

1
00:00:00,000 --> 00:00:07,660

2
00:00:07,660 --> 00:00:12,220
I think one of the big
problems there is--

3
00:00:12,220 --> 00:00:17,140
the lack of
congruity, the problem

4
00:00:17,140 --> 00:00:21,040
that you have the
Nazis in Europe doing

5
00:00:21,040 --> 00:00:23,560
the destruction of the
Jews at a fantastic

6
00:00:23,560 --> 00:00:28,810
speed, and the reaction
of the outside world

7
00:00:28,810 --> 00:00:32,980
is complicated,
slow, contradictory.

8
00:00:32,980 --> 00:00:34,990
And the outside world
knows what's happening?

9
00:00:34,990 --> 00:00:37,900
And the outside world
knows what's happening.

10
00:00:37,900 --> 00:00:40,720
What is the reason for that,
the basic reason for that?

11
00:00:40,720 --> 00:00:42,250
I think the basic
reason for that--

12

00:00:42,250 --> 00:00:45,820
and this comes out very clearly
in the Hungarian episode

13

00:00:45,820 --> 00:00:50,710
with the Jewish Agency
demanding negotiations

14

00:00:50,710 --> 00:00:53,740
and the Western
world opposing it.

15

00:00:53,740 --> 00:00:57,940
The real reason behind it
is that the Western powers

16

00:00:57,940 --> 00:01:04,209
were leading a war to be
won by military means.

17

00:01:04,209 --> 00:01:07,970
The aim of the war was
actually to change the world,

18

00:01:07,970 --> 00:01:15,160
to destroy a terrible, satanic,
demonic force, the Nazi power,

19

00:01:15,160 --> 00:01:17,440
which was trying
to destroy peoples.

20

00:01:17,440 --> 00:01:19,270
So in actual fact,
the aim should

21

00:01:19,270 --> 00:01:22,510
have been to save
people, but this

22

00:01:22,510 --> 00:01:27,190
was lost in a concept which

saw the war as a purely

23

00:01:27,190 --> 00:01:30,010

military affair.

24

00:01:30,010 --> 00:01:34,870

And there was a decision

taken by the American military

25

00:01:34,870 --> 00:01:40,540

in January 1944 which

said in so many words

26

00:01:40,540 --> 00:01:46,540

that no military action should

be taken to save civilians

27

00:01:46,540 --> 00:01:49,390

which was not in line

with military needs,

28

00:01:49,390 --> 00:01:51,640

and military needs

meant anything

29

00:01:51,640 --> 00:01:56,470

that was conducive to the

military victory in the war.

30

00:01:56,470 --> 00:01:59,860

Now, the Jews and,

in some cases, others

31

00:01:59,860 --> 00:02:05,290

were civilians who were

threatened by the Nazi machine,

32

00:02:05,290 --> 00:02:10,479

but their saving was

not a military aim

33

00:02:10,479 --> 00:02:11,710

of the Western powers.

34
00:02:11,710 --> 00:02:14,290
Therefore, whatever
the Jewish Agency did

35
00:02:14,290 --> 00:02:17,290
and when Sharett went
to London in June 1944

36
00:02:17,290 --> 00:02:19,930
to try to convince the British--

37
00:02:19,930 --> 00:02:22,210
it was useless.

38
00:02:22,210 --> 00:02:25,990
On the 2nd of June,
1944, Greenbaum

39
00:02:25,990 --> 00:02:31,750
sent a cable to America
to convince the Americans

40
00:02:31,750 --> 00:02:34,240
to bomb Auschwitz.

41
00:02:34,240 --> 00:02:36,340
This was another thing
that the Jewish Agency

42
00:02:36,340 --> 00:02:39,640
could do to demand the
bombing of Auschwitz.

43
00:02:39,640 --> 00:02:41,800
This was actually not an
idea of the Jewish Agency.

44
00:02:41,800 --> 00:02:42,425
No, it was not.

45
00:02:42,425 --> 00:02:44,540

This came from Slovakia,
from Weissmandel.

46
00:02:44,540 --> 00:02:46,415
Yes, it came from
Weissmandel, the first one.

47
00:02:46,415 --> 00:02:48,130
But it reached
the Jewish Agency.

48
00:02:48,130 --> 00:02:49,150
They adopted the plan.

49
00:02:49,150 --> 00:02:51,460
They sent it in.

50
00:02:51,460 --> 00:02:55,000
But you see, the Americans
and then the British--

51
00:02:55,000 --> 00:02:58,240
they didn't see
this as a priority.

52
00:02:58,240 --> 00:03:01,330
The priority was to bomb
the chemical factories

53
00:03:01,330 --> 00:03:04,660
near Auschwitz but not to
bomb the concentration camps.

54
00:03:04,660 --> 00:03:07,270
So what the Jewish
Agency in Palestine

55
00:03:07,270 --> 00:03:10,750
could do, even in
that situation,

56
00:03:10,750 --> 00:03:14,380
was what we talked before

the Judenrat could do.

57

00:03:14,380 --> 00:03:16,630

They could show good intention.

58

00:03:16,630 --> 00:03:18,610

They could press.

59

00:03:18,610 --> 00:03:22,150

There wasn't very
much more they could

60

00:03:22,150 --> 00:03:25,390

do in those circumstances.

61

00:03:25,390 --> 00:03:26,800

Exactly what was asked--

62

00:03:26,800 --> 00:03:30,010

63

00:03:30,010 --> 00:03:35,410

that the Jews of Warsaw
asked there already--

64

00:03:35,410 --> 00:03:40,630

in October 1942,
when Karski was sent,

65

00:03:40,630 --> 00:03:44,240

he said one has to take
specific measures for the Jews.

66

00:03:44,240 --> 00:03:45,880

--specific military measures.

67

00:03:45,880 --> 00:03:51,070

In 1942, when Karski came
to Europe and to America--

68

00:03:51,070 --> 00:03:56,170

in October 1942, there

was no military means

69

00:03:56,170 --> 00:04:02,050

by which American bombers
could reach Eastern Poland.

70

00:04:02,050 --> 00:04:07,180

But in 1944 there was,
and it was realistic.

71

00:04:07,180 --> 00:04:08,830

And the Western
powers wouldn't do it.

72

00:04:08,830 --> 00:04:10,637

We don't talk about
the Soviet Union

73

00:04:10,637 --> 00:04:12,220

because the Soviet
Union simply wasn't

74

00:04:12,220 --> 00:04:13,595

interested in the
whole business.

