

CRIMES OF WAR

Crimes of war pose an inherent contradiction. They demand justice but we find ourselves uneasy at putting our enemies on trial. Since Nuremberg such issues have challenged our morality and confronted our conscience. Is it that we recoil from the spoils of the victor, taking illegitimate advantage of the vanquished, or is it that we do not wish to look too deeply at the crimes of others fearing in the process that our own may be discovered or is it that we do not wish to face the reality of what we do to each other in war?

There are always reasons why it seems better to leave matters alone, to avoid disturbing an uneasy peace. After the Second World War the 'Ratline' as it became known was a route to freedom for many of our former enemies. Soldiers, scientists, butchers and torturers were welcomed to our shores who shortly before had been our sworn enemies. The function of the 'Ratline' was not to protect the innocent but rather to conceal the guilty:

"In our view, the punishment of war criminals is more a matter of discouraging future generations than of meeting out retribution to every guilty individual. It is now necessary to dispose of the past as soon as possible."

PHILIP NOEL-BAKER - 1948 British Cabinet Minister

But the past was not disposed of, nor has it ever been disposed of in any of the wars and conflicts which followed. We can look at wars from Vietnam to Bosnia and the cry is the same, it is a cry for justice, an eternal cry that will not be silenced. A cry which may be ignored in the short term, but at what price? These are not matters of history they are matters of humanity; they are matters at the heart of our civilisation. Why is it this cry for justice haunts us?

Perhaps the answer is a selfish one:

"The love of justice in most men is simply the fear of suffering injustice."

Du de la Rochefoucauld 1613-80

The case I am about to discuss is a curious case, a case of many parts. It starts with a TV company and a journalist. Unlikely champions of justice you may think, but they responded to a cry for justice which had until then been met with a deafening silence for almost half a century. The case was important in different ways. Two documentaries were made which changed the law in Britain allowing for the first time the retrospective prosecution of crimes committed outwith the territorial jurisdiction of the United Kingdom. Important as this was more significantly, it saw Britain face the issue of War Crimes, crimes against humanity, crimes against men, women and children, in what was a forgotten holocaust in Lithuania. Britain which had at one moment in history stood alone against the might and power of Hitler, isolated in Europe as the last bastion of freedom and decency, yet a home for those who had committed the worst atrocities imaginable. Britain the Victor had become Britain 'The Nazi Safe House'.

- This is a case of many dimensions:
- Indescribable brutality
- Unbelievable horror
- The acknowledgement of a forgotten holocaust
- One of the greatest detective stories of the latter part of the 20th Century
- What became in fact the first British War Crimes trial since William the Conqueror
- Most importantly a moment when a nation heard 'the cry for justice'

On a personal note, this was the most important, rewarding and yet horrific cases I have ever dealt with. Once, if you are very fortunate, you will have the chance as Attorneys to do something which is 'right', which is good. Something which makes you feel honoured to have been part of.

This was such a moment for me.

In 1986 Robert Tomlinson was a TV journalist in Scottish Television, Scotland's major independent television company. He was at the top, having won many awards and within his profession well regarded. He noticed a newspaper clipping suggesting that Britain had up to 17 Nazi War Criminals living in the country under false names, one was said to live in Scotland - and so the story began.

Like Watergate and so many other stories destined to become of national importance, this started out as a routine enquiry with the expectation of a short piece on air to fill in on a slack news night. It ended up with Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher fighting one of the greatest battles of her political life to force a change in our law which was said to go to the heart of our unwritten constitution. It saw at first a Government defeat and ultimately the use of the Parliamentary Act for the second time in British Parliamentary history to overrule the opposition of the House of Lords.

Tomlinson discovered a man called Gecas was living in Edinburgh who, it was said was a War Criminal. It was claimed he had participated in the hangings and shootings of men, women and children, in the mass extermination of Jews in Lithuania and he was on the wanted list of the Weisenthal Centre. Britain accepted him to her shores by the Ratline and he lived comfortably in the Scottish Capital, safe from prosecution, since we could not prosecute a man for crimes which took place in 1941 and committed in another country.

The story became much more important. Gecas had been interviewed by the US Department of Justice, Office of Special Investigation [OSI] in relation to their efforts to deport members of Gecas's Battalion living in the United States. The Soviet Union sought the extradition of Gecas in relation to their own War Crimes investigation yet Britain not only gave him a home, we gave him protection from those who sought to punish him. This seemed bizarre to Tomlinson. He left for the Soviet Union with a film crew. Months later two documentaries would be shown across the United Kingdom. 'Britain - Nazi Safe House' and 'Crimes of War'. The latter became an international award winner.

