

1

00:00:00,000 --> 00:00:06,253

2

00:00:06,253 --> 00:00:08,332

(film slating)

3

00:00:08,332 --> 00:00:10,180

4

00:00:10,180 --> 00:00:16,810

There's no question that Wise
is a tragic figure, in a sense--

5

00:00:16,810 --> 00:00:17,920

Stephen Wise, you mean?

6

00:00:17,920 --> 00:00:19,720

Yeah, Stephen Wise.

7

00:00:19,720 --> 00:00:23,980

Because he is, in a sense,
locked in by his Americanism.

8

00:00:23,980 --> 00:00:27,160

That quote, "we are
Americans first,"

9

00:00:27,160 --> 00:00:29,440

really tells the entire tragedy.

10

00:00:29,440 --> 00:00:32,650

To have intruded
into the American War

11

00:00:32,650 --> 00:00:35,680

aims the additional
and exceptional aim

12

00:00:35,680 --> 00:00:40,090

of saving Jews could have
possibly been interpreted

13

00:00:40,090 --> 00:00:46,210

as a roadway away
from a rapid victory

14

00:00:46,210 --> 00:00:50,200

and would have disinterred
the whole question of loyalty.

15

00:00:50,200 --> 00:00:53,980

And that question was
a bugaboo for Jews.

16

00:00:53,980 --> 00:00:56,170

There is another
point too that one

17

00:00:56,170 --> 00:00:59,500

ought to make about
Zionists and Zionism--

18

00:00:59,500 --> 00:01:04,090

in a sense, the fact
that the Holocaust

19

00:01:04,090 --> 00:01:08,110

proved the Zionists
so, so terribly right.

20

00:01:08,110 --> 00:01:13,720

It was a thing that Zionism
could feed on had they not

21

00:01:13,720 --> 00:01:17,440

predicted that the diaspora
was untenable for Jewry.

22

00:01:17,440 --> 00:01:19,840

And the figures
were, of course, told

23

00:01:19,840 --> 00:01:22,545

in the increase in the

membership of Hadassah

24

00:01:22,545 --> 00:01:24,670
and the general Zionist
organizations in the United

25

00:01:24,670 --> 00:01:28,720
States from virtually
nothing in the first decades

26

00:01:28,720 --> 00:01:32,200
of the 20th century, when after
all Eastern Jews had voted

27

00:01:32,200 --> 00:01:35,500
with their feet to come to
America and not to Palestine,

28

00:01:35,500 --> 00:01:39,280
to 1938, when the Zionist
movement contained well

29

00:01:39,280 --> 00:01:41,740
over 100,000 members
and had, in fact, become

30

00:01:41,740 --> 00:01:45,100
the center of gravity of
American political life.

31

00:01:45,100 --> 00:01:47,830
And it had not become so
because of the compelling nature

32

00:01:47,830 --> 00:01:51,070
of Zionist ideology about
which American Jewry understood

33

00:01:51,070 --> 00:01:52,540
very little in any case.

34

00:01:52,540 --> 00:01:55,270
It had become so because

the spatial idea,

35

00:01:55,270 --> 00:01:58,090

the idea of a Jewish refuge
and Jewish sovereignty

36

00:01:58,090 --> 00:02:01,880

and Jewish power, had a
compelling logic of its own,

37

00:02:01,880 --> 00:02:04,420

which paradoxically
Hitler proved.

38

00:02:04,420 --> 00:02:07,035

And that was a fantastic
thing for them too.

39

00:02:07,035 --> 00:02:08,410

So that the
Zionists, in a sense,

40

00:02:08,410 --> 00:02:11,870

were caught by two
kinds of things.

41

00:02:11,870 --> 00:02:12,370

One--

42

00:02:12,370 --> 00:02:14,788

They are themselves their own
raison d'etats, as a matter

43

00:02:14,788 --> 00:02:15,460

of fact --

44

00:02:15,460 --> 00:02:16,040

Precisely.

45

00:02:16,040 --> 00:02:16,540

Which--

46

00:02:16,540 --> 00:02:18,100
They did not have
to come to terms

47
00:02:18,100 --> 00:02:19,720
with what was really happening.

48
00:02:19,720 --> 00:02:24,460
Well, I think that problem
will never really be resolved.

49
00:02:24,460 --> 00:02:26,710
What Zionists should
have done on the question

50
00:02:26,710 --> 00:02:30,670
of territorialism and havens
or whether the Bergson group,

51
00:02:30,670 --> 00:02:34,240
which had suggested a
separation of the two was right,

52
00:02:34,240 --> 00:02:36,910
will have to be resolved
at some future time.

53
00:02:36,910 --> 00:02:40,150
I would like, rather, to turn
to the whole question of what

54
00:02:40,150 --> 00:02:42,640
happened when the news
of the final solution

55
00:02:42,640 --> 00:02:47,570
was finally uncovered after
the State Department's attempt

56
00:02:47,570 --> 00:02:52,780
to conceal it and what the State
Department then did about it.

57

00:02:52,780 --> 00:02:58,510

And that really occurred
in the early months of 1943

58

00:02:58,510 --> 00:03:03,670

when protests and
public knowledge

59

00:03:03,670 --> 00:03:06,160

of the Holocaust and
what was happening

60

00:03:06,160 --> 00:03:09,340

in Eastern Europe finally
hit both British and American

61

00:03:09,340 --> 00:03:10,480

Jewry.

62

00:03:10,480 --> 00:03:13,180

It was Anthony Eden who came
to Washington at that time

63

00:03:13,180 --> 00:03:15,670

and said that we
must do something.

64

00:03:15,670 --> 00:03:17,530

The United States was
originally in favor

65

00:03:17,530 --> 00:03:20,380

of having such a
conference in Ottawa.

66

00:03:20,380 --> 00:03:23,530

And finally, the
idea of a conference

67

00:03:23,530 --> 00:03:27,850

was suggested to be held on
Bermuda, an interesting choice

68

00:03:27,850 --> 00:03:30,850
because Bermuda, an
island in the Caribbean,

69
00:03:30,850 --> 00:03:34,630
was not accessible to the
press and could be controlled.

70
00:03:34,630 --> 00:03:36,340
And the conference was held.

71
00:03:36,340 --> 00:03:39,550
And of course, it goes down
in my book as, I call it,

72
00:03:39,550 --> 00:03:41,470
the mockery of the
Bermuda Conference.

73
00:03:41,470 --> 00:03:44,020
And its irony is, of
course, that precisely

74
00:03:44,020 --> 00:03:45,910
while the conference
is being held,

75
00:03:45,910 --> 00:03:48,265
the Warsaw Ghetto
Uprising is occurring.

76
00:03:48,265 --> 00:03:49,630
It's the very day.

77
00:03:49,630 --> 00:03:51,880
The very day.

78
00:03:51,880 --> 00:03:55,930
Now, the conference is
an amazing conference

79
00:03:55,930 --> 00:04:00,490
from two points of view in

that the American delegation

80

00:04:00,490 --> 00:04:07,390
is ordered by Breckinridge
Long in an agenda of what they

81

00:04:07,390 --> 00:04:11,260
can do to virtually do nothing.

82

00:04:11,260 --> 00:04:14,890
And it was this
idea that nothing

83

00:04:14,890 --> 00:04:17,260
that could be suggested
from, for example,

84

00:04:17,260 --> 00:04:19,959
the suggestion that
a prisoner of war

85

00:04:19,959 --> 00:04:23,440
exchange for Jewish men in
German camps be exchanged,

86

00:04:23,440 --> 00:04:25,780
or that the classification
of certain Jewish inmates

87

00:04:25,780 --> 00:04:28,920
in concentration camps be
changed to prisoner of war,

88

00:04:28,920 --> 00:04:32,740
a suggestion made by the world
Jewish Congress even earlier,

89

00:04:32,740 --> 00:04:34,000
was not accepted.

90

00:04:34,000 --> 00:04:38,620
Instead, we find amazing
little things happening.

91
00:04:38,620 --> 00:04:41,740
There is a great
fear, for example,

92
00:04:41,740 --> 00:04:45,670
among the British, the
British representative law,

93
00:04:45,670 --> 00:04:48,670
that suppose the Germans
did follow through

94
00:04:48,670 --> 00:04:51,310
and did release a
certain number of Jews.