75

00:04:13,595 --> 00:04:16,149

76

00:04:16,149 --> 00:04:20,710

Now let me come to
the Hungarian problem.

77

00:04:20,710 --> 00:04:24,040

78

00:04:24,040 --> 00:04:27,140

There are several
issues involved there.

79

00:04:27,140 --> 00:04:30,130

I think one basic issue has
to be gotten out of the way

80
00:04:30,130 --> 00:04:34,360
straight away, and
that is the question

81
00:04:34,360 --> 00:04:41,620
that Kasztner, who was the
factual, not the nominal,

82
00:04:41,620 --> 00:04:46,390
leader of the Zionist
Rescue Committee in Budapest

83
00:04:46,390 --> 00:04:51,640
was accused of, namely, that he
was negotiating with the Nazis,

84
00:04:51,640 --> 00:04:55,120
and in return for the
negotiation with the Nazis,

85
00:04:55,120 --> 00:04:58,360
he kept quiet about the
mass murder in Poland

86
00:04:58,360 --> 00:05:01,870
and thereby prevented
Hungarian Jews

87
00:05:01,870 --> 00:05:04,810
from reacting to the
Nazi deportations

88
00:05:04,810 --> 00:05:08,520
differently from what
they did react in fact.

89
00:05:08,520 --> 00:05:10,620
And this is put
forward especially

90
00:05:10,620 --> 00:05:14,610
clearly in the case of one

town in Eastern Hungary,

91

00:05:14,610 --> 00:05:19,560

Cluj, where Kasztner
comes from, where

92

00:05:19,560 --> 00:05:23,760

it was said that he saved
a number of his friends,

93

00:05:23,760 --> 00:05:28,020

and family, and so on by
bringing them to Budapest.

94

00:05:28,020 --> 00:05:32,520

And he did not want the others,
thereby preventing their escape

95

00:05:32,520 --> 00:05:35,100

to Romania, which was
just 12 kilometers away

96

00:05:35,100 --> 00:05:37,590

across the border.

97

00:05:37,590 --> 00:05:39,720

Now, let me put
this very clearly.

98

00:05:39,720 --> 00:05:47,790

I think that this whole issue
is put the wrong way around.

99

00:05:47,790 --> 00:05:52,050

Hungarian Jewry, including
the Jews of Cluj,

100

00:05:52,050 --> 00:05:56,880

did not have to be told about
the mass murders in Poland

101

00:05:56,880 --> 00:06:00,120

or about the plan of the

Germans to annihilate

102
00:06:00,120 --> 00:06:01,330
the population of Europe.

103
00:06:01,330 --> 00:06:04,650
They saw it happening
in front of their eyes.

104
00:06:04,650 --> 00:06:08,290
It is quite futile
to talk about anyone,

105
00:06:08,290 --> 00:06:10,620
whether it was Kasztner
or anyone else, that

106
00:06:10,620 --> 00:06:14,400
was needed for the Jews of Cluj
or any other place in Hungary

107
00:06:14,400 --> 00:06:17,850
to tell them what was
happening in Poland.

108
00:06:17,850 --> 00:06:20,160
How did they know?

109
00:06:20,160 --> 00:06:28,230
Well, first of all, there
were 2,500 Polish Jews

110
00:06:28,230 --> 00:06:32,940
who escaped between
1942 and 1944

111
00:06:32,940 --> 00:06:35,670
into Hungary from
Poland, especially

112
00:06:35,670 --> 00:06:37,980
from the area of Lvov.

113

00:06:37,980 --> 00:06:44,220

They told their hosts, the
Hungarian Jews, about Belzec,

114

00:06:44,220 --> 00:06:48,600

about Treblinka, about Majdanek,
about the mass destruction

115

00:06:48,600 --> 00:06:49,575

in all these places.

116

00:06:49,575 --> 00:06:52,270

117

00:06:52,270 --> 00:06:53,380

Some of them survived.

118

00:06:53,380 --> 00:06:56,190

We have the testimonies
in Yad Vashem.

119

00:06:56,190 --> 00:07:00,600

They tell us that the Jews who
hosted them, including people

120

00:07:00,600 --> 00:07:05,610

who escaped into Cluj, did
not want to listen to them,

121

00:07:05,610 --> 00:07:08,850

threw them out.

122

00:07:08,850 --> 00:07:12,540

The Judenrat, the Hungarian
Judenrat in Budapest,

123

00:07:12,540 --> 00:07:18,690

created a separate department
which sent out emissaries

124

00:07:18,690 --> 00:07:22,440

to Hungarian provincial

towns to warn

125

00:07:22,440 --> 00:07:25,470
the Jews that they were going
to be deported to Poland

126

00:07:25,470 --> 00:07:27,090
and killed.

127

00:07:27,090 --> 00:07:28,900
What does it mean?

128

00:07:28,900 --> 00:07:31,140
What does it mean precisely?

129

00:07:31,140 --> 00:07:32,220
Precisely, 12--

130

00:07:32,220 --> 00:07:36,120
If they sent people to war,
what did they tell them?

131

00:07:36,120 --> 00:07:38,520
They went to the
various ghettos--

132

00:07:38,520 --> 00:07:40,620
by that time, they were
already ghettos, yes.

133

00:07:40,620 --> 00:07:42,540
This was after the
beginning of April.

134

00:07:42,540 --> 00:07:44,200
Yes, but in order
to understand one

135

00:07:44,200 --> 00:07:48,340
has to say that the lifetime of
these ghettos was very short.

136

00:07:48,340 --> 00:07:50,850
Six weeks, six weeks.

137
00:07:50,850 --> 00:07:53,820
Most of these emissaries
came within those six weeks.

138
00:07:53,820 --> 00:07:59,370
They were sent out as a
measure of immediate rescue.

139
00:07:59,370 --> 00:08:04,290
They came with the task to
tell the Jews in those ghettos,

140
00:08:04,290 --> 00:08:06,840
don't agree to be
taken into trains.

141
00:08:06,840 --> 00:08:09,930
Don't agree to be
taken away because you

142
00:08:09,930 --> 00:08:12,870
are going to be shipped to
Poland, and Poland means death.

143
00:08:12,870 --> 00:08:15,780
That is what they were told.

