

1

00:00:00,000 --> 00:00:16,070

2

00:00:16,070 --> 00:00:18,500

I want to say a word
about philanthropy

3

00:00:18,500 --> 00:00:23,630

as one of the important and
crucial blocks in a more

4

00:00:23,630 --> 00:00:26,380

effective response
by American Jewry.

5

00:00:26,380 --> 00:00:27,620

Philanthropy.

6

00:00:27,620 --> 00:00:29,730

Philanthropy, of
the idea of giving.

7

00:00:29,730 --> 00:00:31,940

Now, you know--
philanthropy, the idea

8

00:00:31,940 --> 00:00:37,310

that private organizations
should finance and fund

9

00:00:37,310 --> 00:00:40,820

the new havens of the refugees,
comes up again and again,

10

00:00:40,820 --> 00:00:42,452

as late as the
Bermuda Conference.

11

00:00:42,452 --> 00:00:44,660

We find in the instructions
of Breckinridge Long that

12

00:00:44,660 --> 00:00:46,980
he's saying, remember that
we cannot pay for this,

13

00:00:46,980 --> 00:00:49,640
it must be paid by
private agencies.

14

00:00:49,640 --> 00:00:52,160
Philanthropy has a special
meaning for American Jewry,

15

00:00:52,160 --> 00:00:56,090
because it is the way American
Jewry very often came to terms

16

00:00:56,090 --> 00:00:57,830
with its Judaism, by giving.

17

00:00:57,830 --> 00:01:01,790
A role, by the way, assigned
to them first by the Zionists.

18

00:01:01,790 --> 00:01:05,090
American Jewry was viewed
as a great service station,

19

00:01:05,090 --> 00:01:07,730
in which one could fill up
with money and hopefully,

20

00:01:07,730 --> 00:01:09,440
with people eventually.

21

00:01:09,440 --> 00:01:13,040
We say that the currency
of American Jewish history

22

00:01:13,040 --> 00:01:14,570
is currency.

23

00:01:14,570 --> 00:01:16,620

It's money.

24

00:01:16,620 --> 00:01:20,240

And yet, during the 1930s in
the heart of the Depression,

25

00:01:20,240 --> 00:01:23,330

American Jewish philanthropy
was badly strapped

26

00:01:23,330 --> 00:01:26,720

and could not really
handle the enormous problem

27

00:01:26,720 --> 00:01:28,250

that the refugees posed.

28

00:01:28,250 --> 00:01:31,100

Not only was it not fully
organized until 1938

29

00:01:31,100 --> 00:01:34,850

when the United
Palestine appeal--

30

00:01:34,850 --> 00:01:38,322

New York (film slating)

31

00:01:38,322 --> 00:01:40,280

Well, eventually, what
happened was, of course,

32

00:01:40,280 --> 00:01:44,750

that it was soon apparent
that Jews were locked

33

00:01:44,750 --> 00:01:48,710

in to an age old tradition
of solving problems

34

00:01:48,710 --> 00:01:50,390

by throwing money at it.

35

00:01:50,390 --> 00:01:55,040

And by 1938, it became apparent
that the refugee problem

36

00:01:55,040 --> 00:01:59,330

was so enormous that
private funding could not

37

00:01:59,330 --> 00:02:00,660

solve the problem.

38

00:02:00,660 --> 00:02:02,180

So it's an old way--

39

00:02:02,180 --> 00:02:03,650

The old way would not work.

40

00:02:03,650 --> 00:02:08,509

And yet, the Roosevelt
administration and others,

41

00:02:08,509 --> 00:02:10,820

even the British Guiana
proposal-- for example,

42

00:02:10,820 --> 00:02:16,280

in which Britain had
preferred or proposed as a sop

43

00:02:16,280 --> 00:02:17,780

for the white paper--

44

00:02:17,780 --> 00:02:20,460

was to be funded
by Jewish money.

45

00:02:20,460 --> 00:02:23,930

Yes, what is interesting
is that all the attempts,

46

00:02:23,930 --> 00:02:26,750

all the political

attempts of the States,

47

00:02:26,750 --> 00:02:28,730

whether it was

American or British,

48

00:02:28,730 --> 00:02:32,480

in order to help the

Jews, all of them

49

00:02:32,480 --> 00:02:34,430

said, we will not pay ourselves.

50

00:02:34,430 --> 00:02:35,460

The Jews have to pay--

51

00:02:35,460 --> 00:02:35,960

Precisely.

52

00:02:35,960 --> 00:02:36,460

Right.

53

00:02:36,460 --> 00:02:39,620

--exactly as the Jews are to

pay for their own deportation.

54

00:02:39,620 --> 00:02:46,370

It's almost as if one can hear

the Roosevelt administration

55

00:02:46,370 --> 00:02:49,580

and the British government

resonating the same line that

56

00:02:49,580 --> 00:02:51,080

is coming from Berlin--

57

00:02:51,080 --> 00:02:53,490

the image that Jews have

a great deal of money.

58

00:02:53,490 --> 00:02:56,690

And it really comes out when
Roosevelt calls Morgenthau

59
00:02:56,690 --> 00:02:58,760
into his office to
say, get me a list

60
00:02:58,760 --> 00:03:01,400
of the 1,000 richest Jews
in the United States.

61
00:03:01,400 --> 00:03:05,120
I'm going to build a new
United States of Africa.

62
00:03:05,120 --> 00:03:07,280
And the Jews will pay for it.

63
00:03:07,280 --> 00:03:10,820
Both sides fell so
easily into the idea

64
00:03:10,820 --> 00:03:13,160
that there was, in fact,
the great Jewish wealth

65
00:03:13,160 --> 00:03:16,250
that could bail out
the Jewish problem.

66
00:03:16,250 --> 00:03:18,482
We could say that it
was the same pattern.

67
00:03:18,482 --> 00:03:19,190
The same pattern.

68
00:03:19,190 --> 00:03:20,315
The same pattern that was--

69
00:03:20,315 --> 00:03:24,920
The same imagination,
the same images

70
00:03:24,920 --> 00:03:29,100
of a rich, wealthy
Jew that can assuage,

71
00:03:29,100 --> 00:03:30,890
that can solve the
problem with its money.

72
00:03:30,890 --> 00:03:33,690
And it was the same pattern
too I think in another way,

73
00:03:33,690 --> 00:03:36,110
because Hitler said,
I don't want the Jews.

74
00:03:36,110 --> 00:03:38,840
But the Allies said, we
don't want them, too.

75
00:03:38,840 --> 00:03:40,400
They have to be resettled.

76
00:03:40,400 --> 00:03:41,300
Yes.

77
00:03:41,300 --> 00:03:42,500
Elsewhere.

78
00:03:42,500 --> 00:03:44,120
The resettlement
problem is really

79
00:03:44,120 --> 00:03:46,400
a part and parcel of that.

80
00:03:46,400 --> 00:03:48,440
But we come more
closely to the idea

81
00:03:48,440 --> 00:03:52,280

of the centrality of money--

82

00:03:52,280 --> 00:03:55,520

you see, one of the fascinating
things is that never far

83

00:03:55,520 --> 00:04:00,140

beneath the Nazi cosmology,
that of which whose centrality

84

00:04:00,140 --> 00:04:03,530

was the Jewish question, was a
well honed commercial instinct,

85

00:04:03,530 --> 00:04:04,370

as well.

86

00:04:04,370 --> 00:04:06,320

The idea of Jewish money.

87

00:04:06,320 --> 00:04:10,310

And that gives the Holocaust
a kind of ghoulisish symmetry.

88

00:04:10,310 --> 00:04:14,120

Because it begins with an offer
to ransom the Jews of Germany

89

00:04:14,120 --> 00:04:17,120

and ends with an offer to
ransom the Jews of Hungary.

