

CD-1049 Transcription

Address at Committee of the Holocaust Conference,

Philadelphia, Pa. [1]. 4 November 1981.

M1:

Dear friends, I am honored today as president of the [Society?] of Jewish Americans, to welcome the Committee of the Holocaust Conference to Philadelphia, the first city in this country to form such a committee to follow the interest of the Holocaust studies. It's also the first city in this country to erect a monument to the six million martyred. Like the creator of this sculpture, we too must forge something, not with our hands, but with our voices. We, survivors of the Holocaust, are alive by our miracles. Our legacy must be passed to the young and old, Jew and non-Jew alike, to remind the world there was a Holocaust. We cannot remain silent in the face of those who wish [01:00] to discredit us, or wish to say the Holocaust never happened. It is our duty that it would be known to the future generations in order to prevent another genocide. Never are we allowed to close the book on one of man's most terrible chapter in history. It is up to all of us to educate and inform the young, and all the youth in the world so that the world doesn't forget, so that future generations may be spared such anguish. Fortunate the young will be the bearers of our message. There

are reasons to be optimistic. Because of some of our schools teach Holocaust courses, and many of our children, and even some of our grandchildren attended (inaudible) world gathering [02:00] of the Holocaust survivors, last spring in Israel. Nevertheless, we must continue to encourage more Holocaust study programs, more educational tools, so that no one who has said it didn't happen, it's all a Zionist hoax, will ever be taken seriously. Let us not forget how an indifferent world turned away, how the western allies refused to believe the mass genocide taking place. There is nothing, nothing we can do to restore the six million lives lost in the Holocaust, but we can and will ensure the memories live on. (applause)

**F1:**

Thank you. Now, I have the pleasure [03:00] and the privilege to introduce someone who is hard to introduce because just talking about him could really get a little talk in itself. Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum is going to speak to us tonight, and he's going to address the lessons of the Holocaust for a pluralistic society, and I am delighted that Mark will be able to do it, because he comes to us from that world scene. And I'd like to, for the sake of those that might not know many of the things that Marc is involved in, I would like to mention just a few.

Marc comes to us as the National Interreligious Affairs director of the American Jewish Committee, and he has been a pioneer in interreligious relations, and social justice movements during the past 30 years. *Newsweek* magazine has described him as, quote, "The American Jewish community's foremost apostle to the Gentiles, who has been able to solicit support from all factions of the Jewish community." A poll of American newspaper religious editors in 1978 [04:00] voted Rabbi Tanenbaum one of the 10 most respected and influential religious leaders in America. And the citation of his fifteenth honorary degree characterized him as "the human rights rabbi of America." President Carter invited Rabbi Tanenbaum as the American Jewish Leader among 10 national religious spokesmen to discuss the state of the nation at Camp David summit meetings in 1979. The rabbi was also the Jewish spokesman at the January 1980 White House Conference on Energy and Conservation. He's presently chairman of the technical committee on the media of the 1981 White House Conference on Aging. He's been a major force in the promotion of social justice and human rights. At the invitation of the International Rescue Committee, I remember hearing Mark speaking of the fact that he was there when he saw a boatload of refugees sinking, and people standing by, not only watching, but some cheering as people, the boat people as we know them, [05:00], went down. Recently, he served as the consultant to the NBC TV nine-hour

special, *Holocaust*, and earlier was consultant to the special *Jesus of Nazareth* program. President Carter appointed Marc Tanenbaum to serve on the advisory committee of the President's Commission on the Holocaust. Rabbi Tanenbaum was the only rabbi at Vatican Council II, and he is a founder and co-secretary of the Joint Vatican International Jewish Consultative Committee, as well as a (inaudible) liaison body with the World Council of Churches. He also participated in the first official audience of world Jewish leaders with Pope John Paul II. He's lectured at major universities, seminaries, religious and educational bodies in the United States. He's the author of many articles and books, and we're just very happy tonight that he could take time out of his busy schedule to speak to us about the world scene, an address our conference. Rabbi Tanenbaum. (applause)

**Marc Tanenbaum:**

[06:00] My dear friend, Sister Gloria, reverend clergy, and friends. I needed every inch of that introduction tonight. It's essential that I tell you at the outset something about my state of orientation, or disorientation because I'm sure that will have some effect on the nature of my presentation this evening.

