

1

00:00:00,000 --> 00:00:14,550

2

00:00:14,550 --> 00:00:17,980

(film slating)

3

00:00:17,980 --> 00:00:23,140

[NON-ENGLISH SPEECH]

4

00:00:23,140 --> 00:00:24,510

I should start now.

5

00:00:24,510 --> 00:00:30,160

This is Wakulla Springs

Wildlife Sanctuary

6

00:00:30,160 --> 00:00:34,030

and it is one of the most

beautiful spots in the United

7

00:00:34,030 --> 00:00:35,290

States.

8

00:00:35,290 --> 00:00:37,090

It is the way

Florida, or at least

9

00:00:37,090 --> 00:00:40,570

the Northern part of

Florida, was before it

10

00:00:40,570 --> 00:00:42,640

became as settled as it is now.

11

00:00:42,640 --> 00:00:45,820

I suspect that 150 years

ago, most of Florida

12

00:00:45,820 --> 00:00:46,660

looked like this.

13

00:00:46,660 --> 00:00:50,440

As you see the  
kind of wildlife we

14

00:00:50,440 --> 00:00:52,510

have here, the  
trees and the fauna.

15

00:00:52,510 --> 00:00:56,590

And also occasionally you'll  
see all kinds of alligators

16

00:00:56,590 --> 00:00:58,690

and other wild animals.

17

00:00:58,690 --> 00:01:02,620

And they've been kept this  
way where the rest of Florida

18

00:01:02,620 --> 00:01:03,970

has changed.

19

00:01:03,970 --> 00:01:07,300

For people like me  
it is a great source

20

00:01:07,300 --> 00:01:09,310

of tranquility to be  
able to come down here

21

00:01:09,310 --> 00:01:13,150

and to simply come to  
this spot every so often.

22

00:01:13,150 --> 00:01:17,830

I'm glad that we can talk  
in this particular area.

23

00:01:17,830 --> 00:01:22,000

Do you think that it fits  
to talk about the Holocaust

24

00:01:22,000 --> 00:01:23,500  
in this place?

25  
00:01:23,500 --> 00:01:28,630  
Well, if one wants to  
talk about polar opposite,

26  
00:01:28,630 --> 00:01:32,920  
I would say that what  
the Holocaust represents

27  
00:01:32,920 --> 00:01:37,270  
is the dialectic extreme  
opposite of this.

28  
00:01:37,270 --> 00:01:41,170  
Because what we  
have here is an area

29  
00:01:41,170 --> 00:01:43,910  
in which nature has been  
completely unchanged,

30  
00:01:43,910 --> 00:01:45,670  
and what the  
Holocaust represents

31  
00:01:45,670 --> 00:01:50,110  
is the most extreme  
form of man-made action

32  
00:01:50,110 --> 00:01:52,990  
and man-made project  
with a peculiar kind

33  
00:01:52,990 --> 00:01:56,990  
of destructiveness, and with  
a peculiar kind of calculation

34  
00:01:56,990 --> 00:01:59,023  
which was never  
present in nature

35

00:01:59,023 --> 00:02:00,565  
and could never be  
present in nature.

36  
00:02:00,565 --> 00:02:03,070

37  
00:02:03,070 --> 00:02:05,860  
It's as appropriate a spot  
to talk about the Holocaust

38  
00:02:05,860 --> 00:02:07,660  
as any of that I know.

39  
00:02:07,660 --> 00:02:10,509  
If this is the place  
of nature, then

40  
00:02:10,509 --> 00:02:14,740  
what the Holocaust represents  
is the most extreme form

41  
00:02:14,740 --> 00:02:20,050  
of the city of man and its  
radical destructiveness.

42  
00:02:20,050 --> 00:02:21,550  
So why not talk about it here?

43  
00:02:21,550 --> 00:02:26,580

44  
00:02:26,580 --> 00:02:34,160  
(film logistics - cut)

45  
00:02:34,160 --> 00:02:37,890  
(film slating)

46  
00:02:37,890 --> 00:02:44,490  
Well, the wildlife  
here is something

47

00:02:44,490 --> 00:02:46,620  
quite different from  
that any place else

48  
00:02:46,620 --> 00:02:48,030  
in the United States.

49  
00:02:48,030 --> 00:02:51,870  
You've got more species  
of bird, for example,

50  
00:02:51,870 --> 00:02:55,500  
here than practically  
anywhere else.

51  
00:02:55,500 --> 00:03:00,750  
You've got all kinds of  
animals in these forests here,

52  
00:03:00,750 --> 00:03:03,600  
and nobody is allowed to  
come in and to disturb them

53  
00:03:03,600 --> 00:03:06,000  
or to create a problem for them.

54  
00:03:06,000 --> 00:03:07,950  
There's no hunting here.

55  
00:03:07,950 --> 00:03:12,180  
So that they feel a certain  
security that they would not

56  
00:03:12,180 --> 00:03:14,130  
feel elsewhere.

57  
00:03:14,130 --> 00:03:17,800  
The alligators are less vicious  
here than they would be, say,

58  
00:03:17,800 --> 00:03:20,520  
in a place like Fort  
Lauderdale where they

59

00:03:20,520 --> 00:03:23,700  
feel the encroachments of man.

60

00:03:23,700 --> 00:03:25,500  
And some alligators  
recently have

61

00:03:25,500 --> 00:03:29,220  
been known to attack men  
in Fort Lauderdale, which

62

00:03:29,220 --> 00:03:30,660  
is South of here.

63

00:03:30,660 --> 00:03:32,310  
And that's largely  
because of the fact

64

00:03:32,310 --> 00:03:35,220  
that they don't have  
the kind of security

65

00:03:35,220 --> 00:03:36,510  
that they have right here.

66

00:03:36,510 --> 00:03:39,330  
This is probably  
as close to Eden

67

00:03:39,330 --> 00:03:43,500  
as you can get in continental  
in the United States.

68

00:03:43,500 --> 00:03:47,340  
And it's a completely opposite  
of the prefabricated society

69

00:03:47,340 --> 00:03:50,520  
that which dominates  
our culture.

70

00:03:50,520 --> 00:03:54,000  
You've seen my home, of  
course, and you admire the fact

71  
00:03:54,000 --> 00:03:57,570  
that it was a place of some  
beauty and tranquility,

72  
00:03:57,570 --> 00:03:59,760  
but its beauty and  
tranquility is still

73  
00:03:59,760 --> 00:04:03,690  
a planned man-made tranquility.