95
00:04:51,310 --> 00:04:55,000
What would we do with
these surplus people?

96
00:04:55,000 --> 00:04:57,340
Quote, "If Hitler
accepted a proposal

97
00:04:57,340 --> 00:05:00,070
to release perhaps millions
of unwanted persons,

98
00:05:00,070 --> 00:05:04,030
we might find ourselves in
a very difficult position."

99
00:05:04,030 --> 00:05:07,900
What to do with
the surplus people?

100
00:05:07,900 --> 00:05:10,420
Reams then interposed
to say that there

101
00:05:10,420 --> 00:05:12,970
was no doubt whatever that

the Department of State

102
00:05:12,970 --> 00:05:15,230
would oppose negotiations
with Germany.

103
00:05:15,230 --> 00:05:17,050
This was, after
all, a total war.

104
00:05:17,050 --> 00:05:19,120
And one does not
negotiate with the enemy.

105
00:05:19,120 --> 00:05:21,460
And Breckinridge Long
went even further.

106
00:05:21,460 --> 00:05:23,380
When it came to the
question of sending

107
00:05:23,380 --> 00:05:27,070
packages, food packages, to the
camps, he argued that to do so

108
00:05:27,070 --> 00:05:30,310
would be to mitigate,
to help the German war

109
00:05:30,310 --> 00:05:33,607
effort, whose responsibility,
after it was to feed

110
00:05:33,607 --> 00:05:34,690
those people in the camps.

111
00:05:34,690 --> 00:05:36,880
And he was opposed to that.

112
00:05:36,880 --> 00:05:39,490
There were other
problems as well.

113
00:05:39,490 --> 00:05:42,520
Ships coming back from
Europe were supposedly

114
00:05:42,520 --> 00:05:43,510
coming back empty.

115
00:05:43,510 --> 00:05:46,570
And at one point, the
representative of the Jews,

116
00:05:46,570 --> 00:05:50,320
Mr. Backer, suggested that these
empty hulls, these empty ships,

117
00:05:50,320 --> 00:05:55,330
could bring back Jews
to the United States.

118
00:05:55,330 --> 00:05:58,480
But the American instructions
were very, very clear.

119
00:05:58,480 --> 00:06:01,210
If and when prisoners
were released,

120
00:06:01,210 --> 00:06:03,850
they should be resettled as
close to their former homes

121
00:06:03,850 --> 00:06:04,840
as possible.

122
00:06:04,840 --> 00:06:05,380
In a word--

123
00:06:05,380 --> 00:06:06,570
Yes, you mean refugees.

124
00:06:06,570 --> 00:06:07,403

[INTERPOSING VOICES]

125

00:06:07,403 --> 00:06:09,700

Refugees or inmates of camps.

126

00:06:09,700 --> 00:06:12,460

They should be settled as
close to their former places

127

00:06:12,460 --> 00:06:15,320

as possible.

128

00:06:15,320 --> 00:06:16,430

Which means nothing.

129

00:06:16,430 --> 00:06:18,170

Which meant, of course, nothing.

130

00:06:18,170 --> 00:06:20,650

Precisely.

131

00:06:20,650 --> 00:06:24,290

At the same time, the most
fascinating part, of course,

132

00:06:24,290 --> 00:06:27,610

was that the instructions
to the American delegation

133

00:06:27,610 --> 00:06:32,530

insisted on continuing to use
the name political refugees.

134

00:06:32,530 --> 00:06:33,950

The instructions
were very clear.

135

00:06:33,950 --> 00:06:36,650

No one is to use the term Jews.

136

00:06:36,650 --> 00:06:39,820

The problem was a problem

not of race or of group

137

00:06:39,820 --> 00:06:42,280

or of ethnic group or
something like that.

138

00:06:42,280 --> 00:06:43,570

It was not a problem of Jews.

139

00:06:43,570 --> 00:06:44,980

It was a problem of refugees.

140

00:06:44,980 --> 00:06:47,380

The old euphemism
political refugees--

141

00:06:47,380 --> 00:06:49,360

the conference was
held only because there

142

00:06:49,360 --> 00:06:52,910

was a Jewish pressure
from both the--

143

00:06:52,910 --> 00:06:53,410

Right.

144

00:06:53,410 --> 00:06:54,243

[INTERPOSING VOICES]

145

00:06:54,243 --> 00:06:58,180

--American Jewry and the British
Jewry in order to do something.

146

00:06:58,180 --> 00:07:00,340

Right, and yet, they would not.

147

00:07:00,340 --> 00:07:04,540

And that, by the way,
continued well into April 1944

148

00:07:04,540 --> 00:07:06,400

when, finally, the
immigration laws

149
00:07:06,400 --> 00:07:11,500
are circumvented, a step that
was considered impossible

150
00:07:11,500 --> 00:07:13,090
in 1939.

151
00:07:13,090 --> 00:07:18,850
And a proposal to create
temporary havens is accepted.

152
00:07:18,850 --> 00:07:21,460
Robert Murphy, the
American, Roosevelt's agent

153
00:07:21,460 --> 00:07:25,360
in North Africa, is instructed
by the State Department

154
00:07:25,360 --> 00:07:29,050
to seek refugees that were,
in fact, already saved.

155
00:07:29,050 --> 00:07:32,260
And he's told to get quote,
"a good mix," meaning,

156
00:07:32,260 --> 00:07:34,350
of course, not too many Jews.

157
00:07:34,350 --> 00:07:36,910
(film logistics - cut)

158
00:07:36,910 --> 00:07:41,350
(film slating)

159
00:07:41,350 --> 00:07:46,510
Just thinking back on the
Bermuda conference today

160

00:07:46,510 --> 00:07:48,400
is an agony.

161

00:07:48,400 --> 00:07:53,170
How could it have been in
the heart of 1943, when

162

00:07:53,170 --> 00:07:58,210
the death mills are grinding,
two nations, the United States

163

00:07:58,210 --> 00:08:02,170
and Great Britain, get together,
fully conscious of the fact

164

00:08:02,170 --> 00:08:06,370
that they are giving us up to
an aroused Jewish public opinion

165

00:08:06,370 --> 00:08:10,300
that has just discovered
that a processed mass murder

166

00:08:10,300 --> 00:08:12,130
operation of their
co-religionist

167

00:08:12,130 --> 00:08:14,290
is occurring in Europe.

168

00:08:14,290 --> 00:08:16,690
It's just fantastic.

169

00:08:16,690 --> 00:08:20,320
And the juxtaposition of
the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising

170

00:08:20,320 --> 00:08:23,890
with the Bermuda Conference
makes it all the more dramatic.

171

00:08:23,890 --> 00:08:26,410

And yet, that is
precisely what happened.

172
00:08:26,410 --> 00:08:30,010
A deliberate attempt
to virtually do

173
00:08:30,010 --> 00:08:33,860
nothing, a continuation of
the politics of gestures

174
00:08:33,860 --> 00:08:37,960
so that one can say that if
the Evian Conference was part

175
00:08:37,960 --> 00:08:40,330
of Roosevelt's
policy of gestures,

176
00:08:40,330 --> 00:08:43,929
the Bermuda conference
is an extension of that

177
00:08:43,929 --> 00:08:47,350
and the addition of a cruel
mockery, which it was actually

178
00:08:47,350 --> 00:08:50,920
called at the time
by The Jewish Press.

179
00:08:50,920 --> 00:08:53,350
The instructions to
the American delegation

180
00:08:53,350 --> 00:08:57,760
literally said, we
will do nothing.

181
00:08:57,760 --> 00:08:59,470
Every suggestion.

182
00:08:59,470 --> 00:09:01,900

And the British aide
memoire said the same thing.

183
00:09:01,900 --> 00:09:04,630
Let me read you
some quotes from it.

184
00:09:04,630 --> 00:09:08,710
First of all, there
was a continual--

185
00:09:08,710 --> 00:09:09,470
You [? look-- ?]

186
00:09:09,470 --> 00:09:14,080
(film slating)

187
00:09:14,080 --> 00:09:18,040
If the Evian
Conference was a part

188
00:09:18,040 --> 00:09:21,520
of an extension of Roosevelt's
politics of gestures,

189
00:09:21,520 --> 00:09:25,810
then the Bermuda conference
was an even further extension

190
00:09:25,810 --> 00:09:28,930
of that and including,
as well, a new element--

191
00:09:28,930 --> 00:09:35,140
a cruel mockery of what
was happening in Europe.