The effect was one of disbelief and shock. Parliament debated. Newspapers chased after Gecas. The conscience of a nation was challenged. Many said, as the Government had in 1945, that these things were best left alone. What was the point of stirring up old memories after so many

years? What could be done now? How could we prove these allegations - perhaps they were false anyway. But the documentaries revealed some of the evidence held by the Soviet Union, and gathered by the KGB. Survivors had been interviewed and some who had taken part in these horrible events had spoken on camera. The USA was then, as it is today, pursuing soldiers of the same Battalion. Enough was enough, Margaret Thatcher, a Prime Minister with her own view of what Britain stood for under her leadership, moved to do the unthinkable and change the law which prevented retrospective prosecution, a protection deep rooted in our unwritten constitution. In the face of great opposition from all quarters and after much debate the 'War Crimes Act' was enacted.

Gecas now in his late 70's was astute. He had a plan. The 'Gecas Gamble' was clever. He decided to sue Scottish Television. He had just successfully sued The London Times which had been unable to overcome the legal presumption that what they printed was untrue. Fortified with this victory he gambled Scottish Television would also fail to prove the truth of their allegations. They would never get their witnesses to Britain. They were old and many had gone to ground, the documents were in the hands of the KGB and so many more obstacles lay in the path of Scottish Television. If there was a civil trial it would allow him to argue that any criminal trial should not take place due to the prejudice created by the civil case. It was a clever answer to all his problems. He issued his writ - his luck was in! The Soviet Union was in political turmoil and with it the role and influence of the KGB was waning just at a time when their co-operation as a source of evidence was crucial. The new emergent Lithuania was not keen to become involved in raking over old wounds, exposing its role in this holocaust and in any event they had more important matters before them.

In July 1990 the writ was served, the battle had begun. The first question when sued is, do you settle? Fortunately this proved easy to answer, even for the insurers of Scottish Television. The allegations were so substantial no one would be party to such a deal. This decision made, the hard part began.

We had no idea how hard.

The first team of lawyers and investigators were despatched to Lithuania. In January 1991 the team were hard at work in Lithuanian capital Vilnius. They were awoken at about 2 am on a Sunday morning by the rumbling of tanks. The Soviet Union was breaking up, their army of occupation was leaving and with it their grip on power. The KGB who had been supplying information and finding witnesses sent four cars to the Lietuva Hotel to evacuate our team to Russia. All our sources of evidence, all our leads and all our witnesses had gone. Our team returned to Scotland, where the case against Scottish Television gathered pace. The time available to prove our case was narrowed to a matter of months.

As someone said at the time - we need a plan!

The plan was the most ambitious and expensive I have ever been involved with. It required spending 2 million US dollars in 5 months.

The 12th Lithuanian Police Battalion, Gecas's Battalion, had spread itself across the globe as war ended. This was both a difficulty and an opportunity. We had to find them but they were now isolated old men perhaps easier to extract information from.

We got help from the OSI in the United States and from the Weisenthal Centre in Israel and from many others. We despatched a team of researchers to Nuremberg and then hired an excellent firm of German Attorneys. Names began to appear. Within four months we had enquiries running in Russia, the Ukraine, Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, West Germany, Australia, Israel, Lithuania, Canada and the United States. We had Attorneys in most of these countries as well as our teams of researchers - easy to see how you can spend 2 million dollars!

The task was just a little daunting! We were investigating murders which happened in 1941 and looking for evidence which would hold up in court. We decided the plan had to be twofold. Firstly documentary evidence and secondly witness evidence, especially the former, given the passage of time and our pessimism about finding reliable eyewitness testimony.

The horrible story began to unfold as we ploughed our way through reams of documents and historical records. Some sources were well known and documented, such as the records at Nuremberg but some, like the papers recovered from the sealed vaults of the now former KGB offices in Lithuania were a first. They became known as the 'Crown Jewels', more of which I will say later.

Our hope was to uncover the origins of the 12th Lithuanian Battalion, and discover its role in what had taken place. We sought to document a history of killings, but found instead a holocaust.

A picture had begun to emerge.