74  
00:04:03,690 --> 00:04:06,780  
Whereas, here what  
we have is something

75  
00:04:06,780 --> 00:04:11,040  
which has by decision of man,  
been completely and totally

76  
00:04:11,040 --> 00:04:12,810  
left untouched.

77  
00:04:12,810 --> 00:04:15,785  
And that's really what makes  
it as wonderful as it is.

78  
00:04:15,785 --> 00:04:17,160  
Incidentally, the  
many things you

79  
00:04:17,160 --> 00:04:21,089  
we can't see here, all sorts  
of varieties of snakes.

80  
00:04:21,089 --> 00:04:23,130  
Some of them quite deadly.

81  
00:04:23,130 --> 00:04:28,420  
And all kinds of mammalian

species which are in there,

82

00:04:28,420 --> 00:04:31,350

and sometimes you see  
them sometimes you don't.

83

00:04:31,350 --> 00:04:34,710

The water that comes in  
here is a freshwater stream.

84

00:04:34,710 --> 00:04:39,780

And I understand that over  
150,000 gallons of water

85

00:04:39,780 --> 00:04:43,860

empty in here every  
minute, so that it

86

00:04:43,860 --> 00:04:47,610

is the largest source of fresh  
water in the United States.

87

00:04:47,610 --> 00:04:50,010

And it's very close  
to the Gulf of Mexico,

88

00:04:50,010 --> 00:04:53,730

but this is not  
a saltwater area.

89

00:04:53,730 --> 00:04:57,200

It is a Freshwater area.

90

00:04:57,200 --> 00:04:57,963

[INAUDIBLE]

91

00:04:57,963 --> 00:05:02,306

92

00:05:02,306 --> 00:05:10,220  
(film logistics - cut)

93



00:05:10,220 --> 00:05:12,110  
(film slating)

94  
00:05:12,110 --> 00:05:15,450  
Professor Rubenstein,  
one of the reasons

95  
00:05:15,450 --> 00:05:18,630  
why I wanted to  
meet you personally

96  
00:05:18,630 --> 00:05:22,110  
and I have asked you  
to support, personally,

97  
00:05:22,110 --> 00:05:28,020  
your ideas in this field,  
is that I was very struck

98  
00:05:28,020 --> 00:05:33,830  
when reading your  
book about your theory

99  
00:05:33,830 --> 00:05:38,730  
of the stateless people,  
of [INAUDIBLE] people.

100  
00:05:38,730 --> 00:05:43,530  
This means the whole  
problem of the refugees,

101  
00:05:43,530 --> 00:05:47,960  
you express in a strong way.

102  
00:05:47,960 --> 00:05:50,630  
That as a matter of fact,  
as soon as these people

103  
00:05:50,630 --> 00:05:57,180  
were made stateless, the fact  
that it's very connected deeply

104  
00:05:57,180 --> 00:05:59,810

with the 20th century.

105

00:05:59,810 --> 00:06:02,450

These people that we  
are doomed to death.

106

00:06:02,450 --> 00:06:04,940

This means that we could  
say that the extermination

107

00:06:04,940 --> 00:06:08,300

of the Jews, because  
it is our thema,

108

00:06:08,300 --> 00:06:12,800

was already at stake even  
before the actual extermination

109

00:06:12,800 --> 00:06:15,410

started, even before the war.

110

00:06:15,410 --> 00:06:21,470

Even in the years  
1937, 1938 when

111

00:06:21,470 --> 00:06:25,670

Hitler was expelling the  
Jews, wanted to expel them,

112

00:06:25,670 --> 00:06:28,410

and when nobody  
wanted to take them.

113

00:06:28,410 --> 00:06:32,960

Well, many of the ideas  
that I have formulated,

114

00:06:32,960 --> 00:06:37,760

I'm indebted to the late  
political philosopher, Hannah

115

00:06:37,760 --> 00:06:41,690

Arendt, who has also expressed

these ideas in her book.

116

00:06:41,690 --> 00:06:46,370

But it would seem to me that one  
of the fundamental differences

117

00:06:46,370 --> 00:06:50,600

between the 20th century  
and any previous period

118

00:06:50,600 --> 00:06:52,340

is that in the  
20th century, there

119

00:06:52,340 --> 00:06:55,160

are no such thing  
as human rights

120

00:06:55,160 --> 00:06:58,100

apart from political rights.

121

00:06:58,100 --> 00:07:00,920

And when you deprive a  
person of political rights,

122

00:07:00,920 --> 00:07:03,140

you are in effect  
depriving that person

123

00:07:03,140 --> 00:07:09,090

of human rights and this  
pervades in my entire book.

124

00:07:09,090 --> 00:07:09,590

Yes.

125

00:07:09,590 --> 00:07:14,660

I would totally agree with you  
that the fundamental step that

126

00:07:14,660 --> 00:07:20,300

made possible the Holocaust was  
the denial of political rights

127  
00:07:20,300 --> 00:07:22,550  
to the Jews of Europe.

128  
00:07:22,550 --> 00:07:24,680  
Now, whether the denial  
of political rights

129  
00:07:24,680 --> 00:07:28,160  
automatically leads to  
extermination or not,

130  
00:07:28,160 --> 00:07:33,570  
is a question which depends upon  
the decision of those in power.

131  
00:07:33,570 --> 00:07:36,350  
But when you deny a person  
political rights, what

132  
00:07:36,350 --> 00:07:38,960  
you really say is that  
the normal protections

133  
00:07:38,960 --> 00:07:40,760  
of the law, the  
normal protections

134  
00:07:40,760 --> 00:07:43,700  
of due process in your  
community are no longer

135  
00:07:43,700 --> 00:07:45,740  
available to these people.

136  
00:07:45,740 --> 00:07:47,690  
And the people who  
are thus denied

137  
00:07:47,690 --> 00:07:51,170  
are left at the  
absolute mercy of people

138

00:07:51,170 --> 00:07:54,440  
who control the monopoly of  
the instruments of coercion

139

00:07:54,440 --> 00:07:55,530  
within their country.

140

00:07:55,530 --> 00:07:57,650  
And, of course, that means  
they're left ultimately

141

00:07:57,650 --> 00:08:00,890  
at the mercy of the government  
bureaucracy and the police.

142

00:08:00,890 --> 00:08:04,730  
You mean that in the  
world of nation states,

143

00:08:04,730 --> 00:08:08,040  
to be deprived of  
state citizenship,

144

00:08:08,040 --> 00:08:09,920  
this means of political rights?

145

00:08:09,920 --> 00:08:10,790  
Absolutely.

146

00:08:10,790 --> 00:08:13,610  
Is to be immediately  
in danger of this?