90

00:04:17,120 --> 00:04:20,600

And throughout, we
find private offers

91

00:04:20,600 --> 00:04:25,520

to ransom individual families.

92

00:04:25,520 --> 00:04:30,080

Now, that ransom proposal, the
first one was very interesting

93

00:04:30,080 --> 00:04:32,270
because it posed a problem--

94

00:04:32,270 --> 00:04:36,320
an agonizing problem for
the Jews of the world--

95

00:04:36,320 --> 00:04:38,930
which has to this very day
not been resolved and leads

96

00:04:38,930 --> 00:04:43,640
to one of the most problematic
factors in the whole discussion

97

00:04:43,640 --> 00:04:44,990
of the Holocaust.

98

00:04:44,990 --> 00:04:50,180
In the early months of 1939,
much to Roosevelt's chagrin,

99

00:04:50,180 --> 00:04:54,050
George Rublee, who was his
old friend from Groton,

100

00:04:54,050 --> 00:04:56,960
succeeded against
all predictions

101

00:04:56,960 --> 00:04:59,810
in establishing contact with
the Germans, with Schacht.

102

00:04:59,810 --> 00:05:00,620
And out of those--

103

00:05:00,620 --> 00:05:01,870
Schacht was a Finance minister

104

00:05:01,870 --> 00:05:04,040
--Hjalmar Schacht was finance

minister and president

105

00:05:04,040 --> 00:05:07,040
of the Reichsbank, and his
assistant, Helmut Wohlthat

106

00:05:07,040 --> 00:05:11,110
It's true that Schacht was
then allowed to go by Hitler,

107

00:05:11,110 --> 00:05:12,910
on January 1st, 1939.

108

00:05:12,910 --> 00:05:16,270
And the negotiations
were taken up by Goering.

109

00:05:16,270 --> 00:05:19,300
What was the exact nature
of the negotiations?

110

00:05:19,300 --> 00:05:24,440
The question of how can German
Jewry be gotten out of Germany.

111

00:05:24,440 --> 00:05:27,070
The question of penniless
refugees, how much

112

00:05:27,070 --> 00:05:28,780
wealth could be gotten out--

113

00:05:28,780 --> 00:05:30,700
out of those three
months of negotiations,

114

00:05:30,700 --> 00:05:32,560
which took place both
in Berlin and London,

115

00:05:32,560 --> 00:05:35,510
came the so-called
statement of agreement.

116
00:05:35,510 --> 00:05:42,370
A peculiar thing, a non
recognized agency, an agent

117
00:05:42,370 --> 00:05:46,060
negotiating with a sovereignty
about a group of Germany's

118
00:05:46,060 --> 00:05:48,550
own citizens, its
Jewish citizens.

119
00:05:48,550 --> 00:05:50,710
Now, the plan is very complex.

120
00:05:50,710 --> 00:05:52,810
It was based on the
Haavara agreement

121
00:05:52,810 --> 00:05:56,620
that was made with the
Zionist agency in 1935.

122
00:05:56,620 --> 00:05:59,410
The Jews would act as forced
salesmen for German capital

123
00:05:59,410 --> 00:06:01,900
goods, and in that way,
would be able to bring out

124
00:06:01,900 --> 00:06:04,780
some of their money
in the form of goods.

125
00:06:04,780 --> 00:06:06,430
And of course,
the German economy

126
00:06:06,430 --> 00:06:11,440
would profit by the sale
of capital machinery.

127
00:06:11,440 --> 00:06:12,850
This was the Haavara.

128
00:06:12,850 --> 00:06:16,000
Yes, and that was, of course,
the key to the Schacht

129
00:06:16,000 --> 00:06:17,200
proposal, too.

130
00:06:17,200 --> 00:06:19,810
When Roosevelt heard
the Schacht proposal

131
00:06:19,810 --> 00:06:21,760
and heard the mention
of Jews, by the way,

132
00:06:21,760 --> 00:06:24,940
he was very chagrined
and rather peeved

133
00:06:24,940 --> 00:06:28,450
that his friend, Rublee, had
mentioned the unmentionable.

134
00:06:28,450 --> 00:06:30,760
He had mentioned what the
Germans always talk about,

135
00:06:30,760 --> 00:06:32,552
and what the Roosevelt
administration never

136
00:06:32,552 --> 00:06:33,400
talked about--

137
00:06:33,400 --> 00:06:34,022
Jews.

138
00:06:34,022 --> 00:06:35,230

That he had mentioned that --

139

00:06:35,230 --> 00:06:37,210

He mentioned the word "Jews".

140

00:06:37,210 --> 00:06:40,778

The euphemism "political
refugees" had been applied,

141

00:06:40,778 --> 00:06:42,070

and no one ever mentioned Jews.

142

00:06:42,070 --> 00:06:43,945

In fact, one can go
through all the documents

143

00:06:43,945 --> 00:06:46,300

and very rarely see the
mention of the word Jews.

144

00:06:46,300 --> 00:06:49,090

While the Germans were
concealing, well, talking only

145

00:06:49,090 --> 00:06:51,730

about Jews and converting
Roosevelt himself

146

00:06:51,730 --> 00:06:54,190

to the Jewish faith, the
Roosevelt administration

147

00:06:54,190 --> 00:06:58,420

was reconverting Jews to a bland
category called "refugees".

148

00:06:58,420 --> 00:07:01,990

And so one could say that the
Jewish question was ground

149

00:07:01,990 --> 00:07:06,310

to dust between a new
terminology, which hid

150
00:07:06,310 --> 00:07:09,440
the question from public view.

151
00:07:09,440 --> 00:07:10,810
Even words like extermination--

152
00:07:10,810 --> 00:07:12,820
Even when the-- and of
course, that key word

153
00:07:12,820 --> 00:07:15,380
there is, again, that
the word "resettlement",

154
00:07:15,380 --> 00:07:19,360
which is used in the West as a
solution to the Jewish problem

155
00:07:19,360 --> 00:07:22,240
and is used in Berlin as a
solution to the Jewish problem.

156
00:07:22,240 --> 00:07:24,880
In a sense, both really
mean the same thing--

157
00:07:24,880 --> 00:07:27,100
tucking away some
despised minority

158
00:07:27,100 --> 00:07:29,770
in an equatorial
rainforest in the West

159
00:07:29,770 --> 00:07:34,660
and in Germany, of course, for
the Nazis, a processed killing

160
00:07:34,660 --> 00:07:37,360
operation and specially
designed death camps using

161

00:07:37,360 --> 00:07:41,380
the most interesting managerial
and productive techniques

162

00:07:41,380 --> 00:07:44,680
and even merchandising.

163

00:07:44,680 --> 00:07:47,080
But the problem that
finally came out,

164

00:07:47,080 --> 00:07:51,760
the release of German
Jewry by outside Jews

165

00:07:51,760 --> 00:07:53,170
who would, in a sense, ransom--

166

00:07:53,170 --> 00:07:56,770
and that was a proposition
used by Dorothy Parker--

167

00:07:56,770 --> 00:08:01,660
Excuse me, excuse me, we must
make these things more clear.

168

00:08:01,660 --> 00:08:05,830
Schacht exactly came
with what proposal?

169

00:08:05,830 --> 00:08:07,930
Well, the proposal is complex.

170

00:08:07,930 --> 00:08:09,910
The money of the
German Jews would

171

00:08:09,910 --> 00:08:12,550
be put into a trust
fund and their property.

172

00:08:12,550 --> 00:08:15,490

And bonds would be based
on that, which would then

173
00:08:15,490 --> 00:08:18,700
be bought by outside Jews.