Gecas was the commander of the 12th Lithuanian Auxiliary Police Service Battalion. He joined in Kaunas in 1941 and moved with his Battalion to Minsk in October 1941.

The German military command at Minsk associated Jews with anti-German partisan activity. It was the military view that the destruction of the Jews was necessary for the proper pacification of the area. In August 1941 Himmler announced in Minsk that Hitler had declared as policy the annihilation of Jews and this was to include men, women and children. When the 12th Lithuanian Battalion arrived in Minsk the German military command had two complementary grounds, as they saw it, for killing Jews, that of pacification and to fulfil the policy of Hitler.

"It was observed with the Jews that they often leave their residences in the flat country, probably emigrating towards the south, attempting to evade the operations initiated against them. Since they are all still making common cause with the communists and partisans, the total elimination of this element alien to the nation is being undertaken....."

.....During a purge in the area Slutsk - Kleck by the 11th Police Battalion 5,900 Jews were shot."

MONTHLY REPORT FROM 11 OCTOBER - 10 NOVEMBER 1941

Wehrmacht Commander, Ostland.

The Germans at this stage wanted to concentrate the Jews of Kaunas into a Ghetto persuading the Jews it was for their own safety. The marking of all Jews with a yellow Star of David was

required. Prior to the German invasion, about 20% of the population of Kaunas had been Jews. After what took place they were virtually wiped out.

We established that 150 Lithuanian officials had been assigned to screen all towns, even prison camps, to ensure the arrest of Jews and have them taken to concentration camps where they were subject to what was described as “special treatment”, namely execution. Reference was made in a Report in 1941 to it being possible very quickly in Lithuania:

“...to bring Lithuania circles to self-cleanse themselves so that the complete exclusion of Jews from official life was attained.”

The report went on record with some satisfaction that spontaneous pogroms were occurring in all cities. “Self-cleansing” meant an action undertaken by indigenous people, rather than the Germans, to kill Jews in their Territory and without the active participation of Germans.

For our purposes one feature of the Germans was to become crucial in underpinning and making possible our eventual success. I refer to a preoccupation with keeping detailed records.

In what has become known as the Jager Report, Jager the commander of Einsatzkommando No 3, recorded that by October 1941 about 70,000 souls had been executed. This figure includes killings outside Kaunas in many other small towns in Lithuania. Jager records on 1 December 1941:

“I can now say that Einsatzkommando 3 has achieved the objective of solving the Jewish problem in Lithuania. There are no longer any Jews in Lithuania with the exception of these Jews and their families under forced labour.”

He goes on:

“I also wish to kill these Jews and their families. However, this brought sharp criticism from Civil Authorities... and the Army, resulting in an express direction; ‘These Jews and their families may not be shot’. This was because of the economic considerations which require their services in the occupation, for the moment at least.”

So far as the killing of Jews was concerned, it was envisaged that the Jews should disappear completely by the end of 1942. By letter dated 7 August 1941 Major Franz Lechtaler wrote from Kaunas to the Lithuanian Commandant requesting two new battalions. A specific request was made and approved for the transfer of Lieutenant Gecevicius [later to change his name in Britain to Gecas]. He became the Commander of Platoon 3 of the 2nd Company of the 12th Lithuanian Battalion. We established that as at 27 August 1941 Gecas was in the job.

By order No 42 dated 6 October 1941 Gecas and his men were ordered to the areas of Minsk, Borisov and Slutsk, reference being made in the orders to the final extermination of Bolshevik partisans.

Within four days of arrival in the area, Gecas’s Battalion were in action in the area of Rudensk. 630 persons ‘including communists, Jews and other suspicious elements without identity papers ‘were recorded as having been shot. Jews were in a category of their own and only had to be

Jews in order to be shot. There was no way that a Jew could demonstrate a right to live. It was understood Jews were to be shot partly because of a presumption that they were connected with the partisans but mainly because Jews were to be killed in any case.

A further order dated 16 October 1941 refers to operations carried out in the Rudensk area including Gecas's Battalion, which refers to 800 partisans, Communists, Jews and other 'suspicious riff-raff' who were detained and shot.

By October 1941 Gecas's Battalion was primarily used to shoot Jews and communists.

In a Report of the 'Smilovicze Operation' of 14 October it is recorded that 1,300 heads were liquidized'. The victims were specified as 'Jews, communists and elements hostile to Germans'.