147

00:08:13,610 --> 00:08:16,100  
It is to be-- it certainly  
is to be immediately

148

00:08:16,100 --> 00:08:20,750  
in danger of the arbitrary  
exercise of power

149

00:08:20,750 --> 00:08:23,160

by those who possess power.

150

00:08:23,160 --> 00:08:25,130

And since the arbitrary  
exercise of power

151

00:08:25,130 --> 00:08:29,660

takes as an ultimate expression  
the ability to inflict death

152

00:08:29,660 --> 00:08:33,075

upon a person, when you deny  
a person's citizenship, what

153

00:08:33,075 --> 00:08:34,700

you've really done  
is you've said that,

154

00:08:34,700 --> 00:08:37,400

that person is outside  
of the normal protections

155

00:08:37,400 --> 00:08:38,780

of the community.

156

00:08:38,780 --> 00:08:41,250

Incidentally, it's one  
of the reasons why,

157

00:08:41,250 --> 00:08:44,420

as soon as the state  
of Israel was created,

158

00:08:44,420 --> 00:08:46,820

the first thing they  
did was to enact

159

00:08:46,820 --> 00:08:51,260

what was called the Hok ha-shvut  
the law of in gathering.

160

00:08:51,260 --> 00:08:53,150

What the Israelis

understood, because

161

00:08:53,150 --> 00:08:55,370

of their own deep and  
bitter experience,

162

00:08:55,370 --> 00:08:58,700

is that if a Jew were  
deprived of his citizenship

163

00:08:58,700 --> 00:09:01,310

and were not able to have  
any kind of citizenship,

164

00:09:01,310 --> 00:09:05,780

he would be subject to the kind  
of arbitrary treatment which

165

00:09:05,780 --> 00:09:07,550

could lead to death.

166

00:09:07,550 --> 00:09:12,380

And therefore, they decided that  
any Jew could get citizenship

167

00:09:12,380 --> 00:09:14,930

in Israel simply by coming  
to the Israeli consulate

168

00:09:14,930 --> 00:09:16,890

and declaring his  
allegiance to that country,

169

00:09:16,890 --> 00:09:20,370

but what they were trying to  
do is react to the situation.

170

00:09:20,370 --> 00:09:23,210

Another thing which I talk  
about in my book, which

171

00:09:23,210 --> 00:09:26,570

is kind of paradoxical but is

related to the whole question

172

00:09:26,570 --> 00:09:28,700  
of statelessness.

173

00:09:28,700 --> 00:09:32,240

There is a sense  
in which no crime

174

00:09:32,240 --> 00:09:35,120  
was committed at Auschwitz.

175

00:09:35,120 --> 00:09:37,400  
I believe something worse  
than a crime, something

176

00:09:37,400 --> 00:09:40,370  
more obscene than a  
crime was committed.

177

00:09:40,370 --> 00:09:45,780  
But in a crime, you violate  
the laws of a community.

178

00:09:45,780 --> 00:09:48,860  
And if you are deprived of  
all membership in a community

179

00:09:48,860 --> 00:09:51,620  
or if the community  
designates you

180

00:09:51,620 --> 00:09:55,350  
as an outlaw, which every  
state this person basically is,

181

00:09:55,350 --> 00:09:57,970  
then there's no way to  
commit a crime against you.

182

00:09:57,970 --> 00:09:59,930  
Now it's been a  
great deal of talk



183

00:09:59,930 --> 00:10:05,510  
about the metaphysical concepts  
like crimes against humanity.

184

00:10:05,510 --> 00:10:07,760  
But crimes, generally  
speaking, are

185

00:10:07,760 --> 00:10:09,890  
offenses against the  
law for which there

186

00:10:09,890 --> 00:10:14,580  
is some means of  
retaliation in the law.

187

00:10:14,580 --> 00:10:17,150  
And if you have neither  
a law which prohibits you

188

00:10:17,150 --> 00:10:19,850  
from doing something nor a  
means of retaliation that's

189

00:10:19,850 --> 00:10:22,278  
effective in deterring  
you from doing something,

190

00:10:22,278 --> 00:10:24,320  
then you don't have anything  
that's realistically

191

00:10:24,320 --> 00:10:26,480  
a crime other than rhetoric.

192

00:10:26,480 --> 00:10:33,320  
And I believe that not only  
does the statelessness of 1936

193

00:10:33,320 --> 00:10:39,950  
and 1937 and 1938 become  
a prelude to mass murder,

194

00:10:39,950 --> 00:10:42,800

it also becomes a  
prelude to a situation

195

00:10:42,800 --> 00:10:46,180

in which mass murder is possible  
without it being a crime.

196

00:10:46,180 --> 00:10:51,940

You mean that the  
Nazi violated no law

197

00:10:51,940 --> 00:10:56,440

when they shipped the people  
to the extermination centers

198

00:10:56,440 --> 00:10:59,200

because they were  
already made outlaw?

199

00:10:59,200 --> 00:11:02,140

Well, number one they certainly  
violated no German law

200

00:11:02,140 --> 00:11:02,830

at the time.

201

00:11:02,830 --> 00:11:06,580

The Nazis were acting in  
accordance with German law.

202

00:11:06,580 --> 00:11:08,710

Some people would  
say that they were

203

00:11:08,710 --> 00:11:13,750

violating God's law, but a  
law which carries no penalty.

204

00:11:13,750 --> 00:11:14,907

We have to check.

205

00:11:14,907 --> 00:11:19,030  
(film slating)

206

00:11:19,030 --> 00:11:22,000  
Also if you say that  
God's law was violated,

207

00:11:22,000 --> 00:11:24,730  
again, you have a law  
which carries no penalty.

208

00:11:24,730 --> 00:11:27,400  
And what is even  
more significant

209

00:11:27,400 --> 00:11:30,460  
is that those who were  
regarded by most Europeans

210

00:11:30,460 --> 00:11:33,820  
as representatives of  
interpreters of God's law,

211

00:11:33,820 --> 00:11:36,310  
did not feel that this was  
an event that they wish

212

00:11:36,310 --> 00:11:38,050  
to comment upon negatively.

213

00:11:38,050 --> 00:11:40,150  
So that there was an  
almost total silence

214

00:11:40,150 --> 00:11:44,320  
throughout Europe of  
all the churches and all

215

00:11:44,320 --> 00:11:46,870  
the other groups.

216

00:11:46,870 --> 00:11:50,605

More important even than in that  
is the Reich Citizenship Law

217  
00:11:50,605 --> 00:11:54,610  
of November 25th  
1941 which decreed

218  
00:11:54,610 --> 00:12:00,280  
that all Jews who leave the  
Reich and go beyond its borders

219  
00:12:00,280 --> 00:12:03,300  
immediately lose  
their citizenship.