144
00:08:15,780 --> 00:08:18,160
Of these 12 people
who were sent out--

145
00:08:18,160 --> 00:08:20,100
this was a small
department immediately

146
00:08:20,100 --> 00:08:23,430
organized to send out people
who looked not Jewish, who

147
00:08:23,430 --> 00:08:26,400

could go around.

148
00:08:26,400 --> 00:08:28,560
There isn't a single one--

149
00:08:28,560 --> 00:08:33,780
I think eight or 10 of the
12 are here in Israel today--

150
00:08:33,780 --> 00:08:37,049
who does not tell the story
that he comes to this ghetto,

151
00:08:37,049 --> 00:08:39,990
and to that ghetto, and to
this town, and to that town,

152
00:08:39,990 --> 00:08:42,990
and they are kicked
out by the communities.

153
00:08:42,990 --> 00:08:45,300
But this is not surprising.

154
00:08:45,300 --> 00:08:47,970
It was the same in Poland, too.

155
00:08:47,970 --> 00:08:52,200
But this is two years after the
destruction starts in Poland,

156
00:08:52,200 --> 00:08:54,990
and what I'm trying to
say is that it is not

157
00:08:54,990 --> 00:08:58,290
a matter that the Jews
of Hungary didn't know.

158
00:08:58,290 --> 00:09:00,060
It is a matter that
they did not want

159

00:09:00,060 --> 00:09:03,370
to know because to no meant--

160

00:09:03,370 --> 00:09:05,430
No, no, but one has
to enter in detail.

161

00:09:05,430 --> 00:09:09,750
These Jews who were
sent as emissaries--

162

00:09:09,750 --> 00:09:10,680
what did they do?

163

00:09:10,680 --> 00:09:12,240
They gathered the people?

164

00:09:12,240 --> 00:09:13,560
They delivered the speeches --

165

00:09:13,560 --> 00:09:14,060
No.

166

00:09:14,060 --> 00:09:14,602
They talked--

167

00:09:14,602 --> 00:09:15,680
They tried try to see--

168

00:09:15,680 --> 00:09:17,055
--to the chiefs
of the community.

169

00:09:17,055 --> 00:09:19,890
Yes, they try to see the
chiefs of the community,

170

00:09:19,890 --> 00:09:22,740
and it is the chiefs of
the community who did not

171

00:09:22,740 --> 00:09:25,680
want to receive the message.

172
00:09:25,680 --> 00:09:28,170
The accusation
that was afterwards

173
00:09:28,170 --> 00:09:31,920
leveled against Kasztner
and a few others

174
00:09:31,920 --> 00:09:35,940
was that they did not warn
the chiefs of the community,

175
00:09:35,940 --> 00:09:37,830
and what I'm saying
is that the chiefs

176
00:09:37,830 --> 00:09:43,770
of the community and the
community had the information

177
00:09:43,770 --> 00:09:45,990
and did not have the
knowledge because they didn't

178
00:09:45,990 --> 00:09:47,830
want to have that knowledge.

179
00:09:47,830 --> 00:09:52,650
Yes, but, first of all, you
don't convince me absolutely.

180
00:09:52,650 --> 00:09:55,440
I'd say it's so
simple what you say.

181
00:09:55,440 --> 00:09:58,960
And the second thing--

182
00:09:58,960 --> 00:10:02,890

183
00:10:02,890 --> 00:10:05,410
we don't understand
very well what Kasztner,

184
00:10:05,410 --> 00:10:08,050
in the same time, was doing.

185
00:10:08,050 --> 00:10:09,940
Now, I'm coming to
that, but I first

186
00:10:09,940 --> 00:10:13,270
want to make this point clear
because if I didn't convince

187
00:10:13,270 --> 00:10:16,870
you, I have more points.

188
00:10:16,870 --> 00:10:23,050
There were Hungarian soldiers
who came from the Ukraine

189
00:10:23,050 --> 00:10:23,950
on leave.

190
00:10:23,950 --> 00:10:25,580
No, no, no.

191
00:10:25,580 --> 00:10:27,970
No, I agree
completely about this,

192
00:10:27,970 --> 00:10:30,850
that they knew about
this destruction.

193
00:10:30,850 --> 00:10:32,930
This is very clear.

194
00:10:32,930 --> 00:10:35,410
But I think that

if they would have

195
00:10:35,410 --> 00:10:38,020
been warned in another way--

196
00:10:38,020 --> 00:10:40,660
and I don't know which one--

197
00:10:40,660 --> 00:10:42,370
maybe the results
would have been

198
00:10:42,370 --> 00:10:45,760
different because when you talk
to some of these people today--

199
00:10:45,760 --> 00:10:46,660
and I did.

200
00:10:46,660 --> 00:10:49,510
I have talked to some of them
who are in Israel and who

201
00:10:49,510 --> 00:10:54,340
were shipped from Transylvania
or from Cluj, even,

202
00:10:54,340 --> 00:10:57,820
to Auschwitz, these
people complain.

203
00:10:57,820 --> 00:11:02,410
And they say today that
they were never warned.

204
00:11:02,410 --> 00:11:04,930
Well, this is simply not true.

205
00:11:04,930 --> 00:11:09,460
In Cluj there was a
committee, a rescue committee,

206

00:11:09,460 --> 00:11:13,360
which was composed--

207
00:11:13,360 --> 00:11:17,230
all right, I'll start
exactly from there.

208
00:11:17,230 --> 00:11:21,400
In Cluj, you had a very typical
situation, a very important one

209
00:11:21,400 --> 00:11:24,550
because Cluj is a very short
distance away from the Romanian

210
00:11:24,550 --> 00:11:30,010
border, and there was,
theoretically, a possibility

211
00:11:30,010 --> 00:11:32,560
of crossing it, although
how many, in fact,

212
00:11:32,560 --> 00:11:35,770
could have crossed the
border in the middle of war

213
00:11:35,770 --> 00:11:39,100
between Hungary and
Romania is very doubtful.

214
00:11:39,100 --> 00:11:42,982
In Cluj, there was a committee
of community leaders.

215
00:11:42,982 --> 00:11:44,440
Kasztner wasn't a
community leader.

216
00:11:44,440 --> 00:11:47,830
Kasztner was a journalist,
an important journalist.

217

00:11:47,830 --> 00:11:52,000
But the list I have here of
one, two, three, four, five,

218
00:11:52,000 --> 00:11:54,590
six central leaders
of the community,

219
00:11:54,590 --> 00:11:59,590
including the rabbi of the
Neolog community in Cluj--

220
00:11:59,590 --> 00:12:06,670
they were trying, during the
period of the ghettoization,

221
00:12:06,670 --> 00:12:09,550
which is a very
short period of time,

222
00:12:09,550 --> 00:12:14,100
to convince the Jews
of Cluj to escape.