There was reference to the 'clearing out' of a civilian prison camp in Minsk where 625 were liquidated. On 18 October another prison camp was 'cleansed' and 1,150 'communists' were shot. On 21 October two companies of the police battalion were involved in an operation in Kojanow, where 1,000 'Jews and communists' were liquidated.

When references were made to 'Jews' this referred to the indiscriminate gathering of Jews of both sexes and all ages.

When we examined the Reports of Wermarcht Commander for this area and for this time period, we could establish with mathematical certainty that 6 German or German Allied troops had been killed in combat with partisans, and 10,940 partisans were captured of whom 10,431 were shot. It was also recorded in addition that during a purge in Slutsk-Kleck an additional 5,900 Jews were shot.

There was great controversy over the massacre at Slutsk. This is documented in what became known as the 'Carl letter'. Carl was the Commissioner for Slutsk. On 30 October 1941 he wrote to the Commissioner General at Minsk. This letter followed on from a telephone call on 27 October. He complained that a Lieutenant of a Police Battalion from Kaunas appeared at 8 am on 27 October explaining that he had an assignment to effect the liquidation of all Jews in Slutsk within two days. Carl had demanded to discuss the matter but was told this was not possible. He was told that this action was to be carried out everywhere and in all towns and that two days had been allocated for Slutsk. Within those two days the town of Slutsk was to be cleared of Jews. There were an estimated 7,000 Jews in Slutsk. Carl protested violently, pointing out that such a liquidation of Jews must not be allowed to happen in such an arbitrary manner. He tried to intervene but went on to record that all Jews without exception were taken out of the factories and shot or deported in spite of an apparent agreement to the contrary. We later established that deported meant taken a little way out of town, out of earshot, to areas where pits were prepared and then they were shot.

Carl went on to complain the shooting was chaotic. He referred to it as a 'picture of horror'. He complained of indescribable brutality. Carl referred to the shooting taking place outside city limits, and indicated that Jews were taken to a place of execution. He reported that some souls shot and buried in pits had not died but had dug themselves out of their graves. Carl concluded by asking that the Police battalions be kept away from him in the future.

We were able to find an eyewitness who fully implicated Gecas in the Slutsk massacre.

The eyewitness evidence which we thought might prove difficult to obtain and even if obtained, probably so unreliable as to be worthless - turned out to be quite the opposite. This involved for the first time in the United Kingdom persuading the Court to travel from Scotland and sit in Lithuania and hear some of the eyewitness testimony. The logistics of this alone could keep me speaking for another day. I leave that for another time!

THE EYE WITNESSES

We reconstructed the history of the period, pieced together the documents available from many sources, we painted for the first time an outline of a largely forgotten holocaust. We were ably assisted throughout by Professor Hilberg of Chicago University, a world authority on the holocaust. He sent us to find the people to prove the picture thus far sketched. We now had to find witnesses, test the documents against recollections, prove that we had got it right and that we were not being conned by some fiendish KGB plot of misinformation - as Gecas was ultimately to claim in court, as the last recourse of a man hunted down and convicted out of his own mouth.

This task was not easy. With the fall of the Soviet Union the KGB were no longer in place to provide ready access to witnesses. We started from the lists we had. I had a very fortunate meeting with a former KGB officer in need of some work. A short commercial exchange delivered up a name, it was an early and very exciting lead. He had been in a Police Battalion and was in a position to confirm or deny the horror revealed in the host of reports and documents now amassed. We set out for Alytus, we set out to meet a monster, we met as in all cases a grandfather. We met ordinary men, we learned the holocaust was not the act of madmen or butchers from hell, the holocaust had been at the hands of ordinary men.

Lithuania was as short of food and fuel as it was of evidence! We had to travel out of Vilnius to find our witness Stonkus, and after a four hour drive in a Lada with no heater in temperatures of minus 20 degrees we reached the address we had been given. Our first lesson in the murky duplicitous world of post communist Lithuania was about to be learned.

We knocked on a door flanked by our translator and asked to speak with Leonus Stonkus. 'He's dead' we were told. We were about to leave when I noticed an unhealthy interest being shown in our presence by a neighbour who was ostensibly working under the hood of his Lada, which was a national past time. I approached and in a classic moment of Scottish legal thinking extracted a \$10 bill -ripped the bill in half and had my translator explain that I wanted to meet Stonkus. The other half of the bill was his if this could be arranged. \$10 represented about two months wages, more than enough to persuade any neighbour to inform on another, especially in a country where informing on your neighbours was part of the culture. Within minutes we were on the road to the Stonkus hideaway. He had served 20 years in Siberia for war crimes at the hands of the Russians. The ex KGB man who had sold me his name had also sold Stonkus a warning we were coming! The lesson was learnt. Always ask how dead is dead?