220  
00:12:03,300 --> 00:12:07,300  
The law did not state that  
if people were involuntarily

221  
00:12:07,300 --> 00:12:11,240  
taken from the Reich that,  
that made a difference.

222  
00:12:11,240 --> 00:12:13,600  
But the law provided for  
was an effective means

223  
00:12:13,600 --> 00:12:16,030  
to remove Jews from  
Germany and to deprive them

224  
00:12:16,030 --> 00:12:18,420  
of all human rights at  
precisely the same moment

225  
00:12:18,420 --> 00:12:20,050  
that they were removed.

226  
00:12:20,050 --> 00:12:22,690  
Once that law was in  
effect, there was absolutely

227  
00:12:22,690 --> 00:12:26,200

no limit to the  
modes of behavior

228  
00:12:26,200 --> 00:12:28,580  
which could be exercised  
against them by those who

229  
00:12:28,580 --> 00:12:29,770  
were in authority over them.

230  
00:12:29,770 --> 00:12:31,812  
Those who had power over  
them, which in this case

231  
00:12:31,812 --> 00:12:33,630  
happened to be the SS.

232  
00:12:33,630 --> 00:12:35,560  
So that here again  
you have a situation

233  
00:12:35,560 --> 00:12:39,460  
where death sentence  
can be given

234  
00:12:39,460 --> 00:12:42,550  
to large numbers of people by  
bureaucratic categorization

235  
00:12:42,550 --> 00:12:43,960  
and bureaucratic definition.

236  
00:12:43,960 --> 00:12:47,506

237  
00:12:47,506 --> 00:12:53,200  
There is that sense that  
without firm citizenship

238  
00:12:53,200 --> 00:12:56,440  
in a national community  
in which you have rights,

239

00:12:56,440 --> 00:12:59,440

you are totally deprived  
of all rights these days.

240

00:12:59,440 --> 00:13:01,330

And I also add that  
the paradox of this,

241

00:13:01,330 --> 00:13:03,910

which Hannah Arendt  
pointed out, is

242

00:13:03,910 --> 00:13:08,510

that this is a product of  
our having become civilized.

243

00:13:08,510 --> 00:13:10,600

In a world with  
open spaces where

244

00:13:10,600 --> 00:13:13,960

people could form  
ad hoc communities,

245

00:13:13,960 --> 00:13:16,720

the loss of citizenship  
was much less dangerous

246

00:13:16,720 --> 00:13:18,460

than it is today.

247

00:13:18,460 --> 00:13:20,530

But it an essentially  
closed world,

248

00:13:20,530 --> 00:13:22,780

where there was no open  
space in which you either

249

00:13:22,780 --> 00:13:25,240

have your card of  
identity or your passport,

250

00:13:25,240 --> 00:13:27,190

or you're absolutely  
nobody and you really

251

00:13:27,190 --> 00:13:33,100

have no human status, the  
very civilization of mankind

252

00:13:33,100 --> 00:13:37,450

has condemned millions, perhaps  
hundreds of millions of people,

253

00:13:37,450 --> 00:13:42,010

to the potential loss of all  
of the rights of humanity

254

00:13:42,010 --> 00:13:44,430

simply because  
bureaucracies can designate,

255

00:13:44,430 --> 00:13:47,920

at will, groups that  
will say are no longer

256

00:13:47,920 --> 00:13:50,360

part of the community.

257

00:13:50,360 --> 00:13:51,850

Yes.

258

00:13:51,850 --> 00:13:57,760

Is it true that the  
precisely and is connected

259

00:13:57,760 --> 00:14:05,950

with what you say  
that when stateless

260

00:14:05,950 --> 00:14:11,000

committed the crime, committed  
an offense, was not protected?

261

00:14:11,000 --> 00:14:15,160

Well, very frequently in  
certain parts of Europe,

262

00:14:15,160 --> 00:14:17,770

I believe this was  
true in France.

263

00:14:17,770 --> 00:14:21,520

That a person was better off  
if he had no citizenship rights

264

00:14:21,520 --> 00:14:23,530

if he committed a crime.

265

00:14:23,530 --> 00:14:25,600

In which case he was  
considered a criminal

266

00:14:25,600 --> 00:14:27,910

in the normal  
rights of a criminal

267

00:14:27,910 --> 00:14:29,810

were then given to him.

268

00:14:29,810 --> 00:14:33,040

And as long as that person  
had the rights of a criminal,

269

00:14:33,040 --> 00:14:36,220

that person was in  
much better condition

270

00:14:36,220 --> 00:14:40,030

than when that person  
reverted to the condition

271

00:14:40,030 --> 00:14:42,690

of being a stateless person  
who had no rights whatsoever.

272

00:14:42,690 --> 00:14:46,240



This means they enter  
in the realm of the law?

273  
00:14:46,240 --> 00:14:47,920  
By becoming a  
criminal, you entered

274  
00:14:47,920 --> 00:14:50,135  
in the realm of the law  
which both penalized

275  
00:14:50,135 --> 00:14:51,760  
you, but at the same  
time protected you

276  
00:14:51,760 --> 00:14:54,670  
and gave you a human status  
and a human definition.

277  
00:14:54,670 --> 00:14:58,000  
All criminals have human  
status and human definition,

278  
00:14:58,000 --> 00:15:01,000  
whereas a person who is  
a citizen of no country

279  
00:15:01,000 --> 00:15:04,220  
really has no human status  
and has no human definition.

280  
00:15:04,220 --> 00:15:07,280  
So that it really was  
better to commit a crime.

281  
00:15:07,280 --> 00:15:08,968  
Now, of course, in  
Poland, it didn't

282  
00:15:08,968 --> 00:15:10,510  
make any difference  
which is question

283

00:15:10,510 --> 00:15:11,560  
of hastening your death.

284  
00:15:11,560 --> 00:15:15,040  
But before the war, it  
did make a difference.

285  
00:15:15,040 --> 00:15:17,620  
If you were a criminal,  
you were better off than

286  
00:15:17,620 --> 00:15:20,207  
if you were just merely a  
law abiding stateless person.

287  
00:15:20,207 --> 00:15:21,790  
The worst thing in  
the world was to be

288  
00:15:21,790 --> 00:15:23,590  
a law abiding stateless person.

289  
00:15:23,590 --> 00:15:27,780  
Now could you elaborate more  
about your idea for a surplus

290  
00:15:27,780 --> 00:15:30,730  
lives, surplus people?

