

1

00:00:00,000 --> 00:00:12,740

2

00:00:12,740 --> 00:00:16,170

[SPEAKING FRENCH]

3

00:00:16,170 --> 00:00:16,690

4

00:00:16,690 --> 00:00:19,870

Well, JÃ³zef Beck is
a very good example.

5

00:00:19,870 --> 00:00:24,190

This is the foreign
minister of Poland in 1939.

6

00:00:24,190 --> 00:00:26,290

With the Germans
practically at the gates,

7

00:00:26,290 --> 00:00:28,210

he said that Poland's
number one problem

8

00:00:28,210 --> 00:00:29,770

was how to eliminate the Jews.

9

00:00:29,770 --> 00:00:35,860

And if you look at every country
in both Europe and the United

10

00:00:35,860 --> 00:00:39,430

States, there was no
place for them to go.

11

00:00:39,430 --> 00:00:43,420

And, certainly, the death
sentence was established when

12

00:00:43,420 --> 00:00:47,660

the British declared that, with
the exception of 75,000 people

13

00:00:47,660 --> 00:00:51,340
in the next five years-- the
White Paper of May, 1939--

14

00:00:51,340 --> 00:00:53,685
that they could not
enter Palestine.

15

00:00:53,685 --> 00:00:55,060
This was the real
death sentence.

16

00:00:55,060 --> 00:00:58,060
That was the death
sentence, yes.

17

00:00:58,060 --> 00:01:00,100
And from the British
point of view,

18

00:01:00,100 --> 00:01:01,930
every Jew. that was
killed in Europe

19

00:01:01,930 --> 00:01:04,930
was a Jew that would not
create a problem for them

20

00:01:04,930 --> 00:01:06,400
in Palestine.

21

00:01:06,400 --> 00:01:09,280
So that the more one
looks at the Holocaust,

22

00:01:09,280 --> 00:01:14,290
the more one begins to see
a profound complicity of all

23

00:01:14,290 --> 00:01:17,440

of the nations of Western
Europe and America,

24
00:01:17,440 --> 00:01:20,230
rather than simply something
done by the Germans.

25
00:01:20,230 --> 00:01:22,180
Of course, it makes a
great deal of difference

26
00:01:22,180 --> 00:01:25,060
whether you talk about
the person who actually

27
00:01:25,060 --> 00:01:26,800
uses the weapon
or the person who

28
00:01:26,800 --> 00:01:29,170
consents to using the weapon.

29
00:01:29,170 --> 00:01:32,140
But in the modern
period, weapons

30
00:01:32,140 --> 00:01:33,310
are only part of the story.

31
00:01:33,310 --> 00:01:35,590
Part of the story is
arranging the conditions

32
00:01:35,590 --> 00:01:38,830
and creating the structures in
which people will automatically

33
00:01:38,830 --> 00:01:39,940
die.

34
00:01:39,940 --> 00:01:43,690
And a decision not to
admit people, a decision

35
00:01:43,690 --> 00:01:45,850
to categorize them as stateless.

36
00:01:45,850 --> 00:01:47,680
These are decisions
which can result

37
00:01:47,680 --> 00:01:49,180
in people automatically dying.

38
00:01:49,180 --> 00:01:51,790
And they are just as
murderous as using a gun

39
00:01:51,790 --> 00:01:53,320
or using a gas chamber.

40
00:01:53,320 --> 00:01:54,850
Yes, you are completely right.

41
00:01:54,850 --> 00:01:59,040
And one is very, very struck
because there was not only

42
00:01:59,040 --> 00:02:03,970
the Evian Conference, but
there was later on in 1943

43
00:02:03,970 --> 00:02:05,950
the Bermuda Conference,
which opened

44
00:02:05,950 --> 00:02:12,900
the very day there was the
uprising of the Warsaw Ghetto.

45
00:02:12,900 --> 00:02:18,370
And before the conference,
the British sent to the United

46
00:02:18,370 --> 00:02:23,610

States Department of
State an aide-mÃ©moire,

47
00:02:23,610 --> 00:02:26,590
saying but what will
happen if we succeed?

48
00:02:26,590 --> 00:02:29,440
This means if Hitler changes
his policy of extermination

49
00:02:29,440 --> 00:02:33,470
from a policy of experimental--

50
00:02:33,470 --> 00:02:39,200
But we know that they
did not want to succeed.