Stonkus gave us background information and further names. He confirmed from our list who he thought was alive and some he knew to be dead. Perhaps for the first time since he had been released from a Siberian prison he confronted his past. Almost mechanically he recounted the sins of his youth. When asked about the Jews he looked both ashamed and fearful, fearful perhaps or retribution yet to come. I have no doubt the chill of Siberia revisited him. We left

Stonkus frightened and surrounded by his grandchildren. We had wanted to hate him, to detest him, to see him shamed. We left instead an old man, a grandfather loved by his family. The experience dissipated our anger and left us confused.

One document we had trawled from our research proved crucial. A Railroad manifest which with true tutonic obsessive detail had recorded the movements of troops, right down to who was in what railroad carriage. When placed against a map of the time, which revealed many villages long since destroyed or renamed, we could trace the journey of the 12th Lithuanian Police Battalion. This confirmed the names of the soldiers which was excellent, but we discovered something much more important. The train had stopped at places where we already knew massacres had taken place. Closer examination and further research revealed this train took the 12th Battalion on its 'Journey of Death'. Each time the train dropped off the battalion whether for a day or for a few days, the local town records would reveal a massacre. They would then re-board and this machine of destruction would move on.

We sought out the soldiers who had travelled this journey.

ALEKSYNAS was such a soldier. We found him, now in his late 70's, living in a shack outside Kaunas, bringing up two children following the death of his son and daughter in law in a road accident. He had been at the very heart of what we were interested in. He was remarkably frank and forthcoming, he was prepared to give evidence against Gecas but on two conditions. First he would not leave Lithuania and secondly I would need to arrange a 'pig sitter' for his pigs whilst he did this! The US dollar can achieve wonders in such countries and it did so in this instance and a pig sitter was found.

He identified Gecas as the Platoon Commander, he confirmed that Gecas spoke German and took all his orders from the Germans. On their first operation they were taken to a small township. Local Russian Police pointed to Jewish residents. Gecas ordered Aleksynas and others to round them up. The Jews were taken to a gravel pit, men women and children, 20 or 30 in all. They were told to lie down and they were shot. Gecas gave the order. Only Lithuanian soldiers were involved.

On another occasion they were taken to a POW camp, the POW's were taken out of the camp to dig pits, two were dug, about 15 to 20 metres long, 2 metres wide and 15 metres deep. After they were dug the lorries went back with the prisoners and returned, this time with Jews. The Jews were lined up at the pits and shot. Afterwards the officers would go and check for survivors and shoot them, finishing them off. Hundreds were involved on this occasion. Gecas was there giving orders. The killing started in the afternoon and went on until the evening.

He made reference to the two day operation at Slutsk, as part of a long catalogue of horror, which involved the whole Battalion. Gecas was in charge of his Platoon. On this occasion over 1,000 men, women and children were killed. He went on through incident after incident chronicling the mass annihilation of the Jews. He recalled the orders given by Gecas "shoot at your own discretion".

GOGA another soldier, was actually born in the USA but returned to Lithuania as a young child. He was very articulate and precise. He was to travel to Scotland to give his evidence. He recalled an incident in Rudensk at the end of November 1941, where the Battalion had travelled by train. They were told to encircle a town and to round up the Jews, men, women and children.

They were herded to a gravel pit and shot, which took all of 40 minutes. He remembered going to a POW camp in Minsk, with the whole Battalion where, close to 10,000 prisoners were held. There they were taken to pits and shot. The Germans formed a corridor between which the POW's were marched, in small groups. A group was taken to a pit, left their clothes there, then whilst naked were shot. This operation took about two days. When the soldiers had finished, the officers stood at the pits and finished off those alive. It took place like a conveyer belt operation - all 10,000 souls perished.

As I indicated at the outset, we had investigations going on almost anywhere we thought we could find a Lithuanian from this time frame. Our luck was now turning. We found a key witness in Florida, Mrs Pickholz.