Last week, on Thursday [07:00] morning -- week before that, actually, which is already a sign of my disorientation -- I went

to Houston, Texas to attend the meeting of national Jewish leadership, called by the American Jewish Committee. Stayed there for two days for a consultation, which dealt with the problems of many aspects of American foreign policy and domestic policy, in particular, concerns about certain aspects of extreme forms of new right political activity. And then, a quite extraordinary session we had with the World Council of Churches, with Professor Christopher [Stendall?], dealing with the new set of guidelines adopted by the World Council of Churches, remarkable in itself, in the final recognition [08:00] by the World Council of Churches over the centrality of the Holocaust, and its meaning, not only for Jews, but for world Christendom. And then I had to leave toward the end of that week, on Sunday, for a rather urgent meeting that was called between our group, the International Jewish Committee for Interreligious Consultations, and the Vatican Secretariat of State. It was an off-the-record meeting held in Rome on Tuesday, a meeting with no publicity, by common consent, and it was called for the purpose of enabling us to meet for the first time, officially, with the Vatican Secretariat of State, and representatives [09:00] of the World Jewish Community to deal with some concerns, including some recent meetings between Cardinal [Cassovoli?], and representatives of the PLO, and the rather extraordinary role of a man called Archbishop [Capucci?]. That

was a one-day meeting, and then I turned around to come back here, to the States, to go off to Princeton University, where NBC TV called a conference of some 60 national religious, civic, and ethnic leaders to consider the role of the mass media, and values in the media. So, I think I am going to have to ask your indulgence, this evening, if you begin to realize that having lost [10:00] six hours going across the ocean, and then gain six hours coming back, if there are moments here tonight where it appears that I'm not sure whether I'm coming or going, that there's some biological basis for that condition, not my normal condition, although some people believe that's a normal aberration with me. (laughter) I began to feel the other day that, when someone was talking about a leader, and they said he's a lovely guy, and is very effective, the problem is, he needs a charisma transplant. (laughter) If I continue working on this kind of schedule, I may need something comparable to that. I heard Henry Youngman a couple weeks ago say that talking about the state of his energy, and his appeal to audiences, he said, "You know, I had charisma as a kid, but then it cleared up." (laughter) I think pretty much that happened to me somewhere [11:00] across the ocean.

I'm really very grateful to this Philadelphia Committee on Holocaust Studies for inviting me to come here this evening, and

to share some reflections with you. Philadelphia holds a very special place in the consciousness of the Jewish people, and indeed, I would say from the perspective of history, if one may (inaudible) that way. I dare say when one looks at the course of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and seeks to record the highest quality of moral, and spiritual, and human leadership, [12:00] which began to try to understand the magnitude of the meaning of the Nazi Holocaust, in our lifetime, for this century, few will stand in the front ranks with such distinction as many of the Christian and Jewish leaders who are here in this room this evening. I have in mind our chairperson, Sister Gloria [Coleman?]. Above all, Dr. Franklin [Nutel?], whom I think many of you ought to know, has paid more than once a supreme price for his insistence on truth, and integrity, with regard to facing the Nazi experience, and its meaning, not just for Jews, but its final, fundamental meaning [13:00] for Christendom. Franklin, I regard as a brother and dear friend, together with Rufus Cornelson, and many others in this room are among the greatest sources of consolation to my colleagues and myself, and that I've been working in the area of Jewish-Christian relations now some 30 years. While, indeed, there has been, I believe, exceedingly great progress made over this period of time in the facing of the sources of anti-Semitism, and certain traditions of Christian teaching, and while I know, in fact, from our own

studies, and our own work with Catholic, Protestant, Evangelical [publishers?], that we have moved light years over the past decades in overcoming stereotypes and misunderstanding. Still much yet to go. [14:00] But I am persuaded that much of that achievement will find its spiritual engine emerging out of the city, and I came here tonight to acknowledge, with deepest gratitude, the commitment, the devotion, and the love of our Christian friends here, who have joined with Jewish members, in facing this searing chapter in human history.