51
00:02:39,200 --> 00:02:43,960
And one of the people that bears
a great deal of investigation

52
00:02:43,960 --> 00:02:46,330
is the role of
Breckenridge Long,

53
00:02:46,330 --> 00:02:48,550
who was the assistant
secretary of state--

54
00:02:48,550 --> 00:02:50,950
or the undersecretary of
state-- in the United States

55
00:02:50,950 --> 00:02:52,450
at the time.

56
00:02:52,450 --> 00:02:54,790
And who was determined
to do everything

57
00:02:54,790 --> 00:02:57,550
he could, first of all, to keep

news of what was happening out

58

00:02:57,550 --> 00:02:58,930
of the United States.

59

00:02:58,930 --> 00:03:00,880
And then to prevent
any positive action

60

00:03:00,880 --> 00:03:04,300
from being taken at any of
these refugee conferences.

61

00:03:04,300 --> 00:03:08,230
But it's quite clear that they
wanted the process to go on.

62

00:03:08,230 --> 00:03:11,650
It was a final solution,
not only for the Germans,

63

00:03:11,650 --> 00:03:13,540
but for everybody
else in Europe.

64

00:03:13,540 --> 00:03:16,410
And it was so understood.

65

00:03:16,410 --> 00:03:18,550
Incidentally, if I
may also say, it also

66

00:03:18,550 --> 00:03:22,930
explains the whole question
of Jewish resistance.

67

00:03:22,930 --> 00:03:26,170
There was no
realistic possibility

68

00:03:26,170 --> 00:03:30,130
of Jewish resistance in
Poland, since resistance

69

00:03:30,130 --> 00:03:31,810
would have only
been possible had

70

00:03:31,810 --> 00:03:36,040
the native population wanted to
be of assistance to the Jews.

71

00:03:36,040 --> 00:03:39,160
But since the native population
saw the German action

72

00:03:39,160 --> 00:03:42,130
as a positive benefit
and as a fulfillment

73

00:03:42,130 --> 00:03:45,280
of long-range
Polish policy, they

74

00:03:45,280 --> 00:03:48,220
were not going to do
anything to impede

75

00:03:48,220 --> 00:03:50,140
the Germans from killing Jews.

76

00:03:50,140 --> 00:03:51,640
Now, some people
say, well the Poles

77

00:03:51,640 --> 00:03:53,020
also suffered from the Nazis.

78

00:03:53,020 --> 00:03:54,590
That's absolutely correct.

79

00:03:54,590 --> 00:03:56,260
And it's also true
that Nazis eventually

80

00:03:56,260 --> 00:03:58,050
would have exterminated them.

81
00:03:58,050 --> 00:04:01,060
Nevertheless, it's
quite fair to say

82
00:04:01,060 --> 00:04:04,240
that 95% of the
Polish population

83
00:04:04,240 --> 00:04:07,030
regarded the
extermination of the Jews

84
00:04:07,030 --> 00:04:10,120
as something which the Germans
were doing on their behalf,

85
00:04:10,120 --> 00:04:12,310
and regarded this as
a positive benefit.

86
00:04:12,310 --> 00:04:14,350
This is absolutely true.

87
00:04:14,350 --> 00:04:17,860
The Holocaust in Poland
took place in full light.

88
00:04:17,860 --> 00:04:22,630
Everybody knew what was
going on, all the Poles.

89
00:04:22,630 --> 00:04:28,030
And this-- we have seen this
when shooting in Poland.

90
00:04:28,030 --> 00:04:31,660
But about Roosevelt, what
do you think about him?

91
00:04:31,660 --> 00:04:36,960

Because he was very well
aware of the extermination,

92
00:04:36,960 --> 00:04:41,340
already in 1942, and the
creation of this war refugee

93
00:04:41,340 --> 00:04:44,980
boat took place only at
the beginning of '44.

94
00:04:44,980 --> 00:04:51,760
You see, Roosevelt,
like any great leader,

95
00:04:51,760 --> 00:04:55,540
was not thinking in
moral categories.

96
00:04:55,540 --> 00:04:58,990
He was thinking in terms
of what he regarded

97
00:04:58,990 --> 00:05:02,620
as the imperatives which
would guide and preserve

98
00:05:02,620 --> 00:05:04,990
the destinies of his country.