174
00:08:18,700 --> 00:08:22,300
Now, the point is that
in the Nazi fantasy,

175
00:08:22,300 --> 00:08:25,900
there was an outside
Jewry that existed

176
00:08:25,900 --> 00:08:28,510
and was organized and had
a presence on the money

177
00:08:28,510 --> 00:08:31,412
markets of the world that
could, in fact, buy out--

178
00:08:31,412 --> 00:08:32,370
An international Jewry.

179
00:08:32,370 --> 00:08:34,412
An international Jewry,
which is, of course, what

180
00:08:34,412 --> 00:08:36,580
their fantasy was about Jews.

181
00:08:36,580 --> 00:08:39,820
And they would buy
out the German Jews

182
00:08:39,820 --> 00:08:45,430
by buying these bonds and by
buying the capital machinery.

183
00:08:45,430 --> 00:08:49,280
In that way, Germany would
solve its exchange problem,

184
00:08:49,280 --> 00:08:50,920
which would go to finance the--

185
00:08:50,920 --> 00:08:53,500
Goering's Four Year
Plan to rearm Germany.

186
00:08:53,500 --> 00:08:57,330
And the Jews would
have their Jews.

187
00:08:57,330 --> 00:08:59,320
The discussion that
took place in London

188
00:08:59,320 --> 00:09:01,570
was bitter and agonizing,
because it really

189
00:09:01,570 --> 00:09:06,070
encompassed a question
of whether the Jews

190
00:09:06,070 --> 00:09:08,770
and Jewish leadership
should cooperate

191
00:09:08,770 --> 00:09:10,270
in the destruction
of a particularly

192
00:09:10,270 --> 00:09:12,880
splendid community in Germany.

193
00:09:12,880 --> 00:09:16,480
Should they cooperate in
their own destruction?

194
00:09:16,480 --> 00:09:19,040
They did not yet know
about the final solution.

195

00:09:19,040 --> 00:09:22,639

It is a question that comes
up more fully after the war.

196

00:09:22,639 --> 00:09:24,063

Yes, the final solution--

197

00:09:24,063 --> 00:09:25,480

In other words,
the whole question

198

00:09:25,480 --> 00:09:31,480
of whether the German, whether
Jewry really cooperated, really

199

00:09:31,480 --> 00:09:34,390

took place, took part
in its own destruction

200

00:09:34,390 --> 00:09:36,670

was really raised
as early as 1939,

201

00:09:36,670 --> 00:09:40,070

over the question of
ransoming German Jewry.

202

00:09:40,070 --> 00:09:42,840

And we were nonplussed.

203

00:09:42,840 --> 00:09:44,500

Let me read you a quote from--

204

00:09:44,500 --> 00:09:46,720

Where's the Jewish
leaders that says

205

00:09:46,720 --> 00:09:50,060

a Jewish American
leaders were they aware

206

00:09:50,060 --> 00:09:53,830

of this terrible
problem in which--

207
00:09:53,830 --> 00:10:00,310
Yes, I want to read you
that quote from Tenenbaum.

208
00:10:00,310 --> 00:10:01,390
Who was he?

209
00:10:01,390 --> 00:10:06,733
Tenenbaum was head of the
Boycott Committee, who was very

210
00:10:06,733 --> 00:10:07,900
much opposed to the problem.

211
00:10:07,900 --> 00:10:10,720

212
00:10:10,720 --> 00:10:16,300
Just a quote from this book, "in
sounding this note, Tenenbaum,

213
00:10:16,300 --> 00:10:18,250
who later became a
scholar of the Holocaust,

214
00:10:18,250 --> 00:10:20,600
urged Wise not to support
the ransom proposal,

215
00:10:20,600 --> 00:10:25,210
lest such "procedures"
make the Jewish victims

216
00:10:25,210 --> 00:10:27,820
agents of the Nazi government",
which was precisely,

217
00:10:27,820 --> 00:10:29,560
of course, what
the historiography

218
00:10:29,560 --> 00:10:32,380
of the postwar period is
about and this whole question

219
00:10:32,380 --> 00:10:35,480
of sheep to the slaughter,
did we cooperate.

220
00:10:35,480 --> 00:10:37,340
And a question comes
up even before.

221
00:10:37,340 --> 00:10:40,690
In a sense, Jews were
almost compelled and forced

222
00:10:40,690 --> 00:10:44,290
into this kind of problem,
which is a part of the Holocaust

223
00:10:44,290 --> 00:10:46,330
which is not fully understood.

224
00:10:46,330 --> 00:10:49,540
That part of the
question of powerlessness

225
00:10:49,540 --> 00:10:53,800
is being compelled to
do these kinds of things

226
00:10:53,800 --> 00:10:56,920
that everything you
touch in a sense turns--

227
00:10:56,920 --> 00:11:00,430
One can find the
same ransom pattern

228
00:11:00,430 --> 00:11:04,000
all along the exterior of
the story was extermination.

229

00:11:04,000 --> 00:11:09,520

Yes, well, do you cooperate
with your own tormentors?

230

00:11:09,520 --> 00:11:11,900

Do you pay ransom
for kidnapping?

231

00:11:11,900 --> 00:11:13,750

Should we have saved
the German Jews?

232

00:11:13,750 --> 00:11:14,350

Right.

233

00:11:14,350 --> 00:11:16,078

This raid was
really, really good.

234

00:11:16,078 --> 00:11:22,060

235

00:11:22,060 --> 00:11:25,394

New York. (film slating)

236

00:11:25,394 --> 00:11:26,770

Hmm.

237

00:11:26,770 --> 00:11:33,070

Now, aside from the question of
a Jewish leadership being faced

238

00:11:33,070 --> 00:11:35,740

with the proposition of
having literally to remake

239

00:11:35,740 --> 00:11:38,650

Judaism to fit the
Nazi image of it,

240

00:11:38,650 --> 00:11:41,080

in order to rescue
the German Jews,

241
00:11:41,080 --> 00:11:45,340
there was another question,
the escalation of the problem.

242
00:11:45,340 --> 00:11:48,610
Because Jews lived in
an anti-Semitic world.

243
00:11:48,610 --> 00:11:52,300
In the wings stood the
government of Poland,

244
00:11:52,300 --> 00:11:55,540
the government of Romania,
and the government of Hungary,

245
00:11:55,540 --> 00:11:58,720
carefully watching whether the
Germans would get away with it,

246
00:11:58,720 --> 00:12:00,580
whether Jews could,
in fact, be sold

247
00:12:00,580 --> 00:12:04,120
to enrich the coffers, the
treasury, of these countries.

248
00:12:04,120 --> 00:12:06,620
And that was an
important consideration,

249
00:12:06,620 --> 00:12:11,620
which made the people
negotiating in London

250
00:12:11,620 --> 00:12:16,690
decide to follow through with
only a token agreement, much

251

00:12:16,690 --> 00:12:19,000
to the dismay of the
German negotiators.

252
00:12:19,000 --> 00:12:21,370
And, of course, the
entire proposition

253
00:12:21,370 --> 00:12:24,460
was interrupted by the
outbreak of the war.

254
00:12:24,460 --> 00:12:27,160
There's one last question
that we ought to then address.

255
00:12:27,160 --> 00:12:30,520
Was it possible,
could we have done it?

256
00:12:30,520 --> 00:12:33,370
And I think a fair
minded historian

257
00:12:33,370 --> 00:12:37,300
would say that the whole
Schacht proposal ransom, which

258
00:12:37,300 --> 00:12:40,600
required a stable
world and was supposed

259
00:12:40,600 --> 00:12:42,940
to take place over
three to five years,

260
00:12:42,940 --> 00:12:44,410
was nonsense to begin with.