I heard a story, it's not a very funny story, but it's a kind of perverse way, or inverted way of getting at the subject tonight. It's the story of a man who was found beating his wife rather badly, and he was brought before a judge, and the judge said, well, I'm going to send you to prison for that. [15:00] What do you think about that? And the man said, judge, have some mercy? Do you want to spoil our honeymoon? (laughter) There is a certain sense, some of it quite objective, fact-based, that relationships between the Jewish people, and many in the Roman Catholic community, many in the liberal Protestant community, still, increasingly among Evangelical Christians, Greek Orthodox, and we're laterally, as we've begun to work with the Hispanic community, that there has been something of a sense of a kind of honeymoon atmosphere, certainly an improved



atmosphere, having emerged over recent decades in our mutual  
[16:00] understanding, and our mutual respect, and having  
visited almost every city in the United States over the past  
several years, meeting with Christian and Jewish leaders, I  
think that is quite a valid conclusion to come to. But I must  
tell you that as I have traveled recently in almost every region  
of the United States, I am beginning to become troubled as to  
how long that honeymoon atmosphere, or certainly that improved  
atmosphere, can persist. And among the troubling signs that I  
find is that there is emerging, even among friends, at least  
ostensible friends in the Christian [17:00] community, a certain  
kind of fatigue, a fatigue about Israel, a fatigue about wanting  
even to talk anymore about the Nazi Holocaust. Not incidentally,  
as some of you may know, as Sister Gloria indicated, I have been  
deeply involved, continue to be involved with the world refugee  
problem. And I believe it's not unrelated. While America has  
justifiably every reason to be proud of the extraordinary record  
we have played we saving human lives, especially with regard to  
southeast Asia, Vietnamese boat people, and Cambodians, there is  
now developing among refugee specialists what they are quaintly,  
[18:00] not so quaintly calling compassion for (inaudible).  
We're getting tired of these refugees, getting tired of these  
illegal aliens. I suppose I became most concerned when one  
Christian leader said to me not too long ago, "You know Marc,

I'm a great friend of the Jewish people. I have been involved in dialogue in relationships for many years now. I've got to tell you that I'm becoming upset about being invited to attend so many meetings by Jews, talking about, again, the Nazi Holocaust." He said this in the intimacy of our friendship. "What's going on with the Jewish psyche? I mean, this Holocaust has become [19:00] a Jewish obsession. It's a kind of Jewish hang up. When are the Jews going to begin to forgive and forget?" And I said something to him in my state of shock, especially coming from an ostensible friend, "We will never forget. We may learn to forgive, but Jews may only begin to learn to forget, if that were ever possible, only when the Christian world begins to remember."

I will come back to that in a few moments. [20:00] So, there is now developing a fatigue about a great many moral human issues in our society, but the kind of fatigue about wanting to deal with the Holocaust as the watershed event, as Frank [Nutel?] rightly calls it, the watershed event of the twentieth century. Others, as Sister Gloria has indicated, for far more pathological reasons, trying to deny that the Holocaust ever took place, hoax, the myth of the Holocaust, professors of electrical engineering suddenly become specialists in European history, writing books about the myth of the Holocaust, the hoax

of the Holocaust. [21:00] And others simply have never remembered. We did a study last year, after I'd served as the consultant to NBC in the preparation of the *Holocaust* series, we did a survey in high schools in Seattle, Washington, and found out in the classrooms, a class of some 30, 40 students, when children were asked what they knew about the Nazi Holocaust, average representative Americans, what did they know about the Holocaust? What do you think the Holocaust is, one of the questions in the questionnaires. Seven children in the class answered, "I think the Nazi Holocaust is a Jewish holiday." So much for history, social science education.

Is this a Jewish obsession? Is there something perverse about the Jewish psyche and mentality? [22:00] Or is there something in the depths of the confrontation of the demonology that is involved at the heart of the Nazi experience that has the profoundest meaning for the human family today? I want to suggest to you that unless and until the Christian world begins, indeed, to face the Nazi Holocaust in the depth of its moral meaning for mankind, and understand that what Mr. Teitelbaum, and the other survivors in this nation are testifying to, [23:00] holds the very secret of the possibility of human survival in the kind of world in which we live today, unless that is comprehended by the Christian world. I literally fear

for the capacity of the human family to develop the moral resolve and the social resources to be able to deal with the blackest legacy of the Nazi Holocaust, which now surges in erupting as an epidemic that has the capacity to consume the whole of mankind.