99
00:05:04,990 --> 00:05:08,320
And if that meant that 5
or 10 or 20 million people

100
00:05:08,320 --> 00:05:11,890
were going to die, then those
people were going to die.

101
00:05:11,890 --> 00:05:16,300
I would not, in my estimation
from what I've studied,

102
00:05:16,300 --> 00:05:18,280

come to the conclusion
that Roosevelt was

103
00:05:18,280 --> 00:05:19,990
actively hostile to the Jews.

104
00:05:19,990 --> 00:05:21,940
I don't believe
that was the case.

105
00:05:21,940 --> 00:05:24,160
It was rather the
case that he saw

106
00:05:24,160 --> 00:05:26,890
the entry of any
significant group of Jews

107
00:05:26,890 --> 00:05:31,240
into the United States as
detrimental to what he believed

108
00:05:31,240 --> 00:05:32,890
would be the long
range stability

109
00:05:32,890 --> 00:05:34,540
of his political coalition.

110
00:05:34,540 --> 00:05:38,460
And they constituted for
him an unassimilable group.

111
00:05:38,460 --> 00:05:41,050
He also, as you
know, did everything

112
00:05:41,050 --> 00:05:43,690
he could to prevent any
Jewish settlement in Palestine

113
00:05:43,690 --> 00:05:45,940
from achieving any kind

of political independence,

114
00:05:45,940 --> 00:05:48,220
and actually sent
General Marshall

115
00:05:48,220 --> 00:05:50,800
to a congressional
committee to stifle debate

116
00:05:50,800 --> 00:05:52,540
during World War II.

117
00:05:52,540 --> 00:05:56,210
So that Roosevelt was acting
from the perspective *raison*

118
00:05:56,210 --> 00:05:59,380
d'Ã©tat is the best way to
say what he was acting for.

119
00:05:59,380 --> 00:06:01,450
But it was perfectly
clear that he was not

120
00:06:01,450 --> 00:06:03,820
prepared to do
anything whatsoever

121
00:06:03,820 --> 00:06:07,210
to help the situation,
short of simply

122
00:06:07,210 --> 00:06:11,770
stopping at when the
American army gained control.

123
00:06:11,770 --> 00:06:13,750
But the reason he
stopped it was simply

124
00:06:13,750 --> 00:06:16,360
because he could not in any

way accept responsibility

125

00:06:16,360 --> 00:06:19,150

for that kind of behavior--
not because he disapproved

126

00:06:19,150 --> 00:06:21,710

of it-- as long as the
Germans were doing it.

127

00:06:21,710 --> 00:06:24,580

Yes, because at this time
when he started to write,

128

00:06:24,580 --> 00:06:27,445

the political pressure
started to be very strong.

129

00:06:27,445 --> 00:06:28,570

And he had to do something.

130

00:06:28,570 --> 00:06:33,220

Yeah, and I think that the
more one studies the history--

131

00:06:33,220 --> 00:06:34,780

read American newspapers.

132

00:06:34,780 --> 00:06:36,730

Read the pressures that
were on the president.

133

00:06:36,730 --> 00:06:38,650

Read the pressure
groups that were

134

00:06:38,650 --> 00:06:39,910

dealing with the president.

135

00:06:39,910 --> 00:06:44,770

I think you'll find that, beyond
a certain rhetoric that we must

136

00:06:44,770 --> 00:06:48,520

do something, there was a
profound practical decision

137

00:06:48,520 --> 00:06:53,380

to do nothing and to let the
situation take its course.

138

00:06:53,380 --> 00:06:56,710

Oh, one other thing, of course,
that you could always point to,

139

00:06:56,710 --> 00:07:03,160

is that there were ways
of disrupting the process.

140

00:07:03,160 --> 00:07:05,380

They may not have
had long range effect

141

00:07:05,380 --> 00:07:08,000

in altering the final solution.

