The Journal of Historical Review

Robert Faurisson

My Life as a Revisionist: September 1983 to September 1987

William B. Hesseltine

Atrocities, Then and Now

R. Clarence Lang

Red Cross Humanitarianism In Greece, 1940-45

—Reviews—

Made in Russia: The Holocaust
Social Life, Local Politics, and Nazism: Marburg, 1880-1935

—Historical News and Comment—

Anne Frank's Handwriting
Wartime German Catholic Leaders and the Extermination of the Jews
Conspiracy Theory and the French Revolution
Circuitous Suppression

VOLUME NINE, NUMBER ONE SPRING 1989

VOLUME NINE, NUMBER ONE SPRING 1989 The Journal of Historical Review

INSTITUTE FOR HISTORICAL REVIEW

The Journal of Historical Review

VOLUME NINE, NUMBER 1/SPRING 1989

Editor: Theodore J. O'Keefe

EDITORIAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE

GEORGE ASHLEY, Ph.D.
Los Angeles Unified School District (Ret.)

JOHN BENNETT, LL.B.
Australian Civil Liberties Union
Melbourne, Australia

FRIEDRICH P. BERG, B.Sc.
The Historical Review Committee
Ft. Lee, New Jersey

ALEXANDER V. BERKIS, LL.M., Ph.D.
Longwood College (Ret.)

WALTER BEVERAGGI-ALLENDE, Ph.D.
University of Buenos Aires
Buenos Aires, Argentina

ARTHUR R. BUTZ, Ph.D.
Northwestern University
Evanston, Illinois

ROBERT H. COUNTESS, Ph.D.
Huntsville, Alabama

ALBERT J. ECKSTEIN, Ph.D.
Private Research Consultant

ROBERT FAURISSON, Ph.D.
University of Lyon-2
Lyon, France

DITLIEB FELDERER
Revisionist History Magazine
Taby, Sweden

GEORG FRANZ-WILLING, Ph.D.
Überlingen, West Germany

SAMUEL EDWARD KONKIN III
New Libertarian
Long Beach, California

MARTIN A. LARSON, Ph.D.
The Spotlight
Washington, D.C.

WILLIAM B. LINDSEY, Ph.D.
Research Chemist

CARLO MATTOGNO
Italy

REVILO P. OLIVER, Ph.D.
University of Illinois (Ret.)
Urbana, Illinois

IVO OMRCANIN, S.T.D.,
J.D.C., J.S.D., LL.D
Indiana University of Pennsylvania (Ret.)
Washington, D.C.

WILHELM STÄGLICH, Dr. Jur.
Badenweiler, West Germany

UDO WALENDY, Diplo. Pol.
Verlag für Volkstum und
Zeitgeschichtsforschung
Vlotho/Weser, West Germany

MARK WEBER
The Historical Review Committee

ANDREAS R. WESSERLE, Ph.D.
Marquette University (Ret.)
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

The Journal of Historical Review is published quarterly by the Institute for Historical Review, P.O. Box 1306, Torrance, California 90505. Subscriptions include the *IHR Newsletter*, containing news of interest to academic and lay Historical Revisionists, which is issued eight times per year in months *The Journal of Historical Review* is not issued. Combined subscription price is $40 per year, $65 for two years and $90 for three years. Add $10 per year for foreign subsciptions. Add $20 per year for overseas airmail delivery. Remittances for subscriptions must be payable in U.S. dollars drawable on a U.S. bank. Quantity subscription and bulk issue rates are available on request. Appropriate, double-spaced manuscripts are welcomed by the editor, and must be accompanied by return postage.

Listed:

Library of Congress
British Library
PTLA Catalog
EBSCO Librarians Handbook
Ulrich's International Periodical Directory
Turner Periodical Catalog
Standard Periodical Directory

ISSN: 0195-6752

Institute for Historical Review
P.O. Box 1306
Torrance, California 90505

"Atrocities, Then and Now" first appeared in *The Progressive* (409 E. Main St., Madison, WI 53703), May 9, 1945.

Permission is hereby granted for reprints of any article contained herein, providing that no changes or alterations are made prior to printing, and also providing that the following attribution appears with the article:

Reprinted by permission of *The Journal of Historical Review*, P.O. Box 1306, Torrance, CA 90505, United States of America. Domestic subscription rate: $40 per year, foreign rate: $50 per year.

Two copies of each reprint should be submitted to the publisher of *The Journal of Historical Review.*

Table of Contents

Volume Nine, No. 1 Spring, 1989

Articles

My Life as a Revisionist (September 1983 to September 1987) *Robert Faurisson* 5

Atrocities, Then and Now *William B. Hesseltine* 65

Red Cross Humanitarianism In Greece, 1940-45 *R. Clarence Lang* 71

Reviews

Carlos W. Porter, *Made in Russia: The Holocaust* *Theodore J. O'Keefe* 89

Rudy Koshar, *Social Life, Local Politics, and Nazism: Marburg, 1880-1935* *John M. Ries* 92

Historical News and Comment

Anne Frank's Handwriting 97

Wartime German Catholic Leaders and the Extermination of the Jews 101

Conspiracy Theory and the French Revolution 109

Circuitous Suppression 116

About the Contributors 128

From the Editor

Hysteron proteron was the Alexandrian grammarians' term for inverting a sequence of words or ideas by putting first what normally comes afterward, in time or in logic. In view of the dramatic events of IHR's Ninth Conference, which came to a rousing and successful conclusion just days before this issue of *The Journal* went to press, it is fitting that these editorial remarks begin with mention of the final piece of this quarter's *JHR*.

No IHR conference has been more imperiled, more frenetic, more intellectually productive, and more successful than the just concluded Ninth. The success was in very large measure the doing of IHR's director, Tom Marcellus, who, just as in previous conferences, handled the myriad of details, large and small, which go into arranging and conducting an international Revisionist historical conference. This February was different, however: at the last minute not one, but *two* hotels with which IHR had binding contracts broke their agreements at the last minute, threatening the immediate ruin of our conference, sowing confusion among our speakers and guests, and auguring ill for the fate of future conferences.

As you'll learn by reading his "Historical News and Comment" account of how IHR "pulled off" this most challenging of all conferences, Director Marcellus is a man of considerable sang-froid. Tom may never have been in the military, but, just as he did in the traumatic days and weeks following the July 4, 1984 terror arson, he exhibited not a few of the soldierly virtues. More than one general has had his horse shot out from under him on the field of battle; during this past conference Tom Marcellus not only survived two such incidents, but rallied his troops and led them to glorious victory. You'll read his gripping story of the background to IHR's historic (as well as historical) Ninth Conference here; the April *IHR Newsletter* will carry a longer, illustrated report of the affair.

Now to the rest of our Spring 1989 issue. The incomparable Robert Faurisson leads off with an updated version of his address to the IHR's Eighth Conference. Focussing chiefly on developments in France and on the 1985 Zündel trial, Faurisson gives a sweeping overview of the rise and progress of Revisionism in his native land and at the first Toronto trial. His usual meticulous attention to scholarly detail and his measured judgements of men and events lend "My Life As a

continued on page 126

My Life as a Revisionist (September 1983 to September 1987)

ROBERT FAURISSON

(Paper Presented to the Eighth International Revisionist Conference)

What is usually called the "Faurisson Affair" began on 16 November 1978 with the publication of an article about me in the newspaper *Le Matin de Paris.* For several years I had realized that as soon as the press made public my opinions about Revisionism I would encounter a storm of opposition. By its very nature Revisionism can only disturb the public order; where certitudes quietly reign, the spirit of free inquiry is an intrusion and shocks the public. The first task of the courts is not so much to defend justice as it is to preserve law and order. The truth, in the sense in which I use the word (i.e., that which is verifiable), only interests judges if it does not upset law and order. I never had any illusions: they would haul me into court, I would be convicted, and there would also be physical attacks, press campaigns and an upheaval in my personal, family and professional life.

I presented my last I.H.R. conference paper in September of 1983. Its title was "Revisionism on Trial: Developments in France, 1979-1983." (*JHR*, Summer 1985, Vol. 6, no. 2, pp. 133-182) This paper is the continuation of that earlier one. I have entitled it: "My Life as a Revisionist (September 1983 to September 1987)." The period between 1979 and 1983 was marked in France by the use of legal weapons against Revisionism. The period 1983 to 1987 has been marked by a relaxation of that activity (but I am afraid that it is going to begin again in 1987-1988). In France, the Jewish organizations which took legal action against us were disappointed and even upset by the relative lightness of my conviction in April of 1983. They had expected better from the French courts. They wanted my hide but they got only a pound of flesh. They

hoped that the judges would say: "Faurisson is a falsifier of history; his work on the gas chambers is full of frivolities, carelessness, deliberate oversights and lies; Faurisson is malicious and dangerous." But on 25 April 1983, the judges of the first chamber of the Court of Appeal in Paris in a sense said: "Faurisson is a serious researcher; we find no frivolity, carelessness, deliberate oversights or lies in his writings about the gas chambers; but perhaps he is malicious and certainly he is dangerous; we condemn him for his probable maliciousness and for the danger he poses, but we do not condemn his work on the gas chambers, which is serious. On the contrary, since this work is serious, we guarantee every Frenchman the right to say, if he thinks so, that the gas chambers did not exist."

What the Jewish organizations could not achieve in France from 1979 to 1983, they then tried to accomplish in other countries, especially with the lengthy prosecution of Ernst Zündel in Canada. In 1984 and 1985 I actively participated in Zündel's defense. In the first part of this paper I will deal with that trial, which, in spite of everything, brought about a leap forward in historical research. The second part of my account will deal with the many so-called "affairs" which, mainly in France, have marked both the failure of those who want to block historical research and also the success of those who are involved in such research. In a third section of this paper I will try to review the achievements of Historical Revisionism up to now and to tell you what, in my opinion, are our prospects for the future.

My general impression is this: I am optimistic about the future of Revisionism but pessimistic about the future of Revisionists. Revisionism today is so vigorous that nothing will stop it; we need no longer fear the silent treatment. But Revisionist researchers are going to pay dearly for the spread of their ideas. It is possible that in some countries we will be reduced to some kind of samizdat activity, for we face increasing political and legal dangers, and our financial resources are dwindling (especially because of the expenses of our court appearances and convictions).

I. THE ZÜNDEL TRIAL (1985), OR "THE NUREMBERG TRIAL ON TRIAL"

The year 1985 is a great date in the history of Revisionism. It will be remembered as the year of the Zündel trial (or, to be more precise, of the *first* Zündel trial since a second trial is currently being prepared [and took place in 1988 —Ed.]).

Ernst Zündel

I think I know Ernst Zündel rather well. I met him in 1979 in Los Angeles at the first conference of the Institute for Historical Review. We have remained on good terms since then. In June of 1984 I went to Toronto, where he lives, to help him in his "pretrial" activities ("pretrial" being the period in which a Canadian judge decides whether the case before him should be brought to actual trial before a judge and jury). I returned in January of 1985 to Toronto, where, for almost the entire seven weeks of his trial, I again helped Zündel. In the future I will continue to help him as much as I can. He is an exceptional person.

Up until the trial he had worked as a graphic artist and publicist. He is 50 years old. Born in Germany in 1938, he has retained his German citizenship. His life has gone through serious upheavals since the day when, in the early 1980s, he began to distribute Richard Harwood's Revisionist pamphlet, *Did Six Million Really Die?* The pamphlet, published for the first time in Great Britain in 1974, was the occasion of a long controversy in the British magazine *Books and Bookmen* in the following year. At the instigation of the South African Jewish community, Harwood's pamphlet was banned in South Africa.

In 1984, in Canada, Sabina Citron, the head of the Holocaust Remembrance Association, organized violent demonstrations against Zündel. A bomb exploded at his house. The Canadian post office, treating Revisionist literature as it would pornography, refused Zündel the right to send or receive mail; he recovered his postal rights only after a year of legal wrangling. In the meantime his business had failed in spite of his excellent reputation in professional circles. At the instigation of Mrs. Citron, the Attorney General of the Province of Ontario charged Zündel with having published a false statement, tale or news liable to harm a public interest. Section 177 of the Canadian Criminal Code says the following:

> Everyone who willfully publishes a statement, tale or news that he knows is false and that causes, or is likely to cause, injury or mischief to a public interest, is guilty of an indictable offense and is liable to imprisonment for two years.

The charge against Zündel followed this line of reasoning: the defendant had abused his right to freedom of expression; by selling the Harwood pamphlet, he was spreading a story that he *knew* to be false; as a matter of fact, he could not be ignorant that the "genocide of the Jews" and the "gas

chambers" were established facts. By his actions he was likely to "affect social and racial tolerance in the Canadian community" (*Transcripts*, p. 1682). Zündel was also charged with having personally written and mailed a letter, "The West, the War and Islam," expressing the same ideas as the Harwood pamphlet.

Judge Hugh Locke presided; the prosecutor was Peter Griffiths. Ernst Zündel was defended by British Columbia lawyer Douglas Christie, assisted by Keltie Zubko. The jury consisted of 12 people. The English-speaking media gave the trial extensive coverage. It should be noted that the expenses of bringing the case to trial were paid for by the Canadian taxpayers, and not by Sabina Citron's Holocaust Remembrance Association.

The jury found Zündel guilty of distributing the Harwood booklet, but did not convict him of writing the letter. Judge Locke sentenced Zündel to fifteen months in prison and forbade him to talk or write about the Holocaust. The German consulate in Toronto withdrew his passport. The Canadian government initiated deportation procedures against him. Before that, the West German authorities had launched massive, coordinated police raids on the homes of all Zündel's German supporters, on a single day, throughout West Germany.

But Zündel had won a media victory. In spite of their obvious hostility, the media in general and television in particular had shown the English-speaking Canadian public that the Revisionists possessed documentation and arguments of top quality, while the Exterminationists had serious problems.

In the forty years that have gone by since the end of World War II, a new religion has developed: the religion of the Holocaust. It took shape at the Nuremberg Trial in 1945-46, which was followed by many other such trials, some of which are still going on. Numerous historians have made careers out of this religion: most notable among them is undoubtedly Raul Hilberg. A flock of witnesses, or so-called witnesses, had swarmed to the witness stands in the courts to support the existence of the genocide of the Jews and the use of homicidal gas chambers by the Germans: one of the most important of them was Rudolf Vrba.

In 1985, at the Zündel trial, the prosecution invoked, above all, the Nuremberg Trial, and secured the appearances of both Hilberg and Vrba. Zündel had predicted that his trial would

"put the Nuremberg Trial on trial" and would be "the Exterminationists' Stalingrad." Events proved him right. The injustice of the Nuremberg Trial was made manifest, Hilberg was shown to be an incompetent historian, and Vrba was exposed as an impostor. I will not discuss the other witnesses called to the stand by Prosecutor Griffiths, least of all Arnold Friedman, who was offered as a witness to the Auschwitz gassings. Battered by lawyer Doug Christie's questions, Friedman ended up confessing that although he had indeed been at Auschwitz-Birkenau (where he was forced to work only once, delivering potatoes), he could report nothing but hearsay about the alleged gassings.

The Injustice of the Nuremberg Trial

"International Military Tribunal": people have noted that those three words contain three lies. This "tribunal" was not a tribunal in the usual sense of the word but rather an association of conquerors who intended to deal with the vanquished according to the principle that might makes right. It was not "military" since, of the eight judges who presided over it (two Americans, two British, two French and two Soviets), only the two Soviets were military judges, the most important of them being I.T. Nikitchenko, a prominent Stalinist who had presided over the infamous Moscow trials of 1936-37. The "tribunal" was not "international" but inter-allied. It was based on the London Agreement, which had defined war crimes, crimes against peace (preparation and launching of an aggressive war), and crimes against humanity. The London Agreement was dated 8 August 1945, which meant that it came only two days after the Allies' obliteration of Hiroshima, and just 24 hours before the destruction of Nagasaki, while on the very date of 8 August, the Soviet Union was launching an aggressive war against Japan. The atomic bomb had been developed originally with the intention of using it against the cities of Germany; had that happened one wonders what kind of moral lesson the Allies could claim to have taught the Germans, as one wonders by what kind of right another "International Military Tribunal" judged the Japanese in Tokyo.

The "tribunal" had recourse to *ex post facto* laws and a theory of collective guilt. It judged without the possibility of appeal, which meant that it could be arbitrary, without fear of being reversed or overruled. It was a criminal trial, but there was no jury. The prosecution had formidable resources at its

disposal, especially in its control of the enemy's captured war archives. The defense has only laughable resources; it was severely limited in what it could do and it was under careful surveillance. For example, the defense lawyers had no right to bring up the Treaty of Versailles, in order to show that National Socialism had developed in part as a reaction to the effects of that treaty.

Articles 19 and 21 of the Charter of the International Military Tribunal stated:

> The Tribunal shall not be bound by technical rules of evidence . . . [and] shall not require proof of facts of common knowledge, but shall take judicial notice thereof.

Even worse, the same Article 21 in a sense gave the force of law to the reports of the war crime committees set up by the Allies.

The Nuremberg trial suggests to me the following analogy. At the end of a boxing match which has ended in a knockout, there remain facing each other a giant, still on his feet: the winner; and, on the canvas, his bloodied victim: the loser. The giant pulls the victim to his feet and tells him: "Don't think the fight is over! First, I'm going to the dressing room. When I come back, it will be in judicial robes, to judge you in accordance with my law. You'll have to explain every punch you threw at me, but don't bother bringing up the punches I landed on you: you'll have no right to mention them (unless I happen to be in an extremely good mood and decide to tolerate such talk)."

By acting thus in 1945, the Allies started out on the wrong foot. They treated the conquered with arrogance and cynicism. They gave themselves complete freedom to invent and to lie. But above all, they were careless. They should have attempted to prove their accusations in accordance with sound judicial procedures. There were and are established methods for doing that. For example, if the Germans had in fact ordered and planned the killing of all the Jews, it should have been mandatory for the Allies to establish the existence of such an order and such a plan; in other words, it was necessary to prove criminal intent. If the Germans had actually employed formidable death factories, i.e. gas chambers, it was obligatory to establish the existence of the gas slaughterhouses. In other words, the Allies had to provide evidence of the weapon of the crime; expert studies were required. Had the Germans in fact used that weapon, it was up

to the Allies to prove that inmates were killed by poison gas; they therefore needed autopsy reports.

But neither during the Nuremberg Trial nor in all the later trials of the same kind did the conquerors produce either a single proof of criminal intent or a single expert report on the weapon used in the crime or a single autopsy report on a single victim of the crime. Here we are dealing with an alleged crime of gigantic proportions, yet no one seems to have found either criminal intent, a weapon, or a single corpse. The victors satisfied themselves with *unverified* confessions and testimony *without cross examination on the physical nature of the facts.*

Return to Sound Judicial Methods

The charisma of Ernst Zündel lies in his understanding that the Revisionists are right when they claim that, in order to discover the truth about the Holocaust, they need only return to the traditional methods of both jurists and historians. Zündel's genius was in being simple and direct on a matter in which, for forty years, all the lawyers or defenders of persons charged with so-called "crimes against humanity" had schemed and maneuvered. In fact, from 1945 up to and including the Barbie case in 1987, not a single lawyer dared take the bull by the horns. Not one of them demanded that the prosecution prove the reality of the genocide and the gas chambers. All lawyers for the defense adopted delaying tactics. Generally, they pleaded that their client had not been personally implicated in such a crime; their client, they said, had not been on the scene of the crime, or really had been too far away to have had a clear understanding of it, or had been actually unaware of it. Even Jacques Vergès, Barbie's lawyer, pleaded that his client, according to the traditional formula, "could not have known." That over-subtle formula means that, according to Vergès, the extermination of the Jews did take place at Auschwitz or elsewhere in Poland but that Lieutenant Barbie, living in Lyons, France, could not have known about it.

Wilhelm Stäglich, in his book *The Auschwitz Myth*, convincingly described how at the Frankfurt Trial (1963-65) the defense lawyers had in that manner reinforced the prosecution; they accepted the myth of the extermination. The motives for that kind of behavior could have been either the intimate conviction among the lawyers, as among certain of the accused, that the abominable crime had really taken place,

or they could have been in fear of causing a scandal by simply seeking clarification about the reality of the crime. For almost all concerned, it would have been blasphemous to demand respect for traditional legal procedures in the trial of a "Nazi"; it must be understood that a "Nazi" is not a man "like other men" and that consequently there is no place for judging him "like other men." My personal experience with lawyers in trials of this kind leads me to think that many of them are also intimidated by their own incompetence in the historical or scientific domain. They have acquired the impression that it is impossible to answer the arguments of the Exterminationists and thus it is very difficult for them even to imagine how one would go about presenting the arguments of the Revisionists.

In Douglas Christie, Zündel was able to find a lawyer who, more than courageous, was heroic. It is for that reason that I agreed to support Doug Christie, day after day, as he prepared for and carried out his task. I must add that without the help of his friend Keltie Zubko we would not have been able to succeed in the 1985 trial, an exhausting ordeal which in retrospect seems like a nightmare. The atmosphere that prevailed in the courtroom was unbearable, especially because of the attitude of the judge, Hugh Locke. I have attended many trials in my life, including those in France during the time of the *épuration*, the postwar purge of "collaborators." Never have I encountered a judge as biased, autocratic and violent as Judge Hugh Locke. Anglo-Saxon law offers many more guarantees than French law but it only takes one man to pervert the best of systems: Judge Locke *was* that man. I remember Locke shouting in my direction: "Shut up!" when, from a distance, without saying a word, I thrust a document in the direction of Doug Christie (that exclamation and some others of the same kind did not appear in the trial transcripts).

Among the judge's innumerable rampages, I recall also the one provoked by . . . a square meter. In order to make the judge understand the impossibility of placing 28 to 32 persons in the space of a square meter (which is what Kurt Gerstein said he had seen), we brought in four sticks, each one meter in length, and we made ready to call 28 to 32 people. The judge bounced up, shouted that our procedure seemed undignified to him, and he forbade us to use it, adding, for good measure, a remark that is worth passing on to posterity:

> Before I could allow the jury to accept one square meter, I would have to hear [in the absence of the jury] a lot of witnesses who measured it. (*Transcript*, page 912)

Our method upset our opponents as well as the judge; it was resolutely materialist. We had an abundance of maps and plans of concentration camps, including aerial photos taken during the war by the Allies. We had available a mass of photographs, thanks most of all to Swedish researcher Ditlieb Felderer, who knew the most remote corners of the camps at Auschwitz and Majdanek. There were plenty of technical documents about cremations in the open air or in crematories, about Zyklon B, about disinfection gas chambers. I myself brought five suitcases of books and documents to Toronto, but I was just one researcher among others whom Zündel had gathered from different parts of the world.

Locke acted to neutralize our efforts. For example, he denied me the right to talk about Zyklon, aerial photos, and crematory buildings thought to contain homicidal gas chambers at Auschwitz. But I had been the first one in the world to publish the plans of these buildings and to prove, at the same time, that these alleged gas chambers had in reality been only morgues ("Leichenhalle" or "Leichenkeller"). Thanks to those plans, Zündel had large mock-ups built to show to the jury; but here again the judge intervened and forbade us to display the models, which had been made by a professional. Most important, Locke forbade me to talk about the gas chambers used for executions in the United States; he said that he did not see the relevance. In fact, the relevance was the following: the Americans used hydrogen cyanide gas for their executions; but Zyklon B, which the Germans supposedly used to kill millions of prisoners, also consisted essentially of hydrogen cyanide gas. Anyone wanting to study the chief weapon supposedly used by the Germans to commit their crime, ought, in my opinion, to examine the American gas chambers. That is what I myself had done, and I had concluded from that study that the homicidal gassings attributed to the Germans were, physically and chemically, completely impossible.

Nevertheless, in spite of Locke and his orders, we (Doug Christie and myself) demolished the expertise of Raul Hilberg and the testimony of Rudolf Vrba.

The Incompetence of Their Number One Expert: Raul Hilberg

Raul Hilberg was born in Vienna in 1926, of Jewish stock. He was awarded a doctorate "in public law and government" in 1955. Like the great majority of authors, both

Exterminationist and Revisionist, who have written about the Holocaust, he was not educated as a historian. He was appointed a member of the Holocaust Memorial Council by President Jimmy Carter. He is a member of the Jewish Studies Association. He is the author of a reference work: *The Destruction of the European Jews*, published in 1961. A second edition ("revised and definitive") of this book was published in 1985, only a few months after its author's testimony at the Zündel trial. This point itself is important; I will return to it later.

Raul Hilberg bore the title of expert. He arrived in Toronto cloaked in his prestige, without books, without notes, without documents, apparently sure of himself, a man used to giving depositions at numerous trials against "war criminals." He testified for several days at the rate of probably $150 an hour. Questioned by Prosecuting Attorney Griffiths, Hilberg spelled out his thesis about the extermination of the Jews: according to him, Hitler gave orders for exterminating the Jews; the Germans followed a plan; they used gas chambers; the total of Jewish losses amounted to 5,100,000. Hilberg did not hesitate to describe himself in these terms: "I would describe myself as an empiricist, looking at the materials . . ." (*Transcripts*, page 687).

As soon as the cross-examination began, Hilberg found himself out of his depth. For the first time in his life, he had to deal with a defendant who had decided to defend himself and was capable of doing so. Doug Christie, at whose side I sat, cross-examined Hilberg sharply, unmercifully, for several days. His questions were pointed, precise, relentless. Until then I had had some respect for Hilberg because of the quantity, not the quality, of his work; in any case, he stood head and shoulders above the Poliakovs, Wellers, Klarsfelds and the rest. As he testified my relative esteem was replaced by a feeling of irritation and pity: irritation because Hilberg constantly engaged in evasive maneuvers, and pity because Christie ended up scoring a blow almost every time.

In any event, if there was one clear result, it was that Hilberg was in no sense an "empiricist, looking at the materials." He was exactly the opposite; he was a man lost in the clouds of his ideas, a sort of theologian who has constructed for himself a mental universe in which the physical aspects of the facts have no place. He was a professor, all too academic, a "paper historian" like Vidal-Naquet. He began to stumble, starting with the very first

question. Doug Christie announced that he was going to read him a list of concentration camps and then ask him which ones he had examined and how often he had done so. Thereupon Hilberg revealed that he had not examined *any* of them, either before publishing the first edition of his major work in 1961 or after that date, not even for the "definitive" edition of 1985. Since he had begun research on the history of the Holocaust in 1948, we were thus confronted with a man who had acquired the reputation of being the foremost historian in the world in his own area of research without even once in 37 years having examined a single concentration camp. He had visited only two camps, Auschwitz and Treblinka, in 1979 ("One day in Treblinka, and perhaps a half a day in Auschwitz, half a day in Birkenau" [*Transcript*, page 779]); even that was merely to attend a ceremony. He had not had the curiosity to inspect either the premises themselves or the Auschwitz archives maintained at the camp. He had never visited the areas described as "gas chambers" (*Transcripts*, pp. 771-773 and 822-823). Asked to explain the plans, photographs and diagrams of the crematories, Hilberg refused, saying:

> If you are going to show me building plans, photographs, diagrams, I do not have the same competence as I would with documents expressed in words (*Transcripts*, page 826).

He estimated that more than one million Jews and "perhaps 300,000" non-Jews had died at Auschwitz (*Transcripts*, page 826), but he did not explain how he arrived at those estimates, nor why the Polish and the Soviets had arrived at a total of 4 million, a number inscribed on the monument at Birkenau (*Transcripts*, page 826).

Doug Christie then questioned Hilberg about the camps alleged to have contained homicidal gas chambers. Christie read out the names of the camps, asking Hilberg each time if that camp did or did not have one or more such gas chambers. The answer ought to have been easy for such an eminent specialist but there again Hilberg was out of his depth. Alongside the camps "with" and the camps "without" gas chambers, he created, improvising clumsily, two other categories of camps: those which had "perhaps" had a gas chamber (Dachau, Flossenbürg, Neuengamme, Sachsenhausen) and those which had had a "very small gas chamber" (for example, Struthof-Natzweiler in Alsace), so small that he asked himself whether it was worth the trouble to talk about it (*Transcripts*, page 896); he did not reveal his

criteria for distinguishing among those four categories of camps.

Then Hilberg was asked if he was aware of any expert report establishing that such facilities had in fact been homicidal gas chambers. He first turned a deaf ear, then resorted to evasions, repeating the most inappropriate responses. His delaying tactics became so obvious that Judge Locke, generally so quick to rush to the aid of the prosecution, felt himself obliged to interrupt to ask for an answer. Only then did Hilberg answer, with no further subterfuges, that he was aware of no such report. There are 14 pages of transcript (pp. 968-981) from the moment that embarrassing question was asked until the moment it was finally answered.

Did Hilberg know of an autopsy report establishing that such and such a prisoner's body was the body of someone killed by poison gas? There again the answer was: "No" (*Transcripts*, pp. 983-984).

Since Hilberg, on the other hand, emphasizes the testimony of witnesses so much, he was questioned about the testimony of Kurt Gerstein. He claimed that he had hardly used the confessions of this SS officer in his book at all. To that Christie retorted that, in *The Destruction of the European Jews*, the name of Gerstein was mentioned 23 times and that document PS-1553, an alleged statement by the same Gerstein, was quoted 10 times. Then several fragments of those confessions, in various forms, were read before the jury. Hilberg ended up agreeing that certain parts of the confessions by Gerstein were "pure nonsense" (*Transcripts*, page 904).[1]

It was the same with the confessions of Rudolf Höss. Hilberg, upset, had to admit in one case: "It's terrible" (*Transcripts*, page 1076). About one of the most important "confessions" signed by Höss (PS-3868), he admitted that here we had a man making a statement in a language (English) other than his own (German), a totally impossible statement which "seems to have been a summary of things he said or may have said or may have thought he said by someone who shoved a summary in front of him and he signed, which is *unfortunate*" (*Transcripts*, page 1230 [emphasis mine]). About the fact that, according to this "confession", 2,500,000 people had been gassed in Auschwitz, Hilberg went as far as to say that is was "an obviously unverified, totally exaggerated number, one which may well have been known or circulated as a result of some faulty initial findings by a Soviet Polish investigation commission in Auschwitz" (*Transcripts*, page 1087).

Sensing that he had to throw some dead weight overboard, Hilberg had no trouble in agreeing with Christie that some "historians," like William Shirer, had no value (*Transcripts*, page 1202). He was asked his opinion of the testimony of Filip Müller, the author of *Eyewitness Auschwitz: Three Years in the Gas Chambers*. Certain passages from the book, full of the purest sex-shop anti-Nazism, were read to him, and Christie demonstrated before the jury, thanks to an analysis by Revisionist Carlo Mattogno, that Filip Müller or his ghostwriter, Helmut Freitag, were simply guilty of plagiarism for borrowing an entire episode, virtually word for word, from *Doctor at Auschwitz*, the false account bearing the name of Miklos Nyiszli. At that point, Hilberg suddenly changed his tactics; he feigned emotion and, in a pathetic tone, he declared that the testimony of Filip Müller was much too moving for anyone to suspect his sincerity (*Transcripts*, pp. 1151-1152). But everything about this new Hilberg sounded false, since until then he had expressed himself in a monotonous tone and with the circumspection of a cat who was afraid of getting too close to the glowing embers of a fire. Christie did not consider it useful to press the point.

On two questions Hilberg really suffered: first, regarding the supposed orders by Hitler to exterminate the Jews, and then regarding what I personally call "the keystone of the Hilberg thesis." On page 177 of his book (1961 edition), Hilberg finally deals with the heart of his subject: the policy to exterminate the Jews. In a page which serves as a general introduction, he sets out the basis of his demonstration. For Hilberg, everything began with *two* successive orders from Hitler. The first order called for going out to kill the Jews on the spot, especially in Russia (the Einsatzgruppen were assigned that mission); the second mandated seizing the Jews and taking them to the extermination camps (this was the role of Eichmann and of his men). Hilberg did not indicate either the precise date or his sources for these two orders; on the other hand, he did furnish a precise date (25 November 1944) and a reference (document PS-3762) for an order that, according to him, Heinrich Himmler gave to stop the extermination of the Jews when he sensed that defeat was coming (*The Destruction of the European Jews*, page 631).

There would be nothing wrong with Hilberg's thesis if it were true that these orders had existed. But none of the three orders (the two Hitler orders and the Himmler order) ever existed; Hilberg's entire case was based on a mental construct.

But Christie had to stage a virtual war of siege before Hilberg would finally revise his statement and admit that he could not produce these orders. It takes 31 pages of transcript (pp. 828-858) from the point at which Hilberg is asked where the two orders from Hitler are until, having lost the battle, he admits that there were no "traces" of them. Christie also reminded Hilberg of certain statements that the latter had made in February 1983 at Avery Fisher Hall in New York City. There Hilberg himself developed a thesis which would hardly be reconciled with the existence of an extermination order. He said at that time:

> But what began in 1941 was a process of destruction not planned in advance, not organized centrally by any agency. There was no blueprint and there was no budget for destructive measures. They were taken step by step, one step at a time. Thus there came about not so much a plan being carried out, but an incredible meeting of minds, a consensus–mind reading by a far-flung bureaucracy. (*Newsday* [Long Island, New York], 23 February 1983, Section II, p. 3)

This convoluted explanation plunges us into the thick of theology and parapsychology. The extermination of the Jews–a gigantic undertaking–was supposedly done without any plan, without any centralizing agency, without a blueprint, without a budget, but by a consensus-mind reading by a far-flung bureaucracy, a bureaucracy being a machinery in which, in my opinion, one can expect anything but mind-reading and telepathy.[2]

As regards the order coming from Himmler, Hilberg also admitted that there remained no "trace" of it (*Transcripts*, page 860); the "reference" that he had given as well as the precise date were thus shown to be nothing more than an attempt to intimidate the reader.

But what is there to say about "the keystone of his thesis"? In *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, Arthur R. Butz wrote perceptively:

> Hilberg's book did what the opposition literature [Revisionist literature] could never have done. I not only became convinced that the legend of several million gassed Jews must be a hoax, but I derived what turned out to be a fairly reliable "feel" for the remarkable cabalistic mentality that had given the lie its specific form (those who want to experience the "rude awakening" somewhat as I did may stop here and consult pp. 567-571 of Hilberg). (*Hoax*, page 7)

A.R. Butz thus points out (on pp. 567-571 of Hilberg) what represents the center of the Hilberg thesis. In my turn, I wanted to seek "the center of the center," the "keystone," so to speak, of that cabalistic mental construct. I think I have found it at the top of page 570, where we read this:

> The amounts of [Zyklon] required by Auschwitz were not large, but they were noticeable. Almost the whole Auschwitz supply was needed for the gassing of people; very little was used for fumigation. The camp administration itself did not buy the gas. The purchaser was Obersturmführer Gerstein, Chief Disinfection Officer in the Office of the Hygienic Chief of the Waffen-SS (Mrugowsky). As a rule, all orders passed through the hands of TESTA, DEGESCH, and Dessau. From the Dessau Works, which produced the gas, shipments were sent directly to Auschwitz Extermination and Fumigation Division (*Abteilung Entwesung und Entseuchung*).

In that passage, Hilberg says clearly that at Auschwitz there were two uses for Zyklon: for gassing people and for fumigating objects. One single office directed those two activities: the one criminal and the other sanitary. That office even had one name: "*Abteilung Entwesung und Entseuchung*," which Hilberg translated as "Extermination and Fumigation Division." In other words, the Germans made no secret of the extermination of people by gas at Auschwitz since in that camp there was an office duly and clearly provided for that criminal activity. There was only one problem for Hilberg: "*Entwesung*" means "disinfection" and not "extermination" of human beings (however, "*Entseuchung*" does mean "disinfection"). Confronted with that evidence, which we established with the help of dictionaries, Hilberg made the mistake of trying to support his own translation and, during his re-examination by Mr. Griffiths, he brought a German dictionary to prove that "*Entwesung*" is made up of "*ent-*," meaning separation and "*Wesen*" which means "being" (*Transcripts*, page 1237). This was done to confuse (or rather to *try* to confuse for the sake of his cause) etymology and meaning. Even Prosecuting Attorney Griffiths appeared upset by his expert witness's laborious subterfuge, by which he had gone so far as to choose a German dictionary in which the word "*Entwesung*" did not appear— merely the word "*Wesen*."

A short time after the trial, I discovered that Hilberg had committed perjury. While still under the oath that he had taken in January of 1985, Hilberg dared to state before judge and jury that in the new edition of his book, then at press, he

still maintained the existence of those orders from Hitler of which he had just admitted no trace could be found (*Transcripts*, page 852). But he lied. In the new edition, the preface of which is dated September 1984 (Hilberg testified under oath in January 1985), all mention of an order from Hitler was systematically removed; his colleague and friend Christopher Browning pointed this out in a review entitled "The Revised Hilberg" (*Simon Wiesenthal Center Annual*, 1988, page 294):

> In the new edition, all references in the text to a Hitler decision of Hitler order for the "Final Solution" have been systematically excised. Buried at the bottom of a single footnote stands the solitary reference: "Chronology and circumstances point to a Hitler decision before the summer [of 1941] ended." In the new edition, decisions were not made and orders were not given.

This fact is important. It proves that, in order to be sure of convicting Ernst Zündel (whose thesis is that there had never been any order from Hitler or anyone else to exterminate the Jews), a university professor did not shrink from resorting to lying and perjury. That's the kind of person Raul Hilberg is, a professor and a researcher who in the coming years will have to face "the failure of a lifetime" (*Transcripts*, page 948).

The Unmasking of Their Number One Witness: Rudolf Vrba

Witness Rudolf Vrba was internationally known. A Slovakian Jew, imprisoned at Auschwitz and Birkenau, Vrba stated that he had escaped the Birkenau camp in April of 1944 along with Alfred Wetzler. When he returned to Slovakia, he said, he dictated a report about Auschwitz, Birkenau and their crematories and "gas chambers."

With the help of Slovakian, Hungarian and Swiss Jewish authorities, the report arrived in Washington, where it served as the basis for the famous "War Refugee Board Report" published in November, 1944. Thus every Allied organization charged with pursuing "war criminals" and every Allied prosecutor responsible for trying "war criminals" would have access to this official—and fabricated—version of the history of the camps. Rudolf Vrba and his companion Alfred Wetzler are at the origin of the official acceptance of the Auschwitz myth. A.R. Butz has admirably demonstrated that (see, in *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, the references to "Vrba" and to the "WRB Report").

After the war, Vrba became a British citizen. He published the story of his life under the title *I Cannot Forgive*; published in 1964, it was actually written by a ghostwriter, Alan Bestic, who, in his preface, dared to pay tribute to Vrba "for the immense trouble he took over every detail; for the meticulous, almost fanatical respect he revealed for accuracy; . . ." (page 2).

On 30 November 1964 Vrba testified at the "Frankfurt [Auschwitz] Trial." Thereafter he settled in Canada and took Canadian citizenship. He appeared in various filmed reports about Auschwitz and, in particular, in Claude Lanzmann's *Shoah*. Today he lives in Vancouver, where he is an associate professor in pharmacology at the University of British Columbia.

The gods smiled on Vrba until the day he faced Doug Christie. Arthur Butz's book provided us with some excellent elements to serve as the basis for Vrba's cross-examination. My documents (especially the "Calendar of Events in the Auschwitz Camp," the studies contained in the various volumes of the blue Auschwitz *Anthology*, Serge Klarsfeld's *Memorial to the Deportation of the Jews from France*, and various documents from the archives of the Auschwitz Museum) enabled us to ask Vrba some embarrassing questions. The impostor was unmasked in particular on three points: his supposed knowledge of the gas chambers and crematories of Birkenau; Himmler's alleged visit to Birkenau in January of 1943 for the inauguration of a new crematory with, at its highpoint, the gassing of 3,000 persons; and the supposed total of 1,750,000 Jews gassed at Birkenau from April 1942 to April 1944.

On the first point, it became clear that the witness had never set foot in the crematories and "gas chambers," for which he had even provided a plan—totally false—in his report to the War Refugee Board (November 1944), a plan that in 1985 he boldly persisted in claiming was true. Nothing corresponded to the truth: neither the arrangement of the rooms, nor their dimensions, nor the number of ovens, nor the number of muffles; for example, the witness placed the "gas chamber" and the room with the crematory ovens on the same level, with a sketch of a railway track running from one to the other for the flat car; in reality the room with the crematory ovens was located on the ground floor, while the "gas chamber" (in fact, a morgue) was located below ground, and no railway track could have linked an underground room with a room located on the ground floor.

Regarding the second point, Vrba likewise made up everything. Himmler's last visit to Birkenau took place in July 1942; furthermore, in January 1943, the first of the new crematories at Birkenau was far from finished (we even have documents from the construction staff which mention the construction problems caused by the winter cold). Vrba's book opens grandly with the alleged 1943 visit, described with a great wealth of detail; even the reflections and conversations of Himmler and of his entourage were reported. But all of that, too, derived from Vrba's imagination.

The witness had an exceptional amount of nerve. He claimed to have been everywhere at once, both day and night, in the vast Birkenau camp. He had seen everything and had remembered it all, thanks, he said, to "special mnemonic principles" (*Transcripts*, page 1563). According to Vrba, the Germans had "*gassed*" about 1,750,000 Jews *in Birkenau alone* in the space of just 25 months (from April 1942 to April 1944). Of that figure, 150,000 came from France. But Serge Klarsfeld, in 1978, in his *Memorial to the Deportation of the Jews from France*, had concluded that, during the entire length of the war, the Germans had *deported* to *all* their concentration camps a total of only 75,721 Jews (French, foreign, and stateless) from France. Vrba was asked to explain his particular estimate of 150,000 and his general estimate of 1,750,000. He began by calling the figure of 75,721 false. "From where do you have the figure? From the Nazi newspapers?" he asked (*Transcripts*, page 1579); but the number came from Serge Klarsfeld, a "Nazi-hunter." Then he tried to supply a justification for his own numbers, but to no avail, as we shall see below.

Despite his nerve, Vrba was forced into headlong retreat regarding his book. Instead of maintaining that in the book he had shown the greatest care for truth and accuracy, he declared that it was just a literary effort in which he had had recourse to poetic license. He used the following expressions:

> "an artistic picture," "an attempt for an artistic depiction," "a literary essay," "an artistic attempt," "art piece in literature," "literature," "artist," "license of a poet," "licentia poetarum" (*Transcripts*, pp. 1390, 1392, 1446-1448).

In brief, for the number one witness for the prosecution, this cross-examination was a disaster. We waited with curiosity to see how Prosecuting Attorney Griffiths would attempt, during the re-examination, to repair his witness's image. To everyone's surprise, Griffiths, probably exhausted by the trial

and exasperated by the lies of the witness on whom he had counted so much, finished off Vrba with two questions that came like two rifle shots. His first question—listened to by a hushed courtroom—was the following:

> You told Mr. Christie several times in discussing your book *I Cannot Forgive* that you used poetic license in writing that book. Have you used poetic license in your testimony? (*Transcripts*, page 1636)

Vrba, upset, mumbled a response, following which, without a pause, Griffiths asked his second question:

> Could you tell us, Doctor, briefly, how you arrived at the number of 1,765,000? (*Transcripts*, page 1637)

In order to appreciate fully both the question in its context and also the use of the word "briefly," we must point out that Vrba had been asked that same question by Doug Christie on several occasions and that each of his attempts to answer it had been interminable, confused, absurd and sometimes even unintentionally humorous. In responding to Griffith's question, Vrba was at a loss to avoid repeating himself:

> I developed a special mnemonical method for remembering each transport. (*Transcripts*, page 1639)

Griffiths, getting a little bit lost in his documentation, announced that he was going to ask one last question about Himmler's visit. He asked for an adjournment of the session. When the session resumed, Vrba took his place on the stand or, more exactly, in the witness box, located on an elevated platform between the judge and the jury. He waited for the return of the jury and the question on Himmler's visit. Then Griffiths, addressing the judge, declared:

> Just before the jury is brought in, Your Honor, I will have no questions of Dr. Vrba. (*Transcripts*, page 1641)

Everyone was amazed. Vrba looked completely crushed and the color drained from his face. He staggered down from the witness stand. Whereas on the first day he had seen the journalists and cameras crowding around him as befitted a witness who was going to set the Revisionists straight, on this last day he left the courthouse in the most frightening solitude. I am not pleading on behalf of Mr. Vrba; he has the arrogance of a professional impostor; he will hold up his head again, he will go back to his lies once more, I am convinced of that.[3]

Defeat and Victory of Ernst Zündel

The trial had taken a turn in our favor. I don't want to say that at that moment the jury would have acquitted Zündel; such a decision, taken in front of the judge, the journalists, and public opinion, would have demanded the kind of courage that is difficult, if not impossible, to find in a group of twelve persons picked at random from a society which has been subjected to the familiar propaganda about "Nazi crimes" for forty years. But Prosecuting Attorney Griffiths was obviously dejected.

Then came the witnesses and experts for the defense. Griffiths became even more disconcerted. He had not expected such a wealth of information from the Revisionists. Judge Locke was in a constant state of anger. He threatened that at the end of the trial he would charge Doug Christie with contempt of court. This sword of Damocles remained, until the final day, hanging over our lawyer's head.

Then the tide turned again in favor of the prosecution. Doug Christie decided to use the testimony of Zündel himself. *Perhaps* that was a mistake. For Griffiths then had the chance to cross-examine Zündel and disaster loomed on the horizon.

Zündel was certainly worthy of admiration but, by his refusal to condemn National Socialism, he convicted himself. Zündel's erudition, his unstudied eloquence, his sincerity, the highmindedness of his views were all forgotten in comparison with the admiration he was shown to have for Adolf Hitler and the compassion he exhibited for his German fatherland, which had been humiliated and mistreated by its conquerors. Griffiths, weak, nervous, and, as we were to learn later, exhausted by insomnia and excessive smoking, regained hope. In his summation he described Zündel as a dangerous Nazi. Judge Locke, in his own final address to the jury, did the same. The jury followed their lead. Zündel was found guilty of distributing *Did Six Million Really Die?*, but not guilty of sending people, especially outside of Canada, a personal message entitled "The West, the War, and Islam." He was sentenced to 15 months in prison, and was forbidden to talk about the Holocaust.

In January of 1987, a five-person appeals court decided to throw out the verdict and to cancel the 1985 conviction. They did so for some very basic reasons: Judge Locke had not allowed the defense any voice in the choice of the jury; he had improperly forbidden our experts to use documents, photos

and various other materials, and he had, in his final address, misled the jury on the very meaning of the trial.

Once again, Zündel and the Revisionists lost in Judge Locke's court but won before history. As mentioned above, Zündel had predicted that his trial would "put the Nuremberg trial on trial" and would be "the Exterminationists' Stalingrad." Events proved him right. But I fear that some day his health or even his life will fall prey to this terrible legal ordeal, especially in view of the fact that the Canadian government will stage a "Zündel Trial No. 2" in 1988, an even longer and more severe trial than that of 1985 [convicted once again, Zündel is appealing the verdict once more.—Ed].

II. JUDICIAL AFFAIRS AND OTHER AFFAIRS

Between September 1983 to September 1987, the legal repression against Revisionism in France was relatively mild. The Jewish organizations, disappointed by my conviction of 26 April 1983, decided to attack Revisionism by an indirect route: they chose a German officer, Klaus Barbie, as their target and they obtained his conviction. Barbie's trial and conviction were often described as a response to the rise of Revisionism.

The print and the broadcast press both played an essential role in this situation. The journalists, acting as both policemen and judges, orchestrated such a campaign against Klaus Barbie that only a maximum conviction of the accused was possible. At the same time, during those four years, they drummed up, one after the other, what are called "affairs" (the "Roques affair," the "Paschoud affair," the "Le Pen affair" and many others) which served them as occasions to call for a new legal repression. The most violent of the newspapers was *Le Monde*. On 1 July 1987, the French Federation of Journalist Societies asked the judicial authorities to penalize and silence the Revisionists. On 20 September, Charles Pasqua, Minister of the Interior, said that the place for me was in prison. A specific law against Revisionism is being prepared: a sort of "lex Faurissonia."

During the period under consideration three other events marked the rise of anti-Revisionism: the exhibition of the film *Shoah*, the awarding of the Nobel Peace Prize to Elie Wiesel, and, finally, the beginning, in Jerusalem, of the Demjanjuk trial. With only one exception (the case of the *Dalloz-Sirey* review), the French court system continued to repress Revisionism, but with a growing embarrassment. The

repression was demanded by the journalists of France, at the insistance of Claude Lanzmann.

I shall now review in detail those various judicial and non-judicial affairs.

I Obtain the Conviction of the *Dalloz-Sirey* Review

The Jewish organizations were not only disappointed by my conviction of 26 April 1983; they were also disconcerted by the fact that I, on the other hand, obtained the conviction of the judicial review called *Recueil Dalloz-Sirey* (in the Court of First Instance, in the Court of Appeal, and in the Supreme Court of Appeal). In France this review has the reputation of being "the jurists' bible." It publishes, in particular, noteworthy judicial decisions with commentaries called "notes under judgment." *Dalloz-Sirey* showed eagerness to publish the text of my initial conviction of 8 July 1981 (issue of 3 February 1982, pp. 59-64); that judgment, which was to be confirmed on appeal on 26 April 1983, but significantly modified in its basis, was marked, in my opinion, by a certain desire to punish; it was drawn up by one of my three judges, Pierre Drai, who turned out to be a Jew and a faithful subscriber to *Information juive.* But apparently Judge Drai had not yet expressed himself harshly enough regarding my case.

Therefore, the editor chosen by *Dalloz-Sirey* to present the judgment of 8 July 1981 and comment on it in a long "note under judgment" decided to go much farther. He proceeded in two ways: 1) He falsified the text of the judgment so as to smear me even more; and 2) he drew up a "note under judgment" with a tone so violent and so vengeful that one would have thought it had been written by Ilya Ehrenburg. The writer in question was Bernard Edelman, a lawyer, a former Communist of Jewish stock and a friend of Pierre Vidal-Naquet. Edelman presented me in his note as a proponent of the "method of absolute lying."

Dalloz-Sirey had never been successfully taken to court since its founding at the beginning of the 19th century. This time the review was convicted for "damages" for the manner in which it had reproduced the judgment of 8 July 1981. *Dalloz-Sirey* had to publish the text of its own conviction (edition of 4 July 1985, pp. 375-376) and to pay me . . . one franc in damages. The initial conviction took place on 23 November 1983; the decision was sustained on appeal on 8 March 1985; and a further appeal was dismissed by the Supreme Court of Appeal on 15 December 1986. Edelman had performed the trick of

cutting out 57 percent of the text of the judgment of 8 July 1981!

Ruinous Effects of My Trials

Almost inevitably, when I win my trials, I receive one franc in damages; when the other party wins, I have to pay significant and sometimes considerable sums.

The attacks against my person had become so violent and so outrageously false that I decided to appeal to the courts in two out of thousands of possible cases. On the one hand, I sued Jean Pierre-Bloch, president of the International League Against Racism and Anti-Semitism (LICRA) and the author of a book of memoirs in which he presented me as a Nazi and a falsifier who had been convicted of as much by the French courts. On the other hand, I sued the Communist newspaper *L'Humanité*.

I lost these two trials, as well as the appeals. The judges recognized that I had been defamed, but, they added, my adversaries had done so "in good faith." Consequently, they had to be acquitted and I was forced to pay all court costs. The *Droit de Vivre* (February 1985, page 7), the publication of the LICRA, triumphantly captioned its story: "To treat Faurisson as a falsifier is to defame him, but in 'good faith.'" This was an invitation for everyone to treat me as a falsifier, and that is what happened.

By the decree of 26 April 1983, I was sentenced to pay the costs of publishing that entire verdict. The judges estimated the expenses of publication at 60,000 francs, "with the possibility of a more accurate valuation being made later in view of the estimates and bills," which meant that 60,000 francs was only a minimum. Without submitting the text to me, the LICRA arranged to have it published in the magazine *Historia*. That text was seriously falsified. I sued the LICRA and got one franc in damages. That notwithstanding, I had to pay 20,000 francs for their publication of a distorted text. About sixty thousand francs of my salary was seized. At this time LICRA is again, as ever, demanding more and more money; it gets the money but keeps it, and still hasn't published the correct text of the 1983 verdict.

The Barbie Trial

The trial of Klaus Barbie and the hysteria it provoked was the occasion for legal measures against French Revisionists. Jacques Vergès courageously defended Barbie who, at the

time of the act with which he was charged in France, was only a lieutenant; it was his duty to assure the security of his comrades. In 1939 France had entered the war against Germany; in 1940, we had promised our conquerors to collaborate with them. Had Lieutenant Barbie carried out reprisals in Lyon and the surrounding district in retaliation for the actions of the Resistance, the Communists and the Jews in the same manner as the Israeli authorities retaliate against the Palestinians (i.e., with massive numbers of 500 kilogram bombs), the cost for the French population, in human lives and destruction of all kinds, would have been still more terrible than it was.

Jacques Vergès seems to have demonstrated that the famous telegram from Izieu (which is genuine and has nothing criminal about it) did not bear the signature of Klaus Barbie, but I personally do not have the documents which served as the basis for his demonstration and which allowed him to state that Serge Klarsfeld had been the source of that forgery; I therefore cannot make any judgment on that matter. On the other hand, I can say that at the Lyon trial German prosecutor Holtfort, who came to testify for the prosecution, and André Cerdini, who presided over the court, used an altered document: the Dannecker note of 13 May 1942. This note is found at the Center for Jewish Documentation in Paris as document XXVb-29. In the document Theodor Dannecker mentions, in passing, a chance conversation he had with Lieutenant General Kohl, who was responsible in Paris for rail transportation; in the course of that conversation Kohl appeared to Dannecker to be an "enemy" ("*Gegner*") of the Jews, agreeing 100 per cent with "a final solution to the Jewish question with the goal of a total destruction of the enemy" ("*eine Endlösung der Judenfrage mit dem Ziel restloser Vernichtung des Gegners*"). Presented this way, the sentence could give the impression that Dannecker and Kohl knew of the existence of a policy to exterminate the Jews. In reality, this sentence means that Kohl was 100 per cent in agreement with finally resolving the Jewish question; the Jew is the enemy and, by definition, an enemy must be wiped out. But it is not at all clear that he meant them to be physically wiped out; indeed the following sentence, which is always left out, provides some clarification: Kohl "showed himself also to be an enemy of the political churches" ("*Er zeigte sich auch als Gegner der politischen Kirchen.*"). The "enemy" camps are here clearly delineated: on the one hand, Germany and, on the

other hand, the Jews and the political churches. Kohl wanted to wipe out or eradicate the influence or the power of those two enemies of Germany. In neither case was it a question of physical annihilation. The nine word German sentence is always left out and replaced with an ellipsis (. . .) since it is too embarrassing for the Exterminationists.

Among the historians who have not hesitated to use such trickery, I will mention only:

> Joseph Billig, "Le Cas du SS-Obersturmführer Kurt Lischka," *Le Monde juif*, July-September 1974, p. 29; reprinted three years later in Billig's *La Solution finale de la question juive*, Centre de documentation juive contemporaine, 1977, p. 94;
>
> Serge Klarsfeld, *Le Mémorial de la déportation des juifs de France*, 1978, p. 28;
>
> Georges Wellers, "Déportation des Juifs de France, Légendes et réalités," *Le Monde juif*, July-September 1980, p. 97;
>
> Michael R. Marrus and Robert O. Paxton, *Vichy France and the Jews*, New York, Basic Books, 1981, p. 351.

On the spot, in Lyon, I gave Jacques Vergès an urgent letter informing him of the nature of that trickery, intended to convince people that, if Kohl and Dannecker were aware of the extermination of the Jews, Barbie could not have been ignorant of it. Unfortunately, Vergès had decided not to question the dogma of the extermination of the Jews and, to the very end, he maintained that policy of prudence. Following the example of so many German lawyers, he preferred to plead that Barbie "did not know" that the Jews were being exterminated.

On the Margin of the Barbie Trial

During the Barbie trial, life became difficult for Revisionists, especially in Lyon, where police and journalists set up guard. On several occasions the police called me in but I refused to attend their convocations, declaring that I preferred prison to "collaborating with the police and the French courts in the repression of Revisionism." Threatened with arrest, I remained firm. At the movies, they were showing *Shoah*; in the theater, they presented a piece on the Auschwitz trial (Frankfurt, 1963-65); on a large square in Lyon, the Jews organized an exposition—essentially symbolic—about the

Holocaust; in the schools, they vigorously indoctrinated teachers and students; in the local press they incited hatred of Barbie and the Revisionists. Around the court house, the forces of law and order were present with walkie-talkies, "just severe enough to discourage Revisionist demonstrations" (*Le Monde*, 18 June 1987, page 14).

This volatile situation was ignited by the appearance, just before the opening of the trial (only by coincidence), of the first issue of the *Annales d'Histoire Révisionniste* and by a leaflet, informal and polemical in tone, entitled "Info-Intox . . . Histoire-Intox . . . ça suffit. CHAMBRES A GAZ = BIDON" (Information-Intox[ication] . . . History-Intox[ication] . . . That's enough. GAS CHAMBERS = HOAX) and signed by a "Collective of High School Students of Lyon, Nancy and Strasbourg"; on the reverse side, the leaflet included drawings by cartoonist Konk showing the chemical impossibility of the Auschwitz gassings.

This witch-hunt atmosphere, in which the newspaper *Le Monde* stood out by its violence of tone, sometimes had laughable results. People suddenly thought that they had found traces of Revisionism in a scholarly work published eight years ago by a Jewish publishing firm, which hurriedly rushed to announce that the book's printing plates would be melted down at the earliest possible moment (*Le Matin de Paris*, 21 May 1987, page 12; *Le Monde*, 24/25 May 1987 page 10). A few days later, Serge July, director of *Libération*, after finding out that two Revisionist letters had slipped into the letters-to-the-editor column of his paper, ordered his own newspaper seized at the newsstands, fired the editor of the letters column on the spot, and decided to completely remake the paper's editorial board (*Libération*, 28 May 1987, page 34; 29 May 1987, page 45; *Le Monde*, 3 June 1987, page 48). The Gaullist deputy Jacques Chaban-Delmas appealed to French youth for a new form of Resistance: resistance against Revisionism (according to *Rivarol*, 29 May 1987, page 8). The publishers of high school history books had already received advice and threats from the "Comité des enseignants amis d'Israel" (Friends of Israel Teachers Committee) (*Sens*, December 1986, pp. 323-329) which left no doubt that on the occasion of the Barbie affair "scholarly editors ought to be aware of the eventual negative impact on the sale of their publications of any failure to follow suggestions" (*ibid.*, page 325).

Journalists Demand an Immediate Judicial Repression

Claude Lanzmann was distressed by the lack of success in France of his film *Shoah*, and by the impossibility of attacking me in court for the text (full of factual proof and references) that I had devoted to that propaganda landmark.[4] Pierre Guillaume, in fact, published and distributed that text with a title borrowed from a slogan dating back to the days of May 1968: "Open Your Eyes, Smash Your TV Set!". Lanzmann turned to Agence France-Presse (AFP) and got from it an initiative which will live in the history of the world press. On 1 July 1987, AFP published a long statement giving vent to its emotion about the Revisionist criticisms addressed to *Shoah* and demanding, consequently, that court authorities bring about "an immediate halt to the machinations of the Revisionists"—in the name of . . . "respect for free inquiry and the Rights of Man."