223
00:12:14,100 --> 00:12:16,300
It was a rescue committee.

224
00:12:16,300 --> 00:12:18,280
They knew what was
happening in Poland.

225
00:12:18,280 --> 00:12:20,140
They were trying to warn them.

226
00:12:20,140 --> 00:12:25,840
What I'm trying to say is
that, to have Kasztner come in

227
00:12:25,840 --> 00:12:30,070
or any Kasztner,
any person to Cluj

228
00:12:30,070 --> 00:12:33,310

to tell the people of Cluj what
was happening in Poland so they

229
00:12:33,310 --> 00:12:36,130
shouldn't go there was futile.

230
00:12:36,130 --> 00:12:38,225
They knew it in any case.

231
00:12:38,225 --> 00:12:39,100
The question of the--

232
00:12:39,100 --> 00:12:42,766
It seems that the warning
was not delivered properly.

233
00:12:42,766 --> 00:12:44,470
I'm saying that
the warning didn't

234
00:12:44,470 --> 00:12:48,130
have to be delivered properly
because the people knew.

235
00:12:48,130 --> 00:12:51,190
In other words, the addition
of somebody else telling them

236
00:12:51,190 --> 00:12:55,450
what they already
knew had no meaning.

237
00:12:55,450 --> 00:12:56,740
Their own leaders told them.

238
00:12:56,740 --> 00:12:59,488
If the chiefs of the community
would have said what was

239
00:12:59,488 --> 00:13:00,280
their [INAUDIBLE]--

240

00:13:00,280 --> 00:13:01,780
But that was the leadership.

241
00:13:01,780 --> 00:13:05,300
Look, Dr. Moshe
Weinberger, for instance--

242
00:13:05,300 --> 00:13:07,450
he was a leader
of the community.

243
00:13:07,450 --> 00:13:10,580
Hillel Danzig was the
leader of the community.

244
00:13:10,580 --> 00:13:13,540
These people were
on that committee.

245
00:13:13,540 --> 00:13:16,330
This was before some of them
went on the Kasztner train,

246
00:13:16,330 --> 00:13:17,090
yes?

247
00:13:17,090 --> 00:13:17,590
This is--

248
00:13:17,590 --> 00:13:18,820
And what does it mean?

249
00:13:18,820 --> 00:13:22,090
The population of Cluj, the
Jewish population was gathered?

250
00:13:22,090 --> 00:13:24,520
This man-- yes.

251
00:13:24,520 --> 00:13:29,560
What we discussed before, that
the population of-- the Jewish

252

00:13:29,560 --> 00:13:33,400
population in the Hungarian
provincial cities-- in fact,

253

00:13:33,400 --> 00:13:34,600
anywhere--

254

00:13:34,600 --> 00:13:38,560
simply did not want to realize
what was going to happen,

255

00:13:38,560 --> 00:13:40,630
not that they didn't
have the information.

256

00:13:40,630 --> 00:13:42,320
I think that they had no time--

257

00:13:42,320 --> 00:13:43,990
Ah, now I'm coming to that.

258

00:13:43,990 --> 00:13:46,270
[? --to realize ?]
because it went very fast.

259

00:13:46,270 --> 00:13:49,750
And second, [? see, ?] I don't
think that they have been

260

00:13:49,750 --> 00:13:52,855
warned properly by their
own natural leaders.

261

00:13:52,855 --> 00:13:54,480
Well, those were
their natural leaders.

262

00:13:54,480 --> 00:13:55,897
If their leaders
would have said--

263

00:13:55,897 --> 00:13:58,070

I am not sure that they said--

264
00:13:58,070 --> 00:14:00,717
if their leaders would
have said, run away,

265
00:14:00,717 --> 00:14:01,550
and you are doomed--

266
00:14:01,550 --> 00:14:03,077
No, they didn't say, run way.

267
00:14:03,077 --> 00:14:03,910
--you are finished--

268
00:14:03,910 --> 00:14:04,510
They said, escape.

269
00:14:04,510 --> 00:14:05,200
Some of this --

270
00:14:05,200 --> 00:14:08,530
They said, escape
to Romania, in Cluj.

271
00:14:08,530 --> 00:14:11,407
In most cities in Hungary,
there was no point

272
00:14:11,407 --> 00:14:12,615
in trying to escape anywhere.

273
00:14:12,615 --> 00:14:12,890
Yes, it was too far.

274
00:14:12,890 --> 00:14:13,840
I admit it.

275
00:14:13,840 --> 00:14:15,040
There's no way.

276

00:14:15,040 --> 00:14:18,400

But what Kasztner
was accused of was

277

00:14:18,400 --> 00:14:20,770

that he was negotiating
with the Nazis

278

00:14:20,770 --> 00:14:23,860

to save the whole of the
Jewish population of Hungary

279

00:14:23,860 --> 00:14:28,780

if possible, yes,
as against money.

280

00:14:28,780 --> 00:14:30,790

That is what he was doing.

281

00:14:30,790 --> 00:14:35,680

His first meeting-- he first
met with Dieter Wisliceny

282

00:14:35,680 --> 00:14:39,760

at the end of March of 1944
and then again in April.

283

00:14:39,760 --> 00:14:45,220

They were trying to negotiate
for a ransom which would free--

284

00:14:45,220 --> 00:14:47,830

first of all, which would
not put the Jews of Hungary

285

00:14:47,830 --> 00:14:49,000

into ghettos--

286

00:14:49,000 --> 00:14:50,740

this was the first thing--

287

00:14:50,740 --> 00:14:55,600

and afterwards, to try to save,

by some kind of negotiation,

288

00:14:55,600 --> 00:14:58,780
through the Brand negotiations
and afterwards, whoever

289

00:14:58,780 --> 00:15:00,820
it was possible to save.

290

00:15:00,820 --> 00:15:05,320
Now, he was accused of-- by
doing these negotiations,

291

00:15:05,320 --> 00:15:10,090
he was closing the option of
turning to the Jews of Hungary

292

00:15:10,090 --> 00:15:13,450
and telling them, run.