261
00:12:44,410 --> 00:12:46,450
There was no such
stability in the world.

262

00:12:46,450 --> 00:12:50,470

It was just another
scheme to get Jewish money

263

00:12:50,470 --> 00:12:52,090

from outside Jews.

264

00:12:52,090 --> 00:12:54,787

And if one had to make a
judgment about the position

265

00:12:54,787 --> 00:12:56,245

of Jewish leadership
in this point,

266

00:12:56,245 --> 00:12:58,240

one would not say
that it betrayed.

267

00:12:58,240 --> 00:13:00,550

But they probably
judged very carefully

268

00:13:00,550 --> 00:13:02,320

and were correct in not--

269

00:13:02,320 --> 00:13:04,045

[INAUDIBLE] they were--

270

00:13:04,045 --> 00:13:08,670

--in not cooperating
with the proposal.

271

00:13:08,670 --> 00:13:13,520

Of course, the question of Å%ovian
is an excruciatingly important

272

00:13:13,520 --> 00:13:14,020

one.

273

00:13:14,020 --> 00:13:15,763

We don't know.

274

00:13:15,763 --> 00:13:18,430

We know that the conference was,
in a sense, foredoomed to fail.

275

00:13:18,430 --> 00:13:22,750

There was no serious proposal,
although, fascinatingly enough,

276

00:13:22,750 --> 00:13:25,450

a proposal comes from
Trujillo to settle Jews

277

00:13:25,450 --> 00:13:26,690

in the Dominican Republic.

278

00:13:26,690 --> 00:13:29,710

It's one of the most comical
stories of the Holocaust.

279

00:13:29,710 --> 00:13:33,910

Because, while the
Germans are kicking Jews

280

00:13:33,910 --> 00:13:37,420

out of Germany and Austria
and ultimately Czechoslovakia

281

00:13:37,420 --> 00:13:39,940

because they have bad
blood, Jewish blood,

282

00:13:39,940 --> 00:13:43,180

a bacillus which
will ruin the folk,

283

00:13:43,180 --> 00:13:47,590

Trujillo welcomes Jews to
the Dominican Republic,

284

00:13:47,590 --> 00:13:50,140

not because he loves
Jews, but because he

285

00:13:50,140 --> 00:13:52,958

thinks that white
blood will improve

286

00:13:52,958 --> 00:13:55,000

the racial stock of the
Dominican Republic, which

287

00:13:55,000 --> 00:13:56,740

is plagued by blackness.

288

00:13:56,740 --> 00:13:58,480

Even if this white
blood is Jewish?

289

00:13:58,480 --> 00:13:59,360

Even if it's Jewish.

290

00:13:59,360 --> 00:14:02,620

So you see, no matter, in
a sense, Jews cannot win.

291

00:14:02,620 --> 00:14:06,370

292

00:14:06,370 --> 00:14:11,380

The question of blood makes
the whole thing a circus.

293

00:14:11,380 --> 00:14:13,090

They have the wrong
blood for Germany,

294

00:14:13,090 --> 00:14:15,160

the right blood for
the Dominican Republic,

295

00:14:15,160 --> 00:14:17,980

and, of course, Myron Taylor
may have been absolutely right.

296

00:14:17,980 --> 00:14:23,230

All the Jews really wanted
was to live in a world that

297
00:14:23,230 --> 00:14:25,720
gave them no quota.

298
00:14:25,720 --> 00:14:28,660
They lived the classic
paranoiac nightmare.

299
00:14:28,660 --> 00:14:31,000
They lived in a world
that wanted to murder them

300
00:14:31,000 --> 00:14:32,440
and gave them no haven.

301
00:14:32,440 --> 00:14:33,610
So that they were little--

302
00:14:33,610 --> 00:14:38,614
Do you think that if, let's
say, if at the Evian conference

303
00:14:38,614 --> 00:14:43,750
real openings for rescuing
as a German Jewry,

304
00:14:43,750 --> 00:14:47,350
because, at the time, the only
question was a German Jewry.

305
00:14:47,350 --> 00:14:48,160
Yes.

306
00:14:48,160 --> 00:14:50,410
Do you think that
history could have

307
00:14:50,410 --> 00:14:54,500
changed, that these things
could have taken another turn?

308

00:14:54,500 --> 00:14:56,560

That's an important question.

309

00:14:56,560 --> 00:14:59,350

And of course, we have a
great difference about it.

310

00:14:59,350 --> 00:15:03,700

I believe that,
had Asovian worked,

311

00:15:03,700 --> 00:15:09,220

had the gates been opened,
there is even a possibility

312

00:15:09,220 --> 00:15:14,950

of imagining that the whole
decision to mass murder

313

00:15:14,950 --> 00:15:16,510

the Jews might not
have been taken.

314

00:15:16,510 --> 00:15:18,640

I'm not saying that the
Germans killed the Jews

315

00:15:18,640 --> 00:15:19,990

in a fit of absentmindedness.

316

00:15:19,990 --> 00:15:22,600

It was a deliberate
and fanatic decision.

317

00:15:22,600 --> 00:15:26,470

But I'm saying that the
failure in the initial phase,

318

00:15:26,470 --> 00:15:30,940

in the refugee phase,
of the Germans--

319

00:15:30,940 --> 00:15:31,900
the Germans learned.

320
00:15:31,900 --> 00:15:34,690
We have a passage from
Goebbels Diaries in 1940,

321
00:15:34,690 --> 00:15:38,350
in which he actually states that
he believes underneath it all

322
00:15:38,350 --> 00:15:40,840
that the Allies are glad
that they are finally getting

323
00:15:40,840 --> 00:15:43,090
rid of the Jewish riff-raff.

324
00:15:43,090 --> 00:15:46,360
The signals were to Germany,
the silence of the pope,

325
00:15:46,360 --> 00:15:48,520
the inability of
Roosevelt to act,

326
00:15:48,520 --> 00:15:50,920
the lack of courage of the
International Red Cross,

327
00:15:50,920 --> 00:15:53,920
and all of the witnessing
nations and agencies,

328
00:15:53,920 --> 00:15:55,900
that no one really cared.

329
00:15:55,900 --> 00:15:58,390
That they could get away
with this under the cloud,

330
00:15:58,390 --> 00:16:00,010
under the cover of war.

331
00:16:00,010 --> 00:16:02,290
And of course, when
that war broke out--

332
00:16:02,290 --> 00:16:07,030
so that the failure
in the initial phase

333
00:16:07,030 --> 00:16:09,640
created the momentum, which
carried through the killing

334
00:16:09,640 --> 00:16:10,870
phase.

335
00:16:10,870 --> 00:16:16,420
I think that some historians
agree with me that it was

336
00:16:16,420 --> 00:16:18,760
in this phase that we failed.

337
00:16:18,760 --> 00:16:22,230
In that sense, the indictment
against the witnessing nations

338
00:16:22,230 --> 00:16:25,770
is all the more
terrible and horrendous.

339
00:16:25,770 --> 00:16:29,190
Because had a
haven been offered,

340
00:16:29,190 --> 00:16:32,232
even a resettlement
haven, this story

341
00:16:32,232 --> 00:16:33,690
might have been
entirely different.

342

00:16:33,690 --> 00:16:35,970

Although, we don't
know that for certain.

343

00:16:35,970 --> 00:16:37,800

But the ~~Å~~%ovian
conference, of course,

344

00:16:37,800 --> 00:16:39,840

did open up the question
of resettlement.

345

00:16:39,840 --> 00:16:43,860

And it became for Roosevelt,
who was a great geographer,

346

00:16:43,860 --> 00:16:48,900

a wonderful stamp collector, and
who fancied himself [INAUDIBLE]

347

00:16:48,900 --> 00:16:50,760

became the solution.