My analysis of *Shoah* was denounced as unspeakable. The text of the statement read as follows:

> The Federation believes that individuals like Robert Faurisson ought not to be able to write with impunity that which they are writing and disseminating. Unspeakable behavior and racism have their limits. The ethics of journalism forbid people to knowingly write just anything, the craziest anti-truths, with scorn for the truth and therefore for freedom to know. To smear a film like *Shoah*, which can only be seen with a terrible awe and infinite compassion, amounts to nothing more than an attack on the Rights of Man.

The Federation went on:

> The journalist is always a witness to his times, and in that sense Claude Lanzmann has done an admirable job as a journalist, for ten years gathering the most frightening testimonies, not only from the victims, but from their butchers, and from the Poles living near the camps. It is horrible, and that no doubt is what embarrasses the Revisionists, who apparently have not yet recovered from the Nazi defeat.

The Federation concluded:

> In the midst of the Barbie trial, and when Revisionist activities are increasing, it is urgent that the judicial authorities in the name of respect for free inquiry and the Rights of Man punish such unspeakable tracts and their authors, while at the same time preventing them from doing it again.
>
> The French Federation of Journalistic societies includes more than twenty societies (notably TF1, A-2, FR-3, Agence

France-Presse, *Le Monde, Sud-Ouest, L'Equipe* . . .), more than 2,000 journalists in all.

This communique was to have serious consequences. TF-1, A-2, and FR-3 are the three principal French television networks; Agence France-Presse is our primary press agency; *Le Monde* is the most prestigious of our newspapers; *Sud-Ouest* is the daily with the highest circulation in France; *L'Equipe* is the most widely read and most popular of the sport papers. I thus found myself condemned by what amounted to the whole of the mass media in my country; even the sports journalists condemned Revisionism. The Revisionists were described as individuals with shameful arguments, spreading shameful ideas and racism, writing just about anything—the craziest anti-truths—scorning the truth and freedom of inquiry, harming the Rights of Man, still not yet recovered from the Nazi defeat. In particular, the Revisionists had smeared an unchallengeable and admirable film that one could view only with terrible awe and infinite compassion.

Seizure of the *Annales d'Histoire Révisionniste* and Indictment (in Auch, France)

The mass media unanimously called on the judges for help; they demanded an immediate and permanent repression "in the name of respect for free inquiry and the Rights of Man." *Le Monde* distinguished itself by the intemperance of its attacks; in less than two months, it mentioned the Revisionists in more than twenty articles which were uniformly hostile; Bruno Frappat, for his part, denounced "the experts at lying, the gangsters of history" (*Le Monde*, 5/6 July 1987, page 31).

The judicial machinery immediately went into action. On 25 May 1987, with remarkable promptness, the Judge of Summary Procedure in Paris, Gérard Pluyette, at the instigation of Jean Pierre-Bloch, had already ordered the seizure of the first issue of the *Annales*. On 3 July someone named Legname, the investigating magistrate at Auch (department of the Gers), charged me with being an apologist for war crimes and with spreading false news on the basis of two of my articles published in the first issue of the *Annales*: one was entitled "How the British Obtained the Confessions of Rudolf Höss, Commandant of Auschwitz,"[5] and the other was entitled "Jewish Soap." Pierre Guillaume was charged for the same reason since he was the publisher of *Annales*. Carlo Mattogno was also charged, due to his study of "The Myth of

the Extermination of the Jews." An Italian citizen, he was, on 10 August 1987, the object of an international arrest warrant. The entire process had been set in motion by someone named Robin, the prosecutor at Auch, at the request of Madame Lydie Dupuis, an official of the League for the Rights of Man and a relation of François Mitterrand, the President of France.

On 20 September 1987, Charles Pasqua, Minister of the Interior, declared on the radio that as far as he was concerned the place for Professor Faurisson was in prison ("Charles Pasqua: Les thèses révisionnistes, véritable délit," *Le Figaro*, 21 September 1987, page 7).

A specific law against the Revisionists (a sort of "lex Faurissonia") is currently being prepared. It is even more severe than the June 1985 German law (the "Auschwitzlüge-Gesetz").

The Roques Affair

I will not linger on the Roques affair since Henri Roques, who is here, will make his own presentation on it. For my part I will only recall one aspect that illustrates the progress of Revisionism. In February 1979, Léon Poliakov and Pierre Vidal-Naquet, both Jewish in origin, were able to mobilize 32 persons, described as "historians," to sign a petition, the so-called "declaration of the 34 historians," against me (*Le Monde*, 21 February 1979, page 23). (Not all the signers were of Jewish origin.) In 1986, François Bedarida, a Christian of Jewish origin, succeeded in mobilizing against Roques only five "historians" (Pierre Vidal-Naquet and four other persons of Jewish origin), a rabbi and, finally, a media personality named Harlem Désir, who is himself perhaps also of Jewish origin (see *Libération*, 31 May 1986, page 12; *Le Monde*, 3 June 1986, page 14).

The Paschoud Affair (Switzerland)

Then, in Switzerland, came the Paschoud affair. Mariette Paschoud, 40, lives in Lausanne. She teaches history and literature in a high school in that city. Mrs. Paschoud is also a captain in the Swiss Army, and an auxiliary military judge. She visited Paris in order to preside over a conference at which Henri Roques was to present his thesis about the confessions of Kurt Gerstein. While not taking up the cudgels for the Revisionist thesis, she did plead in favor of the right to doubt and to research. The Swiss press attacked her so violently that the authorities of the canton of Vaud, her

employers, felt they had to take quick action: Mariette Paschoud was deprived of the right to teach history. But Rabbi Vadnaï of Lausanne felt that punishment was not enough. A new campaign was launched: Mariett Paschoud no longer has the right to teach either history or literature; her husband has been dismissed by the private school at which he was teaching a course in law.

The Noyon Affair (Switzerland)

Pierre Guillaume and myself were invited to visit the Documentary Film Festival at Noyon, Switzerland. The organizers were setting a trap for us: they were going to invite Exterminationist historians to reply to us, and would also show the films *Night and Fog* and *Le Temps du ghetto* (The Time of the Ghetto). Learning we had arrived in town, the Exterminationists sent a telegram at the last moment: they refused to meet us. The entire operation redounded to our advantage in spite of a scandal caused at the end by a local television celebrity who, perceiving our impact on the listeners, cried out that he found our presentation "obscene." A few Swiss newspapers headlined the event. The organizers of the festival discovered (a little too late) the "serious and dangerous" character of Revisionism.

Later, Pierre Guillaume returned to Switzerland with Henri Roques to deliver a paper there. The conference took place in difficult conditions and, as a result, the Swiss government prohibited Guillaume and Roques from entering Swiss territory (and Liechtenstein) for a period of three and a half years (*Le Monde*, 6 December 1986, page 7).

The Konk Affair

Konk (real name: Laurent Fabre) is a famous cartoonist. He started out at *Le Monde* and went on to the weekly *L'Evénement du jeudi*, published by J.F. Kahn. Konk is considered a leftist. He also showed himself to be a Revisionist. In a cartoon strip entitled *Aux Voleurs!* (Albin Michel, 1986), denouncing theft, lies and imposture under various forms, Konk summed up quite pertinently my argument about the chemical impossibility of the Auschwitz "gassings" in several drawings and captions. I recommend the reading of the three last pages of that strip to those who want to have a striking summary of Revisionism that even young school children can understand and enjoy.[6]

Konk was barred from the pages of *L'Evénement du jeudi* by J.F. Kahn. Recently, Konk gave an interview in which he delivered a sort of retraction (*Le Nouvel Observateur*, 25 September 1987, page 93). On the night before the publication of that interview he telephoned me to warn me and, at the same time, to explain to me that, banned everywhere and unable to find work, he had found himself reduced to the extremity of a public recantation. From time to time *Le Figaro* still publishes a drawing by Konk but there is no contract tying the cartoonist to the newspaper. In general, when I see a new Revisionist suddenly appear on the public stage, as was the case with Konk, I ask myself how many days it will take for him to retract.

The Folco Affair

Michel Folco is a journalist and photographer. He works chiefly for a monthly satirical journal, *Zéro*, directed by Cavanna, whose inspiration is libertarian. Despite his detached appearance, he is a scrupulous and thorough investigator. Starting with an investigation of Mauthausen, he ended up gathering a great deal of new information about the controversy between the Revisionists and the Exterminationists which future historians will not be able to ignore. His interviews with Georges Wellers, Pierre Vidal-Naquet, and Germaine Tillion illuminate a completely hidden face of the Exterminationist camp. It is regrettable that Cavanna abruptly put an end to Folco's articles because of his fear of the reaction of certain persons (see in particular *Zéro*, April 1987, pp. 51-57, and May 1987, pp. 70-75).

The Union of Atheists Affair

The Holocaust is a religion. It is necessary to seek to protect onself from its conquering and intolerant character. I wanted to know whether it was possible to lead an action against that religion among the ranks of the Union of Atheists, which in France includes about 2,500 people. I joined the Union of Atheists, which the Union's constitution states anyone can do, without any condition, even financial. The constitution also states that no one may be excluded. My membership caused a backlash, which the major press amplified. There followed a hundred resignations in protest against my entry. The president, Albert Beaughon, asked me to resign. I refused. The annual congress of the Union of Atheists took place in tumult. I persisted in my refusal to resign and awaited the results. To

borrow a phrase from Pierre Guillaume, "these atheists wanted to excommunicate [me] because they did not find [me] Catholic enough." But I must say also that I have learned that a good number of atheists, within the Union, defended me out of their concern for tolerance and, sometimes, out of Revisionist convictions (see, in particular, *Libération*, 6/7 June 1987, and 8 June 1987, page 18).

The Guionnet Affair

Alain Guionnet is a libertarian and Revisionist. He produces numerous tracts which he signs "The Black Eagle," courageously distributing them himself. Guionnet is the object of several different court cases. Jewish organizations and police and court authorities are upset by the phenomenon which is Guionnet: a man of blunt talk (sometimes slangy, sometimes mannered), a person difficult and unpredictable in character.

The Michel Polac and Annette Levy-Willard Affairs

Michel Polac is a star of French television. Of Jewish background, he has always struggled against Revisionism. In the past several years he has attacked me again and again. In May, 1987 he declared on television that I ought to be slapped in the face. On 12 September he showed a short excerpt from a video-film by Annette Levy-Willard, *L'Espion qui venait de l'extrême droite* (called in English *The Other Face of Terror*), devoted in part to our IHR conference in September of 1983.

In June of 1983 Annette Levy-Willard begged me to give her the address of the Los Angeles hotel where the conference was to be held. With the approval of Willis Carto, she was given the address in September. At the conference site she conducted her interviews in such a way and with such anti-Revisionist animosity that I refused to grant her an interview. Instead, I offered to make a one-minute statement before her camera. She agreed, but once I was on camera she prevented me from making that statement. I left, refusing to answer her questions. Furious, Levy-Willard confronted me in the lobby of the Grand Hotel, saying several times that she would have her revenge; Tom Marcellus, the Institute's director, was present. The lady's vengeance took the form of the video-film (*The Other Face of Terror*), in which she claimed to have discovered us in Los Angeles secretly holding an assembly of neo-Nazis and Ku Klux Klan members. They saw me, she said, as I was trying to hide (*sic!*).

Michel Polac promised at the end of his show that the following week he would give time to reply to anyone who felt he needed to defend himself. Accompanied by my two lawyers, I went to Paris the following week, to the studios where the taping of the show was taking place. Michel Polac simply had our entry barred by the guards and sent plainclothes and uniformed police after us.

The Jacques Chancel and Gilbert Salomon Affair

Jacques Chancel is another French radio and television star. Chancel invited me to come and debate one Gilbert Salomon on his radio program on 18 September 1987. I gladly accepted. After arriving in Paris, I learned that my presence on that broadcast would be "intolerable"; I had to return to Vichy. The broadcast featured only Jacques Chancel, Gilbert Salomon and several other resolutely anti-Revisionist voices. I was repeatedly insulted *in absentia*. Gilbert Salomon went so far as to admit that if I had been there he would probably have hit me. He was introduced by his "intimate friend, almost brother" Jacques Chancel as having been interned at Auschwitz for two years to the day, from 11 April 1943 to 11 April 1945; Salomon claimed that he had been the only escapee from a convoy of 1,100 Jews.

The truth is that Salomon arrived in Auschwitz on 1 May 1944, which is more than a year after the date that he gave during the broadcast, and that he was transferred from Auschwitz to Buchenwald, where he was liberated in April 1945; Salomon's convoy included 1,004 Jews, and Serge Klarsfeld, in spite of his manipulation of statistics, was obliged to recognize in his *Memorial to the Deportation of the Jews from France* (and the additional volumes) that after 1945 at least 51 Jews from that convoy had spontaneously come to the Ministry for Prisoners to report that they were alive. Furthermore, I discovered that Gilbert Salomon was counted by Serge Klarsfeld among . . . the gassed! The name of Gilbert Salomon, today a millionaire known in France as "the meat king," therefore appears, under the heading of those gassed, on a monument in Jerusalem at which all the names included in the above-mentioned *Memorial* are listed as if they were Jews who had died after being deported.

The Le Pen Affair

Jean-Marie Le Pen is the leader of the National Front, a populist movement which has more than thirty deputies in the

National Assembly.[7] He is a candidate for the presidency of the Republic. On 13 September 1987, on the televised broadcast "RTL-*Le Monde* Grand Jury," Le Pen was suddenly questioned on "the Faurisson and Roques theses." During his answer, he said:

> I am terribly interested in the history of World War II. I have asked myself a certain number of questions about it. I do not say that the gas chambers did not exist. I myself was not able to see them. I have not made a special study of the matter. But I believe they are a footnote to the history of World War II.

One must listen carefully to the complete recording of that rather confused interview in order to understand the situation in which Le Pen found himself and what he meant to say. The transcripts which appeared in the press are faulty. I personally listened, word by word, to the statments of Le Pen and of the journalists who interrupted him on several occasions. For me, it is clear that Le Pen, beginning with the first question, lost his composure; he was aware of the seriousness of the subject broached, and an abyss opened under his feet. He collected his wits as he spoke but the interruptions by the journalists made him lose his train of thought.

Le Pen did use the expression "point de detail."[8] The expression was unfortunate and did not accurately express what he wanted to say. What he wanted to say is what many Exterminationists end up telling me in what discussions I have with them: "Whether the gas chambers existed or not, that is a detail." I have heard, twenty times or more, people who believe in the Exterminationist thesis use that argument when they finally realize, in the midst of our conversation, that the gas chambers, after all, can't really have existed. Jean-Marie Le Pen, for his part, defended the opinion that the means of making the Jews disappear was only a footnote, in view of the fact of their disappearance. In effect, if one admits that there was, for example, an assassination, the weapon used to commit the crime is of relatively little import relative to the fact of the killing. It is ironic that an argument invoked by the Exterminationists to defend their thesis about the extermination of the Jews was considered a crime for Le Pen, whom people suspect—not without reason, in my opinion—of Revisionism.

Another irony was that no Revisionist would agree with Le Pen in saying that the gas chambers are a footnote to the history of World War II. In fact, without this specific weapon

used to carry it out, the specific crime of genocide is physically inconceivable. *Without a system of destruction there is no systematic destruction. Without the gas chambers, there is no Jewish Holocaust. The gas chambers are therefore not a footnote.*

One final irony is that Claude Malhuret, the Secretary of State charged with the defense of the Rights of Man, said, in response to Le Pen, that "the gas chambers are one of the keys to the history of the 20th century" (*Libération*, 15 September 1987, page 6). Every Revisionist will agree with that statement, adding only that it is the key . . . to a lie. The gas chambers are an essential myth, an essential lie. The gas chambers are less than a footnote, since they did not even exist, but the *myth* of the gas chambers is indeed "one of the keys to the history of the 20th century."

Five days after his statement, Le Pen more or less retracted it. In a clarification intended for the press, he mentioned "the gas chambers" as one weapon, among others, in which he said he believed. But the press, in its excitement to crush him, did not want to hear his explanations.

On the whole, for Revisionists the result of the Le Pen affair was positive. Thanks to this politician, all the French people heard about those who doubted the existence of the gas chambers and people now know more or less clearly that these skeptics are called "Revisionists." Today, when someone who does not know me tries, during a conversation about the Second World War, to categorize me, I can simply say: "I am a Revisionist." Before the Le Pen affair, that term would have been understood only by a tiny number of Frenchmen.

The Exterminationists can no longer advance the argument that they have recently tended to use more and more to extract themselves from embarrassment. They can no longer say: "The gas chambers are a footnote." The gas chambers will become the Exterminationists' shirt of Nessus; they will have to defend, to the bitter end, an indefensible thesis (the existence of the gas chambers), the fraudulent cornerstone of an edifice built with lies.

The Revisionists Banned by the French Media

The bottom line on my French television broadcasts is simple: in nine years, French viewers saw and heard me once, for 30 to 40 seconds, one night in June of 1987 at 10:15 p.m. on France's third television network. The newsreader, Jacqueline Alexandre, was careful to advise the viewers that I

was a sort of monster and, after my appearance, she confirmed for them that they had just seen and heard a kind of monster. The radio and the newspapers, of course, are closed to us. Rarely has such a small group of men had so much said about them, virtually all of it negative, with no chance to defend themselves.

For the past nine years, I have not been able to hold a single really public conference in France. Even some of my "invitation only" conferences have been prevented by the intervention of the police (for example, in Périgueux at the behest of Yves Guena and in Bordeaux at the behest of Jacques Chaban-Delmas, both deputies of the "Gaullist" right). In France, the Revisionists play a sort of devil role: people hear very much said about them, always bad, but people never see them. I have stopped counting the physical attacks on Pierre Guillaume, other Revisionists and myself. I believe I could qualify for listing in the *Guinness Book of World Records*, under the heading of "the professor most often insulted in the Western press."

Three *Shoah*-Business Events

Three spectacular events have sometimes been described in the French press as a reply to the rise of Revisionism: the movie *Shoah*, the awarding of the Nobel Peace Prize to Elie Wiesel, and the Demjanjuk trial in Jerusalem.

Shoah

I will not return to the case of *Shoah*, which I treated in the *Journal of Historical Review*, Spring 1988, pp. 82-92. In France the film had such a setback compared to the publicity from which it had benefited in all imaginable ways that one could, in my opinion, talk here about a "*shoah*-business flop." I will mention just the interview that appeared in *VSD* (9 July 1987, page 11), in which Claude Lanzmann revealed, with some relish, the subterfuges he had used in questioning the German "witnesses" who are seen in his film. He invented a name: Claude-Marie Sorel; a title: Doctor of History; and an institute: the Center for Research and Studies in Contemporary History; some stationery with a phony letterhead reading "Académie de Paris" (he must have known that his friend, Madame Ahrweiler, rector of the Académie de Paris, would not bring suit over this); and, finally, he paid his witnesses handsomely: DM 3,000 apiece, or around $1,500. In December 1987 Claude Lanzmann is to participate in the international conference at

the Sorbonne organized by Madame Ahrweiler and directed against the French Revisionists.

Elie Wiesel Receives the Nobel Peace Prize (Oslo)

In December, 1986 Elie Wiesel received the Nobel Peace Prize. On page one of the 17 October 1986 issue of *Le Monde*, under the headline "An Eloquent Nobel," it was emphasized that such a reward came just in time since:

> During the last few years there has been, in the name of so-called "historical Revisionism," the development of theses, especially in France, questioning the existtence of the Nazi gas chambers and, perhaps beyond that, of the genocide of the Jews itself.

In my September 1983 IHR conference paper I said:

> Elie Wiesel, if I may be allowed to use a familiar expression, is suffering from a terrible thorn in his foot: the thorn of Revisionism. He has tried by every means to rid himself of it. He has not succeeded. He seems less and less hopeful of ridding himself of it. In that respect, he is like the Revisionists, who do not see any more than Wiesel does how he will get rid of the thorn of Revisionism (*The Journal of Historical Review*, Summer 1985, page 178).

In December of 1986, I published a text entitled: "A Prominent False Witness: Elie Wiesel." In it I recalled that, in his autobiography (*Night*), this great Auschwitz witness did not even mention the existence of "gas chambers" at Auschwitz. For him, the Germans did exterminate the Jews, but . . . by fire, by throwing them alive into open air furnaces right in front of all the deportees. I could have added that in January 1945, after being offered by the Germans the opportunity either to remain in the camp to await the arrival of the Soviets, or to leave the camp with his guards, Elie Wiesel chose to leave with the German "exterminators" instead of welcoming the Soviet "liberators." His father and he both made the same decision, although both could have remained at one of the camp hospitals, the young Elie as a pampered convalescent in a small surgical ward, and his father in the guise of either a patient or a male nurse (*Night*, New York: Hill and Wang, 1960, pp. 82-87). In December 1986 Pierre Guillaume, Serge Thion and I went to Oslo (Norway) for the Nobel Prize ceremonies. The text "A Prominent False Witness: Elie Wiesel" was distributed on the spot in French, English and Swedish, including to some political people of influence, including Mme. Mitterrand, and including Wiesel himself.[9]

The Demjanjuk Trial

The Demjanjuk trial illustrates, one more time, the generalization as to how the lawyers for "Nazis" or for their "accomplices" play into the hands of the prosecution. In this case, Demjanjuk's lawyers refused to question the dogma of the extermination, and acted as if they really believed that Treblinka had been an extermination camp. In reality, it was a very modest transit camp, which was not the slightest bit secret. It was located 90 kilometers from Warsaw, near a small railway serving a gravel pit. One simple topographical study would demolish in a few minutes the myth of formidable secret gassings and of equally formidable open air incinerations of between 700,000 to 1,500,000 Jews. But the "paper historians," as well as the judges and lawyers in Jerusalem, would not dare to begin at the beginning, that is, with a study of the location of the historic "crime." "Treblinka" is now the apex of the great historical lie, more so than even "Auschwitz."

III. GAINS BY HISTORICAL REVISIONISM

In January 1987 a well-known Jewish weekly wrote:

> For Henri Roques, Mariette Paschoud, Pierre Guillaume and Robert Faurisson, 1986 was a very successful year. In France and in Switzerland, their names were on every tongue. (*Allgemeine Jüdische Wochenzeitung*, 23 January 1987, page 12).

In fact, the entire period that I deal with here (September 1983 to September 1987) was good for European Revisonism. In a more general way, in Canada and in Europe, one can say that during those four years the advances of Revisionism were important while the retreat of the Exterminationists became more serious.

Advances of Revisionism

On 4 July 1984 a fire arsonists set swept through our Institute for Historical Review, located in Torrance, California. IHR's office and stocks were virtually completely destroyed. Willis Carto, Tom Marcellus and their team succeeded, at the cost of considerable effort, in bringing our institute back to life—necessarily a somewhat slower life. In spite of that criminal fire and in spite of the harmful effects of the Mel Mermelstein lawsuit, the *Journal of Historical Review*

has by now published its 28th issue. In France, Pierre Guillaume has just created a quarterly review, the *Annales d'Histoire Révisionniste*. Its first issue, seized by the courts, caused a sensation; the major newspapers and even television mentioned its content and, especially, Carlo Mattogno's essay entitled "The Myth of the Extermination of the Jews." In 1986 Pierre Guillaume likewise published his own book, *Droit et histoire*, as well as the French translation/adaptation of Wilhelm Stäglich's *The Auschwitz Myth*, with a 25-page supplement in which I personally commented on photos and documents relating to that myth.

France is the first country in the world where a Revisionist academic thesis could be defended (in June 1985): Henri Roques's thesis on the Gerstein confessions. In the same year there appeared in Italy Mattogno's *Il rapporto Gerstein, anatomia di un falso* (The Gerstein Report: Anatomy of a Fraud), a work broader and more complete than Roques's thesis (which tried to do nothing more than study the *texts* attributed to Gerstein). Mattogno is a learned man in the mold of his ancestors of the Renaissance. He is meticulous and prolific; in the future he will be in the first rank of Revisionists. It is possible that, in the years to come, the Spaniard Enrique Aynat Eknes will reach the same level for his work on Auschwitz. In two years, the Frenchman Pierre Marais will doubtless publish the result of his research on the myth of the homicidal gas vans. In the United States, our Institute has published the works of Walter Sanning (*The Dissolution of Eastern European Jewry*) and also of James J. Martin, the dean of Revisionist historians (author of *The Man Who Invented Genocide*). The English translation of the Stäglich book is being prepared.[10]

Tribute from Michel de Boüard

Michel de Boüard was interned at Mauthausen. A professor of medieval history and also a member of the Committee for the History of the Second World War (Paris), he ended his university career as dean of the Faculty of Letters at the University of Caen (Normandy). He is a member of the Institute de France. In 1986, he defended Henri Roques and, more generally, criticized Exterminationist literature and expressed his respect for the quality of Revisionist work. A journalist from *Ouest France* asked him:

> You were president of the Calvados (Normady) Association of Deportees, and you resigned in May, 1985. Why?

De Boüard answered:

> I found myself torn between my conscience as a historian and the duties it implies, and, on the other hand, my membership in a group of comrades whom I deeply love, but who refuse to recognize the necessity of dealing with the Deportation as a historical fact in accordance with sound historical methods. I am haunted by the thought that in 100 years or even 50 years the historians will question themselves on this particular aspect of the Second World War which is the concentration camp system and what they will find out. *The record is rotten to the core.* On one hand a considerable amount of fantasies, inaccuracies, obstinately repeated (in particular concerning numbers), heterogeneous mixtures, generalizations and, on the other hand, *very dry critical studies that demonstrate the inanity of those exaggerations.* I am afraid that those future historians might then say that the Deportation, when all is said and done, must have been a myth. There lies the danger. That haunts me. [Emphasis added][11]

The Revisionists, whom people are at pains to denounce as negative, in fact perform a positive function: *they show what really took place.* They also give a lesson in "positivism" in the sense that their arguments are often of a physical, chemical, topographical, architectural and documentary nature, and because they accept as true only that which is verifiable. They defend history, while their adversaries have abandoned history for what the Jews call "memory"—i.e., their mythological tradition.

IV. THE RETREAT OF EXTERMINATIONISM

In the years 1983-1987, the Exterminationist thesis benefited from a financial, political and media mobilization which was as impressive as it was fruitless.

A Moral Disaster for Hilberg, Vrba, Wiesel and Lanzmann

For Raul Hilberg, Rudolf Vrba, Elie Wiesel and Claude Lanzmann, these four years have been rich in money, publicity and various honors but disastrous for their moral credit.

> —Raul Hilberg, the best "expert" on the Exterminationist thesis, was scuttled at the Toronto trial and was guilty of such *perjury* that in my opinion he would run a risk in coming back to testify again in a trial of that kind;[12]

—Rudolf Vrba, witness number one for the Exterminationist thesis, showed himself to be a kind of impostor: he himself had had to agree at the Toronto trial that his written "testimony" was, in large part, if not perhaps in its entirety, a work of fiction;

—Elie Wiesel, the most famous of the travelling salesmen of *Shoah*-business, is discredited amongst his own people. A few months after the first publication and significant distribution of my text entitled "A Prominent False Witness: Elie Wiesel," Pierre Vidal-Naquet himself was moved to declare:

> For example, you have Rabbi Kahane, that extremist Jew, who is less dangerous than a man like Elie Wiesel, who will say JUST ABOUT ANYTHING . . . Reading some of the descriptions in *Night* is enough to make you to realize that they are not accurate and that he ends up turning himself into a *Shoah* merchant . . . And in fact he also harms, greatly harms, historical truth. (*Zéro*, April 1987, page 57);

—Claude Lanzmann was awaited like the Messiah. For ten years he promised to respond definitively to Revisionist arguments with his film *Shoah*; but, in France, the film had the opposite effect; it made obvious the absence of rational arguments for Exterminationism—so obvious that, in a panic, Lanzmann, working through the French Federation of Journalist Societies, called for legal repression of the Revisionists.

"Functionalism" is a major concession to Revisionism, and the "intentionalists" have virtually disappeared.

Bankruptcy Statement in Ten Points

The bankruptcy statement of Exterminationism can be drawn up in the following terms: the Exterminationists have been forced to recognize no one can find any document (either German or Allied) to support their theses. There are:

1. NO *order* to exterminate the Jews;
2. NO *plan* for carrying out that extermination;
3. NO *central organization* to coordinate the execution of such a plan;
4. NO *budget*; but nothing can be done without money or credits;

5. NO *organ of control*; but, in a country at war, everything must be controlled;
6. NO *weapon*, for there is no expert study of the weapon of the crime: either of a homicidal gas chamber or of a homicidal gas van;
7. NO *body*, for no one has any autopsy report proving that a single person was killed by poison gas;
8. NO *transcript of the reenactment* of the crime, although in France an inquest into a murder is normally accompanied by the reenactment at the scene of the crime;
9. NO *witness capable of withstanding cross-examination on the very material aspects of the crime* because during the Toronto trial, where for the first time someone dared to carry out that kind of cross-examination, the best "witnesses" were confounded;
10. NO *verified confession*, for the Gerstein confessions and the confessions of Rudolf Höss, when finally analyzed, are shown to be devoid of value and impossible to defend (even by Raul Hilberg).

I am afraid that the brevity and speed with which I have enumerated these points may conceal the importance of each of those ten elements. I will therefore pause for a moment on the first of them: the absence (today admitted by everyone) of an order to exterminate the Jews.

From 1945 to 1980, people vilified anyone who dared to express the idea that there had never been such an order. Either the order existed and its existence had to be demonstrated, or else it did not exist and it was necessary to admit that: that is what common sense said but that is also what no one among the spectators to the controversy (journalists, historians, professors) dared to say. For 35 years the Exterminationists carried on a deception. They blocked historical research and they paralyzed any common-sense reaction. The lesson is worth pondering. The Waldheim affair, to take only one example, only repeats this lesson: if Lieutenant Waldheim is guilty of a "war crime" or of a "crime against humanity," then Edgar Bronfman, president of the World Jewish Congress, must tell us in detail what his crime was, and must then present proof of it. Anything else is just media hysteria, intellectual terrorism, or the production of false documents.

The Revision of "Wannsee"

For more than 35 years, the Exterminationists led us to believe that the transcript of the Wannsee Conference (20 January 1942) anticipated the extermination of the Jews. Then, without a word, they abandoned this pretense. The Wannsee document in itself is suspect. Many Revisionists refuse, consequently, to grant it the slightest value. That was the case with me, but it is no longer. I believe above all that this document was poorly read, even by me. We have all been victims of such psychological conditioning that we were unable to see in the two crucial paragraphs words like "Freilassung" (release) and "Aufbaues" (revival) as well as the sentence in parentheses: "Siehe die Erfahrung der Geschichte" (See the experience of history).[13] In light of these words, which people sometimes leave out when they supposedly reproduce the transcript, I say that what Heydrich envisioned at the Berlin-Wannsee meeting was a *release* ("Freilassung") of the Jews who survived the war and a *Jewish revival* ("jüdischen Aufbaues") after the terrible time of testing through wartime forced labor.

History is full of such physical and moral trials out of which a people is said to emerge "regenerated." The National Socialists, in this respect close to the Zionists, thought that after the war "the best" among the Jews would constitute an elite: the germ cell of a Jewish renewal in which physical labor, agricultural colonies, and the feeling of a common destiny would open the way to the creation of a Jewish national homeland; the Jews would finally constitute a nation among other nations, in place of being "parasites." I recall that in March 1942, and perhaps later, there was at least one kibbutz at Neuendorf, in National Socialist Germany (*Documents on the Holocaust*, Yad Vashem, 1981, page 155).

Hilberg and Browning Reduced to "Nothing"

The retreat of the Exterminationists over a period of 35 years can be measured in the successive explanations they have given for the order supposedly given by Hitler to exterminate the Jews. At first they gave to believe that there was a *written* order, then the order was described as *spoken* order; today they ask us to believe that the order supposedly consisted of a simple "*nod*" (*sic*) by Hitler who, by virtue of a kind of mind-reading, supposedly had been instantly understood by a whole bureaucracy. The "nod" theory comes

from Christopher Browning[14]; the telepathic consensus theory comes from Raul Hilberg. We are thus nearing the domain of nothingness. Hilberg, who was himself once a member of the written-order faction (even two written orders), realized early on that he could not furnish any proof of the existence of the order (or orders). At a later date, in about 1984, he realized that the theory of the spoken order was also insupportable; at the Stuttgart Conference (3-5 May 1984), he in effect adopted a Revisionist argument as his own, saying as regards the alleged spoken order received by Eichmann or Höss:

> Eichmann und Höss haben nicht selbst mit dem Führer gesprochen. So hören wir nur von einem Mann wie Eichmann, der von Heydrich gehört hatte, der von Himmler gehört hatte, was Hitler gesagt hatte. Für Geschichtsschreiber ist das allerdings nicht die beste Quelle. (*Der Mord an den Juden im Zweiten Weltkrieg* [The Murder of the Jews in the Second World War], DVA, 1985, page 187).
>
> (Eichmann and Höss did not themselves speak with the Führer. So we learn only from a man—Eichmann—who heard what Hitler had said from Heydrich, who had heard it from Himmler. For the historian, this is certainly not the best source.)

Klarsfeld's Trickery and an Admission

Serge Klarsfeld, the husband of "Nazi-hunter" Beate, has involuntarily contributed to the retreat of Exterminationism. In order to support the thesis of the alleged homicidal gassings at Auschwitz-Birkenau, he was forced to employ a clumsy trick.

In 1980, Klarsfeld published an album of nearly 190 photos which had been taken by a German photographer at Auschwitz in 1944. Some of these photos were already known. The whole album should have been published in 1945; it is so full of information that I personally know of nothing more enlightening about the reality of Auschwitz than these astonishing photographs. Klarsfeld entitled the first, relatively honest, publication of the photos *The Auschwitz Album/Lili Jacob's Album* (New York, The Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, preface dated 5 August 1980). This edition was not offered commercially but seems to have been reserved for major libraries around the world, as well as for major Jewish organizations.

In the following year, he published the same photographs under the following title: *The Auschwitz Album/A Book Based*

Upon an Album Discovered by a Concentration Camp Survivor, Lili Meier, text by Peter Hellman (New York, Random House, 1981). This time the presentation of the book and the commentary on the photos was dishonest.

It was in the French edition that Klarsfeld lapsed into trickery pure and simple. It must be said that he was helped by a strange character: a pharmacist named Jean-Claude Pressac, whose collaboration even George Wellers had ended up rejecting. The title of the French edition was: *L'Album d'Auschwitz, d'après un album découvert par Lili Meier, survivante du camp de concentration*, text by Peter Hellman, translated from English by Guy Casaril, French edition established and completed by Anne Freyer and Jean-Claude Pressac (Editions du Seuil, 1983). The order of the photos was completely rearranged so as to illustrate the Exterminationist thesis. Titles for the various sections of the original album were transformed; new captions were even forged so as to make people believe that they were original; the commentaries turned out to be purely arbitrary. A plan of Birkenau was added (page 42), but it was a plan that had been *deliberately falsified.* For example, in order to convince the reader that the groups of Jewish women and children surprised by the photographer between Crematories II and III could go no further and were therefore going to end up in the "gas chambers" in those crematories, Klarsfeld and Pressac had quite neatly removed a road through there which, in reality, led to a large shower facility (located beyond the zone of the crematories, to which the women and children were proceeding). Another deception consisted of leaving out any mention of the existence of a soccer field ("Sportplatz") next to Crematory III: the recreational spirit of such a playing field did not mix well with its proximity to a building in which thousands of Jews were supposedly gassed every day.

On 29 May 1986, in an interview in the weekly magazine *VSD* (page 37), Klarsfeld admitted that he had not yet published the "real proofs" of the existence of the gas chambers but only "beginnings of some proofs which embarrassed the Faurissonians but have not yet silenced them." So we have the admission of this revenge seeker that the entire world had been made to believe in those gas chambers without any proof having been published as late as May of 1986—more than forty years after the end of the war. For Klarsfeld to say that was to admit implicitly that Georges Wellers had not published the "real proofs" in his 1981 book

Les Chambres à gaz ont existé/ Des documents, des témoignages, des chiffres (The Gas Chambers Existed/Documents, Testimony, Numbers) (Gallimard). In fact, what Wellers's book demonstrated was the existence of crematories. Klarsfeld's statement also meant that another book had been a failure: *Les Chambres à gaz, secret d'Etat* (The Gas Chambers, State Secret) (written by 24 authors, including Wellers, Editions de Minuit, 1984; original German edition, published by Fischer Verlag in 1983, entitled *NS-Massentötungen durch Giftgas* [NS Mass Murders by Poison Gas]. In effect, that work was based on the following theory: since the gas chambers were the greatest of all possible secrets, a State Secret, people ought not to expect to discover proof in the usual sense of the word. The cover of the book showed . . . a container of Zyklon. As I heard Professor Michel de Boüard himself say, "in this book they snipe at us with references and there is nearly no source." Personally, I would add that these references have no scholarly value; they refer back, for the most part, to statements about Auschwitz, Treblinka, Sobibor, etc., made by German prosecutors or judges. But what is concealed from us is that all those statements have one common source: an office located at Ludwigsburg and run at the time by Adalbert Rückerl (Landesjustizverwaltung zur Aufklärung von NS-Verbrechen). In other words, Herr Rückerl, one of the main authors of the book, is constantly citing himself to prove that he is right!

In 1987 journalist Michel Folco visited me. I showed him the interview with Serge Klarsfeld. I pointed out that I have sent *VSD* a text in hopes of being granted the "right to reply," a right that was finally refused to me. Folco later went on to visit, on the one hand, Georges Wellers and, on the other hand, Serge Klarsfeld. Wellers was aware of the *VSD* interview with Klarsfeld and found it annoying and deplorable. There followed a hullabaloo at the end of which Klarsfeld, on 23 March 1987 (ten months after the interview); drew up a denial, but a denial which amounted to a confirmation. Instead of appearing in *VSD*, Klarsfeld's denial appeared in George Wellers's magazine, *Le Monde juif* (January-March 1987, page 1). Klarsfeld wrote:

> It is evident that in the years since 1945 the technical aspects of the gas chambers have been a neglected subject, since no one imagined that some day we would have to prove their existence.

This admission is significant. According to Klarsfeld himself, the Exterminationists had "neglected" the "technical aspects" of the weapon of the crime. No court, beginning with Nuremberg, had troubled to follow the procedure normally used in every such criminal trial. The gas chamber is the central pillar of the whole structure of crimes attributed to the Germans; but people had "neglected" to study it in its "technical aspects."

Results of Admission by Jean Daniel

In France, Jean Daniel's *Le Nouvel Observateur* was the mass circulation weekly most eager to combat the Revisionists. On more than one occasion, it published photos that supposedly showed "gas chambers." But, having lost the battle, the magazine admitted on 26 April 1983 (page 33):

There is no photograph of a gas chamber.

Which means that what people today still persist in describing to tourists as gas chambers at Struthof, Mauthausen, Hartheim, Dachau, Majdanek, and Auschwitz are only intended to lure visitors. From September 1983 to September 1987, the French press in effect gave up showing photos of gas chambers, a fact which represents some improvement over the American press, which continues to publish such photos.

Fear of Revealing the Documents

In 1986 Gerald L. Posner, a Jewish lawyer from the United States, published a book entitled *Mengele: The Complete Story* (in collaboration with John Ware, New York, McGraw-Hill). The title is misleading because the author obviously conceals what Mengele happened to write, after the war, about Auschwitz. On page 48, it is said that, according to his son Rolf, Mengele appeared to be "quite unrepentant and felt no shame" about the years he spent at Auschwitz. As far as I am concerned, I am inclined to believe that Mengele felt neither repentance nor shame since he had nothing to repent or feel shame about. I am convinced that his personal papers fully confirm the Revisionist position and that, for that reason, the Exterminationists, who were able to get hold of his papers with the help of Mengele's son Rolf, refuse to divulge their contents ("In Rolf's apartment were two bags filled with more than thirty pounds of Mengele's personal writings," page 302). I am thinking in particular about one piece entitled "Fiat Lux" (mentioned on page 316); the title leads me to think that in it Mengele shed some light on what really happened at

Auschwitz. I am not alone in thinking that Posner, Rolf Mengele and the whole group of supposed experts or researchers are hiding some documents from us. We read in *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* (Vol. 2, No. 1, 1987, page 9):

> Had [Mengele], who did not repent a thing, really not written anything about these decisive years? And, if he has written about these years, who has destroyed or hidden these notes?

I believe that the treatment given to Dr. Mengele's writings constitutes an implicit proof that the Revisionists are right when they assert that essential documents are being withheld from examination by historians. The truth about Auschwitz can be found in Moscow, Arolsen (West Germany), and New York City: in New York (or somewhere in Germany) with the Mengele manuscripts; in Arolsen, at the International Tracing Service, closed to Revisionists since 1978, a place rich in invaluable documents on the individual fates of every individual interned at Auschwitz; and in Moscow, where up until now they have kept from public view the almost complete set of death registers (*Totenbücher*) drawn up by the Germans at Auschwitz from 1940 to 1945 (the other two or three registers are located at the Auschwitz Museum and perhaps also in photocopy form at Arolsen, but there again consultation of them is prohibited).

My question is: Why have the Holocaust historians approved of this systematic concealment of documents, which has gone on now for decades? What are they waiting for before they will publish the documents?

Wartime Jewish Pressure to Credit the Rumors

In 1985, David S. Wyman published *The Abandonment of the Jews/America and the Holocaust, 1941-1945*, Pantheon books (copyright 1984). This book is in the tradition of similar works in which Arthur Morse, Walter Laqueur and Martin Gilbert have explored what the Allies could have known about Auschwitz or other "extermination camps" during the war. Its author displays a credulity and even a simple-mindedness that Europeans tend to call "American." The preface was written by "false witness" Elie Wiesel and the testimony with which the book opens comes from Hermann Gräbe, a well-known perjurer (see *Der Spiegel*, 29 December 1965, pp. 26-28). According to Wyman, the Allies ought to have believed what they heard about Auschwitz or about Treblinka, but they did not. Even in Moscow, in May 1945, the American newspaper

correspondents were apparently inattentive or skeptical. He writes:

> Also, apparently, the American correspondents were unaware of or disbelieved earlier reports on Auschwitz [earlier than the famous one of May 6, 1945], including the much publicized one released by the WRB [War Refugee Board] the preceding November (page 326 n. 1).[15]

The Allies were right not to believe either the WRB Report of November 1944, based principally on Rudolf Vrba, or the official Soviet report about Auschwitz dated 6 May 1945, also known as Nuremberg document USSR-008: two of the four signers were the biologist Lysenko and the metropolitan Nikolaus or Nikolai; the first was later shown, after the war, to be a fraud, while the second dared to sign the false expert report of 24 January 1944, attributing the Katyn massacre to the Germans (document USSR-054). Page after page, David Wyman involuntarily helps show that the Revisionists are right on two essential points:

1. The alleged "news" about the extermination of the Jews consisted of nothing more than confused, vague, contradictory, absurd rumors;
2. Jewish organizations, especially the World Jewish Congress, presided over by Rabbi Stephen Wise, constantly exerted pressure on governmental bodies and the media to present these rumors as news.

The word "pressure" comes up again and again in this book. The alleged indifference or inactivity of American Jewish organizations during "the Holocaust" is a myth. The reality is that, in spite of their incessant pressure, these organizations encountered great scepticism, which is quite normal when one considers the lack of substance of the alleged "news" about "the extermination of the Jews." In any event, the book reveals, in spite of the author's intention, how the myth of the Holocaust and the gas chambers began and developed during the war. Wyman could have saved himself a lot of work if he had read the marvelous text by Arthur Butz, entitled "Context and Perspective in the 'Holocaust' Controversy," presented at the 1982 Revisionist conference and printed at the end of recent editions of *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* (pp. 335-369).

Concessions by Pierre Vidal-Naquet

Pierre Vidal-Naquet has just republished his anti-Revisionist writings. His book in entitled *Les Assassins de la Mémoire*

(Editions de la Découverte, 1987). The author makes a certain number of concessions to the Revisionists, the first one in criticizing them (in his words) not for killing history but for killing "memory." He says they are right on all sorts of subjects:

—the more than suspect character of the testimony attributed to SS man Pery Broad (page 45);

—the value of the "material gathered at Nuremberg" (page 47);

—the fact that Simone Veil (under her maiden name of Simone Jacob) had been counted as having been gassed (page 65) (it should be noted in passing that the same thing happened to the Communist official of the largest French workers organization, Henri Krasucki, and to his mother, as well as to thousands of other less famous French Jews);

—that the Jewish people have become sacrosanct thanks to Auschwitz, and the profit that Israel and some Jewish groups derive from this (page 125, 130, 162, 214 [notes 90 and 93], 223 [note 90]);

—the testimony of SS man Gerstein which is "full of contradictions and things that are hard to believe" (page 154);

—the number of dead at Auschwitz: 4 million according to the Poles and the Soviets, "around three and a half million" for Lanzmann, but a million for Vidal-Naquet (personally, I believe that about 60,000 died but no inquest has yet been conducted and the death registers of Auschwitz are still kept hidden by the Allies);

—the "imaginary gas chambers" (page 219, n. 44).

The most interesting concession is one that relates to Auschwitz I: Vidal-Naquet no longer believes in the authenticity of the gas chamber in that camp. But the "gas chamber" of Auschwitz I is still visited by millions of tourists to whom it is described as authentic (pp. 131-132, n. 94 and page 214). I will mention here that the first person, among historians of Jewish origin, to say there was no gas chamber at Auschwitz I was Olga Wormser-Migot, in 1968 (*Le Système concentrationnaire nazi (1933-1945)*, Presses Universitaires de France). She wrote at that time "Auschwitz I [. . .] without a gas chamber" (page 157).

Vidal-Naquet has been active as a persecutor of the Revisionists. He went so far as to testify in court against men

in the Poliakov affair (see "Revisionism on Trial; Developments in France, 1979-1983," *Journal of Historical Review*, Vol. 6, no. 2 [Summer 1985], pp. 155-160). In his opinion, "We must talk *about* the Revisionists . . . we do not talk *with* the Revisionists" (*Les Assassins de la Mémoire*, page 10). To draw an analogy from sports, Vidal-Naquet thinks he is better than Faurisson at tennis; not only that, he claims Faurisson cheats at tennis. Should the latter suggest a match, before a referee and in public, Vidal-Naquet would respond that he would certainly like to play but only on the condition that there be no opponent. He would ask the judge to declare him the winner in advance; the public's job would simply be to confirm that decision.

Vidal-Naquet is in favor of repression against those whom he calls "the assassins," "the little abject band," "the shits." But, after witnessing repression in its legal form, Vidal-Naquet regards it as dangerous; indeed, French judges do condemn the Revisionists, as they are asked to do, but not as severely as Vidal-Naquet and his friends had hoped. He writes:

> Legal repression is a dangerous weapon which can backfire on those who use it. The trial brought in 1979 against Faurisson by various anti-racist associations ended in a decree of the Court of Appeal of Paris dated 26 April 1983 which recognized the seriousness of Faurisson's work (that beats all!), and in the end convicted him only for having acted with malevolence in summing up his theses in slogans. (page 182)

Here the retreat of the Exterminationists is illustrated by the fact that they are finally forced to admit, four years after the fact, that the Court in Paris recognized the seriousness of my work and in the end punished me (severely!) simply for having, in its opinion, acted malevolently in summing up my thesis in slogans. It must not be forgotten that for four years, from 1983 to 1987, the Exterminationists succeeded in concealing the content of the decree of 26 April 1983, or else distorting it to the point of saying that I had been convicted of falsifying history.

Other Concessions

In France, certain Jewish authors no longer believe in the gas chambers, or else advise people not to dwell too much on examining the existence of that formidable weapon.

Such is the case with Joseph Gabel, who wrote that it is "with a real skill that Faurisson has been able to exploit the faults of his adversaries" and has been able "to make the debate

swerve toward the least solid positions of the 'Exterminationists': the exact number of the victims and the technical problems posed by the function of the gas chambers." He adds:

> It was useless and dangerous to enter into such a debate [on the technical problems posed by the functioning of the gas chambers]. It is enough to say that mass gassing poses technical problems [. . .] that it is not the job of the victims to solve these problems [. . .] This discussion of the technical aspects of genocide, in the presence of a public with more prejudices than knowledge, has been unwise. The Messrs. Vidal-Naquet, Wellers, and their colleagues have given battle on the field chosen by their opponent. (*Réflexions sur l'avenir des Juifs*, Klincksieck, 1987, pp. 135-136)

The periodical *Article 31* even published a letter from Ida Zajdel and Marc Ascione (January-February 1987, page 22) which developed the thesis that the gas chambers never existed; they were dreamed up in the imaginations of certain SS men, who at that time slipped into some of their "confessions" a "time bomb" against the Jews.

A university-level journal of the caliber of the recently established *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* shows that even the officials of Yad Vashem are now aware that it is no longer possible for historians to write the history of the Holocaust with the scorn for truth that up to now has been common. I advise Revisionists to carefully read this journal, edited by Yehuda Bauer and Harry James Cargas. For several years now I have paid close attention to the published writings of Yehuda Bauer. I have noted in Bauer a "Revisionist" tendency to probe the National-Socialist policy regarding the Jews, as well to take into account certain indications which suggest that throughout the entire war National Socialist Germany tried to maintain contacts with the Jews at the international level in order to facilitate the emigration, and not an extermination, of the European Jews (the "Europa Plan," the moderating role of Himmler, the Joel Brand affair, negotiations with the Czech, Swedish, Swiss and Hungarian Jews). Even on the question of the "Einsatzgruppen," we notice that every claim of the Exterminationists is to be looked at again, especially the number of executions (*Holocaust and Genocide Studies*, Vol. 2, no. 2, 1987, especially pp. 234-235).

V. CONCLUSION

Only persons who have just become Revisionists can imagine that Revisionism will defeat Exterminationism "just as surely as night follows day." In reality, the lies of Exterminationism will continue to be accepted by the general public for decades to come. In order to transcend the myths of one war, it seems necessary to have another war. Without World War II, perhaps, the stories about Belgian children with their hands cut off by the "Huns" in World War I would still be believed today by the general public.

As Arthur R. Butz has shown (*Journal of Historical Review*, April 1980, page 9), the legend of the Holocaust stands on feet of clay. This colossus will still be able to dominate our horizon for a long time. The more Revisionists whisper that its feet are made of clay, the more the votaries of the Holocaust religion will bang their drums to drown us out. On the university level, they will hold more and more "colloquiums" and "dialogues," which in fact will be just nothing more than "soliliquies" and "monologues." There have already been announcements of another "Sorbonne Conference" (10-13 December 1987) (not to be confused with the first "Sorbonne Conference," held 29 June-2 July 1982) and more importantly the "Oxford Conference" (10-14 July 1988) [both these conferences have taken place in the meantime —ed.]. The latter will take place under the aegis of a Mrs. Maxwell or, more exactly, of her husband Robert Maxwell, the British press magnate, a billionaire of Jewish origin. Their conference is intended to focus shame on Christians for their alleged indifference to the alleged Holocaust of the Jews.

I doubt that the Exterminationist lobby will attain any success on the university level, other than the intimidation of historians. It is going to become more and more clear that this lobby adds nothing to the science of history: no new documents, no new ideas. Indeed, the only possible evolutionary direction open to historians, whatever their preconceptions, is toward Revisionism. Thus we have witnessed the rise of "functionalism" in opposition to "intentionalism," and so it is that there has developed in Germany with Hillgruber, Nolte, Fest, et al. a new appreciation (and relativisation) of the so-called Holocaust that I, for one, immediately referred to, in German, as *Ersatzrevisionismus* ("ersatz Revisionism").

On the borderline between this "Ersatzrevisionismus" and real Revisionism, we see crouching, awaiting better days, valuable historians like Helmut Diwald, Alfred Schickel and David Irving [the last dramatically and forthrightly announced his acceptance of Holocaust Revisionism at the 1988 trial of Ernst Zündel —Ed.]. Among the Revisionists, a new generation is arising, at the forefront of which are Mark Weber (USA), Carlo Mattogno (Italy), and Enrique Aynat Eknes (Spain). I know of other names which, for reasons of prudence, I prefer not to give yet.

"Shoah"-business will continue to prosper. The Holocaust Museums are going to multiply and Holocaust propaganda will continue to invade the high schools and universities. The concentration camps will become attractions comparable to Disneyland. It is enough to visit these camps today to realize that they will still be there two or three hundred years from now. Their touristic value is obvious. Poland scarcely attracts any tourists with "hard" currency, except to visit Auschwitz, Majdanek, Treblinka, and other camps. Tour operators are beginning to calculate the profit they can derive from these places, at which there is in reality nothing to see but where, as a result, they will fill the void with "symbols." The less there is to see with your eyes, the more they will give you to see in your imagination. From that point of view, Treblinka is an ideal place. Everything there is symbolic: the entrance to the camp, its boundaries, the railway line, the access ramp, the path to the "gas chambers," the "open air funeral pyres," and the sites of the "chambers" and "funeral pyres." At Treblinka, the Polish authorities will create, therefore, a museum all the more gigantic since the camp area proper was in fact exiguous (not even 200 x 50 m). In West Germany, East Germany and Austria, there is probably no longer a single school child, soldier or policeman who has not had to visit one or more concentration camps to understand there the horrors of National Socialism and to convince himself, by comparison, of the virtues of the "democratic" regimes in power. One cannot imagine a government that would ever renounce so easy a form of ideological indoctrination.

There is no reason for Israel and the World Jewish Congress to weaken their demands and their efforts in promoting the Holocaust religion. Such multi-millionaires of Jewish origin as Baron Rothschild in France, Robert Maxwell in Britain, Carlo de Benedetti in Italy, Rupert Murdoch in Australia, Armand Hammer in America and Moscow, and Edgar Bronfman in

the United States and Canada, are probably going to collect more and more money (since it is doubtful that they will spend their own money) to counteract the effects of Revisionist scepticism. The personal fortune of Edgar Bronfman, president of the World Jewish Congress and the "liquor king," is estimated at $3,600,000,000. The Revisionists have altogether about 3 francs and 6 sous. It is therefore wise not to have any illusions about the chances of success for Revisionism with a general public whose press is controlled by these magnates.

People tell me a miracle is always possible. The world political situation could evolve in a direction favorable to Revisionism. Who knows whether the Arabs, and Muslims in general, will endlessly recite the lessons they are taught and not grow tired of the "Holocaust of the Jews"? Who knows whether the Communist world, with abrupt changes in its internal and foreign policies being undertaken at the highest level, will decide that moment has come to "rectify" the official history of Katyn and of Auschwitz and to give free access, for example, to the "Totenbücher" of Auschwitz? Who knows whether the historians of the Third World, or of the former Third World, will someday try to write the history of the Second World War from their own point of view, without worrying overmuch about the taboos of the Western World?

For a long time to come it will be the lot of the Revisionists to work in obscurity and danger. Their adventure is similar to that of the Renaissance, in which certain individuals, in varying degrees throughout Europe, simultaneously and spontaneously took it upon themselves to struggle against obscurantism.[16] Those Renaissance seekers of truth did their work by looking again at the original texts, doing critical analysis, and verifying things in terms of the physical and material world. They preferred doubt to belief. Moving away from faith, they embraced reason. It is in that same spirit that Revisionism finds itself questioning a system of religious and political taboos. In this sense Revisionism is, in the words of lawyer Pierre Pécastaing, "the great intellectual adventure of the end of this century."[17]

Notes

1. These are some samples of the answers of R. Hilberg when cross-examined by D. Christie on Gerstein:

   I would put Gerstein's statement [PS-1553] as one that one must be most careful about. Parts are corroborated; others are pure nonsense (*Transcripts*, page 904).

   Gerstein, apparently, was a very excitable person. He was capable of all kinds of statements which he, indeed, made not only in the affidavit but its context.

   Question: He wasn't totally sane?

   Answer: I am not a judge of sanity, but I would be careful about what he said (page 905).

   He was capable, in his excitement, of adding imagination to fact. There is no question of that (page 906).

   Question: And we know that [the statement that Hitler was there in Belzec] to be a totally false statement; right?

   Answer: Exactly (page 907).

   Well, [in the reproduction of his statements] I eliminated anything that seemed not be be plausible or credible, certainly (page 921).

   [About another statement] Well, parts of it are true, and other parts of it are sheer exaggeration, manifest and obvious exaggeration [. . .] Rhetoric . . . (page 923).

   Gerstein was somewhat given to great excitability (page 924).

   I would not characterize him as totally rational, but that is of no value, because I am not the expert of rationality (page 925).

   Question: A very strange mind prone to exaggeration?

   Answer: Yes (page 928).

   A far-out statement (page 934).

   In the use of such affidavits, one must be extraordinarily careful (page 935).

   [It should be noted that all these admissions were dragged from R. Hilberg *before* the publication of the works of Carlo Mattogno (Italy) and Henri Roques (France) about Gerstein].

2. At Ernst Zündel's house, in those rare moments of relaxation, as a dozen or so of us were sitting around a table the conversation would turn to Hilberg and his theory of the "incredible meeting of minds." We imagined how much better it would be to have a world in which the "incredible meeting of minds" would replace letters, telegrams, and the telephone, and in which, at the dinner table for example, there would be no need to ask someone to pass the salt or the water carafe since, by an "incredible meeting of the minds," the persons who had those things, practicing "consensus-mind-reading," would in every case anticipate your expressed desires and would himself offer the salt shaker or the carafe at just the right moment.

3. Here again, at Zündel's house, witness Vrba buoyed our spirits. We called him "the green duck." For several days lawyer Doug Christie

had fired shots at him, each of which caused the impostor to lose some feathers, but none of which dealt him a mortal blow. It was Prosecuting Attorney Griffiths who delivered the *coup de grâce* to his own witness. In a sense he had asked Christie to loan him his double-barreled shotgun and, with two shots, brought down the bird. We called Vrba a "green" duck because of the color the witness turned when his story collapsed.