293

00:15:13,450 --> 00:15:16,150
Now, when you
analyze this now, you

294

00:15:16,150 --> 00:15:21,220
have to see that he could
either have-- he could have done

295

00:15:21,220 --> 00:15:24,130
either the one or the other.

296

00:15:24,130 --> 00:15:26,005
The moment he turned to
the Jewish population

297

00:15:26,005 --> 00:15:28,390
to tell them to run,
that was the end

298

00:15:28,390 --> 00:15:30,490
of the negotiation
with the Nazis

299

00:15:30,490 --> 00:15:32,460
because there was no hiding.

300

00:15:32,460 --> 00:15:33,490
Yes, it was the end of--

301

00:15:33,490 --> 00:15:34,323
[INTERPOSING VOICES]

302

00:15:34,323 --> 00:15:37,720
So the problem for Kasztner
was, what was more effective?

303

00:15:37,720 --> 00:15:40,900
What had more chances?

304

00:15:40,900 --> 00:15:47,500
The Germans came into Hungary
with a plan, a very quick plan.

305

00:15:47,500 --> 00:15:49,420
It took them very
little time to go

306

00:15:49,420 --> 00:15:54,820
through the stages of
concentration, of isolation,

307

00:15:54,820 --> 00:15:59,050
of Aryanization, and
so on, and so forth.

308

00:15:59,050 --> 00:16:01,793
The ghettos existed for a
very short period of time.

309

00:16:01,793 --> 00:16:02,460
They were only--

310

00:16:02,460 --> 00:16:04,030
It was the preliminary
[? stage. ?]

311
00:16:04,030 --> 00:16:06,370
--preliminary steps
to deportation.

312
00:16:06,370 --> 00:16:09,940
The central Judenrat in
Budapest had very little effect

313
00:16:09,940 --> 00:16:11,620
anywhere.

314
00:16:11,620 --> 00:16:13,930
The process was very quick.

315
00:16:13,930 --> 00:16:20,530
The cooperation of the Hungarian
population and government

316
00:16:20,530 --> 00:16:23,380
was almost 100%.

317
00:16:23,380 --> 00:16:25,480
There was no
possibility for the Jews

318
00:16:25,480 --> 00:16:28,180
to escape into the countryside.

319
00:16:28,180 --> 00:16:31,720
The few Jewish communities
on the Romanian border

320
00:16:31,720 --> 00:16:34,270
were few communities
on the Romanian border.

321
00:16:34,270 --> 00:16:38,980
All the rest were not in
that situation at all.

322
00:16:38,980 --> 00:16:43,660

And Kasztner decided,
together with Komoly

323
00:16:43,660 --> 00:16:46,840
together with other
members of that group,

324
00:16:46,840 --> 00:16:52,900
that the only chance to save
Jews was by negotiation.

325
00:16:52,900 --> 00:16:57,440
The Jewish men were
in labor battalions.

326
00:16:57,440 --> 00:17:00,050
But you said the only
chance to save Jews.

327
00:17:00,050 --> 00:17:03,660
You should say the only chance
to save some Jews because--

328
00:17:03,660 --> 00:17:04,160
No.

329
00:17:04,160 --> 00:17:06,099
--as a matter of fact,
he thought already

330
00:17:06,099 --> 00:17:07,611
that those were
doomed [INAUDIBLE]

331
00:17:07,611 --> 00:17:09,069
and he wanted to
save [INAUDIBLE]..

332
00:17:09,069 --> 00:17:09,609
That is not true.

333
00:17:09,609 --> 00:17:10,359
That is not true--

334
00:17:10,359 --> 00:17:10,869
I think.

335
00:17:10,869 --> 00:17:14,820
--because his negotiations,
to start with,

336
00:17:14,820 --> 00:17:16,839
with Wisliceny and [INAUDIBLE]--

337
00:17:16,839 --> 00:17:18,609
But this was a--

338
00:17:18,609 --> 00:17:19,435
--a first stage.

339
00:17:19,435 --> 00:17:20,518
Yes, the very first stage.

340
00:17:20,518 --> 00:17:22,960
The second stage was
Brand, and Kasztner

341
00:17:22,960 --> 00:17:25,390
believed in the Brand mission.

342
00:17:25,390 --> 00:17:28,450
And the Brand mission was
to save one million Jews.

343
00:17:28,450 --> 00:17:29,450
Don't forget that.

344
00:17:29,450 --> 00:17:32,470
Yes, but there
was a third stage.

345
00:17:32,470 --> 00:17:38,320
But you see, when the second
Kasztner negotiations started,

346

00:17:38,320 --> 00:17:45,340
they did not start, as you
know, before early part of June.

347

00:17:45,340 --> 00:17:47,740
By the early part
of June, the process

348

00:17:47,740 --> 00:17:50,770
of the deportation of
the provincial Jews

349

00:17:50,770 --> 00:17:51,520
was in full swing.

350

00:17:51,520 --> 00:17:52,603
That's exactly what I say.

351

00:17:52,603 --> 00:17:53,560
He knew it.

352

00:17:53,560 --> 00:17:56,410
So the only way
that he could act

353

00:17:56,410 --> 00:17:58,510
or that he thought
that he could act

354

00:17:58,510 --> 00:18:00,430
was by negotiating
with the Nazis

355

00:18:00,430 --> 00:18:02,770
to save whoever he could save.

356

00:18:02,770 --> 00:18:05,230
His negotiations
turned about the Jews

357

00:18:05,230 --> 00:18:08,500
of Debrecen, the people

who were transported,

358

00:18:08,500 --> 00:18:10,480
15,000 or 17,000 people
who were transported.

359

00:18:10,480 --> 00:18:12,313
But you see, he writes
himself in his report

360

00:18:12,313 --> 00:18:15,460
that he wanted to save
a kind of ark of Noah.

361

00:18:15,460 --> 00:18:17,800
Now, no, it's not only that.

362

00:18:17,800 --> 00:18:19,550
What he wanted to do--

363

00:18:19,550 --> 00:18:23,610
he wanted to break
the precedent.

364

00:18:23,610 --> 00:18:28,660
He wanted to create a
precedent of saving Jews

365

00:18:28,660 --> 00:18:31,000
with German agreement.

366

00:18:31,000 --> 00:18:33,850
If this precedent
was once created,

367

00:18:33,850 --> 00:18:38,890
negotiations could then
begin to save large numbers.

368

00:18:38,890 --> 00:18:41,650
The precedent was the
famous Kasztner train.