I want to tell you why I come to what, to you, may appear to be a melodramatic conclusion, and I want to explain that in terms of human, not just broad propositional statements. Philosophical analyses. Philosophical analyses can allow for an Arthur Butz even to write a book, [24:00] and remain a member in good standing at a faculty in a major university. I want to share with you, out of my own life experience, what I have seen with my eyes, have touched with my hands, what I mean about the Christian stake, the human stake in facing the meaning of the Nazi Holocaust, the meaning of evil, in the kind of world in which we live today, and what consequences we could well face unless we comprehend what is at stake here for everyone, and overcome this deep bias of somehow wanting to reduce the magnitude of this trauma by dismissing it as a provincial preoccupation of this parochial people called Jews. It is a form of repression. [25:00]

I want to tell you two stories. Some of you may have heard these before. They bear telling again, especially here, at this assembly. The first story began for me when, in February 1978, I received a telephone call from a man named Dr. Leo Cherne, president of the International Rescue Committee. He told me that the International Rescue Committee, which had been in operation since the end of World War II, saving survivors of the Nazi Holocaust, foremost among them, people like [Ernst?] Einstein and Enrico Fermi, and others. I was organizing a delegation of 14 prominent American leaders to go to southeast Asia to investigate the plight of the Vietnamese boat people, the Chinese, the Laotians, and others. [26:00] And he called me that day, which I was heavily preoccupied with my normal affairs at the American Jewish Committee, and I said to Dr. Cherne, "Dr. Cherne, look, of course I'm interested in the plight of the refugees. I'd like to be helpful. I know that the International Rescue Committee had been helpful to many survivors of the Nazi Holocaust. Of course I want to be helpful. But I've got a schedule that'll choke a cow, and I'm busy for the next four or five weeks. Is it possible to arrange or the delegation to leave a month later? And then of course, I'll change my schedule." And Leo Cherne, himself a Jew, said, "Listen rabbi, you don't seem to understand what is taking place in the South China Sea now, not a month from now." [27:00] There were eight, 10,000 refugees

being driven out of Vietnam every month. They were turned back from the shores of almost every country, great third world brothers and sisters. Turned back almost every load that came to their shores. And Cherne said to me, "Tanenbaum, 60% -- an estimated 60% of the Vietnamese boat people, and other refugees, are sinking in the South China Sea before the eyes of the world. You mean to tell me you have no time for that?" And I said, "OK, Leo. Let's go." And within a week, I joined the delegation of 14 American leaders, among them, James Michener, the novelist, [28:00] William Casey, now the head of CIA. He and I shared a room next to each other in a number of countries we went to, and I told him later on that the we shared rooms in Singapore, finally he was being prepared to become the head of CIA, I'd lock my door every night with lock and key. Ambassador Cecil [Lion?], the former American ambassador to Ceylon, [Brian Rustin?], James Richardson, a former assistant secretary of state, and the others, Catherine [Priest?], Protestant scholar, myself. We went as an American delegation, inspired by our government, which asked us to carry out this, the White House, then under President Jimmy Carter. We went to every major refugee camp in southeast Asia: Hong Kong, Thailand, Malaysia, Indonesia, the Philippines, Singapore.

The story I want to tell you, out of that [wealth?] of experiences, began on this day in February. [29:00] In Jakarta, the capital of Indonesia, I came out of the harbor with Casey. He went off elsewhere. I walked across a rotted wharf, under the broiling sun in that capital city of Jakarta, Indonesia. There, at the foot of that wharf, there was a skiff, a battered ship, exhausted from having sailed some four or five weeks, as I was later to learn, across the South China Sea. At the head of the ship was a short, brown man, his wife, sister-in-law, some children sitting behind him, playing in the boat. I jumped from that rotted wharf onto the skiff. I introduced myself. I'm Rabbi Tanenbaum of the American Jewish Committee. I am here with a delegation, International Rescue Committee. We are here to find out a factual report about what is happening with refugees, and we're called upon to bring it back to the president of the [30:00] United States, and members of Congress, as we were to do later on. The man introduced himself. His name was [Yen Tan?]. Now this is his story, briefly. His family had lived in Saigon for centuries. He was a Roman Catholic high school teacher in Saigon, and one day his house was broken into by a group of soldiers from North Vietnam, and they told him, "Tomorrow, you and your family are to leave. You are to go out to the countryside, where you are to be reeducated. Forcibly reeducated in the collective farm. We're creating a new society and a new