4. See *Shoah*, reviewed by Robert Faurisson, *The Journal of Historical Review*, Spring 1988, pp. 85-92.
5. Translated in *The Journal of Historical Review*, Winter 1986-87, pp. 389-403.
6. See *The Christian News*, July 1987, page 9; also the *IHR Newsletter*, No. 51, August 1987.
7. After France changed its system for electing deputies to the Assembly from one based on proportional representation to direct election, the National Front's number of seats declined to one.
8. On pages 31-32 of the December 1987 issue of the American magazine *Instauration*, from which I have borrowed this translation, one can find an interesting discussion of the difficulty of translating the phrase "point de détail." *Instaruration* rendered it as "footnote."
9. The pamphlet "A Prominent False Witness: Elie Wiesel" is currently available from The Institute for Historical Review.
10. Wilhelm Stäglich's *The Auschwitz Myth* is now available in English from the Institute for Historical Review. Enrique Aynat Eknes's "Crematoriums II and III of Birkenau: A Critical Study" appeared in the Fall 1988 *Journal of Historical Review* (Vol. 8, No. 3). A review of Carlo Mattogno's *Il rapporto Gerstein*, by Dr. Robert A. Hall, appeared in the Spring 1986 *Journal of Historical Review* (Vol. 7, No. 1).
11. A translation of the Michel de Boüard interview appeared in the Fall 1988 *Journal of Historical Review* (Vol. 8, No. 3).
12. In fact Hilberg refused to testify at the second trial of Zündel in Toronto.
13. Here are the two paragraphs as they appear at the bottom of page 7 and the top of page 8 of the transcript. I have underlined the words that people usually leave out or ignore.:

    Unter entsprechender Leitung sollen nun im Zuge der Endlösung die Juden in geeigneter Weise im Osten zum Arbeitseinsatz kommen. In grossen Arbeitskolonnen, unter Trennung der Geschlechter, werden die arbeitsfähigen Juden strassenbauend in diese Gebiete geführt, wobei zweifellos ein Grossteil durch natürliche Verminderung ausfallen wird.

    Der allfällig endlich verbleibende Restbestand wird, da es sich bei diesem zweifellos um den widerstandsfähigsten Teil handelt, entsprechend behandelt werden müssen, da dieser, eine natürliche Auslese darstellend, *bei Freilassung* als Keimzelle *eines neuen jüdischen Aufbaues* anzusprechen ist. (*Siehe die Erfahrung der Geschichte.*).

(Under proper direction the Jews shall now, in the course of the final solution, be taken to the East and put to work in a suitable way. In big labor columns, with separation of the sexes, the Jews capable of work will be conducted to these areas, building roads, whereby undoubtedly a large part will be lost through natural decrease.

The total remnant that finally in any case will remain—since this is undoubtedly the part with the strongest resistance—will have to be treated accordingly, since the latter, representing a natural selection, is to be regarded, *upon release*, as nucleus of *a new Jewish revival.* (*See the experience of history.*)

14. The "nod" theory makes no sense in itself and is not supported by the slightest documentation. It seems to have made its appearance with Browning in 1984, when he wrote (emphasis mine):

". . . Himmler and Heydrich needed little more than a *nod* from Hitler to perceive that the time had come to extend the killing process to the European Jews." ("A Reply to Martin Broszat Regarding the Origins of the Final Solution," *The Simon Wiesenthal Center Annual*, 1984, page 124).

In *Fateful Months* (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1985), Browning uses this theory on at least two occasions: first on page 22 and then on page 36, where he writes:

"If a *nod* from Hitler could set Himmler and Heydrich in motion, others eagerly looked for similar signs."

In 1987 Brown declared:

". . . it required not more than a *nod* of the head from Hitler to give the 'green light' indicating that the mass murder should now be extended to the European Jews. This was not so much an explicit order as an act of incitement. Hitler was solliciting a 'feasibility study,' he was commissioning the drawing-up of a genocide plan. How this was communicated, we do not and never will know." ("Historians, Hitler and the Holocaust," a paper given at Pacific University, Forest Grove, Oregon, in March 1987, p. 24, thanks to Dr. Frankel of the Oregon Holocaust Resources Center).

We might point out to Browning that if we do not know and cannot know how "*this*" was communicated, it is impossible to say that "*this*" existed.

15. I remind readers that Allied officials never mentioned the existence of gas chambers during the war. On the international stage, Stalin, Roosevelt and Churchill very nearly did so in their famous November 1st, 1943 declaration on the German atrocities; they refrained from mentioning gas chambers—as we are told—at the British Government's suggestion (Bernard Wasserstein, *Britain and the Jews of Europe, 1939-1945*, Institute of Jewish Affairs, London, 1979, p. 29).

Several months before, the Americans had planned the publication of a "Declaration of German Crimes in Poland," which they suggested the British and the Soviets publish on the same day as the American declaration. This declaration contained the following paragraph:

> These German measures are being carried out with the utmost brutality. Many of the victims are killed on the spot. The rest are segregated. Men from 14 to 50 are taken away to work for Germany. Some children are killed on the spot, others are separated from their parents and either sent to Germany to be brought up as Germans or sold to German settlers or dispatched with the women and old men to concentration camps, where they are now being systematically put to death in gas chambers.

Cordell Hull, Secretary of State, sent the declaration to the British. He informed the US ambassador in Moscow by a telegram of August 27, 1943. Three days later, he warned the ambassador that there had been a mistake and in a telegram of August 30, he explained:

> At the suggestion of the British Government which says there is insufficient evidence to justify the statement regarding execution in gas chambers, it has been agreed to eliminate the last phrase in paragraph 2 of the "Declaration on German Crimes in Poland" beginning "Where" and ending "chambers" thus making the second paragraph end with "concentration camps." Please inform the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs of the change in text. (*Foreign Relations of the United States, Diplomatic Papers, 1943*, vol. 1, pp. 416-417).

This is the way *The New York Times* published the declaration, under the headline "U.S. and Britain Warn Nazi Killers" (30 August 1943, p. 3.). The Allied officials proved themselves to be prudent in their circumspection. Had they mentioned the alleged gas chambers in an official and worldwide declaration, world history would have been changed: the German authorities could have vigorously exposed this vile and ridiculous war canard which, then, would have plummeted to earth, since the Allies, challenged to prove their allegation, would have been confounded before the entire world. See also Arthur R. Butz, *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, p. 356.

16. Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi directs the Jewish and Israeli Studies Center at Columbia University in New York. He wrote in 1982:

"The Holocaust has alrady engendered more historical research than any single event in Jewish history, but I have no doubt whatever that its image is being shaped, not at the historian's anvil, but in the novelist's crucible. Much has changed since the sixteenth century; one thing curiously remains. Now, as then, it would appear that even where Jews do not reject history out of hand, they are not prepared to confront it directly, but seem to await a new, meta-historical myth, for which the novel provides at least a temporary modern surrogate." (*Zakhor, Jewish History and Jewish Memory*, University of Washington Press, Seattle, 1982, p. 98).

17. At the time of my Institute for Historical Review paper in 1983, I paid tribute to the courage and the wisdom of one of my lawyers: Eric Delcroix. I want to repeat that tribute here. From 1979 until today, Delcroix had defended Revisionists in court and elsewhere, through his writings and even by his physical presence when there was some danger.

Atrocities, Then and Now

WILLIAM B. HESSELTINE

"Most shocking barbarities begin to be reported as practiced . . . upon the wounded and prisoners . . . that fall into their hands," read an editorial in the *New York Times*. "We are told of their slashing the throats of some from ear to ear; of their cutting off the heads of others and kicking them about as footballs; and of their setting up the wounded against trees and firing at them as targets or torturing them with plunges of bayonets into their bodies."

The date was July 25, 1861, and the credulous editor, an ardent supporter of the Lincoln Administration, was commenting on the news which war correspondents were sending from the battle of Bull Run. A few weeks later, *Harpers Weekly*, the most popular illustrated paper of the day, carried a full page picture—presumably drawn by the artist on the spot—showing the Southerners bayonetting wounded Union soldiers on the battlefield.

The editorial, the correspondents' stories, and the illustrations might well have been published in the spring of 1945. Within recent weeks, the most popular illustrated weekly has carried elaborate spreads of border atrocities, correspondents have added solemn testimony, the State Department has promised adequate punishment for German war criminals, and Gen. Eisenhower invited a Congressional committee to visit scenes of German atrocities to gather authentic information. History—or as least the history of propaganda—would seem to be repeating itself.

In two important respects the propaganda aspects of the Civil War's atrocity stories resemble the present. One is the demand for vengeful retaliation on prisoners of war, and the other is the use of high-placed officials to verify and

authenticate the stories handed out for popular consumption.

During the Civil War, when stories of suffering in Southern prison camps in Richmond and Andersonville began to spread over the North, Secretary of War Stanton prepared to use the stories to "fire the Northern heart." The Union armies were waging a relentless war upon the South's transportation system, and the Confederates were unable to provide adequate housing, clothing, medicine, and food to the prisoners. Instead of exchanging the prisoners—the obviously humane solution—the Secretary of War preferred to allow Union soldiers to suffer from disease and privation in Southern prisons. Stanton knew that the very presence of the prisoners furnished a drain upon the Confederacy's dwindling resources.

Cloaking Their Aims

Edward M. Stanton was the Cabinet representative of the "Radical," or "Jacobin," faction of the Republican Party. The Jacobins represented the interests of the North's rising industrialists who wanted a protective tariff, of the railroad promoters who wanted subsidies from the Federal treasury, and of the financiers who were using the new national banking system to get a strangle hold on the country's wealth.

Using the language of humanitarianism and freedom to cloak their predatory aims, the Jacobins wanted the war prolonged until the armies had crushed the South, destroyed its economic system, and enabled Northern exploiters to seize the South's resources. In Congress, the Jacobins controlled the Joint Committee on the Conduct of War, which fomented propaganda and formulated Jacobin policies.

Neither Secretary Stanton nor the Congressional Jacobins were willing to relieve the suffering of Union prisoners of war by modifying military policy or exchanging the prisoners. Instead, the Secretary gave encouragement to popular demands that Confederate prisoners of war, confined in the North, be made to suffer in retaliation. Northern prison officials reduced the rations of prisoners of war, failed to provide heat, and refused to issue clothing to prisoners suffering the unaccustomed severities of a Northern climate. Surgeons of Northern prison camps officially reported that men were dying from exposure, overcrowding, lack of food, and bad sanitary arrangements.

"The Secretary of War is not disposed at this time, in view of the treatment our prisoners of war are receiving at the hands

of the enemy, to erect fine establishments for their prisoners in our hands," replied Stanton to a suggestion that more prisons were needed. Moreover, he ordered that measures be taken to subject captured Confederates to "precisely similar treatment in respect to food, clothing, medical treatment and other necessities" as prevailed in Southern prisons.

Although the Jacobin press enthusiastically endorsed this venomous program, some prisoners of war, returning from the South, denied that Confederates were deliberately torturing prisoners. Such reports might well have caused a reaction against the policy of retaliation, and have given excuse for renewed demands for exchanges. To forestall such developments, Stanton sought "official confirmation of his policy. He asked the Committee on the Conduct of the War to visit a hospital at Annapolis and report on the condition of some sick and wounded ex-prisoners.

The enormity of the crime committed by the rebels toward our "prisoners," Stanton told the Jacobin committee, "is not known or realized by our people, and cannot but fill with horror the civilized world with the deliberate system of savage and barbarous treatment."

Thus instructed, the Congressional committee visited Annapolis. They emerged with a report which was a masterpiece of propaganda. In 30 pages of official print, they set forth a catalog of Confederate brutality. They told how the Southerners robbed their captives, how they beat them, starved them, and murdered them with fiendish glee. And, as evidence that could not be denied, the committee presented the pictures of 8 alleged victims of Confederate savagery. The 8 pictured men have hollow, unshaven cheeks, glassy eyes, protruding bones, and expressions of utter despondency.

The Government promptly circulated thousands of copies of this official report. No one noticed that two of the pictured men had been dead when the committee visited Annapolis, and no one knew, of course, that the worst case was a soldier who had never been a prisoner at all! Nor did the Committee bother to mention that the Confederates had sent these prisoners home, at their own request, because there were no proper hospital facilities for their care in Richmond. Such an admission would have weakened the Jacobin argument that the rebels had a "pre-determined plan" permanently to disable all Union prisoners of war.

Bolstered by this report bearing the solemn signatures of Congressmen, the War Department continued its policy of

retaliation upon the helpless Confederate prisoners of war. Before long, disease ran riot and death stalked the Northern prison camps until more than 12 percent of the prisoners were dead. Secretary Stanton had almost succeeded in administering "precisely similar treatment." In the South, where the blockade prevented getting medicines, and the war on the transporation system prevented the Confederates from feeding their prisoners, 15.5 per cent of the captives died.

The end of the Civil War did not bring an end to official propaganda on the subject of Confederate atrocities on prisoners of war. After the war, the Jacobins continued their program of destroying the South's economic system. As they proceeded to impose military government on the South in a drastic program of "Reconstruction," they needed to keep the prison atrocity stories alive. Unless, so their argument ran, the Southerners were controlled at the point of a bayonet, they would re-establish slavery and rise again in an effort to destroy the Union.

Accordingly, in 1869, the Jacobins in the House of Representatives appointed a committee to report again on the prisoners. "Rebel cruelty," duly reported the committee, "demands an enduring truthful record, stamped with the National Authority." The committee took testimony, oral and written, from 3,000 witnesses, and they issued a heavily documented volume which stamped "with the National Authority" all the horror stories of the Confederate prisoners and proved conclusively the Jacobin doctrine that the Confederates were fiends, Jefferson Davis was a beast, and no rebel could ever be trusted with a ballot. To the Jacobin it was clear that the whole South should be made to suffer forever for its sins.

Experience of World War I

Such was the history of one aspect of Civil War propaganda. To it might be added a footnote from the First World War. In that war, too, atrocity stories played a major role in "firing" the Allied heart. After the war, Sir Arthur Ponsonby and others examined the stories of the Belgian babies, of the cathedral monks tied to bell-clappers, and the famed corpse rendering factory. They found the stories interesting and ingenious, but untrue.

One set of stories, however, was debunked by officers of the American Army. In 1918, the American Third Army moved in to occupy a part of the Rhineland. As Colonel I.L. Hunt, Officer in Charge of Civil Affairs, tells the story:

> Hardly had the guns ceased firing on the morning of November 11, when Allied prisoners began to straggle over from the German lines. These returning prisoners were in a pitiful condition. They were all ravenously hungry, and most of them in rags and indescribable filth . . . The sight of the deplorable condition of the prisoners caused bitter resentment among the Allied troops. Some of these prisoners brought stories of terrible conditions of hunger in the prison camps from which they had been released.

Promptly, the Armistice Commission protested to the Germans against this brutality, and threatened reprisals. The Germans denied the charges, and said that the prisoners had muntinied in the camps and had made their way to the Allied lines without waiting for proper transportation.

Then came more stories—stories about the prisoners who were still in German camps and who were being "brutallly treated by German guards after the signing of the Armistice." Again the Armistice Commission protested, and prepared to use the stories to impart harsher retaliation on the Germans. But then the American representatives on the Commission investigated and, says Col. Hunt, it was "discovered that the statements made by the Germans were, in fact, true."

The prisoners had revolted, and had made their way without rations to the Allied lines. This "was sufficient to account for the deplorable condition in which they arrived." Moreover, the camps in the interior had been deprived of supplies by the Allied victory and by internal revolution.

"As a matter of fact," concluded Col. Hunt, "it had been established that the American prisoners were, on the whole, well treated in the German internment camps. Their rations were not good, but, thanks to the Red Cross, 'they actually fared better than the German troops who were guarding them.'"

The memory of these cases from two previous wars should have a sobering effect at the present time. The current deluge of atrocity stories, vouched for by the State Department, and soon to be stamped with the national authority by visiting congressmen, may turn out, of course, to be true. They were not true in 1864 and in 1918, and even if they were true in 1945 they would have to furnish a rational basis for sadistic retaliation on prisoners of war or for enslaving the German people in a short-sighted surrender to the lust for revenge, that can only serve to wreck the hope for enduring peace.

Red Cross Humanitarianism In Greece, 1940-45

R. CLARENCE LANG

I. Points of Reference

In the summer of 1946, I volunteered for a student assignment with the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) to help war-devastated Europe. My hope was to see Germany and Austria; instead, after being shipped out of Houston with about 850 horses from Mexico on board, I ended up for a few days in Salonika, Greece, known in the New Testament as Thessalonika.

Some 15 years later, I casually mentioned this to Prof. D. Peter Meinhold at the University of Kiel, Germany, where I completed my doctorate in history. He in turn spoke of his wartime adventures in Greece. A chaplain in the German army, which occupied Greece, Dr. Meinhold served there as a liaison between the Axis occupation forces and the IRC (International Red Cross), which provided material aid for the starving Greek population during the war. Dr. Meinhold told me that this aid saved the lives of hundreds of thousands of Greeks.

Newly aware of this episode of wartime humanitarism, I was interested to note its mention of it in a college textbook, *A History of England*, by Goldwyn Smith. Upon writing the author, I learned that Smith, a Canadian, had worked for British Intelligence during World War II. While on duty in Ottawa, Canada, he would now and then see Henry Wallace, the American vice president, walking through the Intelligence Office. After inquiring, Smith learned that Wallace was involved in implementing aid for occupied Greece. In his textbook Smith claims this aid saved the lives of "millions" of Greeks.[1]

Later, by chance, while paging through the *Congressional Record* for the House of Representatives for 1943 in a used

bookstore in San Antonio, I discovered that the Minnesotan Harold Knutson, the Republican minority leader, had delivered a 20-minute humanitarian plea for the Allies to modify their blockade, as they did in the case of Greece, so that the IRC could alleviate the suffering and starvation of women and children in occupied Europe. Knutson used the IRC help in Greece as a model and formula which could be implemented elsewhere. Supported by some of his fellow Republicans, Knutson spoke of "those who cold-bloodedly tell us that human beings are replaceable." Knutson claimed that "the present relief work in Greece, initiated by Turkey, and now being carried on by the Swedish and Swiss Red Cross, *prove that relief work can be extended to Poland, Norway, Denmark, and the Low Countries, where pestilence, famine, and death walk hand in hand* [emphasis added]." He insisted that just one word from either Roosevelt and Churchill "would banish all the horror of famine and pestilence" and then named the afflicted countries once more.[2]

Knutson's passionate pleas were the tip of an iceberg. For throughout the war such influential persons as former president Herbert Hoover; the noted banker Harvey D. Gibson; the English bishop of Chichester, George Bell; the congressman and former executive secretary of the European Relief Council (1920-1), Christian A. Herter, who backed Knutson in the House; and the American Quaker John Rich and the English Quaker Roy Walker all called frequently for Allied humanitarian involvement in occupied Europe.[3]

Before America entered the war, and thus before war censorship, Herbert Hoover made an appeal to the American people on radio, terming the results of the British blockade "this holocaust." He questioned: "Can one point to one benefit that has been gained from this holocaust?" The *Christian Century* of October, 1941, devoted an article to Hoover, writing, "Out of the agony and bitterness of these days, one great humanitarian figure is emerging in America."[4]

Six months later, on April 22, 1942, the Famine Relief Committee was formed—one of several such groups—with some 20 members. Its goal was to persuade the Allies to modify their blockade of all foodstuffs to the Axis-occupied countries of Europe. When the committee decided to end its activities, and hand over the balance of its funds to the Friends Relief Service for use among young children in Poland shortly before the war's end, it stated in its final report:

> It would have been obvious to all intelligent people that our food blockade of the continent of Europe would bring untold torture and sufferings to our friends and allies and would do little or no harm to our enemy . . . It has been possible to obtain proof that our food blockade did not shorten the war by a single hour . . . History will judge our government harshly for its futile persistence in a policy of total blockade of foodstuffs.[5]

Mindful of the historical challenge presented by the Famine Relief Committees and at the same time paying tribute to the all true humanitarians of World War II, let us look at the involvement of the International Red Cross in Greece.

II. The Wartime Humanitarian Aid to Greece

The Swiss, Marcel Junod, who initially played an important role in Red Cross work in wartime Greece, devoted a chapter of his book *Warriors Without Weapons* to Greece ("Unhappy Arcadia").[6] Although the book affords valuable insights into the work of the IRC, it is, nevertheless, short, and lacks a bibliography. On the other hand, the Greek Red Cross, using as its model the final report of the IRC on its aid to Belgium during World War I, in which Hoover played such an important part, in 1949 issued, in French, its final report. An extensive report of over 600 pages, the Red Cross report abounds with charts and graphs, making the IRC aid to Greece a well-documented aspect of World War II.[7] From these two principal sources, as well as others, emerges the following historical picture of the Greek famine in the winter of 1941-42.

In October 1940 the Italians invaded Greece and the British immediately extended their blockade to include Greece. The fighting disrupted the fall planting, and created an acute shortage of farm workers as well as of horses, tractors, gasoline, and insecticides. Railroads, highways and roads were disrupted, bridges destroyed, and irrigation systems damaged. The fall of 1940 was exceedingly dry, the summer of 1941 very hot, and the winter of 1941-42 exceedingly cold. In the spring of 1941 the Germans and Bulgarians invaded Greece to support the faltering Italians. The result was more privation and more refugees as the Bulgarians occupied a rich agricultural area, while the Germans used Greece as a supply base for Rommel's army in North Africa.

Nevertheless, the Red Cross was able "to distribute 800,000 bowls of soup" in the winter of 1941, and establish "450 feeding centers for 100,000 children over seven and 130 nursery centers for 74,000 infants."[8] The IRC report estimated

that 250,000 Greek deaths were caused by the shortage of food and clothing—this out of a population of 7,300,000. Most of the deaths, however, occurred in the winter of 1941-42.[9]

According to Junod, much of this aid plan was initially worked out in the neutral Turkish capital of Ankara, in which the German ambassador, Franz von Papen, among others, played an important role.

The IRC's humanitarian breakthrough was due to the success of the Swiss Red Cross and the Swedish Red Cross in gaining the intervention of the Swedish government, which conducted the complicated but necessary negotiations with the various belligerent capitals. Noteworthy, in this connection, is the work of the IRC representative, Carl Burckhardt, a Swiss, who was the chief IRC negotiator in Berlin and elsewhere.

On August 29, 1942, in the midst of World War II, humanitarianism triumphed when the Swedish ships *Formosa, Carmelia* and *Eros*, chartered by the IRC, docked in Piraeus, the harbor of Athens, with some 16,000 metric tons of Canadian wheat. In the ensuing months 91 other shiploads arrived, 84 from Canada and 7 from Argentina. Before the IRC role was taken over by UNRRA (United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration) in the spring of 1945, 610,000 tons had been shipped across the Atlantic and an additional 102,100 tons provided for the IRC.[10] From August 1942 on, then, the famine was being mastered, so that 10 months later Congressman Knutson could cite Greece as a powerful example in his plea for relaxing the Allied "total" blockade elsewhere.

Since the opponents of relaxing the blockade, no matter how slightly, contended that any aid would help the Axis militarily and thus prolong the war, a statement of several working assumptions of the humanitarians is in order. It should be stressed that the advocates of relaxing the blockade constantly challenged their opponents to substantiate their objections. Supporters of humanitarian aid maintained that while this may have seemed impossible, nevertheless objective specialists could solve the complicated problems without conferring military advantages on any of the belligerents. Or, as the final report observed, despite the many intricate complications involved, "persistence won the day and Greece was fed."

The *modus operandi* that was agreed upon was essentially the same as the one Hoover and his team had worked out in Belgium in World War I.[11]

1. A stipulation was that the Axis were the occupiers of Greece. This was an accepted fact, devoid of moral judgements for the IRC. Since the occupiers did and would have continued in their policy regardless, they were permitted to requisition local food necessary to the occupation. No foreign aid was to go to the occupying forces and these forces were not to be directly involved in the distribution. The occupying authorities promised not to take any more foodstuffs out of Greece than they had done before the IRC aid was initiated. Since the Germans had an acute manpower shortage everywhere, they, self-evidently, kept their occupational forces to a minimum. IRC representatives could monitor food shipments to spot any violations.

2. Resistance came from the Allies, not the Axis. The Allies limited the aid to 15,000 metric tons a month. In fact, Eugene Lyons, in his biography of Herbert Hoover, went so far as to claim, "In June 1942, the Turkish government insisted on sending in food. The British and American governments regulated this Greek relief, since they could not stop the Turks in any case."[12]

3. The Swedish ships chartered by the IRC needed to have their voyages cleared in Berlin before leaving Canada or Argentina. The ships were clearly marked, sailed in pairs, and had to follow a strict, pre-arranged course. Any deviation could spell disaster, as German submarines were active. In the event, the Germans sank no IRC ships. However, ships hit mines in the Mediterranean and ships were sunk by erring American and Italian planes. It had been agreed that no restitution complaints could be filed.

The ships were inspected by the British in Gibraltar and by the Germans in Piraeus.

5. Upon arrival and inspection by the Germans, the cargo was taken over by a neutral High Administration, consisting of seven Swiss and eight Swedes, with the Swedish chargé d'affaires playing an important part.[13] Any violation on the part of the occupying forces was reported to him. The aid was transported inland without charge and was custom- and tax-free. Thousands of persons, Greeks and non-Greeks, were involved.

6. Local priests and churchemen played important roles in many places, especially outside the larger cities.

Since these humanitarians, whether from the Red Cross, whether Quakers, Unitarians, churchmen or others on both

sides of the Atlantic, were convinced that such aid was possible elsewhere in occupied Europe, a historical look at factors favoring this is merited.

III. The Possibility of Implementing Similar Aid Elsewhere

1. Although the tendency is to speak and write of an all-encompassing war in Europe, a glance at the map indicates that there were neutral countries strategically located to facilitate humanitarian-foreign aid.

In the eastern Mediterranean there was, as seen above, neutral Turkey, with a long coastline facing toward Greece, a European territory adjoining the Balkans, and a vast hinterland reaching far into Asia. This meant that what was achieved in Greece was possible in other Balkan countries. Neutral Portugal, Spain and Ireland offered way stations for aid from across the Atlantic; neutral Sweden straddled the North Sea and Baltic. Although landlocked, neutral Switzerland was in the heart of warring Europe. Switzerland had a strong humanitarian tradition; transportation of goods was free; and the cities of Basel and Zurich were close to Germany, while Geneva, the Red Cross Center, has also been the seat of the international League of Nations.

2. As pointed out, the reluctance was not from the German side. Junod, who was not overly pro-German, claimed: "Germany had no interest in stopping the supply of foodstuffs to a famished continent."[14] Similar claims were made by many others, including Congressman Knutson, the Famine Relief Committee, and the writer of the final report of the International Red Cross in Greece.[15] In the Red Cross report one even finds subdued praise for the Germans: as is pointed out, for the Germans it was no small matter that scores of foreign delegates roamed Greece carrying out their independent administrative activities on a grand scale. The Germans showed a great trust.[16] My personal knowledge of others like Prof. Dr. Meinhold leads me to agree. Meinhold told me proudly, "The Germans didn't want nor did they get even one kernel."

Similarly, Philip E. Ryan, an American director of the Red Cross, writing about aid to Allied prisoners of war in Germany, claimed that the IRC handled over 300,000 tons of supplies for Allied prisoners. In 1947 he wrote that for the year 1943 ". . . the record of delivery of goods consigned to Americans in prison camps in Europe showed receipts of 99.93% of the goods shipped." "Delivery," he continues, "in

1944 and 45 was somewhat less effective," but he hastens to add that this was "occasioned in part by losses resulting from Allied air attacks on transportation points in Germany and the general disruption in a country approaching military defeat."[17] In the final report of the IRC one reads that this neutral commission encountered a true understanding of its work and that difficulties were smoothed out, as easily as the circumstances of the war permitted.

A similar German willingness is also apparent elsewhere, as in Poland (as long as such aid was possible, that is, before the American involvement in the war from December 1941. Thus Rabbi Abraham Shinedling, in his long article (ten pages) in the 1942 *Collier's Yearbook* covering 1941, wrote that in January 1941, "the Joint Distribution Committee of America was assisting at least 600,000 destitute Polish Jews."[18]

Hoover, who kept up the humanitarian pressure throughout the war, in 1941 used Poland as an example that the German military could be trusted. Thus John Cudahy, former U.S. ambassador to Poland, called Hoover "the greatest expert of the world on saving famishing humanity," and speaking of Hoover's proposal to set up American soup kitchens in Belgium for the feeding of 1,000,000 adults and 2,000,000 children, claimed, "For a year and a half before the German-Russian phrase of the war, Hoover's food relief functioned in Poland. There depots were set up in Cracow and Warsaw for distribution to Poles, Jews and Ukrainians, *without interference by German military forces nor has there been any attempt to seize any supplies by the Germans* [emphasis added]." "The former president," wrote Cudahy, "points to this example as proof of what may be expected from the German Army in fulfillment of the undertaking in Belgium."[19]

3. Just as the prisoner-of-war camps were easily transformed into Red Cross distribution centers, the same could have been done with certain German concentration camps. (As will be shown, some of this was done.)

In the 1948 *Report of the Joint Relief Commission of the International Red Cross 1941-46* one finds, "The distribution of relief in camps was more easily controlled than distribution among the civilian population of a country."[20]

Simply formulated: What other wartime option did the Germans have, in the face of their massive manpower shortage, but to import large numbers of foreigners, men and women, for employment in German industry and agriculture? The problems in terms of work discipline and security were

such that these millions of alien workers were housed in labor and even concentration camps, which were transformed into huge manufacturing complexes as the war progressed. The German manpower shortage, in the face of strong underground resistance which engaged in effective guerrilla operations and even more effective economic sabotage, further complicated things by encouraging resort to terror tactics in policing.

In fact this massive reliance on foreign and captive labor afforded an opportunity to thwart the Anglo-American hunger blockade through centralized distribution to millions of workers in Central Europe. At the same time this use of foreign labor, as well as the concentration of the Jews in camps and ghettoes, gave Allied propagandists the opportunity to claim that these German policies were part of a grand plan to exterminate non-Germans.

Had the Anglo-American Allies been willing to allow shipping additional food and clothing, some camps were strategically located and could have at times been useful for IRC aid. Thus Stutthof was on the Baltic Sea, convenient to Sweden. Mauthausen, Dachau, and Buchenwald were immune from much of the Allied bombing, and these camps, plus Bergen-Belsen, were fairly accessible by rail from Switzerland. That this was more than an option is shown by the fact that despite Allied sabotage and hindrance of aid to the camp deportees ". . . from the 12 November 1943 to the 8th of May 1945, some 751,000 parcels . . . were sent by the IRC to deportees in concentration camps."[21] Beside the Allied restrictions there were also inner-camp problems in the distribution. This was so at least in Buchenwald. There much of the distribution was in the hands of the prisoners' committees. These committees were dominated by the Communists, since they had been in the camp the longest.[22] The prisoners' committees tended to give food to those who toed the mark for the Communists. To solve this the IRC and others insisted that parcels could be sent only to specific persons, so that reception could be acknowledged. But internees had often changed their names and were thus difficult to locate in the midst of chaotic conditions. The circumstances, and not German policy, were the problem.

4. Across occupied Europe there was a network of churches, which was left intact by the Germans, and as the IRC final report pointed out, church connections were most helpful in Greece.

5. The Americans, Canadians and others were willing to help. A bill to aid the peoples of the occupied countries was passed by the U.S. Congress as late in the war as the spring of 1944.[23] Despite Allied war demands there was no shortage of agricultural goods in Allied countries. Canada, for example, had its biggest crop in the summer of 1942. Neutral ships were available. Money was no problem, for various humanitarian organizations, in addition to the churches, were eager to help. (Also available were the financial assets and shipping properties of the occupied countries which had been seized by the Americans and Canadians.) The governments-in-exile advocated such aid. Pacifists were eager to volunteer despite the risks involved.

Despite these favorable factors, the humanitarians were frustrated in their endeavors, with the exception of Greece. Their frustrations were rooted in the deliberate intransigence of the Allies.

IV. IRC Humanitarianism Versus the "Cloak" of UNRRA Humanitarianism

Regarding aid to occupied Europe, two basic thrusts in American political leadership are to be distinguished. One, as noted, was associated with congressmen such as Knutson. The other was that of President Roosevelt's "inner clique".

For men such as Knutson and Hoover, the overall American policy should have been one of minimizing the war's human losses without jeopardizing an Allied victory. In Knutson's approach one can also isolate a racial aspect, for in singling out Roosevelt and Churchill, he charged, "The future of white civilization in Europe rests in their hands." Knutson and his supporters, like the Red Cross, sought to provide, without much fanfare, as much aid as possible *before the actual Allied military liberation*. Thus the basic question was whether aid should be supplied before, or only after, the military liberation.

Evidently, there was a split within the Roosevelt Administration regarding such matters. Thus William C. Bullitt, although he does not mention humanitarian aid, wrote in 1946, "Few errors more disastrous have ever been made by a president of the United States and those citizens of the United States who bamboozled the President into acting as if Stalin were a cross between Abraham Lincoln and Woodrow Wilson, [these citizens] deserve a high place on the American roll of dishonor. A government of the United States would have begun in 1941 to declare as a peace aim the creation of a

democratic European Federation and would have directed all its politics and policies in Europe toward the achievement of that aim."[24]

Since Bullitt spoke of directing "all . . . economic policies" to outflank Stalin, it would seem that he did not stand in the way of IRC aid. A masterstroke for Roosevelt's "inner clique," which excluded Bullitt, was the formation of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitational Administration clique in late 1942. Its unexpressed aim was to undermine the effectiveness of the humanitarian work of such organizations as the Red Cross and the Christian churches.[25]

Factors favoring the humanitarians were deliberately sabotaged by the Allies. Thus Jan Ciechanowski, the Polish ambassador to the United States during the war years wrote, in his *Defeat In Victory* (1947), regarding the UNRRA: "It was known to only a few people in Washington—outside the secret inner sanctum of the Big Four Powers, the United States, Britain, Soviet Russia and China—that the pattern of Power dictatorship was first secretly *introduced through the innocent-looking greatest relief organization in the world—the UNRRA* [emphasis added]."[26]

What made the IRC the IRC was its helping for the sake of helping, helping human beings because they were human beings, that is, humanizing without dehumanizing. The key was to help *now and not later.* The Swiss Max Huber, who repeatedly articulated the Red Cross version of humanitarianism, pointed out that the IRC must be above all national, political and racial ties, even regarding the Fascists and the National Socialists. His model, which served as well for such other humanitarians as the Quaker Hoover, was the good Samaritan of the New Testament (the Germans speak of the compassionate Samaritan). In the New Testament that parable was spoken by Jesus in response to the question: "Who is my neighbor?" Huber was of the opinion that this was not just a parable, but that Jesus had an actual episode in mind—perhaps somewhat embellished by tradition. Without having a clear-cut future ideal or vision, the Samaritan, overcome by compassion, saw the victim's need, responded immediately, and accomplished his deed of helping.[26a]

Applying the response of the good Samaritan to Allied decision-making in World War II, undoubtedly the situation in the winters of 1944, '45 and '46 would have been quite different in Europe if the Allies had cooperated more fully with the IRC. Yet, according to Red Cross documentation,

"The Allied blockade control of exports from Switzerland grew" even "stricter as the years passed." For the real policy of Roosevelt and his advisors, those whom Bullitt termed bamboozlers, was one of undermining and countering the IRC approach. Their approach was based on the UNRRA version of humanitarianism: *instead of giving aid while the war was in progress, the truly humanitarian approach was to amass it and wait until the war is over.* Thus UNRRA, for example, made "mass purchases to build up stock" just to undercut the Red Cross.[28] The word "rehabilitation" was employed to justify this refusal to help during the war.

A strong element in this approach was the Morgenthau Plan for the Germans, a plan never officially adopted but nevertheless largely carried out. An American Lutheran churchman who was directly involved with church aid to Germany after the war called the Morgenthau Plan "vengeful."[29] In other words, the UNRRA approach was closely linked with the conviction that the world had to solve forever what was termed "the German problem." In so doing one could create a model for solving the world's racial problems and the problem of anti-Semitism everywhere. In a way, the same mentality that ordered the bombing of Dresden and Pforzheim weeks before the end of the war also worked against the Red Cross. By allowing the adoption of the UNRRA version of humanitarianism, Roosevelt and Churchill cold-bloodedly sacrificed millions of human beings on the altar of unconditional surrender, in the same way that Stalin had done with the Ukrainian kulaks in the 1930's.

Since Huber, Hoover and others found deep inspiration in the parable of the good Samaritan, a parable closely connected with the Christian tradition, there is also a churchly aspect to this. Some may say that war is war and that therefore Christian considerations were not relevant. Yet when Roosevelt and Churchill met on the American cruiser *Augusta*, in Placentia Bay, Newfoundland in August, 1941, they formulated the Atlantic Charter, and "Frank and Winnie" sang the Christian hymn that goes "*Onward Christian soldiers marching as to war, With the cross of Jesus going on before,*" at a worship service. The American, Canadian and British armed forces all had Christian military chaplains, paid by their governments. How can one avoid the Christian dimension?

From a Christian standpoint, regarding the two versions of humanitarianism, there is indeed a difference between those who profess faith in God and those, who devoid of this faith,

aim to realize their own future idea. The disparity is evident also in the difference between the so-called religious principles and the commandments of God. Principles lack, in some ways, the urgency of God's commandments. The good Samaritan could have waited and justified his refusal to help by saying, "I'll have to report this to the police," or, "I need to protect myself so I can help other victims in the future." For this Samaritan, however, the only thing that mattered was helping *now*. The IRC thought and acted likewise.

Clearly at odds with the Christian imperative was the conduct of the Provisional Committee of the World Council of Churches in actually adopting the un-Christian UNRRA policy of withholding material aid to Germany to further its preconceived postwar plan for the Germans. It was in accordance with this plan that a delegation of eight from the Professional Committee sought to establish postwar fellowship with representatives of the newly formed German Protestant Church at Stuttgart in October 1945. There, in the name of ecumenism, the PCWCC delegation, in cooperation with the British and American military, wielded the implied threat of withholding material assistance in feeding and clothing the German people unless the German churchmen complied with their demand: to formulate and sign a declaration of an all-German guilt for World War II. Thereby the Provisional Committee adopted an un-Christian unilateralism of guilt, out of step with true Christianity but quite in step with the inhuman unconditional surrender demands proclaimed by President Roosevelt at Casablanca in 1943.[30]

The World Council of Churches' action also had important theological ramifications. The notion of a unique, all-German guilt flew in the face of the universality of Christian baptism. It meant that the World Council was driven by a sectarian political obsession, thus making it a sect which pre-empted the term "church" for its sectarian purposes. This sectarian, theocratic (legalistic) spirit became further evident in the imposition of pre-conceived standards, regarding the leadership of the postwar German Protestant churches, on the Germans. That is, it was insisted on that only those who had publicly opposed National Socialism could qualify as church leaders. Such sectarianism, therefore, even set its own stipulations regarding discipleship and apostleship, pre-empting the twelve of the New Testament. A clergyman like Prof. D. Meinhold, who personally contributed in helping to

save the lives of thousands of Greeks, would not have qualified as a church leader, simply because of his service as a chaplain in the German army. Thus the new sect known as the World Council of Churches prostituted not only baptism but also ordination. The World Council of Churches continues to discredit outstanding Christian theologians and church leaders of the past.

This was somewhat foreseen by some at the time. In 1946 the Swiss Karl Alfons Meyer, in his article *Rotes Kreuz in Bedrängnis* (The Red Cross in Distress), wrote of the IRC version of humanitarianism: "The Red Cross, in contrast to all churches and also every form of atheism, was in every way the living model of pure Christianity."[31]

It is high time that those associated with the World Council of Churches—which spoke so nobly in 1945 of the German need for repentance—recognize the error of their ways and follow President Ronald Reagan's lead at Bitburg in 1985, where he termed the German guilt that which is in reality, i.e. "imposed."

Clearly a key reason for the Allies' frustration of IRC and others' attempts to succor occupied Europe was that the resulting privation could be exploited for propaganda purposes. Wartime aid to the people of occupied Europe would have deprived the Allied liberation of a good deal of the impact it achieved through the flow of food, clothing, and medical supplies which followed in its wake. Furthermore, the terrible disease and hunger which afflicted occupied Europe at the war's end could be laid at the door of the "evil" Germans and their "evil" leaders. The horrors caused in no small part by the Anglo-American refusal to relax the blockade would serve as much of the basis for a postwar propaganda which would slowly harden into "history." In turn this history would be harnessed to the task of "re-educating" the Germans and the rest of the world as to the virtues of certain nations and ideologies and the evils of others.

Unquestionably the IRC involvement in Greece, and other related topics, have been neglected in historical writing. One can hardly fault the IRC, the thrust of which is helping from humanitarian motives and not propagandizing for the sake of public relations. As Huber expressed it: "The biblical words tell us that one does not light a lamp and put it under a bushel. Yet, for the IRC the spirit dies as soon as its workers put it above the bushel."[33] The IRC was concerned with helping, not with getting credit, quite unlike the propagandists and the

politicians, whose priorities are often reversed. This explains the IRC's helplessness against UNRRA, and how its "living model of pure Christianity" could be successfully abused by the Provisional Committee of the World Council of Churches. Yet this cannot be the case for honest historians, for as the Famine Relief Committee wrote in its final report in 1945, "History will judge our government harshly for its futile persistence in a policy of total blockade of foodstuffs."[34]

From a humanitarian viewpoint, the decisive time for the English and American leadership in World War II was the summer of 1943, when Knutson and his fellow Republicans made their dramatic plea. Before that, especially before June 1941, the blockade was virtually England's only weapon. But by the summer of 1943 the situation was changing rapidly, and central Europe was in disruption. In the face of this, who would say, realistically speaking, that the IRC aid to the Allied prisoners of war in Germany prolonged the war? Or that the 751,000 parcels to those in the concentration camps or the 714,000 metric tons of food provided for the civilian population in Greece prolonged the war? In fact, it contributed heavily in keeping Greece from falling into the Communist orbit afterwards. Might not similar aid, even if less dramatic, have changed the course of history and prevented countries like Poland from falling into the hands of the Communists? In any case the fact remains that millions of Greeks are alive today because of aid.[35]

In closing, one might ask how men such as Knutson, Hoover, Gibson, Rich, Walker, and the other members of the Famine Relief Committee felt when they read and heard of the horror scenes in the German concentration camps at the war's end. They knew that the Allies could have alleviated at least some of those horrors. But Roosevelt, Churchill, and the others who stymied humanitarian aid stood ready not merely to exploit, but to *create* the circumstances which led to such conditions. Whereas the humanitarians knew that Germans had no patent on man's inhumanity to man, the Allied leaders counterfeited a deceitful image of German brutality which has played a crucial role in the distortion of modern history.

The images from the camps of spring 1945 very much need to be reassessed. It is hoped that this paper is a contribution to that reassessment.

Notes

1. Goldwyn Smith, *History of England* (Third Edition), New York: Charles Scribner & Sons, 1957, pp. 782-3. Smith writes: "Without this aid, millions of Greeks would have perished."
2. Congressional Record (1943), pp. 6681-2.
3. In *Collier's Yearbook* (1940), covering 1939, p. 277, John F. Rich is designated a secretary of the Quaker Committee in Poland.
4. *Christian Century*, Oct. 29, 1941. pp. 1326 ff.
5. Ronald C. D. Jasper, *George Bell: Bishop of Chichester*, Oxford Univ., New York-Toronto, 1967, p. 266. Bell also protested "against obliteration bombings [against Germany]" in the House of Lords, cf. *Christian Century*, March 22, 1944.
6. Marcel Junod, *Warriors without Weapons*, New York: Macmillan Co., 1951, pp. 164-184.
7. *Ravitaillement de la Grèce, pendant l'occupation 1941-44 et pendant les premiers cinq mois après la liberation. Rapport final de la Commission de Gestion pour les Secours en Grèce sous les auspices du Comité International de la Croix-Rouge.* Imprimerie de la "Société Hellenique d'Editions," S. A. Athènes 1949. The report was edited by Bengt Helger, who was president when the commission was liquidated Nov. 1945 to Sept. 1946. Cf. p. 73 (Evidently this report was never translated into another language.)
8. Junod, *Warriors*, p. 178.
9. *Ravitaillement*, p. 625.
10. *Ravitaillement*, p. 19. Of the 610,000 tons, 470,000 were wheat and wheat product and 140,000 tons dry milk, canned products, vitamins and medicines. Of the 102,100 tons, 3,600 came from Sweden, 2,100 from Turkey, 31,000 from the Axis Powers, 4,400 Greek products, 55,000 from the Military Liaison, and 6,000 was left for the Red Cross by the Germans before they departed. Not included in this total is the tonnage of the ship *Hallaren* which was allowed to operate between Italy and Greece. This ship brought in 55,000 tons of foodstuffs. *Ravitaillement*, p. 97.
11. *Ravitaillement*, p. 58 ff.
12. Eugene Lyons, *Herbert Hoover: A Biography*, Doubleday, Garden City, NY, 1964, p. 361.
13. *Ravitaillement*. The final report lists the Swiss and Swedish delegates. On this list are about 40 Swedes and 20 Swiss. The Swedish list includes 9 professors, a council of the Swedish Supreme Court, naval officers, pastors and bankers.
14. Junod, *Warriors*, p. 157.
15. Although general in nature, the *Report of the Joint Relief Commission of the International Red Cross, 1941-46*, Geneva, 1948, shows that the Red Cross was indeed active throughout the war. Chapter II, entitled "The Blockade," tells of aid to practically all occupied countries. Thus

on p. 298 one finds that 644,900 tons of foodstuffs and clothing were shipped to Poland, and 27,885 tons of pharmaceutical products. This aid was provided, primarily, from within the Third Reich, despite the Allied blockade and deliberate Allied hindrances.

16. *Ravitaillement*, p. 81 and 87.

17. "10 Eventful Years," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Vol. III, 1947, p. 644, under the heading "Prisoners of War."

18. *Collier's Year Book*, P.F. Collier & Son, 1942. P. 340 under Jews. "Early in January, the new Warsaw ghetto for Jews began to be administered by a Jewish Community Council, with 1,000 Jewish 'policemen' guarding the section, which was enclosed by an eight-foot wall. Entrance of 'Aryans' into the Warsaw ghetto was discouraged. That same month, the Joint Distribution Committee of America was assisting at least 600,000 destitute Polish Jews." [Non-Jewish Poles like Germans were termed Aryans.]

    Walter N. Sanning, *The Dissolution of Eastern European Jewry*, Costa Mesa, CA: Institute for Historical Review, p. 44, claims that in the areas in Poland under German control, there were 757,000 Jews.

19. John Cudahy, *The Armies March*, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1941, p. 224 ff.

20. *The Report of the Joint Relief Commission of the International Red Cross 1941-46*, Geneva, 1948, p. 14.

21. International Committee of the Red Cross, *The Work of the ICRC for Civilian Detainees in the German Concentration Camps* (1939-1945), Geneva, 1975, p. 24.

22. Noel F. Busch, *Lost Continent?*, Harper, New York and London: 1945. Busch was a well-known writer. On pp. 73 and 74 he tells of his visit to Buchenwald ten days after the liberation. The one-time inmate, Robert Robertin, whose father was fairly well-known in the Czech government, showed him around. "Robertin . . . told me something about the internal organization of the camp and especially of the prisoners' committees, which, according to him, did most of the governing of the camp with the approval of the official Gestapo authorities . . . According to him, they [the committees] were . . . almost wholly Communist-controlled, since the Communists had been the first internees and thus had priority on the best jobs . . . Many of the horrors attributed to the Gestapo authorities were, according to Robertin, not only encouraged by the committees but instigated by them."

23. *Lutheran Companion*, Augustana Book Concern, Rock Island, IL: May 17, 1944. "On Feb. 15 the Senate passed a resolution, 'urging the Administration to send food to the Nazi dominated countries in western and northern Europe, as has already been done so successfully in Greece. The House passed it unanimously on April 17,'" pp. 3-4.

24. William C. Bullitt, *The Great Globe Itself*, New York: Charles Scribner & Sons, 1946, p. 193.

25. Sigrid Arne, *United Nations Primer*, New York, Toronto: Farrar & Rinehart, 1945, p. 41. "It [UNNRA] would help Allied nationals, wherever they were found, and needed help. It would not help the ex-enemy. It would spend money in Germany to repatriate the French, for instance, but it would not spend money in Germany to help hungry Germans."
26. Jan Ciechanowski, *Defeat In Victory*, Doubleday, Garden City, N.Y., 1947, p. 251. He speaks of the forming of UNRRA in these words: "the veto sneaks in."

26a. Fritz Wartenweiler, *Max Huber*, Zurich: Rotapfel Verlag, 1953, p. 342 ff. (Huber also wrote the foreword for *Warriors without Weapons*).

27. *Report of the Joint Relief Commission of the International Red Cross 1941-46*, Geneva: League of Red Cross Societies, 1948, p. 65.
28. *Op. cit.*, p. 67.
29. Richard W. Solberg, *As Between Brothers*, Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1957, p. 27 and 57.
New York: Helen Lombard, *While They Fought: Behind the Scenes in Washington*, 1941-46, Charles Scribner & Sons, 1947. This highly informed correspondent gives us a keen insight into this re-education on page 313: "Shortly after the occupation of Germany by American troops, the education and orientation branch of the Army started producing moving pictures for the guidance of the G.I. in Germany. They were not for release within the Untied States but one of them was privately shown after a Washington dinner party in honor of Undersecretary of War and Mrs. Patterson. The movie portrayed the German people preparing for World Wars I and II. The 'sound' accompanying the film was a man's voice. It exhorted the American soldier to hate all Germans—from the smallest child to the very aged.
"'Of course, someday the German people will have to be reeducated. They will have to be taught the ways of democracy. But that will be done by *one of our Allies!*'"—was the ending message. The company, largely composed of War Department and administration officials, applauded vigorously."
30. Cf. also R. Clarance Lang, "Imposed German Guilt: The Stuttgart Declaration of 1945," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Costa Mesa, CA Vol. 8, No. 1, Spring 1988.
31. Karl Alfons Meyer, *"Rotes Kreuz in Bedrängnis,"* a special reprint from the *Schweizer Monatshefte* (June 1946). Meyer further stressed "We must battle and salvage the International Red Cross."
In 1943, a special edition article appeared entitled *Reconstruction Supplement, The Red Cross*, "The Future of the Red Cross" by Lieut.-Col. L.E. Gielguid, MBD, which is most critical of the neutrality of the Red Cross. He speaks of "meaningless neutrality." This was an attempt, like others, to politicize the organization, integrating it into the UNRRA concept of humanitarianism.
32. Regarding the "evil" of the Germans, one can easily overlook the strong Allied psychological impetus promoting the idea of "evil," that is, the Allied need for exoneration. In 1933 Jewish leaders called for an

economic and financial boycott against Germans and German goods. During the war the Allies whitewashed the crimes of Josef Stalin. Late in the war the Allies needlessly bombed German cities, such as Dresden and Pforzheim, and, through UNRRA, sabotaged the work of humanitarian organizations such as the International Red Cross. Even the World Council of Churches used and is still using the idea of German "evil" for its selfish organizational purposes.

33. Wartenweiler, *Max Huber*, p. 343.

34. Jasper, *George Bell*, p. 343.

35. Sumner Welles, *Where Are We Heading?* New York: Harper, 1945. p. 171. Welles, after the war, deplored the "lack of organized force of trained personnel." He claimed, ". . . it can be asserted that for lack of effective organization to meet a situation which should have been foreseen, many thousands of innocent persons experienced a degree of tragedy and suffering which was altogether unnecessary." Welles might have added, that if UNRRA had not undermined the work of such organizations as the Red Cross, much could have been alleviated. But the leaders of America, many of them emigrés from the Third Reich, had re-education on their minds. And although this was quite un-American, they were prepared to use, and did use, the chaotic conditions of the war and an imposed starvation for that purpose.

Book Reviews

MADE IN RUSSIA: THE HOLOCAUST by Carlos W. Porter. Uckfield, Sussex, England: Historical Review Press, 1988, Pb., 415 pages, $10.00, ISBN 0-939484-30-7.

Reviewed by Theodore J. O'Keefe

A stumbling block for Revisionists, just as it was for the postwar German defendants, is the seeming wealth of documents and testimony assembled by Allied prosecutors for the Nuremberg trials. The more than sixty volumes of trial material which appeared in the wake of the "Trial of the Major War Criminals" and twelve subsequent trials before the (American) Nuremberg Military Tribunal have for many years supplied a massive compilation of apparently damning evidence against Germany's National Socialist regime. Most Exterminationists, academic and lay, believe that Germany's "aggression" in beginning the war, and the numerous atrocities and war crimes laid to the German account, above all the alleged Holocaust of European Jewry, are amply documented in the so-called "Nuremberg record."

A critique of the Nuremberg trials, from a number of different angles, has been a staple of Revisionist writing since the trials. Revisionist authors who chose not to contest directly the Holocaust charges (e.g. F.J.P. Veale) attacked the trials for their various failings in equity, jurisdiction, etc. Holocaust Revisionists, such as Arthur Butz and Robert Faurisson, have focussed on specific abuses involved in producing testimony and evidence in support of the Holocaust, from physical and psychological pressure exerted to obtain confessions and affidavits to the authenticity of certain of the documents transcribed and reproduced in the various Nuremberg volumes.

To date no Revisionist, Holocaust or otherwise, has mounted an assault on the Nuremberg "evidence" equal in intensity to that undertaken by Carlos W. Porter in *Made in Russia: The Holocaust.* Porter's technique is to confront the documents directly, by reproducing page after page from the 42-volume *Trial of the Major War Criminals* (the Blue Series).

Porter's tactic is audacious and provocative: he gives Allied prosecutors and their witnesses the floor and lets them strut their stuff for a good seventy-seven pages before deigning to answer their charges at any length. The catch is that most of the charges are so bizarre that Exterminationists have long since quietly let them lapse. Porter will have none of this, however: a stern Ghost of Holohoaxery Past, he puts the Nuremberg trials on trial by forcing the reader to confront the sort of tripe with which American, Soviet, British, and American prosecutors burdened the Germans and their leaders.

How many people know that at Nuremberg the Germans were accused of, along with killing about six million Jews:

—vaporizing 20,000 Jews near Auschwitz with "atomic energy";

—killing 840,000 Russian POW's at Sachsenhausen concentration camp (in *one month*, with special pedal-driven brain-bashing machines, no less), then disposing of them in mobile [*sic*] crematoria;

—torturing and killing Jewish prisoners to the tempo of a specially composed "Tango of Death" in Lvov;

—steaming Jews to death like lobsters at Treblinka;

—electrocuting them en masse at Belzec;

—making not only lampshades and soap but also handbags, driving gloves, book bindings, saddles, riding breeches, gloves, house slippers, etc. from the remains of their victims;

—killing prisoners and concentration camp inmates for everything from having armpit hair to soiled underclothing?

Each of these grotesque claims is on display in *Made in Russia*, reproduced just as it appears in the Nuremberg volumes, and handily underlined and referenced for the convenience of researcher and skeptic alike.

After a sobering (or hilarious, depending on your point of view) survey of Nuremberg atrocity "evidence," Porter reminds readers that at Nuremberg the Soviets introduced reams of so-called evidence purporting to demonstrate that it was the Germans, not Stalin's henchmen in the secret police, who murdered over 4,000 Polish prisoners at Katyn, near Smolensk. As the author points out, an official Soviet stamp sufficed to make false affidavits, phony confessions, faked forensic reports and the like "evidence" admissible at Nuremberg under Articles 19 and 21 of the London

Agreement of August 8, 1945, in which the Allied lawyers devised the rules which would bind judges and defense attorneys at the forthcoming "trial." Americans, Britons, and Frenchmen currently gloating over Soviet discomfiture at the recent insistence of the Polish regime on finally laying the blame for Katyn where it belongs should recall that the Western Allies said not a public word at Nuremberg to challenge the Soviet "evidence" on Katyn (the judges quietly glossed over the Red charges by omitting them from their verdict).

It is the special service of *Made in Russia: The Holocaust* to remind readers that the same Soviet stamp which converted the fake Katyn reports into admissible evidence at Nuremberg also provided proof of the extermination of millions of Jews at Auschwitz, Majdanek, Treblinka, and elsewhere. As Porter emphasizes, physical and forensic evidence for the Holocaust was never introduced, nor is there any reason whatsoever to imagine it ever existed. All we have is a handful of "testimonies," and "confessions," and the reports of a number of Soviet or Soviet-controlled "investigative" commissions. If there was a Soviet Fred Leuchter, we have yet to hear from him (and probably never will). The same Red prosecutors who framed the victims of Stalin's purges at the Moscow show trials, and sent millions of innocents to their deaths in our gallant Soviet ally's Gulag archipelago, are the chief source for the vaunted Nuremberg evidence of the "Holocaust."

Porter provides numerous examples of prosecution tactics, usually allowed by the judges, which would make hanging judge Roy Bean, or even Neal Sher, blanche. He points out that the prosecution made it difficult, if not impossible, for the defense lawyers to have timely access to the documents introduced into evidence by the prosecution; that "photocopies" and "transcripts" were almost invariably submitted in evidence by the prosecution instead of the original German documents, which in very many cases seem today to have disappeared; that the defendants rarely were able to confront their accusers, since "affidavits" from witnesses who had been deposed months or even weeks before sufficed; etc., etc., etc.

The author touches on many other aspects of the Holocaust legend, from the feasibility of homicidal gassing with Zyklon-B to the ease with which atrocity photos can be faked (just supply the right caption!) to the Allied prosecutors' propensity for introducing page after page of irrelevant evidence (Porter

reproduces several cartoons from Julius Streicher's anti-Jewish *Der Giftpilz* [The Toadstool] which found their way into the "Nuremberg record").

Made in Russia: The Holocaust is vulnerable to several minor criticisms. The many photographs which appear in Porter's book might have been better reproduced. Lawyers may cavil at a few of his interpretations, and doubtless other Revisionist researchers will find bones to pick here and there in some of his assertions on Zyklon, gas chambers, etc.

On balance, however, *Made in Russia: The Holocaust* is a book with something of value for every reader with an interest in Revisionism. Porter, a professional translator and businessman, writes with a mordant irony (the sillier Exterminationists may find a treasure trove of new atrocities to bewail here) and an admirable concision: *Made in Russia* can be gotten through in an hour and a half. After reading it, Revisionists will no longer be in the least awed by the Nuremberg trial volumes, and it is to be hoped that Porter's book will stimulate them to consult this dubious "record" for themselves.

[*Made in Russia: The Holocaust* can be ordered from the Institute for Historical Review, 1822½ Newport Boulevard, Suite 191, Costa Mesa, California 92627 for $10.00.]

SOCIAL LIFE, LOCAL POLITICS, AND NAZISM: MARBURG, 1880-1935 by Rudy Koshar. Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1986, xviii + 395 pages, hardbound, $35, ISBN 0-8078-1694-9.

Reviewed by John M. Ries

By focussing on the "interpenetration of organizational and political life" as it took place in one German town from 1880-1935, Rudy Koshar sets out to provide a fresh perspective on the sociopolitical development of modern Germany and its relation to the rise of National Socialism.

An important if not unique characteristic of the urban bourgeoisie in Germany, beginning in the late 19th century, was its tendency to organize in social groups, or *Vereine*. According to Mr. Koshar, these groups began to take on

greater significance as the traditional political party system of Imperial Germany seemed to lose its hold over the allegiance of the local *Bürgertum*. This "disengagement" from national politics and the resulting sociopolitical "asymmetry," whereby non-political organizations were able to attract a greater political following than the liberal and conservative parties, were the end result of a process which the author calls "apoliticism." As defined here, apoliticism means a "desire to make political concerns, practices, and structures inapplicable to public life." The principal argument of this book is that the success of National Socialism was to a great extent the result of its ability to infiltrate the intricate network of *Vereine* and replace the existing "sociopolitical asymmetry" with a national consensus paradoxically derived from the apolitical tendencies in German social and political life. In other words, the Hitler movement effected the transformation of apoliticism into a mass political party.

