

324

00:15:36,610 --> 00:15:41,500

a Jewish political

independence later on.

325

00:15:41,500 --> 00:15:47,440

But you see, when you come to

see what actually was done,

326

00:15:47,440 --> 00:15:51,920 the little that was done, you have to ask yourself,

327

00:15:51,920 --> 00:15:53,770 who wanted to do it?

328

00:15:53,770 --> 00:15:57,040 Did they get the support of the leadership?

329

00:15:57,040 --> 00:16:00,070 Well, they did get the support of the leadership.

330

00:16:00,070 --> 00:16:05,830 That same Gruenbaum, who is quoted now, very often,

331

00:16:05,830 --> 00:16:08,350 in the kind of quotations that I did.

332

00:16:08,350 --> 00:16:10,630 I did quote him.

333

00:16:10,630 --> 00:16:14,820 He says in one of his speeches to the Rescue Committee,

334

00:16:14,820 --> 00:16:18,990 of which he was the chairman, he said, anything we can do

335

00:16:18,990 --> 00:16:20,850 is useless.

336

00:16:20,850 --> 00:16:22,380

He said it.

00:16:22,380 --> 00:16:25,890 And then he added, but we must do it.

338

00:16:25,890 --> 00:16:27,250 We must do it.

339

00:16:27,250 --> 00:16:30,600 And so he runs around and he gets the money.

340

00:16:30,600 --> 00:16:34,680

And he does the little that he can do.

341

00:16:34,680 --> 00:16:36,750

When, after the war, he was accused

342

00:16:36,750 --> 00:16:41,040 of the things in the kind of quotations that I just quoted,

343

00:16:41,040 --> 00:16:44,910 he said, well, what else do you suggest

344

00:16:44,910 --> 00:16:46,050 that I should have done?

345

00:16:46,050 --> 00:16:50,280

346

00:16:50,280 --> 00:16:53,510 I don't accept his excuse because--

3/17

00:16:53,510 --> 00:16:56,400 There is another

quotation which is--

348

00:16:56,400 --> 00:16:57,960 You mean the one with the--

00:16:57,960 --> 00:17:00,630 Yes, [INAUDIBLE].

350

00:17:00,630 --> 00:17:01,920 I don't sway.

351

00:17:01,920 --> 00:17:05,310 I don't-- [INAUDIBLE].

352

00:17:05,310 --> 00:17:06,359 Yes.

353

00:17:06,359 --> 00:17:13,859 Yes, anything he was asked by members of his own group,

354

00:17:13,859 --> 00:17:19,230 from people who came from Poland, "they always demanded

355

00:17:19,230 --> 00:17:20,640 of me alarms."

356

00:17:20,640 --> 00:17:22,960 This is a bad translation from Hebrew,

357

00:17:22,960 --> 00:17:25,920 which means that they demanded of him that he

358

00:17:25,920 --> 00:17:30,220 should publicize, in the country, what was happening.

359

00:17:30,220 --> 00:17:34,800 "And I would pour cold water in their faces

360

00:17:34,800 --> 00:17:37,050 and cool their enthusiasm.

361 00:17:37,050 --> 00:17:39,360 They said to me, you have to swear

362 00:17

00:17:39,360 --> 00:17:42,600 in the name of the Jewish Agency that there

363

00:17:42,600 --> 00:17:45,810 will be no peace and quiet and until we stop the massacre

364

00:17:45,810 --> 00:17:47,400 and save the remnants of our brothers

365

00:17:47,400 --> 00:17:49,470 in the occupied countries."

366

00:17:49,470 --> 00:17:51,900 And he says, "no, I will not sway.

367

00:17:51,900 --> 00:17:54,630 It is possible that this is a main issue,

368

00:17:54,630 --> 00:17:58,530 but it is not the only one one has to see to.

369

00:17:58,530 --> 00:18:00,660 And, again, I spoke of the pledge.

370

00:18:00,660 --> 00:18:03,390 We have and need to get out of the situation

371

00:18:03,390 --> 00:18:06,120 of the exceptional people and become a people

00:18:06,120 --> 00:18:08,190 like all the other peoples.

373

00:18:08,190 --> 00:18:12,240 Two thousands of years of diaspora are enough.

374

00:18:12,240 --> 00:18:14,280 We shall have equal rights in the family

375

00:18:14,280 --> 00:18:15,630 of nations in this world.

376

00:18:15,630 --> 00:18:19,500 This is a testament, and we have to execute it."

377

00:18:19,500 --> 00:18:22,600 We can't do anything for the diaspora,

378

00:18:22,600 --> 00:18:26,250 we have to execute the testament of the diaspora here

379

00:18:26,250 --> 00:18:28,300 to establish ourselves as an independent people.

380

00:18:28,300 --> 00:18:28,800 No, no.

381

00:18:28,800 --> 00:18:30,945 But there is this place and there

382

00:18:30,945 --> 00:18:33,450 was a one he says, very clearly, "if I

383

00:18:33,450 --> 00:18:36,870 have to choose to give money for rescue

384

00:18:36,870 --> 00:18:39,950 or to give money for the--"

385

00:18:39,950 --> 00:18:42,010 For the KNK I remember the quotation.

386

00:18:42,010 --> 00:18:42,510 Yes.

387

00:18:42,510 --> 00:18:43,620 Jewish cause?

388

00:18:43,620 --> 00:18:46,500 Cause, then there will be the Jewish cause.

389

00:18:46,500 --> 00:18:50,250 In actual fact, he said it and he did the opposite.

390

00:18:50,250 --> 00:18:54,240 Because when the discussion came up, where should the money go?