man. Never mind what you have been. You are to become what we tell you to become." Yen Tan said that he turned to his wife and children, after they had left, [31:00] and they decided that was no future for them to have their dignity taken away from them, the power of deciding who they are, what they are to be. So, that night, they rendezvoused with his brother in the forest. They got through the forest, reached the coast of Vietnam, four o'clock in the morning there. They took whatever possessions they had, and they bought this battered skiff from a fisherman. They set sail in the South China Sea, and he said that we sailed for some four weeks. Everywhere we tried to land, we were turned back. No one wanted refugees. He said, by the third week, as we sailed across the South China Sea, we were without food, without water. Our children began drinking sea water and eating sea weed. They began to become deathly ill, throwing up, fever, [32:00] tearing their bodies apart, screaming in terror at night, couldn't go to sleep. Yen Tan said, "Ships passed us by. Every day, we watched ships passed us by. We counted 23 cargo ships, massive cargo ships. We waived our white flag, our undershirts at them asking them to stop. We found out later on there was no point asking them to stop, to pick us up. All we wanted was to get some water and rice so that we could survive until we came to some [aid?]. None of them would stop. None of the ships of the great nations of the Earth had passed by,



France, and Italy, and Liberia, and Panama. None of them stopped." "Yes," he said, "some of the ships, three of the ships slowed down. The crew came up to look at us, and they began laughing. We were their entertainment to break the boredom of their travel." And then Yen Tan turned to me, and said in these words, [33:00] "Rabbi, I cannot begin to tell you what it means to stand there, and watch your wife and children literally begin to die before your eyes. But then I learned, there was something worse than hunger and starvation. It is to be abandoned by the world." He said, "You know, Rabbi, when I was a student in a Catholic mission high school, I learned something about World War II, and they said something to us about the Jews and Nazi Germany, and how terrible it was. It meant nothing to me. I now know what it means to have been a Jew in Nazi Germany in the 1930s. Nothing. Nothing is more destructive to the human personality, not even hunger and thirst. Nothing is more destructive than to learn [34:00] that human life has become worthless. That the life of you and your children mean nothing to the human family. That ships can pass you by, that a world can pass you by, and act as if you mean nothing more than the (inaudible) of the sea. You can drown, and nobody will bat an eyelash."

And I have to tell you what happened to me at that moment. I was not sure, as I've said on other occasions, whether it was because of the heat, the exhaustion of working 12, 14 hours a day, going from camp to camp, but as I stood there and looked Yen Tan in the face, with his eyes burning of passion, I suddenly found my head flooded, as if by some television screen, with the words "1939," "1939." Suddenly, the image of the first boat people of my experience in this generation flooded my head. (inaudible). [35:00] I remembered the first boat people of this generation. Nine hundred and forty Jewish men, women, and children set sail out of Hamburg, the last ship to leave Germany. Like the Vietnamese and the ethnic Chinese, they begged, barred, and stalled to get the money to buy visas from the government of Cuba. Cuba had sent an official delegate to Hamburg to sell visas to the Jews who were going to leave, took every nickel they had, guarantees that when they come to Havana, Cuba, they will be allowed to land. Some 700 of the Jews who got on the *St. Louis* went to the American consulate and obtained landing immigration certificates just in case something should go wrong. They learned something about trusting governments in their life. And so, they set sail, not across the South China Sea. They set sail across the turbulent north Atlantic Ocean. And they finally, [36:00] after some weeks, landed in the harbor of Havana. The captain of the ship happened to have been a

devout Dutch Christian. And when the ship landed in harbor, and he was greeted by a delegation from the government of Cuba, he handed over to them the immigration certificates to the government of Cuba, and the representatives of President Federico Brú said to them, "These landing immigration certificates are invalid." The Dutch captain said, "What do you mean they're invalid? They were paid for. Every one of them was purchased. They were given as legal documents. They have the official stamp of Cuba." The response was, the president of Cuba has determined that they are invalid. If you want to land, you are to raise a million dollars by the next day, and we'll allow you to land. The captain of the ship cabled the Jewish Distribution Committee [37:00] in [Hyas?], who flew in delegations to Havana. They met with President Federico Brú, and pleaded with him, let them land here temporarily. President Brú said, no. Their immigration certificates are invalid. We will want something like a million dollars within 24 hours, and then he delivered himself of a lovely aside, "We know that Jews in New York can do that sort of thing. They can provide a million dollars in 24 hours. Otherwise, we send them back to sea." And the leaders of JDC and Hyas pleaded with them. "If you send them back to see, President Brú, you are assuring them their certain death certificates, if they go back to Germany. You will hear nothing of it." So, JDC and Hyas sent cables, urgent cables, to the president and foreign minister of every government in Latin

America: Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Peru, Uruguay, Paraguay.