369

00:18:41,650 --> 00:18:43,390

By the way, Kasztner,
of course, thought

370

00:18:43,390 --> 00:18:46,180

there would be more things,
yes, but there was, in the end,

371

00:18:46,180 --> 00:18:49,030

only one.

372

00:18:49,030 --> 00:18:55,030

Like all leaders in Europe
in similar situation

373

00:18:55,030 --> 00:19:00,010

of the adult groups,
not the youngsters,

374

00:19:00,010 --> 00:19:02,860

he saved or he put--

375

00:19:02,860 --> 00:19:06,280

he took from Cluj his
friends, his family.

376

00:19:06,280 --> 00:19:10,660

He took into that train
people representing

377

00:19:10,660 --> 00:19:16,280

all the sections of Hungarian
Jewry, and he argued--

378

00:19:16,280 --> 00:19:19,120

And many rich,
too, who could pay.

379

00:19:19,120 --> 00:19:23,680

And rich people who
could pay for the rest.

380

00:19:23,680 --> 00:19:29,740

He argued that, if he put
his family in there, then

381

00:19:29,740 --> 00:19:31,450

people would join.

382

00:19:31,450 --> 00:19:33,430

If not, who could know?

383

00:19:33,430 --> 00:19:37,270

Perhaps the Germans
were going to betray him

384

00:19:37,270 --> 00:19:39,325

like they betrayed
so many times before

385

00:19:39,325 --> 00:19:41,590

and they would ship
the train to Auschwitz.

386

00:19:41,590 --> 00:19:42,970

I don't know
whether that is true

387

00:19:42,970 --> 00:19:45,550

or not, but what
is clear to me is

388

00:19:45,550 --> 00:19:49,690

that he believed in
this idea of a precedent

389

00:19:49,690 --> 00:19:50,860

because we have evidence--

390

00:19:50,860 --> 00:19:52,990

What interests me
is that one can

391

00:19:52,990 --> 00:20:00,400

see the achievement of

Kasztner in a double light,

392

00:20:00,400 --> 00:20:05,245

either a complete positive
one or a negative one.

393

00:20:05,245 --> 00:20:07,840

The positive one
is what you say,

394

00:20:07,840 --> 00:20:11,290

that he created a
precedent, and in fact, this

395

00:20:11,290 --> 00:20:18,760

was the first time that
the Nazi released Jews.

396

00:20:18,760 --> 00:20:24,775

1,600 Jews-- it's nothing,
and it is [INAUDIBLE]..

397

00:20:24,775 --> 00:20:27,940

And it is a
tremendous thing, yes.

398

00:20:27,940 --> 00:20:29,740

And the negative
thing is that he

399

00:20:29,740 --> 00:20:34,960

behaved like a classical
Judenrat member.

400

00:20:34,960 --> 00:20:40,840

In one way, he was only
interested in saving a handful

401

00:20:40,840 --> 00:20:44,110

because he knew that he
couldn't save the [INAUDIBLE]..

402

00:20:44,110 --> 00:20:46,370

I'm not sure that you are right.

403

00:20:46,370 --> 00:20:47,410

I'm not sure at all.

404

00:20:47,410 --> 00:20:48,952

I'm not sure that
you are right, too.

405

00:20:48,952 --> 00:20:49,960

All right.

406

00:20:49,960 --> 00:20:54,910

I think that I would plunge
for the positive explanation

407

00:20:54,910 --> 00:21:02,650

in the case of Kasztner,
not that Kasztner was, shall

408

00:21:02,650 --> 00:21:06,400

we say, the ideal representative
of the Jewish people,

409

00:21:06,400 --> 00:21:07,960

by no means.

410

00:21:07,960 --> 00:21:11,780

He certainly was interested
in saving his own group.

411

00:21:11,780 --> 00:21:14,860

There's no doubt about that.

412

00:21:14,860 --> 00:21:20,710

He was a person with
very peculiar standards

413

00:21:20,710 --> 00:21:24,310

occasionally, but there's
no doubt in my mind

414

00:21:24,310 --> 00:21:28,090
that he wanted to save the
Jewish population of Hungary

415
00:21:28,090 --> 00:21:31,810
and not just that group,
that the group that he saved

416
00:21:31,810 --> 00:21:34,000
was, for him, a
stepping stone to save

417
00:21:34,000 --> 00:21:38,390
others, and more people,
and as many as he could.

418
00:21:38,390 --> 00:21:42,010
And I think that he was right
because I think that there was

419
00:21:42,010 --> 00:21:46,570
no other way of saving Jews
in the situation of Hungary

420
00:21:46,570 --> 00:21:48,970
where you have all the Jewish
men in the labor battalions

421
00:21:48,970 --> 00:21:51,430
and no rebellion
is possible, where

422
00:21:51,430 --> 00:21:53,320
you have no weapons
and no support

423
00:21:53,320 --> 00:21:56,050
from the Hungarian
population, where you are

424
00:21:56,050 --> 00:21:59,050
under SS occupation in Hungary.

425

00:21:59,050 --> 00:22:03,610

There was no other way but
by ransom negotiations.

426

00:22:03,610 --> 00:22:09,400

He conducted these negotiations
very cleverly, very cleverly,

427

00:22:09,400 --> 00:22:12,940

and he, in fact, through
Eichmann and afterwards

428

00:22:12,940 --> 00:22:17,170

through Becher convinced Himmler
that he was somebody with whom

429

00:22:17,170 --> 00:22:19,720

it was worthwhile negotiating.

430

00:22:19,720 --> 00:22:24,850

I think it can be said that,
partly due to Kasztner,

431

00:22:24,850 --> 00:22:26,300

Hungarian Jews were saved.

432

00:22:26,300 --> 00:22:27,250

[INAUDIBLE]

433

00:22:27,250 --> 00:22:28,592

(film slating)

434

00:22:28,592 --> 00:22:29,800

435

00:22:29,800 --> 00:22:35,200

I think it can be said
that, even in 1942 already,

436

00:22:35,200 --> 00:22:38,110

Himmler and some of
the German generals

437

00:22:38,110 --> 00:22:41,230

knew that Germany couldn't
possibly win the war.

438

00:22:41,230 --> 00:22:45,580

I think you can find it
in Felix Kersten's memoirs

439

00:22:45,580 --> 00:22:48,160

and in various other places.

440

00:22:48,160 --> 00:22:49,630

Kersten was the
masseur of Himmler.