Mr. Koshar selected the Hessian town of Marburg an der Lahn as the focus of his study. Marburg was an important religious center dominated by its university, with little large-scale manufacturing or industry, and no significant working-class element. Although not a perfect model, he felt that its predominant bourgeois character within the confines of a small urban area would serve as a sound indicator of the development of middle-class political activity on the grassroots level.

Because of the rich matrix of local *Vereine* that dotted the social landscape of Marburg, the extent of apoliticism could be fairly well documented. One indication was the support given to the so-called traditional personalistic parties like the anti-semitic party of local political agitator Otto Bockel, which became quite popular around the turn-of-the-century in Marburg. This fragmentation became so pervasive that as early as 1887 no single bourgeois party was able to establish or maintain hegemony. Within the safe confines of the club or organization, national issues could be divorced from "hateful party politics," even though they probably remained just as divisive.

Marburg's status as an important *Universitätstadt* further underscored the significance of the local *Vereine* as foci of political activism. Student enrollment quadrupled between 1880 and 1914, witnessing a corresponding increase in membership in student fraternities (*Burschenschaften*). These organizations were particularly active centers of apoliticism,

even when their numbers declined following the end of the First World War. The role played by a student paramilitary group in the killing of Communist workers in March 1920 gave Marburg the reputation of being a reactionary city, a designation which seemed to be borne out in the Reichstag elections of May 1924, when the Völkisch-Sozialer Block, in which the NSDAP played an important part, garnered 17.7% of the local vote. In light of its subsequent rapid decline, however, such a relatively concentrated show of support for the radical Right, according to Mr. Koshar, should be regarded as an anomaly. During the remaining years of the decade, apoliticism widened the gap between politics and social life in Marburg.

This was demonstrated by an increase in political party disunity as the bourgeois parties on both the national and local levels "gave way to splinter parties, municipal special interest alliances, and, in 1929, an unsuccessful mobilization of opponents of the Young Plan." By 1930, the incipient effects of the Depression on an already badly fragmented political milieu earned Marburg the description of a "political no-man's land."

Within this wide breech between social and political life, an almost paradoxical situation had been reached when the forces of apoliticism needed a "political anchor" if the energies that had been released through the disintegration of the political system were to be harnessed. The NSDAP was able to fill this need. Utilizing so-called party "joiners," the Hitler movement brought its message within the intricate organizational network. Eventually, a fusion between the political and social realms was attained which resulted in the swallowing of popular politics by the NSDAP through the absorption of local clubs. For example, white-collar workers who attended a meeting of the National Socialist Labor Front in 1935 were told by the speaker that "the commonweal, the entire *Volk* must benefit from labor, not the individual." These workers could no longer consider themselves part of the local business or club in which they belonged, since all organizations were an integral part of the community. All of this was accomplished, according to Mr. Koshar, not by Hitler's charisma or fanaticism, but by the "moral imperative of the Party, its unique standing in the tradition of bourgeois apoliticism."

Yet cracks began to reappear in the sociopolitical consensus that seemed to be established by the National Socialists. In

Marburg the Bekennende Kirche (Confessional Church), founded in 1934, fought to reassert the boundary between the social and the political realms by countering the Party's strident anti-Christian measures. As a result the Protestant church remained "a fundament of local life" outside of the grasp of National Socialist control.

The growth of the Party through the increased influx of new Marburgers contributed to the dilution of fervor and ideological conviction, as it seemed to appear that the NSDAP had peaked as an eschatological movement and was not just another political party. As it turned out, the failure of the Party to gain full moral authority was caused by more than apathy, resentment, or distrust. It was also more than a result of changes in party membership after Hitler gained power. National Socialist ideology, though "suffused throughout the local culture, had not displaced *Verein* apoliticism."

Although one may find fault with the essential premise of this study, that modern German society was inherently apolitical—a recasting of the well-known Weberian dictum of the German bourgeois as a "political philistine"— the logic of the author's approach must be conceded. Certainly the transcendent nature of National Socialism as a "party above politics" enabled it to take advantage of the chronic political fragmentation that beset the Weimar Republic. Yet this reviewer must take issue with the author's relative neglect of the critical nature of the defeat in the First World War and the ensuing peace treaty in creating the atmosphere for a national reception of the Hitler movement. It is akin to neglecting the effects of the dissolution of Parliament by Charles the First in setting in motion the events which led to the English Civil War. Nevertheless, the mounting confusion in German political life as seen through the history of the organizational life of Marburg proves quite effective. Whether the importance of social organizations is overstressed at the expense of more fundamental causes can only be resolved through a satisfactory answer to the question of the primacy of group behavior as a determinant of human action. All in all, this book is recommended for those interested in a different approach to the "problem" of modern German history.

Anne Frank's Handwriting

ROBERT FAURISSON

One reason for skepticism about the famous diary attributed to Anne Frank is the existence of strikingly different samples of handwriting supposedly written by her within a two and a half year period.

My first work about the Anne Frank diary was published in French in 1980. A translation of it appeared in the Summer 1982 issue of *The Journal of Historical Review* under the title "Is the Diary of Anne Frank Genuine?" (pp. 147-209).

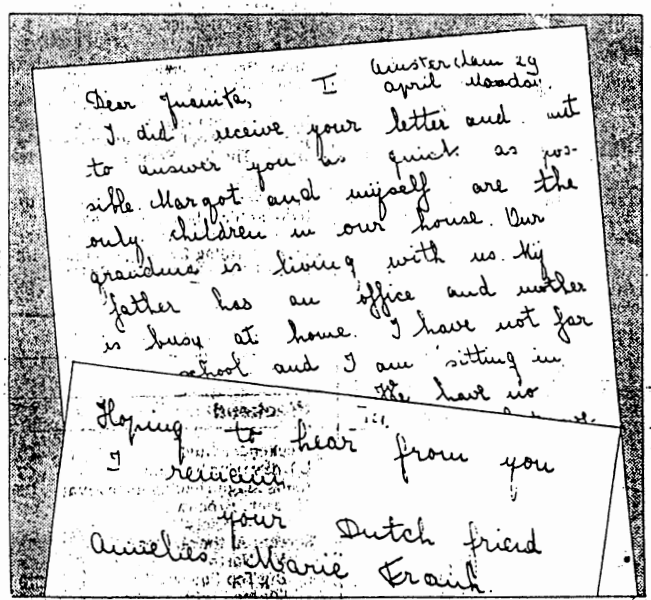
A facsimile reprint of this article was published as a booklet by the Institute for Historical Review in 1985. Two samples of handwriting attributed to Anne Frank appeared on the front cover and on page 209. Each was written when she was about 13 years old, but strangely enough, the earlier one (dated 12 June 1942) looks much more mature and "adult-like" than the sample which was supposedly written four months later (dated 10 October 1942).

In response to growing skepticism about the authenticity of the famous diary, the State Institute for War Documentation in Amsterdam (Rijksinstituut voor Orloogsdocumentatie or RIOD) published a book in 1986 which includes a facsimile of a letter supposedly written by Anne dated 30 July 1941.

The discovery in the USA of some more samples of Anne's handwriting was announced in July 1988. This includes two letters dated 27 and 29 April 1940 and a postcard that was sent with one of the letters, all written to an 11-year-old pen-pal in Danville, Iowa.

These letters create a new problem for the State Institute for War Documentation because the handwriting on them is quite different than the "adult" handwriting of her letter of 30 July 1941 as well as most of the purported diary manuscript.

Anne Frank Letter to Iowa Pen Pal to Be Sold


Dear Juanita, Amsterdam 29 april 1940.
I did receive your letter and wit to answer you as quick as possible. Margot and myself are the only children in our house. Our grandma is living with us. My father has an office and mother is busy at home. I have not far school and I am sitting in
We have no
Hoping to hear from you
I remain
your Dutch friend
Annelies Marie Frank

Portions of a letter sent by Anne Frank to a pen pal in Iowa in 1940.

By RICHARD F. SHEPARD

Pen-pal letters sent by Anne Frank and her sister to two girls in Iowa in 1940, just before the German invasion of the Netherlands sealed the Frank family's doom, have come to light as the result of a decision to auction them in New York in October.

The unusual correspondence, verified by the director of the Anne Frank Center in Amsterdam, consists of two letters, a postcard, two passport-size photographs of the Jewish sisters who were later hidden in a Dutch house until they were found by the Nazis, and the envelope in which it all arrived in Danville, Iowa, nearly a half-century ago. All the items are to be auctioned as a package by Swann Galleries, 104 East 25th Street, on Oct. 25.

The letters are dated April 27 and 29, 1940, the month before the Germans invaded the Netherlands. The letters contain little of the concerns of the world that was careering toward catastrophe and no reference to the condition of the Franks as refugees from Germany who had settled in the Netherlands. The girls wrote in English, which they probably copied from a translation by their father, Otto, from their first drafts in Dutch.

'It Is Called Montessori'

"I am sitting in the fifth class," wrote the 11-year-old Anne. "We have no hour-classes we may do what we may prefer, of course we must get to a certain goal. Your mother will certainly know this system. It is called Montessori."

She signed the letter Annelies Marie Frank.

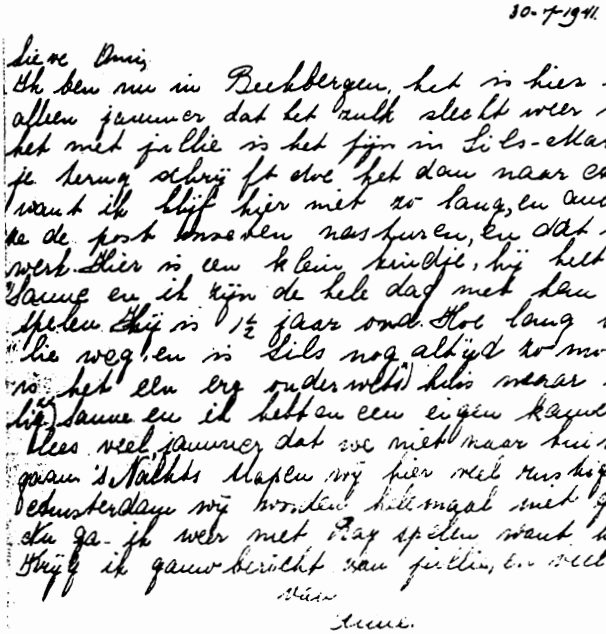
Margot, Anne's older sister, then 14, also described life at home and school and did refer to the threatening political situation, although without expressing alarm.

"We often listen to the radio as times are very exciting, having a frontier with Germany and being a small country we never feel safe," the handwrit-

Continued on Page C27, Column 1

Sample 1: 29 April 1940.

Anne was almost 11. Source: *New York Times*, 22 July 1988, p. A1.



30-7-1941.

Lieve Oma,

Ik ben nu in Beekbergen, het is hier erg fijn, alleen jammer dat het zulk slecht weer is. Hoe is het met jullie is het fijn in Lils-Maria? Als je terug schrijft dan het dan naar Amsterdam want ik blijf hier niet zo lang, en anders worden ze de post moeten nasturen, en dat is onnodig werk. Hier is een klein kindje, bij het Raymonds Jannie en ik zijn de hele dag met dan aan het spelen. Hij is 1½ jaar oud. Hoe lang blijven jullie weg, en is Lils nog altijd zo moe? Hier is het een erg ondeugd huis maar toch gezellig. Jannie en ik hebben een eigen kamertje. Ik lees veel, jammer dat we niet naar buiten kunnen gaan 's Nachts slapen wij hier veel ruiskiger dan in Amsterdam wij worden helemaal niet gestoord. Nu ga ik weer met Ray spelen want hij roept al. Blijf ik gauw bericht van jullie, en veel zoentjes

Mijn

Anne.

Sample 2: 30 July 1941.

Anne was a little more than 12. Source: *De Dagboeken van Anne Frank*, Amsterdam; RIOD, 1986, p. 126.

Ik zal hoop ik aan jou alles kunnen toevertrouwen, zoals ik het nog aan niemand gekunt heb, en ik hoop dat je een grote steun aan me zult zijn.

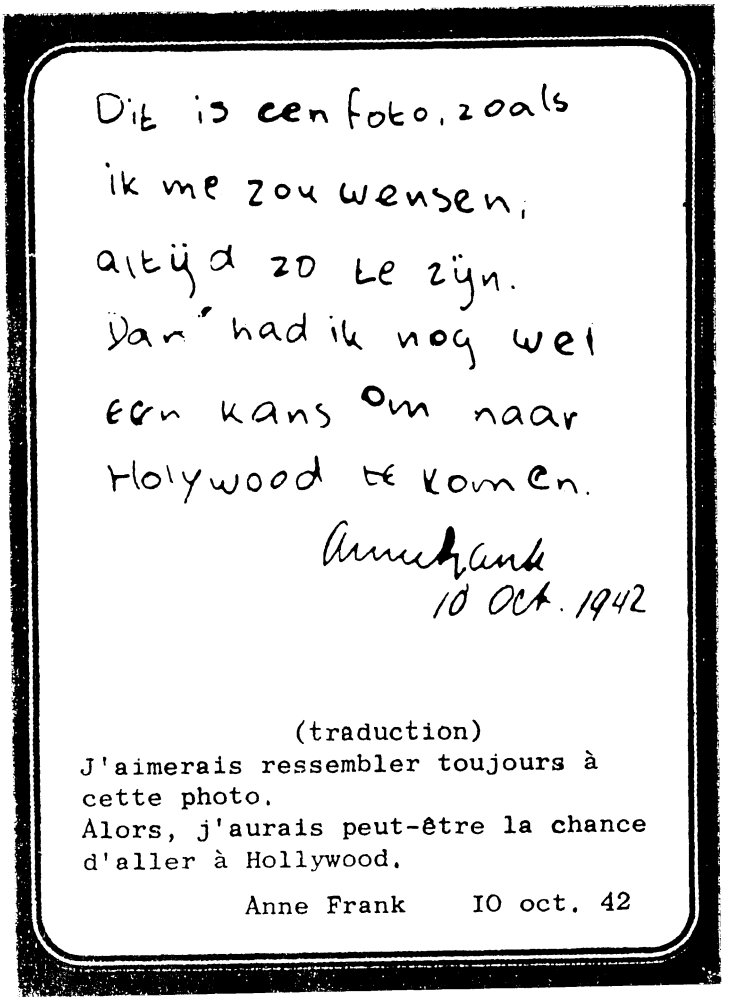
Anne Frank. 12 Juni 1942.

Sample 3: 12 June 1942.

Anne was exactly 13. Source: *Journal de Anne Frank*, Calmann-Levy, 1950.

These discoveries strengthen my belief that the "adult" handwriting attributed to Anne is, in reality, very likely the handwriting of one of the persons who officially "helped" Otto Frank prepare the diary for publication just after the war.

Reproduced here are four samples of handwriting attributed to Anne Frank (who was born on 12 June 1929) with their dates.


Dit is een foto, zoals
ik me zou wensen,
altijd zo te zijn.
Dan had ik nog wel
een kans om naar
Holywood te komen.
Anne Frank
10 Oct. 1942

(traduction)
J'aimerais ressembler toujours à
cette photo.
Alors, j'aurais peut-être la chance
d'aller à Hollywood.

Anne Frank IO oct. 42

Sample 4: 10 Oct. 1942.

Anne was a little more than 13. Source: *Journal de Anne Frank*, Livre de Poche, 1975.

The Simon Wiesenthal Center (Los Angeles) is supposed to have bought the pen-pal letter.

Wartime German Catholic Leaders and the "Extermination of the Jews"

R. CLARENCE LANG

In West Germany doubting that 6,000,000 Jews were killed, mostly by gassing, by the Germans in World War II can lead to legal complications. Numerous personal cases demonstrate that a reissue of the censorship practices of the Third Reich is still a reality. Doubters become the target of negative publicity and ostracism. Especially hard hit are those with families. Offenders against the taboo are automatically portrayed as guilty without the right to appeal. Those doubters who refuse to keep their doubts a secret can end up in jail, lose part, if not all, of their pension and their right to gainful employment. Pastors, teachers and university professors are not exempt from these measures. This legal barrier, however, does not prohibit researchers from raising questions as to whether individuals or groups had any knowledge of the "extermination" of the Jews before the end of the war. This ray of German liberty is reflected in the research of the late Jesuit scholar, Ludwig Volk. Father Volk extensively researched official minutes, correspondences and documents of leading German Roman Catholic churchmen. His findings and his reflections were published in the highly scholarly Roman Catholic journal *Stimmen der Zeit*, 1980.[1]

Father Volk's article is entitled "Episkopat und Kirchenkampf im Zweiten Weltkrieg" (The Episcopate and the Church Struggle in World War II). It consists of two parts, the first of which deals with the Episcopate and the German

wartime practice of euthanasia. The second part (pp. 687-702) deals with "Judenverfolgung und Zusammenbruch des NS-Staats" (The Persecution of the Jews and the Collapse of the National Socialist State.) This respected scholar has cited the book *The Catholic Church and Nazi Germany* by the American Guenter Lewy in one of the footnotes.[2] Since Lewy's book was translated into the German in 1965 and had some impact, it may well have been that Volk was thereupon commissioned by the Church to research this topic. Lewy scathingly attacked what he regarded as indifference on the part of the Catholic leadership in the face of what has become known as the "extermination of the Jews."

On the basis of my hourlong visit with Father Volk in 1984 and my reading of his article, I can state categorically that he was not a Revisionist, as he accepted the Exterminationist claim that Hitler and Himmler carried out, as much as they could, their alleged program to exterminate European Jewry.

Attempting to exonerate his Catholic churchleaders in the face of the charge of blindness and complacency, Volk points out differences between the German euthanasia program, which the church leaders countered sucessfully, and the "extermination" program. Volk tells us that the paramount reason for the success in terminating euthanasia was that enough Germans were aware of the program and thereby could be unified by a common effort. Such was not the case with the purported extermination of the Jews, since Himmler had learned his lesson from his mistakes with euthanasia, and he insisted upon as much secrecy as possible. Thus when the Jews were murdered, there were no announcements of deaths and no cremation urns for the relatives.

Volk speaks of "a thick wall" and "a secret stemming from the highest command." All information connections with the Jews were cut after their deportation to the East. Throughout the article Volk insists, however, that the Catholic leaders were as equally zealous in countering the murder of the Jews as they had been in halting the euthanasia—based on what they knew. The list of churchmen who spoke out on this matter is impressive. It includes two German cardinals, M.F. Faulhaber (Munich), A. Bertram (Breslau), and four German bishops, K. von Preysing (Berlin), J.G. Machens (Hildesheim), W. Berning (Breslau) and H. Wienken, secretary of the Conference of Bishops.

Bishop C. Galen (Münster), the superlatively fearless spokesman against euthanasia, does not figure on Volk's list.

Bishop Galen had to curtail his activities, seemingly for health reasons. One might mention that this vocal fighter against euthanasia died in 1946 while traveling from Rome back to Germany. Bishop Galen made a trip to Pope Pius XII on behalf of the millions of German soldiers still penned up in Allied prison and concentration camps. His untimely death on the train, supposedly from appendicitis, remains shrouded in mystery.[3] Needless to say the victorious Allies, who were then carrying out their vengeful Morgenthau Plan against the Germans, hardly wanted to heed such a voice. It is also noteworthy that after the war Cardinal Faulhaber wrote the American authorities to plead that the condemned in the Nuremberg trials be given the right to appeal after new evidence was presented.[4] He failed. (With some 20,000 Dutch out of a population of about 13 million being annually killed by peacetime "mercy-killing," one wonders what has happened to these fearless Christian voices of yesteryear.)

On the work of alleviating the plight of the Jews, Volk mentions the founding, by Bishop Preysing, of the Bishop's Welfare Agency in Berlin, with Frau Margarete Sommer as its hardworking leader. This agency, founded in September 1938, carried out charity work among the Jews, assisting them especially in their emigration from Germany. Besides this Catholic organ there existed official Jewish organizations of similar function while non-Aryan Protestants (that is, ethnic Jews) had the Paulusbund, named after the Apostle Paul. The latter organization functioned until 1944.

With the onset of the war and the end of Jewish emigration, Frau Sommer's agency, beginning in 1941, became involved in helping Jews deported to the East. Many of the deportation trains either originated in Berlin or passed through the German capital.

In his article Father Volk sketches, as was noted, a relationship between the program of euthanasia and what he calls the murder of the Jews. But he might have pointed out another relationship between the two, as does the 89-year-old Regimentsarzt (regimental surgeon), Henning Fikentscher, who shared some of his thoughts with me. Doctor Fikentscher was involved in the euthanasia program, in the sense that he took mentally incurables to institutions, only to learn months later they they had been eliminated. Fikentscher claims that a contributing factor in this mercy-killing was that the massive emigration and the deportation to the East of incurables and physically handicapped became a problem of sheer numbers,

especially since countries allowed the entry only of healthy persons, erecting strict laws against misfits. Thus the Zionists in Palestine insisted, for example, that they could use only healthy Jews.[5]

A further dimension to the Volk article could have been added if the author had included some ideas from a book by Dr. Erwin Goldmann, *Zwischen den Völkern* (Between Two Peoples—in this case, the Germans and the Jews), written five years before Volk's article. Goldmann, who could trace his ancestry back over 500 years, was a non-Aryan (Jewish) Protestant, who had been associated with both the officially recognized Paulusbund and the Sicherheitsdienst (SS Security Service). Goldmann was a veteran of World War I. Although he lived in the Stuttgart area, he learned in 1938 that a fellow asset of the Security Service was Georg Kareski, a Berlin banker who was president of the Zionist Organization of Germany. Kareski was consulted by the regime in matters pertaining to Jews. As a Zionist he was concerned, above all, with promoting the migration of Jews to Palestine. He thus accepted the Nuremberg Laws of 1935, knowing that a prerequisite for a meaningful migration to Palestine was to ascertain first of all who was and who was not a Jew.[6]

Likewise, in 1938, Direktor Kareski advocated that Jews be forced to wear the Jewish star. Upon hearing of this, Goldmann, during the winter of 1938, immediately took a train to Berlin having arranged a personal meeting with Kareski by telephone. Kareski let his guest wait in a bitter cold room for an hour and half, and then had a confrontation with Goldmann. As Goldmann put it, if both of them had guns, it would be difficult to say who would have shot the other one first. At one point Kareski asked "What do we have to do with you 'goyim'?,"[7] revealing his antipathy for converted Jews such as Goldmann.

On October 28, 1939 the wearing of the Jewish star by Jews was made law in Poland, and on September 15, 1941 in all the Third Reich.

Writing of this in 1975, Goldmann wrote: "Direktor Kareski recommended the introduction of the Jewish star, which was introduced by Admiral [Wilhelm] Canaris against the protests of most of the National Socialist leadership, including Goebbels."[8]

Father Volk discusses in some detail the issue of the so-called *Mischlinge*, that is, "half and quarter" Jews. Generally, 150,000 is given for the number of *Mischlinge*. Volk points out

that the Nuremberg Laws of 1935 prohibited marriage between non-Aryans [Jews] and Germans, *but it did not break up any existing marriages.*

The *Mischlinge* problem, in its connection with the deportation of the Jews of the Reich, came to a head on February 27, 1943, when some 6,000 women, German wives of the Reich Jews, protested in the detention area in Berlin. Their protests became so embarrassing that the authorities halted the deportation, thereby raising the question: Who deserves credit for this?[9]

Lewy, who argues that this episode shows that vigorous protest could bring results even in Hitler's dictatorial Germany, credits the wives. Volk, on the other hand, terms Lewy's claim mere speculation, and would have us believe that the Catholic Church should be given considerable credit. The fact remains that a law to force the deportation of the *Mischlinge* was never enacted.

Excluding, at this point, such topics as gas chambers from our vocabulary, undoubtedly the fate of the Reich Jews who were deported was not an enviable one. In this regard one should recall Gerald Reitlinger's claim, in *The Final Solution*: "The Reich Jews were not easily assimilated to the conditions of the impoverished Jewish communities of Eastern Poland, *nor did the local Jews welcome them.*" [Emphasis added.] What Reitlinger might have added was the great spiritual, intellectual, social and religious gulf between the two Jewish groups. One had been part of a world which had experienced the Reformation and Enlightenment, while the Polish Jews lived in the world of the Middle Ages. Likewise, speaking of some 1,200 deportees, Reitlinger wrote: "The local Jewish communities would do nothing to feed these Jews from the Reich and the Governor of Lublin, Zörner, tried to shift the responsibility on the Security Police, who had begun the action."[10] The plight of the Reich Jews was a tragic one indeed, as they were rejected by the Zionists and by the Eastern Jews alike.

Father Volk points out that helping the Jews was difficult. For although churchmen were successful in halting the deportation of the *Mischlinge*, by doing so, without demanding more, the churchmen gave latent approval for the deportation of the "racially pure" Jews. Why, then, did church officials remain vague and general? According to Father Volk it was because general accusations were more promising than specific accusations, which required providing specific proof.

Such proof would have meant delays caused by time-consuming investigations during a situation of total war. Here lay the dilemma. The Jesuit, in this connection, speaks also of "a psychic law." That is, the greater the monstrosity of a crime, the greater the demand for specific and actual proof. In short, the task of the Catholic leaders was not an easy one. Had charges been leveled and then disproved, the churchmen's position would have been greatly weakened.

Volk might have augmented his argument by pointing out that the Western Allies, aided by tens of thousands of well-educated emigrés, who knew the languages of Europe very well, and with a widespread underground radio network at their disposal, had a far better knowledge of what was happening in the Third Reich than even the German Catholic prelates. The Allied propagandists must have been aware that German public opinion had halted the euthanasia program. They must have known that 6,000 Christian women in Berlin had halted the deportation of tens of thousands of *Mischlinge* to the East. It is therefore wholly understandable that Volk makes a counterattack aimed at exonerating the German churchmen. As Father Volk writes, it remains ". . . unanswered why the Western Allies did not make the murder of the Jews the most dominant theme in their broadcasts to the Third Reich and use airborne propaganda bombardment leaflets over Germany." Volk insists that by this omission the most powerful means of revealing the criminality of Hitler to the German people was neglected.

Volk makes much of the Bishops' Conference at Fulda in August 1943, the last such meeting of the war. There the deportation of the Jews was widely discussed at length; one could say it was a burning issue. For the churchmen there was no doubt that for practically two years tens of thousands of citizens of Jewish belief and origin (Reich Jews) had been taken by brute force from their homes and shipped to unknown destinations in the East. Thereafter, sooner or later, all connections were broken. Volk goes into considerable detail in explaining why no clear-cut protest emerged. Could it be that the Christian churchmen, knowing that they could not help the deported Jews, feared that their protests might endanger even the *Mischlinge*?

Three months later in 1943, Cardinal Bertram of Breslau, whose see included Auschwitz, publicly protested in writing against the living conditions in what he termed *Massenlager* (mass camps), and insisted that all internees should be

regarded as worthy human beings. This led Father Volk to reflect that Bertram's formulation was in radical contrast to the macabre results of the "Holocaust" as this came to light after the German collapse. Volk writes:

> Despite the relative nearness of the extermination camp of Auschwitz—Breslau was the closest German see—Bertram did not dare [to be specific about the Jewish emigration.] The breakthrough of the truth regarding the final solution first came—and even then with some conditions—in the last general protest from the see of Breslau on January 29, 1944, in which Bertram condemned the separation of the *Mischlinge* because "they are threatened with *Ausmerzung*."

To be sure, *Ausmerzung* can mean extermination, but not necessarily. It can also mean blotting out, culling or separating. Accordingly, bearing in mind the terrible health conditions in the overcrowded camps, the immense German manpower shortages, and the rumors spread by the underground, one might interpret Bertram's terminology as follows: Is it possible to imagine so fearless a Cardinal, so close to Auschwitz, aware of gas chambers exterminating hundreds of thousands of human beings, using a word like *Ausmerzung* in a message devoted only to the fate of half-Jews married to German women? Is there any evidence whatsover that this Catholic prelate knew anything of "extermination"?

Father Volk concludes, in accordance with the taboos which rule German scholarship, that in contrast to the euthanasia program, which was halted because sufficient Germans knew about it, the "extermination camps" remained a secret until the end of the war. In his words: as the facade of the Third Reich collapsed, the counter-world of concentration camps, mass graves, gas chambers and crematoria was revealed. It was this Jesuit historian's belief that Himmler had fooled even the highest German church officials.

As mentioned above, I visited this outstanding scholar, in a small Catholic convalescent home outside Munich. I went there after having studied his article, which was brought to my attention by a Catholic clergyman. For me the visit remains unforgettable.

Before seeing Father Volk, I had written a letter and made several telephone calls. The secretary of the convalescent home wanted to shield her patient, a very sick man, from unnecessary involvements and unpleasant topics. But I persisted, and a time was arranged.

It was a sunny but cool summer morning. I took the train, then the bus, and finally walked from my stop to the address. The home was pointed out to me by a mailman. After entering, I waited about fifteen minutes in a small room before the distinguished scholar entered. We shook hands and sat down. He began, in what I had to consider a cold and accusing voice, "*Nun, Sie kommen, uns Deutsche zu entlasten!* (You come to exonerate us Germans)." Although I did not take notes, I remember being rather shocked by his opening remark. Yet before long a much warmer and pleasant atmosphere developed.

During our conversation I was ever mindful of the Revisionist claims of such men as Robert Faurisson. Politely but persistently, I raised doubts, for, if even the highest ecclesiastical authorities in Germany had been unaware of the "extermination," perhaps the reality was radically different than today's version. The problem of the gas chambers was definitely discussed, as well as Arthur Butz's *Hoax of the Twentieth Century*.

After about an hour, the secretary came in and politely asked how we were doing. I took this as a cue and assured her that I would end the conversation shortly. Before we shook hands and departed, Father Volk said, reflectively but distinctly, "*Ja, Legenden können ihre eigenen Beine bekommen* (Yes, legends can grow their own legs)." These words, from someone still regarded as a *bedeutenden* (significant) historian by his fellow clergymen, have retained a deep meaning for me. What a difference a face-to-face contact can make *if one asks critical questions*!

Notes

1. *Stimmen der Zeit*, Stimmen der Zeit Verlag, 1980, pp. 687-702.
2. Guenter Lewy, *The Catholic Church and Nazi Germany*, McGraw-Hill, New York, Toronto, 1961.
3. This is based on a letter to a fellow Revisionist in Germany.
4. Unfortunately, it seems that this letter, which I have, has not been translated.
5. This is based on my correspondence with Henning Fikentscher. He claims that he can document this. Fikentscher has written two booklets related to these topics. The first is *Prof. dr. med. Theodor Morell 1936-45*, Verlag Kurt Vowinckel, Neckar-Gemünd. (No date.) Fikentscher calls this a "*Studie*." The second booklet is *Sechs Millionen Juden, Die Opfer*, Kritik Verlag, Mohrkirch/Aarhus, Denmark, 1980.

(Theodor Morell was Hitler's doctor. Interestingly, he was never tried in Nuremberg, dying from natural causes in 1948.)

6. Erich Kern (editor), *Verheimlichte Dokumente* (Concealed Documents), FZ Verlag, Munich, 1988, p. 148.
7. Dr. Erwin Goldmann, *Zwischen Zwei Völkern: Erlebnisse und Erkenntnisse*, Helmut Cramer-Verlag, Königswinter, 1975, p. 130.
8. Goldmann, p. 130.
9. Lewy, pp. 288-9.
10. Gerald Reitlinger, *The Final Solution*, A.S. Barnes, New York, 1953, pp. 44-5.

Conspiracy Theory and the French Revolution

GEOFF MUIRDEN

Since 1989 is the 200th anniversary of the French Revolution this is an especially apt time to consider the conspiratorial theory of history presented in Mrs. Nesta Webster's classic, *The French Revolution*.

Mrs. Webster presents not one conspiracy, but several, insisting that plots by the Freemasons and Illuminati, mixed with those by the Duc d'Orleans and foreign powers combined to produce the tragedy of the French Revolution.

Taking these in turn, Webster suggests that:

> The lodges of the German Freemasons and Illuminati were thus the source whence emanated all those anarchic schemes which culminated in the Terror, and it was at a great meeting of the Freemasons in Frankfurt-am-Main, three years before the French Revolution began, that the deaths of Louis XVI and Gustavus III of Sweden were first planned.[1]

One argument against this would appear to be the argument of Jean-Joseph Mounier, an active participant in the French Revolution, who proposed the Tennis Court Oath and helped frame the Declaration of the Rights of Man. In his book *On the*

Influence Attributed to Philosophers, Freemasons, and to the Illuminati on the Revolution of France, Mounier remarks:

> Among the noble conspirators who prepared the death of Gustavus, I do not know a single one who has been desirous of playing a part in the Revolution of France, although this would have been extremely easy for them; as the French demagogues were then calling to their ranks all the madmen of Europe. But the Swedish conspirators had not the same systems; and their guilty measures were not destined to effect the establishment of a democracy.[2]

Mounier's book is most important, written as it was by an active participant in the Revolution, and it does serve against the conspiracy theory, since Mournier insists that neither the *philosophes*, nor the Freemasons, nor the Illuminati had any major part in creating the Revolution.

As a matter of fact, R.R. Palmer, in *The Age of the Democratic Revolution*, cites Mounier's book as the major refutation of the "plot theory." It does, in fact, devote much of its space to refuting the claims of the Abbé Barruel about the Freemason and Illuminati plot, and also John Robison's *Proofs of a Conspiracy*.[3]

Mrs. Webster does not give enough attention to the challenge posed by Mounier's book to the conspiracy theory, but she does remark, in another book, *World Revolution*:

> When we come to examine Mounier's attitude more closely, however, certain considerations present themselves, too lengthy to enter into here, which detract somewhat from the value of his testimony. Of these the most important is the fact that Mounier wrote his book in Germany, where he was living under the protection of the Duke of Weimar, who had placed him at the head of a school in that city where Boettiger himself was director of the college and, according to the editor of Mounier's work, it was from Bode, who was also at Weimar and whom Boettiger declared to be the head of the Illuminati, that Mounier collected his information! And this is the sort of evidence seriously quoted against that of innumerable other contemporaries who testified to the influence of Illuminism on the French Revolution.[4]

It could be added that Mounier had no first-hand experience of the Revolution from the period between May 1790, when he fled the border into exile, until he returned to France under the rule of Napoleon in 1801.[5]

For the early period of the Revolution, in 1789-1790, however, Mounier's observations are important, and he was

inclined to play down the role of the Duc d'Orléans, who for Mrs. Webster plays such a dominant role in the period. Thus, Mounier remarks that:

> . . . some vile intriguers exerted themselves to excite the ambition of the Duke of Orléans, in order to seize upon the sovereign authority in his name; and entered into a league with those who, from whatever motive, wished for a general dissolution. But in the beginning all those voluntary and involuntary agents of anarchy did not amount to the number of 80 in an assembly of 8 or 900 persons . . . but . . . there would have been a very great majority against the factions by the union of the Orders.[6]

At the same time, Mounier had personally experienced Mirabeau, and tends to cast doubt upon his possible dedication as a servant of the Duc d'Orléans:

> The restless ambition of Mirabeau, his excessive desire of increasing his own celebrity, and of acquiring riches and power, disposed him to serve all parties. I have myself seen him go from the nocturnal committees *held by the friends of the Duke of Orléans* to those of the enthusiastic republicans, and from their secret conferences to the cabinets of the King's Ministers: but if in the first months the ministers had agreed to treat with him, he would have preferred supporting the royal authority to joining with men whom he despised. [Emphasis added][7]

The point made above is that Mirabeau was a man whose fingers were in a great many pies, who used the Duc d'Orléans when it served him but would just as readily jump into bed with other parties. In this case Mrs. Webster could be at fault in designating him as an "Orléanist," when that was only one of his public "faces."

Perhaps not too much importance need be made of the fact that the Duke was chosen Grand Master of the French lodges. Mounier says:

> The Freemasons, nothwithstanding their pretended zeal for equality, were fond of seeing at their head a man of illustrious rank. He succeeded the Prince of Conti. Besides, all the Lodges of France did not acknowledge him as Chief; several were affiliated to the Grand Orient of London.[8]

Perhaps they were not so radical politically, if they preferred a nobleman, "a man of illustrious rank," at their head, rather than one of the "bourgeois."

There may be something to be said in favor of the investigations of historians writing after Mrs. Webster, who

have suggested that, though the Masonic lodges had some influence, nevertheless they were not hotbeds of revolution. For example, Albert Soboul, analyzing the situation, decides that the Freemasons of France were divided by the French Revolution. Most aristocratic "brothers" opposed it, while most bourgeois Masons at first supported it. But these initial supporters came to oppose the radicals, and many went over to the counter-Revolution. After Thermidor, there was a revival of Masonic influence in France. It was only in the 19th century that the Masonic lodges became liberal in politics.[9]

This is not to say that Freemasons had no influence. Crane Brinton admits that many Freemasons were among the founders of the first Jacobin clubs in many parts of France. Many Masonic customs were used, such as the word "brother" for fellow Masons and secret votes with blackballs. Brinton concludes that:

> Masons undoubtedly worked through the press and the literary societies to prepare for the revolution, to draw up the *cahiers*, to get people aware that political change was possible and desirable. But of an organized plot in the melodramatic sense there is no proof. Too many non-Masons were obviously active in the early societies.

He adds that:

> Many Jacobin clubs, however, even in the first years of the Revolution, cannot be traced at the moment of actual establishment either to literary societies or to Masonic lodges. The circumstances of their origin vary greatly, and afford an instance—and by no means the last we shall notice—of the extraordinary diversity of French provincial life, a diversity which even the centralizing government of the Terror was never able wholly to destroy.[10]

Michael L. Kennedy comes to similar conclusions, while conceding that "there is something to be said for Gaston-Martin's contention that the Jacobin network was modeled on that of the Masons."[11] It could be said that the form of presentation, but not the radical content of the speeches, was influenced by Freemasonry. Soboul's work, mentioned earlier, does not support the assumption of widespread radicalism in Masonry.

This stands against Mrs. Webster's presentation. When it comes to Mrs. Webster's presentation of the Orléanist conspiracy, there are also some caveats.

There is no doubt of the Duc d'Orléans' financial ability to finance a revolution. He was the second largest landowner in

the Old Regime, after the King himself, with revenues of over 7 million livres. He could afford to buy "idea men" to oppose the Crown.[12]

His main problem was lack of persistence in his conspiracies. Brissot, writing of the Duc d'Orléans, said that "the prince was rather fond of conspiracies that lasted only twenty-four hours—any longer and he grew frightened."[13]

In effect, Kelly agrees with Mrs. Webster that Madame de Genlis, who educated the Duke in republican principles, and Choderlos de Laclos, had d'Orléans in his grip.[14] Kelly speaks of the . . .

> . . . vitual certainty that [Laclos] used the duke's money to subsidize the pen of Marat for d'Orléans and against Lafayette in 1790, and his later machinations in 1791 after the king's flight to Varennes when, as permanent secretary to the Jacobins, he attempted to rally the power of the society, perhaps with the approval of Danton, to the cause of an Orléanist regency.[15]

Also according to Kelly:

> . . . if we add together the many (often unreliable) accounts of the period, we learn that not only Brissot, but Barère, Mirabeau, Sieyès, Desmoulins, Danton, Duport, Dumouriez, and Marat all passed through the Orléanist receiving line . . . we will always, however, find the names of Mounier, Lafayette, and Robespierre conspicuously absent: these men were bitter enemies and not for hire.[16]

Kelly nevertheless takes the view, contrary to Mrs. Webster, that d'Orléans did not instigate the French people to rebellion by depriving them of bread: "The harsh winter, crop failures, and an alarming ascent of prices from 1785 on accounted for that."[17]

The Duke succeeded in fostering revolution but never in becoming regent, in which role, because of his indolence and foppishness, he would have been unsuitable.

One important event in which the Duc d'Orléans is said to have been involved is in financing the storming of the Bastille. George Rudé appears to give some support to this. Writing about looting on July 11, 1789, he states, "It is clear that the Palais Royal had a hand in the affair; it is no doubt significant that the posts said to belong to the Duc d'Orléans were deliberately moved by the incendiaries."[18] Later, he writes:

> A more or less peacefully disposed Sunday crowd of strollers in the Palais Royal was galvanized into revolutionary vigour by

> the news of Necker's dismissal and *the call to arms issued by orators of the entourage of the Duc d'Orléans.* [Emphasis added][19]

Rudé virtually agrees with Mrs. Webster's claim that "of the 800,000 inhabitants of Paris only approximately 1000 took any part in the siege of the Bastille."[20] Rudé sets the number at "between 800 and 900 persons."[21] Yet, Rudé makes a further important claim, that "at the peak of the insurrection there may have been a quarter of a million Parisians—some thought more—under arms," and in a footnote he adds that Nicolas de Bonneville, the original promotor of the *milice bourgeois*, later wrote that, on 14 July, Paris had 300,000 men under arms . . . Barnave, on 18 July, wrote of 180,000.[22]

Rudé analyzes the revolutionary crowd and concludes that most were small tradesmen, artisans and wage-earners.[23] But he makes no mention of the foreigners said to have been part of the Bastille conquerors, according to Mrs. Webster.[24] And, in opposition to Mrs. Webster, who gives a significant role to brigands from the south (the Marseillais), and from Italy, Rudé announces that "very few came from more than a mile or so from the Bastille."[25]

That the Duc d'Orléans did play a major role in financing agitation during the Revolution is established, but there seems to be some doubt about some of the details presented by Mrs. Webster, details which are the key to her thesis of a long-term revolutionary plot.

Either modern historians are engaged in a conspiracy of their own to deny the truth about the French Revolution, or else one can concede that much of what Mrs. Webster has presented deserves modification in the light of later information. This article has only touched on a fraction of her fascinating book, but Revisionist historians who want to defend Mrs. Webster against her critics will need to be able to show in what way she has been misrepresented. Until such time, her theory stands in need of modification.

Notes

1. Webster, Nesta H., *The French Revolution*, (n.p.), 1919 (republished by The Noontide Press, Costa Mesa, CA in 1988), p. 21.
2. Mounier, Jean Joseph, *On the Influence Attributed to Philosophers, Free-Masons, and to the Illuminati on the Revolution of France*, facsimile reproduction with an introduction by Theodore A.

DiPadove. Delmar, New York, Scholars' Facsimiles & Reprints, 1974, p. 69.

3. Mounier, *op. cit.*, Introductory Note, no. 4, and Mounier's book *passim.*
4. Webster, Nesta H., *World Revolution.* London, Constable & Co., 1921, p. 81.
5. Mounier, *op. cit.*, Introduction.
6. Mounier, p. 90.
7. Mounier, p. 91.
8. Mounier, p. 155.
9. Soboul, Albert, "La Franc-Maçonnerie et la Révolution Française (Free-Masonry and the French Revolution)," *Annales Historiques de la Revolution Française*, 1974, 46 (1), pp. 76-88.
10. Brinton, Crane, *The Jacobins: An Essay in the New History*, New York, Macmillan, 1930, pp. 15-16.
11. Kennedy, Michael L., "The Foundation of the Jacobin Clubs and the Development of the Jacobin Club Network, 1789-1791," *Journal of Modern History*, 51 (Dec., 1979) p. 703.
12. Barker, Nancy N., "Phillippe d'Orléans, Frere Unique du Roi: Founder of the Family Fortune," *French Historical Studies*, Vol. 13 (2), Fall 1983, p. 170.
13. Kelly, George Armstrong, "The Machine of the Duc d'Orléans and the New Politics," *Journal of Modern History*, 51, Dec. 1979, p. 671.
14. Kelly, p. 673; cf. Webster, *The French Revolution*, pp. 10-11.
15. Kelly, footnote no. 27, p. 673.
16. Kelly, p. 674.
17. Kelly, p. 677.
18. Rudé, *The Crowd in the French Revolution.* Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1959, p. 49.
19. Rudé, p. 220.
20. Webster, *The French Revolution*, p. 95.
21. Rudé, p. 56.
22. Rudé, p. 59.
23. Rudé, p. 57.
24. Webster, *The French Revolution*, p. 39.
25. Rudé, p. 58.

Circuitous Suppression

TOM MARCELLUS

"This group [the IHR] is more dangerous than the skinheads."
—Irv Rubin

"Historians are dangerous people. They are capable of upsetting everything."
—Nikita S. Khruschev

"The Holocaust was not a sacred event. It was a historical event and it should be open to routine, historical criticism."
—Bradley Smith

Mr. Irving Rubin of Los Angeles leads a rag-tag association of militants who claim to serve the interests of the American Jewish community by protecting it from a variety of imagined threats. His Jewish Defense League (JDL), founded by Rabbi Meir Kahane, now an American expatriate in Israel, is the organization which, a few years back, sunk the hoary art of sloganeering to new depths by coining the phrase "FOR EVERY JEW A .22!"

According to Mr. Rubin's mindset anyone—even other Jews—could be, and probably is, out to get his people. By his logic any Gentile is liable to be afflicted, at any time, with the dread contagion of anti-Semitism. But since Rubin's JDL has been classified as a terrorist group by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, "defending" his people through the use of threats and violence has become increasingly inconvenient of late, and Rubin has been forced to seek more commercial means of harrassing the "anti-Semites."

It was Rubin and his friends who, brandishing the Israeli national flag, staged two violent demonstrations in front of the offices of the Institute for Historical Review when we were

located in Torrance ("NAZIS WITH PH.Ds ARE STILL NAZIS!" "SIX MILLION—NEVER AGAIN!"). And it was Rubin who appeared at the scene of the crime the day after the devastating July 4, 1984 arson destruction of the IHR's offices and warehouse in Torrance, boasting to the press that while, of course, neither he nor his group had had a hand in the professionally-executed terrorist deed, "We applaud those who took this righteous action." He said essentially the same thing after the home of IHR Editorial Advisory Committee member Dr. George Ashley was firebombed and severely damaged four years ago. The media loves him because he can always be counted on to offer interesting news followups, from physically violent confrontations to reward offers for the severed ears of "Nazis." Indeed, "Nazis" abound in Mr. Rubin's world. And they are out "to finish the job that Hitler started."

Rubin, like his fellow Jewish terrorist Mordechai Levy, is one of those people around whom disaster, destruction and various forms of violence swirl continuously, yet who have never been convicted of anything really serious. When things got too hot for the JDL a few years ago, Rubin was forced to officially unload his uncontrollable hatchet man, Levy, who was then set up to operate out of New York City with a new organization called the JDO ("O" for Organization).

While Rubin's professed mission has been to safeguard Jews from the Holocaust which always lurks just around the corner, his own brutal antics and goon-like demeanor probably prompted as much anti-Jewish feeling as anyone. "NEVER FORGET, NEVER FORGIVE" is the JDL's motto and Rubin's own attitude toward life. This February, with his usual measure of malice aforethought and insight into the weaknesses of the human psyche, Rubin set out to torpedo the IHR's Ninth International Revisionist Conference. He failed, of course, but not before embarrassing his group, and exposing himself, as well as two multi-million dollar commercial establishments and at least one municipal police department, to serious legal repercussions, including breach of contract and conspiracy to violate the civil rights of American citizens.

The Rumor of Auschwitz Revisited

During the afternoon of February 16, 1989, Irv Rubin held a press conference in the lobby of what was to have been the site of the Ninth International Revisionist Conference: the Red Lion Inn in Costa Mesa, California. He was after the hotel to

cancel the event. He had mistakenly been informed that the IHR had booked the hotel under a phony name and thus left itself open to some form of lawful last-minute cancellation by the Red Lion. But Irv Rubin is a generous man: in the event that IHR's booking was legally binding and the Red Lion could not be intimidated into cancelling, he offered to place the JDL's financial resources at the disposal of the hotel's management should it wind up as the defendant in a costly lawsuit.

The day before, the manager of the Red Lion Inn, Russell Cox, had phoned to tell me "confidentially" that he was cancelling the IHR's contract, claiming that he had "three Jewish weddings" scheduled for that weekend and wanted no trouble. There was no convincing Cox with any rational arguments. He was not the least open either to truth or pleas for justice. I realized it wouldn't help asking him to cancel the "three Jewish weddings" instead. The die was cast. The Red Lion was backing out, unilaterally breaching a signed contract with the Institute, a contract made some eight months earlier with a good faith cash deposit. Seventy-two hours before the IHR's Ninth International Revisionist Conference was to commence, with 180 people scheduled to arrive from four continents, and with the Red Lion standing to gain more than $20,000 in revenues from lodging and banquet bookings, the IHR suddenly found itself with no place to hold the event.

We at IHR, however, were not caught unawares.

Behind the Orange Curtain

On the previous Tuesday, Mr. Cox had called to tell me that the Red Lion had received several anonymous phone threats of demonstrations and protests if he allowed the IHR group to meet there. But at that time he didn't appear to be overly concerned. He did seem a bit bewildered, however, about complaints that we were "rewriting history." But when I explained to him that whenever any history is *written*, history, at that point, is being *rewritten*, he seemed satisfied. He was cordial and said that he looked forward to meeting me on Saturday, the opening day of the conference.

Evidently, the Red Lion Inn decided to renege only after Irv Rubin forewarned the hotel and the media that he planned to hold a press conference there.

Mr. Cox did not have the courage to say NO to a member of an organization with a public record of intimidation and

violence. Rubin, his sidekick Bruce Derflinger, and the other JDL bully boys were invited to assemble in the Red Lion's elegant marble- and brass-fronted lobby and hold their press conference in the name of freedom of speech. Meanwhile, a legitimate, peaceful, historical society with no record of ever having caused trouble or violence, after *eight* previous conferences, seven of them in the Los Angeles metropolitan area, was being banned from the hotel, despite a binding contract made months before.

It thus seemed clear that the hotel's devastating eleventh-hour cancellation had been engineered not by one of the officially approved and influential Jewish pressure groups, such as the Anti-Defamation [*sic*] League, but by perhaps only one or two JDLers who, after having discoverd the location of the conference, made a few phone calls to the hotel, hinted a threat or two, including the suggestion of adverse publicity, and announced a press conference to convince the Red Lion management to throw us out. If this supposition is correct, then all it took to prompt the breach of a valid commerical contract and leave 180 people without their pre-arranged conference site was perhaps two, maybe three, frenetic cranks with little to offer of late besides impotent threats. Then again, the JDL may have had a little help in its efforts, courtesy of the Costa Mesa Police Department.

Curiouser and Curiouser

When I was told by the Red Lion's Mr. Cox of the cancellation, I was also advised that a local Holiday Inn had agreed to accept and honor the contracts made originally with the Red Lion (the IHR's Eighth Conference had been held at another local Holiday Inn). Fobbing us off like this, from the Red Lion management's point of view, might serve to mitigate to some extent its contractual and financial liability. In other words, if the Red Lion could arrange for the IHR to hold its conference elsewhere, the IHR could be supposed to experience *less* of a direct financial loss than by having *no* place at all to hold the event.

The Holiday Inn directly across Bristol Street seemed a logical choice. It did not remotely approach the class and opulence of the Red Lion, but it was close by, and its manager, with knowledge of the circumstances of our Red Lion cancellation, with no Jewish weddings that weekend, and with a virtually empty hotel and no scheduled banquet business, seemed glad to accommodate us. It is worth noting

at this point that Mr. Cox assured me that he had spoken at some length with the Holiday Inn's manager, Mr. Dick Heatherington, and had informed him of the nature of the "problem" he had with the IHR and the "three Jewish weddings," and that Mr. Heatherington was all the same happy to have our business.

The Holiday Inn contracts were all drawn up and signed the following afternoon amid smiles, handshakes and repeated assurances of the best service. I handed over a $10,000 deposit check (subsequently cashed by the Holiday Inn), and everything seemed set. Twenty thousand dollars of instant revenue had been effortlessly gained by the Bristol Street Holiday Inn. Its managers had reason to smile. All this took place on Thursday, less than 48 hours before some 180 invited Revisionists were due to descent on Orange County, proceed to the Holiday Inn via the Red Lion, and attend the Ninth International Revisionist Conference.

The Aftershock

I was at the office all day Friday; everything seemed to be going well. I called the new hotel a few times to make changes to the rooming list and to take care of all the last-minute loose ends. The hotel had given no sign of anything untoward, the conference was still on, and it was to be the largest and, by all prospects the best, conference we'd ever held. At around 5:00 p.m. I left the office with conference emcee Mark Weber, and headed home.

Prof. Robert Faurisson and another conference attendee from out of town were staying at my apartment. Mark and I arrived at my place, parked the car, walked the distance to my door and entered. What I heard in the next two seconds made my blood boil. The Holiday Inn had called the office and cancelled the contract at approximately 5:10 p.m., moments after I had left. On this Friday, the seventeenth of February, our people were already arriving by plane. Registration for the conference was less than 20 hours away. I could visualize aircraft landing with attendees and speakers from as far away as Japan and Switzerland, cars converging on the Los Angeles areas with guests from Vancouver, Seattle, San Francisco. Suddenly, as if by diabolic intervention, we were without lodging, meeting space, catering facilities, our conference; we didn't even have a place to meet and sort things out. All attendees had been notified to come to the Red Lion, and although the Red Lion promised to tell our people to go across

the street to the Holiday Inn, there was now no room at the Holiday Inn, either.

Just about then, I reckon that Mr. Irving Rubin and his boys were off tossing down a few (watery) beers and laughing among themselves at the wimpish acquiescence of the managers of two major franchises, in what trade publications refer to as the "hospitality industry," smug in their confidence that the rug had been cunningly pulled out from underneath the Revisionists at the last possible minute. Bristol Street, in the fair city of Costa Mesa, California, had shattered the world record for the number of commercial contracts unilaterally breached on a single street in one 48-hour period. And it looked as if this might well portend the beginning of the end for freedom of speech for Historical Revisionists in these United States.

To Serve and Protect

It is difficult to remember a time span in my life as intense as the two hours between 6:00 p.m. and 8:00 p.m. that Friday evening. Phone calls were coming in and going out so fast that it was hard to believe any order could ever emerge from the apparent chaos. The IHR and Historical Revisionism were being systematically muzzled, right before our eyes, in the United States of America. We had paid half the entire hotel bill in advance. We had the signed contracts. The only thing we *didn't* have was a place to put 180 people, all of them looking forward to an enjoyable and informative three-day conference.

I placed a call immediately to Dick Heatherington, general manager of the Holiday Inn, who, not a day and a half ago, had been all smiles and enthusiasm.

Why was he cancelling us at the very last moment? On the recommendation of Captain Tom Lazare of the Costa Mesa Police Department, Heatherington said.

According to Heatherington, Lazare had called earlier to warn of the likelihood of some trouble, a demonstration, a confrontation. Heatherington had heeded Captain Lazare's advice and phoned his superiors at Holiday Inn corporate headquarters in Kansas City. Heatherington informed me that the decision to cancel was made over his head, based on the Costa Mesa Police Department recommendation. He apologized several times, saying how sorry he was and how terrible he felt that we were being thrown out, none of which, of course, alleviated my problem in the slightest.

Instructing Heatherington as to the characteristic stratagems and bluff favored by the JDL, and urging him to call his superiors back or to put me in touch with them directly, I next called the Costa Mesa Police and asked for Captain Lazare. Lazare had left his office at police headquarters and returned home. A fellow who said his name was Captain Smith fielded my call; I told him what I has been told by Heatherington. I expressed my disbelief that any police department would advise in favor of the breach of a commercial contract. And hadn't Presidents Reagan and Bush informed the nation of their resolve not to surrender to terrorist demands? Smith transferred me to the watch commander, to whom I restated my complaint. The watch commander, stonewalling at first, told me to call back during regular business hours on Monday to talk to Lazare. After my adamant insistence, however, he agreed to try to reach Lazare at home; he promised to call me back as soon as possible.

As good as his word, the watch commander soon called to say that Lazare could not be located. Gone fishin', maybe, and without his pager! At this point, it was clear that the Costa Mesa police were in no mood either to serve or protect. Despite the valid commercial contracts, despite Constitutional and civil rights, our last hopes for a reconsideration and a reinstatement of the conference at the Holiday Inn seemed to be fading fast.

The Revisionists Rally

Meanwhile, I waited to hear back from Heatherington, who was presumably contacting his superiors in Kansas City. At 7:30 p.m. he called to let me know that he had been unable to reach any decision-makers. Since Conference attendees were by then pouring into the Holiday Inn to register for their rooms, Heatherington expressed a willingness to permit us at least to conduct our own registration for the conference the afternoon of the following day. No meetings and no food, however. And since our contract had been cancelled, there was to be no further direct billing to the master IHR account. Arriving attendees would have to pay for their rooms, a second time, on their own account.

This was distasteful, but we had at least secured a foothold. If we could at least meet and organize, mass confusion would be avoided, and perhaps there would still be time to find an alternative location for the Saturday night opening and the following two full days of the conference agenda.

Around 8:00 p.m. Friday evening Robert Faurisson, Mark Weber, Frank and I sat eating pizza and discussing the situation. I knew none of us would sleep that night and that the following day might well turn out to be the busiest in my life. The phone rang. It was a local conference attendee who had called the IHR office and learned of the last-minute cancellation. He had already called a friend of his who might be able to help: Joe Bischof, owner of a large restaurant and banquet hall at Old World, a European-style shopping complex in nearby Huntington Beach. In addition to some twenty speciality shops, Old World has a church with a large basement. The word from our caller was that Mr. Bischof could probably feed our group and provide us with a meeting space on Sunday and Monday, but it might be tricky because of existing bookings. I called Mr. Bischof immediately and suggested we meet first thing the following day to work out the details. He couldn't help us out for the Saturday night meeting, but he said that he could probably work something out for the following two days.

The next slice of pizza tasted awfully good. I uncapped a cold beer. Now we had a place to organize, register and make plans on Saturday afternoon, as well as a place to meet for the two big days of the conference. A half-hour before we had had nothing. Two problems down and just one to go. All we had to do now was find meeting space for Saturday night.

Freedom of Assembly and Speech Prevail

Since taking over the directorship of the IHR in 1981, I have always happily remarked to my associates at the end of every IHR conference, "We pulled another one off." I've looked at it this way only because of the character of the opposition which any dissent in this area finds itself up against: it is underhanded, defamatory, intellectually non-confrontational and utterly un-American.

Irv Rubin's remarks to the press during this brouhaha included the statement, "We will confront them on any level they wish." But of course Rubin fears to confront anything above his street-level plane of understanding. Repeated calls by the IHR and others for an open debate on the Holocaust remain unanswered. Such a debate was scheduled to occur in Torrance on the Tuesday following the conference. The Revisionists were there, as promised, but the anti-Revisionists—all four of them—bailed out.

To make a long story short, we did, in fact, pull it off. A

Saturday night booking was made at almost the last minute, and on Sunday morning we moved over to Old World. This eleventh-hour organizing, briefing, and shuttling around of 180 people, many of whom were elderly and most of whom were far from their residential element, could not have been accomplished, I believe, by any other group. Everyone simply got shoulder to shoulder and pulled hard. It gave me real inspiration, and was impressive beyond words.