142

00:07:08,000 --> 00:07:10,990

But when you compare the effort
made for the fruitless bombing

143

00:07:10,990 --> 00:07:13,060

of Dresden with the
kind of effort that

144

00:07:13,060 --> 00:07:15,310

could have been made, at
least to halt or slow down

145

00:07:15,310 --> 00:07:16,950

the process in Poland--

146

00:07:16,950 --> 00:07:21,370

and both were physically and
militarily just as possible--

147

00:07:21,370 --> 00:07:23,140
it's perfectly
clear that nothing

148
00:07:23,140 --> 00:07:25,115
was done to slow
down the process that

149
00:07:25,115 --> 00:07:25,990
could have been done.

150
00:07:25,990 --> 00:07:28,660
You mean the bombing of
Auschwitz and those railroads--

151
00:07:28,660 --> 00:07:31,210
The bombing of Auschwitz,
the bombing of the railroads.

152
00:07:31,210 --> 00:07:32,980
Of course, the
problem is that it

153
00:07:32,980 --> 00:07:35,500
can be said that that really
wouldn't have altered anything

154
00:07:35,500 --> 00:07:36,580
very much.

155
00:07:36,580 --> 00:07:40,630
But the bombing of Dresden
really had no military value

156
00:07:40,630 --> 00:07:41,380
whatsoever.

157
00:07:41,380 --> 00:07:43,348
If nothing else, the
bombing of Auschwitz

158
00:07:43,348 --> 00:07:44,890
or the bombing of

the railroads would

159

00:07:44,890 --> 00:07:49,710
have had a symbolic value, and
would have shown the Germans

160

00:07:49,710 --> 00:07:52,090
that what they were
doing was really

161

00:07:52,090 --> 00:07:55,900
a matter of horror to important
people in political power

162

00:07:55,900 --> 00:07:57,280
in the United States.

163

00:07:57,280 --> 00:08:01,240
You mean retaliatory
bombing with a meaning--

164

00:08:01,240 --> 00:08:01,823
Yes, I think--

165

00:08:01,823 --> 00:08:03,491
--to explain that the
bombing of Dresden

166

00:08:03,491 --> 00:08:05,530
was made on behalf of the Jews?

167

00:08:05,530 --> 00:08:07,000
No, no, no, no, on the contrary.

168

00:08:07,000 --> 00:08:08,375
What I'm saying
is the bombing of

169

00:08:08,375 --> 00:08:10,970
Dresden really had
no significant--

170

00:08:10,970 --> 00:08:13,720
there was no significant
military or political gain

171
00:08:13,720 --> 00:08:15,190
in doing this.

172
00:08:15,190 --> 00:08:17,470
There was no message in it.

173
00:08:17,470 --> 00:08:20,500
Yes, but one could
have given a message.

174
00:08:20,500 --> 00:08:23,170
Well, one of the ways
to have given a message

175
00:08:23,170 --> 00:08:25,240
would have been a
concerted attempt

176
00:08:25,240 --> 00:08:27,820
to destroy some of
the death factories

177
00:08:27,820 --> 00:08:30,340
and to destroy some of the
installations leading up

178
00:08:30,340 --> 00:08:31,960
to the death factories.

179
00:08:31,960 --> 00:08:33,340
This was never done.

180
00:08:33,340 --> 00:08:36,490
So that the message which
the Germans got all the time

181
00:08:36,490 --> 00:08:41,230
was that, whatever were
the areas of conflict

182
00:08:41,230 --> 00:08:44,800
between Germany and the Allies,
as long as the war continued,

183
00:08:44,800 --> 00:08:46,985
the death camps were
not one of them.

184
00:08:46,985 --> 00:08:47,985
Yes.

185
00:08:47,985 --> 00:08:50,620
This was not their concern.

186
00:08:50,620 --> 00:08:51,120
Right.

187
00:08:51,120 --> 00:09:01,110

188
00:09:01,110 --> 00:09:02,130
Look at the camera.

189
00:09:02,130 --> 00:09:03,122
Look at the camera.

190
00:09:03,122 --> 00:09:04,114
Oh, OK.

191
00:09:04,114 --> 00:09:27,950

192
00:09:27,950 --> 00:09:32,840
Yes, and could you
elaborate more about the--

193
00:09:32,840 --> 00:09:36,090
about the churches?

194
00:09:36,090 --> 00:09:36,590

I think--

195

00:09:36,590 --> 00:09:37,880

And the laws of God.