391

00:18:54,240 --> 00:18:57,420 He demanded that the money should go to the rescue.

392

00:18:57,420 --> 00:19:01,530 I mean, one has to say that in his favor.

393

00:19:01,530 --> 00:19:04,110 I told you, there

is a contradiction

394

00:19:04,110 --> 00:19:06,390

in their attitudes.

395 00:19:06,390 --> 00:19:09,930 And the interesting thing is the pressure

396

00:19:09,930 --> 00:19:17,250 that is exercised in Palestine by the people from the kibbutz

397

00:19:17,250 --> 00:19:18,900 movement, by the youth movements,

398

00:19:18,900 --> 00:19:22,260 by the working class movement in this country,

399

00:19:22,260 --> 00:19:25,830 and by other groups who demand more action.

400

00:19:25,830 --> 00:19:28,050 And the more action expresses itself

401

00:19:28,050 --> 00:19:31,380 in sending a delegation to Istanbul,

402

00:19:31,380 --> 00:19:34,410 which will be in touch with the diaspora

403

00:19:34,410 --> 00:19:36,810 and will try to send the money.

404

00:19:36,810 --> 00:19:39,510 That is, in effect, what they were asking for, that is,

405

00:19:39,510 --> 00:19:41,280 in effect, what they got.

00:19:41,280 --> 00:19:44,700 And then we come to 1943 and 1944.

407

00:19:44,700 --> 00:19:47,340 And for the first time, a real possibility

408

00:19:47,340 --> 00:19:50,580 opens up to do something real.

409

00:19:50,580 --> 00:19:53,280 And that is with the mission of Joel Brand,

410

00:19:53,280 --> 00:19:55,710 with a Hungarian business.

411

00:19:55,710 --> 00:19:58,950 And there, you can see at the moment

412

00:19:58,950 --> 00:20:02,100 when there is a possibility, what they do.

413

00:20:02,100 --> 00:20:05,610 And Gruenbaum is completely out of the action.

414

00:20:05,610 --> 00:20:09,050 He just is-- he doesn't exist there.

415

00:20:09,050 --> 00:20:13,500 The people who do it is Ben-Gurion and Sharett.

416

00:20:13,500 --> 00:20:16,500 And they try to influence the British and the American 00:20:16,500 --> 00:20:21,720 government to carry on negotiations with the Nazis

418 00:20:21,720 --> 00:20:24,720 to save the Jewish people of Europe.

419 00:20:24,720 --> 00:20:27,660 The expression of Sharett is "dangle a carrot

420 00:20:27,660 --> 00:20:31,260 in front of their eyes."

421 00:20:31,260 --> 00:20:34,380 Don't actually give them anything, just

422 00:20:34,380 --> 00:20:38,110 negotiate, and by the very process of negotiation,

423 00:20:38,110 --> 00:20:43,320 you will save Jews because you will postpone their murder.

424 00:20:43,320 --> 00:20:47,370 So when you come to June 1944, for the first time,

425 00:20:47,370 --> 00:20:51,780 the Jewish agency in Palestine does have a possibility

426 00:20:51,780 --> 00:20:54,900 to do something real.

427 00:20:54,900 --> 00:20:56,290 And this is what they do.

428 00:20:56,290 --> 00:20:58,650 They demand negotiations. 429 00:20:58,650 --> 00:21:01,950 Do you think that they did the utmost?

430 00:21:01,950 --> 00:21:04,290 Well, I don't quite know what the utmost is.

431 00:21:04,290 --> 00:21:08,370 This is a time of the invasion of Europe.

432 00:21:08,370 --> 00:21:13,600 The invasion of Europe was early June 1944.

433 00:21:13,600 --> 00:21:17,050 The Joel Brand business, Joel Brand

434 00:21:17,050 --> 00:21:21,670 came to Istanbul on the 19th of May.

435 00:21:21,670 --> 00:21:28,060 And Sharett flew to London on the 26th of June.

436 00:21:28,060 --> 00:21:31,990 Demonstrations in front of Churchill,

437 00:21:31,990 --> 00:21:35,290 can one really suggest, in retrospect,

438 00:21:35,290 --> 00:21:37,930 that British Jews should have demonstrated

439 00:21:37,930 --> 00:21:40,420 in front of the houses

of parliament three weeks

440

00:21:40,420 --> 00:21:43,268 after the invasion of Europe?

441

00:21:43,268 --> 00:21:45,310 Or do you suggest that this should have been done

442

00:21:45,310 --> 00:21:47,470 in America at the same time?

443

00:21:47,470 --> 00:21:49,270 Hardly likely.

444

00:21:49,270 --> 00:21:50,830 So there was pressure.

445

00:21:50,830 --> 00:21:52,450 Yes, what is pressure?

446

00:21:52,450 --> 00:21:58,780 Meetings, memoranda, organizing non-Jewish diplomats

447

00:21:58,780 --> 00:22:02,585 and statesmen to intervene in behalf of whatever the Jewish

448

00:22:02,585 --> 00:22:03,460 agency wanted to be--

449

00:22:03,460 --> 00:22:05,440 No, but I agree completely with you.

450

00:22:05,440 --> 00:22:09,130 But what is so striking that when

451

00:22:09,130 --> 00:22:15,820 one compares the past and the

reason of the deportations,

452 00:22:15,820 --> 00:22:20,560 day by day in Hungaria, the fantastic speed

453 00:22:20,560 --> 00:22:24,190 and the slowness of this pressure.

454 00:22:24,190 --> 00:22:28,150 And I don't accuse anybody, but one has to stress this,

455 00:22:28,150 --> 00:22:29,922 you know.

456 00:22:29,922 --> 00:22:30,422