In the end, we all enjoyed a full conference that ran right on schedule, without a single upsetting incident. Judging from the comments of both attendees and speakers, this was, indeed, by far the best IHR conference ever. By the third day, nearly 200 people packed the bunker-like basement beneath the chapel, and professional video and audio crews recorded the entire three day-event on tape.

Rubin and a handful of sullen hangers-on did finally manage to catch up, turning in their usual pathetic performance. Irv and his gang's idea of rational discourse was to march around with placards proclaiming, e.g.: "IF THERE WAS NO HOLOCAUST, THEN THERE WAS NO VIETNAM WAR AND CUSTER'S LAST STAND." Quite a syllogism!

It may turn out that during this conference weekend they will have accomplished exactly the opposite of what they had intended to do. This time there *will* be a backlash. Our legal case is unmistakably clear: there have been two major, unilateral breaches of contract; violations of our civil rights; and perhaps even a conspiracy to violate our rights as well. These matters will be pursued and both actual and punitive damages sought. The only question that remains is one of financial resources. To seek remedies in the courts in these times requires sizeable funds, something the IHR simply does not possess.

But if what was done to the Institute in this case is permitted to go unpenalized or unpunished, it will set a precedent that will make our Constitutional guarantees of freedom of assembly and freedom of speech worth little more than the paper they are printed on. Thus every American who believes in these rights, and who is able to contemplate a world in which they are absent, has a vital vested interest in fully supporting the IHR in seeking a judicious and meaningful remedy.

I believe all of us Americans at IHR's Ninth Conference during the historic weekend of February 18-20, 1989 had reason to be proud of the rights and freedoms our forefathers

wrung from the world's mightiest empire a little over two hundred years ago. Our foreign visitors, I think, were impressed to see us stand up to economic sanction, open threats, and police intransigence with the casual self-assurance and unstudied pragmatism that stamps the best of our countrymen.

And we're a bit proud of ourselves as well. Once again, in modern-day "times that try men's souls," the men and women of the Institute for Historical Review have served notice that they claim their birthright of free speech and free inquiry with pride, not shame, in devotion to truth and in defiance of whoever would engineer or acquiesce in its suppression, be he trembling corporate "honcho," home-grown terrorist, alien meddler, or minion of the State.

(continued from page 4)
Revisionist (September 1983 to September 1987)" both immediate and enduring value (by the way, plans are now afoot for an updated, illustrated book containing the pick of Robert Faurisson's Revisionist writings in English).

Our next article, by the late William Hesseltine, first appeared in the May 9, 1945 issue of *The Progressive*, a left-of-center journal (still published today) which nevertheless, in the tradition of Wisconsin's Progressive Senator Robert La Follette, expressed sympathy at the plight of the German people. In "Atrocities, Then and Now" Professor Hesseltine, an American historian with particular expertise in the history of Civil War prison camps, draws, with remarkable foresight and courage, a parallel between Union exploitation of the appalling conditions which prevailed in Confederate camps for Union prisoners at the end of the Civil War and the virtually identical use the American leaders and their allies made of similar scenes in the German camps in the spring of 1945. (*JHR* readers should recall Editorial Advisor Mark Weber's excellent piece on "The Civil War Concentration Camps," which appeared in the Summer 1981 issue of *The Journal of Historical Review* [Vol. Two, no. 2].)

Like Hesseltine, Dr. Clarence Lang writes of governmental cruelty and hypocrisy during wartime. In this case the cruelty and hypocrisy were Roosevelt's and Churchill's, for these Allied leaders deliberately rejected every effort, subsequent to the highly successful Red Cross aid to Greece in 1942, to relieve the suffering of the civilian populace in the Axis-occupied countries during World War II. To do otherwise would have impeded their policy of total war: a war total not only in the ferocity with which America and Britain waged it, not only in the costly extravagance of their unconditional surrender demands, but in the calculating cruelty of their treatment of civilian populations and in the cynical exploitation of the results of this treatment by an unrelenting atrocity propaganda.

This issue of *The Journal* features two book reviews. The first is of Carlos Porter's debunking of the Nuremberg "evidence" and "record" in his *Made in Russia: The Holocaust.* Then frequent *JHR* contributor John Ries reviews a book which examines the organizational and political prerequisites for National Socialism's broad appeal in one middle-sized university town, Marburg on the Lahn.

In "Historical News and Comment" Robert Faurisson, author of IHR's *Is the Diary of Anne Frank Genuine?*, gives us a

look at *four* different samples of what is alleged to be the teenager's handwriting. Seeing is believing.

Dr. Lang, a long-time Lutheran pastor, examines a German Jesuit's study of the reaction of prominent Catholic churchmen to the alleged "Holocaust" during the latter part of the war. Lang homes in on the seeming inconsistency between the hierarchy's public condemnation of German euthanasia measures and its supposed silence in the face of what is claimed to have been a far more ambitious extermination program. Christian anti-semitism? Or healthy skepticism regarding elusive rumors and wild propaganda claims? Dr. Lang concludes with a report of a very instructive meeting with the late Ludwig Volk, S.J.

Geoff Muirden, a first-time contributor from Australia, voices some healthy Revisionist questions about the work of a leading historian of the French Revolution, the Englishwoman Nesta Webster (whose *The French Revolution* may be ordered from IHR). Without detracting from Mrs. Webster's immense stature as a social historian, Muirden points to evidence tending to place limits on the explanatory power of what Establishment historians and their camp followers like to deride as "the conspiracy theory of history." *Journal* readers may be mindful of the late David Hoggan's defense of France's still controversial revolution in the Spring 1985 *JHR* ("Plato's Dialectic v. Hegel and Marx: An Evaluation of Five Revolutions"); here, as on many other historical issues, there is no Revisionist party line." In this, the bicentennial year of the fall of the Bastille and the march on Versailles, *The Journal of Historical Review* eagerly awaits informed criticism of, or assent to, Mr. Muirden's argument.

—Theodore J. O'Keefe

About the Contributors

ROBERT FAURISSON is Associate Professor of French Literature at the University of Lyon-2 in France. He specializes in the appraisal and evaluation of texts and documents. A frequent contributor to *The Journal of Historical Review*, Professor Faurisson has published numerous articles and books, including *Is the Diary of Anne Frank Genuine?* and *Résponse à Pierre Vidal-Naquet.*

WILLIAM B. HESSELTINE received his bachelor's degree at Washington and Lee University and his M.A. at the University of Virginia, then a Ph.D. in history at Ohio State. From 1932 until his death in 1963 Professor Hesseltine taught at the University of Wisconsin. One of America's leading historians of the Civil War, he was in particular an authority on Civil War camps and prisons. His *Civil War Prisons* was first published in 1930.

R. CLARENCE LANG is a retired professor of German and history. He earned a B.A. at Wartburg College in Iowa and a baccalaureate of divinity from the Wartburg Seminary. After an M.A. in history at the University of South Dakota, he obtained a Ph.D. in history at the University of Kiel (Germany). Dr. Lang has served as an Evangelical Lutheran pastor in Canada and the Dakotas.

THOMAS J. MARCELLUS, a former editor of this journal, is director of the Institute for Historical Review.

GEOFFREY MUIRDEN, an Australian, earned a B.A. in history from Melbourne University, a Diploma of Education from Rusden College of Advanced Education (Clayton, Victoria), and a Bachelor of Education degree from Monash University (Clayton, Victoria). A teacher and librarian, he is a member of the Australian Civil Liberties Union, which is headed by IHR Editorial Advisor John Bennett. Like Mr. Bennett, Geoffrey Muirden is of Scots ancestry, and "a strong supporter of the Scots."

JOHN M. RIES is a graduate of Notre Dame University (B.A.) and the University of Tulsa (M.A.). He teaches Latin and history at the secondary school level.

THE FORCED WAR

THE BOOK YOU'VE BEEN WAITING TO READ

When Peaceful Revision Failed

The Forced War is the pathbreaking Revisionist study of the origins of the Second World War in Europe. Author David Hoggan, a Harvard-trained diplomatic historian, has written not merely a masterful account of the intricate maneuverings of the European powers on the eve of "the unnecessary war," but has defied a central taboo of the postwar intellectual climate in exonerating—on the basis of a close and skillful study of the documents—Germany of its alleged guilt in unleashing an aggressive war.

Hoggan's detailed research and deft marshalling of the evidence has rendered obsolete those studies—from Namier to Shirer—which have drawn their method and their conclusions from the findings at Nuremberg, in the postwar political trials staged by the victors. Instead, *The Forced War* demonstrates that Hitler and his advisors sought peaceful revision of the borders imposed on Germany at Versailles, and that they subscribed to no plan of aggression or conquest.

Far more culpable, according to Hoggan, was the insistence of Great Britain's ruling circles, in particular of Foreign Minister Lord Halifax, on Britain's traditional, but obsolete, balance-of-power policy. *The Forced War* details how Halifax emboldened an overmatched Poland to resist Germany's attempts to achieve a peaceful settlement of the questions of Danzig and the Corridor, then reneged on his pledges as first Poland, then the continent, plummeted into the abyss of World War II.

The great American historian and sociologist Harry Elmer Barnes described *The Forced War* in these words: "In its present form, it not only constitutes the first thorough study of the responsibility for the causes of the Second World War in any language but is likely to remain the definitive Revisionist work on this subject for many years."

David L. Hoggan

Clothbound • 716 pp. + 16 pp. of photos • Notes • Bibliography • Index
ISBN 0-939484-25-5 • $35.00

INSTITUTE FOR HISTORICAL REVIEW
1822½ Newport Boulevard • Suite 191 • Costa Mesa, California 92627

The Journal of Historical Review

Fred A. Leuchter

The Leuchter Report: The How and the Why

Ivor Benson

Iran: Some Angles on the Islamic Revolution

Hideo Miki

Thoughts on the Military History of the Occupation of Japan

Carlo Mattogno

The First Gassing at Auschwitz: Genesis of a Myth

—Reviews—

Israel's Sacred Terrorism
Anti-Semitism in the Contemporary World
An Empire of Their Own: How the Jews Invented Hollywood

—Historical News and Comment—

George Morgenstern, 1906-1988

VOLUME NINE, NUMBER TWO SUMMER 1989

VOLUME NINE, NUMBER TWO SUMMER 1989 The Journal of Historical Review INSTITUTE FOR HISTORICAL REVIEW

The Journal of Historical Review

VOLUME NINE, NUMBER 2/SUMMER 1989

Editor: Theodore J. O'Keefe

EDITORIAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE

GEORGE ASHLEY, Ph.D.
Los Angeles Unified School District (Ret.)

JOHN BENNETT, LL.B.
Australian Civil Liberties Union
Melbourne, Australia

FRIEDRICH P. BERG, B.Sc.
The Historical Review Committee
Ft. Lee, New Jersey

ALEXANDER V. BERKIS, LL.M., Ph.D.
Longwood College (Ret.)

WALTER BEVERAGGI-ALLENDE, Ph.D.
University of Buenos Aires
Buenos Aires, Argentina

ARTHUR R. BUTZ, Ph.D.
Northwestern University
Evanston, Illinois

BOYD CATHEY, Ph.D.
The Southern Partisan

ROBERT H. COUNTESS, Ph.D.
Huntsville, Alabama

ALBERT J. ECKSTEIN, Ph.D.
Private Research Consultant

ROBERT FAURISSON, Ph.D.
University of Lyon-2
Lyon, France

DITLIEB FELDERER
Revisionist History Magazine
Taby, Sweden

GEORG FRANZ-WILLING, Ph.D.
Überlingen, West Germany

SAMUEL EDWARD KONKIN III
New Libertarian
Long Beach, California

MARTIN A. LARSON, Ph.D.
The Spotlight
Washington, D.C.

WILLIAM B. LINDSEY, Ph.D.
Research Chemist

JAMES J. MARTIN, Ph.D.
Ralph Myles Publishers
Colorado Springs, Colorado

CARLO MATTOGNO
Italy

REVILO P. OLIVER, Ph.D.
University of Illinois (Ret.)
Urbana, Illinois

IVO OMRCANIN, S.T.D.,
J.D.C., J.S.D., LL.D
Indiana University of Pennsylvania (Ret.)
Washington, D.C.

WILHELM STÄGLICH, Dr. Jur.
Badenweiler, West Germany

UDO WALENDY, Diplo. Pol.
Verlag für Volkstum und
Zeitgeschichtsforschung
Vlotho/Weser, West Germany

MARK WEBER, M.A.
The Historical Review Committee

ANDREAS R. WESSERLE, Ph.D.
Marquette University (Ret.)
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

The Journal of Historical Review is published quarterly by the Institute for Historical Review, P.O. Box 1306, Torrance, California 90505. Subscriptions include the *IHR Newsletter*, containing news of interest to academic and lay Historical Revisionists, which is issued eight times per year in months *The Journal of Historical Review* is not issued. Combined subscription price is $40 per year, $65 for two years and $90 for three years. Add $10 per year for foreign subsciptions. Add $20 per year for overseas airmail delivery. Remittances for subscriptions must be payable in U.S. dollars drawable on a U.S. bank. Quantity subscription and bulk issue rates are available on request. Appropriate, double-spaced manuscripts are welcomed by the editor, and must be accompanied by return postage.

Listed:

Library of Congress
British Library
PTLA Catalog
EBSCO Librarians Handbook
Ulrich's International Periodical Directory
Turner Periodical Catalog
Standard Periodical Directory

ISSN: 0195-6752

Institute for Historical Review
P.O. Box 1306
Torrance, California 90505

Permission is hereby granted for reprints of any article contained herein, providing that no changes or alterations are made prior to printing, and also providing that the following attribution appears with the article:

Reprinted by permission of *The Journal of Historical Review*, P.O. Box 1306, Torrance, CA 90505, United States of America. Domestic subscription rate: $40 per year, foreign rate: $50 per year.

Two copies of each reprint should be submitted to the publisher of *The Journal of Historical Review*.

Table of Contents

Volume Nine, No. 2 *Summer, 1989*

Articles

The Leuchter Report: The How and the Why — *Fred A. Leuchter* 133

Iran: Some Angles on the Islamic Revolution — *Ivor Benson* 141

Thoughts on the Military History of the Occupation of Japan — *Hideo Miki* 177

The First Gassing at Auschwitz: Genesis of a Myth — *Carlo Mattogno* 193

Reviews

Livia Rokach, *Israel's Sacred Terrorism* — *William Grimstad* 223

Michael Curtis, *Antisemitism in the Contemporary World* — *Paul Grubach* 233

Neal Gabler, *An Empire of Their Own: How the Jews Invented Hollywood* — *Jack Wikoff* 243

Historical News and Comment

George Morgenstern, 1906-1988 247

About the Contributors 256

From the Editor

When Harry Elmer Barnes defined Historical Revisionism as "bringing history into accord with the facts," he stated not merely the essence of Revisionism but its entire program as well. One might think that righting errors and false conceptions about the past were program enough, but there remain those among the unenlightened (and even a few misguided friends) who still imagine that IHR's work of bringing truth to history is only a front for some sinister purpose, such as, say, bringing back the Third Reich (or ushering in the Fourth).

We're not at all sorry to disappoint such folks, and banish fears and fantasies alike by letting them know that IHR's purpose is historical, educational, and as American as the mainly Midwestern populists who pioneered Historical Revisionism. We don't have the Boys from Brazil or the Spear of Destiny stashed away in some dark corner of our warehouse (and wouldn't know what to do with them if we had).

We at the IHR know one thing, however, and we know it in common with our enemies: historical fact is a mighty weapon, and a powerful solvent against ignorance, prejudice, and hatred. In this issue of *The Journal of Historical Review* researchers and analysts from four continents bring truth to bear on several different lies that have served the obfuscators in the academy and politics well in deluding the majority of our fellow Americans.

First, there's the granddaddy of all historical hate whoppers, the Auschwitz lie. Two men with very different training, American gas-chamber expert Fred Leuchter and Italian textual critic Carlo Mattogno, take the trouble to look carefully at the evidence advanced for mass murder by gassing at the one-time German concentration camp, where, according to a Soviet "investigative commission" and a flock of popes, presidents, and Exterminationist scholars, four million or so human beings were murdered and then vanished into thin air. Leuchter's dry wit and his hands-on Yankee practicality are complemented by the cold eye of the classically trained humanist, Mattogno. There's not much of the Auschwitz myth left after these two specialists have had their say.

Japanese scholar and retired officer Hideo Miki deals with the military strategy, such as it was, that America developed for its occupation of Japan. Professor Miki's additional remarks, which followed the formal paper he presented to IHR's Ninth Conference, are so informative that we have included them here. He demonstrates rather convincingly that informed Japanese refuse to credit the historical lie that Japan was the only guilty party in the Pacific War, and reminds us that the disastrous peace which American leaders imposed in East Asia has resulted in decades of suffering, in China, Korea, Vietnam and elsewhere.

(continued on page 254)

The Leuchter Report: The How and the Why

FRED A. LEUCHTER

(Paper Presented to the Ninth International Revisionist Conference)

Introduction

1988 was a very informative and likewise disturbing year. I was appalled to learn that much of what I was taught in school about twentieth-century history and World War II was a myth, if not a lie. I was first amazed; then annoyed; then aware: the myth of the Holocaust was dead.

Like all American children born during and after World War II, I was taught about the genocide perpetrated by the Nazis on the Jews. By the time I had reached college, I had no reason to disbelieve any of my education, except that I had some problems swallowing the numbers of decedents, said to total better than six million persons. But there it stopped. I believed in the Nazi genocide. I had no reason to disbelieve.

Some twenty-four years later, a very believing engineer sat at his desk working one snowy January afternoon in 1988, when the telephone rang. This very believing engineer was about to receive a very shocking history lesson, one which would cause him to question that fifty-year-old Holocaust lie and the application of that lie to generations of children. "Hello, this is Robert Faurisson"—and that very believing engineer would believe no more.

Background

I have for the past nine years worked with most, if not all, of the states in the United States having capital punishment. I design and manufacture execution equipment of all types, including electrocution systems, lethal injection equipment, gallows and gas chamber hardware. I have consulted for, or supplied equipment to, most of the applicable states and the federal government.

Because of my association with the states in this capacity, I was recommended to the Zündel defense as a consultant on gas chambers by Warden Bill Armontrout of the Missouri State Penitentiary.

After answering my telephone on that cold January afternoon, I met with Dr. Robert Faurisson twice in Boston and, as a result of these meetings, I was summoned to Toronto to meet with Ernst Zündel, attorney Douglas Christie and the rest of Zündel's very able staff.

Dr. Robert Faurisson had postulated thirteen years ago that a gas-chamber specialist should be sought who could evaluate the alleged gas chambers in Poland and report on their efficacy for execution purposes, something the Revisionists already knew was impossible.

Valentine's Day weekend found myself and Carolyn, my wife of two weeks, in Toronto. Two days of lengthy meetings followed, during which I was shown photos of the alleged German gas chambers in Poland, German documents and Allied aerial photographs. My examination of this material led me to question whether these alleged gas chambers were, in fact, execution facilities. I was asked if I would go to Poland and undertake a physical inspection and forensic analysis resulting in a written evaluation of these alleged execution gas chambers, some at places I had never even heard of.

After due consideration, I agreed, and made plans to leave for Poland, awaiting a time of minimal snow covering. I also stated that although the photos and documents seemed to support the view that these places were, indeed, not execution facilities, I would reserve final judgement until after my examination and, if I determined that these facilities were, in fact, or could have been, execution gas chambers, I would state this in my report. The final report was to be utilized as evidence in Ernst Zündel's defense in his pending criminal trial at Toronto, and I had to be prepared to testify under oath.

Preparations for the trip required me to take sample bags, documentation journals and tools. Because we were in a Communist country I would have to be careful with the tools. Very few tourists carry hammers, chisels, star drills and tape measures while travelling. I hid them in the lining of my valise and hoped for the best. Further, I had maps of Poland, Czechoslovakia and Austria, in the event that we might have to make a hasty and unscheduled exit. And finally, the gifts with which we bribed the museum people to supply us with copies of documents from the Museum Archives.

Our Staff

I was fortunate to have a competent and dependable party of professionals: my wife Carolyn, my general assistant; Mr. Howard Miller, draftsman; Mr. Jürgen Neumann, cinematographer; Mr. Tijudar Rudolf, interpreter. All knew that, if caught, the Polish government would take a dim view of our activities and purpose, let alone my removal of forensic samples from national shrines and monuments.

And the two *ex officio* members of our party, Mr. Ernst Zündel and Dr. Robert Faurisson, who for obvious reasons could not accompany us in person, but who nevertheless were with us every step of the way in spirit.

The Trip

On February 25, 1988 we left for Poland. Neumann and Rudolf, the Canadian contingent, joined me and the remainder of our team in Frankfurt. We returned home on March 3, 1988.

We arrived at Cracow in the late afternoon and spent our first night at the Hotel Orbis. We consumed the first of our three decent meals while in Poland. The following day we drove to Auschwitz. We arrived at the Auschwitz Hotel and were greeted by the smell of sulphur napthal disinfectant, a smell I had not encountered for many years. The hotel is apparently the old officers' quarters for the camp. We ate lunch at the hotel dining room, a cafeteria style facility. This was our first unidentifiable meal, starch soup and sundries.

We made a reconnaissance tour of the camp, lasting into the dim light of the Polish afternoon and several snow squalls, a common occurrence. We ate no supper, in that we found no place to eat in Auschwitz after sundown our first evening.

Auschwitz and Birkenau

The following day we began our work in the alleged gas chamber at the Auschwitz facility. Unfortunately, we were unable to accomplish much due to constant interruptions by both official and unofficial Sunday tours. Carolyn stood guard at one entrance and Tijudar at the other, advising myself, Jürgen and Howard of their arrival. It was too dangerous to take forensic samples and tape, so we left for Birkenau about noon.

At Birkenau we began a four-hour walk into the damp Polish cold and through snow squalls so dense we could not see each other at a distance of a few feet. Unfortunately, we did not

expect to spend that much time walking through the camp and, since vehicles are not permitted within the camp, we left Carolyn behind in the car. Since we forgot to leave her the keys, she nearly froze in the cold Polish afternoon. We visited the barracks, Krematorien II, III, IV and V, the sauna and the alleged burning pits. We took samples, documented our activities on video tape and in still photos, and made scale drawings of these facilities, carefully documenting the removal locations of all the forensic samples. We had to break into the sauna building, since it was locked.

At Krema II, I descended into the depths of the alleged gas chamber, a wet, dank subterranean place not visited by man in almost fifty years, since the building had been reduced to rubble, probably by a German military demolition team. Fortunately, there were fewer guards and less pedestrian traffic, making working conditions considerably better than they had been earlier, at Auschwitz.

Having been instructed by our empty stomachs of the evening before, we found and ate at the restaurant at the bus station, the only legitimate restaurant in Auschwitz. We returned to the Auschwitz Hotel for the night.

The following day, Monday, we again began our work at Auschwitz, the Sunday tours having subsided. We were able to get our samples, tapes and documentation. We had, by this time, obtained blueprints of the alleged gas-chamber facility and were able to follow the structural changes back to the dates in question. We also verified the existence of the floor drain for the periods of alleged gas chamber usage. Upon completion at Auschwitz, we drove again to Birkenau to take our control sample at delousing facility #1. Unfortunately, the building was locked and again we had to break and enter in order to access the delousing chamber. Again we ate at the bus station, and retired early to the Auschwitz Hotel.

Tuesday morning, while awaiting Tijudar's unsuccessful attempt to obtain a can of Zyklon B, Jürgen and I made video tapes of locations within the camp. We moved from the Auschwitz Hotel to a hostel nearby, obtaining newly vacated rooms. We ate at the bus station and retired early.

On Wednesday morning we ate a very enjoyable breakfast of ham, cheese and bread (our second decent meal in Poland) and began our trip to Lublin to see Majdanek. After one final look in at Auschwitz, we set off by car for Majdanek.

Lublin (Majdanek)

Several hours later, we arrived at Majdanek, visited the museum, the reconstructed alleged gas chamber and crematory. We finally arrived at disinfection 1 and 2 and examined the facilities. It was extremely difficult to work here, in that a guard made rounds every ten or fifteen minutes. The alleged gas chambers were blocked by gates and not accessible for a detailed inspection by the general public. It was necessary for me to trespass beyond these gates in forbidden areas. Again Carolyn and Tijudar stood watch while I made measurements and did a detailed examination in these areas. Once we were caught short: I was forced to hurdle the gate, and was still in the air and in mid-jump when the guard entered. Fortunately, he was more interested in Jürgen and his camera to see me before I touched ground.

Return

The camp closed in early afternoon and the guard rather nastily told us to leave. By three o'clock we were en route to Warsaw, a trip which would take five hours through rain and snow. Our hotel reservation had been fouled up but fortunately, with the help of an embassy attache, we were able to secure rooms at another hotel.

We had our third edible meal in Poland that evening and went to bed in preparation for our trip home on Thursday. The following morning we had breakfast and proceeded to the airport for our return trip.

We boarded the Polish airlines plane after clearing customs—my suitcase containing twenty pounds of the forbidden samples, fortunately none of which were found. I did not breathe easy until we cleared the passport checkpoint at Frankfurt. Our team split at Frankfurt, for the return trips to the United States and Canada, respectively. Upon our return, I delivered the forensic samples to the test laboratory in Massachusetts. Upon receipt of the test results, I prepared my report, combining my knowledge of gas execution facilities and procedures with the research I had completed at crematories and with retort manufacturers in the United States. With the results of my research I believe you are all familiar.

Upon completion of my report I testified at Toronto—but that is another story, for another time.

The Findings

1. Gas Chambers

The results published in the *Leuchter Report* are the important thing. Categorically, none of the facilities examined at Auschwitz, Birkenau or Lublin could have supported, or in fact did support, multiple executions utilizing hydrogen cyanide, carbon monoxide or any other allegedly or factually lethal gas. Based upon very generous maximum usage rates for all the alleged gas chambers, totalling 1,693 persons per week, and assuming these facilities could support gas executions, it would have required sixty-eight (68) years to execute the alleged number of six millions of persons. This must mean the Third Reich was in existence for some seventy-five (75) years. Promoting these facilities as being capable of effecting mass, multiple or even singular executions is both ludicrous and insulting to every individual on this planet. Further, those who do promote this mistruth are negligent and irresponsible for not investigating these facilities earlier and ascertaining the truth before indoctrinating the world with what may have become the greatest propaganda ploy in history.

2. Crematories

Of equal importance are Exterminationist errors relating to the crematories. If these crematories, operated at a theoretical rate of maximum output per day, without any down time and at a constant pace (an impossible situation), and we accept the figure of at least six millions executed, the Third Reich lasted for at least forty-two (42) years, since it would take thirty-five (35) years at an impossible minimum to cremate these six millions of souls.

No one by any stretch of the imagination would allege (or even believe) that the Third Reich ever lasted for seventy-five (75) or even forty-two (42) years, yet they would have us believe that six millions of souls were executed with equipment which could not possibly have functioned, in less than one-seventh of the absolute minimum time it could possibly have taken.

3. Forensics

Forensic samples were taken from the visited sites. A control sample was removed from delousing facility #1 at Birkenau. It was postulated that because of the high iron content of the building materials at these camps the presence of hydrogen cyanide gas would result in a ferric-ferro-cyanide

compound being formed, as evidenced by the Prussian blue staining on the walls in the delousing facilities. A detailed analysis of the thirty-two samples taken at the Auschwitz-Birkenau complexes showed 1,050 mg/kg of cyanide and 6,170 mg/kg of iron. Higher iron results were found at all of the alleged gas chambers but no significant cyanide traces. This would be impossible if these sites were exposed to hydrogen cyanide gas, since the alleged gas chambers supposedly were exposed to much greater quantities of gas than the delousing facility. Thus, chemical analysis further supports the fact that these facilities were never utilized as gas execution facilities.

4. Construction

Construction of these facilities further shows that they were never used as gas chambers. None of these facilities were sealed or gasketed. No provision was ever made to prevent condensation of gas on the walls, floor or ceiling. No provision ever existed to exhaust the air-gas mixture from these buildings. No provision ever existed to introduce or distribute the gas throughout the chamber. No explosion-proof lighting existed and no attempt was ever made to prevent gas from entering the crematories, even though the gas is highly explosive. No attempt was made to protect operating personnel from exposure to the gas or to protect other non-participating persons from exposure. Specifically, at Auschwitz, a floor drain in the alleged gas chamber was connected directly to the camp's storm drain system. At Majdanek a depressed walkway around the alleged gas chambers would have collected gas seepage and resulted in a death trap for camp personnel. No exhaust stacks ever existed. Hydrogen cyanide gas is an extremely dangerous and lethal gas and nowhere were there any provisions to effect any amount of safe handling. The chambers were too small to accommodate more than a small fraction of the alleged numbers. Plain and simple, these facilities could not have operated as execution gas chambers.

5. Conclusion

After a thorough examination of the alleged execution facilities in Poland and their associated crematories, the only conclusion that can be arrived at by a rational, responsible person is the absurdity of the notion that any of these facilities were ever capable of, or were utilized as, execution gas chambers.

Iran: Some Angles on the Islamic Revolution

IVOR BENSON

An exploration of the Islamic Revolution in Iran and its meaning for the rest of the world can begin with three wide-ranging generalizations:

1. The Iranian Revolution showed that religion can still be a more potent mobilizer of mass political action than can secular ideologies;
2. The revolution challenges the cultural hegemony of Western ideas, not only as a religion but as an alternative social model and way of life;
3. The Iranian Revolution thus can be regarded as one of the most important happenings in modern history, comparable to the French Revolution in the 18th century and the Russian Revolution in this century.

In the wake of the Salman Rushdie affair, and ongoing terrorism threats against aviation and other vulnerable points, Iran and its farflung adherents remain persistently in the world's eye. An exploration of the Islamic Revolution in Iran conveys two great truths with vast implications: religion can still be a more potent mobilizer of mass political action than can secular ideologies, and the longtime hegemony of Western social models has ended. The Iranian Revolution

---

Author's Note: In the preparation of this paper, I have drawn on a number of works, some of which are listed at the end of the paper, others mentioned in text references; among the most significant of these are the works of Dr. Ali Shariati, a Persian scholar largely educated in the West.

I would especially acknowledge my indebtedness to the books by Professor Hamid Algar and Amir Taheri, and that of J.A. Hobson.

thus emerges as one of the most important events in modern history, on a par with the watershed French and Russian revolutions.

There are innumerable reasons for believing that the emergence of highly dynamic Islamic fundamentalism in Iran is a development of incalculable worldwide consequence. The Center for International Studies of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology had this comment:

> The Iranian Revolution has highlighted one of the principal religious and political developments of our time: the revival of Islamic fundamentalism from Indonesia to Morocco and from Turkey to Central Africa.[1]

Dr. Algar, professor of Persian and Islamic Studies at the University of California, Berkeley, observes:

> The subject of the Islamic Revolution in Iran is one whose importance hardly needs underlining. With the passage of time, its importance will become even clearer, as being the most significant and profound event in the entirety of contemporary Islamic history. Already we see the impact of the Islamic Revolution manifested in different ways across the length and breadth of the Islamic world from Morocco to Indonesia, from Bosnia to the heart of Europe down to Africa.[2]

Dr. Kalim Siddiqui, director of the Muslim Institute, London, offers this assessment:

> Since the revolution in Iran I have been moving around some of the Sunni countries, some of the most reactionary if I might put it that way; I can assure you that the people in those countries have been absolutely galvanized and their imaginations have been captured . . . Some of them take the precaution of locking their doors before they talk about it. If national boundaries were taken away, probably Ayatollah Khomeini would be elected by acclamation by the Ummah as a whole as the leader of the Muslim world today.[3]

In 1979 the mullahs in Iran overthrew the Persian monarchy, one of the oldest in the world, while at the height of its power, replacing it with an Islamic republic dedicated to the implementation of the Sharia, a law of private and public conduct prescribed in the Koran.

Since then no day has passed without news involving Islam: an ongoing revolution in Afghanistan, troubles in several Soviet republics with Islamic majorities or minorities, endless conflict in Kashmir, terrorism all over Europe traced to Islamic sources in Algeria, to name a few.

Writes Amir Taheri, a former newspaper editor in Teheran:

> No one knows which Muslim state might fall to the fundamentalists next, or when. What is certain, however, is that fundamentalist activities have been able to mobilize substantial forces in some of the key Muslim states, notably Turkey, Pakistan and Egypt. Islam also is the dominant political force in Afghanistan and has exacted numerous concessions from governments in Indonesia, Malaysia, Somalia, Nigeria, Senegal, Tunisia, Morocco and Jordan.[4]

Imperialism and Colonialism

In Iran, more clearly perhaps than elsewhere, it has been possible for the observer to isolate and study separately the major influences which have been at work in dramatically awakening an Eastern religion which long was thought to be in slow decay. In particular, we can see, step by step, how a purely religious set of ideas and values was able to inspire enough public support to topple a powerful regime backed by a great army and with virtually unlimited foreign support.

Three major factors need to be explored:

1) Islam in general as a faith;
2) Hostile influences which in Iran threatened the survival of Islam;
3) The hardened form of the Shi'ite sect of Islam with which the challenge was met.

About the broad outlines of the history of Iran during the last 150 years there can be no doubt. Foreign powers have heavily influenced the country's international affairs to suit their own economic and strategic interests, with scant regard for the opinions and interests of the citizenry. Until 1945 the foreign powers dominating Iran were mainly Russia and Britain. Russia was interested in territorial expansion, Britain in cornering the Iranian market for British trade, in securing the continental land bridge to India and later, of course, in controlling Iran's oil resources.

The Iranians continued throughout this period to demonstrate their hostility to foreign intrusion, with the clergy (ulama) invariably playing a leading role.

From 1952 the British were replaced by the Americans working in close alliance with the Israelis, drawing the Shah and the masses mobilized by the ulama into the final bitter and violent struggle. This culminated in the 1979 overthrow of Shah Mohammad Reza, last of the Pahlavi dynasty which had

been installed by the British shortly after the end of World War I.

Since what looked like a combination of America and Israel was actually something very much bigger and more complex, it is the motives and actions of the intrusive foreign powers that we need to examine before we can hope to understand what happened in Iran. Indeed, we find that what these powers had been doing in Iran was only another example of what they and other European intersts had been up to during the same period in many other parts of the world, all manifestations of the phenomena known as imperialism and colonialism.

The subject was explored at depth and most comprehensively at the turn of the century by a prominent British journalist and author, J.A. Hobson, whose book *Imperialism: A Study* deserves new attention. A book that was meant to be a warning to the British people was turned to good account by Lenin in 1916, when he was preparing his own thesis on capitalism: "I made use of the principal English work on imperialism, J.A. Hobson's book, with all the care that, in my opinion, this work deserves."[5]

Writes Hobson in a prefatory note:

> Those readers who hold that a well-balanced judgment consists in always finding as much in favor of any political course as against it will be discontented with the treatment given here. For the study is distinctly one of *social pathology*, and no endeavor is made to disguise the nature of the disease.[6]

The social pathology of which Hobson writes is the debasement of politics, especially the politics of nationalism, by what he calls "special interests," financial in character, which promote policies inconsistent with the interests of the community. In other words, the peoples of the colonizing and imperialist countries of Europe were the victims rather than the beneficiaries of aggressively acquisitive policies conducted all over the world in their name.

For a definition of nation, Hobson quotes the philosopher John Stuart Mill:

> A portion of mankind may be said to constitute a nation if they are united among themselves by common sympathies which do not exist between them and others. This feeling of nationality may have been generated by various courses. Sometimes it is the effect of identity of race and descent. Community of language and community of religion greatly contribute to it. Geographic limits are one of the causes. But the strongest of all is identity of political antecedents, the

> possession of a national history and consequent community of recollections, collective pride and humiliation, pleasure and regret, connected with the same incidents in the past.[7]

It is a debasement of this genuine nationalism by attempts to overflow its natural banks and absorb the near or distant territory of reluctanct and unassimilable people, says Hobson, that marks the passage from nationalism to a spurious colonialism on the one hand and imperialism on the other.

Hobson pinpoints the factor of *illegitimacy* in politics which was to prove so destructive of the interests of the British people and cause so much conflict and dislocation around the world; he asks:

> How is the British nation induced to embark upon such unsound business? The only possible answer is that the business interests of the nation as a whole are subordinated to those of certain sectional interests that usurp control of the national resources and use them for their private gain. This is no strange or monstrous charge to bring; it is the commonest disease of all forms of government.

He quotes Sir Thomas More: "Everywhere do I perceive a certain conspiracy of rich men seeking their own advantage under the name and pretext of commonwealth."

Conspiracies of "the few" seeking their advantage at the expense of the community as a whole have always, of course, been endemic in human society; but very different were the usurpations of "the few" in the last century, which drew many of the nations of Europe into an insane rivalry for conquest and possession in Africa, Asia and elsewhere. Sectional interests in society—in this case big business and high finance—like a cancer in the human body, prosper while society as a whole suffers.

This was something Hobson could see with perfect clarity at the turn of the century:

> Although the new imperialism has been bad business for the nation, it has been good business for certain classes and certain trades within the nation . . .
>
> It is idle to meddle with politics unless we clearly recognise this central fact and understand what these sectional interests are which are the enemies of national safety and the common weal. We must put aside the merely sentimental diagnosis which explains wars or other national blunders by outbursts of patriotic animosity or errors of statecraft . . . There is, it may be safely asserted, no war within memory, however nakedly aggressive it may seem to the dispassionate historian, which

> has not been presented to the people who were called upon to fight, as a necessary defensive policy in which the honor, perhaps the very existence, of the state was involved.[8]

Hobson exposes as almost wholly illusory the notion that the driving force of the new imperialism was an eagerness to find new markets for the products of Europe's burgeoning industries. In Britain, he remarks, the manufacturing and trading classes made little out of the new markets, paying, if they only knew it, in taxation more than they got out of them in trade, but it was quite otherwise with the investor.

In other words, the driving force of the new imperialism was primarily financial and not broadly economic. Here is how Hobson saw it all before the turn of the century, while Britain was involved in a war in South Africa that was to signalize the beginning of the end of the British Empire:

> It is not too much to say that the modern foreign policy of Great Britain is primarily a struggle for profitable markets of investment. To a larger extent every year Great Britain is becoming a nation living upon tribute from abroad, and the classes who enjoy this tribute have an ever-increasing incentive to employ the public policy, the public purse, and the public force to extend the field of their private investments and to safeguard and improve their existing investments. This is perhaps *the most important fact in modern politics*, and the obscurity in which it is wrapped constitutes the gravest danger to our state.
>
> What is true of Great Britain is true likewise of France, Germany and the United States and of all countries in which modern capitalism has placed large surplus savings in the hands of a plutocracy . . .[9]

What happened to any country which contracted a debt and was unable to gurarantee payment of the interest was demonstrated again and again in many parts of the so-called undeveloped world—for what other reason did France invade and attempt to conquer Mexico? More frequently the insufficient guarantee of an international loan gave rise to some other form of interference in the internal affairs of the debtor nation. We see an example of this in Egypt, which became for all practical purposes a province of Britain and where a bloody suppression of popular revolt had the support of enormous British national fervor.

Tunis likewise became a dependency of France for no other reason than the securing of loans granted to that country. Perhaps the greatest sufferer of all was China, where all the

imperialist nations established footholds, complete with extra-territorial rights which they were ready at all times to defend with armed might.

But how could the people of Europe, especially their educated classes, including even their churchmen, allow all this to happen? How did this imperialism escape general recognition for the narrow and sordid thing it was? Each nation would accuse its rivals of hypocrisy in masking greedy, aggressive and destructive behavior with pretensions of altruism, but all were permitted by these educated classes to be equally guilty.

Church and Big Business

There always existed in all the countries of Europe a proportion of people with a genuine desire to spread Christianity among the heathen and to diminish the cruelty and suffering thought to prevail among them. It was hardly surprising, therefore, that the greedy and aggressive forces that directed imperialism would make good use of such disinterested movements, some of which had worked abroad —the Catholics in China and Ethiopia, for example—long before the birth of imperialism.

Writes Hobson:

> They [the imperialists] simply and instinctively attach to themselves any strong elevated feeling which is of service, fan it and feed it until it assumes fervor, and utilize it for their ends.[10]

So, too, Leopold, King of the Belgians, when taking possession of the Congo with all its natural resources, was able to proclaim: "Our only program is that of the moral and material regeneration of the country."

Since most of the educated classes in Europe who allied themselves with imperialism were nominally Christian, and since the church itself was an imperial component of the alliance, there can be no disguising the fact that imperialism, which helped to precipitate an age of conflict unprecedented in recorded history, was as much nominally Christian in character as it was financial. The use of the word Christian in this context, however, must be qualified with the reminder that the missionizing impulse was animated by the dynamic of an essentially power-oriented church, an institution with a strong appetite for expansion and growth, both in terms of adherents and of material advantage.

The dual character of the church nowhere was more clearly epitomized than in Winston Churchill's account of the

religious service at Khartoum immediately after the defeat of the Mahdi's forces, which had sought to overthrow British hegemony in Sudan:

> . . . And the solemn words of the English Prayer Book were read in that distant garden . . . the bands played their dirge and Gordon's favorite hymn "Abide with Me" . . . A gunboat on the river crashed out a salute . . . Nine thousand who would have prevented it lay dead on the plain of Omdurman . . . Other thousands were scattered in the wilderness, or crawled to the river for water.[11]

Churchill omitted the final touch: the deliberate shooting of the wounded crawlers.

Hobson saw this Janus-headed imperialism as "seeking to float Christianity upon an ocean of profitable business," a process which excited in the baffled Chinese a fanatical detestation of the "foreign devils." Wrote an educated Chinese:

> It must be very difficult for the mandarins to dissociate the missionaries from the secular power whose gunboats seem ever ready to appear on behalf of their respective governments . . . The Chinese have watched with much concern the sequence of events—first the missionary, then the consul and at last the invading army.[12]

The incongruity of so vast an exercise of cunning and force in the service of a cause "whose kingdom is not of this world" should need no emphasis. However, the hostile logic of a century and a half of imperialism is self-evident: those who offered any obstruction to what in the West was generally regarded as progress were held to "fully deserve" the punishment they got, however severe.

Since it is supposedly one of the main purposes of religion to help people distinguish between right and wrong, or good and evil; since a century and a half of aggressive imperialism would have been impossible without the compliance and complicity of the Christian churches; since it has always been one of the functions of the intelligence, informed by religious insights, to restrain and regulate the appetite for acquisition and power—it would seem that there was something radically faulty about Christianity as preached and practised during those decades of rampaging rival national imperialisms.

Iran's Mullahs Show Their Power

Foreign intrusion and interference during the century and a half before the revolution were experienced by the Iranians as a continuous unfolding process. But, for the purpose of in depth analysis, this needs to be considered under two headings representing the periods *before* and *after* World War II. On the one side of this divide, we find *separate* national imperialisms, mainly British and Russian, and on the other a *consolidated* global imperialism wearing the outward appearance of an alliance of America and Israel.

However, the pattern for both periods—that of mounting conflict between the foreign interest and Iran's religious class as mobilizer of mass political action—was set quite clearly in 1892. This was a confrontation triggered by the action of the shah in selling to a British company a monopoly for the cultivation and marketing of tobacco. The leading mullah of the day, Mirza Hassan Shirazi, promptly issued an order prohibiting the use of tobacco. Not only was this order instantly obeyed—even, it is said, by the ladies of the royal household—but angry crowds took to the streets. Appalled by this show of strength, the shah backed down, cancelled the contract and paid compensation to the British company.

The message was clear: there could be no security for the foreign interests and no "progress" of the kind they offered unless the power of the religious class could be broken. It was, therefore, with the tacit approval of the British and the Russians that the shah in 1905 yielded to revolutionary demands for representative government of the kind recently introduced in Russia, hoping no doubt that party politics could be used to undermine the power of the mullahs. A parliament (Majlis) was set up, and in 1906 Shah Musal Firudin became, nominally at least, a constitutional monarch. However, he died the same year.

The mullahs who had given their support to the demands for constitutional reform were not deceived by the rubber-stamp Majlis that emerged, and the agitation continued, involving both religious and secular elements.

At the height of this trouble, the British and Russians, without consulting the Persian government, announced that they had divided the country into two spheres of influence so as to counter any possible German threat to their interests. The Russians helped the new shah, Mohammad Ali, to suppress the revolution, occupying Tabriz in the process. A number of mullahs were hanged and the shrine of Imam Reza

at Mashad, one of Iran's most famous places of pilgrimage, was shelled. Mohammad Ali was then deposed by the majlis and replaced by a regency which continued until Ali's son Sultan Achmad reached the age of 18 and was crowned in 1914—marking the commencement of a period of almost total national disintegration, as the whole country became a stamping-ground for foreign powers.

The British Install a New Dynasty

Brushing aside the young shah's declaration of neutrality at the outbreak of the 1914-18 war, British, Russian and Turkish forces invaded the country, but the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917 eliminated the main patron of the Qajar dynasty. By 1919 Persia had no effective central government and separatist movements were in power in the provinces of Khuzistan, Gilan and Khorasan.

Eventually the only coherent force in the country was a Persian Cossack division which, after fighting against the Bolsheviks, had retreated through the British lines. Its leader, Brigadier Reza Khan, restored some semblance of order in Teheran and became the strongman in national politics. After the Persian government signed a treaty with the Soviet government, restoring relations with Russia, Reza Khan was encouraged by the British to stage a putsch. Shah Sultan Achmad was deposed and by 1925 the Cossack officer had been raised to the throne as *shahanshah* (king of kings), assuming the dynastic name Pahlavi.

In fairness to Shah Reza Khan, it should be noted that, unlike many of his predecessors, it was not in his nature to be a mere puppet of the foreign powers. On the contrary, he imagined himself destined to be the savior of his country and defender of its national independence, and he therefore patiently cultivated the fiction that he was an actual descendant of Iran's ancient kings.

With Kemal Ataturk, Turkey's great modernizer, as his model, he was convinced that the religious classes were the only real obstacle to progress; and he proceeded with the ruthlessness of a Cossack soldier to try to destroy their power. It was, therefore, mainly for the purpose of strengthening his own position against the mullahs that he sought and used the support of the foreign powers, playing one off against the others wherever possible.

The effect was a transformation of the traditional monarchy, always tyrannical but inefficient, into a modern dictatorship

armed with all the expertise and appurtenances of modern totalitarianism, including a ubiquitous secret police.

Writes Professor Hamid Algar:

> In so far as the word "modernization" has had any meaning in the Iranian context, what was modernized by the Pahlavi dynasty was the apparatus of repression . . . Among the few individuals to resist the imposition of the Pahlavi dictatorship in an open fashion was again one of the ulama, Sayyid Hasan Mudharris. He spoke up in the Majlis . . . went into exile and was murdered in exile by agents of Reza Khan.[13]

Early in the 1930s the shah sought to protect Iran from both the British and the Soviet Union by entering into an alliance with Germany; and by 1940 thousands of Germans were working in Iran and hundreds of Iranians were studying in German universities and technical colleges. This short-lived alliance was to prove the shah's undoing. In 1941, as the German forces were advancing deep into Russia, the British and their Soviet allies called on him to expel all the Germans and to permit the transit of supplies and reinforcements to the Russian front. When he refused to comply, the Allied forces invaded Iran and the shah's 120,000-strong army vanished "like snow in summer."

Britain carried out a surprise attack on the Iranian navy at Khorramshahr, destroying all the ships and killing many of those on board. Iran was divided into two zones of military occupation and the British, who had appointed Reza Khan as shah, now sent him into exile in South Africa, where he died three years later. As his son, Mohammad Reza, was to remark later in his memoirs: "It was deemed appropriate by the Allies that I should succeed my father."

"Although Iran was quickly declared one of the Allies," writes Amir Taheri, "her treatment by the British and Soviet forces of occupation could not have been harsher. Worse still, they made it abundantly clear that they had no intention of leaving Iran after the war had come to an end."[14]

Any expectations which the British and the Soviets may have had about their future role in Iran were to be disappointed, for in power-political terms World War II was to inaugurate an entirely new game in which the aims and ambitions of separate nations, like Britain and the Soviet Union, were to be of diminishing consequence.

Unnoticed, except by a few percipient observers, a new global imperium had come into existence, geographically centered in the United States, but *not* specifically American.

The different nations would maintain their embassies and continue to be involved in many ways, but their separate power to influence events in Iran would henceforth be only marginal.

While World War II was still in progress, the Soviets worked quite openly for the creation of independent republics in the northern province of Azerbaijan and Kurdistan, hoping to be able to incorporate these later into the USSR. The British also were frantically busy trying to create conditions favorable to their future interests; they set up and financed the Khuzistan Wellbeing Party in the hope of being able to detach this oil-rich region when Iran fell apart, as expected, after the war. The Soviets organized the Communist Tudeh Party, and the British set about securing the allegiance of various dissident groups like the Bakhtiari chiefs and certain Anglophile mullahs and powerful families.

But no resistance could be offered to the United States, now by far the world's most powerful nation—even without the atom bomb. Quietly, under pressure from Washington, London and Moscow signed a treaty with Iran under which all their forces would be withdrawn within six months of the war. In 1943 the United States set up its Persian Gulf Command and the American presence became increasingly conspicuous.

British and Soviets duly withdrew their forces in 1946, the nascent republics in the north were crushed, and the Tudeh Party was pushed into the background of public affairs. Developments continued according to program, but it was a program that remained for most people a great mystery.

The New Imperialism

It is the revolutionary change in the nature and character of imperialism which now calls for a more detailed explanation.

It rather looked as if a British imperialism which had prevailed in Iran without interruption since the end of World War I was supplanted after the end of World War II by an American one—or, rather, by one consisting of an *alliance* of America and Israel. Indeed, from quite early in the 1950s an American-Israeli presence was the dominating foreign influence in Iran; and it was almost exclusively against the Americans that the hostility of the mullahs and the masses was directed, culminating in the invasion of the US embassy and the subsequent hostage drama.

The reality, however, was very different, for what looked so like an America-Israeli alliance was in fact only the picture presented by an altogether different imperialism which had come into existence, displacing and replacing all the separate national imperialisms. What began quite early in the present century, and proceeded at a much accelerated pace after the end of World War II, was the progressive dismantling of *all* the separate national imperialisms, including the American, and their absorption into something unprecedented in recorded history—a global financial imperialism.

Instead of the moral illegitimacy, or political pathology, of parasitical conspiracies of "special interests" inside the different Western societies, *now* a vast cosmopolitan parasitism of "special interests" operated on a global basis and with ends far more ambitious: nothing less than a world economic and political imperium.

Nationalist imperialisms were thus subsumed in a single international imperialism in the same way as we have seen very large commercial, industrial and financial enterprises swallowed and ingested into the concentrated ownership and control of vastly bigger, mainly financial conglomerates.

The overthrow of the tsarist regime in Russia in 1917, the dispossession of all the European powers of their colonial empires, the setting up of the United Nations as a world government-in-waiting, and much else, were all part of a power-concentrating process which began last century and continues to this day.

This change in the character of imperialism was one of the consequences of a radical change in the realm of high finance, which can briefly be explained as follows. For a long time after the beginning of the modern industrial era, finance-capital (not to be confused with private enterprise capital) existed almost entirely in *national concentrations*: there was a British finance-capitalism, nominally answerable to a British government, which was in turn nominally answerable to an electorate; a German finance-capitalism, a French one, a Dutch, and so on, each joined to a *national* government and each government nominally answerable to a *national* electorate.

These nations were, in fact, *plutocracies*—each one an instance of what Hobson calls "social pathology," capable of maintaining themselves in power with a public opinion *not sought and consulted*, as before, but *created* as required, by news-media propaganda, patronage and other rewards of the

business world. Money had become the measure of all things, with a ruling elite drawn less from the land and more and more from the factory and the counting-house.

Last century and well into the 20th, these national concentrations of financial power were in vigorous competition, a major example of this being the scramble for colonies and markets in the so-called underdeveloped world. What then happened was that the many national vortices of financial power were drawn into a global vortex of financial power.

There can be no doubt that a major factor in bringing about this change in the realm of high finance was the long-continued existence within the different nations of Europe of Jewish banking families or dynasties which had always specialized in transnational operations.[15] The story of how these financial dynasties consolidated their power on an international basis is explained at some length by Prof. Carroll Quigley in his 1300-page "History of the World in Our Time," *Tragedy and Hope.*

It all began with what Quigley called "the third stage in the development of capitalism . . . of overwhelming significance in the history of the 20th century, and its ramifications and influences subterranean and even occult." He adds: "Essentially what it did was to take the old disorganized and localized methods of handling money and credit and organize them on an international basis."[16]

The truly revolutionary change was to occur in the 1930s, when the control of this international financial system passed out of the hands of those who had created it—the likes of J.P. Morgan in America and Montagu Norman in Britain—into the hands of a cosmopolitan elite no longer "high Episcopalian, Anglophile, and European-culture-conscious." The shift occurred at all levels, says Dr. Quigley, and was evident in the decline of J.P. Morgan, which had hitherto dominated Wall Street.[17]

Thus it can be said that much of what was to happen in Iran and in many other parts of the world after the end of World War II had its parallel in the United States, where the great American pioneering families found themselves without the power to control their own universities, and where their national newspaper, the New York *Herald-Tribune*, fell into irreversible decline and died, like a ring-barked forest giant. The use of words like America and American in any discussion of world politics can thus be grossly misleading

unless it is clearly understood that "American power" has ceased to be essentially American.

The dismantling of an essentially British oil empire in Iran and its reorganization on an international basis (as was done with Belgium's copper empire in the Congo in 1960) was, therefore, to be expected—having much the same effect as that produced by "decolonization" in so many other parts of the world.

The Anglo-Iranian Oil Company (AIOC) had been exploiting the oil fields in Khuzistan since 1901, and the demarcation of those fields, covering an area of 15,000 square miles, has been laid down in a 1933 agreement. This giant company, writes Vincent Monteil, trained British subjects to take an interest in Iran's internal affairs, and "took pleasure in appointing the number of votes inthe 'free' elections." In return—to take only one year as an example—AIOC paid Iran royalties or rent of £10 million in 1949, compared with£28 million paid in tax on profit alone to the British treasury.[18]

In 1950, shortly after the shah's visit to the United States, where he had talks with President Truman and Secretary of State Dean Acheson, the Americans began to show great interest in the Iranian oil industry. A number of oil experts, businessmen and technicians visited Iran, and began to lay the powder-train for a political explosion which was to take place less than 12 months later; they did this by explaining how much more generously they treated *their* partners in Saudi Arabia, Venezuela and elsewhere.

A fiery atmosphere was thus created as AIOC began negotiating for a further renewal of its contract. In the wildly confusing situation that ensued, the weight of probability suggests that it was the British who were instrumental in persuading the shah to appoint the army chief-of-staff, Ali Razmara, as prime minister, charged with the task of handling these negotiations. However, the British were soon conducting a furious campaign of character-assassination against Razmara, while the Americans sought to bolster his regime with aid and by upgrading their embassy to first class. This little drama within a drama ended suddenly, when Razmara was assassinated, supposedly as a warning to any politician who might frustrate the growing demand for nationalization of the oil industry.

The killing was done by the Fedayen of Islam (Martyrs for Islam), but is was generally believed at the time that orders for it had come from the British by way of one of their former

employees. But why? A draft bill for a renewal of the agreement with AIOC, introduced by Gen. Razmara, was defeated and a few weeks later another bill introduced by Dr. Mohammad Mussadeq, nationalizing the oil industry, was passed. Mussadeq was appointed prime minister and Iran became involved in a great struggle with the British at the World Court and also at the United Nations. A great British company with many years of experience in Iran evidently had no intention of surrendering without a struggle.

Writes Amir Taheri: "That the United States wanted Mussadeq to succeed was demonstrated by the increase in American aid from $500,000 in 1950 to nearly $24 million two years later."[19] However, if the Iranians expected the Americans to help them to re-establish the oil industry on a national basis they were soon to be disappointed, for American policy was to be dictated by considerations of a kind wholly inaccessible to the scrutiny of ordinary politicians and journalists.

Whether, therefore, it was the British or the Americans who were responsible for the small army revolt which dislodged Mussadeq has continued to this day to be a debatable question in Iran.

As a sincere nationalist politician enjoying much support from the religious class, himself being a practising Muslim, Mussadeq had performed the task required of him and had now to be removed. The Americans, therefore, joined willingly enough inthe world-wide campaign, engineered by the British, to make it impossible for the Iranians to make a go of their nationalized oil industry. In the ensuing turmoil the shah hurriedly left the country, and as quickly returned after order had been established by the army.

President Truman's "Point 4" Plan

The Iranians may find a key to the riddle of one of the most baffling periods in their much-troubled history in something that had happened in Washington a couple of years earlier (1949). This was a speech by Mr. Truman in Congress inaugurating his first full term as President, in which he unveiled a grandiose plan to "save the world from Communism" (so *soon* after America had saved the Soviet Union from Hitler!).

This plan proclaimed a "bold new program for underdeveloped areas," a program "to greatly increase the industrial activity in other nations" and "to raise substantially

their standards of living." The executors and agents of this plan, which came to be known as "Point 4" and "Agency for International Development" or AID, were soon afterwards pressing American asssistance and advice on all the so-called "underdeveloped" countries, including Iran.

What President Truman had presented, as we now can see more clearly, was the prefiguration of a new global financial imperialism whose main purpose it would be to dismantle and dislodge all the national economic imperialisms of the preceding century and a half.

A Washington report at the time said that American officials "concerned with President Truman's Point 4" were working to the principle of "a new type of benevolent imperialism designed to spread prosperity without exacerbating political nationalism." In other words, if the undertaking went through, "American nationals will serve on the governmental as well as the technical level in the politically independent countries concerned." Although "a startling innovation" in Asia and Africa, this was to be regarded "only as an extension of a system already in operation in Latin America."[20]

That all sounded benevolent enough, but how was it to be prevented from becoming a form of American political hegemony?

After former *London Times* foreign correspondent Douglas Reed had carefully digested President Truman's speech and the explanatory literature that accompanied it, he had a strong feeling that he had read it all before somewhere. And so he had: as he turned over the pages of a book he had read a couple of years earlier, there it was. The book was *Teheran, Our Path in War and Peace.* Its author: Earl Browder, leader of the Communist Party in America.

Browder's words:

> Our government can create a series of giant industrial development corporations, each in partnership with some other government or group of governments, and set them to work upon large-scale plans of railroad and highway building, agricultural and industrial development, and all-round modernization in all the devastated and undeveloped areas of the world.

The Communist leader was referring to Africa in particular, but he went on:

> Closely related socially, economically and politically with Africa are the Near Eastern countries of Arabia, Iraq, Iran,

> Syria, Lebanon, Palestine and Trans-Jordan. Here also a broad program of economic development is called for.

Significantly, it was a capitalist America and *not* a Communist Soviet Union which the Communist Party boss called on to undertake this ambitious program of financial and economic imperialism. Douglas Reed could only marvel:

> There must be in America under President Truman, as under President Roosevelt, some group or force strong or persuasive enough to sell Communist aims to political leaders and simultaneously to convince them that these will stop Communism.[21]

Indeed. And to the same hidden source must be traced the *reality* of American state policy during and after the last war, as distinct from policy as publicly stated, the promotion of two causes that were never declared but simply came to pass: the advance of the Red Army to the center of Europe and to the Pacific coast of Asia, and the continuous pouring of billions of financial aid every year into the then-new state of Israel.