196

00:09:37,880 --> 00:09:42,770

I think that when we ask
why the churches of Europe

197

00:09:42,770 --> 00:09:45,830

responded as they
did to the Holocaust,

198

00:09:45,830 --> 00:09:50,810

one has to realize that
the churches perceived

199

00:09:50,810 --> 00:09:56,450

the Jews, fundamentally, as
denying and rejecting that

200

00:09:56,450 --> 00:09:58,130

which was absolutely central.

201

00:09:58,130 --> 00:09:59,900

Not only to their
belief, but also

202

00:09:59,900 --> 00:10:04,820

to their conception of what
constituted human salvation.

203

00:10:04,820 --> 00:10:07,880

The message of Christianity
is that Jesus of Nazareth

204

00:10:07,880 --> 00:10:09,980

is the savior of mankind.

205

00:10:09,980 --> 00:10:12,950

And only in and through
him is mankind truly

206

00:10:12,950 --> 00:10:15,260
and properly saved.

207

00:10:15,260 --> 00:10:18,740
The Jews, on the other hand,
said that Jesus of Nazareth

208

00:10:18,740 --> 00:10:23,720
was a member of their community
but had no special divine

209

00:10:23,720 --> 00:10:24,660
significance.

210

00:10:24,660 --> 00:10:30,170
Now, this contradiction
between the two understandings

211

00:10:30,170 --> 00:10:34,070
of Jesus of Nazareth was
bound to create problems

212

00:10:34,070 --> 00:10:36,170
from the very beginning
of Christianity.

213

00:10:36,170 --> 00:10:36,740
And it did.

214

00:10:36,740 --> 00:10:39,410
So that you get, for example,
in the fourth gospel,

215

00:10:39,410 --> 00:10:44,240
Jesus is depicted as saying to
the Jews, you are of the devil

216

00:10:44,240 --> 00:10:48,470
and your father is of the
devil, and he was a murderer.

217

00:10:48,470 --> 00:10:51,170

And this is why Jesus
says the Jews are not

218
00:10:51,170 --> 00:10:52,940
able to believe in him.

219
00:10:52,940 --> 00:10:55,730
Now, if you start out
with two traditions which

220
00:10:55,730 --> 00:10:59,840
are so absolutely
contradictory to each other,

221
00:10:59,840 --> 00:11:04,790
then naturally the tradition
which has the greater power

222
00:11:04,790 --> 00:11:06,920
is going to try to
limit the influence

223
00:11:06,920 --> 00:11:08,840
of the other tradition.

224
00:11:08,840 --> 00:11:11,990
And this is precisely
what happened in Europe.

225
00:11:11,990 --> 00:11:14,690
The church has always
conceived of the Jews

226
00:11:14,690 --> 00:11:18,020
as a competitive
group, and also a group

227
00:11:18,020 --> 00:11:19,730
which negated their
point of view.

228
00:11:19,730 --> 00:11:22,280
That being the

case, you could not

229

00:11:22,280 --> 00:11:25,340

expect that the
churches could regard

230

00:11:25,340 --> 00:11:29,120

the Jews as a positive influence
within Christian Europe.

231

00:11:29,120 --> 00:11:31,940

They had to either be
contained, converted.

232

00:11:31,940 --> 00:11:34,490

Or if neither contained
nor converted,

233

00:11:34,490 --> 00:11:36,530

they had to be expelled.

234

00:11:36,530 --> 00:11:38,750

Now, when Hitler
came and proposed

235

00:11:38,750 --> 00:11:44,900

his program of radical
antisemitism and, from 1919,

236

00:11:44,900 --> 00:11:48,740

the elimination-- he used the
word Entfernung-- of the Jews,

237

00:11:48,740 --> 00:11:51,920

this was something which
the churches did not

238

00:11:51,920 --> 00:11:54,380

see as unwelcome,
since the churches saw

239

00:11:54,380 --> 00:11:57,770

that, from their perspective,

the Jews were a group which

240

00:11:57,770 --> 00:12:02,210
were an unwelcome cultural and
religious influence in Europe.

241

00:12:02,210 --> 00:12:04,430
They did not inquire
too deeply as

242

00:12:04,430 --> 00:12:06,710
to what the word
"Entfernung" meant, what

243

00:12:06,710 --> 00:12:09,500
Hitler proposed by elimination.