348

00:16:50,760 --> 00:16:55,500

There was something
seductive about tucking away

349

00:16:55,500 --> 00:17:01,410

an unpopular pariah minority
in some tropical rainforest

350

00:17:01,410 --> 00:17:02,910

where it could bother no one.

351

00:17:02,910 --> 00:17:03,840

The Jews--

352

00:17:03,840 --> 00:17:07,290

Like the migrations
[INAUDIBLE] of population, too.

353

00:17:07,290 --> 00:17:09,812

And even suggested
in October of 1939,

354
00:17:09,812 --> 00:17:11,520
in the meeting of the
executive committee

355
00:17:11,520 --> 00:17:12,937
of the Intergovernmental
Committee

356
00:17:12,937 --> 00:17:15,030
on Political Refugees,
that they should

357
00:17:15,030 --> 00:17:16,560
think in terms of 10 million.

358
00:17:16,560 --> 00:17:19,740
This was October, a month
after the war had broken out.

359
00:17:19,740 --> 00:17:21,849
And France and
England were thinking

360
00:17:21,849 --> 00:17:23,099
of whether they would survive.

361
00:17:23,099 --> 00:17:24,974
He was telling them to
think of the refugees.

362
00:17:24,974 --> 00:17:27,210
And of course, they were
thinking of no such thing.

363
00:17:27,210 --> 00:17:29,580
Roosevelt imagined
that some place

364
00:17:29,580 --> 00:17:36,140
in Africa they could be built a

United States of Africa, which

365

00:17:36,140 --> 00:17:39,930
virtually recapitulated
the American experience,

366

00:17:39,930 --> 00:17:45,310
even to the extent of having
it under British sovereignty.

367

00:17:45,310 --> 00:17:48,420
He thought in these
large terms, visionary,

368

00:17:48,420 --> 00:17:50,550
nowhere tied to the
facts of the case.

369

00:17:50,550 --> 00:17:54,390
That the Jews were, in fact, an
aging population with a good,

370

00:17:54,390 --> 00:17:57,480
perhaps as high as 60% of
the population over 40.

371

00:17:57,480 --> 00:17:59,700
Certainly not a
pioneering population.

372

00:17:59,700 --> 00:18:01,530
And those who could
pioneer had already

373

00:18:01,530 --> 00:18:04,455
been siphoned off
by the Youth Aliyah

374

00:18:04,455 --> 00:18:08,790
and by the Zionist movement,
so that it was very, very

375

00:18:08,790 --> 00:18:12,090

difficult. And he hired
and according to some,

376
00:18:12,090 --> 00:18:15,690
there may have been as many
as 666 different resettlement

377
00:18:15,690 --> 00:18:18,240
proposals made
during this conflict

378
00:18:18,240 --> 00:18:22,380
with Isaiah Bowman, who was
introduced to him by his one

379
00:18:22,380 --> 00:18:25,170
close Jewish friend, Henry
Morgenthau, the only Jew that

380
00:18:25,170 --> 00:18:27,200
would be accepted by
Roosevelt's mother.

381
00:18:27,200 --> 00:18:29,310
He was a geographer,
Isaiah Bowman.

382
00:18:29,310 --> 00:18:32,550
He was a geographer from
Johns Hopkins University who

383
00:18:32,550 --> 00:18:35,970
had, by the way, almost
no confidence at all that

384
00:18:35,970 --> 00:18:38,550
the idea of mass
resettlement could work.

385
00:18:38,550 --> 00:18:42,060
But Roosevelt
scoured the earth--

386

00:18:42,060 --> 00:18:47,190
Baja California, the Orinoco
plateau in Venezuela,

387
00:18:47,190 --> 00:18:50,730
every African
Republic, Mindanao.

388
00:18:50,730 --> 00:18:52,800
The British thought
of British Guyana.

389
00:18:52,800 --> 00:18:55,590
In a sense, the key word
became resettlement,

390
00:18:55,590 --> 00:19:00,210
and that word really requires
our closest scrutiny.

391
00:19:00,210 --> 00:19:03,390
Resettlement became
the single code word

392
00:19:03,390 --> 00:19:06,100
of the final solution.

393
00:19:06,100 --> 00:19:08,850
Yes, it was the same word
used by the [INAUDIBLE]..

394
00:19:08,850 --> 00:19:11,160
And it really meant
the same thing,

395
00:19:11,160 --> 00:19:14,910
because one could not resettle
a people against its will.

396
00:19:14,910 --> 00:19:18,120
Where mass resettlement
did work, as in Israel,

397

00:19:18,120 --> 00:19:21,420
as perhaps in Birobidzhan, or
perhaps in the Crimea after

398
00:19:21,420 --> 00:19:25,470
World War I, or even
in the Baron Roths --,

399
00:19:25,470 --> 00:19:27,540
Baron de Hirsch
settlements in Argentina.

400
00:19:27,540 --> 00:19:32,010
It had to be in tandem with
an idealism, a voluntary work.

401
00:19:32,010 --> 00:19:34,410
Otherwise, it was simply
a movement of people,

402
00:19:34,410 --> 00:19:35,640
like so many cattle.

403
00:19:35,640 --> 00:19:37,590
What was done to the
Greeks by the Turks,

404
00:19:37,590 --> 00:19:39,720
and the Turks by the
Greeks after World War I--

405
00:19:39,720 --> 00:19:43,230
it was in itself a form
of cultural genocide.

406
00:19:43,230 --> 00:19:45,930
In other words, resettlement
could not have worked.

407
00:19:45,930 --> 00:19:47,460
And yet, one wonders.

408
00:19:47,460 --> 00:19:49,350

And it's one of the
great arguments.

409
00:19:49,350 --> 00:19:53,310
Was is it possible
in 1943, for example,

410
00:19:53,310 --> 00:19:57,000
was Bergson right to
get the Jews out anyway,

411
00:19:57,000 --> 00:19:58,920
it didn't matter?

412
00:19:58,920 --> 00:20:02,655
The Zionists, of course, did not
really prefer the resettlement.

413
00:20:02,655 --> 00:20:05,556
(film logistics)

414
00:20:05,556 --> 00:20:09,570
New York (film slating)

415
00:20:09,570 --> 00:20:15,180
Of course, there is no question
that Roosevelt's pension

416
00:20:15,180 --> 00:20:17,310
and his fantasy
about resettlement

417
00:20:17,310 --> 00:20:21,190
posed a special kind of
problem for the Zionists.

418
00:20:21,190 --> 00:20:23,010
I think the rough
estimate of how much it

419
00:20:23,010 --> 00:20:29,340
costs to resettle each Jew was
about 2,400 pounds in Israel.

420
00:20:29,340 --> 00:20:33,660
These Zionists, perhaps in
an ideologically heavy way,

421
00:20:33,660 --> 00:20:37,900
could not, of course, abandon
Zionism and the idea of Zion.

422
00:20:37,900 --> 00:20:41,340
They could not conceive
of an idea of a Zion

423
00:20:41,340 --> 00:20:44,910
without Zionism, or
Zionism without Zion.

424
00:20:44,910 --> 00:20:50,220
The 1930s, because of the
rescued drama of the pressure,

425
00:20:50,220 --> 00:20:54,510
really generated a whole new
group of an ancient enemy

426
00:20:54,510 --> 00:20:58,200
that the Zionists thought they
had gotten rid of by 1906,

427
00:20:58,200 --> 00:21:00,970
the so-called Territorialists.

428
00:21:00,970 --> 00:21:03,180
And, of course, the
idea of resettlement

429
00:21:03,180 --> 00:21:05,280
was really a territorial idea.