441

00:22:49,630 --> 00:22:51,700

Kersten was the
masseur of Himmler,

442

00:22:51,700 --> 00:22:54,980

and he had discussions
with him and so on.

443

00:22:54,980 --> 00:22:57,980

I think these memoirs have
to be taken seriously.

444

00:22:57,980 --> 00:23:02,620

So I would say that the Jews
were, for Himmler, a means

445

00:23:02,620 --> 00:23:05,410

to get to these kind
of negotiations,

446

00:23:05,410 --> 00:23:08,980

and this was based on the
idea that Himmler believed in,

447

00:23:08,980 --> 00:23:15,250

like most of the top Nazis, that
the Jews were a world power,

448

00:23:15,250 --> 00:23:18,940

that they could influence
the Western Allies,

449

00:23:18,940 --> 00:23:26,350

that those Jews who were
in Nazi Germany's control

450

00:23:26,350 --> 00:23:31,450

could be used as a means to
reach the Western Allies.

451

00:23:31,450 --> 00:23:33,370

This was, of course,
complete fantasy.

452

00:23:33,370 --> 00:23:35,740

The Jews didn't have any
power, but the Germans

453

00:23:35,740 --> 00:23:38,560

believed that the Jews did.

454

00:23:38,560 --> 00:23:41,440

And this is the basis
for these negotiations.

455

00:23:41,440 --> 00:23:43,270

Otherwise you just
can't explain them.

456

00:23:43,270 --> 00:23:46,030

This is enough to understand
why the Jews were killed,

457

00:23:46,030 --> 00:23:47,230

powerlessness.

458

00:23:47,230 --> 00:23:52,300

Powerlessness, and they
were imputed to have

459

00:23:52,300 --> 00:23:54,640
a power they did not have.

460
00:23:54,640 --> 00:24:02,980
Now, the Western Allies had
no such illusions, of course,

461
00:24:02,980 --> 00:24:05,950
and for the Western
Allies, the Jews

462
00:24:05,950 --> 00:24:11,440
were a relatively unimportant
element in the whole situation.

463
00:24:11,440 --> 00:24:16,180
And the Jewish position
in between this Nazi idea

464
00:24:16,180 --> 00:24:19,150
of a tremendous Jewish
power through whom one

465
00:24:19,150 --> 00:24:22,380
can reach the Western Allies
and, on the other hand,

466
00:24:22,380 --> 00:24:25,120
the complete lack of interest,
really, of the Western Allies,

467
00:24:25,120 --> 00:24:27,700
who were fighting a
war against Germany--

468
00:24:27,700 --> 00:24:31,420
that is the situation
of the Brand mission.

469
00:24:31,420 --> 00:24:34,390
That is the situation in which
the Brand mission failed.

470

00:24:34,390 --> 00:24:40,030

It had to fail because the
Germans meant it seriously,

471

00:24:40,030 --> 00:24:42,400

and the Allies did not.

472

00:24:42,400 --> 00:24:45,700

Now, behind the
Brand mission in 1944

473

00:24:45,700 --> 00:24:49,510

you have this figure
of Bandi Grosz,

474

00:24:49,510 --> 00:24:55,600

that fascinating figure because
Bandi Grosz was sent by the SS

475

00:24:55,600 --> 00:24:59,230

to try to negotiate
a separate peace.

476

00:24:59,230 --> 00:25:03,130

It's ridiculous to think
that anybody would have

477

00:25:03,130 --> 00:25:04,505

taken Bandi Grosz seriously.

478

00:25:04,505 --> 00:25:11,830

He was a smuggler, a
little thief, a crook.

479

00:25:11,830 --> 00:25:16,220

But he was the only person
in the whole Nazi Reich

480

00:25:16,220 --> 00:25:23,890

who, in 1944, had direct contact
with the British and American

481

00:25:23,890 --> 00:25:28,480

intelligence services in
Istanbul, in a neutral country.

482
00:25:28,480 --> 00:25:31,540
And he was used
by the SS in order

483
00:25:31,540 --> 00:25:37,780
to try to get the negotiations
with the Allies going.

484
00:25:37,780 --> 00:25:40,600
He was sent along with Brand.

485
00:25:40,600 --> 00:25:44,140
Really, Brand was a cover Grosz.

486
00:25:44,140 --> 00:25:46,350
In reality, the Brand mission--

487
00:25:46,350 --> 00:25:49,570

488
00:25:49,570 --> 00:25:55,390
he was sent in order to exchange
goods, trucks for Jews--

489
00:25:55,390 --> 00:25:57,840
was just one and line.

490
00:25:57,840 --> 00:26:01,020
And the Grosz mission
was the real one.

491
00:26:01,020 --> 00:26:05,310
They wanted to get to
negotiations with the Allies.

492
00:26:05,310 --> 00:26:09,900
And the refusal of
the Allied powers

493

00:26:09,900 --> 00:26:14,850
to negotiate over the Brand
scheme stemmed from the fact

494
00:26:14,850 --> 00:26:18,270
that the British and the
Americans realized in the end

495
00:26:18,270 --> 00:26:20,580
that the real mission
was Grosz, and Grosz was

496
00:26:20,580 --> 00:26:22,620
negotiating a separate peace.

497
00:26:22,620 --> 00:26:25,510
And the Western Allies would
not have anything of that.

498
00:26:25,510 --> 00:26:28,830
Do you think that they would
have negotiated for the Brand

499
00:26:28,830 --> 00:26:33,050
mission only, even if they
wouldn't have been Bandi Grosz?

500
00:26:33,050 --> 00:26:34,140
No.

501
00:26:34,140 --> 00:26:38,910
No, but the complete
burying of the Brand mission

502
00:26:38,910 --> 00:26:41,370
was the result of
finding out about Grosz.

503
00:26:41,370 --> 00:26:45,840
You see, until the Grosz
mission was found out,

504
00:26:45,840 --> 00:26:47,700

a few weeks passed.

505

00:26:47,700 --> 00:26:50,700

During these weeks, both the
British and the Americans

506

00:26:50,700 --> 00:26:53,820

said, OK, we are not going
to give the Germans any goods

507

00:26:53,820 --> 00:26:57,990

or anything like that, but let's
keep the door to negotiations

508

00:26:57,990 --> 00:26:59,010

open.

509

00:26:59,010 --> 00:27:01,350

That was the phrase.