244

00:12:09,500 --> 00:12:12,920
It's quite clear that
no Christian group

245

00:12:12,920 --> 00:12:16,610
advocated the radical
extermination of the Jews

246

00:12:16,610 --> 00:12:18,290
by mass murder.

247

00:12:18,290 --> 00:12:20,030
On the other hand,
it's quite clear

248

00:12:20,030 --> 00:12:22,580
that many of the great
Christian leaders

249

00:12:22,580 --> 00:12:26,570
regarded the Entfernung--
the elimination of the Jews--

250

00:12:26,570 --> 00:12:28,490
as a positive benefit.

251

00:12:28,490 --> 00:12:33,710

But once you say that a
particular goal is desirable,

252

00:12:33,710 --> 00:12:35,900

then the only thing
that is left to debate

253

00:12:35,900 --> 00:12:37,670

is the means that
you're going to employ.

254

00:12:37,670 --> 00:12:39,350

And what Hitler was saying
is that if you really

255

00:12:39,350 --> 00:12:41,900

want this goal, I'm the person
who has the right means.

256

00:12:41,900 --> 00:12:45,200

And these means are,
of course, mass murder.

257

00:12:45,200 --> 00:12:46,850

If you add to this
the fact that one

258

00:12:46,850 --> 00:12:50,120

of the historical proofs that
the church has had that it is

259

00:12:50,120 --> 00:12:53,420

true and that
Judaism is false has

260

00:12:53,420 --> 00:12:56,450

been that the Jews
have suffered and God

261

00:12:56,450 --> 00:12:57,980

has been punishing them--

262

00:12:57,980 --> 00:13:00,320

that being the case,
whenever there's

263

00:13:00,320 --> 00:13:02,510

been mass Jewish
disaster, from the time

264

00:13:02,510 --> 00:13:04,700

of the fall of the
temple in Jerusalem right

265

00:13:04,700 --> 00:13:08,840

to the modern times, the church
has always interpreted this

266

00:13:08,840 --> 00:13:12,560

as a sign of God's displeasure
and God's punishment

267

00:13:12,560 --> 00:13:13,370

of the Jews.

268

00:13:13,370 --> 00:13:15,285

And if you ask,
well, what is the sin

269

00:13:15,285 --> 00:13:17,660

that the Jews have committed,
then the answer is always--

270

00:13:17,660 --> 00:13:25,570

271

00:13:25,570 --> 00:13:28,158

No, no.

272

00:13:28,158 --> 00:13:29,670

Tallahassee, Rubinstein.

273

00:13:29,670 --> 00:13:32,470

274
00:13:32,470 --> 00:13:34,120
OK.

275
00:13:34,120 --> 00:13:37,840
I think that the
response of the church

276
00:13:37,840 --> 00:13:42,010
has got to be seen as a question
of the difference between ends

277
00:13:42,010 --> 00:13:44,740
and means.

278
00:13:44,740 --> 00:13:46,440
Both the Nazis--

279
00:13:46,440 --> 00:13:48,834
[NON-ENGLISH]

280
00:13:48,834 --> 00:13:53,170

281
00:13:53,170 --> 00:13:55,990
I think that in understanding
the response of the church

282
00:13:55,990 --> 00:14:02,440
one has to understand that where
the vast majority of the church

283
00:14:02,440 --> 00:14:06,220
leaders regarded the
Nazi goal as desirable,

284
00:14:06,220 --> 00:14:07,720
namely the removal--

285
00:14:07,720 --> 00:14:11,080
or the Entfernung--
of the Jews, they

286

00:14:11,080 --> 00:14:15,070
did not understand that this
involved murder, number one.

287

00:14:15,070 --> 00:14:18,160
And number two, they
did not advocate

288

00:14:18,160 --> 00:14:21,750
murder as a means of
assuring the goal.

289

00:14:21,750 --> 00:14:23,500
But it's very important
that we understand

290

00:14:23,500 --> 00:14:25,870
that this distinction
actually is present.

291

00:14:25,870 --> 00:14:28,690
That one of the reasons for
the paralysis of the churches

292

00:14:28,690 --> 00:14:31,900
was that they did not
regard the Nazi promise

293

00:14:31,900 --> 00:14:34,420
of the removal of the Jews
as something undesirable.

294

00:14:34,420 --> 00:14:36,970
They regarded that as
something desirable.