[38:00] Most of those in Latin countries did not even bother to answer. The few that did answer answered in that classic, Biblical phrase, "Sorry. There is no room to let you in."

Came the next day, the ship was pushed out to sea, and the *St. Louis* came to the edge of Miami. All of the members of that tragic family climbed the board at the top of a ship, looked out, saw the lights twinkling in Miami, Collins Avenue, Fontainebleau Hotel, all the fun and celebration. They contacted -- The captain of the ship contacted the American Immigration and Naturalization Service, asking them to acknowledge at least the 700 immigration certificates. A telephone call was made to the State Department. Cordell Hull consulted with Franklin Delano Roosevelt, [39:00] ostensibly a great president on some grounds. Franklin Roosevelt and Cordell Hull determined that it was not in the best interest of the foreign policy of the United States to interfere in the internal affairs of Nazi Germany. We will not honor the landing immigration certificates. The ship was sent out to sea, on its way back to Germany. As it began to pull out of the waters of Miami harbor, four, or five hungry Jews who had gone through hell simply could not endure the knowledge that their lives, like Yen Tan later on, was to be nothing to anyone, and they jumped overboard and committed suicide.

The ship came back to Europe. France took some, several hundred. England, several hundred. [40:00] The low countries, several

hundred. Then the Nazis made their sweep across the low countries. They came into France, and the *St. Louis* survivors in those countries ended up in ovens, concentration camps. As Elie Wiesel said about them and the six million, and others, "The sky became their cemetery, as the smoke of their bodies hurtled to heaven."

My friends, I am trying to suggest to you that what happened to the Jews and Nazi Germany, that in that country of ancient Christian civilization, a country of the highest level of culture, and science, and technology, in that country where the demonic came to life, and flourished [41:00], the Nazi Holocaust was not the work of madmen. It was not the work -- It was not the work of cretins, of mentally retarded people. The organization and the administration of the Nazi Holocaust was the work of PhDs, people of the highest level of culture and civilization in that country in which the Reformation took place, in which the Holy Roman Empire held its seat in Aachen. I am persuaded out of my experiences now in Asia, and Africa, and what I've seen in Latin America, and parts of Latin America, that there is an epidemic of dehumanization in the world today, and that epidemic of dehumanization [42:00] at the heart of which is the decline in any conviction about the value of human life, the notion that human beings are expendable. They are surplus people, has its moral, spiritual taproot in the Nazi experience, and the failure to confront what the emergence of evil, what the administration of evil in that advanced civilization made possible, a

(inaudible), fatigue about it, a repression about it, has laid the foundation, has created, almost, the psychological ecology, so much of the dreadful pattern of dehumanization that is taking place in so many other parts of the world. I stood on the shores, last year, of Miami, Florida. [43:00] I watched the boat load of Haitians coming to the shore of the United States. I saw a mother and seven children drown before the eyes of the Immigration and Naturalization Service that would not lift a finger. And all the bureaucratic arguments (inaudible).

Last year, I went with a delegation to Cambodia. Together, with [Liv Almon?], Elie Wiesel, Brian Rustin, Winston Churchill III, and another group of people from Europe. We were bringing 20 truckloads of food and medicine to Cambodia, a country where, in 1975, there were 8 million people living. The Pol Pot regime, when it came to power, basing its ideology on its [44:00] understanding of Adolf Hitler, and Nazi Aryan superiority, sought to carry out the same program of the purification of the Cambodian people, and they set about systematically destroying half of the Cambodian populations, and 4 million. They called it "zero policy year de-westernization. Their [appeal?] was to the fact that Hitler was able to destroy 6 million Jewish men, women, and children that 35 million other people were destroyed in World War II. And who really cared until it was so late? Therefore, it was possible in Cambodia to do anything with people whom you regard as undesirables. They went down, half of the population,

and we came into the edge of Cambodia. Liv Almon and I walked  
through a camp --

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