430
00:21:05,280 --> 00:21:08,280
Just meant to resettle the
people wherever it could be.

431

00:21:08,280 --> 00:21:09,780

Right, not in Palestine.

432

00:21:09,780 --> 00:21:14,340

And the Zionists were very
much afraid of that idea.

433

00:21:14,340 --> 00:21:18,270

When Stephen Wise heard of
the idea of making the former

434

00:21:18,270 --> 00:21:22,390

German colony of Tanganyika--
today Kenya, I think--

435

00:21:22,390 --> 00:21:26,680

a haven for Jews, he
said "no" in 1939.

436

00:21:26,680 --> 00:21:29,505

That he would never want
the Jews under German

437

00:21:29,505 --> 00:21:30,130

tutelage again.

438

00:21:30,130 --> 00:21:32,710

Because, of course, in
1939 there was an idea

439

00:21:32,710 --> 00:21:36,190

that the British had of
perhaps giving Tanganyika back

440

00:21:36,190 --> 00:21:39,580

to Hitler as a sop, as part
of the appeasement policy.

441

00:21:39,580 --> 00:21:42,880

By 1941, of course, he was
singing a different tune.

442

00:21:42,880 --> 00:21:46,690
He would have accepted
something other than Palestine.

443
00:21:46,690 --> 00:21:50,110
But for them, the
idea of abandoning it

444
00:21:50,110 --> 00:21:54,790
was very, very, very strange,
very difficult to accept.

445
00:21:54,790 --> 00:21:58,750
They fought it in the
only way they knew.

446
00:21:58,750 --> 00:22:02,410
They thought that if the
white paper had been pressed

447
00:22:02,410 --> 00:22:05,498
upon the Jewish people by
British political fiat, then

448
00:22:05,498 --> 00:22:06,040
it would be--

449
00:22:06,040 --> 00:22:09,450
So the white paper was a--

450
00:22:09,450 --> 00:22:13,270
A British policy in May,
1939, of restricting land sale

451
00:22:13,270 --> 00:22:15,970
and immigration to
Palestine taken right

452
00:22:15,970 --> 00:22:17,990
in the teeth of the crisis.

453
00:22:17,990 --> 00:22:21,220
I think it was Ben-Gurion

who said, in 1943-- just

454

00:22:21,220 --> 00:22:24,130
to show you the dilemma
it put the Zionists in,

455

00:22:24,130 --> 00:22:28,563
that they would fight the white
paper as if there was no Nazis.

456

00:22:28,563 --> 00:22:29,230
And they would--

457

00:22:29,230 --> 00:22:35,360

458

00:22:35,360 --> 00:22:40,160
New York (film slating)

459

00:22:40,160 --> 00:22:42,500
The question of
resettlement, of course,

460

00:22:42,500 --> 00:22:46,340
did pose an enormous
problem for the Zionists.

461

00:22:46,340 --> 00:22:49,340
It meant that resources
that would ordinarily

462

00:22:49,340 --> 00:22:52,820
be focused on the
issue would have to go

463

00:22:52,820 --> 00:22:54,320
to the question of rescue.

464

00:22:54,320 --> 00:22:56,990
The issue means the Jewish
community in Palestine.

465

00:22:56,990 --> 00:22:57,950
In Palestine.

466
00:22:57,950 --> 00:23:02,510
Now, for the Zionists, the
issue was the surest way

467
00:23:02,510 --> 00:23:04,070
of rescuing Jews.

468
00:23:04,070 --> 00:23:06,780
It seemed the logical
answer to the problem,

469
00:23:06,780 --> 00:23:10,790
if only England had not
curtailed immigration and land

470
00:23:10,790 --> 00:23:12,410
sales.

471
00:23:12,410 --> 00:23:16,490
And they had to believe, in
a sense were compelled to,

472
00:23:16,490 --> 00:23:19,520
that if the white paper
was pressed on to them

473
00:23:19,520 --> 00:23:21,890
by a political act, then
it had to be undone.

474
00:23:21,890 --> 00:23:24,650
And at that time in
'43 we find Ben-Gurion

475
00:23:24,650 --> 00:23:28,010
saying, we will fight
the white paper,

476
00:23:28,010 --> 00:23:30,290
as if there was no Nazi Germany.

477

00:23:30,290 --> 00:23:33,830

And Nazi Germany, as if
there was no white paper.

478

00:23:33,830 --> 00:23:38,030

That terrible duality-- a
terrible problem of what to do.

479

00:23:38,030 --> 00:23:41,840

And yet, resettlement,
which gave --

480

00:23:41,840 --> 00:23:46,430

disinterred the whole
Territorialist question,

481

00:23:46,430 --> 00:23:50,930

we find Wise saying
in November of 23rd,

482

00:23:50,930 --> 00:23:53,450

1938 after
Kristallnacht-- we find

483

00:23:53,450 --> 00:23:57,110

him saying about Tanganyika,
a former German colony,

484

00:23:57,110 --> 00:24:00,080

"I would rather have my
fellow Jews die in Germany

485

00:24:00,080 --> 00:24:03,320

than live somehow,
anyhow, in the lands which

486

00:24:03,320 --> 00:24:05,570

bear the imprint of
yesterday's occupation

487

00:24:05,570 --> 00:24:08,360

by Germany, in lands

which may tomorrow

488

00:24:08,360 --> 00:24:11,870

be yielded back to Germany."

489

00:24:11,870 --> 00:24:15,050

That was a rather
grandiose, and I'm

490

00:24:15,050 --> 00:24:19,880

sure that had Wise
heard it in 1943,

491

00:24:19,880 --> 00:24:24,680

he would not have
made that statement.

492

00:24:24,680 --> 00:24:26,960

What to do?

493

00:24:26,960 --> 00:24:29,060

It may very well
be that the charge

494

00:24:29,060 --> 00:24:30,800

or the indictment
of the Zionists,

495

00:24:30,800 --> 00:24:32,630

that they were
ideologically heavy.

496

00:24:32,630 --> 00:24:35,000

And that in the
Biltmore conference

497

00:24:35,000 --> 00:24:37,790

and subsequently in the
American Jewish conference,

498

00:24:37,790 --> 00:24:39,815

which was organized in 1943--

499

00:24:39,815 --> 00:24:41,032

They had to do something--

500

00:24:41,032 --> 00:24:41,990

In order to something--

501

00:24:41,990 --> 00:24:42,865

To excuse the people.

502

00:24:42,865 --> 00:24:45,530

They had, in fact, already
written off the Jews

503

00:24:45,530 --> 00:24:50,600

and were thinking exclusively
in terms of a national homeland

504

00:24:50,600 --> 00:24:51,440

after the war.

505

00:24:51,440 --> 00:24:52,130

Of the future.

506

00:24:52,130 --> 00:24:54,750

Of the future, right.

507

00:24:54,750 --> 00:24:56,900

And that may be so.

508

00:24:56,900 --> 00:25:01,850

And yet, one has to match
that with the prognosis,

509

00:25:01,850 --> 00:25:03,950

with the possibilities
of whether resettlement

510

00:25:03,950 --> 00:25:05,210

could have worked.

511

00:25:05,210 --> 00:25:08,150

I don't think that the
question of the Zionist

512
00:25:08,150 --> 00:25:11,860
stand on mass resettlement
really is an important one.

513
00:25:11,860 --> 00:25:13,610
It's a hypothetical question.

514
00:25:13,610 --> 00:25:16,460
The fact is, that there
were no mass havens

515
00:25:16,460 --> 00:25:20,240
for Jews being offered,
which could have been used.