295

00:14:36,970 --> 00:14:40,290
What I've tried to do in my
own thinking is to ask myself,

296

00:14:40,290 --> 00:14:43,630
well, what would I be like

if I were on the other side,

297

00:14:43,630 --> 00:14:48,190

if I were a church leader
instead of a Jewish thinker?

298

00:14:48,190 --> 00:14:52,090

And I can imagine that in
the 1930s as a church leader,

299

00:14:52,090 --> 00:14:55,000

I would say that
the Jews represented

300

00:14:55,000 --> 00:14:59,590

a cultural and a religious
danger to my institutions.

301

00:14:59,590 --> 00:15:02,750

And I would want to limit their
influence as much as I can.

302

00:15:02,750 --> 00:15:04,750

And then if somebody by
the name of Adolf Hitler

303

00:15:04,750 --> 00:15:06,790

would come along
and say, well, I

304

00:15:06,790 --> 00:15:08,560

will help you to
eliminate them, and I

305

00:15:08,560 --> 00:15:12,250

will help you to
limit their influence,

306

00:15:12,250 --> 00:15:15,430

I could imagine that
if that were my goal,

307

00:15:15,430 --> 00:15:18,220

I would not inquire
too closely as to what

308
00:15:18,220 --> 00:15:19,660
the means were going to be.

309
00:15:19,660 --> 00:15:23,170
Now, after the
fact, when we know

310
00:15:23,170 --> 00:15:25,990
what means were
employed for that goal,

311
00:15:25,990 --> 00:15:29,020
and the means and the end
are seen as inextricably

312
00:15:29,020 --> 00:15:32,410
woven together, then
it's difficult to say

313
00:15:32,410 --> 00:15:34,720
that, yes, in those days,
we were for the goal,

314
00:15:34,720 --> 00:15:36,130
but we weren't for the means.

315
00:15:36,130 --> 00:15:38,830
Because it's now apparent
that the goal and means

316
00:15:38,830 --> 00:15:40,360
were connected together.

317
00:15:40,360 --> 00:15:43,090
And that's why there's a
great deal of confusion.

318
00:15:43,090 --> 00:15:45,640
But in reality, most
of the church groups

319
00:15:45,640 --> 00:15:47,980
did not regard the
elimination of the Jews

320
00:15:47,980 --> 00:15:48,970
as something terrible.

321
00:15:48,970 --> 00:15:50,560
Yes, it's completely true.

322
00:15:50,560 --> 00:15:54,340
But not only after the
facts, but during the facts.

323
00:15:54,340 --> 00:15:58,060
Because what is striking is
that they were absolutely aware

324
00:15:58,060 --> 00:16:01,880
of the extermination, as soon
as the extermination entered

325
00:16:01,880 --> 00:16:03,310
in full force.

326
00:16:03,310 --> 00:16:05,102
For instance, in Poland,
it was very clear.

327
00:16:05,102 --> 00:16:06,602
The extermination
was in full light.

328
00:16:06,602 --> 00:16:09,460
Yeah, well, the point is, the
Polish Catholic church knew

329
00:16:09,460 --> 00:16:11,050
exactly what was happening.

330
00:16:11,050 --> 00:16:14,680

The communication between the
various branches of the church

331
00:16:14,680 --> 00:16:16,300
and the Vatican was excellent.

332
00:16:16,300 --> 00:16:19,040
The Vatican had excellent
diplomatic sources.

333
00:16:19,040 --> 00:16:20,860
So Polish priests were
the best informers.

334
00:16:20,860 --> 00:16:23,770
And that being the case,
there was no mystery

335
00:16:23,770 --> 00:16:24,940
as to what was going on.

336
00:16:24,940 --> 00:16:26,740
But there was complete silence.

337
00:16:26,740 --> 00:16:29,650
Now, people will say, well,
this priest or that priest

338
00:16:29,650 --> 00:16:30,700
tried to save Jews.

339
00:16:30,700 --> 00:16:33,460
Or this bishop or that
bishop tried to save Jews.

340
00:16:33,460 --> 00:16:36,200
This was true in
individual instances.

341
00:16:36,200 --> 00:16:38,140
But in terms of
overall policy, there

342

00:16:38,140 --> 00:16:42,640

doesn't seem to be any doubt
that the policy was to permit

343

00:16:42,640 --> 00:16:44,440

the thing to take place.