192
00:09:35,140 --> 00:09:37,060
The invitation,
the agenda, given

193
00:09:37,060 --> 00:09:39,370
to the American delegation

and the British aide memoire

194

00:09:39,370 --> 00:09:41,350
to the British
delegation at Bermuda,

195

00:09:41,350 --> 00:09:44,300
both were very clear
in what they wanted.

196

00:09:44,300 --> 00:09:45,430
They wanted nothing.

197

00:09:45,430 --> 00:09:47,680
And to do that,
they had to limit

198

00:09:47,680 --> 00:09:49,000
what the conference could do.

199

00:09:49,000 --> 00:09:53,620
And by very, very interesting
process, they did exactly that.

200

00:09:53,620 --> 00:09:58,390
They, in effect,
confronted not the question

201

00:09:58,390 --> 00:10:00,880
of what was happening
in Hitler's death camps

202

00:10:00,880 --> 00:10:03,490
but to rescue those
Jews that already

203

00:10:03,490 --> 00:10:05,840
found a precarious
haven in such places

204

00:10:05,840 --> 00:10:09,170
as North Africa and Spain,
not really addressing

205
00:10:09,170 --> 00:10:10,047
the problem entirely.

206
00:10:10,047 --> 00:10:10,880
[INTERPOSING VOICES]

207
00:10:10,880 --> 00:10:13,700
Because they were Jews
who were already saved.

208
00:10:13,700 --> 00:10:16,970
Already saved, right.

209
00:10:16,970 --> 00:10:20,900
They were very much
afraid of making

210
00:10:20,900 --> 00:10:23,780
the war a war to save the Jews.

211
00:10:23,780 --> 00:10:28,430
Listen to Breckinridge Long
making certain in his diary

212
00:10:28,430 --> 00:10:30,800
that that would not happen.

213
00:10:30,800 --> 00:10:33,320
It might support
Hitler's claim that we

214
00:10:33,320 --> 00:10:36,740
are fighting this war on
account and at the instigation

215
00:10:36,740 --> 00:10:38,258
of our Jewish citizens.

216
00:10:38,258 --> 00:10:39,800
And that, of course,
must not happen.

217
00:10:39,800 --> 00:10:42,380
It must not be made a
war to save the Jews.

218
00:10:42,380 --> 00:10:45,860
And the British saying
to their people,

219
00:10:45,860 --> 00:10:49,580
it cannot be treated as though
it were a holy Jewish problem.

220
00:10:49,580 --> 00:10:52,370
The old euphemism that
this was a refugee problem

221
00:10:52,370 --> 00:10:55,070
and had nothing to do
with race or with Jews

222
00:10:55,070 --> 00:10:58,250
was continued in Bermuda.

223
00:10:58,250 --> 00:11:01,120
And it was to be
continued until 1944.

224
00:11:01,120 --> 00:11:01,760
But why?

225
00:11:01,760 --> 00:11:04,520
If they didn't want
to do anything,

226
00:11:04,520 --> 00:11:07,760
why did the
conference take place?

227
00:11:07,760 --> 00:11:11,240
Probably as a sop to an
aroused public opinion.

228

00:11:11,240 --> 00:11:13,880

It was done at the
suggestion of the British.

229

00:11:13,880 --> 00:11:19,790

230

00:11:19,790 --> 00:11:23,210
(film slating)

231

00:11:23,210 --> 00:11:26,540
If both British and
American delegations

232

00:11:26,540 --> 00:11:31,250
were instructed to do nothing
at the Bermuda Conference,

233

00:11:31,250 --> 00:11:35,070
why did the
conference take place?

234

00:11:35,070 --> 00:11:40,850
That is the interesting paradox
faced by both governments.

235

00:11:40,850 --> 00:11:44,630
It aroused public opinion,
which required a response.

236

00:11:44,630 --> 00:11:48,060
And that, by the way, in
itself is an interesting point

237

00:11:48,060 --> 00:11:51,440
because it indicates that
if a public opinion had

238

00:11:51,440 --> 00:11:53,965
been aroused in the
democracies, perhaps more might

239

00:11:53,965 --> 00:11:54,590
have been done.

240
00:11:54,590 --> 00:11:57,080
No leadership would have
acted without such an opinion.

241
00:11:57,080 --> 00:11:58,947
And here, you have an
example where it was.

242
00:11:58,947 --> 00:12:00,530
And yet, at the same
time, the problem

243
00:12:00,530 --> 00:12:05,660
was to do nothing while
appearing to do something.

244
00:12:05,660 --> 00:12:08,330
And that was done by a
very interesting ruse,

245
00:12:08,330 --> 00:12:11,270
by simply instructing the
delegations to confine

246
00:12:11,270 --> 00:12:15,170
the problem so that
it would not even be

247
00:12:15,170 --> 00:12:16,670
focusing on a Jewish problem.

248
00:12:16,670 --> 00:12:20,390
Listen to the British aide
memoire on that point.

249
00:12:20,390 --> 00:12:22,740
It cannot be treated as
though it were wholly a Jewish

250
00:12:22,740 --> 00:12:23,240

problem.

251

00:12:23,240 --> 00:12:28,160

That is the points that
would be handled at Bermuda.

252

00:12:28,160 --> 00:12:29,960

Giving preference
to one group would

253

00:12:29,960 --> 00:12:32,870

raise enormous criticisms
or the American delegation

254

00:12:32,870 --> 00:12:36,110

receiving instructions
from Breckinridge Long.

255

00:12:36,110 --> 00:12:39,920

If we handle the Jewish
problem exclusively,

256

00:12:39,920 --> 00:12:44,030

it might be of assistance to the
Nazi fascist propaganda, quote

257

00:12:44,030 --> 00:12:49,520

unquote, who all along,
talking about the possibility

258

00:12:49,520 --> 00:12:52,460

of bringing up a Jewish
question exclusively again,

259

00:12:52,460 --> 00:12:55,430

quote, people might think
that we are fighting

260

00:12:55,430 --> 00:12:58,100

this war on account
and at the instigation

261

00:12:58,100 --> 00:12:59,480

of our Jewish citizens.

262
00:12:59,480 --> 00:13:00,780
And that was one thing that--

263
00:13:00,780 --> 00:13:01,850
Unbelievable.

264
00:13:01,850 --> 00:13:04,530
--that had to be avoided.

265
00:13:04,530 --> 00:13:07,340
So that when we
come along to it,

266
00:13:07,340 --> 00:13:09,800
we get every single
point rejected

267
00:13:09,800 --> 00:13:12,560
by the Bermuda delegation.

268
00:13:12,560 --> 00:13:14,870
Packages to food
camps would relieve

269
00:13:14,870 --> 00:13:17,120
Hitler of an onerous burden
of feeding the inmates, as

270
00:13:17,120 --> 00:13:19,010
if they weren't being killed.

271
00:13:19,010 --> 00:13:22,730
The possibility of exchanging
Jews as prisoners of war

272
00:13:22,730 --> 00:13:24,800
could not be discussed.

273
00:13:24,800 --> 00:13:26,630
Even the question

of perhaps entering

274

00:13:26,630 --> 00:13:29,012
into negotiations with Berlin--

275

00:13:29,012 --> 00:13:29,720
On this question.

276

00:13:29,720 --> 00:13:31,387
--on this question
could not be handled.

277

00:13:31,387 --> 00:13:36,860
Listen to Borden Reams, part
of the American delegation,

278

00:13:36,860 --> 00:13:38,160
talking about that.

279

00:13:38,160 --> 00:13:40,850
And if I could just
find that here.

280

00:13:40,850 --> 00:13:45,680
He is saying, on the
question of rescue

281

00:13:45,680 --> 00:13:47,930
through victory, which
was the only point

282

00:13:47,930 --> 00:13:50,030
that the American
delegation could handle

283

00:13:50,030 --> 00:13:53,960
with some confidence, it would
quote, not only be foolish,

284

00:13:53,960 --> 00:13:57,200
it would be criminal to
negotiate with the Nazis.

285

00:13:57,200 --> 00:13:59,070

And this was a point
kept throughout.