291  
00:15:30,730 --> 00:15:35,570  
Well, if you look at the  
population of Europe in 1750,

292  
00:15:35,570 --> 00:15:38,950  
you find that there were  
about 150 million people.

293  
00:15:38,950 --> 00:15:43,970  
By 1914, there were 400  
million people in Europe

294  
00:15:43,970 --> 00:15:46,990  
including European Russia,

and there are in addition

295

00:15:46,990 --> 00:15:51,520  
250 million people of  
European background who are

296

00:15:51,520 --> 00:15:53,380  
living in non European land.

297

00:15:53,380 --> 00:15:58,660  
That meant that in 1750,  
there were 150 million people

298

00:15:58,660 --> 00:16:01,660  
of a common stock.

299

00:16:01,660 --> 00:16:05,200  
1914, there were  
650 million people.

300

00:16:05,200 --> 00:16:07,210  
In addition to that,  
industrialization

301

00:16:07,210 --> 00:16:09,280  
and technology had  
changed the rhythm

302

00:16:09,280 --> 00:16:11,040  
of agricultural and urban life.

303

00:16:11,040 --> 00:16:14,380  
So the people were coming  
off the land in large numbers

304

00:16:14,380 --> 00:16:15,742  
and coming into the cities.

305

00:16:15,742 --> 00:16:17,950  
And very frequently, they  
were coming into the cities

306

00:16:17,950 --> 00:16:20,830  
where their labor  
could not be absorbed.

307  
00:16:20,830 --> 00:16:24,640  
In 1891, the exception  
of Bismarck [INAUDIBLE]

308  
00:16:24,640 --> 00:16:27,280  
was German chancellor, made  
the statement Germany must

309  
00:16:27,280 --> 00:16:30,160  
export goods or export people.

310  
00:16:30,160 --> 00:16:34,150  
Fortunately, in the 1890s, it  
was possible to export people.

311  
00:16:34,150 --> 00:16:35,560  
Large numbers of  
people who could

312  
00:16:35,560 --> 00:16:40,300  
find no meaningful role in  
Sicily or in parts of Germany

313  
00:16:40,300 --> 00:16:43,630  
or in Poland could come  
to North and South America

314  
00:16:43,630 --> 00:16:47,080  
where a relatively open  
and untamed country awaited

315  
00:16:47,080 --> 00:16:48,580  
their industry  
and their efforts.

316  
00:16:48,580 --> 00:16:50,570  
But by the middle  
of the 20th century,

317

00:16:50,570 --> 00:16:53,530  
especially with the  
world depression,

318  
00:16:53,530 --> 00:16:55,690  
there were literally hundreds  
of millions of people

319  
00:16:55,690 --> 00:16:57,730  
whom the economic  
and political systems

320  
00:16:57,730 --> 00:17:00,280  
of the various so-called  
civilized countries

321  
00:17:00,280 --> 00:17:03,050  
of the world simply  
could not absorb.

322  
00:17:03,050 --> 00:17:07,720  
And these people, by virtue of  
the fact, that they could look

323  
00:17:07,720 --> 00:17:11,980  
to the system for nothing  
that would assure them

324  
00:17:11,980 --> 00:17:14,410  
any kind of human dignity,  
were a potential source

325  
00:17:14,410 --> 00:17:16,401  
of instability in every country.

326  
00:17:16,401 --> 00:17:18,359  
And something had to be  
done with those people.

327  
00:17:18,359 --> 00:17:20,349  
Well, there's several things  
you could do with such people.

328

00:17:20,349 --> 00:17:22,270

One thing, that I  
mentioned in my book,

329

00:17:22,270 --> 00:17:24,099

is that I don't believe  
it's any accident

330

00:17:24,099 --> 00:17:26,589

that 100 million  
people have died

331

00:17:26,589 --> 00:17:29,330

in the wars of the 20th century.

332

00:17:29,330 --> 00:17:30,030

This was one--

333

00:17:30,030 --> 00:17:32,170

[INTERPOSING VOICES]

334

00:17:32,170 --> 00:17:34,750

It has been the  
bloodiest century.

335

00:17:34,750 --> 00:17:37,990

To me, the century opens  
with the Battle of Verdun

336

00:17:37,990 --> 00:17:42,160

where 500,000 Frenchmen  
and 500,000 Germans

337

00:17:42,160 --> 00:17:43,670

die on either side.

338

00:17:43,670 --> 00:17:47,260

And immediately after  
the Battle of Verdun,

339

00:17:47,260 --> 00:17:49,630

the second battle  
of the Somme starts

340  
00:17:49,630 --> 00:17:52,720  
with the British trying to  
break through the German lines.

341  
00:17:52,720 --> 00:17:56,800  
And with 400,000  
Frenchmen, 400,000 German,

342  
00:17:56,800 --> 00:18:00,940  
and 500,000 Englishmen  
being killed in nine months.

343  
00:18:00,940 --> 00:18:03,610  
But if you compare that  
to the 50,000 Americans

344  
00:18:03,610 --> 00:18:06,090  
who were lost in  
10 years in Vienna,

345  
00:18:06,090 --> 00:18:08,780  
you get some idea of the  
enormity of what took place.

346  
00:18:08,780 --> 00:18:11,680  
Now, I asked the  
following question.

347  
00:18:11,680 --> 00:18:15,880  
If in fact that many  
people were sacrificed,

348  
00:18:15,880 --> 00:18:18,940  
in Verdun and the Somme,  
and also at Gallipoli,

349  
00:18:18,940 --> 00:18:21,880  
was that a decision which  
was only taken by a commando

350  
00:18:21,880 --> 00:18:24,430  
like von Falkenhayn

on the German side

351  
00:18:24,430 --> 00:18:26,920  
or Sir Douglas Haig  
on the English side.

352  
00:18:26,920 --> 00:18:29,290  
I am convinced  
that at some level

353  
00:18:29,290 --> 00:18:31,780  
that kind of wastage  
of human life

354  
00:18:31,780 --> 00:18:34,780  
was perceived as  
tolerable by the ruling

355  
00:18:34,780 --> 00:18:37,720  
establishments of Germany,  
France, and England.

356  
00:18:37,720 --> 00:18:40,120  
Otherwise, it would never  
have been tolerated.

357  
00:18:40,120 --> 00:18:44,300  
And if you realize that there  
was this mentality in Germany,

358  
00:18:44,300 --> 00:18:49,450  
[INAUDIBLE] said that Germany  
must export people or goods.