That should help to explain a phenomenon which seems to have baffled Amir Taheri and other observers. Writes Taheri:

> What could be described as the Kissinger style of diplomacy led, over a period of eight years, to a sharp reduction in the contributions of American missions abroad to the making of foreign policy. Kissinger clearly believed that diplomacy was too important a matter to be left to diplomats . . . he saw it [the bureaucracy] as no more than an instrument for implementing decisions made by a very restricted circle.[22]

Grand Design and Counter-Revolution

The Ayatollah Khomeini's angry young men who seized the American embassy after the revolution did not fail to notice that many of the most telling policy directives from the State Department in Washington were wholly out of register with reports and interpretations from the men on the spot, the poor wretches who afterwards had to bear the full brunt of passionate Iranian animosity. Members of the American embassy in Teheran, says Taheri, were gradually led to understand that they should not report what they saw but, rather, should see what Washington wanted them to report.

What this meant was that a grand strategy and system of tactics were being implemented to which only a tiny minority of policy-makers at the top were privy, creating an environment in which deeply clandestine purposes were

heavily masked with an ostentation of innocent and benevolent intentions. The effect was an utterly baffling melange of contradictory utterances and actions.

As Taheri put it:

> The behind-the-scenes drama enacted over more than eight years in Teheran, Washington, Jerusalem, London, Cairo and a dozen other cities reflected the realities of a secret world which obeyed few rules either of international conduct or of individual morality. It is in this broader context that the Irangate fiasco might be properly understood.[23]

This hell's kitchen of secrecy and intrigue outside Iran had its equivalent inside the country. In the aftermath of the revolution all the Freemasonry lodges in Iran were closed and their archives seized, confirming what many had suspected. Many of them were controlled by Jews or Bahais of Jewish origin, providing another channel of secret communication with Israel and Zionism in general.

So, how did the American Communist Party leader come to present in broad outline an ambitious program for Third World development, to be undertaken later at great cost by the United States and a wide network of international agencies? Another question: How did it happen, and how was it possible, for Armand Hammer, son of Julius Hammer, one of the founders of the American Communist Party, to proceed to Russia immediately after the Bolshevik Revolution and begin at once to organize a massive transfer of finance, industrial equipment and technology from the capitalist West to its supposed enemy, the Communist East?[24]

The short answer to both questions will be found in what the German historian Oswald Spengler wrote immediately after the Bolshevik Revolution:

> There is no proletarian movement, not even a Communist one, which does not operate in the interest of money, in the direction indicated by money and for the period permitted by money, and all this without the idealist in its ranks having the slightest suspicion of the fact.[25]

Those who have penetrated the mystery of the weirdly ambivalent relationship of high finance and Communism will not be surprised to learn that the Soviet Union supported the shah to the end, and that articles in *Pravda* about events in Iran were almost exactly the same in tone and content as those in the *New York Times*.

If the unfolding history of our century can be said to be the

product of an alliance of money and intellect (what else could it be?), it was the role of Earl Browder and very many of his kind, only a few of them to be identified as Communists, to take care of the intellectual half of this alliance.

Writes Professor Hamid Algar:

> The return of the shah in 1953 inaugurated the intense period of a quarter of a century of unprecedented massacre and oppression, the intensive exploitation of the resources of the Iranian people by the imperialism of the East and West, the Western camp being headed then by the United States rather than Britain.[26]

This then was the new imperialism, American and Israeli in appearance but international and cosmopolitan in character, drawing into its orbit power-wielding elements from all the previous national imperialisms, financial, political and intellectual. The Iranian oil industry, hitherto a British monopoly, was "internationalized," the nominal national ownership of it left intact but its management entrusted to a consortium owned by AIOC, renamed British Petroleum (40 per cent), eight United States oil trusts (40 per cent), Shell (14 per cent) and French Petroleum (6 per cent).

We must now try to make some sense out of the phantasmagoria of confused and seemingly contradictory facts which emerged in the struggle between the shah and his people that was to ensue.

The entire Iranian struggle after the end of World War II can be visualized in the broadest terms as a confrontation of mutually antagonistic hierarchies of ideas, values and vortices of power, actual or potential, the one belonging to the West and the other to the East, the one having modern America as its grand symbol of human progress and welfare, and the other regarding America as the arch-symbol of political illegitimacy, "The Great Satan."[27]

And the shah, because he could imagine no future for Iran except one modeled on the industrialized West, and because he, too, regarded his country's religious class as the great obstacle to progress in that direction, allowed himself to become, in every way, the main instrument of the foreign power.

As Taheri reports, a great variety of ideological forces came into existence after 1953 to combat the dictatorship of the shah and his subservience to the foreign powers; but behind all of them religious influence was increasingly discernible; so much so that even socialism, a secular ideology borrowed

from the West, reappeared in Iran as "The Movement of God-fearing Socialists."

This increase in religious influence came to a climax in 1963 with the sudden emergence into prominence of the Ayatollah Rohallah Khomeini, who was to play a role in the revolution resembling in many ways that of the Prophet Muhammad in the seventh century, combining in a remarkable way the functions of a religious and secular leader.[28]

A maximization of the power of the shah to enforce his will on the population was being met with a corresponding increase in the power and influence of a religious class which symbolized the will and instinct of the mass of the people. They could all see what was being offered, and they did not want it.

There were two ways in which the shah's power to enforce his will was enormously increased: 1) an increase in the amount of money at his disposal as oil production was resumed, and again as the price of oil rocketed; and, 2) close cooperation with the external power, especially with its Israeli component, in the sophisticated use of secret police and prisons as instruments of terror and compulsion.

Even moderate opposition after 1963 was suppressed with exile, imprisonment, torture and murder, and the army was brought in to crush mass demonstrations mounted by the ulama in Teheran and other cities, when thousands of people were killed. In 1975 the director of Amnesty International's British section described Iran as "world leader" in torture, executions after sham trials, and widespread political imprisonment.

The sharp edge of the power which the shah was able to bring to bear on his internal opponents was almost wholly supplied by his two main foreign supporters, the United States and Israel; these were, however, never really separate but only two aspects of one and the same world-revolutionary force.

In fact, American and Israeli influence were at all times inseparable. Prof. Algar says that after the coup of 1953, which ousted Mussadeq, there was cooperation at all levels, especially in intelligence and security work. He adds:

> After a certain point it appears that the task of staffing the Savak was taken over by Mossad, the Israeli security, from the CIA although the CIA always retained the right of supervision over the operations of Savak. I know of many people who report having been interrogated and tortured by Israelis while in the custody of Savak.[29]

Algar continues:

> There was overwhelming similarity between the two of utter dependence on the United States. Israel is hardly independent of the United States—or, rather, the matters are the reverse, Israel certainly commands more votes in the Senate than does the White House.[30]

This Age of Conflict

The career of Shah Mohammad Reza illustrates to perfection Lord Acton's maxim that "power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely." Through the process of unrestrained personal ambition the shah became wholly separated from his own people—the corruption of leadership in its ultimate form. He believed in what he was doing, enjoyed the support of the greatest concentration of power outside his own country, and was able to draw from his oil industry so much wealth that he needed nothing from his people except their submission. From 1970 he was even able to expand his power abroad by giving away vast quantities of money, having raised his own country to a position of power and influence unprecedented in centuries. Writes Taheri:

> Between 1968 and 1978 Iran earned more than $100,000 million from oil exports. More than 10 percent of that was used in the form of loans or outright gifts to friendly countries. The United Kingdom received from $1,200 million in loans . . . In West Germany Iran purchased substantial shares in Krupps and Benz as a means of saving them from financial difficulties . . . More than seven hundred "key personalitites" in some 30 countries were on the secret Iranian payroll from 1979 onwards . . .[31]

Iran's galloping arms expenditure in the wake of the 1973-74 oil-price rise helped Western economies to avoid recession. At the same time, under the Nixon-Kissinger doctrine, Iran was seen as the regional power that would defend Western interests and act as policeman in the Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean.

The shah had assigned to himself a role in history comparable, in his imagination, only with that of the founder of the Persian Empire in 600 BC. Of this he informed the world in October 1971 when, flanked by his generals, he presented himself before the tomb of that great monarch, now little more than a pile of stones in a vast arid plain, and ceremoniously read a eulogy which began with the words: "Lie in peace, Cyrus, for we are awake!"

This was followed by a party among the grandiose ruins at Persepolis attended by more than five hundred dignitaries, including kings, presidents and prime ministers from 60 countries. All this, as the shah remarked at the time, was intended to mark "the rebirth of the Persian Empire and Iran's return to the forefront of human experience."

Other products of the shah's megolomania were the proposed 1,200-acre Shahestan-e-Pahlavi architectural extravaganza at Teheran and 20 planned nuclear power plants. This kind of development favored Western economics and Western contractors who shared the pickings with a new class of Iranian monopolists and technocrats, but did little or nothing for the Iranian economy as a whole.

Carried away by this dream of national greatness, what the shah seemed unable to understand was that the role he had assigned to himself was wholly subordinate to another which had been assigned to him by those who were encouraging him in his ambitions. In other words, that the Iranian national drama, so impressive when viewed separately, was intended to be no more than an episode in a vastly bigger world-historical drama.

So, it is the motivational system of the likes of Henry Kissinger—during most of the 1970s the shah's warmest friend and most trusted adviser—that calls for some consideration. How and for what purpose were these powerful individuals trying to use the shah?

A short but inadequate answer is that the new international cosmopolitan imperialism, spearheaded by Israel, had come to regard the Arab world and its Islamic religions as being by far the greatest hindrance to the attainment of its great objective, a one-world government which it could control at all levels; and Iran, with its considerable non-Arabic population and huge oil wealth, was seen as a possible countervailing force which could be used against the Arab world.

The first step was to make Israel virtually synonymous with America in terms of foreign support in all fields, and then, by steady progression, provide the shah with a means of suppressing all internal opposition. In fact, the shah's security forces were virtually taken over by the Israelis and reinforced with non-Islamic personnel, largely recruited from non-Muslim population elements, especially the Bahais, largely people of Jewish descent no longer practicing the Jewish religion. This gave the shah an instrument which could be used with the utmost ruthlessness against the population and

against the religious class in particular. Prof. Algar states the position exactly:

> We find . . . that immediately after the great massacre in Teheran on September 8, 1978, when an estimated 4000 people were killed, Carter left his humanitarian efforts on behalf of so-called peace at Camp David to send a personal message of support to the shah. It is noteworthy that Sadat and Begin and the other participants in these humanitarian efforts at Camp David also took time off to telephone their best wishes to the shah in the aftermath of the massacre. Given this timing of Carter's expression of support for the shah, we can do no other than regard his visit to Teheran and his proclamation of support . . . at the beginning of 1978 as an implicit statement of support of the shah and of all the acts of massacre and repression that he undertook in the year of the revolution. It was not only . . . an uprising designed to shake and destroy the tyrannical rule of the monarch, it was at the same time, in a real sense, a war of independence waged against a power which had successfully turned Iran into a military base and which had incorporated the military repressive apparatus of that other country into its own strategic system.[32]

The commanding importance attached to Iran as a piece on the checkerboard of global power politics was emphasized shortly after the fall of the shah when support from both sides of the so-called Iron Curtain was given to *Iraq*, and when the most flagrant violations of international law by Iraq, including the first attacks on neutral shipping, and even the use of poison gas, were disregarded or excused. The external powers, the USSR included, also doggedly refused to name Iraq as the aggressor.

Then when it had become clear that Iraq could not win, the combined efforts of the external powers had to be used to prevent an Iranian victory—an exercise which eventually called for direct American military action in the Persian gulf.

The Battleground of the Mind

The Iranian struggle was won and lost on the battleground of the mind.

All the ideas which the shah could muster in favor of the visible benefits of the Western social model, supported with a maximum application of force and terror, proved to be no match for a system of ideas, promoted by the mullahs, which united the people as never before and infused them with death-defying courage.

This was something the shah could never understand: an invincible unity of the people which embraced old and young, uneducated and educated, including even those who had received their schooling in the West. Thus, we learn that the shah's last visit to Washington at the invitation of President Carter in November 1977, was marred by unprecedented demonstrations by Iranian students, and that the teargas used by the police drifted across the White House lawns and caused the shah to shed a few tears.

For the purpose of study and discussion, this victorious system of ideas can be considered under two headings: populism and religion. The use of the word populism, however, calls for an explanatory note: it means what democracy used to mean and is still assumed to mean—namely, government by the people, direct or representative. However, since the word democracy is now almost universally applied to states which are not democracies as defined in the dictionaries, it can only be said to have ceased to be "lawful tender."

The nations of the West are, in fact, plutocracies, or special-interest oligarchies, wearing many of the trappings of democracy—political parties, the ballot box, all the rest.

The word populist is now used in all the English-speaking countries to designate popular movements offering opposition to the bogus democracies. The concept of populism thus establishes common ground between political activists persecuted by the shah and those in the West now being persecuted and execrated as "rightwing extremists," "neo-Nazis," or "Fascists," any debate with them being totally proscribed.[33]

All these populist movements have their origin in a deeply rooted instinct, a social or political instinct, which prompts people to react negatively to any rule which, judged by the results produced, they do not feel to be truly their own. Primitive societies which have endured down the ages can be regarded as models of legitimate rule and an example to the huge sophisticated societies of the modern world, in which the factor of legitimacy is increasingly elusive, if not wholly absent.

The actual system matters very little: it could be a monarchy, or a dictatorship, or an oligarchy or a conventional democracy; there is no system of rule which has not been known to work to the satisfaction of those ruled; any system acceptable provided that it is implemented by those who can

be regarded as the legitimate nominees of those ruled, leaders who are sensitive to the feelings, values, beliefs and group memories of the ruled.

Amir Taheri, a West-oriented Iranian journalist and no friend of the mullahs, says of the shah in 1976:

> He did not need the people for their votes in a general election. He was there by divine right, and parliamentary elections, organized every four years, were little more than ritualistic exercises in futility.[34]

And the shah had long since abandoned the practice of travelling around the country to make direct contact with his people.

Other populist resistance movements in Iran since before the turn of the century, some of them modeled on similar movements in the West, were all influenced in some degree by the religious class, but the one that finally triumphed was religious through and through, inspired by a great religious leader and organized and managed throughout by the ulama.

From all of which it would seem to follow that for the West, with all its bogus democracies and its Christian church falling into disarray and demoralization, there should be much to learn from the role of religion as a mobilizer of mass political action, and about politics in general.

However, any consideration of the role of religion in Iran—a role unthinkable today in the West—needs to be preceded by a few thoughts about religion in general, not this or that manisfestation of it but religion as a factor of commanding importance in human affairs everywhere and at all times of which we have any record.

Religion can be said to have two main aspects: *personal* and *social*. Religion can be a strictly personal phenomenon, joined to or wholly independent of any prevailing orthodoxy or doctrine. A sound attitude towards the totality of existence, a submission of the will to a system of cosmic law external to and superior to the intellect, no matter how such an attitude may have been acquired, is all that is needed for what C.G. Jung describes as "a religious attitude to life," or state of psychic well-being. For most people at all times a taught religion has provided the easiest access to such an attitude, for which the only proof needed is that it works.

Religion can, therefore, also be a social phenomenon, a system of consensus belief having its origin in some prophet and offering psychic security and some measure of creative release to an entire community, even to an epoch. Consensus

religions, like all other human artifacts, are exposed to the vicissitudes of time and change and thus are liable to lose some of their pristine efficacy, their power to fulfil the purpose for which they came into existence.

So, what *is* the purpose of a consensus religion, if any, apart from that of helping the individual to find psychic orientation?

One simple but of course insufficient answer is that a consensus religion serves as a repository of values and a system of tested knowledge in respect of what is "right" and "wrong" in human relations. This implies that certain cosmic laws relative to what people do, or what is done to them, are encoded in human nature, not as ready-made ideas but only as instinctual intimations which must then be conceptualized and verbalized as ideas capable of being communicated and discussed.

These laws we categorize as "moral" or "metaphysical," laws of a most volatile and elusive kind which are easily lost and are continually having to be rediscovered and verbalized in a new way. And it is these laws which, if observed and applied in whatever form, keep a society as it were "on course," preserving it against disintegration and disorder.

Islam and Christianity

Only blind prejudice can prevent anyone who has gone to the trouble of studying even a summary of the contents of the Koran from realizing that Muhammad the Prophet was a moral genius, a person who, under pressure of a personal crisis of the mind, gained a quite extraordinary insight into those metaphysical laws, so hard to grasp, which prevail inexorably inside the human mind and in human relations.

And it was the circumstances then prevailing that made it possible, even inevitable, that one man's breakthrough to a rare state of enlightenment would expand quickly into a consensus religion destined to spread very quickly over most of the then known world.

Muhammad, like Jesus Christ about 600 years earlier, was living in what can be described as "end times"—much like conditions in the Western world today—when societies, no longer sufficiently in register with the unalterable realities of human nature, have begun to disintegrate. Social existence degenerates into a frantic scramble for personal survival and advantage as people cease to find in their social group a sense of shared security and mutual obligation and duty, and many begin to suffer in their minds.

What is most significant is that the Church in the West is

disintegrating along with everything else, compounding rather than counteracting the process of decline in the West.

Here a clear distinction must be drawn between two aspects of Christianity as a consensus religion: the Church Extant and the Church Invisible; the church as a great property-owning and power-oriented institution and the church in its nascent form as a message of personal deliverance. Both Christianity and Islam spring from the same insights and share with the earlier Judaism the same even more ancient monotheistic symbolism. The Koran says: "Jesus the Messiah, the son of Mary, was a Messenger of God, His word which He placed in Mary, and His spirit" (IV.171). There was, thus, no fundamental antagonism between Islam and Christianity.

The big difference between the two religions is that Islam did not create a church or its equivalent, and that the Christian Church, obedient to the laws of worldly growth, was everywhere inclined to make common cause with centers of worldly power.

The failure of the church in the West is summed up in Balzac's trenchant remark that "there can be no universal application of Christianity until the money problem has been solved." Alas, the church has never been at odds for long with "Caesar" in the ultimate form as concentrated financial power.

It is mainly for this reason that Islam, with its unflinching prohibition of usury, now is seen as a major threat to a vast structure of power in the West, challenging the moral foundations on which it has been reared.

The code of conduct, both for rulers and ruled, explicit in Islam's Sharia, was largely implicit in Christianity's basic teaching ("Do unto others as you would be done by."). The main difference between the two faiths arose out of the fact that Muhammad was compelled by the circumstances of his time to become a political leader, administrator and soldier, as well as religious leader. The meanings belonging to "a kingdom not of this world" were thus brought into close relationship with meanings more directly relevant to the unavoidable actualities of "this world."

Perhaps the most important fact of all in the context of the present world situation is that Islam presents in clear outline the moral configuration of Economic Man: worker, owner, dealer in the products of labor, his duties, obligations and rights. The injunction on the subject of usury may not have seemed all that important at the time when few, if any, of the Prophet's followers might have been interested in the lending of money.

But, today, *usury* is the linchpin without which the greatest concentration of worldly power ever would fall apart.

Centuries of antagonism between the Christian and Muslim worlds can be traced to a great variety of causes, but one of its main effects, as we can now see more plainly, was that of preventing the people of the West from recognizing and getting to grips with a corrupting principle which had been planted in their midst.

Shi'ism: Religion of the Revolution

For an explanation of the Iranian Revolution, it is not Islam in general but a particular version of it called Shi'ism that needs to be more closely examined, a kind of fundamentalism which, besides setting Iran fiercely at odds with the Western world, has had the effect of driving Iran into isolation, separated also from the rest of the Islamic world.

Writes Professor Algar:

> The revolution in Iran and the foundation of the Islamic Republic is the culmination of a series of events that began in the sixteenth century of the Christian era with the adherence of the majority of the Iranian people to the Shi'i school of thought in Islam. Indeed, one of the important factors that sets the Iranian Revolution apart from all the other revolutionary upheavals of the present century is its deep roots in the historical past.[35]

There is no need, however, to explore the difference between Shi'ism and other schools of Islamic thought, because this difference fades into relative insignificance when compared with the change which occurred in Shi'ism itself after its introduction by the Turkish conqueror and the inauguration of the Safavid dynasty in 1502. So, it is what the Persians made of Shi'ism, rather than what they received, that now sharply distinguishes it from other schools of Islamic thought.

What has happened can be stated in a few words: Shi'ism has presented in sharper and clearer outline of the religious configurations of what we might call Political Man. This has entailed the politicization of the ulama and its involvement in public affairs to a degree unequalled anywhere outside Iran. The leaders of the other Islamic states, while sharing with Iran deep concern about policies being implemented by the Western powers in the Middle East, see what has happened in Iran as a usurpation by the religious class that could place their own regimes in danger.

This involvement in politics by the religious class has deep roots in history and is supported with considerable scholarship. Writes Prof. Algar:

> With the hindsight provided by the Islamic Revolution, it will be more appropriate to write the Iranian history of the past three or four centuries not so much in terms of dynasties as in terms of the development of the class of Iranian ulama. Dynasties have come and gone, leaving in many cases little more than a few artifacts behind to account for their existence. but there has been a continuing development of the class of Shi'i ulama in Iran which has been totally without parallel elsewhere in the Islamic world.

Prof. Algar explains briefly how the burdens of state came to be placed on the shoulders of the religious scholars and how they learned to cope:

> With the decline of the Safavid dynasty in 1724, a period of anarchy began in Iran. At one point within the 18th century we find no fewer than 13 different contestants for the throne doing battle with each other. The total disintegration of the political authority accelerated the process of divorce between the religious institution and the monarchy. We can say that in the absence of an effective centralized monarchy throughout the 18th century the ulama came in a practical fashion . . . to assume the role of local governors, arbitrators of disputes, executors at law and so forth.[36]

This experience over an extended period produced a change in Shi'ism, for there had to be some change in theory and scholarship to accommodate an expanded range of duty and mental activity. And so there arose a great debate about the duties of the religious scholar, whether he should confine himself to the sifting of the teachings of the Prophet and its interpretations, or whether it was permissible for him to engage in independent reasoning in respect of legal questions. The first position acquired the Arabic name *akhbari* and the other the *usuli*.

It would be hard to exaggerate the profundity and far-ranging implication of this debate; the question at issue is whether a consensus religion can be a "total way of life" for any society unless its scholars and teachers are also experts in jurisprudence and other affairs of state and have been trained to exercise their intellects in secular as well as religious matters, thereby acquiring competence to monitor the performance of the rulers.

Were it not for the triumph of the usuli position in the 18th century, the religious scholars would have been reduced to an extremely marginal position in society and the Iranian Revolution of 1978 would have been impossible. The whole significance of the Ayatollah Khomeini arises from the fact that he was the living embodiment of this activist tradition, the fruition of long years of political, spiritual and intellectual development.

As the mass of the Iranian population was instinctively repelled by the conditions of existence created in the name of Westernization and progress, and after the failure of many attempts by various popular movements, like Mussadeq's National Front, to place some curbs on the shah's dictatorial power, all turned to the ulama and accepted it unreservedly as the sole legitimate authority and thereafter responded automatically to its commands. Khomeini could, therefore, feel secure in the knowledge that he had the mass of the population behind him when early in 1963 he virtually launched the revolution with a series of public declarations at Qum.

In these he accused the shah of having violated the constitution and the oath he took when enthroned that he would protect Islam. He also attacked the shah for his subordination to foreign powers, naming the United States and Israel. The secret police Savak had permitted some qualified criticism of America but had always rigorously enforced the rule that not even the name of Israel must ever be mentioned in public discussion.

After one of these addresses, Khomeini's center at Qum was stormed by paratroopers and Savak members, a number of people were killed and the ayatollah arrested. Released a few days later, the ayatollah continued to attack the shah, with the result that there followed on June 5 a vast uprising in many Iranian cities.

This was repressed with great force and it was estimated that within a few days at least 15,000 people were killed in the shooting ordered by the shah. Khomeini was arrested again and sent into exile in Turkey, whence he moved later to Iraq and then to Paris.

Two features of the ensuing revolution which culminated in the final explosion of public anger towards the end of 1978 call for special notice. The more important of these was the factor of martyrdom, that is resistance of a kind undeterred by the fear of death. The other was the communications factor,

the seeming magic with which the leader of the revolution, even from distant Paris, could reach a widely distributed population with information and instruction.

The communications factor is more easily explained: the ulama represented a nationwide communications network, with its mosques and madrassas, its mullahs and its students, vastly expanded and expedited by two products of modern technology, the telephone and the tape-recorder. A declaration by the ayatollah, spoken into a telephone in Paris, would be recorded in Teheran or some other Iranian city, copied and transcribed and retransmitted to other parts of the country, where the process would be repeated until within a few hours it would have reached even small and widely separated villages.

All this was possible, however, only by reason of the accumulated learning and preparatory work of four centuries which had equipped the ulama for such a role, so that all knew exactly what they were expected to do and why, a rare condition in any society. This communications system, wholly dependent on the zealous participation of thousands of individuals, proved in the end to be more than a match for a powerful press, radio and television, all vehemently supportive of the shah's regime.

All that needs to be said about the highly abstruse martyrdom factor is that in Shi'ism the concept has been more thoroughly elaborated as a main component of the Islamic faith. It is something ever present in the consciousness of the Iranians. Hence the Shi'i maxim: "Every day is Ashura and every place is Karbala"—referring to the martyrdom of the Imam Hussain.

It was this factor that gave to mass political action in Iran, especially throughout 1978, a diamond-hardness that was proof against all the ruthless and sophisticated physical force which the shah and his close Israeli ally could mount against it. During the first days of December 1978, a large number of people appeared in the streets of Teheran and other cities wearing their shrouds, prepared for martyrdom and advancing unarmed on the rows of machine guns ready to be used to deady effect.

By no other means could the people of Iran have overthrown one of the 20th century's most powerful and ruthless tyrants.

Notes

1. Article on Iran in *Comment*, published by the Catholic Institute for International Relations, London, May 1980.
2. Algar, Hamid *The Roots of the Islamic Revolution* (The Open Press, London, 1983), p. 9.
3. Lectures at the Muslim Institute, London, 1980, Siddiqui's Preface.
4. Taheri, Amir *Nest of Spies: America's Journey to Disaster in Iran* (Hutchinson, 1988).
5. Lenin quoted by Paul Johnson in *A History of the Jews* (Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1987).
6. Hobson, J.A. *Imperialism: A Study* (Geo. Allen and Unwin), Rev. Ed., 1938, p. vi.
7. Hobson, *op. cit.*, p. 5.
8. Hobson, *op. cit.*, pp. 46-7.
9. Hobson, *op. cit.*, pp. 53-4.
10. Hobson, *op. cit.*, p. 197.
11. Hobson, *op. cit.*, p. 205.
12. Hobson, *op. cit.*, p. 204.
13. Algar, *op. cit.*, p. 20.
14. Taheri, *op. cit.*, p. 15.
15. Names and background of Jewish banking families are given by Howard Sachar in *The Course of Modern Jewish History* (Dell Publishing, New York, 1958).
16. Quigley, Carroll, *Tragedy and Hope* (Macmillan, New York, 1966), p. 50.
17. Quigley, *op. cit.*, p. 937.
18. Monteil, Vincent, *Iran* (Studio Vista, London, 1965), p. 25.
19. Taheri, *op. cit.*, p. 27.
20. Cited in Reed, Douglas, *Somewhere South of Suez* (Devin-Adair, New York, 1951), p. 399.
21. Reed, *op. cit.*, pp. 399-400.
22. Taheri, *op. cit.*, p. 80.
23. Taheri, *op. cit.*, p. 5.
24. See Armand Hammer's autobiography, *Witness to History* (1987).
25. Spengler, Oswald, *The Decline of the West* (Alfred A. Knopf, New York, New York, 1926), vol. 2, p. 402.
26. Algar, *op. cit.*, p. 22.
27. For a particularly forceful exposition of this viewpoint, see *Fall of a Center of Deceit*, Islamic Propagation Organization, Teheran.
28. See *The Life and Times of Muhammad*, John Bagot Glubb (Hodder and Stoughton, 1970, and *Life of Mahomet*, Washington Irving (Dent, 1911).

29. Algar, *op. cit.*, p. 50.
30. Algar, *op. cit.*, p. 50.
31. Taheri, *op. cit.*, p. 63.
32. Algar, *op. cit.*, p. 101.
33. Subject of a paper on psychological warfare read by Ivor Benson at the 1977 congress of the World Anti-Communist League, in Seoul, Korea.
34. Taheri, *op. cit.*
35. Algar, *op. cit.*, p. 5.
36. Algar, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

Appendix I: Islam and Economic Man

If a single all-embracing reason is to be sought for the dread of a resurgent Islam now prevailing in the highest centers of worldly power, it may be found in the Islamic moral delineation of *Economic Man*, a system of ideas which challenges the entire foundation of great power in the West.

Monetary reform campaigners in the West, especially in the United States, might be astonished by the quantity and quality of thinking which Muslim scholars have put into the subject of banking and of economics generally, all of it constellated by the Prophet Muhammad's simple utterances. Here are some of the key elements of the Islamic economic philosophy:*

Individual rights: These are a consequence of the fulfillment of duties and obligations, not antecedent to them. In other words, first comes the duty, then the right.

Property: Ownership is never absolute, conferring on us the right to do with our property wholly as we please. As the Sharia puts it, all property belongs to God: we are only its temporary incumbents and trustees; there are duties and responsibilites inseparably attached to the ownership of property.

Work and wealth: Islam exalts work as an inseparable dimension of faith itself and reprehends idleness. We do not need work only in order to earn a livelihood; we need work to preserve our psychic health; we need to exercise creative skills and to spend energy in work.

Usury: The Koran forcefully prohibits the payment and receipt of interest, or *riba* as it is called. Interest on a loan is

*See "The Islamic Banking System in Iran and Pakistan" Mohsin S. Khan and Abbas Mirahker, *Journal of Social, Political and Economic Studies*, 1986.

regarded as a creation of instantaneous property rights outside the legtimate framework of existing property rights.

The evil inherent in usury, however, is more recondite and elusive than that. The lending of money at interest can in many instances be advantageous to borrower as well as lender; fortunes have been made with borrowed money. It is only in the contest of a total way of life of a community that the evil nature of usury becomes more clearly visible to the moral imagination.

The principle of usury, once accepted, gives rise to the regular practice of it, requiring or making possible the emergence of a class of *moneylender*; human nature being as it is, and taking into account the circumstances in which money most often needs to be borrowed, the practice of usury is seen as conferring a compounding advantage on the moneylender class.

Thoughts on the Military History of the Occupation of Japan

HIDEO MIKI

(Paper Presented to the Ninth International Revisionist Conference)

I. Introduction

We are now on the crest of a wave of interest in America's post-war occupation of Japan; many studies of the occupation have recently appeared, both in Japan and the United States.[1]

Most of these works, however, are diplomatically, economically, or sociologically oriented. Studies undertaken primarily from a military viewpoint are comparatively few. That being the case, we must ask: Why study the history of the occupation of Japan from a military perspective?

- First of all, to examine how the victors attained their war objectives through the military occupation of the enemy's country;
- Second, to study how the vanquished—in this case the Japanese—attained their national objective in accomplishing Japan's reconstruction under the occupation forces;
- Third, to study the kind of relationship which developed between the victor and the vanquished after the war;
- and finally, to examine in principle how, in present or future wars or armed conflicts, a country should successfully attain her long-term national objectives.

Since ancient times the subject of war and peace has been an extremely philosophical and most difficult theme. I claim no deep insight into this subject but in the first half of my life I experienced war, and during the second half peace and prosperity. Most of my life, however, has been devoted to military service and study. Even now, through my academic courses for young military students, I continue to study war

and peace. I welcome your assistance in the form of a solid critique of my ideas.

Today we are able to see the victors, on the one hand, and the defeated, on the other, studying together their own and each other's policies during and after the war. I am certain that this is tremendously important both in drawing lessons for the future and in maintaining the peace—and in that spirit I present this commentary.

II. Strategies During the Final Phase of WW II

Strategy of the United States

The U.S. conducted its war against Japan in the Pacific area while simultaneously fighting Germany and Italy in the European theater. In June 1945, following the occupation of Okinawa, the U.S. prepared military plans to invade the island of Kyushu and the Kanto Plain (Tokyo and its hinterland).[2] Furthermore, the entry of the USSR into the war against Japan had been agreed upon at the secret meeting at Yalta in February 1945. On the other hand, the U.S. was also studying the problems of the military occupation of Japan in the event that Japan suddenly surrendered or collapsed.[3] This has already been made clear in many studies on this subject, especially since 1976, when the U.S. declassified and released many secret documents.

Additional light has been shed on the particulars of the U.S. failure to oppose the USSR's entry into the war against Japan—ultimately unnecessary because the U.S. succeeded in testing the atomic bomb in July 1945. The key factor in allowing Soviet intervention was that America's strategy for concluding the war was not merely to defeat its enemy militarily but to force Japan into an unconditional surrender.

In principle this was the same as the strategy against Germany but in the case of Japan the American people were concerned about prospective U.S. military casualties in the invasion of mainland Japan. Therefore, in the Potsdam declaration of July 1945 the United States changed its strategy from "unconditional surrender" to "unconditional surrender of the armed forces of Japan." Japan was later able to accept these terms because the Japanese government, recognizing this subtle U.S. change, felt the U.S. would not fundamentally alter the structure of the nation should Japan surrender.

Dr. D. Clayton James described the American strategy in the Pacific War as follows:

> By the early autumn of 1944, Nimitz, MacArthur, and their planning staffs, together with the Joint Chiefs and their planners, were generally agreed that aerial bombing and naval blockade would not suffice to force Japan's surrender and that immense invasions of Kyushu and Honshu would be needed. Tentatively setting the first operation for November 1945 and the second for early 1946, the Pentagon and the field commanders envisaged those assaults as difficult and likely to produce high American casualties.

Nevertheless, the Roosevelt government decided to invite the USSR into the war against Japan, three months after Germany was defeated. Dr. James also writes:

> In retrospect, it seems that once the Kyushu assault plan was drafted military strategy essentially became dominant, with American national strategy bound inflexibly to it in its acceptance of Soviet intervention.[4]

According to Dr. James the policy of unconditional surrender proclaimed by FDR at Casablanca in early 1943 was viewed by most of the Washington planners working on occupation guidelines as far more flexible than the Japanese imagined. The Japanese interpretations ranged from annihilation of their people to abolition of the imperial system and punishment of the emperor as a war criminal.[5] For not only in my opinion, but in that of many Japanese scholars, FDR's unconditional-surrender strategy was not as flexible as in Dr. James's opinion. It included provisions for the occupation of Japan by four powers—the U.S., USSR, UK and China—after Japanese surrender, and the punishment of the emperor as a war criminal.[6]

As James writes:

> President Truman missed an opportunity to send a favorable signal to Japan when, on poor counsel from his close advisors, he omitted from the Potsdam Declaration in July 1945 any reference to the American government's intention to retain and use the emperor during the occupation. Since early 1943 American propaganda had portrayed the United States as irrevocably bound to the unconditional surrender of Japan, a development that, in fact, was not anticipated in the Coordinating Committee's deliberations and did not take place. But the continuing lip service paid to the policy by top American officials and propagandists was influential in keeping both sides from direct bilateral communications that might have terminated the war well before mid-August 1945.[7]

2. Strategy of the Soviet Union

After Germany was defeated in May 1945, the Soviet Union prepared to participate in the war against Japan in accordance with the secret Yalta agreement. At Yalta in February 1945, FDR, with his military advisors' backing, agreed to Stalin's price for Soviet intervention: the Kuriles, South Sakhalin, Outer Mongolia, Dairen, Port Arthur, and Manchuria's main railways.

To this day we Japanese are very sorry that the American forces didn't occupy Japan's northern territories of South Sakhalin and the Kuriles, and we wonder why.

3. Japan's Strategy

No later than the defeat at Midway in 1942, but with increasing seriousness after the 1944 loss at Saipan, the Japanese government and the military command at General Headquarters considered possibilities as to how to conclude peace with the Allied powers.[8] In June 1945, after Okinawa was occupied, General Headquarters decided to concede the loss of Okinawa and fight a decisive battle on the mainland. After Japan had inflicted a serious blow on the U.S. forces, Japan would make a peace proposal.[9] The Japanese leaders hoped that an armistice or peace with the U.S. would follow the Battle of the Homeland.[10]

On the other hand, there were elements in Japan which sought to conclude the war as soon as possible. The government's decision to end the war came only after the atomic bombings of 6 and 9 August and Russia's declaration of war on 9 August.[11] Until the Emperor's decision, however, the Japanese Army insisted on a strategy of "peace after the decisive battle." The background to the Army's insistence was this:

—First, the Japanese Army, unlike the Navy, was not yet completely defeated;

—Second, by accepting the American strategy of "unconditional surrender," it was believed Japan could not maintain its national polity.

In other words, the Emperor's position would not be safe.[12] The change to acceptance of the Potsdam declaration was at the decision of the Emperor.

Up to this point we have looked at the strategies of the United States, Soviet Russia and Japan for concluding the war. From today's postwar vantage point, we can see that the

Japanese decision to surrender spared her, in comparison to Germany, much woe.

Here I would like to examine, from a military perspective, the U.S. occupation policy as well as the policies Japan adopted.

III. The Occupation of Japan

1. The Issue of Unconditional Surrender

Why did the United States demand Japan's unconditional surrender? There is no doubt that Japan declared war against the United States and launched a surprise attack on Pearl Harbor. Furthermore, the Japanese armed forces occupied the Philippines after defeating the American forces under General MacArthur. But in what way did Japan ever attack the U.S. homeland?

Although it hasn't been given very serious examination, I believe that America's strategy of demanding unconditional surrender stems from the American Civil War of the 1860's.[13]

According to General Carl von Clausewitz in his treatise "On War," war is an act of force, and there is no logical limit to the application of that force. Each side, therefore, compels its opponent to follow suit.[14]

But in reality, does this hold good for grand strategy? FDR's strategy against Japan in 1945 was overly harsh and I believe it should be soundly criticized from the standpoint of the proportion of violence inflicted in relation to the strategic objective. As we have already seen, however, the demand for unconditional surrender changed to one for the unconditional surrender of Japan's military forces. This change contributed to the Japanese government's decision to accept the enemy's demand.[15]

2. Demilitarization and Disbanding of the Armed Forces

Past wars supply examples of a victor limiting the armaments of the loser after the war. How many instances have there been in which the armed forces of the vanquished power are completely abolished? One example that comes to mind is Japan's disbanding of the armed forces of the Korean Empire in 1907.[16] The demilitarization of Japan carried out by the U.S. from August, 1945 was rivaled the disbanding of the military of the Korean Empire. For a sovereign nation an imposed disarmament is unbearable. The same may be said for the indignity of an occupier-imposed Japanese constitu-

tion. On exactly what authority can this kind of thing be forced on another country?

3. The Subject of War Crimes Trials

The U.S. and other Allied powers conducted postwar trials against Japan and Germany. This, too, was a part of their occupation strategy, and is a significant issue which deserves further study as a very important theme for peace in the future. (Recently in Japan there has been criticism, from both the left and right, of the Far East trials.)

4. The Issue of the Emperor

According to the "Military Government Annex of the Black List Operations, dated 6 August 1945":

> The Emperor and his wife and children will be placed under protective custody and removed from the Imperial Palace in Tokyo to another suitable residence where they will be kept in seclusion. There will be no public expression of opinion concerning the future status of the Emperor or of the institution of the Emperor . . .[17]

From this it is very clear that the Emperor was to be removed from Tokyo. I would like to know how the plan came to be changed and who ordered the change.[18]

It is well known that as a result of the First World War, the German, Austro-Hungarian, Russian and Ottoman empires were replaced by republics and the Emperors exiled or killed. Fortunately, in Japan the Emperor remains the symbol of the Japanese people even forty-four years after the end of the war. The high command of the Self-Defense Forces visits the Imperial Palace every year to be received in audience by His Majesty. Moreover, almost a million Japanese citizens visit the palace each year to celebrate the Emperor's birthday on New Year's Day. When one considers these facts it can be said that the American military's continuation of the Emperor system was a historic decision and a major contribution to postwar Japanese stability.

What were the military consequences of the American strategy regarding the Emperor? It must be recognized that the Emperor was the Generalissimo, or the supreme commander, of the Japanese armed forces. The Emperor was the only authority empowered to command both the Japanese Army and Navy. Of course there was an Imperial General Headquarters in Japan consisting of the Army and the Navy, but in fact there was nothing resembling a joint headquarters.

This was the fundamental and critical origin of Japan's defeat.[19]

General MacArthur said of this in his report shortly after the occupation as follows:

> Illustrating this concept, General Yamashita recently stated in an interview, explaining reasons for his defeat, that "diversity of the Japanese command resulted in complete lack of cooperation and coordination between the services." He complained that he was not in supreme command, that the air forces were run by Field Marshal Terauchi at Saigon and the fleet run directly from Tokyo, that he only knew of the intended naval strike at Leyte Gulf five days before it got under way and professed ignorance of its details. The great lesson for the future is that success in the Art of War depends upon a complete integration of the services. In unity will lie military strength. We cannot win with only backs and ends; and no line, however strong, can go alone. "Victory will rest with the team."[20]

As mentioned above, no one general or admiral was empowered to integrate under a single command the Japanese armed forces; only the Emperor was authorized by the Constitution to command both Army and Navy. Only one time, however, did the Emperor exercise this authority, with his decision to accept the Potsdam declaration.[21] The government of the U.S. saved the Emperor because it was the only way to make Japanese armed forces surrender completely. The Japanese armed forces surrendered and allowed themselves to be disarmed only by order of the Emperor.

According to General MacArthur's report on the Japanese armed forces' surrender and disarmament, dated 15 October 1945:

> Today the Japanese armed forces throughout Japan completed their demobilization and ceased to exist as such. These forces are now completely abolished. I know of no demobilization in history, either in war or peace, by our own or any other country, that has been accomplished so rapidly or so frictionlessly. Everything military, naval or air is forbidden to Japan . . .
>
> Approximately seven million armed men, including those in the outlying theaters, have laid down their weapons. In the accomplishment of the extraordinarily difficult and dangerous surrender in Japan, unique in the annals of history, not a shot was necessary, not a drop of Allied blood was shed. The

> vindication of the great decision of Potsdam is complete. Nothing could exceed the abjectness, the humiliation and the finality of this surrender. It is not only physically thorough, but has been equally destructive of the Japanese spirit . . .[22]

Here we can appreciate the Emperor's contribution to the accomplishment of American strategy and occupation policy at the end of the war. There were, of course, minor troubles for the American armed forces to surmount after the war's end, but their effects on occupation policy were nil.

IV. For Perpetual Peace

In his famous book of 1795 Immanuel Kant advocated these three things:

i. Standing armies must be totally abolished in due course;

ii. A country must not intervene with force to change another country's structure or government;

iii. During war a country must not act so that it becomes impossible to be trusted during a future period of peace.[23]

1. A Change in National Structure and Government

The U.S. did not force Japan to abandon the imperial system, i.e., the Emperor continued as the total head of Japanese state. In other words, America's rulers did not demand a change in Japan's basic national policy. In reality, however, the most important element of the Emperor's prerogatives—his function as commander-in-chief of the armed forces—was completely abolished by the reform of the constitution. This was a revolutionary upheaval within the military system and, one must say, it was an interference with the government of Japan.

What of the application of Kant's second principle here? Kant's first principle on the abolition of standing armies could only be achieved by thorough violation of his second principle, by American intervention into Japanese internal affairs.

2. Demilitarization

The U.S. disarmed Japan to guarantee its war objective: that Japan never again become a threat to the U.S. In everyday language we can say that this was natural, as long as we consider lessons learned from previous wars. But insofar as we look at the changes in the state of affairs in postwar Asia, it was a big blunder. In a speech in Tokyo on 19 November 1953 Vice-President Nixon said:

> "Re-armament of Japan" . . . Now if disarmament was right in 1946, why is it wrong in 1953? And if it was right in 1946 and wrong in 1953, why doesn't the United States admit for once that it made a mistake? And I'm going to say something that I think perhaps ought to be done more by people in public life. I'm going to admit right here that the United States did make a mistake in 1946. We made a mistake because we misjudged the intention of the Soviet leaders . . .[24]

Present-day Japan's central defense problem, in reality, springs from this mistake.

3. The Purpose of War

In accordance with Kant's third principle, we must not apply limitless violence in war, and we must think about the period after the restoration of peace. In this respect, along with considering America's atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki an attempt at an early conclusion of the war, wouldn't we also say that it fits the definition of war-time conduct which makes trust impossible after the restoration of peace?

However, why is it that since the turnaround in U.S. strategy toward Japan—especially now—the U.S.-Japanese relationship has been so remarkably close and stable? Did the U.S. attain its war objective by rendering Japan powerless? It is necessary to re-examine this matter from a military perspective.

We Japanese people must not forget the reversion of Okinawa in 1972, and Iwo Jima in 1968, without bloodshed. It was a very positive contribution to U.S.-Japanese relationships, in contrast to Russia's refusal to return the Northern Territory (South Sakhalin and the Kuriles).

In 1987 and 1988, the Emperor had surgery. At that time the whole nation became worried about his health. For the first time we came to realize that there was no one who could take the place of the Emperor except his successor, the Crown Prince.

On January 7, 1989, the news of the Emperor's demise was received with a sense of the deepest regret. For the first time since the end of war the Japanese nation gave serious thought to the institution of the Emperor. This institution remains an integral part of the fabric of our society.

V. Conclusion

In this paper I have examined some points of American occupation strategy for Japan from the military aspect,

including unconditional surrender, the demilitarization and disbanding of the armed forces, and the issues of war trials and the Emperor. I have considered the American occupation strategy in relation to Kant's principles for world peace.

Finally, I would like to conclude that America's strategy and policy in regard to the Emperor was a brilliant contribution to the history of mankind, not only politically but also from the military point of view.

Both the U.S. and Japan contribute to the peace and security of the world as allied powers, regardless of bad feelings during and after the war.

Overall, it can be said that both the U.S. and Japan's occupation strategies have been successful. On the other hand, I have yet to establish why Japan declared war against the U.S. and why we lost the war. It will be my continuing job to study and teach the war's history.

Additional Remarks

I'd like first of all to explain why I embarked on the study of history. It is because historical education in Japan is extremely distorted. As a matter of fact, the percentage of Japanese citizens who consider their nation to be a "good" nation is quite small. In nations like the United States, the United Kingdom, or Korea, as many as 80 or 90 per cent of children and mothers think that their own nation is a good nation. In Japan the percentage is as low as 45 per cent.

Fifty years ago, the situation was precisely the opposite. At that time, Japan was a very poor nation, but 90 per cent of Japanese considered it to be a great and good one. Now we are a very rich nation, but less than half of Japanese consider Japan to be a good nation.

One of the reasons for this, it seems to me, is historical instruction, particularly that pertaining to the current interpretation of the Far East war crimes trials. At the war crimes trials, the conclusion arrived at was that Japan was the sole aggressor nation, that the other nations were all good, peace-loving nations. Furthermore, it was Prime Minister Tojo who was the criminal in this historical drama. I consider this to be the war-crimes-trial point of view of history, and it to be the purpose and endeavor of historians today to correct that view.

Secondly, I would like to explain why I came to this IHR conference. Five years ago in Tokyo, Mr. Bissel explained to me about the IHR, and at that time I was very surprised to

hear from him that Japan's attack at Pearl Harbor was a trick perpetrated by FDR. Last summer, by telephone, I was asked by Mr. Bissel to participate in this 1989 IHR conference.

However, my friends in Japan told me: "Be careful," and in consequence I drafted this very careful paper. However, last night, upon hearing the speakers at this conference, I was quite moved. As is well known, and is often said, in battle the first casualty is truth, so today I would like to speak the truth. Now we will switch to the unvarnished truth!

First, the original American occupation strategy in Japan was mistaken. The occupation plan was to divide Japan into four zones: one for the U.S., one for the U.K., one for the Soviet Union and another for China. If that had happened then Tokyo might very well be in a state similar to that of Berlin today.

The second point is regarding the division and occupation of Korea. As you all know this occupation strategy was the reason for the outbreak of the Korean war, and is the cause of current north-south tension in Korea. What should have happened is that just as the American forces occupied Okinawa rather than the Soviets, they should also have occupied the northern part of Korea.

Third has to do with Manchuria, chiefly the fact that Manchuria was handed over to the Soviets. At Yalta Stalin had been promised that he would be given Dairen, Port Arthur and the Southern Manchuria Railroad. What should have happened is that these be occupied by the United States and then returned to China. If that had happened we might imagine that current-day China might be a very different place from the one we find it today.

My fourth point has to do with the Kurile Islands. It is due to the fact of the continued occupation of these northern territories by the Soviet Union that there is not a peace treaty between the Soviet Union and Japan today, and technically Japan and the Soviet Union remain in a state of war. The Kurile Islands were not occupied during the war, they were occupied by the Soviets after the surrender of the Japanese forces in the period between 18 August and September 2, 1945. In fact, according to international law, since 1855 this had been exclusively Japanese territory.

However, if we examine this from another point of view, it may be that the fact that the Kurile Islands were not returned to Japan, is in some respects, a good thing for the United States. That is because if the Kurile Islands were returned to

Japan, this might result in great friendship between the Japanese and the Soviets, possibly creating a serious obstacle to Japan-U.S. relations. However, that is only my personal view and the Japanese government persists in saying: "Hand them back, hand them back."

This very day, there are in Tokyo probably as many as 50 Japanese children, left behind in Manchuria by their families, who are searching for relatives and parents. These are people whose parents were often, in fact, killed by the Soviets in Manchuria. Orphaned, reared by Chinese families, now, aged 40 and 50, they seek their blood kinsmen in Japan.

Their personal tragedies are a result of the United States decision that the Soviet participation in the Far Eastern War was necessary, whereas, in fact, that participation was not necessary in the slightest.

Next I would like to talk about the question of the war crimes trials. According to the international law of the time, war was perfectly legal. And, consequently, the fact that Japan started the war was not a crime. Therefore, the fact that the leaders of only the defeated countries were put to death was in fact illegal. If in fact we are to execute the leaders of aggressive nations, how are we to consider the invasion by the Soviet Union of Finland, of Poland, of Manchuria and the Kurile Islands.

This is something that is difficult for me to say . . . but the fact of the matter is that the seven "Class A war criminals," including Tojo—after they were hanged—it is my understanding that the bodies were thrown away in the Pacific. We don't know the actual facts on this but that their remains were discarded in that way seems to me to run counter to the traditions to what I take to be a Christian nation.

I was only a child at the time. However, I knew General Tojo. General Tojo's second son was my classmate at the military academy, and I can tell you that neither of these men were evil men.

There's also another fact, namely that there are no final testaments or final documents written by General Tojo and the other six "Class A war criminals." It is rumored, however, that there was a final testament by General Tojo in which he feared the communization of both China and Japan and the resulting difficulties for the United States. It is my personal wish that the remains of these "Class A criminals" and whatever may still exist of their final testaments and their

documents be returned to Japan. However, this is something that the current Japanese government does not dare bring up.

It is also important to note that war trials did not take place only in Tokyo, they took place in Manila, in Hong Kong, in Singapore, and in China. As a consequence of these drumhead trials more than 10,000 Japanese soldiers, many of them innocent, were put to death.

The records of these trials, as a consequence of the research of people as yourselves, are finally coming to light. This is something that I feel strongly about making a request to the IHR about. I'm sure that you are all familiar with the question of the Yasukuni Shrine in Tokyo. However, the reason it is a problem has to do with how one interprets these Far Eastern military trials I referred to.[25]

Since we don't have much time I shall have to hurry along here, but one last point I'd would like to make is that the accepted view of historians is that the reason Japan is at peace and prosperous today has to do with the efforts of the peace groups within Japan since the war. I do not think that is the case. I think that it has to do with the fact that the Japanese army was determined to struggle on until the end. And as a consequence of that struggle the war ended after the death of President Franklin Roosevelt on April 12. If the war had ended while FDR was still alive, it is my belief that his occupational plan for a divided Japan would have been put into effect and Tokyo would today be in a position similar to that of Berlin. It was the decision of General Anami, a man I know well, that caused Japan to struggle valiantly until the end.

Finally, I would like to talk about some of Japan's reasons for entering the war. The reason why Japan made war against the United States and the United Kingdom was for reasons of survival and self-defense. Japan had no desire whatsoever to capture Hawaii, for example, or to occupy San Francisco or Los Angeles. Since, after all, Japan was "Country Orange" it had no need for an "Orange County."[26]

The main reason that there was a war between the United States and Japan was the China problem. In 1937 Japan did start a war with China. However, it was Japan's intention to achieve a cease-fire promptly and quickly. The nations that were obstacles to, and prevented, that cease-fire, were the United Kingdom, the USSR and the United States. This is somewhat similar to the reasons why the Vietnam war and the Afghanistan war lasted as long as they did. And the reason

why Japan made its final decision to go to war was that the United States had erected an economic blockade against Japan.

I've read a number of IHR publications and I'm not quite at this point prepared to believe that Japan was tricked into attacking Pearl Harbor by FDR. However, I myself happen to have a small piece of evidence on this matter that I would like to make public today.

This has to do with a diary of a major in the Marine Corps. He was on Wake Island around November 30, 1941. Wake Island was one of the islands which was bombarded by the Japanese on the opening day of the war. However, in his personal diary, Major Putnam, in his entry of November 30th, said that he had already received orders that American craft were to attack and destroy any surface air or submarine craft of the Japanese forces. This diary was captured later when the Japanese forces occupied that island. The fact that it is one major's diary, of course, makes this less than conclusive evidence.

Nevertheless, it does lead me to believe that, as IHR publications have argued, it is perfectly possible that Franklin D. Roosevelt did know about the Pearl Harbor attack in advance. In some respects I've had a difficult time making these points before an American audience. I appreciate your patience and understanding.

Notes

1. Iokibe Makoto, *The American Occupation Strategy for Japan*, Chuokoronsha, 1985.
   Iokibe Makoto, "Editor's Introduction, International Relations," in Volume 85, *The Japan Association of International Relations*, May 1987, pp. 1-6.
2. General Headquarters, U.S. Army Forces in the Pacific, *Staff Study Operations, "Olympic,"* 17 June 1945.
   General Headquarters, United States Army Air Forces in the Pacific, *Staff Study Operations, "Coronet,"* 15 August 1945
3. General Headquarters United States Army Forces, Pacific, *Basic Outline Plan for "Blacklist,"* 8 August 1945.
   Commander-in-Chief U.S. Pacific Fleet and Pacific Ocean Areas, *Joint Staff Study, "Campus,"* 9 August 1945.
4. D. Clayton James "American and Japanese Strategies in the Pacific War" *Makers of Modern Strategy*, Princeton University Press, 1986, pp. 723-724.
5. Iokibe, "Editor's Introduction," p. 50, p. 258, pp. 234-235.

6. *Op. cit.* , p. 27, pp. 216-221, pp. 256-269.
7. James, *op. cit.*, p. 725.
8. Matsutani Makoto, "The Truth about the Conclusion of *Daitoasenso* [Greater East Asia War]", Fuyoshobo, 1980, pp. 62-70.
9. Imoto Kumao, "*Daitoasenso* with the Diary of Operations," Fuyoshobo, 1979, pp. 57-61.
10. Imoto, *op. cit.*, p. 608.
11. Imoto, *op. cit.*, p. 257.
12. Miyazaki Shuichi, *Sakusen Hiroku*, 8 February 1945.
13. James Ford Rhodes, *History of the Civil War 1861–65*, The Macmillian Company, New York 1919.
    R. Ernest Dupuy and Trevor N. Dupuy, *The Encyclopedia of Military History*, Harper and Row, New York, 1970, pp. 880-881. February, 1862, Henry-Donelson Campaign, Grant's famous ultimatum: "No terms except an unconditional and immediate surrender can be accepted."
14. Karl von Clausewitz, edited and translated by Michael Howard and Peter Paret, *On War*, Princeton University Press, 1976, p. 77.
15. Iokibe, "Editor's Introduction," pp. 256-259.
16. Japanese Headquarters in Korea, *Chosen Boto Tobatsushi* [The Riot Operations in Korea], 1913, pp. 33-40.
17. *Blacklist, op. cit.*
18. Iokibe, *op. cit.*, pp. 42-43.
19. Imoto, *op. cit.*, p. 2.
20. General Headquarters, Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers and U.S. Army Forces, Pacific, *Summary Of The Month of October 1945*, War Department Record Branch, A.G.O., The Adjutant General's Office, 15 October 1945.
21. Matsutani, *op. cit.*, pp. 218-220.
22. *Summary, op. cit.*, 1945.
23. Immanuel Kant, translated by Utsunomiya Yoshio, *Zum Ewigen Frieden* (On Perpetual Peace), Iwanamishoten, 1987.
24. Quoted in *Kajima Heiwa Kenkyujo*, "Nippon Gaiko Shyuyo Bunsho, II," Hara Shobo, 1983, pp. 598-599.
25. The Yasukuni Shrine in Tokyo is dedicated to the souls of Japan's war dead. The fact that General Tojo and other "war criminals" are commemorated there has provided leftist elements in Japan, and well as Japan's critics in East Asia and elsewhere, with fodder for periodic outbursts, usually occasioned by the visit of some prominent Japanese to the shrine—Ed.
26. Japan was designated "Country Orange" in pre-war U.S. military planning—Ed.

The First Gassing at Auschwitz: Genesis of a Myth

CARLO MATTOGNO

(Paper Presented to the Ninth International Revisionist Conference)

Introduction

The story of the Auschwitz gas chambers begins, notoriously, with the experimental gassing of approximately 850 individuals, which supposedly took place in the underground cells of Block 11 within the main camp on September 3, 1941.