344

00:16:44,440 --> 00:16:46,300

And there were both
theological reasons

345

00:16:46,300 --> 00:16:48,670

for that and cultural
reasons, as well.

346

00:16:48,670 --> 00:16:50,170

And I think this,
by the way, is one

347

00:16:50,170 --> 00:16:53,920

of the things that makes the
whole question of a Holocaust

348

00:16:53,920 --> 00:16:55,420

such an agonizing one.

349

00:16:55,420 --> 00:16:59,590

Because if, in fact,
the leading repository

350

00:16:59,590 --> 00:17:02,740

of the moral conscience of
the West did at the time

351

00:17:02,740 --> 00:17:05,530

regard this as of not
sufficient significance

352

00:17:05,530 --> 00:17:08,710

to offer a moral
opinion, one can only

353

00:17:08,710 --> 00:17:11,500
conclude that in the opinion
of the leaders at the time--

354
00:17:11,500 --> 00:17:15,369
the religious leaders-- it was
not an immoral or a wrong thing

355
00:17:15,369 --> 00:17:15,890
to do.

356
00:17:15,890 --> 00:17:19,630
And this also says something
about the whole problem

357
00:17:19,630 --> 00:17:22,839
of the Holocaust.

358
00:17:22,839 --> 00:17:24,970
I think there are also
other elements in this.

359
00:17:24,970 --> 00:17:28,150
And that is, I think that
the Church's politics

360
00:17:28,150 --> 00:17:31,600
were somewhat myopic.

361
00:17:31,600 --> 00:17:35,050
They certainly saw what
a tremendous threat

362
00:17:35,050 --> 00:17:39,370
to the classical traditions
of European civilization

363
00:17:39,370 --> 00:17:42,070
Stalin and the communists were.

364
00:17:42,070 --> 00:17:44,920
But they had no
real understanding

365
00:17:44,920 --> 00:17:49,510
of how profoundly the
National Socialists also

366
00:17:49,510 --> 00:17:53,230
represented, in the long
run, a radical threat

367
00:17:53,230 --> 00:17:55,340
to everything that
they stood for.

368
00:17:55,340 --> 00:17:58,600
But they were so blinded by
Stalin and the communists,

369
00:17:58,600 --> 00:18:01,480
and they were so convinced
that Stalin and the communists

370
00:18:01,480 --> 00:18:04,810
basically represented some
sort of a Jewish plot,

371
00:18:04,810 --> 00:18:09,350
that they were blinded to what
I regard as an equally great--

372
00:18:09,350 --> 00:18:11,530
If not a greater-- threat
to the human future,

373
00:18:11,530 --> 00:18:13,160
which was National Socialism.

374
00:18:13,160 --> 00:18:17,260
And this is especially
true of Pius the 12th, who,

375
00:18:17,260 --> 00:18:19,480
we have to remember, was
in Munich at the time

376
00:18:19,480 --> 00:18:22,810
of the Munich Soviet in 1919.

377
00:18:22,810 --> 00:18:26,560
He was continuously
involved in German politics

378
00:18:26,560 --> 00:18:30,280
from World War I till his
appointment as papal secretary

379
00:18:30,280 --> 00:18:33,090
of state in the
early '30s, and was

380
00:18:33,090 --> 00:18:36,180
known as being not
only pro-German

381
00:18:36,180 --> 00:18:39,450
but also pro-German
conservative.

382
00:18:39,450 --> 00:18:42,840
So that his attitude to all
this was to do everything

383
00:18:42,840 --> 00:18:47,310
he could to limit the
embarrassment that would accrue

384
00:18:47,310 --> 00:18:48,630
to the German government.

385
00:18:48,630 --> 00:18:51,150
And probably also
had more sympathy

386
00:18:51,150 --> 00:18:55,890
for what was going
on than has ever

387

00:18:55,890 --> 00:18:57,559

been able to come into print.

388

00:18:57,559 --> 00:19:00,842

[AMBIENT WATERFOWL SOUNDS]

389

00:19:00,842 --> 00:19:04,125

390

00:19:04,125 --> 00:19:08,190

[NON-ENGLISH]

391

00:19:08,190 --> 00:19:12,000