359  
00:18:49,450 --> 00:18:52,330  
What comes across is that  
they saw their own people

360  
00:18:52,330 --> 00:18:55,240  
as expendable, not  
merely foreign people.

361  
00:18:55,240 --> 00:18:59,020



Now if you then turn and you  
look at what Hitler was writing

362  
00:18:59,020 --> 00:19:00,958  
and was studying  
even as a youth.

363  
00:19:00,958 --> 00:19:02,500  
One of the things  
that fascinated me,

364  
00:19:02,500 --> 00:19:04,660  
recently, was to  
find out that he

365  
00:19:04,660 --> 00:19:07,680  
was studying German population  
movements to Argentina

366  
00:19:07,680 --> 00:19:09,040  
as a young boy.

367  
00:19:09,040 --> 00:19:12,450  
He was very much concerned, his  
whole concern for lebensraum

368  
00:19:12,450 --> 00:19:14,890  
his whole concern for  
clearing out Eastern Europe so

369  
00:19:14,890 --> 00:19:16,330  
that the Germans  
could populate it

370  
00:19:16,330 --> 00:19:19,210  
and exterminating the  
population along the way,

371  
00:19:19,210 --> 00:19:21,910  
meant that very few  
people in Europe

372  
00:19:21,910 --> 00:19:24,940

were as aware of the problem  
surplus people to the extent

373  
00:19:24,940 --> 00:19:27,010  
that Hitler and some  
of the Nazi cadre were.

374  
00:19:27,010 --> 00:19:28,660  
Another thing which  
I think is relevant

375  
00:19:28,660 --> 00:19:31,450  
in this is that if you  
look at the leadership

376  
00:19:31,450 --> 00:19:35,800  
of the Nazi party, Karl Dietrich  
Bracher whose book the German

377  
00:19:35,800 --> 00:19:38,370  
Dictatorship is one of the  
best books on the subject.

378  
00:19:38,370 --> 00:19:40,930  
Points out that very largely  
the people in the leadership

379  
00:19:40,930 --> 00:19:45,040  
were people who made  
politics as their vocation.

380  
00:19:45,040 --> 00:19:47,350  
But whom had they not  
been able successfully

381  
00:19:47,350 --> 00:19:49,090  
to make politics  
of their vocation,

382  
00:19:49,090 --> 00:19:50,560  
may not have had  
a vocation at all.

383

00:19:50,560 --> 00:19:53,280

Suppose Hitler had not  
succeeded in becoming

384

00:19:53,280 --> 00:19:57,017

a leading German politician,  
what was he trained for?

385

00:19:57,017 --> 00:19:57,850

What about Heydrich?

386

00:19:57,850 --> 00:19:59,290

What about Himmler?

387

00:19:59,290 --> 00:20:00,730

You go down the  
list and you find

388

00:20:00,730 --> 00:20:02,470

that these are all  
people who themselves

389

00:20:02,470 --> 00:20:05,710

were potential urbanized  
surplus people.

390

00:20:05,710 --> 00:20:07,797

What they did was to seize  
the mechanisms of power

391

00:20:07,797 --> 00:20:09,880

and to say that if anybody  
is going to be surplus,

392

00:20:09,880 --> 00:20:11,170

it's not going to be us.

393

00:20:11,170 --> 00:20:16,870

Now, what about the  
Jew as surplus people?

394

00:20:16,870 --> 00:20:20,140

Well, many people will argue

that the Jews contributed

395

00:20:20,140 --> 00:20:21,970

to Germany.

396

00:20:21,970 --> 00:20:24,130

There were many distinguished  
doctors and lawyers,

397

00:20:24,130 --> 00:20:25,963

and there were many  
distinguished scientists

398

00:20:25,963 --> 00:20:28,100

that the Germans sacrifice.

399

00:20:28,100 --> 00:20:31,450

But in the 1920s, if you  
look at the groups which

400

00:20:31,450 --> 00:20:33,460

were most violently  
anti-Semitic,

401

00:20:33,460 --> 00:20:34,960

it turns out that  
the groups tend

402

00:20:34,960 --> 00:20:37,450

to be the urbanized  
petite bourgeoisie

403

00:20:37,450 --> 00:20:41,080

strata of lower middle  
class professionals who

404

00:20:41,080 --> 00:20:42,940

were most likely  
to be endangered

405

00:20:42,940 --> 00:20:47,650

by economic instability and by  
unemployment, as was the case.

406  
00:20:47,650 --> 00:20:49,260  
Same thing was true  
in Poland where

407  
00:20:49,260 --> 00:20:54,270  
the universities were  
the most violent centers

408  
00:20:54,270 --> 00:20:55,980  
of anti-Semitism.

409  
00:20:55,980 --> 00:20:59,490  
People perceiving the Jew as a  
competitor, people conceiving

410  
00:20:59,490 --> 00:21:03,455  
the Jew as a foreigner,  
decided that if anybody

411  
00:21:03,455 --> 00:21:04,830  
is going to be  
surplus it's going

412  
00:21:04,830 --> 00:21:07,200  
to be them rather than us.

413  
00:21:07,200 --> 00:21:10,110  
Another element  
to this picture is

414  
00:21:10,110 --> 00:21:13,710  
if you look at where Adolf  
Hitler gets his basic ideas,

415  
00:21:13,710 --> 00:21:15,000  
he gets them in Vienna.

416  
00:21:15,000 --> 00:21:18,420  
But what basically was Vienna  
at the turn of the century?

417

00:21:18,420 --> 00:21:20,850  
Vienna was the  
funneling point where

418  
00:21:20,850 --> 00:21:25,230  
Jews who were no longer able  
to find a livelihood in Poland,

419  
00:21:25,230 --> 00:21:27,750  
especially in Austria and  
Galician part of Poland,

420  
00:21:27,750 --> 00:21:31,960  
would come hoping to find a  
new life in the capital city.

421  
00:21:31,960 --> 00:21:34,470  
Which meant that Vienna  
had a Jewish population

422  
00:21:34,470 --> 00:21:37,620  
of several thousand, whereas  
it had a minimal population

423  
00:21:37,620 --> 00:21:39,330  
a century before.

424  
00:21:39,330 --> 00:21:41,880  
And these were people  
who, if they could not

425  
00:21:41,880 --> 00:21:45,050  
find work in Vienna, then  
went on to the new world.

426  
00:21:45,050 --> 00:21:49,320  
But they were perceived  
as specially dangerous,

427  
00:21:49,320 --> 00:21:51,930  
precisely by those elements  
of the urbanized bourgeois

428

00:21:51,930 --> 00:21:55,560  
society which themselves had  
the fear that they could not

429  
00:21:55,560 --> 00:21:58,710  
find a place in society  
even by the Jews.