Danuta Czech in *Kalendarium der Ereignisse im Konzentrationslager Auschwitz-Birkenau* (Calendar of Events in the Concentration Camp Auschwitz-Birkenau), describes it in the following way:

> 3.9. [September 3] For the first time, experiments in mass murder through the use of Cyclon B [*sic*] gas were conducted in the concentration camp of Auschwitz.
>
> By order of the SS, the hospital attendants brought approximately 250 sick inmates from the prison hospital to the underground cells of Block 11. Approximately 600 Russian prisoners of war were also brought there (officers and political commissars were selected from the prisoner of war camps according to the operating order [Einsatzbefehl] n.8 of 17.7.41). After they were placed in the cells of the bunker, the underground vents were covered with earth, some SS poured the Cyclon B gas and the doors were closed.
>
> 4.9.[September 4] Rapportführer Palitzsch, equipped with a gas mask, opened the cell doors of the Bunker and noticed that a few prisoners were still alive. He therefore poured an additional amount of Cyclon B gas and closed the doors.
>
> 5.9.[September 5] During the evening 20 prisoners from the punishment company (Block 5a) and hospital attendants from the prisoners' hospital were brought to the courtyard of Block

> 11. First they were told that they had been called for a special assignment, and that no one was to discuss what they would see under pain of death. Then they were promised that after the assignment they would receive a substantially larger food ration. In the courtyard of Block 11, there were the officers: Fritzsch, Mayer, Palitzsch, the Lagerarzt Entress[1] and others. Gas masks were given to the prisoners, and they were ordered to go to the underground cells and to bring the cadavers that had been gassed out to the courtyard.
>
> There, the uniforms were taken off the Russian prisoners of war and the cadavers were thrown onto motor carts. The cadavers of the gassed inmates wore prisoner's clothing. The transportation of the cadavers to the crematorium lasted until late night. Among those that had been gassed were 10 prisoners who had been shut up in the Bunker because of the escape of prisoner Nowaczyk.[2]

This account, in support of which Danuta Czech gives no documentary proof, is nonetheless accepted with an exemplary lack of criticism by all Exterminationist historians. This is even more surprising in that the alleged gassing in Block 11 of Auschwitz would constitute the very beginning of the process that would subsequently lead to the gas chambers of the crematoria of Birkenau. The intermediate steps of that process were the mortuary chambers of Crematorium I of the Main Camp and the so-called "Bunkers" 1 and 2 of Birkenau. The Block II "gassing," then, by the canons of Exterminationism, initiated the greatest murder operation of all times.

In this necessarily brief presentation, we will examine the beginning of the myth of the gas chambers of Auschwitz-Birkenau by critically analyzing the few available sources about the history of the first gassing. At the same time, we will offer a significant example of the historiographic methodology used by the compiler of the *Kalendarium* of Auschwitz.

We will begin with the exposition of these sources.

I. The Sources

1. The Sources from the War Period (1941-1942)

The first reference to the initial gassing at Auschwitz is found in a note of October 24, 1941:

> At Oświęcim (Auschwitz), at the beginning of October, 850 Russian officers and non-commisioned officers (prisoners of war) who were brought there have been subjected to die by gas in order to experiment with a new type of war gas that is to be

used on the Eastern Front (jako probe nowego typu gazu bojowego, ktory ma byc uzyty na froncie wschodnim).[3]

Until the middle of 1942, in the sources, the account of the first gassing does not appear to fall under a systematic extermination plan, but constitutes a simple scientific experiment among many others.

In one account compiled by a Czech teacher fleeing the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia in May of 1942, one reads:

> The worst reputation is enjoyed by the concentration camp at Oświęcim near Cracow. Not only are the victims of German cruelty tortured and mishandled in the usual German fashion, but the efficacy of German poison gases is even tried on them and other experiments are made with them.[4]

On July 1, the *Polish Fortnightly Review* published a more detailed account of the first gassing, with not insignificant discrepancies in detail when compared to the note of October 24, 1941, but always in accordance with the theme of experimentation with toxic gases on the prisoners:

> Among the other experiments being tried on the prisoners is the use of poison gas. It is generally known that during the night of September 5th to 6th last year about a thousand people were driven down to the underground shelter in Oświęcim, among them seven hundred Bolshevik prisoners of war and three hundred Poles. As the shelter was too small to hold this large number, the living bodies were simply forced in, regardless of broken bones. When the shelter was full, gas was injected into it, and the prisoners died during the night. All night the rest of the camp was kept awake by the groans and howls coming from the shelter. Next day other prisoners had to carry out the bodies, a task which took all day. One hand-cart on which the bodies were being removed broke down under the weight.[5]

2. The Sources from the Postwar Period

Four witnesses, as far as we can determine, have confirmed the reality of the first gassing by giving specific descriptions: Josef Vacek, eye-witness; Rudolf Höss, indirect witness; Zenon Rozanski, eye-witness; Wojciech Barcz, eye-witness. To these is added the report of inquiry by the Polish Commission of Investigation on German crimes at Auschwitz.

A. The witness Josef Vacek

On the 8th of May, 1945, the former Auschwitz inmate Josef

Vacek (detention number 15514) declared at Buchenwald the following:

> At the beginning of September, Russian prisoners of war were brought to the camp. There were more than 500. In addition to them were 196 sick inmates selected by the SS Doctor Jungen,[6] who were gassed along with the Russian prisoners of war in the gas chambers[7] of Block 11.
>
> We hospital attendants who brought them there were told that they were going to be taken away by transport and that they were going to be brought there only momentarily until the train would leave. The following night, when everyone already was sleeping and no one was allowed to leave the Block area, I was called, along with 30 hospital attendants, and for 3 nights we transported the bodies to the crematorium.[8]

B. The witness Rudolf Höss.

While he remained under British arrest, Rudolf Höss ignored the first gassing. In his sworn testimony of March 14, 1946, the most detailed of this period, although he mentions the gassing in the old crematorium as relating to the Soviet war prisoners, he says only:

> At the same time transports of Russian POWs arrived from the area of the Gestapo Leitstellen Breslau, Troppau and Kattowitz, who, by Himmler's written order to the local Gestapo leaders, had to be exterminated.[9]

Only after his extradition to Poland did he speak about the first gassing. In fact, in the "Autobiographical Notes" of Cracow, Rudolf Höss wrote in this regard:

> Even before the mass extermination of Jews began, the Russian *politruks* and political commissars were liquidated in almost all of the concentration camps, in the years 1941 and 1942. According to a secret order by the Führer, in all the prisoners of war camps, special Gestapo units selected the Russian *politruks* and political commissars, who were sent to the nearest concentration camp to be liquidated. This measure was explained by saying that the Russians immediately killed every German soldier who belonged to the Party or was a member of a Party organization, particularly the SS, and that the political functionaries of the Red Army had the duty, in the event of being taken prisoners of war, to create disorders in the prisoner of war camps, and other places of work, in any possible way, and to sabotage even work itself.
>
> At Auschwitz too, these Red Army political functionaries arrived destined for exterminaton. The first groups, if not too large, were killed by firing squads.

> But during one of my absences, my deputy, Schutzhaftlagerführer Fritzsch, used a gas for this purpose, and to be precise, a mixture of prussic acid, Cyclon B, which was currently being used in the camp for the disinfection of parasites and which was available there in large quantities. When I returned, Fritzsch related to me what he had done, and the gas was utilized also for the subsequent convoys of prisoners.
>
> The gassing took place within the detention cells of Block 11. I myself, protecting my face with a gas mask, observed the killing. Death would take place in the overloaded cells, immediately after the emission of the gas. A brief scream, soon suffocating, and everything was finished.[10]

In his written account, "The final solution to the Jewish question in Auschwitz," Rudolf Höss returned to the first gassing and gave a fuller description of its background and execution. Because his account has been elevated to the status of historical truth about Auschwitz, we will cite it at length:

"During the summer of 1941—at the moment I cannot cite the exact date—I was suddenly called to Berlin by the *Reichsführer*, through his assistant. Contrary to the usual, Himmler received me without any assistants being present, and, in substance, told me the following: the Führer has ordered the final solution of the Jewish question, and we of the SS must follow these orders. The extermination centers currently in the East are absolutely not in any condition to deal with this grand projected task. I have therefore selected Auschwitz because its position is excellent from the point of view of communications, and because its area can be easily isolated and camouflaged. To this end, I had thought of appointing a high SS official; but in order to avoid difficulties due to incompetence from the very beginning, I have abandoned the idea. The task will, therefore, be assigned to you. It is a hard and difficult task requiring total personal commitment, whatever future difficulties there might be. You will receive further details from Sturmbannführer Eichmann of the RSHA, whom I will send to you shortly—all officers who in one way or another will participate in this task will be informed by me in due time. You have the duty to maintain the most absolute secrecy regarding this order, even from your superiors. After your meeting with Eichmann, send the plans for all required installations to me immediately.

"The Jews are the eternal enemies of the German people, and must be exterminated. All Jews on whom we can put our

hands during this war must be killed, without exception. If we are not be able to destroy the biological basis for Jewry now, one day the Jews will destroy the German people. Immediately after receiving so ominous an order, I returned to Auschwitz, without even bothering to report to my superiors in Oranienburg. Soon Eichmann came to see me at Auschwitz. He laid out for me the plans for the various countries. I cannot any longer remember the sequence exactly.

"In any case, Auschwitz was going to be responsible above all for Eastern Upper Silesia and for the other areas bordering and part of the Government General. At the same time, and then subsequently, depending on the possibilities, it would be the turn of the German Jews and those from Slovakia; finally the Jews from the West, from France, Belgium and Holland. He also gave me the approximate number of transports that would arrive, but these too I am unable to recall.

"We therefore began discussing the procedures necessary to carry out the extermination plan. The method would have to be the use of gas, since it surely would be impossible to eliminate the masses that would be arriving by shooting them; and, besides that, it would be above all a very difficult and arduous task for the SS soldiers to follow through the assignment since even women and children would be present.

"Eichmann spoke to me about executing by means of vehicle exhaust, which was, until then, the method used in the East. But it was a method not suitable in Auschwitz, considering the large number of people anticipated. Killing through the use of carbon monoxide gas filtered through the showers in the bathrooms (i.e., the method to exterminate the mentally sick in certain institutions of the Reich) required an excessive number of buildings; besides, obtaining such quantities of gas, sufficient for such large numbers of people, was very problematic. On this issue, it was, therefore, not possible to arrive at a decision. Eichmann promised to inquire as to the existence of a gas which could be easily produced and did not require special installation of equipment, and that he would relate this information to me. We went to inspect the camp to identify the most suitable location and concluded that the most appropriate for this use would be the building located on the northwest corner of the future 3rd sector of buildings, Birkenau [the sector BIII of Birkenau camp—C.M.]. It was a location not easily accessible, protected from the curious by trees and hedges, and still not too far from the railroad. The cadavers could be buried in long and deep ditches on the adjacent meadow.

"At that particular moment we had not yet thought of

cremation. We calculated that the large existing rooms, once modified for gassing purposes, could be used to kill up to 800 individuals at the same time, by using appropriate gas. These estimates were later confirmed by actual practice. Eichmann could not yet tell me when we could begin with this assignment in as much as everything was in the planning phase, and Himmler had not yet given the order to begin. Eichmann, therefore, returned to Berlin to refer the substance of our discussion to Himmler. A few days later, by means of a courier, I sent Himmler a detailed plan on the situation, as well as an accurate description of the installations to be used. Regarding this matter, I have never received an answer or a decision from him. Later, Eichmann told me once that he [Himmler] agreed to everything. At the end of November, a meeting of the entire Jewish affairs section was held in Eichmann's office in Berlin, at which I had been invited to participate. There Eichmann's representatives from individual countries discussed the current status of the various operations and the difficulties being encountered, such as housing for the prisoners, the allocation of transports and trains, the determination of dates, etc. When we were to begin operations was not communicated to me, nor had Eichmann yet found the appropriate gas.

"In the fall of 1941, through a secret order issued to all prisoner of war camps, the Gestapo separated all the Russian *politruks*, the commissars and certain other political functionaries, and sent them to the nearest concentration camp to be liquidated. Small transports of these people continually arrived at Auschwitz, then were shot in the gravel quarry near the Monopol building, or in the courtyard of Block 11.

"Due to an official absence of mine, my deputy Hauptsturmführer Fritzsch, on his own initiative, used the gas in order to kill these prisoners of war; he filled the underground cells full of Russians, and, protected with gas masks, ordered the Cyclon B gas to enter the cells, which caused the immediate death of the victims. The Cyclon B gas was currently being used in Auschwitz by the firm Tesch & Stabenow for disinfection, and therefore the administration kept enough on hand. At the beginning, this poisonous gas, a prussic acid compound, was used only by Tesch & Stabenow technicians, and with strict precautions, but later, certain personnel attached to the sanitary services were instructed in its use by the same firm, so it was they who used the gas for disinfection purposes.

"On the next visit of Eichmann, I mentioned to him the use of Cyclon B and we decided that it would be the gas that we would use in the imminent mass slaughter.

"The killing of the Russian prisoners of war with Cyclon B, which I have already mentioned, continued, but no longer in Block 11 because, after the gassing, the entire building required aeration for at least two full days. The mortuary chamber of the crematorium next to the hospital was used as a gas chamber soon as the doors were made gas-tight, and a number of openings were made on the roof to allow the gas in."[11]

C. The witness Zenon Rozanski

In a book published in 1948, the former prisoner of Auschwitz, Zenon Rozanski, described the first gassing in detail, as follows:

"On a September day, after we had finished work, they didn't bring us back to our Block 11; instead they brought us to the unfinished pavement of Block 5. To excuse the incomprehensible change, the Blockälteste explained it in terms of the other Block being disinfested. Since the fifth Block was in the area where the common camp was located, this change was received with general enthusiasm. Here we were safe from the appearances of the Kapos during roll-call, and besides, the lack of dividing walls allowed our comrades of the common camp to give us a little food. After a very uneventful roll-call, the Kapos, the Stubenältesten and the squad leaders formed a cordon that separated our Block from the rest of the camp; nonetheless many comrades received conspicuous amounts of 'left-over food.'

"The day after, we received the news that an entire transport of Russian prisoners of war had been brought to Block 11. This event was interpreted in various ways. Some said that the 'Punishment Company' would be disbanded, others knew from 'knowledgeable sources' that the Russians would be assigned to our Block, and still others put on a mysterious expression which conveyed the impression that they knew much but couldn't say anything. However, one thing was sure: that day too, we would not return to the '11.'

"The morning of the third day, Wacek, the Stubendienst, before leaving for work, with an expression of somebody who was putting on airs, ordered those prisoners who were well-built and still appeared healthy, to fall out of the ranks. I, too, found myself among the twenty that had been selected. The

company went to work, but we remained in the Block. None of us knew what it was all about. After about half an hour, Wacek caught up with us.

"'You'd better watch out. You have been left in the camp and will receive another "blow" [that is, another surprise—C.M.] at dinner. But you will immediately go to do a "special job." This will give you the chance to arrange something, but you have to keep your mouth shut. Understand?'

"No one, without doubt, had understood him; however, we all answered in unison: 'Yes, certainly!'

"We waited in line for another fifteen minutes, until Gerlach came up. This one inspected us very carefully, nodded his head and addressed himself to us as obscurely as Wacek: 'In a few minutes you will be attending to a confidential assignment. If any of you utter even one word of what you see,'—at this point Gerlach made a very expressive movement with his hand around the neck—'Kaputt! . . . only a little pile of ashes at the crematorium! You will receive more food than you need . . . Understand?'

"We continued not to understand. Only one thing seemed clear: the assignment given us could cost our lives. This was understood by everyone. However, the promise that we would receive additional food kept reassuring us. That was important.

"After some minutes we crossed, in double file, the door to main Block 11. In the courtyard there were Deputy Camp Commander Fritzsch; SS-Obersturmführer Mayer; Camp Rapportführer; SS-Hauptscharführer Palitzsch; the Lagerarzt, SS-Obersturmführer Entress[12]; SS-Oberscharführer Clair; SS-Unterscharführer Stark; the Kriminalassistent of the local political section, Woznica; and our two Blockführer Gerlach and Edelhardt.

"Wacek gave the prescribed order: 'Off with your hats!' and reported to Mayer: 'Twenty prisoners assembled for work detail!' He exchanged some words with the Rapportführer, and then said something to Wacek. The Stubenälteste yelled: 'Yes, sir,' and turned to address us: 'Each of you will receive a gas mask. Make sure to wear it properly and don't make it necessary for others to be called to pull you out. Understand?'—'Yes, sir.'

"Near the wall there was a large crate with gas masks. These were distributed very quickly. After three minutes, we were ready with gas masks on. The SS-Oberscharführer Clair again made sure that everyone was wearing his gas mask properly.

Everything took place so quickly that we didn't even have time to think. We only kept looking at each other, dumbfounded, totally ignorant of what was happening. Our men in uniform were also wearing gas masks. Wacek and Bunkerkapo Pennewitz were running very nervously back and forth several times to the Block, where they were talking with Palitzsch, who kept shaking his head irritatedly; the two would come back running and in this way they kept going back and forth.

"Finally, all of the SS drew their pistols out. The barrel of an automatic pistol glinted in Palitzsch's hands. 'They want to shoot us,' was our first thought.

"We felt a knot in the throat, and our eyelids began burning. The air inside the gas mask began getting heavy, allowing you to breath only with much effort. Instinctively we all pushed toward each other. One began taking the mask off. For this, he is pistol whipped and falls on the ground. Time moves terribly slowly.

"They are not shooting us! Not yet . . . maybe they won't shoot us at all? This thought reassures me; I look around. The SS are still holding their pistols ready to shoot, but they are not shooting. Palitzsch gives a hand sign to Wacek. 'Let's go! Let's do it!' The Stubenälteste comes up to us on the run.

"'Have no fear, follow me!' He is going toward the Block. I find myself almost at the very rear of our group. The barrel of a 'firing instrument' belonging to the man behind me touches my back. I quickly step forward and walk just behind Wacek. He goes down to the stairs. For one moment we stop . . . everyone . . . Bunker! But the SS don't allow us time to think. At the rear of the group someone is already down on the ground.

'Hurry! Hurry!'

"Wacek stays in front of the door to the Bunker. He has an ax in his right hand: he grabs it with his left hand and with his right pulls a key from his pocket. He seems to be having difficulty finding the keyhole, because he is taking so long. From the rear of the group Palitzsch yells: 'Faster!' Finally he does it. The key is inserted.

"Wacek grabs the door handle. Instinctively I hold my breath. I wet my lips, which in the meantime have become totally dry. What will happen now? Wacek goes back. He again moves the ax to his right hand. What does all this mean? What is the purpose of the ax here? Why is he fearful? For the second time he grabs the door handle now with his left hand.

He brings his right hand up while he is holding the ax as if he is about to give a stunning blow. I am cold and suddenly I am overtaken by fear. But this fear is something different than the one before. Now it's not fear for myself, no, now it is an uncontrollable fear of being in front of the door. My heart beats faster and faster, under the elastic band of the gas mask I feel each heart beat distinctly. Wacek pushes on the door handle, goes back a couple of feet and forcefully opens the door. The door is open and this very moment I feel my hair standing straight up. About three feet away from me there are men on top of each other, I don't know how, in a terrible state, with eyes sticking out of their sockets, scratched, stained with blood, motionless . . . Those leaning toward the door, bent in a singularly stiff manner, fall toward us and pile up very heavily, their faces on the cement floor, right in front of our feet. Bodies . . . bodies that stand up, completely stiff. They fill the entire hallway of the Bunker. They are stacked in such a manner that they cannot fall. For a moment I don't feel well. But Wacek's voice brings me back. 'Done!' he yells through the gas mask to Palitzsch, and lets the ax fall on the floor. 'Very well! Let's take them out!'"

"Now I can think clearly once more, and understand everything. The bodies are wearing Red Army uniforms. Must be that load of prisoners that had been spoken about yesterday at work. They have all been pushed inside the Bunker and gassed. It is because of this that we have had to use gas masks. The mystery is now clear! Wacek grabs the first body under his arms and passes it to us.

"'So! This is it!,' it dawns on me now, 'Our work is then the removal of those who have been gassed from the Bunker.'

"'Fall in line!,' yells Wacek again, 'Form a chain!' The 'chain' was normally a method by which one could quickly pass bricks being unloaded from a freight car from person to person. But while I had loaded bricks, it had never dawned on me that I could load bodies in the same fashion.

"We worked until late night. After emptying the Bunker, we were ordered to completely undress the bodies and place their clothing in designated piles. The next day the clothing ended up stored in the clothing storeroom and there the quantity of clothing increased significantly. We counted 1,473 Russian uniforms and more than 190 camp uniforms. These had belonged to the patients of the Camp Hospital that had been selected by Dr. Entress as being 'unable to work' and on that 'occasion' were gassed together with the Russian prisoners . . .

"After completing the 'work,' the twenty of us were brought a huge cauldron containing 50 liters of soup, and at the same time each of us received half a loaf of bread. The cauldron was returned to the Block almost full.
"At Auschwitz this was the first time that gas was used to liquidate prisoners."[13]

D. The witness Wojciech Barcz

The testimony that follows was given by Wojciech Barcz, internee at Auschwitz from June 16, 1940 (I.D. number 754), during a West German radio transmission on Auschwitz presumably broadcast during 1963:

> The first gassing took place during the fall of 1941, a few months after hostilities [began] against the Soviet Union.
>
> One day we hospital attendants from the infirmary received orders to transport the very sick to the cells of the Bunker of Block 11. They were locked up in these cells. Around 10 p.m. we heard a large group being pushed by the SS toward the Bunker. We heard yelling in Russian, orders from the SS, and heavy blows.
>
> Three days later, we hospital attendants received, in the middle of the night, the order to go to Block 11. There, we evacuated the bodies from the cells of the Bunker. Thus, we were able to see that, in these cells a large number of Russian war prisoners, along with the very sick whom we had transported, had been simply gassed. The spectacle offered to us when we opened the doors of the cells was similar to that experienced when one opens an overstuffed suitcase. The bodies fell all over us. I estimate that in a small cell there were at least 60 bodies, so crowded that, even though dead, they couldn't fall and kept standing up. One could see that they had tried to reach the exhaust vent, through which, after all, the toxic gas had been poured. One could see all the signs of a horrendous agony.
>
> We hospital attendants had to place the bodies on trucks, by which they were removed outside the camp, and then buried. Those of us involved in this work were absolutely convinced that we would be massacred right next to the ditches or would be killed later as witnesses to the secret, as was normally the case at Auschwitz. Instead, nothing happened.
>
> Later on I learned that among the SS there were continuous surprises and incongruities.[14]

E. The Report of the Polish Investigation Commission

In a publication issued in 1946, the Central Commission for Investigation of German Crimes in Poland presented the

following account of the first gassing:

> All of these methods used in killing were not enough to absorb all superfluous prisoners, and, above all, they could not resolve the problem of freeing themselves of hundreds of thousands of Jews.
>
> This method was tried out in the summer of 1941 in the coal-cellars of Block XI on about 250 patients from the hospital blocks and about 600 prisoners of war. After the victims had been put there, the windows of the cellars were covered with earth, and afterwards an SS man in a gas-mask poured the contents of a can of cyclon on the floor and locked the door. Next afternoon Palitzsch, wearing a gas-mask, opened the door and found that some of the prisoners were still alive. More cyclon was accordingly poured out, and the doors locked again, to be reopened next evening, when all the prisoners were dead.[15]

* * * *

We now proceed to the critical analysis of all the sources so far mentioned, examining all that they claim concerning the date, the place, the time required, the number of victims, the evacuation of the bodies, and the technical procedures followed during the first gassing.

II. Critical Analysis of the Sources

1. The date of the first gassing.

According to the *Kalendarium* of Auschwitz, the first gassing was carried out on September 3, 1941. This date is not only unsupported by a single document, it is categorically contradictory to all the available sources—which are additionally in total contradiction to each other—and in particular to the testimony of Rudolf Höss, considered fundamental by the Auschwitz Museum and by the entire Exterminationist historiography.

An annotation of July 2, 1942 traces back the first gassing as having occurred in June 1941:

> The first (*pierwsze*) utilization of gas chambers took place in June 1941 (w VI. 1941 r.). A transport of 1,700 "incurably sick" was formed and sent (ostensibly) to the sanatorium of Dresda, but in reality to a building transformed into a gas chamber (*do budynku przebudowanego na komore gazowa*)."[16]

Witness Michal Kula declared that the first gassing took place on August 15.[17] According to an article in the *Polish Fortnightly Review*, it took place "during the night of

September 5th to 6th"; according to witness Vacek, "beginning of September" (*Anfang September*); and witness Rozanski testifies that it was "on a day in September (*an einem Septembertage*)."

The historian Filip Friedman inclines to September 15: "The first victims were gassed on September 15, 1941 in Block II [*sic*], in a former munition store building. A number of Russian prisoners, 600 to 700, and several hundred Polish prisoners were used for this first experiment."[18]

According to the annotation of October 24, 1941, the first gassing occurred "on the beginning of October" (*w poczatkach pazdziernika*).

The Polish Investigation Commission generically suggests the summer, while the witness Barcz inclines toward autumn (*im Herbst*) 1941.

Lastly, the testimony of Rudolf Höss implies that the first gassing did not take place before the end of November of 1941. In effect, "at the end of November," when the conference was held in Eichmann's office in Berlin, he had not yet been successful in finding "suitable gas." Only after this conference did the Lagerführer Fritzsch, on his own initiative, carry out the first gassing. It wasn't until Eichmann's later visit to Auschwitz that Höss reported to him on the experiment, and the two decided to use the Zyklon B for the projected mass slaughter.

Therefore, the date of the first gassing is absolutely indeterminate and fluctuates over a span of six months between July and December of 1941.

2. The Location of the Gassing

The *Kalendarium* entry for July 1942 declares that the first gassing occurred "in a building (*do budynku*) transformed (*przebudowanego*) into a gas chamber," therefore not in the basement of Block 11, which had not undergone any architectural modification (this is the significance of the verb "*przebudowywać*") into a gas chamber, and which, besides, according to the Auschwitz Museum, was used as such one single time.[19]

The article in the *Polish Fortnightly Review* mentions the "underground shelter" of Auschwitz, while the Polish Investigation Commission speaks of the "coal cellars" of Block 11.

The witnesses Rozanski and Barcz both locate the first gassing in the Bunker of Block 11, but for the one, the victims

were gassed in the corridors, for the other, in the cells.

Therefore, the sources examined are in reciprocal contradiction concerning the location of the first gassing; moreover, those sources which agree on the basement of Block 11, are also in reciprocal contradiction as to exactly which part of it.

3. The Duration of the Gassing

Rudolf Höss declared that, on the occasion of the first gassing accomplished by his deputy Fritzsch, the Zyklon B "provoked the immediate death" (*den sofortigen Tod*) of the victims.[20]

The article in the *Polish Fortnightly Review* reports instead that "all the prisoners died during the night. All night the rest of the camp was kept awake by the moans and screams originating from the shelter."

Finally, the Polish Investigation Commission asserts that "next afternoon" some prisoners were still alive, "therefore further cyclon was poured out and the doors again tightly closed, to be reopened the next evening, when all the prisoners were dead."

Therefore, all the victims died immediately, or during the night, or two days later.

4. The Victims of the Gassing

The *Kalendarium* entry of October 24, 1941 asserts that the victims of the first gassing were "850 Russian officers and non-commissioned officers." Rudolf Höss, too, mentions exclusively Russian prisoners of war, stating that Fritzsch "had the cells located in the cellar [of Block 11] filled with Russians." The article in the *Polish Fortnightly Review* speaks of 700 Russian prisoners of war and 300 Poles.

Some sources agree about the fact that the victims were a mixture of Russian prisoners of war and sick inmates, but are in reciprocal contradiction as to their numbers and totals which are: for witness Vacek, approximately 500 Russian prisoners of war and 196 sick inmates, totaling 696 victims; for witness Rozanski, 1,473 Russian prisoners of war and 190 sick inmates, totaling 1,663 victims; for the Polish Investigation Commission, 600 Russian prisoners of war and 250 sick inmates, totaling 850 victims.

Finally, the *Kalendarium* entry for July 2, 1942 maintains that the victims were drawn exclusively from sick inmates, and precisely "1,700 'incurably sick.'"

Therefore, the sources examined are in contradiction as to the total numbers of victims (from 696 to 1,700) and regarding their categories (only Russian prisoners of war, only sick inmates, Russian prisoners of war and sick inmates together).

5. The Selection of the Sick Inmates for Gassing

The sources which include the sick inmates among the victims are in contradiction also as to the SS doctor who ordered their selection from the hospital blocks for gassing. This doctor is Doctor Schwela, according to Danuta Czech; Doctor Jungen, according to witness Vacek; and Doctor Entress, according to witness Rozanski.

6. The Evacuation of the Gassed Cadavers

A. The performers of the evacuation

Witness Vacek swears to have carried out the removal of the gassed cadavers "together with 30 male hospital attendants" (*mit 30 Krankenpflegern*); witness Rozanski declares instead to have evacuated the cadavers with a group of "20 people" (*zwanzig Mann*) of the penal company.

B. The Beginning of the Removal

The removal of the cadavers of the gassed started " the next day" according to the article in the *Polish Fortnightly Review*; "the next night (*nächste Nacht*) according to witness Vacek; "on the morning of the third day" (*am Morgen des dritten Tages*), which is at most two days after the gassing, according to witness Rozanski; and finally "three days later . . . in the middle of the night" (*drei Tage später . . . mitten in der Nacht*) from witness Barcz.

C. The Duration of the Removal

Removing the cadavers of the gassed took "all day" according to the *Polish Fortnightly Review* article; "three nights" (*drei Nächte lang*) according to witness Vacek, and "until late in the night" (*bis spät in der Nacht*) according to witness Rozanski.

D. The Fate of the Cadavers After Removal

While witness Vacek declared that the cadavers of the gassed were brought "to the crematory" (*ins Krematorium*) to be burned, witness Barcz asserts that they were brought "out of the camp" (*aus dem Lager*), where they were "buried" (*vergraben*).

In conclusion, the examined sources are in reciprocal contradiction as to the numbers and the category of the performers of the corpse removal (20 persons, 30 persons; hospital attendants, inmates of punishmemt company); as to the start of the removal (the day after, two days after, three days after the gassing); as to the duration of the removal (an entire day, three nights); as to the fate of the cadavers (burned in the crematory, buried outside the camp).

Even more serious, these sources are based essentially on the eyewitness testimonies of three former inmates who pretend to describe the same incident, in which each claims to have participated personally!

7. The Gassing Procedure

There exist neither eye-witness testimony nor documents on the actual gassing process. The description furnished by the Polish Investigation Commission is therefore false, for this reason alone. The Commission's description is also contradicted on a point by witness Barcz, who affirms that the Zyklon B was thrown into the cells of the Bunker, not from the door, but from the small windows. Finally, the description is technically absurd.

In this context, we limit ourselves to pointing out that the survival of some victims after a whole day of gassing, as asserted by the Polish Commission, is an impossibility. In fact, a concentration of 0.3 mg of cyanide to a liter of air—which is 0.3 grams per cubic meter—is fatal in a few minutes for a human being.[21] Regarding this concentration, the lethal dose would be 8 mg, according to Haber's formula.[22] This means that for a hypothetical gassing of 60 people—the number indicated by Wojciech Barcz—in one of the cells of the Bunker of Block 11 of Auschwitz, considering that the volume of air actually available was approximately 11 cubic meters, a little more than three grams of cyanide would have been sufficient to kill all the victims in a few minutes. In several minutes the heat from the bodies of the victims themselves would have enabled the liquid cyanide found in Zyklon B to vaporize to a gaseous state.

It is clear, however, that during a hypothetical experimental gassing, necessarily performed in an awkward manner, it would have been practically impossible to administer such a meager dosage of hydrocyanic acid. It is also clear that a larger amount, which would have been easier to handle, would have had lethal results even sooner.

The gas concentration normally used for disinfesting a room is 10 grams per cubic meter. This is the only actual benchmark available to the hypothetical perpetrators of the gassing.[23] It turns out that this concentration, corresponding to a total dosage of about 110 grams in a cell of the Bunker, would mean virtually instant death for a human being.

Therefore, the Polish Investigation Commission report is technically absurd. This is also admitted by the Auschwitz Museum itself, which maintains that victims' deaths occurred only 15 to 20 minutes after the emission of the Zyklon B in the gas chambers—underground, like the cells of the Bunker—of the crematoriums II and III of Birkenau.[24]

In summation, the story of the first gassing is neither supported by documents nor by direct testimony; the sources are indirect, contradictory and absurd. The only eyewitness testimonies available refer exclusively to the evacuation of the corpses, and are in contradiction as well.

In conclusion, the story of the first gassing at Auschwitz is historically groundless. This is further corroborated by the sworn testimony of a primary eyewitness, of importance both because of the position he held at Auschwitz in the second half of 1941, and because of the authority he currently possesses as director of the Auschwitz Museum: Kazimierz Smoleń.

Smoleń was deported to Auschwitz on July 6, 1940 (*am 6.Juli 1940*) and in July 1941 was employed as "recorder" (*Schreiber*) at the "Political Section" (*Politische Abteilung*) which is near the Gestapo office of the camp. In this position he was one of the better informed prisoners as to what was happening at Auschwitz. This is what he affirmed in sworn testimony which he gave in Cracow on 15 December 1947, regarding the fate of the Russian prisoners of war:

> At the beginning of October 1941 (*anfangs Oktober 1941*) the first (*die ersten*) transports of Russians arrived at Auschwitz. Because I was already at that time employed at the Political Section as a recorder, I had to handle, together with my companions, the admission of the new arrivals. In the course of a week there arrived 10,000 Russian prisoners of war from "Stalag" VIII/B/Lamsdorf, and a number which I don't remember anymore from another "Stalag," Neuhammer near Quais.
>
> The prisoners of war arrived in camp in terrible physical condition, were half dead with hunger, full of lice, and had to undress naked outside of the camp. Although it was already

very cold, the prisoners had to take a cold disinfecting bath and were then conducted into the camp wet and naked.

In the camp of Auschwitz there were 9 Blocks separated from the rest of the camp by an electrified fence and at the entrance door was posted the sign "Labor Camp for Prisoners of War." The camp for Russian prisoners of war consisted of the following Blocks : Block 1, Block 2, Block 3, Block 12, Block 13, Block 14, Block 22, Block 23, Block 24. The Blocks 3, 23, 24 had the first floor. These were designated 3a, 23.

SS-Oberscharführer Hans Stark directed the admission of prisoners of war, and I, as a recorder of prisoners, participated in that task with several inmates.

After having minutely described the procedures of incorporation, Smoleń continues:

The admission of the 10,000 prisoners of war went on for about three weeks. In the meanwhile, about 1,500 had died, and we forwarded their green cards to Berlin together with their identification badges.

In November 1941 (*im November 1941*) a special committee of the Gestapo came. They were from the main office of the State Police of Kattowitz and were led by Doctor Mildner. This committee was composed of the chief of the main office of the State Police, Doctor Mildner, and of three men of the Secret Services who knew Russian perfectly. The directorate of the camps assigned several inmates to interpret for the three men from the Secret Service. Another inmate and I were assigned to the Gestapo special committee by the Political Section. Consequently I had the opportunity to observe all the activity of the Special Committee.

So far Smoleń.

The Gestapo special committee was in charge of interrogating, one by one, all the Russian prisoners of war and of classifying them into three groups:

1) "politically intolerable," a group including the subdivision "fanatical Communist";

2) "politically not suspicious";

3) "fit for reconstruction" (*Wiederaufbau*).

Smoleń goes on:

300 prisoners of war were selected as particularly important commissars and political functionaries and received the notation "fanatical communist." These prisoners were taken immediately to the interrogation room of Block 24a, which had been converted to a Bunker. In the Bunker they were received

by Oberscharführer Stark, who removed their old prisoners' numbers, substituting new numbers for the old ones. These new numbers ranged from "Au1" to "Au300." The prisoners with "Au" numbers got their numbers tattoed on the left side of the chest and were kept completely isolated from the other prisoners of the Russian camp.

The activity of the special committee finished after one month (*nach einem Monat*), and as far as I remember, the distribution of the prisoners among the above-mentioned groups was the following:

Group Au	300 prisoners
Category A	700 prisoners
Category B	8,000 prisoners
Category C	30 prisoners

By virtue of my activity at the Political Section, I know that the 300 prisoners labeled "Au" were executed (*exekutiert wurden*) in quite small groups (*in kleineren Gruppen*).

The conditions of the Russian camp were so bad that on the average 250 prisoners died each day. About 8,000 had perished or had been executed (*exekutiert*) up to February 1942. The rest, 1,500 prisoners of war, were transferred to the camp of Auschwitz-Birkenau. Thus, an external camp rose at the camp of Auschwitz-Birkenau; this external camp was enlarged by small transports which, however, altogether did not add up to more than 2,000 prisoners. In the middle of 1942, all of the Russian prisoners of war, except 150, had died or had been executed.

At the end of his sworn statement, Kazimierz Smoleń summarizes the crimes perpetrated by the Nazis in Auschwitz against the Russian prisoners of war:

Recapitulating, I declare: the conditions of life in the camp were, for the Russian prisoners of war at Auschwitz, substantially worse than the conditions in the concentration camps. The Russian prisoners of war received less and worse food, above all less bread, and they could neither write nor use the room with wash boards [*sic*]. It is therefore understandable that in less than two months the camp was deserted. In addition to this, there is the fact that often selections were carried out in which those unable to work were executed in groups of hundreds. Both the inmates classified as "Au" and the others who were to be put to death were either killed with a shot in the neck, or gassed (*vergast*) in Block 11 (*im Block 11*)."[25]

This is the only allusion by Kazimierz Smoleń to the gassing

in Block 11, which allusion, among other things extremely vague and laconic, clearly betrays its character: rumor reported by the witness only because of an obligation to report the latest gossip.

In fact, two points in Smoleń's testimony demonstrate incontestably the historical groundlessness of the report of the first gassing set forth by Danuta Czech in the *Kalendarium* of Auschwitz.

First of all, if the gassing in question had really happened, Kazimierz Smoleń could not have been in the dark about it, because of the duty in the political section of Auschwitz with which he had been charged at the time, and in particular owing to his assignment to the special committee presided over by Mildner. Smoleń, on the contrary, could have talked about it with a wealth of details, in view of the fact that he devoted a whole page of his sworn statement to such an irrelevant subject as the formalities of matriculation of Russian prisoners of war.

This witness's ignorance appears even more incredible considering that, according to the Polish examining magistrate Jan Sehn, the first gassing was performed only in accord with the decisions of the special committee:

> In November 1941, a special committee composed of three Gestapo officiers arrived at Oswiecim [Auschwitz] from Kattowitz. This committee interrogated the prisoners and divided them into four groups in compliance with an order from the chief of the RSHA (Central Security Office of the Reich) dated July 17, 1941. They were classified according to the secret files containing information about Soviet militants in administration and the [Communist] party. This committee itself decided as to the classification. We add that the fact of being recorded in the first two groups meant a death sentence.The first group—about 300 prisoners—were all shot either in the gravel pits or in the courtyard of Block 11. The order of execution was given by the second Lagerführer at the time, SS-Obersturmführer Seidler.
>
> On the initiative of the first Lagerführer, SS-Hauptsturmführer Karl Fritzsch, the prisoners assigned to the second group (about 900) and those who were chosen from the subsequent convoys were killed with the gas Zyclon B. Fritzsch filled the underground of Block 11 with prisoners, and then, after having put on a gas mask, threw the poison inside. The Block then had to be aired for two days.[24]

The fact that Kazimierz Smoleń, even at the end of 1947

knew nothing about the gassing in the Bunker of Block 11, demonstrates, therefore, that this gassing never happened.

Questioned by this writer about this point, Kazimierz Smoleń, through a spokesman, declared:

> As regards the testimony given by the former inmate of the KL Auschwitz Kazimierz Smoleń at the Nuremberg trial, as you certainly know, he answered the concrete questions asked by the Tribunal (*odpowiadal On na konkretne, przez Sad postawione pytania*), so he could not report in detail and exhaustively all the events that he had observed.[27]

This justification is definitely unsustainable. In fact, in the above-mentioned sworn statement, Smoleń did not answer "concrete questions," as is usual during an interrogation, but freely expatiated on the theme of the fate of the Russian prisoners of war in Auschwitz in the years 1941-1942, dwelling, in particular, upon the crimes committed against them. His claim not to have described the first gassing because he had not been asked that specific question is, therefore, clearly captious, as confirmed by his fleeting mention of the prisoners "gassed in Block 11." With regard to this, either he did answer a concrete question, and thus did not know anything about the first gassing, or he did not answer a concrete question, and thus his answer is false.

In the second place, because the "first transports of Russians" arrived at Auschwitz *at the beginning of October 1941* [emphasis added], it is false that 600 Russian prisoners of war could have been gassed there on September 3.

Moreover, the first gassing was an execution of men condemned to death selected by the committee presided by Mildner, which arrived at Auschwitz "in *November* 1941" and concluded its work "*after one month.*" Consequently, the first gassing could in no way have occurred before December.

Furthermore, since the number of prisoners of war selected by this committee and, until December 1941, assigned to the "Au" group of the condemned was 300, it is therefore *a fortiori* false that 600 were gassed on September 3.

Finally, the historical absurdity of the first gassing in Block 11 is indirectly confirmed by three researchers of the Auschwitz Museum, in their long study devoted to the register of the Bunker of Block 11, which appeared in Number one of the *Hefte von Auschwitz* (1959). This register, the *Bunkerbuch*, contains the names of all of the inmates imprisoned in the Bunker between January 9,1941 and February 1, 1944. It is clear that if the first gassing had actually happened, the

register should have preserved some trace of it. Now, these three scholars limit themselves to a fleeting two-line allusion to the alleged gassing (p.10), and, while publishing fifty-one pages from the *Bunkerbuch*, on pages 46-68, they in fact refrain from reproducing the page regarding the records of the beginning of September. This fact demonstrates that that page—requested in vain from the Auschwitz Museum by this writer—either contains no trace of the first gassing, or even contains elements that contradict it, such as, for instance, records of admissions of inmates to the Bunker between September 3 and September 7, that is, between the beginning of the gassing and the end of the ventilation of the Bunker.

The historical absurdity of the first gassing has been established; the various versions of that gassing have been shown to be not merely groundless, but mutually contradictory. The way remains to be examined, in which Danuta Czech elaborated those versions in her own version, which is supposedly definitive. In other words, it is the historiographic methodology of the compiler of the *Kalendarium* that remains to be examined in order to show, among other things, what methodological criteria have been employed for the compiling, and what scientific value is to be ascribed to this essential source of the Exterminationist historiography.

The account of the first gassing presented by Danuta Czech in the *Kalendarium* of Auschwitz is the result of the extrapolation and of the indiscriminate fusion of sources which are all in total reciprocal contradiction.

Danuta Czech derived the number and category of the victims, as well as the description of the gassing, from the report of the Polish Investigation Commission; on the other hand, she deduced the account of the evacuation of the bodies from the testimony of Zenon Rozanski, adding elements derived from other sources.

Besides, in the description of the gassing, she arbitrarily modified the text of the Polish report, changing the "coal cellars" to "underground cells" (*Kellerzellen*) and "an SS-man" into "SS-men" (SS-Männer).

In the description of the evacuation of the gassed corpses, Danuta Czech substituted "the evening" (*am Abend*) for "the morning" (*am Morgen*) of Rozanski's version, extrapolating that information from the report of the Polish Investigation Commission which says "next evening." The evacuators of the corpses, who according to Rozanski were only 20 inmates of

the punishment company, became, in the report of Danuta Czech, 20 inmates of the punishment company "and hospital attendants" (Pfleger). This information was derived from the testimony of Josef Vacek, who however declared that the 30 evacuators were all hospital attendants.

Finally, Danuta Czech derived the presence of Doctor Entress at the evacuation of the bodies from the testimony of Zenon Rozanski, while in fact this officer was not yet in Auschwitz at the beginning of September.[28]

From the "Annotations" of Rudolf Höss Danuta Czech derived only the duration of the airing of the Bunker: two days. As a matter of fact, the *Kalendarium* reports that the punishment company returned to Block 11 on September the 8th after it had been cleaned and aired. In other words, the punishment company returned just after two days of airing, September 6 and 7. Thus, considering that Danuta Czech said that the gassing ended on September 5, the victims' agony consequently lasted two days, while according to Rudolf Höss they died immediately.

It is not possible to specify the sources of the report of the Polish Investigation Committee upon which is founded the description of the gassing presented by Danuta Czech. The only certain thing is that the number of the victims—850 people, of whom 600 were Russian prisoners of war and 250 sick inmates—originated from the note dated October 24, 1941, in which they are, however, only "Russian commissioned and non-commissioned officers," without sick inmates.

The Polish Investigation Committee did not know the "Annotations" of Rudolf Höss, dated November 1946. This fact is understandable because that committee made the inquiry in 1945 and published the results the following year, presumably before Höss was extradited to Poland on May 25, 1946.

Indeed, Danuta Czech, who conducted her researches in the late fifties, did not mention the "Autobiographical Notes." This also is comprehensible, because the testimony of Höss about the first gassing strikingly contradicts the report of the Polish Investigation Committee.

The source for the date of the gassing proposed by Danuta Czech—September 3, 1941—does not appear in any of the documents examined. The closest date is that in the article of the *Polish Fortnightly Review*: the night of 5-6 September.

Besides being arbitrary, the date proposed by Danuta Czech is also contradictory. The following record appears in the

Kalendarium of Auschwitz a few pages after the account of the gassing; the month is November and there is no indication of the day:

> A special committee of the Gestapo of Kattowitz arrived at Auschwitz. It was composed of three persons and presided by the chief of the Gestapo of Kattowitz, Doctor Rudolf Mildner. This committee, which was operating in compliance with Einsatzbefehl no.8 of 17 July 1941, carried out a selection of the Russian prisoners of war according to the following groups:
>
> | | |
> |---|---|
> | 1. Fanatic Communist | about 300 |
> | 2. Group A: Politically intolerable | 700 |
> | 3. Group B: Politically not suspicious | about 8,000 |
> | 4. Group C: Fit for reconstruction | about 30 |
>
> The inmates belonging to the groups "Fanatic Communist" or "A" were doomed to extermination. The activity of this committee went on for at least one month."[29]

The registration just mentioned is entirely derived from the sworn statement of Kazimierz Smoleń previously cited. It will be remembered that in that statement Smoleń maintained that "the first transports" of Russian prisoners of war arrived at Auschwitz "at the beginning of October," and that Mildner's committee arrived "in November" 1941 and concluded its work "after one month," thus in December. The victims of the first gassing can therefore be no one other than the Russian prisoners of war condemned to death by the above-mentioned committee—to be exact, according to Jan Sehn, those assigned to Group "B." Consequently, that gassing could not be happening on September 3.

Here is one more example, therefore, of indiscriminate fusion of contradictory sources and previous elimination of the contradictions in order to create among such sources an agreement completely fictitious.

One last observation. In order to be able to affirm that the first gassing took place on September 3, Danuta Czech arbitrarily anticipated the arrival at Auschwitz of the first Russian prisoners of war. In fact, the first registration of the *Kalendarium* that concerns them dates back to July and mentions the arrival of "a few hundred Soviet prisoners," who subsequently were all murdered with small-caliber guns, with shovels, and with picks.[30] Danuta Czech did not indicate either the day of arrival, or the source of the information.

The second registration is dated September 3, and is relative to the 600 Russian prisoners gassed. Danuta Czech did not

indicate the source of the information in this case either. Seven registrations follow between October 7 and November 15.[31] The one of November 15 is the last transport in 1941. The total of the Russian prisoners of war transferred to Auschwitz in that period is 9,983 people. This figure is practically identical to that indicated by Kazimierz Smoleń. Also the date of the first transport coincides with that indicated by this witness, i.e. the beginning of October. Therefore, Russian prisoners of war did not arrive at Auschwitz before that date.

This is also confirmed by the fact that Danuta Czech reported the source regarding the transports made since October 7. That source is the file (*Kartochek*) of the Russian prisoners of war which, as a matter of fact, was initiated on October 7. However, the compiler of the *Kalendarium* was not able to indicate any source for the two previous transports, and this fact is very meaningful. Besides, considering that the first page of the "book of deaths" (*Totenbuch*), that is the death register of the Russian prisoners of war, recorded the first deaths under the date October 7, it is necessary to conclude, until one has proof to the contrary, that the first two transports recorded by Danuta Czech before October 7 are invented.

This is a meaningful example of the historiographic methodology with which the *Kalendarium* of Auschwitz has been compiled.

By now, nothing remains but to draw the conclusions.

The story of the first gassing in the cells of the Bunker of Block 11 of Auschwitz is historically groundless. It is supported neither by documents nor by eyewitness testimonies. The few eyewitness testimonies available all refer exclusively to the evacuation of the corpses from the Bunker and are all in reciprocal contradiction concerning all the essential points.

The first gassing is therefore not history, but myth. This myth was shaped by the Polish war propaganda in October 1941.

The first version of the myth, which predominated until the middle of 1942, did not yet include the first gassing in the extermination process which would bring about the creation of the gas chambers of Birkenau. Instead, according to the first version, the first gassing is still a simple scientific experiment to verify the effectiveness of a gas for future wartime use.

The essential elements of this first version are contradictory. The note of 24 October 1941 speaks of 850 Russian prisoners of war gassed in Auschwitz, without specifying where, "at the

beginning of October." The article of the *Polish Fortnightly Review* corrected the number of the victims and the date of the execution: approximately 1,000 persons, "among whom 700 Bolshevik prisoners of war and 300 Poles" gassed "the night of 5-6 September." The location is still unspecified: the "underground shelter" of Auschwitz.

The note of 2 July 1942 situated the history of the first gassing within a general extermination process by means of gas chambers, which involved the Jews deported to the camp. The first gassing was presented as a starting point of this process, but was described in an even more contradictory fashion: the date was moved back to June, the number of the victims was increased to 1,700; all sick inmates; without Russian prisoners of war; and finally the place of the execution became, anachronistically, an actual gas chamber. In this way, after having given life to the legend of the gas chamber, the myth disappeared.

The anonymous "Polish Major" is the author of one of the reports on Auschwitz published in November 1944 by the War Refugee Board. In his detailed report about the facts of 1941, while devoting a special paragraph to the Bunker of Block 11, he completely ignored the matter of the first gassing.[32] It was moreover ignored both by the witness Stanislaw Jankowski in his deposition of 13 April 1945,[33] and by the Soviet Commission of Investigation in its report of May 7.[34] As late as the end of 1947, one of the more informed witnesses, Kazimierz Smolen, did not say anything about it.

The myth reappeared suddenly on the 8th of May in the testimony of Josef Vacek. The myth was still in full literary evolution, but finally acquired a conclusive element: the location of the execution, which became Block 11. Now nothing remained but to determine the other elements, starting with the location of the gassing. At first the version prevailed that the gassing was performed in a single room, which Josef Vacek anachronistically called *the* gas chamber of Block 11. Some months later, on July 13, Perry Broad introduced another definitive element: the cells of the Bunker. To be exact, he spoke of a single cell, in which forty Russians were gassed on an unspecified day; he did not even indicate the year. From his comment, it appears that he incontestably was talking about the first gassing: "It was the complete success of the first test for the most hateful crime planned by Hitler and his confidants, and partly carried out in a terrifying and irrevocable fashion. From that moment, the atrocious

tragedy began, which victimized millions of human beings who until then had lived happily and innocently."[35] In 1959, Hans Stark, direct superior of Smoleń in Auschwitz, inspired by that version, declared he had heard from the SS of Auschwitz that the first gassing of prisoners had been experimented with for the first time "in the fall of 1941 in a cell (*in einer Zelle*) of Block 11."[36].

The report of the Polish Investigation Commission which carried out its inquiry in 1945, is the first attempt at historiographical systematization of the myth, which was raised by that committee to the rank of historical antecedent and necessary presupposition of the extermination process by means of gas chambers. That Commission inserted two other definitive elements: the number of the victims—850—evidently inferred from the note of 24 October; and the description of the gassing, evidently invented because it is both technically absurd and not founded on any eyewitness testimony. The date instead remained still indeterminate: the summer of 1941.

In 1946, Rudolf Höss completely ignored the first gassing for as long as he was in the hands of the English. Only after his extradition to Poland did he speak about it, in the so-called "Annotations" of Cracow of November 1946 and February 1947. The version that appears in them is in total contradiction to the version proposed by the Polish Investigation Commssion; however, the myth acquired one more of the missing elements: the cells of the Bunker.

In 1948, Zenon Rozanski furnished the final version of the myth with the description of the evacuation of the corpses, but this description is in total contradiction to the declaration of Vacek and Barcz.

In 1959, Jan Sehn, basing himself on the "Autobiographical Notes" of Rudolf Höss and on the sworn statement of Kazimierz Smoleń, related the first gassing to the activity of the special commission presided over by Rudolf Mildner and, as a result, moved the first gassing to December 1941.

In the same year, the conclusive version of the myth appeared in the *Kalendarium* of Auschwitz; by cleverly manipulating the sources, Danuta Czech extrapolated from and indiscriminately blended testimonies in total reciprocal contradiction. Besides, Czech arbitrarily added the date September 3, careless of the contrary testimony of Kazimierz Smoleń, which was otherwise utilized with abandon.

By then the myth had been concocted and was ready to be served to the Exterminationist historians, who are easily satisfied and favorably disposed to swallow, in an uncritical way, all that is offered them in the *Kalendarium* of Auschwitz, which is celebrated as the quintessence of factuality on that concentration camp!

Notes

1. According to another publication of the Auschwitz Museum, Hauptsturmführer Friedrich Karl Hermann Entress filled the position of camp physician (Lagerarzt) at Gross-Rosen from January 3 to December 10, 1941. On December 11 he was transferred to Auschwitz with the same office, which he held until October 20, 1943. Therefore, on September 5, 1941 he was not yet at Auschwitz. *Auschwitz vu par les SS.* Edition du Musée d'Etat à Oswiecim, 1974, p. 318.
2. *Hefte von Auschwitz.* Wydawnictwo Panstwowego Muzeum w Oswiecimiu, 2, 1959, p. 109.
3. *Zeszyty oswiecimskie.* Numer specjalny (1). Wydawnictwo Panstwowego Muzeum w Oswiecimiu, 1968, p.11.
4. Foreign Office papers, FO 371/30837 5365, "Conditions in Czechoslovakia," pp. 157-158.
5. *Polish Fortnightly Review*, London, n. 47, July 1, 1942, p. 2.
6. According to Danuta Czech, the order to select the sick inmates was not given by Doctor Jungen, but by the SS-Hauptsturmführer Doctor Siegfried Schwela: "Schwela had probably been appointed Standortarzt after August 1941 because it is by exercising that office that I gave the order, on September 3, 1941, of selecting from the Blockhospitals n. 21 and 28 all the very sick inmates and of transferring them to the Bunkers of Block 11" (*Contribution à l'histoire du KL Auschwitz*, Edition du Musée d'Etat à Oswiecim, 1978, note 10, p. 9).
7. The gas chamber of Block 11 never existed. The underground of this building was provided with 28 larger cells and 4 smaller ones, none of which has been declared by the Auschwitz Museum to be the gas chamber of the Block.
8. *Der Mord an den Juden im Zweiten Weltkrieg. Entschlussbildung und Verwirklichung.* Edited by Eberhard Jäckel und Jürgen Rohwer. Stuttgart, 1985, p. 167.
9. NO-1210/D-749a, p. 2 of the English translation.
10. *Comandante ad Auschwitz. Memoriale autobiografico di Rudolf Höss.* Einaudi, Torino, 1985, pp. 128-129.
11. *Idem*, pp. 171-174. Regarding the testimony of Rudolf Höss, see: Robert Faurisson, "Comment les Britanniques ont obtenu les aveux de Rudolf Höss, commandant d'Auschwitz," in: *Annales d'Histoire Révisionniste*, no. 1, Spring 1987, pp. 137-152; Carlo Mattogno, *Auschwitz: le "confessioni" di Höss*, Edizioni La Sfinge, Parma 1987.

12. See note 1.
13. Zenon Rozanski, *Mützen ab . . . Eine Reportage aus der Strafkompanie des KZ. Auschwitz.* Verlag "Das andere Deutschland," Hannover 1948, pp. 40-44.
14. Wojciech Barcz, "Die erste Vergasung," in: *Auschwitz: Zeugnisse und Berichte*, H.G.Adler, Hermann Langbein, Ella Lingens-Reiner (Hrsg.). Europäische Verlagsanstalt, Köln-Frankfurt am Main, 1979, pp. 17-18.
15. Central Commission for Investigation of German Crimes in Poland. *German Crimes in Poland*, Warsaw, 1946, vol. 1, p. 83.
16. *Zeszyty oswiecimskie*, op.cit., p. 47.
17. *Nationalsozialistische Massentötungen durch Giftgas. Eine Dokumentation.* Edited by Eugen Kogon, Hermann Langbein, Adalbert Rückerl *et al.* S. Fischer Verlag, Frankfurt am Main, 1983, p. 205.
18. Filip Friedman, *This Was Oswiecim: The Story of a Murder Camp*, London, 1946, p. 18
19. *Auschwitz vu par les SS, op.cit.*, note 113 on p. 96.
20. *Kommandant in Auschwitz. Autobiographische Aufzeichnungen des Rudolf Höss.* Edited by Martin Broszat. DTV, München 1981, p. 159.
21. S. Fumasoni–M. Rafanelli, *Lavorazioni che espongono all'azione di acido cianidrico e composti del cianogeno*, Edizioni I.N.A.I.L., p. 8.
22. *Dizionario di chimica GIUA.* Utet, 1947, pp. 312-313.
23. NI-9098, p. 31.
24. *Auschwitz: Guide of the Museum.* Krajowa Agencja Wydawnicza, Katowice, 1979, p. 29.
25. NO-5849.
26. *Hefte von Auschwitz*, 2, p. 109.
27. Letter from the Auschwitz Museum to this author, May 4, 1988.
28. See note 1.
29. *Hefte von Auschwitz*, 2, p. 113.
30. *Hefte von Auschwitz*, 2, p. 106.
31. *Hefte von Auschwitz*, 2, pp. 111-114.
32. Executive Office of the President. War Refugee Board. Washington, D.C. *German Extermination Camps–Auschwitz and Birkenau.* Part 2, pp. 14-19.
33. Declaration of Stanislaw Jankowski, in: *Hefte von Auschwitz*, Sonderheft 1, 1972.
34. URSS-8.
35. *Auschwitz vu par les SS, op. cit.*, pp. 181-182.
36. Interrogation of April 23, 1959. Zentrale Stelle Ludwigsburg, AR-ZZ 37/58 SB 6, p. 948.

Book Reviews

ISRAEL'S SACRED TERRORISM, by Livia Rokach. Belmont, Mass: AAUG Press, 1986, third ed. Paperback, 63 pages, $6, ISBN 0-937694-70-3. BLAMING THE VICTIMS, Edward Said and Christopher Hitchins, eds. London: Verso/New Left Books, 1988. Paperback, 296 pages, $15, ISBN 0-86091-887-4.

Reviewed by William Grimstad

"Terrorism . . . terror*ists*." Most people who read the ugly words in the newspapers probably take them for granted, not noticing their oddly increasing frequency. After all, what else could you call people who would, say, plant a bomb on a large airliner and kill hundreds? The only thing remaining is to skim the article and see what kind they were this time: PLO, PLO faction, Iranian? Or, maybe, IRA? Anything but the real originators, it seems.

Even those cynical of mass media foibles, who might ridicule the spread of a veritable terrorist *chic* among the newsies, probably will not smell a rat and suddenly realize that we now have yet another word in a very special and potent vocabulary. *Terrorism* has joined such formidable swear/smear words as *Holocaust, anti-Semitism, racism.* These fearsome epithets pack a big wallop. Just as voodoo and black magic make use of verbal mumbo-jumbo in (claiming to) conjure up varied occult powers, so have these imprecations been used for generations in the control of untold millions, perhaps billions, of people. One might call them weasel-words. They are a "psy-war" expert's dream: they don't cost anything and nobody notices them at work.