286

00:13:59,070 --> 00:14:01,730

So one by one,
every possible point

287

00:14:01,730 --> 00:14:04,640

of rescuing those people who
needed rescue instead of those

288

00:14:04,640 --> 00:14:08,300

who had found a precarious
haven in refugee camps

289

00:14:08,300 --> 00:14:11,930

in Spain and North
Africa was discounted.

290

00:14:11,930 --> 00:14:13,550

And finally, the
Bermuda Conference

291

00:14:13,550 --> 00:14:16,760

came to the one conclusion
that Breckinridge Long

292

00:14:16,760 --> 00:14:18,080

wanted it to come to--

293

00:14:18,080 --> 00:14:21,050

that is, to disinter the
Intergovernmental Committee

294

00:14:21,050 --> 00:14:24,650

on Political Refugees, which
was originally created of Evian

295

00:14:24,650 --> 00:14:28,490

and which had done nothing
except to clutter the rescue

296

00:14:28,490 --> 00:14:31,070

effort and was itself a
reflection of the lack of will

297

00:14:31,070 --> 00:14:35,790

to rescue, to disinter that to
once again start the movement.

298

00:14:35,790 --> 00:14:40,130

And so shameful was the
performance of both Britain

299

00:14:40,130 --> 00:14:45,050

and the United States at
Bermuda that the conferees

300

00:14:45,050 --> 00:14:49,670

wisely and practically decided
not to issue a press release.

301

00:14:49,670 --> 00:14:52,160

And that, perhaps, was
a mistake because it

302

00:14:52,160 --> 00:14:56,570

was this very neglect that
alerted Jewish public opinion

303

00:14:56,570 --> 00:14:59,420

that something awful,
something horrendous

304

00:14:59,420 --> 00:15:00,620

had happened at Bermuda.

305

00:15:00,620 --> 00:15:02,330

That is, nothing had
happened at Bermuda

306

00:15:02,330 --> 00:15:04,280

in the midst of the slaughter.

307

00:15:04,280 --> 00:15:08,610

And it was from this point on
that an alert Jewish opinion

308

00:15:08,610 --> 00:15:11,270

finally brings enough
public pressure

309

00:15:11,270 --> 00:15:14,600

to get a congressional
hearing on the whole question

310

00:15:14,600 --> 00:15:15,860

of rescue.

311

00:15:15,860 --> 00:15:19,700

In November,
Breckinridge Long is

312

00:15:19,700 --> 00:15:22,070

called in an
executive session to

313

00:15:22,070 --> 00:15:24,980

that congressional
committee, which is really

314

00:15:24,980 --> 00:15:27,110

holding hearings on the
possibility of creating

315

00:15:27,110 --> 00:15:28,970

a commission on rescue.

316

00:15:28,970 --> 00:15:32,030

And Long suffering
from nervous tension,

317

00:15:32,030 --> 00:15:34,760

perhaps, and suffering
from other things, vastly

318

00:15:34,760 --> 00:15:38,510

exaggerates the number of Jews
admitted to the United States.

319
00:15:38,510 --> 00:15:41,120
Every delegation, by
the way, is always

320
00:15:41,120 --> 00:15:43,910
citing, almost as a
litany, what the United

321
00:15:43,910 --> 00:15:45,180
States has done for refugees.

322
00:15:45,180 --> 00:15:45,680
Yes.

323
00:15:45,680 --> 00:15:47,480
And he exaggerates the figure.

324
00:15:47,480 --> 00:15:51,290
The figure is publicized
in The Jewish Press.

325
00:15:51,290 --> 00:15:54,680
And Long is finally recognized,
as Emanuel Celler and others

326
00:15:54,680 --> 00:15:57,290
have already recognized
him, as being the man who

327
00:15:57,290 --> 00:16:00,590
singlehandedly has fed
Roosevelt certain information

328
00:16:00,590 --> 00:16:03,410
and has singlehandedly taken
it upon himself to stop

329
00:16:03,410 --> 00:16:06,590
the entrance of Jews
into the United States.

330
00:16:06,590 --> 00:16:09,260
His fingers are
removed, his hand

331
00:16:09,260 --> 00:16:10,730
is removed from
the rescue levers.

332
00:16:10,730 --> 00:16:13,980
And in late December,
Henry Morgenthau

333
00:16:13,980 --> 00:16:20,050
is activated as a result
of monitoring the--

334
00:16:20,050 --> 00:16:22,360
Yes, this led to the
creation of the War Refugee--

335
00:16:22,360 --> 00:16:22,450
[INTERPOSING VOICES]

336
00:16:22,450 --> 00:16:23,575
--of the War Refugee Board.

337
00:16:23,575 --> 00:16:27,646
I think that at Bermuda
too, they were --

338
00:16:27,646 --> 00:16:30,200
what is extraordinary
when one goes

339
00:16:30,200 --> 00:16:41,310
into the details is how
cynical they were because--

340
00:16:41,310 --> 00:16:41,810
Yes.

341

00:16:41,810 --> 00:16:46,040
--what they imagined, was that
Hitler can change his policies

342
00:16:46,040 --> 00:16:48,250
They are scared to death.

343
00:16:48,250 --> 00:16:50,410
Yes, for example,
on this question

344
00:16:50,410 --> 00:16:54,340
of what should happen if
Hitler, if the Germans,

345
00:16:54,340 --> 00:16:57,300
would actually
agree to exclusion.

346
00:16:57,300 --> 00:17:00,820
And this is in the British
aide memoire again.

347
00:17:00,820 --> 00:17:03,550
There is a possibility that
the Germans or their satellites

348
00:17:03,550 --> 00:17:07,089
may change over from a policy
of extermination to one

349
00:17:07,089 --> 00:17:10,363
of extrusion, of sending
out the refugees.

350
00:17:10,363 --> 00:17:11,280
If that should happen.

351
00:17:11,280 --> 00:17:12,947
Not -- this means not
to kill everybody.

352
00:17:12,947 --> 00:17:15,490

Not to kill them but to actually
comply with what we want,

353
00:17:15,490 --> 00:17:16,990
the rescue of the Jews.

354
00:17:16,990 --> 00:17:20,349
If Hitler-- and this is a quote,
"If Hitler accepted a proposal

355
00:17:20,349 --> 00:17:23,050
to release perhaps millions
of unwanted persons,

356
00:17:23,050 --> 00:17:25,960
we might find ourselves in
a very difficult position."

357
00:17:25,960 --> 00:17:27,440
What would we do with the Jews?

358
00:17:27,440 --> 00:17:31,960
A problem that was
to continually plague

359
00:17:31,960 --> 00:17:33,705
both the British and
the United States.

360
00:17:33,705 --> 00:17:34,000
Yes.

361
00:17:34,000 --> 00:17:34,708
What would we do?

362
00:17:34,708 --> 00:17:38,740
In a sense, one might
almost say that the Germans,

363
00:17:38,740 --> 00:17:40,630
in their final
solution, were solving

364

00:17:40,630 --> 00:17:43,790
a problem for the Western world
as well, for the Allied world.

365

00:17:43,790 --> 00:17:47,170
Every Jew killed in a
death camp in the East

366

00:17:47,170 --> 00:17:51,160
meant one less Jew required
a haven in the West.

367

00:17:51,160 --> 00:17:52,060
Yes, yes.

368

00:17:52,060 --> 00:17:53,080
An interesting tandem.

369

00:17:53,080 --> 00:17:58,280

370

00:17:58,280 --> 00:18:00,860
The conclusion to resurrect
the IGC, of course,

371

00:18:00,860 --> 00:18:02,840
is the completion
of that mockery.

372

00:18:02,840 --> 00:18:03,340
And that--

373

00:18:03,340 --> 00:18:04,465
This is the International--

374

00:18:04,465 --> 00:18:05,487
[INTERPOSING VOICES]

375

00:18:05,487 --> 00:18:07,320
the Intergovernmental
Committee on Refugees.

376

00:18:07,320 --> 00:18:08,300
Intergovernmental Committee of--

377

00:18:08,300 --> 00:18:10,010
That was Breckinridge
Long's idea--

378

00:18:10,010 --> 00:18:10,510
--Refugees.

379

00:18:10,510 --> 00:18:15,080
--originally stated in
the original instructions

380

00:18:15,080 --> 00:18:16,290
to the American Delegation.