516
00:25:20,240 --> 00:25:22,820
And that in order for
mass rescue to work,

517
00:25:22,820 --> 00:25:27,080
we would have had to have mass
resettlement, infiltration

518
00:25:27,080 --> 00:25:29,750
of individual Jews into
existing societies,

519
00:25:29,750 --> 00:25:33,110
and a more liberal immigration
policy in both Latin

520
00:25:33,110 --> 00:25:35,180
America and the United States.

521
00:25:35,180 --> 00:25:40,280
Now, the issue comes up in
1943 with the so-called Bergson

522
00:25:40,280 --> 00:25:43,490
Group, a group of

523

00:25:43,490 --> 00:25:46,520
representing the right wing,
representing revisionists.

524

00:25:46,520 --> 00:25:47,360
Palestine Jews--

525

00:25:47,360 --> 00:25:52,550
Palestinians at that time,
right, who do the unthinkable,

526

00:25:52,550 --> 00:25:56,000
as far as the Zionists are
concerned, and therefore create

527

00:25:56,000 --> 00:25:57,830
a tremendous conflict.

528

00:25:57,830 --> 00:26:01,790
They separate the homeland
issue from the rescue issue

529

00:26:01,790 --> 00:26:05,120
and, in fact, give priority
to the rescue issue.

530

00:26:05,120 --> 00:26:07,760
For the Zionists, the
two were on a continuum.

531

00:26:07,760 --> 00:26:11,600
Rescue was possible if
Palestine could be opened.

532

00:26:11,600 --> 00:26:15,440
The revisionists argue that
we cannot open up Palestine

533

00:26:15,440 --> 00:26:16,430
in time.

534

00:26:16,430 --> 00:26:19,490

Therefore, let us get out
the Jews by any means.

535

00:26:19,490 --> 00:26:22,880

The Zionists, in a
sense, make an error.

536

00:26:22,880 --> 00:26:24,470

Were they too heavy
handed, were they

537

00:26:24,470 --> 00:26:27,830

too locked in to their own
ideological proclivities,

538

00:26:27,830 --> 00:26:29,150

in this case?

539

00:26:29,150 --> 00:26:32,010

That question will be
argued for years to come.

540

00:26:32,010 --> 00:26:34,640

But whether or not it could
have worked in the end

541

00:26:34,640 --> 00:26:36,770

really depends on
whether such havens could

542

00:26:36,770 --> 00:26:41,600

have been materialized in 1943.

543

00:26:41,600 --> 00:26:43,580

The truth is that no
matter what decision

544

00:26:43,580 --> 00:26:45,170

the Zionists would have taken--

545

00:26:45,170 --> 00:26:48,500

It's a question of the heavens,
it's a question of the people

546
00:26:48,500 --> 00:26:51,150
to put in, as a matter of fact.

547
00:26:51,150 --> 00:26:51,650
Yes.

548
00:26:51,650 --> 00:26:54,862
Could the Jews have pioneered?

549
00:26:54,862 --> 00:26:55,820
Could this have worked?

550
00:26:55,820 --> 00:26:59,330
Myron Taylor says in
1940, what the Jews really

551
00:26:59,330 --> 00:27:03,260
want is to be given their
peace and live peacefully

552
00:27:03,260 --> 00:27:04,370
in settled societies.

553
00:27:04,370 --> 00:27:08,210
They do not really want to
pioneer, except in Palestine.

554
00:27:08,210 --> 00:27:10,160
And I think that's a--

555
00:27:10,160 --> 00:27:12,703
They want to settle
in societies--

556
00:27:12,703 --> 00:27:13,870
In settled societies, right.

557
00:27:13,870 --> 00:27:15,453
--And they don't

want to be resettled.

558

00:27:15,453 --> 00:27:17,510

It's just completely true.

559

00:27:17,510 --> 00:27:19,850

That's very important.

560

00:27:19,850 --> 00:27:22,190

There's another
question that I think

561

00:27:22,190 --> 00:27:26,420

was the key roadblock
in the rescue situation.

562

00:27:26,420 --> 00:27:30,050

And that was the question of
war aims and war priorities.

563

00:27:30,050 --> 00:27:33,110

If we look back
to 1938, the Jews

564

00:27:33,110 --> 00:27:35,690

could not be welcome
to the United States,

565

00:27:35,690 --> 00:27:37,490

because of things
that we've already

566

00:27:37,490 --> 00:27:41,000

mentioned-- the restrictive
legislation, anti-Semitism,

567

00:27:41,000 --> 00:27:44,930

the effects of the
Depression, and so forth.

568

00:27:44,930 --> 00:27:49,370

After the war, that
rationale changes.

569
00:27:49,370 --> 00:27:52,010
The Jews cannot,
now, be rescued,

570
00:27:52,010 --> 00:27:58,160
because the fastest way to
rescue Jews is through victory.

571
00:27:58,160 --> 00:27:59,777
When Wise pointed out--

572
00:27:59,777 --> 00:28:01,110
Because the World War broke out.

573
00:28:01,110 --> 00:28:01,490
Yes.

574
00:28:01,490 --> 00:28:03,500
The fastest way to rescue
Jews, in other words,

575
00:28:03,500 --> 00:28:04,850
is through victory.

576
00:28:04,850 --> 00:28:07,520
And nothing can be done to
interfere with that victory,

577
00:28:07,520 --> 00:28:09,590
including the
rescue of the Jews.

578
00:28:09,590 --> 00:28:12,560
Now, when Wise points
out that if this is so,

579
00:28:12,560 --> 00:28:16,760
the Jews will all be dead
by the end of the war,

580
00:28:16,760 --> 00:28:18,920

there is no answer
from Washington.

581
00:28:18,920 --> 00:28:21,830
And yet, to have
challenged that idea

582
00:28:21,830 --> 00:28:26,720
that somehow the Jews required
a special strategy, a change

583
00:28:26,720 --> 00:28:28,860
in the priorities of
the war to make it,

584
00:28:28,860 --> 00:28:35,090
in fact, what Hitler had called
it a war to destroy the Jews--

585
00:28:35,090 --> 00:28:38,210
that could not have been done,
the changing of the war aims.

586
00:28:38,210 --> 00:28:40,530
Not a single one of the
conferences that we have,

587
00:28:40,530 --> 00:28:43,280
which discussed war aims and war
strategies from Argentia which

588
00:28:43,280 --> 00:28:46,790
produced the Atlantic
Charter, to Tehran, to Yalta,

589
00:28:46,790 --> 00:28:50,300
ever discussed the idea
that the rescue of the Jews

590
00:28:50,300 --> 00:28:51,590
should become a war aim.

591
00:28:51,590 --> 00:28:53,900

As a matter of fact,
Stalin and Roosevelt

592
00:28:53,900 --> 00:28:58,220
were very careful not to make
the war against the Nazis

593
00:28:58,220 --> 00:28:59,300
a war to save the Jews.

594
00:28:59,300 --> 00:29:02,570
Perhaps they knew instinctively
that that would have interfered

595
00:29:02,570 --> 00:29:04,940
with the mobilization plans.

596
00:29:04,940 --> 00:29:07,700
With the Russians it became
the Great Patriotic War,

597
00:29:07,700 --> 00:29:10,070
and for the Americans it
became the Great Crusade.

598
00:29:10,070 --> 00:29:11,720
Nothing about Jews.

599
00:29:11,720 --> 00:29:15,080
The interesting thing is
that only for the Jews

600
00:29:15,080 --> 00:29:17,450
is World War II the
war against the Jews.

601
00:29:17,450 --> 00:29:21,860
Even today, the textbooks do
not give the kind of priority,

602
00:29:21,860 --> 00:29:25,190
or follow the same priorities
about the Holocaust, that

603
00:29:25,190 --> 00:29:27,770
were actually followed
during the war.