510

00:27:01,350 --> 00:27:05,010

I don't know what would have
happened if they had not

511

00:27:05,010 --> 00:27:09,450

discovered the real aim
of the Grosz mission,

512

00:27:09,450 --> 00:27:11,910

but it is clear that,
when they did discover it,

513

00:27:11,910 --> 00:27:13,990

it buried the Brand
mission completely.

514

00:27:13,990 --> 00:27:16,890

And there again you have
this Jewish situation

515

00:27:16,890 --> 00:27:22,170

where the Jews are the victims
of powers which are completely

516
00:27:22,170 --> 00:27:27,360
beyond the Jewish faith,
the Nazi realization--

517
00:27:27,360 --> 00:27:30,690
well, some Nazi realized
that the war is lost

518
00:27:30,690 --> 00:27:33,180
or the war can be
won, that they want

519
00:27:33,180 --> 00:27:35,630
to negotiate with the
Allies, the Allied refusal.

520
00:27:35,630 --> 00:27:38,670
And in the middle there
are millions of Jews

521
00:27:38,670 --> 00:27:42,090
who are slowly being
or quickly, rather,

522
00:27:42,090 --> 00:27:48,000
being ground up in the Nazi
machine while this is going on.

523
00:27:48,000 --> 00:27:49,830
It's true, but it's
difficult to understand

524
00:27:49,830 --> 00:27:53,640
because, in the same time,
Eichmann was killing.

525
00:27:53,640 --> 00:27:57,780
Eichmann was killing because
there were, in the SS,

526
00:27:57,780 --> 00:28:01,440
two parallel lines of policy.

527
00:28:01,440 --> 00:28:03,450
One was the one that
I just outlined,

528
00:28:03,450 --> 00:28:08,310
in other words, the line of
Himmler, Becher which said,

529
00:28:08,310 --> 00:28:12,150
we must try to find some way
of reaching the Western Allies.

530
00:28:12,150 --> 00:28:16,110
But of course, this was
not known to Hitler.

531
00:28:16,110 --> 00:28:20,070
And the idea of
complete destruction,

532
00:28:20,070 --> 00:28:23,550
annihilation of the
Jewish people in Europe

533
00:28:23,550 --> 00:28:24,760
was the second one.

534
00:28:24,760 --> 00:28:27,360
It was carrying on, and
Himmler was going on

535
00:28:27,360 --> 00:28:29,050
with this parallel--

536
00:28:29,050 --> 00:28:29,580
He knew.

537
00:28:29,580 --> 00:28:34,480
It wasn't done
without his knowledge.

538

00:28:34,480 --> 00:28:34,980
Pardon?

539
00:28:34,980 --> 00:28:37,280
It was not done
without his knowledge.

540
00:28:37,280 --> 00:28:38,280
No, of course.

541
00:28:38,280 --> 00:28:39,360
This was the second line.

542
00:28:39,360 --> 00:28:43,560
He was pursuing two
lines at the same time.

543
00:28:43,560 --> 00:28:48,630
But you see, both lines are
within the Nazi ideology,

544
00:28:48,630 --> 00:28:51,480
and it cannot be explained
without reference to Nazi

545
00:28:51,480 --> 00:28:52,470
ideology.

546
00:28:52,470 --> 00:28:56,730
Nazi ideology did not see
the Jews as human beings.

547
00:28:56,730 --> 00:28:59,010
Therefore, you could
either kill them

548
00:28:59,010 --> 00:29:01,890
or sell them, whichever
was more convenient.

549
00:29:01,890 --> 00:29:07,770
The selling process stemmed
from the same background

550
00:29:07,770 --> 00:29:09,340
as the killing process.

551
00:29:09,340 --> 00:29:11,790
Exactly, they saw
them as trucks.

552
00:29:11,790 --> 00:29:14,550
They saw the same
as trucks, yes.

553
00:29:14,550 --> 00:29:16,530
And then you have
the same situation

554
00:29:16,530 --> 00:29:20,400
carrying on after the
failure of the Brand mission

555
00:29:20,400 --> 00:29:23,280
with the negotiations
in Switzerland, which

556
00:29:23,280 --> 00:29:29,430
were conducted from August
1944 to February 1945

557
00:29:29,430 --> 00:29:33,390
by a representative of
the JDC, of the Joint

558
00:29:33,390 --> 00:29:36,600
in Switzerland, Saly
Mayer, with the same group,

559
00:29:36,600 --> 00:29:39,480
with Becher on
behalf of Himmler.

560
00:29:39,480 --> 00:29:41,040
And it is the same line.

561

00:29:41,040 --> 00:29:45,400

Himmler there, quite clearly, is trying to get to the Americans.

562

00:29:45,400 --> 00:29:48,490

Yes, at this time it is clear.

563

00:29:48,490 --> 00:29:52,410

So you have throughout the Holocaust--

564

00:29:52,410 --> 00:29:56,490

you have, at least from 1942 on, in my view--

565

00:29:56,490 --> 00:30:01,080

it can be proved later, but I think it is true also from 1942

566

00:30:01,080 --> 00:30:01,950

on--

567

00:30:01,950 --> 00:30:07,410

a line, a possibility of saying, look, the Nazi decision

568

00:30:07,410 --> 00:30:14,250

to murder all the Jews of Europe was conditional in a sense,

569

00:30:14,250 --> 00:30:19,350

that if there was somebody to buy the Jews,

570

00:30:19,350 --> 00:30:22,380

they might have sold them.

571

00:30:22,380 --> 00:30:25,200

But there was nobody to buy the Jews

572

00:30:25,200 --> 00:30:26,750

because the Allied idea was--

573

00:30:26,750 --> 00:30:28,550

Yes, it is very important.

574

00:30:28,550 --> 00:30:29,050

Pardon?

575

00:30:29,050 --> 00:30:34,190

To sell or to kill was the same
thing, as a matter of fact.

576

00:30:34,190 --> 00:30:38,815

This cannot be
understood otherwise.

577

00:30:38,815 --> 00:30:40,650

It is very important.

578

00:30:40,650 --> 00:30:43,980

579

00:30:43,980 --> 00:30:45,000

Next?

580

00:30:45,000 --> 00:30:49,700

No, no, I'm-- there are now
the people of the Europa Plan,

581

00:30:49,700 --> 00:30:54,870

the Jews, Weissmandel,
Wisliceny, Weissmandel,

582

00:30:54,870 --> 00:30:56,990

Fleischmann.

583

00:30:56,990 --> 00:31:03,000