430  
00:21:58,710 --> 00:21:59,820  
Even by the Jews.

431  
00:21:59,820 --> 00:22:01,350  
I might also add  
that here again you

432  
00:22:01,350 --> 00:22:03,725  
have the same phenomenon that  
I was talking about before.

433  
00:22:03,725 --> 00:22:07,690  
We talked about, if you deprive  
a person of his citizenship,

434  
00:22:07,690 --> 00:22:09,140  
you deprive him of human rights.

435  
00:22:09,140 --> 00:22:11,670  
We say this is a  
product of civilization.

436  
00:22:11,670 --> 00:22:15,330  
Surplus people is another  
product of civilization.

437  
00:22:15,330 --> 00:22:17,670  
A subsistence economy  
does not engender

438  
00:22:17,670 --> 00:22:20,070  
large numbers of  
surplus people where

439  
00:22:20,070 --> 00:22:21,615

technical rationality triumphs.

440

00:22:21,615 --> 00:22:26,822

441

00:22:26,822 --> 00:22:31,490

[NON-ENGLISH SPEECH]

442

00:22:31,490 --> 00:22:34,040

(film slating)

443

00:22:34,040 --> 00:22:41,660

Well, just as the  
denial of human rights

444

00:22:41,660 --> 00:22:44,030

follows the loss of  
citizenship, and this

445

00:22:44,030 --> 00:22:48,660

is an expression of  
civilization on its opposite.

446

00:22:48,660 --> 00:22:50,780

So one of the  
products of advanced

447

00:22:50,780 --> 00:22:55,490

technological civilization  
is surplus people.

448

00:22:55,490 --> 00:22:57,920

The contradiction, to  
use a Marxist term,

449

00:22:57,920 --> 00:22:59,630

between production  
and consumption

450

00:22:59,630 --> 00:23:02,720

is such that the number of  
people needed in the labor



451

00:23:02,720 --> 00:23:05,330

process is always less  
than the number of people

452

00:23:05,330 --> 00:23:09,080

that are at hand for the  
labor that's to be done.

453

00:23:09,080 --> 00:23:11,270

And that means in  
modern society always

454

00:23:11,270 --> 00:23:13,010

has a crisis with more people.

455

00:23:13,010 --> 00:23:21,070

But what I wanted to say is  
what you say is absolute truth.

456

00:23:21,070 --> 00:23:22,280

This is the ground.

457

00:23:22,280 --> 00:23:23,520

This is the grounds for it.

458

00:23:23,520 --> 00:23:24,020

Yes.

459

00:23:24,020 --> 00:23:27,560

This is the ground for,  
but in the same time

460

00:23:27,560 --> 00:23:31,850

the Western democracies,  
let's say in 1938

461

00:23:31,850 --> 00:23:36,430

when they convocated  
this Evian Conference,

462

00:23:36,430 --> 00:23:39,260

showed a kind of

humanitarian concern

463  
00:23:39,260 --> 00:23:42,160  
for the fate of the refugees.

464  
00:23:42,160 --> 00:23:43,880  
I don't believe that.

465  
00:23:43,880 --> 00:23:48,060  
I don't believe that the  
Western democracies--

466  
00:23:48,060 --> 00:23:49,996  
[INAUDIBLE]

467  
00:23:49,996 --> 00:23:54,320  
I don't believe that the Western  
democracies convened the Evian

468  
00:23:54,320 --> 00:23:58,370  
Conference for any other  
reason than rhetoric.

469  
00:23:58,370 --> 00:24:03,950  
And I'm convinced that the  
last thing that either England

470  
00:24:03,950 --> 00:24:08,520  
or the United States wanted was  
a large number of foreign Jews

471  
00:24:08,520 --> 00:24:10,850  
to enter their country.

472  
00:24:10,850 --> 00:24:13,070  
If you consider  
Roosevelt's situation,

473  
00:24:13,070 --> 00:24:14,930  
it's very, very clear.

474  
00:24:14,930 --> 00:24:18,470

Roosevelt was elected  
through a coalition

475  
00:24:18,470 --> 00:24:22,040  
of Northeastern  
ethnics, including Jews

476  
00:24:22,040 --> 00:24:24,170  
and labor and other groups.

477  
00:24:24,170 --> 00:24:29,030  
He was attacked for bringing  
not a new deal but a Jew deal

478  
00:24:29,030 --> 00:24:32,090  
because for the first  
time Jews in large numbers

479  
00:24:32,090 --> 00:24:34,580  
entered American political life.

480  
00:24:34,580 --> 00:24:37,350  
There were over 12 million  
American unemployed,

481  
00:24:37,350 --> 00:24:41,330  
which at that time constituted  
about 25% of the working force.

482  
00:24:41,330 --> 00:24:44,330  
One of the elements  
of his coalition labor

483  
00:24:44,330 --> 00:24:50,510  
was adamantly against the entry  
of more than a token number

484  
00:24:50,510 --> 00:24:51,830  
of Jews.

485  
00:24:51,830 --> 00:24:55,220  
And the result is I'm convinced  
that the Evian Conference was

486  
00:24:55,220 --> 00:24:59,390  
merely a way of preventing  
anything from happening,

487  
00:24:59,390 --> 00:25:01,970  
rather than a way of  
bringing people in.

488  
00:25:01,970 --> 00:25:03,500  
A way of not acting?

489  
00:25:03,500 --> 00:25:05,120  
It was a way of  
appearing to act,

490  
00:25:05,120 --> 00:25:07,730  
whereas, in fact,  
one wasn't acting.

491  
00:25:07,730 --> 00:25:10,160  
It wasn't the style,  
to say, well, now.

492  
00:25:10,160 --> 00:25:11,780  
Look here.

493  
00:25:11,780 --> 00:25:14,840  
We really don't  
want all those Jews.

494  
00:25:14,840 --> 00:25:17,390  
But what they did do was  
to appear to do something,

495  
00:25:17,390 --> 00:25:20,300  
in reality they did nothing.

496  
00:25:20,300 --> 00:25:22,070  
If you look at the  
situation, when

497

00:25:22,070 --> 00:25:24,170  
Goebbels said that  
he was convinced

498  
00:25:24,170 --> 00:25:27,140  
that the democracies regarded  
what the Germans were

499  
00:25:27,140 --> 00:25:30,800  
doing as a benefit, getting  
rid of the Jewish riffraff.