604
00:29:27,770 --> 00:29:29,960
And that really
brings up the question

605
00:29:29,960 --> 00:29:32,750
to whose history does the
Holocaust really belong?

606
00:29:32,750 --> 00:29:36,770
And why didn't Roosevelt and
Churchill and Stalin understand

607
00:29:36,770 --> 00:29:39,590
that what was going up in
the chimneys of Auschwitz

608
00:29:39,590 --> 00:29:41,090
was a little bit
of their own world?

609
00:29:41,090 --> 00:29:43,370
That it was only
symbolically Jews,

610
00:29:43,370 --> 00:29:46,520
and that the lack of confidence
and the lack of morale

611
00:29:46,520 --> 00:29:50,360
in the Western
world today may have

612
00:29:50,360 --> 00:29:53,480
been lost somewhere in Auschwitz
after what was happening.

613
00:29:53,480 --> 00:29:58,550
The things that the West

produced to enhance life--

614

00:29:58,550 --> 00:30:02,990

production, technology,
managerial techniques--

615

00:30:02,990 --> 00:30:07,460

were reversed to produce so
many units of death per day.

616

00:30:07,460 --> 00:30:11,300

What else can be said but that
Auschwitz is the modern world

617

00:30:11,300 --> 00:30:14,000

and its problems in microcosm?

618

00:30:14,000 --> 00:30:16,610

Are we are we becoming
Musselmen in this sense?

619

00:30:16,610 --> 00:30:19,220

Does that tattooed
forum really mean

620

00:30:19,220 --> 00:30:22,850

the bureaucratized, standing
room only kind of world

621

00:30:22,850 --> 00:30:23,570

that we live in?

622

00:30:23,570 --> 00:30:26,330

Is that happening today?

623

00:30:26,330 --> 00:30:30,170

But leaders don't work
on abstract philosophy.

624

00:30:30,170 --> 00:30:33,560

They work on a day
to day reality.

625

00:30:33,560 --> 00:30:36,200

Roosevelt worked on the
political reality of could he

626

00:30:36,200 --> 00:30:37,340

accept the refugees.

627

00:30:37,340 --> 00:30:39,380

And the answer was "no".

628

00:30:39,380 --> 00:30:41,630

The question was,
could they survive?

629

00:30:41,630 --> 00:30:44,550

Until Stalingrad
in February 1943,

630

00:30:44,550 --> 00:30:46,790

which marks the
changing of the war,

631

00:30:46,790 --> 00:30:49,100

they were worried
about their survival.

632

00:30:49,100 --> 00:30:53,120

They did not have that kind
of a depth to imagine it.

633

00:30:53,120 --> 00:30:55,940

And if they came
back today, they

634

00:30:55,940 --> 00:30:58,580

would not understand why
Auschwitz has suddenly

635

00:30:58,580 --> 00:31:02,510

become the Auschwitz,
not Malmedy,

636

00:31:02,510 --> 00:31:05,900
and not the beaches of Normandy,
and not the Bataan Death March,

637
00:31:05,900 --> 00:31:08,210
but Auschwitz may,
in fact, become

638
00:31:08,210 --> 00:31:10,640
the symbol of World War II.

639
00:31:10,640 --> 00:31:11,330
For who?

640
00:31:11,330 --> 00:31:13,550
Well, right now,
perhaps, for the Jews.

641
00:31:13,550 --> 00:31:16,490
But I think ultimately, if
we see it as the totalitarian

642
00:31:16,490 --> 00:31:20,030
microcosm that it really
was, it may very well be

643
00:31:20,030 --> 00:31:21,680
that more and more
people will realize

644
00:31:21,680 --> 00:31:24,860
that what happened in Auschwitz
happened to everybody.

645
00:31:24,860 --> 00:31:27,500
That here is a different
order of event,

646
00:31:27,500 --> 00:31:29,580
and that our lives can
never be the same again.

647
00:31:29,580 --> 00:31:33,523

Now, that may be wishful
thinking on my part.

648
00:31:33,523 --> 00:31:34,940
But there is reason
to believe it.

649
00:31:34,940 --> 00:31:37,023
Of course, there are other
theories about it, too.

650
00:31:37,023 --> 00:31:38,840
It may, in fact, have
been an unimportant

651
00:31:38,840 --> 00:31:41,330
event that happened to an
unimportant and vulnerable

652
00:31:41,330 --> 00:31:42,680
people.

653
00:31:42,680 --> 00:31:45,240
That's another way
of looking at it.

654
00:31:45,240 --> 00:31:47,630
I personally don't think so.

655
00:31:47,630 --> 00:31:51,420
That's why I object to the
so-called obscene analogy.

656
00:31:51,420 --> 00:31:53,150
Auschwitz is not Hiroshima.

657
00:31:53,150 --> 00:31:56,990
Although, one could argue that
the components were the same--

658
00:31:56,990 --> 00:32:01,280
anonymous dying by fire, the use
of technology, a race factor,

659
00:32:01,280 --> 00:32:02,930
also present in Hiroshima.

660
00:32:02,930 --> 00:32:04,770
But Auschwitz is different.

661
00:32:04,770 --> 00:32:07,040
Auschwitz is different,
partly because it happened

662
00:32:07,040 --> 00:32:09,110
to a people that were
different and were,

663
00:32:09,110 --> 00:32:12,110
in a sense, murdered
for the difference.

664
00:32:12,110 --> 00:32:13,460
That's a key point.

665
00:32:13,460 --> 00:32:17,270
So that when we constantly
bring up the Armenians and today

666
00:32:17,270 --> 00:32:20,630
the Cambodians, those are
all interesting atrocities.

667
00:32:20,630 --> 00:32:23,570
And I do not take away
the agony of them.

668
00:32:23,570 --> 00:32:29,270
But Auschwitz is something that
has horrendous particularity.

669
00:32:29,270 --> 00:32:35,350
The question of the strategy
of victory to save the Jews

670

00:32:35,350 --> 00:32:37,900
really put men like
Stephen Wise in a bind.

671
00:32:37,900 --> 00:32:42,190
Let me read you something
that Stephen Wise said

672
00:32:42,190 --> 00:32:45,970
at the introduction speech in
the American Jewish Conference

673
00:32:45,970 --> 00:32:50,320
meeting in 1943, to show
you how he was bound

674
00:32:50,320 --> 00:32:53,740
by this question of a war aims.

675
00:32:53,740 --> 00:32:55,510
"We are Americans", he says.

676
00:32:55,510 --> 00:32:58,300
"First, last, and all the time.

677
00:32:58,300 --> 00:33:01,150
Everything else that we
are and have deepens,

678
00:33:01,150 --> 00:33:05,770
enriches, and strengthens if
that can be our Americanism.

679
00:33:05,770 --> 00:33:08,530
As Americans, our
first and sternest task

680
00:33:08,530 --> 00:33:11,187
in common with all other
citizens of our beloved country

681
00:33:11,187 --> 00:33:13,270
and with all of the citizens

of the United Nations

682

00:33:13,270 --> 00:33:15,730

is to win the antifascist war.

683

00:33:15,730 --> 00:33:19,150

Unless the war be won,

all else is lost."

684

00:33:19,150 --> 00:33:23,650

Now, what had to happen

for Jewish rescue is

685

00:33:23,650 --> 00:33:27,510

that a special case had

to be made for Jews.

686

00:33:27,510 --> 00:33:30,670

The Nazi war machine was

treating Jews specially.

687

00:33:30,670 --> 00:33:33,430

And to have said, "we

want something special",

688

00:33:33,430 --> 00:33:36,670

would have meant to

derail that thing.

689

00:33:36,670 --> 00:33:40,890

For Jewish leaders to

argue this wouldn't--