381

00:18:16,290 --> 00:18:20,180
Yes, but what is extraordinary
for [INAUDIBLE] is the time

382

00:18:20,180 --> 00:18:23,750
they spent in discussing how
to get some people coming from

383

00:18:23,750 --> 00:18:25,310
North Africa,
people as we said--

384

00:18:25,310 --> 00:18:25,585
[INTERPOSING VOICES]

385

00:18:25,585 --> 00:18:26,520
Finally, of course, they--

386

00:18:26,520 --> 00:18:27,410
[INTERPOSING VOICES]

387

00:18:27,410 --> 00:18:28,790
--which are already saved.

388

00:18:28,790 --> 00:18:30,350

Ultimately, that's
what they came out

389

00:18:30,350 --> 00:18:35,210

with-- the idea of, perhaps,
temporary havens, which

390

00:18:35,210 --> 00:18:38,450

was finally suggested by a
columnist of The New York Post

391

00:18:38,450 --> 00:18:42,590

Samuel Grafton, who used
the argument, if oranges

392

00:18:42,590 --> 00:18:47,180

or carrots can be temporarily
put on an American pier

393

00:18:47,180 --> 00:18:49,760

awaiting trans shipment
without a visa,

394

00:18:49,760 --> 00:18:52,280

why couldn't people have
done the same thing?

395

00:18:52,280 --> 00:18:54,110

Roosevelt found the
argument so compelling

396

00:18:54,110 --> 00:18:56,870

that he used it, ultimately,
to become more the lion

397

00:18:56,870 --> 00:18:59,540

than the fox and to
circumvent the rules

398

00:18:59,540 --> 00:19:03,057

and to build that refugee
camp at Oswego, in which 983--

399

00:19:03,057 --> 00:19:03,890

Oswego, where is it?

400

00:19:03,890 --> 00:19:04,250

In--

401

00:19:04,250 --> 00:19:05,060

In New York State.

402

00:19:05,060 --> 00:19:06,200

In the center of New York?

403

00:19:06,200 --> 00:19:08,018

Yeah, right, and
which was very cold.

404

00:19:08,018 --> 00:19:09,560

Many of the refugees
did not like it,

405

00:19:09,560 --> 00:19:12,260

coming from Italy and
from North Africa.

406

00:19:12,260 --> 00:19:14,270

And 983 refugees.

407

00:19:14,270 --> 00:19:17,240

A good mix, Roosevelt
demanded from his agent

408

00:19:17,240 --> 00:19:20,690

Robert Murphy in
North Africa, lest we

409

00:19:20,690 --> 00:19:23,930

think that only Jews were in the
refugee stream, was required.

410

00:19:23,930 --> 00:19:27,560

And that, finally, marked
another great victory,

411
00:19:27,560 --> 00:19:30,170
a victory that
unfortunately came

412
00:19:30,170 --> 00:19:34,310
when the overwhelming
portion of European Jewry

413
00:19:34,310 --> 00:19:37,790
was already in ashes
in April of 19--.

414
00:19:37,790 --> 00:19:40,340
Actually, in July
of 1944, we finally

415
00:19:40,340 --> 00:19:42,650
did circumvent the
immigration laws,

416
00:19:42,650 --> 00:19:45,630
which, in 1939, were considered
immutable, that they could not

417
00:19:45,630 --> 00:19:46,130
be.

418
00:19:46,130 --> 00:19:47,330
So things had changed.

419
00:19:47,330 --> 00:19:49,730
But they changed
much too slowly.

420
00:19:49,730 --> 00:19:51,890
And as Stephen Wise
had pointed out,

421
00:19:51,890 --> 00:19:56,270
by the time, if we
comply with the rescue

422

00:19:56,270 --> 00:19:59,510
through victory
gambit strategy, there

423

00:19:59,510 --> 00:20:01,880
will be no Jews left
to enjoy that victory.

424

00:20:01,880 --> 00:20:03,140
And of course, he turned
out to be absolutely right.

425

00:20:03,140 --> 00:20:05,600
And do you think that the
creation of the War Refugee

426

00:20:05,600 --> 00:20:14,540
Board at the beginning of 1944
changed basically these things?

427

00:20:14,540 --> 00:20:19,040
Well, I would say that
in the final tally,

428

00:20:19,040 --> 00:20:22,190
we would have to say that at
least the Jews of Budapest,

429

00:20:22,190 --> 00:20:25,190
who were saved, the less
than half of Hungarian Jewry

430

00:20:25,190 --> 00:20:30,050
that was saved, owes its
lives, in some degree,

431

00:20:30,050 --> 00:20:33,500
to the War Refugee Board
because, at that time,

432

00:20:33,500 --> 00:20:37,400
the separate components
of the rescue effort,

433
00:20:37,400 --> 00:20:39,843
of all the witnessing nations,
of all the neutral nations,

434
00:20:39,843 --> 00:20:40,760
were brought together.

435
00:20:40,760 --> 00:20:43,220
Raoul Wallenberg was
brought to Budapest.

436
00:20:43,220 --> 00:20:46,190
The delegations at
the embassies' staffs

437
00:20:46,190 --> 00:20:47,150
were increased.

438
00:20:47,150 --> 00:20:52,190
And money was filtered into
the underground in Hungary,

439
00:20:52,190 --> 00:20:55,550
so that at least
these Jews were saved.

440
00:20:55,550 --> 00:21:00,350
But even here, the problem
was a difficult one.

441
00:21:00,350 --> 00:21:04,070
It came too late,
as Leon Kubowitski

442
00:21:04,070 --> 00:21:07,040
the rescue agent of the
World Jewish Congress,

443
00:21:07,040 --> 00:21:08,830
said, too little and too late.

444

00:21:08,830 --> 00:21:09,330

Yes, yes.

445

00:21:09,330 --> 00:21:09,830

[INAUDIBLE]

446

00:21:09,830 --> 00:21:14,935

If we could have had the War
Refugee Board in 1943 or 1942,

447

00:21:14,935 --> 00:21:17,060

it would have made all the
difference in the world.

448

00:21:17,060 --> 00:21:18,110

OK well, precisely.

449

00:21:18,110 --> 00:21:20,015

This was not the case.

450

00:21:20,015 --> 00:21:27,220

451

00:21:27,220 --> 00:21:29,960

Now, say what you want
to say about Auschwitz.

452

00:21:29,960 --> 00:21:31,900

Oh, about bombing.

453

00:21:31,900 --> 00:21:33,910

I just want to say a
word about bombing.

454

00:21:33,910 --> 00:21:37,150

I don't think we can
get it all in here.

455

00:21:37,150 --> 00:21:40,330

Bombing has become
a central point

456

00:21:40,330 --> 00:21:43,720
in the contemporary
dialogue on the Holocaust.

457
00:21:43,720 --> 00:21:47,260
And where everyone
goes in the magazines

458
00:21:47,260 --> 00:21:49,180
and in Holocaust
conferences, everyone

459
00:21:49,180 --> 00:21:50,290
is talking about bombing.

460
00:21:50,290 --> 00:21:52,060
And of course,
it's understandable

461
00:21:52,060 --> 00:21:55,810
because bombing is a
simple and clean way

462
00:21:55,810 --> 00:21:59,710
to have saved the Jews in the
absence of physical control

463
00:21:59,710 --> 00:22:00,610
of the slaughter.

464
00:22:00,610 --> 00:22:03,790
Interdiction from the air
might have saved the Jews.

465
00:22:03,790 --> 00:22:06,100
And it has a compelling logic.

466
00:22:06,100 --> 00:22:10,450
And yet, a jaundiced
observer might look at it

467
00:22:10,450 --> 00:22:12,010
with a different point of view.

468
00:22:12,010 --> 00:22:15,520
There is something seductive
about the conclusion

469
00:22:15,520 --> 00:22:18,960
that bombing of Auschwitz
could have saved the Jews.

470
00:22:18,960 --> 00:22:20,890
No doubt, though--

471
00:22:20,890 --> 00:22:22,750
[INAUDIBLE]

472
00:22:22,750 --> 00:22:25,900
(film slating)

473
00:22:25,900 --> 00:22:28,030
Bombing is so
fascinating a question

474
00:22:28,030 --> 00:22:31,750
because it encompasses,
in one small idea,

475
00:22:31,750 --> 00:22:34,210
all the problems of the witness.