500  
00:25:30,800 --> 00:25:32,540  
I think Goebbels was  
absolutely correct.

501  
00:25:32,540 --> 00:25:35,020  
He made that statement,  
I believe, in '42 or '43.

502  
00:25:35,020 --> 00:25:36,070  
He wrote it in his diary.

503  
00:25:36,070 --> 00:25:36,570  
Yes.

504  
00:25:36,570 --> 00:25:38,070  
But Hitler made the  
same statements,

505  
00:25:38,070 --> 00:25:42,620  
as a matter of fact, when he  
made them earlier, 1939, 1940.

506  
00:25:42,620 --> 00:25:44,180  
The other thing you  
have to consider

507  
00:25:44,180 --> 00:25:47,750  
is the situation in Poland  
which is apropos of this.

508  
00:25:47,750 --> 00:25:53,630

In 1936, '37, and '38, all  
of the dominant figures

509  
00:25:53,630 --> 00:25:56,690  
in Polish political life are  
saying the Poland's number one

510  
00:25:56,690 --> 00:26:00,320  
problem is how to get rid of  
its Jewish population which

511  
00:26:00,320 --> 00:26:02,480  
it regards as a  
surplus population

512  
00:26:02,480 --> 00:26:05,300  
as we've said in our  
conversation before.

513  
00:26:05,300 --> 00:26:08,240  
The Madagascar plan was  
originally not a German plan

514  
00:26:08,240 --> 00:26:09,860  
but a Polish plan.

515  
00:26:09,860 --> 00:26:12,500  
Poland was demanding  
a colony or colonies

516  
00:26:12,500 --> 00:26:14,900  
from the League of Nations  
where they could ship off

517  
00:26:14,900 --> 00:26:16,850  
the Jewish population.

518  
00:26:16,850 --> 00:26:19,730  
August Cardinal Hlond, was  
the prime of all Poland

519  
00:26:19,730 --> 00:26:24,260  
at the time, demanded a

policy of absolute apartheid

520

00:26:24,260 --> 00:26:27,530  
between Polish Christians  
and Polish Jews.

521

00:26:27,530 --> 00:26:30,380  
And in 1939, a month or  
two before the beginning

522

00:26:30,380 --> 00:26:32,870  
of the war, Joseph Beck, who  
was then the foreign minister,

523

00:26:32,870 --> 00:26:34,580  
said that Poland's  
number one problem

524

00:26:34,580 --> 00:26:36,560  
was how to eliminate its Jews.

525

00:26:36,560 --> 00:26:38,840  
Well, when the Germans  
came along and said

526

00:26:38,840 --> 00:26:40,430  
you want to eliminate  
the Jews, we'll

527

00:26:40,430 --> 00:26:43,400  
teach you how to  
eliminate the Jews.

528

00:26:43,400 --> 00:26:45,770  
Poles then said, this  
isn't what we meant.

529

00:26:45,770 --> 00:26:48,920  
But in fact, if you want  
to eliminate people,

530

00:26:48,920 --> 00:26:51,510  
there is really only one

way to eliminate people

531

00:26:51,510 --> 00:26:54,053  
and that's to exterminate them,  
which the Germans understood.

532

00:26:54,053 --> 00:26:55,970  
You can say that the  
Germans were more logical

533

00:26:55,970 --> 00:26:57,260  
than everybody else.

534

00:26:57,260 --> 00:27:00,060  
Nobody wanted them and  
the Germans felt, well,

535

00:27:00,060 --> 00:27:01,400  
if nobody wants these people.

536

00:27:01,400 --> 00:27:03,692  
The thing to do with them is  
simply to get rid of them.

537

00:27:03,692 --> 00:27:07,610  
You create factories of death in  
which you find the most modern

538

00:27:07,610 --> 00:27:09,770  
and the most efficient  
means of getting rid

539

00:27:09,770 --> 00:27:11,640  
of large numbers every day.

540

00:27:11,640 --> 00:27:16,190  
Could we say that the Western  
powers in Latin America

541

00:27:16,190 --> 00:27:19,700  
would have opened the gates  
to the Jews before the war?



542

00:27:19,700 --> 00:27:21,350

Could we say that  
the situation would

543

00:27:21,350 --> 00:27:24,050

have been radically changed  
or that maybe the Holocaust

544

00:27:24,050 --> 00:27:26,070

would have been avoided?

545

00:27:26,070 --> 00:27:33,600

I have no doubt that had  
the Germans any feeling

546

00:27:33,600 --> 00:27:36,840

that there was any real  
opposition to the Holocaust,

547

00:27:36,840 --> 00:27:39,210

their whole attitude  
would have been different.

548

00:27:39,210 --> 00:27:42,030

If you look at the  
difference of German behavior

549

00:27:42,030 --> 00:27:44,070

at its worst in France--

550

00:27:44,070 --> 00:27:47,220

Because, as a matter of fact,  
to oppose Hitlerian policy

551

00:27:47,220 --> 00:27:50,010

towards the Jews,  
it was only one way.

552

00:27:50,010 --> 00:27:51,870

It was to open the gate.

553

00:27:51,870 --> 00:27:52,740

Exactly.

554

00:27:52,740 --> 00:27:55,500

And if you look at German  
policy towards France,

555

00:27:55,500 --> 00:27:59,010

even during the war, it  
was not characterized

556

00:27:59,010 --> 00:28:02,910

by the total barbarity that it  
was characterized in the East.

557

00:28:02,910 --> 00:28:06,180

And the Germans were always  
sensitive to Western opinion.

558

00:28:06,180 --> 00:28:08,580

And one signaled  
that the Germans got

559

00:28:08,580 --> 00:28:11,430

very loud and clear, and that  
signal was we really don't

560

00:28:11,430 --> 00:28:14,010

care what you do with the Jews.

561

00:28:14,010 --> 00:28:16,260

On the contrary, as  
I write in my book,

562

00:28:16,260 --> 00:28:18,750

I am convinced that the  
British government considered

563

00:28:18,750 --> 00:28:21,510

it a positive benefit that  
the Germans were eliminating

564

00:28:21,510 --> 00:28:23,525

the Jews because had

the Jews survive,

565

00:28:23,525 --> 00:28:24,900

there would have  
been the problem

566

00:28:24,900 --> 00:28:27,060

of all of them  
descending on Palestine

567

00:28:27,060 --> 00:28:30,990

and destabilizing the situation  
where the British still wanted

568

00:28:30,990 --> 00:28:33,440

Palestine as a link with--

569

00:28:33,440 --> 00:28:35,590

Have to change.

570

00:28:35,590 --> 00:28:36,096