Aged 16 in 1941 she was living in Slutsk. Her mother was dead and she lived there with her father and three younger sisters and 5 year old brother. The Germans entered Slutsk in June 1941. Restrictions were immediately placed on all Jews. In August her father was taken away never to be seen again. She was then head of the household. One day in October in 1941 - we were able to establish this was in fact Monday 26 October – she was working when soldiers suddenly flooded the town. Jews were being rounded up. She saw her own family amongst those rounded up, one of her younger sisters saw her and tried to run to her, but was struck down by soldiers with rifles. These soldiers were Lithuanian. She blacked out. She awoke to find herself concealed in a barrel of books. She had been hidden by friends. As she peered out between the cracks in the barrel, she watched and listened to shooting going on. Later she got out and found many had been taken to camps nearby. She went to the camps – not wearing her Star of David – she was to find all were shot and she never saw her sisters or brother again. This all took place on 26 and 27 October. No Jewish children were left alive. The soldiers left.

We had many other leads and many other investigations, some fruitful and some not. Some like the following one proved to be of no use to our case, but revealed another chapter of horror and human misery that must be told today if for no other reason than to bare witness to this human tragedy.

I received information from a confidential source that there possibly existed a key witness in Israel. All I was told was that she was a retired school teacher in her 70s, she was Lithuanian and had one leg. That was it. I phoned a firm of attorneys my firm uses in Tel Aviv and placed my request. They hired a detective and within 48 hours I got a call that such a woman was living in Afula in lower Galilee. We had been led to believe she might identify Gecas as involved in killings at the 9th Fort in Kaunas, a Lithuanian Belsen which put to death thousands within its grim walls.

Bob Tomlinson and I flew out to Ben Gurion Airport and rushed by car to Afula. We were met by Luba Fisk who indeed was a one legged retired school teacher originally from Lithuania. She told a heart rending story. Much like the movie “Sophie’s Choice”. She had been a linguist, was married and had a 4 year old child. They were confined to a ghetto. One day the soldiers arrived and people were being taken away in buses. The soldiers said that if the women could raise enough money or fetch enough gold they would spare the children. They all ran in a frenzy bringing all they could find. It was taken but so were the children and their parents. At the place of the execution they were lined up and papers checked. It was discovered Luba spoke languages; there was a hasty discussion and she was asked to stand to the right. Her 4 year old son was taken out to the left and moments later he was shot as she looked on. Luba lost her

husband as well and is now remarried and living in Israel. Regrettably for us this was an operation unconnected with Gecas, it was and remains for me a chilling memory of a woman reliving what was pain beyond my imagination.

We moved on and unearthed all that Gecas had ever said in every interview and in every form ever recorded. He had been interviewed by the OSI years before and had given a deposition. He had subsequently given some stories to the press and we revealed a chain of lies and deceit, contradiction and inconsistencies beyond repair or explanation. We compared these pathetic lies to our documents, to our witnesses and we prepared for court.

In Lithuania and in Scotland it all began to come together. The proof of murders which occurred before I was born, the names of those killed, the names of their killers, the records of their destruction. A holocaust was uncovered and revealed in all its horror.

We won our case. The judgement was uncompromising.

“I am clearly satisfied that the pursuer committed war crimes against Soviet citizens who were old men, women and children ... that the pursuer participated in many operations involving the killing of innocent Soviet citizens, including Jews in particular, in Byelorussia during the last three months of 1941 I further hold it proved that the pursuer was the Platoon Commander of the platoon in which Antanas Aleksynas served ... and that the platoon participated specifically in the [operations mentioned in the documentary] ... ”

Lord Milligan

So the judgement went on.

But what did all this achieve? It did not achieve a prosecution for reasons I yet do not comprehend. The Prosecution authorities decided there was insufficient evidence for a criminal trial. Did we have a victory, serving only to open up old wounds, excite the press and cause grief, or tell a story lost on a generation which looked on these matters as “history”.

My answer is the answer given to me by Professor Draper who had given us much help. I hope you will agree with me it is the only answer:

“If you but think of the talent, of the geniuses, of the scientists, of the artists, of the writers, of the poets and of the tens of scores of thousands of ordinary, decent human beings, who perished in those genocide acts one is moved to say: By God, what right does any man order this to be done to people? It is so ghastly that I do not think that posterity can afford to forget it.”

If I were to re-title this talk it would be: **“By what right does any many forgive or forget?”**