476
00:22:34,210 --> 00:22:37,810
It simply required
a very minor change

477
00:22:37,810 --> 00:22:40,570
in war priorities and
strategies to bomb Auschwitz.

478
00:22:40,570 --> 00:22:44,680
And what has been argued is
that by the spring of 1944,

479
00:22:44,680 --> 00:22:48,280

when the 15th Air Force of
Italy could already bomb,

480
00:22:48,280 --> 00:22:49,610
why wasn't that done?

481
00:22:49,610 --> 00:22:53,050
And of course, the
memorandum that

482
00:22:53,050 --> 00:22:55,780
came back from both the
American and British

483
00:22:55,780 --> 00:22:59,740
Joint Chiefs of Staff was that
it would, in fact, interfere

484
00:22:59,740 --> 00:23:01,260
with the winning of the war.

485
00:23:01,260 --> 00:23:02,093
[INTERPOSING VOICES]

486
00:23:02,093 --> 00:23:03,730
It was of doubtful efficacy.

487
00:23:03,730 --> 00:23:06,400
And it has been argued that
if the airplanes were bombing

488
00:23:06,400 --> 00:23:09,250
so close to Auschwitz already,
perhaps five miles east

489
00:23:09,250 --> 00:23:12,310
of Auschwitz, to the
Buna synthetic oil works,

490
00:23:12,310 --> 00:23:14,590
why could they not they
have bombed the rail lines

491

00:23:14,590 --> 00:23:17,560
and the death machine itself?

492

00:23:17,560 --> 00:23:19,040
It's an interesting question.

493

00:23:19,040 --> 00:23:21,850
And of course, Auschwitz
was not the only death camp.

494

00:23:21,850 --> 00:23:25,270
And the Germans had a very
fast way of fixing rail lines.

495

00:23:25,270 --> 00:23:30,580
And the spring of 1944
was a rather late time

496

00:23:30,580 --> 00:23:32,770
to consider such a question.

497

00:23:32,770 --> 00:23:35,110
And the more
interesting question

498

00:23:35,110 --> 00:23:37,900
is that the new
theories do not really

499

00:23:37,900 --> 00:23:40,600
come to grips with the
other part of the reason

500

00:23:40,600 --> 00:23:43,150
given by allied commanders for
not bombing Auschwitz, which

501

00:23:43,150 --> 00:23:45,340
was the fear of the
escalation of terror.

502

00:23:45,340 --> 00:23:48,140

And indeed, the Germans
could have escalated terror.

503
00:23:48,140 --> 00:23:49,390
They had thought of Auschwitz.

504
00:23:49,390 --> 00:23:51,730
They could think of
lynching American air crews

505
00:23:51,730 --> 00:23:55,880
or bringing POWs to the
bomb sites and so forth.

506
00:23:55,880 --> 00:23:59,920
The more interesting question
is why didn't the Jewish rescue

507
00:23:59,920 --> 00:24:02,620
advocates pick up
the theme suggested

508
00:24:02,620 --> 00:24:05,230
by the governments in
exile in December of 1943

509
00:24:05,230 --> 00:24:07,030
for retaliatory bombing?

510
00:24:07,030 --> 00:24:11,470
The bombing of Hamburg in
July of 1943 in retaliation

511
00:24:11,470 --> 00:24:15,670
for Auschwitz might have lifted
that curtain of silence that

512
00:24:15,670 --> 00:24:17,710
made the question
of getting Auschwitz

513
00:24:17,710 --> 00:24:20,080
believed so difficult.

It's even reasonable

514

00:24:20,080 --> 00:24:24,460

to suppose that perhaps more
rational Nazis in the hierarchy

515

00:24:24,460 --> 00:24:25,900

might have come
to the conclusion

516

00:24:25,900 --> 00:24:29,890

that Auschwitz was not worth the
bones of a single German city.

517

00:24:29,890 --> 00:24:31,900

At least the question
would have been opened up.

518

00:24:31,900 --> 00:24:35,140

And yet, we find that
in March of 1943,

519

00:24:35,140 --> 00:24:38,230

the rescue advocates in their
12-point program at the Madison

520

00:24:38,230 --> 00:24:39,970

Square Garden rally
did not pick up

521

00:24:39,970 --> 00:24:42,640

the question of retaliatory
bombing, which might have

522

00:24:42,640 --> 00:24:43,960

been a much more effective way.

523

00:24:43,960 --> 00:24:46,300

Not even a question of
retaliatory bombings.

524

00:24:46,300 --> 00:24:48,020

The bombings took place.

525
00:24:48,020 --> 00:24:49,640
It was enough to
say, we bombed--

526
00:24:49,640 --> 00:24:50,182
Yes, to say--

527
00:24:50,182 --> 00:24:51,190
--because of the Jews.

528
00:24:51,190 --> 00:24:51,520
Right.

529
00:24:51,520 --> 00:24:52,270
And the Germans--

530
00:24:52,270 --> 00:24:52,390
OK.

531
00:24:52,390 --> 00:24:52,570
[INTERPOSING VOICES]

532
00:24:52,570 --> 00:24:54,945
As a matter of fact, Goebbels,
had already made that link

533
00:24:54,945 --> 00:24:56,860
and had prepared a
counter-atrocity campaign

534
00:24:56,860 --> 00:24:59,350
in case the Allies
used that argument.

535
00:24:59,350 --> 00:25:00,610
And yet, it was never used.

536
00:25:00,610 --> 00:25:02,260
And therefore, the
credibility problem,

537

00:25:02,260 --> 00:25:04,420

the problem of getting
believed of what

538

00:25:04,420 --> 00:25:06,127

was really happening
never really

539

00:25:06,127 --> 00:25:07,210

broke out into the public.

540

00:25:07,210 --> 00:25:09,970

And without such a
discussion, the question

541

00:25:09,970 --> 00:25:12,250

of rescue and
stopping the slaughter

542

00:25:12,250 --> 00:25:13,930

became much more difficult.

543

00:25:13,930 --> 00:25:18,820

And here is one of the keys to
the whole problem of why rescue

544

00:25:18,820 --> 00:25:21,970

had such a dismal showing--
not only the absence of will

545

00:25:21,970 --> 00:25:24,610

but the absence of
mind in many cases too.

546

00:25:24,610 --> 00:25:27,430

And the mind not only
of men like Roosevelt

547

00:25:27,430 --> 00:25:31,150

but the mind of our
own rescue advocates.

548

00:25:31,150 --> 00:25:33,850

We simply did not
think about it.

549

00:25:33,850 --> 00:25:37,183

Kubowitski himself was opposed
to the bombing of Auschwitz

550

00:25:37,183 --> 00:25:39,100

because he felt that
Jewish inmates should not

551

00:25:39,100 --> 00:25:42,050

be the first to suffer
from allied bombings.

552

00:25:42,050 --> 00:25:42,550

I know.

553

00:25:42,550 --> 00:25:43,510

I know the argument.

554

00:25:43,510 --> 00:25:48,280

But what is worse than
to die in a gas chamber?

555

00:25:48,280 --> 00:25:49,870

Yes.

556

00:25:49,870 --> 00:25:53,290

Of course, the question
of doubtful efficacy,

557

00:25:53,290 --> 00:25:55,870

for the Jews, it meant,
what greater atrocity?

558

00:25:55,870 --> 00:25:58,240

What greater
cruelty at Auschwitz

559

00:25:58,240 --> 00:25:59,650

could have happened for Jews?

560
00:25:59,650 --> 00:26:01,810
I am hard pressed to say.

561
00:26:01,810 --> 00:26:04,300
But of course, the decision
makers were not Jewish

562
00:26:04,300 --> 00:26:05,980
and did not think
in those terms.

563
00:26:05,980 --> 00:26:08,110
The priorities were priorities.

564
00:26:08,110 --> 00:26:10,510
And the truth of the matter
was that Jews did not

565
00:26:10,510 --> 00:26:13,060
have the power to change them.

566
00:26:13,060 --> 00:26:16,510
The Jewish question was a
minor question in World War II.

567
00:26:16,510 --> 00:26:18,200
Only for Jews was it
the main question.

568
00:26:18,200 --> 00:26:18,700
Yes.

569
00:26:18,700 --> 00:26:20,793
And we will see,
10 years from now,

570
00:26:20,793 --> 00:26:21,960
whether it remains that way.

571
00:26:21,960 --> 00:26:26,880

572

00:26:26,880 --> 00:26:28,626

Are we still filming?

573

00:26:28,626 --> 00:26:31,730

[INAUDIBLE] [? not ?]

[? supposed ?] [? to ?]

574

00:26:31,730 --> 00:26:33,010

[? talk-- ?]

575

00:26:33,010 --> 00:26:37,712

(film logistics - cut)

576

00:26:37,712 --> 00:26:41,460

(film logistics)

577

00:26:41,460 --> 00:26:45,090

(film slating)

578

00:26:45,090 --> 00:26:48,000

The growing popularity
of the bombing question

579

00:26:48,000 --> 00:26:50,940

is really very
understandable because it

580

00:26:50,940 --> 00:26:56,910

contains, in one simple act,
the possibility of saving Jews.

581

00:26:56,910 --> 00:27:00,090

It's almost a question that
comes out of our despair.

582

00:27:00,090 --> 00:27:01,770

Here was a way.

583

00:27:01,770 --> 00:27:03,690

And we did not use it.

584

00:27:03,690 --> 00:27:06,390

And yet, when one
really thinks about it,

585

00:27:06,390 --> 00:27:07,770

one wonders if it's true.

586

00:27:07,770 --> 00:27:10,620

One is reminded that the
Einsatzgruppen, for example,

587

00:27:10,620 --> 00:27:14,430

that operated behind the
German lines after June 1941,

588

00:27:14,430 --> 00:27:17,820

killed at a much faster rate
and without the technology

589

00:27:17,820 --> 00:27:19,380

of an Auschwitz.

590

00:27:19,380 --> 00:27:21,240

One is reminded how
quickly the Germans

591

00:27:21,240 --> 00:27:23,310

were able to repair rail lines.

592

00:27:23,310 --> 00:27:26,190

And one is reminded
that Auschwitz was not

593

00:27:26,190 --> 00:27:27,780

the only death camp.

594

00:27:27,780 --> 00:27:30,990

And yet, it goes without saying
that bombing the rail lines

595

00:27:30,990 --> 00:27:34,050

and bombing Auschwitz

would, in fact, have saved

596

00:27:34,050 --> 00:27:38,610
many Jews in the sense that at
least the Germans or the Nazis

597

00:27:38,610 --> 00:27:41,040
might have known that
the Allies opposed it.

598

00:27:41,040 --> 00:27:43,800
And yet, it came so
dreadfully late in the war

599

00:27:43,800 --> 00:27:46,050
that one wonders if it
really made a difference.

600

00:27:46,050 --> 00:27:46,800
It was suggested--

601

00:27:46,800 --> 00:27:47,300
[INAUDIBLE]

602

00:27:47,300 --> 00:27:47,850
Excuse me.

603

00:27:47,850 --> 00:27:53,310
If I could cut you, I have
to object about what you say.

604

00:27:53,310 --> 00:27:57,810
First of all, in 1944, Auschwitz
was the only death camp.

605

00:27:57,810 --> 00:27:59,270
Treblinka didn't exist.

606

00:27:59,270 --> 00:28:00,930
Belzec didn't exist.

607

00:28:00,930 --> 00:28:02,670

Sobibor didn't exist.

608
00:28:02,670 --> 00:28:06,010
There was Chelmno,
yes, which was--

609
00:28:06,010 --> 00:28:07,065
[INTERPOSING VOICES]

610
00:28:07,065 --> 00:28:08,220
--at this time.

611
00:28:08,220 --> 00:28:10,020
--massive dying in other camps.

612
00:28:10,020 --> 00:28:12,240
And perhaps not an
organized death operation.

613
00:28:12,240 --> 00:28:16,110
It was not the same, but--

614
00:28:16,110 --> 00:28:18,060
Well, do you have
the figures which

615
00:28:18,060 --> 00:28:19,830
balance the amount
of dying, let's say,

616
00:28:19,830 --> 00:28:22,800
through typhus at
the end of 1944

617
00:28:22,800 --> 00:28:26,040
in Ravensbruck as compared
to the ovens used up

618
00:28:26,040 --> 00:28:27,247
to November in Auschwitz?

619
00:28:27,247 --> 00:28:28,830

I would dare say
that, probably, there

620
00:28:28,830 --> 00:28:31,140
was more death
outside of Auschwitz,

621
00:28:31,140 --> 00:28:32,700
outside of the
organized process,

622
00:28:32,700 --> 00:28:34,290
than there was within it.

623
00:28:34,290 --> 00:28:35,710
But that's really a minor point.

624
00:28:35,710 --> 00:28:39,390
Auschwitz as a symbol, of
course, is very important.

625
00:28:39,390 --> 00:28:41,850
It would have saved a great
number of Hungarian Jewry.

626
00:28:41,850 --> 00:28:46,548
My point is not that the bombing
would not have done some good.

627
00:28:46,548 --> 00:28:48,090
I think it would
have done some good.

628
00:28:48,090 --> 00:28:50,250
My point is simply this--

629
00:28:50,250 --> 00:28:52,770
that at the end
of the war, and we

630
00:28:52,770 --> 00:28:56,280
learned this from Albert
Speer and from the evaluations

631
00:28:56,280 --> 00:28:58,920
of the bombing by John
Kenneth Galbraith,

632
00:28:58,920 --> 00:29:01,800
that the whole saturation
bombing campaign, which

633
00:29:01,800 --> 00:29:06,150
began in 1943, did not
really prevent the German war

634
00:29:06,150 --> 00:29:07,595
economy from being mobilized.

635
00:29:07,595 --> 00:29:08,970
And it was mobilized,
by the way,

636
00:29:08,970 --> 00:29:12,660
in a very late
date, only in 1944.

637
00:29:12,660 --> 00:29:18,030
What I am saying is that
when the governments in exile

638
00:29:18,030 --> 00:29:21,570
suggested to the British
that the question ought

639
00:29:21,570 --> 00:29:25,500
to be retaliatory bombing,
not necessarily for Jews,

640
00:29:25,500 --> 00:29:28,170
that that might have had
an even greater effect

641
00:29:28,170 --> 00:29:31,230
and was really a much
simpler thing to do.

642

00:29:31,230 --> 00:29:32,790

Meanwhile, the
saturation bombing

643

00:29:32,790 --> 00:29:36,090

of German cities in 1943
has almost no meaning.

644

00:29:36,090 --> 00:29:38,610

We know, today, from
the diaries of Goebbels

645

00:29:38,610 --> 00:29:40,410

and from the
instructions of Himmler,

646

00:29:40,410 --> 00:29:42,090

that they, in their
minds, had already

647

00:29:42,090 --> 00:29:45,450

associated the bombing of German
cities with a Jewish plot,

648

00:29:45,450 --> 00:29:46,500

as they were wont to do.

649

00:29:46,500 --> 00:29:48,600

That was part of
their imagination.

650

00:29:48,600 --> 00:29:50,190

And Goebbels had
already prepared

651

00:29:50,190 --> 00:29:53,740

a counter-atrocity campaign
in case such a link was made.

652

00:29:53,740 --> 00:29:56,640

Now, if the bombing of Hamburg
or the bombing of Schweinfurt

653

00:29:56,640 --> 00:30:02,910
in the spring of 1943 was
announced as a retaliatory act,

654

00:30:02,910 --> 00:30:05,850
it might have opened up the
whole question of Auschwitz

655

00:30:05,850 --> 00:30:07,600
and raised that
curtain of silence.

656

00:30:07,600 --> 00:30:09,870
But why was not done so?

657

00:30:09,870 --> 00:30:11,050
This is the question.

658

00:30:11,050 --> 00:30:16,110
Well, why didn't the 12-point
rescue program of March 1943

659

00:30:16,110 --> 00:30:16,830
not do this?

660

00:30:16,830 --> 00:30:19,260
Well, it's an interesting
question of why we did not.

661

00:30:19,260 --> 00:30:21,450
Maybe the Jews or
rescue advocates

662

00:30:21,450 --> 00:30:24,220
were not really accustomed
to military strategy.

663

00:30:24,220 --> 00:30:26,460
It required such a minor change.

664

00:30:26,460 --> 00:30:29,130

It didn't even require a
change in military strategy

665
00:30:29,130 --> 00:30:32,070
and military priorities to make
such an announcement, simply

666
00:30:32,070 --> 00:30:34,230
a question of psychology of war.

667
00:30:34,230 --> 00:30:36,040
And yet, it was not done.

668
00:30:36,040 --> 00:30:38,058
And as I suggest,
it's a failure of mind

669
00:30:38,058 --> 00:30:39,600
as well as a failure
of [INAUDIBLE]..

670
00:30:39,600 --> 00:30:43,950
Because this was specifically
asked by the Jews of Warsaw

671
00:30:43,950 --> 00:30:46,620
in September, October 1942.

672
00:30:46,620 --> 00:30:48,420
Well, the reason
why it wasn't done,

673
00:30:48,420 --> 00:30:50,430
of course, was the
reason I never came to,

674
00:30:50,430 --> 00:30:54,270
was in the second part
of McCloy's note--

675
00:30:54,270 --> 00:30:58,440
that bombing would have
created an even greater terror,

676
00:30:58,440 --> 00:31:02,468
a greater escalation of
terror, than already existed.

677
00:31:02,468 --> 00:31:03,510
Now for Jews, of course--

678
00:31:03,510 --> 00:31:03,550
[INTERPOSING VOICES]

679
00:31:03,550 --> 00:31:05,440
--what greater escalation
of terror existed?

680
00:31:05,440 --> 00:31:06,090
We don't know.

681
00:31:06,090 --> 00:31:07,500
It is a joke.

682
00:31:07,500 --> 00:31:10,230
But it was a very
real fear of getting

683
00:31:10,230 --> 00:31:14,520
involved in this kind
of who can do more?

684
00:31:14,520 --> 00:31:16,060
And it simply did not w --

685
00:31:16,060 --> 00:31:18,060
And the second part
of McCloy's note,

686
00:31:18,060 --> 00:31:20,165
which [? Weimann ?]
does not deal with,

687
00:31:20,165 --> 00:31:21,540
actually states

that as a reason.

688

00:31:21,540 --> 00:31:24,240

And that was the
reason given in 1942

689

00:31:24,240 --> 00:31:26,760

for not announcing that the
bombing of German cities

690

00:31:26,760 --> 00:31:27,870

was in retaliation.

691

00:31:27,870 --> 00:31:29,460

It would have been
against war policy.

692

00:31:29,460 --> 00:31:32,730

It would have made the war,
World War II, the Great

693

00:31:32,730 --> 00:31:34,620

Patriotic War, a war
to save the Jews,

694

00:31:34,620 --> 00:31:36,630

and that's precisely
what could not be done.

695

00:31:36,630 --> 00:31:40,050

Yes, OK, this means one was
not supposed to kill Germans

696

00:31:40,050 --> 00:31:41,910

in order to save Jews.

697

00:31:41,910 --> 00:31:42,420

Right.

698

00:31:42,420 --> 00:31:44,490

And that's really where
the failure came in.

699

00:31:44,490 --> 00:31:45,930

This is a real point.

700

00:31:45,930 --> 00:31:50,307

Yes, so I'm not saying
that bombing of Auschwitz

701

00:31:50,307 --> 00:31:51,390

would not have saved Jews.

702

00:31:51,390 --> 00:31:53,640

I think it would have saved
Jews and should have been done.

703

00:31:53,640 --> 00:31:55,932

But I'm thinking there was
even an easier way to do it.

704

00:31:55,932 --> 00:31:58,180

And that was to pick up
the whole theme of bombing,

705

00:31:58,180 --> 00:32:02,827

of saturation bombing, earlier,
which, as it stands now,

706

00:32:02,827 --> 00:32:05,160

the Germans are beginning to
say is a separate atrocity.

707

00:32:05,160 --> 00:32:07,470

Dresden is becoming the
equivalent of Auschwitz.

708

00:32:07,470 --> 00:32:09,810

And Dresden really
does not make sense

709

00:32:09,810 --> 00:32:13,650

without looking at it
in terms of Auschwitz.

710

00:32:13,650 --> 00:32:15,600

That is also part of
the obscene analogy.

711

00:32:15,600 --> 00:32:19,890

And why it was not picked up in
Madison Square Garden program,

712

00:32:19,890 --> 00:32:21,900

it's very difficult to
say, except that the Jews

713

00:32:21,900 --> 00:32:25,170

were not a military people and
did not think in these terms.

714

00:32:25,170 --> 00:32:28,890

Food packages to camps, yes.

715

00:32:28,890 --> 00:32:31,110

Exchange of prisoners, yes.

716

00:32:31,110 --> 00:32:32,460

Bombing?

717

00:32:32,460 --> 00:32:35,310

Interestingly enough,
when Horthy did finally

718

00:32:35,310 --> 00:32:38,250

stop the deportations
in July, he

719

00:32:38,250 --> 00:32:41,737

did so after a raid
on Budapest on June 3,

720

00:32:41,737 --> 00:32:43,820

which shows that at least
in the satellites, which

721

00:32:43,820 --> 00:32:46,375

were particularly

sensitive to quid pro quos,

722

00:32:46,375 --> 00:32:47,250
it could have worked.

723

00:32:47,250 --> 00:32:49,980
It was not the
bombing of Auschwitz

724

00:32:49,980 --> 00:32:53,250
that stopped the
deportations from Hungary.

725

00:32:53,250 --> 00:32:57,330
It was the bombing of Budapest,
the rail lines in Budapest.

726

00:32:57,330 --> 00:32:59,883
And that is an important point.

727

00:32:59,883 --> 00:33:00,845
[INAUDIBLE]

728

00:33:00,845 --> 00:33:03,730

729

00:33:03,730 --> 00:33:07,510
There is a lot of noise which
is made today about this.

730

00:33:07,510 --> 00:33:10,883
Of course, one can be one
can be bright from hindsight.

731

00:33:10,883 --> 00:33:12,550
But at that time, we
didn't think of it.

732

00:33:12,550 --> 00:33:14,680
I say, a failure
not only of will.

733

00:33:14,680 --> 00:33:17,380
Not a crisis of will--
a failure of will.

734
00:33:17,380 --> 00:33:18,880
But also a failure of mind.

735
00:33:18,880 --> 00:33:21,960

736
00:33:21,960 --> 00:33:24,600
Just didn't understand
the Nazi mentality.

737
00:33:24,600 --> 00:33:27,060
I mean, there are those
wonderful, wonderful documents

738
00:33:27,060 --> 00:33:30,030
would indicate that the
Hungarians are worried,

739
00:33:30,030 --> 00:33:33,120
that Hungarian Americans
will be tortured

740
00:33:33,120 --> 00:33:34,770
if they torture the Jews.

741
00:33:34,770 --> 00:33:36,510
That's the way they're thinking.

742
00:33:36,510 --> 00:33:39,120
And of course, we're not
thinking anything of the kind.

743
00:33:39,120 --> 00:33:40,530
We are taking
Hungarian Americans

744
00:33:40,530 --> 00:33:43,500
and putting them on the
radio to shortwave broadcasts

745
00:33:43,500 --> 00:33:47,490
to Budapest to say, don't
let the gendarmerie cooperate

746
00:33:47,490 --> 00:33:50,370
in the deportation of the
Jews, as if that mattered,

747
00:33:50,370 --> 00:33:54,120
instead of saying to them,
if you touch the Jews,

748
00:33:54,120 --> 00:33:55,622
you will be punished
after the war.

749
00:33:55,622 --> 00:33:57,330
And remember, we have
lots of Hungarians.

750
00:33:57,330 --> 00:34:02,160
The language that the criminal
understood, they could not.

751
00:34:02,160 --> 00:34:04,080
What did Clyde
Kluckhohn call it?

752
00:34:04,080 --> 00:34:06,810
He called it
culture-bound thinking.

753
00:34:06,810 --> 00:34:08,610
Just could not get beyond that.

754
00:34:08,610 --> 00:34:11,219

755
00:34:11,219 --> 00:34:13,110
OK.

756

00:34:13,110 --> 00:34:26,930

Well, I think--

757

00:34:26,930 --> 00:37:12,000