When Washington recently began prodding the Jerusalem government for discussions with the Palestine Liberation Organization, the response was a loud protest that Israel "does not talk with terrorists." Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir (Yezernitsky) is less voluble, however—in fact, he has refused all comment—at recently revealed documents proving that he was directly involved in the 1948 assassination of the United Nations peacemaker, Count Bernadotte.

This certainly was one of the more heinous of the acts of murder and mayhem committed by Zionist squads during Israel's "war of independence." That many of these gang leaders and assassins have risen to the top of a government which now spends most of its time denouncing "Palestinian terrorism" must be grounds for the gravest reflection.

'Holocaust' Impact in the United States

To understand how and why the new "terrorism" weasel-word is being built up, we must observe one of the earlier but immensely successful terms. Those of us who have pondered the stupendous clout of "Holocaust" ought to study further the exact relationship between that horrific *tableau vivant* of the Forties, seen through a (television) glass darkly, and the Zionist enclave which continues to dominate the crossroads of the Mideast.

The "Six Million" legend has been a stunning tour de force of raw mass-persuasive power, ringing seemingly endless changes upon a rather modest body of lies and distortions cobbled together *ad hoc* at the finale of World War Two. It is clear that the major area of incidence is the United States: without this country, it is unlikely that the tale would have got far in the world's estimation, or would survive long in future.

Now, a striking analog exists with the Zionist entity itself. No one denies that Israel endures only because of its "special relationship" with the U.S., demanding vast flows of our capital and armaments, and endless political intercession by Washington in world forums. Beyond this, it is an insufficiently appreciated fact that the Zionist state is a highly artificial, even illusionistic phenomenon. It is based upon one part brutal subjugation of increasingly restive non-Jews at home, to three parts misdirection and deception in the outer world, particularly in this country.

Myth Cover for Zionist Onslaught

One sees, then, that Israel and the Holocaust myth are mutually indispensable, bound up together as complementary aspects of the same political thrust, rather like the familiar Oriental yang-yin symbol. Ultimately, if the Holocaust legend falls or fades too badly, Israel will effectively be delegitimized. This is exactly the dilemma facing the Zionists: years, decades, generations are slipping away and the hoax is simply growing old, now in an increasingly hectic era living more and more on the instant. Add in the relentless chipping away at the

confabulation by Historical Revisionism, and the long-range implications become clear, a lesson we can be sure has not been lost upon the proprietors.

Israel's carefully cultivated propaganda "image" is that of a heroic little American-style democracy besieged on all fronts by medieval "Arab" tyrannies. Although there never has been much patience with this idea in the Third World, and even in parts of Europe, it has continued to "play in Peoria" among the U.S. intelligentsia, from academe down through the dreariest drudges of the mass media. However, there are unmistakeable signs that even this cushy situation is finally deteriorating.

Conclusion: it's time for new weasel-words.

International Zionism's astounding ability to prop up the "brave little Israel" facade year after year depends upon continued concealment of the real, blatantly terroristic character of its initial seizure and subsequent expansion of territory, right up to the present. For not overly scrupulous historians and pundits, this remained a workable fantasy *until* the Moshe Sharett exposés. Now they must risk not only lying to themselves, but to their public—and being called to account for it.

At a time when timidly increasing numbers of inquiries into Zionist doings are beginning to be seen, we can only praise Ms. Rokach's as one of the most unique. Those of us who have spent much of our adult lives probing one aspect or another of the worldwide Zionist enterprise will recognize immediately what an utter rarity it is to be able to listen in on deliberations among the actual high command.

While there is probably little going on in the inner councils of major nations that is not monitored by the Zionists, who are legendary for the power of their espionage, these people are just as abnormally preoccupied with secrecy concerning their own affairs. That is why this study is such a revelation, based as it is on the private journals of Moshe Sharrett, one of the true founding fathers of the state of Israel. No doubt the Israel Cabinet is, along with the Chinese Politburo or the *consiglieri* of the Jersey City mafia, among the world's most impenetrable executive bodies. Yet, for a brief period, we now have a glimpse of its inner workings.

Diary of Israel's Early Era

Sharett was there, in the secret planning sessions, when some of the most momentous actions and policies in the terror-ridden era that is constantly trumpeted as the "heroic"

early period of Israel were planned out. Among these were: the pointless 1953 attack on the defenseless West Bank village of Kibya, led by present-day Israeli "hawk" Ariel Sharon, in which 69 Palestinians were killed; the 1954 hijacking of a Syrian airliner to Israel in the wake of Syria's arrest of five Israeli spies, admitted as such by Sharett, which was the world's first case of air piracy; the savage 1954 attack on the village of Nahlin, near Bethlehem, with dozens of Palestinian civilians killed.

The real reasons for these and others similar, routinely called "reprisals" for "Arab terrorism" by Israel, are here explained, from the inside and from the top, as cynical and carefully calculated provocations. The goal was twofold: first, the ongoing intimidation and demoralization of the non-Jewish subject population; but second, and equally important, the creation of a desired climate of fury and amoral adventurism within the *Jewish* citizenry. Sharett reports that this psychological manipulation via murderous reactions to trumped-up incidents of "anti-Semitism" was justified by Chief of Staff Moshe Dayan as "our vital lymph. They . . . help us maintain a high tension amoung our populaton and in the Army . . . In order to have young men go to the Negev we have to cry out that it is in danger."

This, then, is the gruesome process from which Rokach's title derives. Sharett confesses that, while early Zionists supposedly curbed "emotions of revenge," those of his era had eliminated the "mental and moral brake" on this impulse and had come to "uphold revenge as a moral value . . . *a sacred principle.*"

Sharett's Authority

Like so many Zionist pioneers, Moshe Sharett (Shertok) was born a very long way from the land he later helped seize, immigrating to Palestine from Russia in the early 1900s. He early showed political skills and advanced quickly in the Mapai (Labor) Party and in the Jewish Agency, where he became a close associate of the Agency's rambunctious head, David Ben Gurion (Gruen). After independence, he became the first foreign minister of the new state, for a time even replacing Ben Gurion as prime minister during the latter's much-ballyhooed "retirement to the desert."

It is Sharett's participation in Israeli Cabinet sessions that the diary records, and which Livia Rokach quotes. Although the period covered, fall 1953 thorugh fall 1956, is relatively

short, Sharett's notations run to 2,400 pages in eight volumes. Something of the candor with which he documents highly sensitive Cabinet discussions, many of them still potentially embarrassing to the government today, may be gauged from the intensity with which the Israeli establishment attempted to prevent publication of the diary when Sharett's son announced his plan to do so.

That, however, was the original version, in Hebrew and limited to a small edition within Israel. A surprisingly different suppressive effort ensued when the publishers readied the present study by Rokach, this time from the Sharett family itself, and a bevy of New York Zionist lawyers. So, clearly the original publication must have been intended solely for internal Zionist edification. The effort ran aground, however, when the Israeli Foreign Ministry dropped out of the dispute, no doubt reckoning that a squabble probably would only end up promoting the book.

Confessions Damaging to Zionism

It is easy to understand the concern. Second only to the steady erosion of the "Holocaust" legend, which of course formed the propagandistic plinth of "sympathy" and moral legitimacy for the original incursion into Palestine, this testimony by a former prime minister and lifelong operative at the pinnacle of the Zionist movement seems the most damaging.

Sharett's motives in compiling the diary can only be guessed, although assuaging of a troubled conscience may well have been a factor. He does seem to have been something of a Zionist Hamlet: a man torn by self-doubt, although conscience certainly did not make a coward of him in his spirited public defenses of Israeli excesses that he privately execrates. Most importantly, however, he clearly did not contemplate publication, and that adds greatly to the journal's credibility.

The value of Sharett's *mea culpa* is on two levels: he shows us the early planning stages of some of Israel's most odious planned terrorism incidents, and he gives us his remorseful evaluations of what this atrocious record says of his own people. Coming from an "anti-Semite," the latter observations would count for nothing; from this source, they are extraordinarily telling:

> I condemned the Kibya affair that exposed us in front of the whole world as a gang of blood-suckers, capable of mass

massacres regardless, it seems, of whether their actions may lead to war. (October 1953)

I meditated on the substance and destiny of this People, who is capable of such honest aspiration for beauty and nobility, and at the same time cultivates among its best youth youngsters capable of calculated, coldblooded murder, by knifing the bodies of defenseless Beduin. Which of these two biblical souls will win over the other in the People? (March 1955)

I have been meditating on the long chain of false incidents and hostilities we have invented . . . (June 1955)

Real Holocaust Victims

One cannot condone the undeniable excesses and atrocities committed by desperate anti-Israel partisans in the typhoon of terror and retaliation that has arisen over the Zionist seizure of Palestine. However, we are at least entitled to a balanced perspective on the matter, and this will not be forthcoming from mainstream news and opinion media in most Western countries.

This is the great value of *Blaming the Victims*. Editors Said and Hitchens and nine other experts offer a masterly critique of the avalanche of spurious reportage on the Mideast disaster to which we've so long been subjected. Its overall impact left this writer thunderstruck.

What finally dawns on one, after years of mulling over these problems, is the stupendous irony of the situation. Revisionist scholarship has established beyond doubt that Jews underwent no "genocide" during World War Two, and in fact suffered proportionately far smaller losses than did the Germans and Russians. Yet, here we have it staring us in the face that these very same people—or as least their Zionist heroes—have been carrying out a sort of gasless holocaust of the Palestinian people ever since the war!

Peters Book Deflated

This begins on the ideological level, if that is the right word, with the proposition "There are no Palestinians." After all, if you employ your not inconsiderable money- and media-power to deny that a stateless, defenseless people even exists, how much attention will the military mopping-up operations attract later on? One of the major documents in this campaign is the 1984 tome, *From Time Immemorial*, by Joan Peters. Although derided in the British press, and even in Israel, where a distinguished professor, Avishai Margalit, denounced it as a "web of deceit," the Peters volume has been welcomed

with dithyrambs of praise by our savants, including, not insignificantly, the "Holocaust" experts, Elie Wiesel and Lucy Dawidowicz.

Peters's contention is that the territory was "empty" when the Zionists moved in after World War One, whereupon the so-called Palestinians began sneaking in from surrounding Arab lands to find work as the Jews "made the desert bloom." This, of course, is one of the oldest staples of Israeli propaganda, and indeed has largely been abandoned there; but Peters resuscitates the story with a great flurry of ostensible research, references to Ottoman Empire population statistics, and the like.

Unfortunately for her, she reckoned without Norman G. Finkelstein, a Jewish anti-Zionist historian who has become her book's untiring nemesis. In separate essays, he and editor Said surgically deflate the vast farrago of errors, misinterpretations, half-truths and outright lies that characterize the Peters volume. Finkelstein uses a particularly effective technique of parallel columns, giving the actual original citation (which obviously cost him an enormous research effort) next to what Peters says it says. The effect is devastating. One can only agree with Finkelstein's assessment that Peters's book, which, in America at least, has become the "Bible" of the trendier Holocaustarians and pro-Israel blowhards, is "among the most spectacular frauds ever published on the Arab-Israeli conflict."

Chomsky's Valuable Insights

Blaming the Victims contains many other essays of similar Revisionist import unraveling the compounded falsification that has been visited nonstop upon the Palestinians, who share with the Germans the dubious distinction of being perhaps the most lied-about people on earth. Among these, the superb extended piece, "Middle East Terrorism and the American Ideological System," by the noted Jewish linguist, Noam Chomsky, returns us full circle to our original forbidding subject.

Chomsky starts with the bedrock axiom of Israeli policy, voiced often through the years, but never more sanctimoniously than by future president Chaim Herzog in 1972: the Palestinians can never be "partners in any way in a land that has been holy to our people for thousands of years." Ergo: the flat ban on (a) independent political organization in the occupied territories, and (b) discussions with Palestinian

representatives, regardless of whether they agree to recognize Israel and to eschew violence. Chomsky shows what a stumbling block this incredible disenfranchisement has been, right up to the moment. As this is written, Israel's leaders continue to tough it out against tepid U.S. urgings that they reach at least some accommodation with legitimate Palestinian spokesmen.

Israel's Expansionism

Arguably the most valuable of Moshe Sharett's diaristic revelations are what he tells us of Israel's long-range planning, in particular its goal of a much larger territory than it currently holds and its implacable determination to become the regional superpower. It is these ambitions that have laid groundwork for the largest-scale devastation yet unleashed by the Zionist state: the ghastly evisceration of the once flourishing land of Lebanon.

What was called "Israel's Grand Design" in an important essay by the late pioneering Revisionist writer, John M. Henshaw, is a large subject unto itself. It would include such seemingly fantastic goals as controlling everything eastward to the site of ancient Babylon, in the Tigris-Euphrates area of Iraq. However, more realistic objectives lie closer to home, and in an arid region, Zionist chieftains long ago set their sights on control of key waterways to the north.

As far back as the Paris peace conference of 1919, they proposed a northern boundary for the Jewish "national home" mandated in the British Balfour Declaration that would have seized much of Lebanon up to the Litani River. At the same time, Ben Gurion and others tried to inveigle Patriarch Hayak with financial aid promises to abandon South Lebanon for Jewish settlement and set up a Christian state in the Muslim north. The patriarch indignantly refused, but that was by no means the end of the matter.

This Lebanon objective, pursued like an *idée fixe* through the decades, has formed the pivot point in one way or another for much of Israeli history. Zionist armed bands that took over Palestine in 1948 occupied much of South Lebanon, nearing the Litani River, but were forced to withdraw by international opposition. However, the military campaigns of 1967, 1978 and 1982 once again saw efforts to implement the policy, and these were successful to the point that Israel now effectively controls the Jordan, Banias, Wazzani, Hasbani and Litani rivers, an enormous geopolitical advantage.

Anti-Lebanese Plotting

In his February 1954 diary entries, Sharett details the strategy sessions where a beginning was made to draft plans that have only come to their full, dire fruition now, many decades later, with Lebanon in its death agonies. The overall framework for the plan was creation of a Lebanese Christian state. This was done chiefly to drive a wedge into the largely Muslim Arab League. Sharett writes:

> Then he [Ben Gurion] passed on to another issue. This is the time, he said, to push Lebanon, that is the Maronites in that country, to proclaim a Christian State . . . It is clear that Lebanon is the weakest link in the Arab League . . . Now is the time to bring about the creation of a Christian state in our neighborhood . . . This means that time, energy and means ought to be invested in it and that we must act in all possible ways to bring about a radical change in Lebanon. Sasson . . . and our other Arabists must be mobilized. If money is necessary, no amount of dollars should be spared . . . This is a historical opportunity.

For various reasons, it proved unfeasible to activate this grand scheme for the dismemberment of a harmless neighbor until 1968, when Dayan was appointed defense minister. For twenty years the Lebanese border had been utterly tranquil and certainly no Palestinian guerrillas were anywhere on the horizon. Virtually overnight the situation changed, with mysterious border assaults against Israelis which were instantly avenged with savage military reprisals, escalating eventually to aerial bombing in South Lebanon. Finally, by April, 1975, the conflagration was ignited and Lebanon's civil war rages on to this day, with incalculable losses and suffering.

Chomsky on Media Liars

Yet, incredibly enough, informed opinion here has dismissed this tragedy as a happenstance that was probably inevitable, given Lebanon's "sectarian" diversity. Meanwhile, first things first, and "Israel's security" must be vigilantly looked after, with its occasional understandable excesses explained and quickly forgotten. This is the ideational framework within which the entire sorry history of Israeli destabilization and destruction has been vended to propaganda consumers in this and other "First World" countries. Looking out on especially the American intellectual class, from the philo-Zionist to the opportunistic, as they

preside over "news" and other mind-molding, one thinks irresistibly of "the dull, the proud, the wicked and the mad" deplored by Alexander Pope. Nevertheless, these people and their dirtywork are still with us, and cry out to be dealt with.

It is here that *Blaming the Victims* genuinely excels, in particular the Chomsky essay on the new hullaballoo over "terrorism" as a catchall for militant anti-Zionist resistance. This exhaustively documented, trip-hammer analysis ranges, case by case, atrocity by atrocity, over the violent highlights of the past decades—particularly in southern Lebanon—as they have been served up to us, and as the full facts suggest they more likely occurred. It is hard to believe, but Chomsky's modest fifty pages seriously damage this old, vast, grotesque tissue of distortions and lies that has relentlessly screened Israeli doings, chiefly the ill-starred but indescribably brutal Lebanon invasion of 1982.

Summing up the whole sordid but still rather amazing process, Chomsky can only marvel: "Meanwhile the media are regularly condemned as overly critical of Israel and even 'pro PLO,' a propaganda coup of quite monumental proportions."

Still Revering 'Holocaust'

There the matter rests. Having noted the encouraging development that these books seem to portend, I am not sure what next to expect. These authors, and at least the Verso press, are all from the "hard Left" side of the spectrum, which of course entails a quite different set of assumptions from those of a "Holocaust" Revisionist. Marxian notions have almost no broad appeal among Middle Eastern people, but leftist partisan discipline apparently still is effective among writers who aspire to represent them.

That is the only way that I can account for the peculiar fact that the Palestinian, Arab and Islamic activists of the world, otherwise so brave in face of Israeli napalm and torturemasters, still are no less cowed than the rest of the world's "masses," and fearful of taking the first step to ridicule the strangely sanctified "Holocaust" and "anti-Semitism" shibboleths.

We shall not be rid of the word weasels who are now trying to diabolize "terrorism" as a cover for their own secret *sacred* mayhem until this gap can be bridged.

[*Israel's Sacred Terrorism* ($6) and *Blaming the Victims* ($15) may be ordered from IHR, 1822½ Newport Blvd., Suite 191, Costa Mesa, CA 92627.]

ANTISEMITISM IN THE CONTEMPORARY WORLD. Edited by Michael Curtis. Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1986, 333 pp., $42.50. ISBN 0-8133-0157-2.

Reviewed by Paul Grubach

In November 1983, a conference—"Antisemitism in the Contemporary World"—was held at Rutgers University. This book, a collection of papers which were presented by renowned scholars attending the conference, deals with what its authors perceive as current expressions of anti-Semitism. According to a paragraph on the dust jacket, the volume addresses "the questions of whether there are new forms of antisemitism [*sic*—hereafter anti-Semitism], whether there has been a resurgence of anti-Semitism in the current age." Alleged anti-Semitism in the following entities—the Soviet Bloc nations, the Arab world, the Islamic and Christian religions, American blacks, Western leftist and religious groups, opponents of political Zionism, and the Holocaust Revisionist movement—are some of the more prominent subjects dealt with in the book.

Unluckily, if the reader is looking for fair and objective analyses of the causes and effects of anti-Jewish feeling, he certainly will not find it here. Instead, the analyses of alleged anti-Semitism are quite flagrantly constructed to satisfy two objectives. First, all blame (the burden of guilt) for the avowedly ubiquitous phenomenon of anti-Jewish antipathy is shifted onto gentile groups, while, simultaneously, Jewish groups are exonerated. The substantial evidence which shows that certain powerful segments of world Jewry (organized Zionism, the State of Israel, Jewish Marxists) are to a significant extent responsible for many outbreaks of anti-Semitism is totally ignored.[1]

Secondly, nearly all of the writers of the essays quite recklessly attempt to include most intellectual, social and political criticism of organized Jewry and its power and influence under the rather melodramatic rubric of anti-Semitism. This attempt would seem to reveal more about the motives of the assembled experts than about the criticism in question. For although the word "anti-Semitism" is alleged to have been coined by an "anti-Semite," the term, with its pseudo-scientific veneer of objectivity and its shift in emphasis from Jewry (not Semitism) to its critics, has been eagerly embraced by Jews eager to stifle any challenge to their interests.

In a word, what one finds in this volume is not objective analysis, but rather, what political scientists would call "ideology; that is, a body of distorted ideas and interpretations of reality which are continually promoted—not because of their inherent truthfulness—but rather, because they serve the sociopolitical, economic, and psychological needs of a power elite.[2] Not surprisingly, the ideology of anti-anti-Semitism as presented here reflects the values and interests of the major sponsors and organizers of the conference. Among these were the American Jewish Congress, the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, the Bronfman Foundation, and numerous individual Zionists. (p. xi)

It would be impossible here to discuss all of the 24 different essays, the range of topics covered, and the numerous distortions and fallacies which this volume contains. However, three examples will be offered to illustrate my point.

The late Terence Prittie, British author and journalist, contributed a paper which discusses economic boycotts and discrimination directed against Jewish people. (pp. 206-213) Prittie gives one the distorted impression that, in the ongoing economic boycott wars between Jews and Arabs, the Jews are totally blameless and innocent, and the Arabs totally guilty. Jews are never aggressors, only quite saintly victims defending themselves against "Arab racists." And why are the Arabs guilty of racism? Because, Prittie claims, when they utilize the boycott weapon, all Jews are targeted: the Arabs never differentiate between Zionist and non-Zionist Jews.

An ideological distortion such as this may gratify the ethnocentrism of many Zionist Jews, but it certainly does not serve the interests of truth. One is left with the false impression that only Arabs have used economic boycotts against Jews. Prittie never informs the reader that Zionist Jews, in their takeover of Palestine, utilized the economic boycott as a major weapon against the native Palestinians.[3] The economic warfare historically waged by Arabs against Zionism and Israel (e.g., Arab trade boycotts of Jewish goods or refusals to do business with firms which have Zionist Jews in management positions) is a reaction to the challenge of repeated Jewish-Zionist aggression against the Arab world and racial discrimination directed against the Arab people in Israel.[4] This is not to justify indiscriminate economic measures against *all* Jews, even those unsympathetic to political Zionism.

Historically, just as political Zionism never differentiated between Arabs who oppose Zionism and those who do not oppose it,[5] neither have the Arabs differentiated between Zionist and non-Zionist Jews in carrying out economic reprisals. In order to evaluate fairly Arab economic warfare against Jewish Zionism, one must acknowledge the Jewish-Zionist political, economic, and military warfare which has been and is being waged against the Arab world.[6]

Professor Michael Curtis, the editor of the this collection, defines anti-Semitism as "hostility toward Jews." (p. 1) This alleged hostility, however, is often gauged by what must appear to impartial observers as highly subjective sensors. It is not only difficult to measure, weigh, or otherwise quantify: even such manifestations as the (blissfully rare) pogrom or the occasional scurrilous *graffito* may have been evoked by some perceived offense tendered by corporate Jewry. (Students of anti-Semitism will note additionally the disturbing tendency of the anti-anti-Semites to draw a discreet veil, at least for the mulititudes, over truly hair-raising expressions of anti-Semitism emanating from such modern luminaries as Voltaire, Byron, Goethe, Carlyle, Dostoyevsky, Henry James, Henry Adams, and others too numerous to be named.)

In this volume, the criteria put forth to determine the existence of anti-Jewish hostility are nebulous and so broad and general that the charge of anti-Semitism can be utilized as the need arises. When the criticism in question is either psychologically threatening (that is, irritating to a righteous and benign collective Jewish identity), or is politically threatening (i.e., negative criticism which may give rise to demands that the power of organized Jewry be reduced), then the authors apply the "anti-Semitism" label to the critic and his criticism, regardless of whether the criticism may be justified.

Observe how Curtis's mind works. He writes:

> What distinguishes anti-Semitism from the ever-present prejudice or hostility directed against other [non-Jewish] people and groups is not so much the strength and passion of this hatred as its many-faceted character and the range of arguments and doctrines that see Jews as best as peripheral (or as pariahs, to use Max Weber's term) in society and at worst as destructive monsters and forces of evil. In its lowest form, . . ., anti-Semitism takes the form of pornography . . . Elsewhere, arguments—whether of a political, economic, social, religious, or psychological nature—make a greater claim to rationality. Always the claim is that Jews, because of their religious

> customs or insistence on monotheism or dietary habits or tribal exclusiveness, were alien to the traditions and ways of life of the societies in which they lived or tried to subvert those societies or were able to control both these societies and other diabolical forces in the world. (p.3)

The implication here is obvious. Those who claim that certain powerful segments of organized Jewry are culturally alien to Western society and that they attempt to subvert Western culture supposedly harbor a hatred of all Jews. And, of course, it is reflexively assumed that the claim is a false, anti-Jewish slander.

All Jews are not cultural aliens to Western society, nor do all Jews attempt to subvert Western society. Yet there certainly exist powerful and influential segments of Jewry which do fit this category. A small portion of the evidence, culled from Jewish sources, illustrates the point.

Stanley Rothman and S. Robert Lichter are two political scientists who studied the relationship between left-wing radical politics and psychological development. They gathered evidence which supports the claim that the Jews of the New Left student movement of the 1960s were motivated by a hatred of European-Christian culture, and that this hostility induced them to identify with leftist movements which undermine Western society's social order.[7] Rothman and Lichter point out that Jews, occupying a marginal-alienated position in Western societies, are more prone to identify with political movements which subvert the dominant Gentile culture. In their own words:

> Political radicalism . . . is but one form of the attack leveled by the marginal person upon the larger society. The basic thrust is to undermine all aspects of the culture which contribute to his or her marginality. Thus Jews in the United States and Europe have been in the forefront of not only political radicalism but also various forms of cultural "subversion."[8]

Concerning the motivations of these left-wing Jews, Rothman and Lichter write:

> In sum, the aim of the Jewish radical is to estrange the Christian from society, as he feels estranged from it. The fact that the United States is no longer "Christian" in any real sense, or that Jews have moved to positions of considerable power and influence, is of little import. Its Christian base is still unconsciously identified as the decisive oppressive element . . .

> thus many radical Jews, even when they do not identify with Judaism, unconsciously retain a generalized hostility to Christian culture.[9]

The prominent Jewish-Zionist author, Maurice Samuel, writing for a Gentile audience, accurately epitomized the feelings of these segments of alienated Jewry:

> I do not believe that this primal difference between Gentile and Jews is reconcilable. We [Jews and Gentiles] may come to an understanding, never to a reconciliation. There will be irritation between us as long as we are in intimate contact. For nature and constitution and vision divide us [Jews] from all of you [Gentiles] forever . . . [10]

Later in the same essay, Samuel admitted that these alienated Jews do attempt to subvert the Gentile social order:

> The Jew, whose lack of contact with your [Gentile] world had made him ineffective, becomes effective. The vial is uncorked, the genius is out. His [Jewish] enmity to your [Gentile] ways of life was tacit before. Today it is manifest and active.[11]

> We Jews, we, the destroyers, will remain the destroyers forever. *Nothing* that you will do will meet our needs and demands. We will forever destroy because we need a world of our own . . .[12]

If it is true, then, that certain segments of Jewry regard themselves as cultural aliens and gleefully subvert Western culture, pointing this out does not necessarily indicate broad anti-Jewish hostility.[13] Even if the "anti-Semitic" accuser does dislike Jews, that is not sufficient to disprove his charge of deliberate cultural subversion by Jews.

In his acceptance speech for the Nobel Peace Prize, the Jewish author, Elie Wiesel, stated: "It would be unnatural for me not to make Jewish priorities my own: Israel, Soviet Jewry, Jews in Arab lands."[14] Can it be entirely different for Gentile intellectuals of European descent? It would be unnatural for at least a few of them not to be concerned about the forces which are undermining their society and promoting what political scientist James Burnham called "The Suicide of the West." That which Professor Curtis would label "anti-Semitism" is in many instances only a thoughtful concern with the welfare of Western culture and a healthy vigilance in relation to those alienated segments of Jewry which attempt to undermine it. One need think only of the writings of such humane, tolerant, but culturally engaged Christian gentlemen as Hilaire Belloc, G.K. Chesterton, and T.S. Eliot.

Stephen J. Roth, director of the Institute of Jewish Affairs (London), provides the reader of *Antisemitism in the Contemporary World* with a short discussion of Holocaust Revisionism and the legal attempts to proscribe it. His short dissertation contains many of the distorted views which the Holocaust lobby continually promotes about Revisionism.

Mr. Roth writes:

> One of the most pernicious new forms of anti-Semitism is the denial of the facts of the Holocaust by so-called Revisionist historians and neo-Nazis (the two are often identical). Their allegations that no systematic extermination of Jews occurred, that there were no gas chambers, and that 6 million Jews did not perish, propagated in an atmosphere of increased anti-Jewish activity, has become one of the most significant weapons in the neo-Nazi arsenal. (p. 222)

In other words, according to Roth's line of thought, Holocaust orthodoxy is definitely, positively true, and thus, Revisionist viewpoints must of necessity be irrational and confused falsities. Because this is so, he concludes that every Revisionist must harbor a hatred of all Jews and be furthermore of an irrational, unbalanced state of mind. The Revisionist refuses to accept the Holocaust orthodoxy, and thus employ the Freudian defense mechanism of "denial."

Unfortunately, however, one cannot empirically observe psychological defense mechanisms of denial as biologist empirically observes microorganisms under a microscope. One *infers* that another individual is subjectively employing denial mechanisms. Failing a set of objective criteria by which it can be inferred that, if the individual in question is employing a mechanism of denial, he refuses to accept reality, the notion of "denial" is of little scientific use.

In the case of "Holocaust" Revisionist academics, if it could be demonstrated objectively that their reservations about a German attempt to exterminate Europe's Jews are utterly false, one might be justified in hypothesizing that they are employing some such mechanism of denial. Basic to that inference, however, would be evidence which demonstrates that Exterminationism is true. Roth is obligated, by the canons of scholarly ethics, to give the Revisionist school a fair hearing, and show that its arguments are irrational and unfounded. Only after so doing would he be justified in claiming that Revisionist historians are irrational reality deniers who deny the facts because they hate Jews.

Roth, however, cites no studies which demonstrate that Holocaust orthodoxy is true, or demonstrate the absurdity of Revisionist arguments. He doesn't because he can't. After nearly a two-year search, this reviewer has been able to find no Exterminationist study which gives an accurate and honest presentation of Revisionist arguments, and then refutes them. By contrast the Revisionist writings are filled with studies which, in a rational, logical, and scientific manner, confront and strive to refute the major contentions of Exterminationism.[15]

Since Mr. Roth's judgment has apparently not been informed by the rational procedures of modern historiography, would we not be justified in asking what irrational psychological forces shaped his thinking?

One can infer the psychological process at work here. Convinced Exterminationists such as Roth can say "Revisionists are irrational, unbalanced, and neurotic Jew-haters with a need to deny the reality of the Holocaust. Revisionism, therefore, need not be analyzed, except as the logical product of such an unfounded body of mentality. As such, it is not even worthy of our consideration." By such formulations can a convinced Exterminationist avoid the painful experience of having his deeply cherished beliefs about the Holocaust challenged, or, God forbid, disproven, thereby freeing him from the responsibility of critically examining the whole Holocaust dogma, as well as obviating the discovery of facts about the Holocaust which would be too psychologically painful to confront consciously.

Mr. Roth next proceeds to explain why he believes that Revisionism is the most effective weapon in the "neo-Nazi" arsenal:

> If the crimes of the Nazis can be wiped off the record of history, if the Nazi regime can be whitewashed and made to appear as admittedly somewhat disciplinarian and tough on law and order but basically harmless and more efficient than our allegedly lax Western democracies with their growing disorder, their crimes, violence, and riots, then the neo-Nazis would have won a great victory. The system advocated by them would also look harmless and acceptable, and the ideological resistance to it, largely based on awareness of the horrors of the past, would be undermined—particularly among younger people who have no personal experience of Nazi rule. (p. 222)

Roth has fled to what in contemporary America has become the last refuge of the academic and political scoundrel: the imputation of a National Socialist agenda, a covert desire to restore the Third Reich, or bring on the Fourth, to scoffers at the regnant historical or political orthodoxy.

Should the Revisionists succeed in convincing the peoples of Western democracies that the "gas chambers" never existed, however, these would still harbor considerable resistance to the philosophy, political system, and policies implemented during the Third Reich. The National Socialists advocated a command state, with one-party control of society and censorship of the press. By contrast, inherent in the modern political culture of the West is acceptance of a multiparty state, independence of the press from overt political control, and a disdain for open regimentation.[16]

One thing the acceptance of the nonexistence of the "Hitler gas chambers" *does* threaten is the belief that National Socialism was a greater menace to humanity than Stalinist Marxism, and that the Western democracies had to ally with the Soviet in the Second World War. Yet the realization that National Socialism was not the unremitting evil that it is portrayed to be, and that Stalin's system inflicted far more human misery, is a very far cry from urging the National Socialist political model be adopted throughout the West. One can be a Holocaust Revisionist, and simultaneously, be anti-National Socialist.

In a word, Roth's claim—that mass acceptance of Revisionism will bring about mass acceptance of National Socialism—is absurd. His argument scants the ethic of self-interested individualism prevalent in today's West, even among self-professed "nationalists" and "racialists." Furthermore, the populations of the democracies, particularly America, seem fixed in the belief that a certain quota of disorder and dishonor—from riots and street crime to political and economic corruption—is an acceptable price to pay for the maintenance of the democratic society. Even with mass acceptance of Holocaust Revisionism in the democratic West, resistance to National Socialism still would be strong.

On ideology, the political scientist James B. Whisker has written:

> Ideologies are seen by neutral commentators as illusions about real concrete experiences. The ideology does not develop as a result of the experiences themselves; rather, the ideology is

> born out of unusual or bizarre interpretations given to the concrete experiences. The ideology is fabricated in order to cover up distorted knowledge or interpretations of real factual situations and it acts compulsively on its true believers so that no other interpretation can be fitted to the situation.[17]

The ideology of anti-anti-Semitism as expressed in this book is an excellent example of what Dr. Whisker writes of. As long as intellectuals and politicians are mesmerized and intimidated by this veil of illusions there will never be an open and honest discussion concerning the undeniable problems which burden Jewish-Gentile relations. Nor will we be able to resolve those problems in a manner which is rational, humane, and acceptable to both Jews and Gentiles.

Notes

1. For example, see David Irving, *Uprising!* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1981); William N. Grimstad, *The Six Million Reconsidered*, 2nd ed., (Torrance, CA: Noontide Press, 1979); Udo Walendy, *The Transfer Agreement and the Boycott Fever 1933*; David Hirst, *The Gun and the Olive Branch: The Roots of Violence in the Middle East* (Faber and Faber, 1977; London: Futura Publications, 1978); Paul Cossali and Clive Robson, *Stateless in Gaza* (London: Zed Books, 1986); Noam Chomsky, *The Fateful Triangle: The United States, Israel and the Palestinians* (Boston: Southend Press, 1983); Austin J. App, *No Time for Silence: Pleas for a Just Peace over Four Decades*, with an introduction by Theodore J. O'Keefe (Costa Mesa, CA: Institute for Historical Review, 1987).
2. *The Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, 1967 ed., s.v. "Ideology," by David Braybrooke.
3. David Hirst, *The Gun and the Olive Branch*, p. 26.
4. *Ibid., passim.*
5. The International Organization for the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, *Zionism and Racism* (New Brunswick, NJ: North American, 1979).
6. Stephen Green, *Living by the Sword: America and Israel in the Middle East* (Brattleboro, VT: Amana Books, 1988).
7. Stanley Rothman and S. Robert Lichter, *Roots of Radicalism: Jews Christians, and the New Left* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982).
8. *Ibid.*, p. 120.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 125.
10. Maurice Samuel, *You Gentiles*, p. 23.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 145.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 155

13. To this writer's knowledge, it was Revisionist writer L.A. Rollins who was the first to establish this point in a convincing manner. In reference to those particular Jews who are dual-loyalists or racialists, he wrote: "But inasmuch as it is true that some Jews who live in 'non-Jewish' societies *do* have dual loyalties, and some Jews who live in the Jewish state *are* racists, saying so does not necessarily indicate Jew-hatred." See his review *Why the Jews? The Reason for Anti-Semitism*, by Dennis Prager and Joseph Telushkin, in *The Journal of Historical Review*, Vol. 5, nos. 2, 3, 4, (Winter 1984), p. 377.

14. "Wiesel Speaks in Oslo for All Human Rights," *Cleveland Jewish News*, 12 December 1986, p. 1.

15. Time and space do not permit me to list all of them here. However, the following works, by Wilhelm Stäglich, Robert Faurisson, and Fred Leuchter (an expert on gas chamber technology), will serve to illustrate the point. Notice how Drs. Stäglich and Faurisson face Exterminationist arguments in a forthright manner, and then refute those arguments—hardly the characteristic of men who are attempting to deny historical realities! Mr. Leuchter puts forth scientific evidence which disproves Exterminationist claims and corroborates Revisionist claims. See Wilhelm Stäglich, *The Auschwitz Myth: A Judge Looks at the Evidence* (Costa Mesa, California: Institute For Historical Review, 1986); Robert Faurisson, "The Mechanics of Gassing," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Vol. 1, no. 1 (Spring 1980), pp. 23-30; "Confessions of SS Men Who Were at Auschwitz," *JHR*, Vol. 2, no. 2 (Summer 1981), pp. 103-36; "The Gas Chamber of Auschwitz Appear to Be Physically Inconceivable," *JHR*, Vol. 2, no. 4 (Winter 1981), pp. 311-17; "The Gas Chambers: Truth or Lie?," *JHR*, Vol. 2, no. 4 (Winter 1981), pp. 319-373; "Response to a Paper Historian," *JHR*, Vol. 7, no. 1 (Spring 1986), pp. 21-72; *The Leuchter Report: The End of a Myth* (Toronto, Canada: Samisdat Publishers Ltd., 1988).

16. The historian Francis R. Nicosia, considers this an important factor in England's refusal to ally with National Socialist Germany during the 1930's. He points out that there was a fundamental irreconcilability between the National Socialist and the English political philosophies and systems. See *The Third Reich and the Palestine Question* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1985), p. 77.

17. James B. Whisker, *National Socialist Ideology: Concepts and Ideas* (Greensboro, NC: W.U.N. Press, 1979), p. 28.

AN EMPIRE OF THEIR OWN: HOW THE JEWS INVENTED HOLLYWOOD by Neal Gabler. New York: Crown Publishers, Inc., 1988. Hardcover, 502 pp., illustrated, $24.95, ISBN 0-517-56808-X.

Reviewed by Jack Wikoff

Much of *An Empire of Their Own* reads like a press agent release for the stereotypical Hollywood movie producer. Having originally subtitled his book *How Zukor, Laemmle, Fox, Cohn and the Warner Brothers Invented Hollywood*, author Neal Gabler provides valuable information about those Jews who came to dominate the film industry during the nineteen-twenties, thirties and forties.

Undoubtedly the subtitle was changed to *How the Jews Invented Hollywood* to promote more effectively the myth that Jews singlehandedly created the film industry. Reading *An Empire of Their Own* may cause one to be ultra-conscious of whether a film producer, director, actor or technician is Jewish or not. One reviewer has written that "if misread, the book could provide fuel for anti-Semitism." This may or may not be true. What is certain is that the history of cinema is now old enough for us to see the extraordinary power this medium has had upon the political and moral values of the masses. Many Jews have persistently sought, and gained, this power throughout the twentieth century.

In concentrating upon the lives and personalities of these Jewish producers, mostly of Eastern European birth, the author glosses over or completely ignores the achievements of gentile, Christian pioneers of the film industry. It can safely be said that the earliest cameras, projectors, sound and lighting equipment, and raw film stock were developed primarily by gentile inventors. The same can be said of those artists who were the first to create artistic movies with true narrative content, creative lighting and special effects, panoramic scenic settings and fast-paced editing. Certainly Jews made many valuable contributions to early film, but Gabler vastly exaggerates their innovation.

Creative individuals such as W.K.L. Dickson, William Friese-Greene, Thomas Armat, Georges Méliès, Louis and Auguste Lumière, and Charles Pathé are not even mentioned. Edwin S. Porter, the director of the early narrative film and first western, *The Great Train Robbery* (1903), was also an engineer who developed cameras, projectors and special

effects devices. In *An Empire of Their Own*, Porter is dismissed as a "projectionist-turned-director." Thomas Edison is portrayed as a villain for his great power in the early industry. Edison and his partners created the Motion Picture Patents Company in 1908, which until 1918 held an almost complete monopoly in camera and projection equipment licensing.

What these Jewish producers did achieve was to move very quickly from owning a few nickelodeons to controlling complete monopolies consisting of production, distribution and exhibition facilities. These men acquired this control because of an excellent sense of what the public would buy, intense personal drive, group solidarity as Jews, a willingness for hard work—and—a lot of shady dealing. Gabler describes how Adolf Zukor and Carl Laemmle illegally used Edison cameras without paying the royalities and how Louis B.Mayer cheated the producers of *Birth of a Nation* by falsifying his bookkeeping, thereby making as much as $500,000 on the exhibition of that one film in 1915.

These Jewish producers moved to Hollywood from the East Coast in the teens and twenties because of the abundant sunlight, cheap non-union labor and distance from the enforcers of the Edison Patents Company. Zukor and his associates arrived relatively late in Hollywood. A woman from Illinois had given Hollywood its name in remembrance of her native state's holly bushes; several Englishmen, the Horsley brothers and Charles Rosher, created the first film factory in Hollywood, the Nestor Studio, in 1910. The Jews did not invent Hollywood, but they certainly did come to dominate it.

Throughout *An Empire of Their Own* Neal Gabler contends that Hollywood "was founded and for more than thirty years operated by Eastern European Jews who themselves seemed to be anything *but* the quintessence of America" and that "above all things, they wanted to be regarded as Americans, not Jews; they wanted to reinvent themselves here as new men."

For Gabler *The Jazz Singer* (1927), starring Al Jolson, epitomizes in cinematic terms the conflict of the Jew in America. The elderly cantor of a synagogue on the Lower East Side of New York City assumes that his only son will follow in his footsteps and retain the orthodox traditions. But the son would prefer to be an entertainer and goes against his father's wishes. Years pass and Jakie Rabinowitz, the cantor's son, has become Jack Robin, a nightclub singer. The crisis comes when

the elder Rabinowitz cannot sing the "Kol Nidre" on Yom Kippur and the congregation pressures the young jazz singer to fill in for his father. But Jack's Broadway opening happens to be the same night.

As Gabler describes this situation: "Jack's quandary is that he can bring Judaism to show business, but he cannot bring show business to Judaism—which is to say that Judaism cannot be reinvigorated or revitalized in America or by America. It is alien to it."

The Jazz Singer has a happy ending. Jack's producers allow his Broadway premier to be postponed a night so he can sing the "Kol Nidre" in the synagogue. Then, in his show business triumph, the young Jewish entertainer appears in blackface, "one minority disguised within another," singing "Mammy" to his mother seated in the enthusiastic audience. The son of the immigrant gets the best of two worlds.

Viewed from outside the Jewish subculture, the anxiety and conflict that "assimilation" produced in these men does not seem as extreme as Gabler would have us believe. Although the Jewish movie moguls rarely kept kosher and seldom went to synagogue, it does not mean that they ever really stopped being Jews. Assimilation often simply meant acquiring ostentatious symbols of wealth and success such as country club membership, the breeding of thoroughbred racehorses, compulsive gambling and sexual highjinks in Las Vegas and Havana, season tickets at the opera and palatial mansions on both coasts. Many of these "role models" dumped their old Jewish wives and married younger gentile women. In retrospect these Jewish men never truly wanted to join the culture of the Anglo-Saxon Protestant elite. What they sought was entrée into those domains of power and influence which had once been exclusively gentile.

The most important question in historical and political terms is to what extent the Jewishness of these movie executives affected the content of motion pictures. *An Empire of Their Own* provides a number of valuable answers to this question. Gabler also reveals inside information on the East Coast boards of directors and stockholders who were the true powers behind the movie producers. A number of passages cite the various Jewish lobbying groups which also influenced film content. Several chapters are devoted to the Hollywood executives' response to the investigations of congressional committees into Jewish and Communist influence in motion pictures in the 1940's and 1950's.

In spite of Neal Gabler's ethnocentric prejudices (and partly because of them!) *An Empire of Their Own* will be a valuable addition to any collection of books about the political and cultural history of the twentieth century.

George Morgenstern, 1906-1988

JAMES J. MARTIN

George Morgenstern, the author of the first Revisionist book about the December 7, 1941 Pearl Harbor attack and the complex history which preceded and followed it, died in Denver, Colorado on July 23, 1988, in his 83rd year. Morgenstern's book, titled *Pearl Harbor: The Story of the Secret War*, published by Devin A. Garrity in New York in January, 1947, is in this writer's opinion also still the best, despite a formidable volume of subsequent writing by many others on the subject. A work of 425 pages in small type, it sparked a volcano of both criticism and praise, and is probably the most widely commented upon and discussed book ever produced by the World War Two Revisionist impulse in this country, which latter those newly upon the scene should understand covers many aspects of that war, its antecedents and its consequences. Everyone writing on the subject of Pearl Harbor has either consciously or unconsciously followed the "scenario" first laid down by George Morgenstern.

Morgenstern, christened George Edward, was born May 26, 1906 and spent almost all of his first 75 years, excepting war service time, in the Chicago area. He began his career in journalism as a sports reporter with his older brother William, covering basketball and track while attending suburban Oak Park High School. He subsequently enrolled at the University of Chicago, and continued his sports reportage, covering Big Ten football and other sports for the Chicago *Herald-Examiner*. A member of Alpha Delta Phi fraternity, he graduated with highest honors from Chicago in 1930, and was elected to Phi Beta Kappa. As an undergraduate he also served as editor of the UC campus magazine, *The Phoenix*. Actually he was not in continuous residence at Chicago, suspending studies for a time to take full time employment as a re-write editor on the *Herald-Examiner* and studying part time. He also

took on other work with the paper, covering among other things the federal income tax evasion trial of the notorious Chicago area gangster Alphonse "Scarface Al" Capone.

In 1939 Morgenstern switched newspapers, going to work in the same capacities as had engaged him previously, this time on Col. Robert R. McCormick's *Tribune*, one of the world's most famed and influential daily journals. After two years of this he joined the *Tribune's* editorial page staff in 1941, and except for his absence during American involvement in World War Two, served in this department for 30 years, retiring in 1971. In the period through the late 1960s the editorial pages of the *Tribune* became the joy of Revisionists and the despair of Revisionism's adversaries, the most prominent and wide-reaching forum the former enterprise has ever known, although matched in part by the *Tribune*'s sister papers in New York and Washington, the *Daily News* and the *Times-Herald*, respectively, with interlocking reportage and personnel on some assigments. From the outbreak of the Second World War onward the three papers were the most persistent and bothersome burr under the saddle of the war-bound Roosevelt regime, and brought the latter's protagonists to impressive heights of fury on many occasions. But during the war Morgenstern was not part of the apparatus of any of these newspapers. He served as captain and later lieutenant colonel in the U.S. Marine Corps, as a director of the work of Marine combat correspondents.

Morgenstern never discussed just when he started writing *Pearl Harbor*, but it must have been very soon after returning to civilian life and editorial duties at the *Tribune* in 1945, because the work was already printed at the end of 1946, a substantial opus going on to a quarter of a million words. He commented substantially on it prior to its review in a communication to the New York *Times* on January 15, 1947, anticipating that it would raise a howling storm of abuse, though his main purpose was to explain why he had written it. Pearl Harbor was not just a disaster, he declared; it was what got the U.S.A. into the Second World War. And it was not satisfactory or sufficient to explain it away as a result of "Japanese perfidy," which has dominated all discussion of it since Dec. 7, 1941. It has permitted the Roosevelt administration to "manage national policy as if it were a private show," from that time on. As a war correspondent in a strategic spot he knew that "wartime censors closed in even more tightly about the field of public policy," and FDR's

"decisions" "were announced to the people after the event" routinely from entry into the war ever after. And, Morgenstern pointed out, increasing secrecy led to the invention of "a new category of hush-hush information which could only be described in the phrase 'Top Secret.'" "The conclusions stated in Pearl Harbor are those to which the author was led by the record," Morgenstern insisted, going on the say:

> Those who object to historical skepticism may complain that my book is no contribution to the political canonization of its central figure. That is no concern of mine. As to the purpose my book is intended to serve, some observations from the minority report of the Joint Congressional Committee which investigated the Pearl Harbor attack are pertinent: "In the future the people and their Congress must know how close American diplomacy is moving to war so that they may check in advance if imprudent and support its position if sound . . . How to avoid war and how to turn war—if it finally comes—to serve the cause of human progress is the challenge to diplomacy today as yesterday."

The first reviews of *Pearl Harbor* followed just a few days after publication, the featured ones being blockbuster attacks in the two New York flag-ship newspapers of the deep-foundation Establishment, which had already co-opted both liberals and conservatives. The assignments went to an ex-Revisionist, the expert and veteran writer Walter Millis, in the New York *Herald-Tribune*, and in the New York *Times* to a relatively unknown young academic, Gordon Craig of Princeton University's history department. The latter was not known for any expertise whatever on the subject of Pearl Harbor, but later was to become deeply entrenched in the academic groves for his critical tomes on modern Germany, noted for their polish and sophistication. Appearing simultaneously in the issues of the two papers for February 9, 1947, they gave the impression of being a coordinated offensive.

Neither contested a single fact presented by Morgenstern, but filled the function of what this writer calls the "how-dare-you?" challenge, the traditional initial affronted bellow of wounded Establishment paladins. It is not intended to undermine the author of their discomfort by demonstrating his perpetration of falsehoods, but to set the tone and stack the playing field for the future, trying to establish an out-of-bounds territory for such productions, and seeking to entrench the

line that this form of approach is simply beyond the grounds of sustained civilized debate or intellectual intercourse; in Roman phraseology, *infra dignitatem*. Revisionists have encountered such ploys over and over in their tangles with Establishments in many fields. In the main this strategy is a failure, as it tends to stimulate rather than to suffocate curiosity. Repeated endeavors and adventures of the kind that stimulated the original Establishment retaliatory salvo, the latter essentially an *ad hominem* barrage intended to intimidate readers, investigators, the curious, and possible future involvees, invariably follow. It is a rare Establishment that does not suffer eventual defeat in this kind of confrontation, regardless of how long it takes (this writer has never forgotten the story of Lorenzo Valla, first encountered reading Harry Elmer Barnes's *History of Western Civilization* in 1938.)

Prof. Craig mourned the effect Morgenstern's book might have on the reputation of his hero, the deceased President Roosevelt, but could establish no cogent reason why any reader might not profit vastly from reading this substantial book. The review by Millis was more scurrilous, and sounded loudly on the horn of "respectability," suggesting it was on to low a plane for the refined and aristocratic upholders of the wartime regime's already deeply implanted legend on which to conduct future intellectual combat. Millis even had the brass to scold so eminent a figure in contemporary American historical scholarship as Charles A. Beard for his spirited endorsement of Morgenstern's book, though Beard had obviously read immensely more about the subject than had Millis, including more that 10,000 pages of sworn testimony and official papers relating to the Pearl affair, which Beard had read even before he had seen the galley proof sheets of Morgenstern's book.

Pearl Harbor, though pilloried by these two reviewers and by several others as some kind of partisan broadside, actually was warmly received across the ideological spectrum, from Norman Thomas, many-times candidate for the presidency of the U.S.A. of the Socialist Party, through famed pre-war and anti-war liberals such as Profs. Beard and Barnes, on through others of many views, from liberal to conservative. It was received favorably in the religious press from the *Catholic World* to the Protestant journal of major status, the *Christian Century*, in which latter the reviewer concluded that it was "an orderly and carefully documented record of the events" of the

Pearl Harbor incident, and that it left "no manner of doubt that the Administration was preparing for war when the public thought it was preparing for peace."

It might be noted that the first wave of critics was appalled by what they interpreted as a grave slander of FDR for describing how he talked peace while steadily and forcefully leading the march to war, but the following cohort of defenders not only admitted this but frankly suggested that all should have been edified by the President's skill at deceiving everyone, since it had been done for their own good.

Before moving on from this necessarily abbreviated look back at the early reviews, mention should be made of at least one reaction from the nation's armed forces the leaders of the enthusiastic reception of *Pearl Harbor* by Admiral Harry E. Yarnell (1875-1959), active in the U.S. Navy service for many years, Commander of the U.S. Asiatic Fleet (1936-1939) and perhaps the inspiration for the Japanese attack of Dec. 7, 1941 on Oahu. In the Hawaii war games in 1932 Adm. Yarnell took on the role of chief of the attacking forces. A great exponent of air warfare waged from ships, still a "radical" stance among naval thinkers, Adm. Yarnell set all the fleet earmarked for participation aside except for two aircraft carriers and three destroyers. Moving his force to within 60 miles northeast of the island, on Sunday, Feb. 7, 1932, half an hour before sunrise, Adm. Yarnell launched 153 fighters, bombers and torpedo-bomber planes, which proceeded to Pearl Harbor, catching everyone by surprise, and in the opinion of the referees, theoretically destroyed both the Pearl Harbor land-based planes and installations and also "sank" every ship in the harbor. The sensational success of all this certainly impressed Japanese observers. Adm. Yarnell, repelled and gravely angered by the Administration's tactic after the Pearl Harbor disaster nine years later of scapegoating the military and especially the naval commander for it all, had denounced this action as "a blot on our national history." Writing of Morgenstern's book in *Far Eastern Survey,* he forthrightly declared, "Mr. Morgenstern is to be congratulated on marshaling the available facts of this tragedy in such a manner as to make it clear to every reader where lies the responsibility."

The immediate postwar years between "victory" in 1945 and the start of the doleful fiasco in Korea five years later saw the vast weight and impetus of the New Dispensation steadily block or wear down Revisionism in the mass public mind,

despite a rising curve of critical literature. Establishment momentum nevertheless steadily mobilized hostility toward such efforts as were mounted by the growing body of critics. It was the combination of abuse and the silent treatment of *Pearl Harbor*, and in the following year, of Beard's *President Roosevelt and the Coming of the War, 1941* (Yale Univ. Press, 1948), among other things, that played so large a part in Barnes deciding to produce his famed essay *The Struggle Against the Historical Blackout*, a work which went into nine editions (each larger than the previous one) between 1949 and 1961 and saw other service in various re-writes in a succession of periodical appearances. In the midst of this there appeared the hefty symposium edited by Barnes, *Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace*, in 1953, to which Morgenstern contributed a massive chapter of over 90 pages, and in which he further elaborated on his celebrated book of five years earlier. One could know of and use both *seriatim* to understand what he had to say of the Pearl Harbor attack and its consequences, though this may now be difficult in view of the situation. When the Institute for Historical Review reprinted *Perpetual War* in 1982 in an edition which included a previously-suppressed chapter by Barnes, this writer, reviewing it in the Spring 1983 issue of *The Journal of Historical Review*, in an effort aimed mainly at an audience born after 1941, declared that *Pearl Harbor* should never have been allowed to go out of print. Unfortunately this remarkable new and unexpurgated edition of *Perpetual War* was subjected to a new suppression in the form of the malicious arson fire which swept the IHR premises early on July 4, 1984, a great testimonial to the sanctimonious super-hypocrites who sit around sniveling and tearing their garments over the horrid crime of book-burning, but only when it involves things they approve of. (This writer lost his set of the original galleys of the suppressed chapter in this blaze, though it is now part of the published record in such copies of the new edition as were already distributed.)

In his capacity on the *Tribune*'s editorial board, which eventually led to his appointment as editor of the editorial page, George Morgenstern lent his energies and influence to many other appearances of material of important Revisionist substance, though maybe favoring the Pearl Harbor theme more than others. Another *Tribune* outlet for Revisionist material of great value was its remarkable book review section, edited by Frederic Babcock. It took care to report in

kindly and sympathetic ways Revisionist books of several kinds which were beginning to get, elsewhere, not malicious and venomous reviews, but, in the new "blackout" strategy, no reviews at all, the Establishment's approach to smothering the whole subject, when it could not be met very effectively.

Morgenstern won two coveted internal *Tribune* prizes, the Edward Scott Beck Awards, for two of his feature pieces on the Pearl Harbor subject in 1956 and 1966, the latter a stunning special section of 12 full newspaper pages. But he shoud have received a third one for his efforts the following year (1967), also published on the Dec. 7 anniversary. This was the sensational almost-fifteen column essay by Barnes titled "U.S. Entered World War II 4 Days Prior to Dec. 7." It was based on the work of Navy Commander (ret.) Charles C. Hiles, on what we have come to refer to as the "Merle-Smith Message." The gist of this was that the USA was already in the war in the Pacific as of Dec. 2, 1941 East Asian time, as a result of the invoking by the Dutch of part of the secret diplomatic agreement made in Singapore early in 1941. This committed those involved, which included the U.S.A., to come to the aid of any participant subjected to a Japanese attack or invasion (the signatories all had colonial possessions in the Pacific). This occurred Dec. 2, 1941, when Japanese planes started landing in Holland's Dutch East Indies.

Commander Hiles's remarkable and still unpublished work on this subject; the furor and commotion it caused in Australia, where the American liaison chief, Col. Van S. Merle-Smith, engaged for four days in talks with Australian and Dutch leaders over it all, and the suppression of his report, which allegedly took four days to reach Washington, and according to conventional claims surfaced a convenient almost seven hours after the attack on Hawaii had begun, were all treated by Barnes in his long piece. It was given front-page placement by Morgenstern, and obviously enjoyed wide circulation among the many hundreds of thousands of *Tribune* readers and subscribers. It is a testament to our short memories that this has almost entirely disappeared from the record. And, in view of what has happened to *Tribune* ownership, management and editorial policy changes in recent years, it is almost impossible to imagine it would ever be recalled again, or even mentioned.

George Morgenstern was a dynamo in his thirty years on the editorial staff of the Chicago *Tribune*. He wrote almost daily, and sometimes prepared five different editorials on five

different subjects for the same issue of the paper. On the occasion of political conventions he was known to "write the whole editorial page," according to his admiring superior, Clayton Kirkpatrick, the president and editor-in-chief of the *Tribune* in that time, virtually "a whole editorial staff in himself." Kirkpatrick hailed him as "a superb craftsman" in the writing of the English language, able to write with "considerable force" and who "could handle any subject."

Upon retirement in 1971, Morgenstern remained at the long-time family home in Lake Forest (his wife, Marcia Winn, a formidable *Tribune* columnist in her own right, had died at age 50 on August 15, 1961), and in 1981 moved to Denver to live with one of his two daughters, Nora, a medical doctor.

What has happened to the *Tribune*, the one-time chief journalistic standard-bearer of Revisionism in the entire land (veteran Revisionists know of what it did in this sphere through the work of many other writers, including Walter Trohan and Donald Day, as well as featuring the output of many other writers not in its employ) is perhaps best understood by contemplating what has happened to Chicago, and perhaps the whole country for that matter. But it may be said in closing that George Morgenstern, whom this writer has always considered a vastly skilled journalist and historian, and a great man, might be memorialized some day by a scholar who could assemble a generous-sized tome incorporating his superb talents as displayed in a generation of published production in the pages of what was once a formidable newspaper.

(continued from page 132)

South African Ivor Benson will both surprise and inform Revisionists with his survey of the historical background to Iran's Islamic Revolution, and his sensitive evaluation of the challenge and the opportunity which the rise of Muslim nationalism offers the peoples of the West. We Americans can't be reminded too often of just how much foreigners from Mexico to Vietnam to the Persian Gulf resent the meddling our leaders have indulged in for decades now, and just how harmful such interventions have proved, in the long run, for America and other imperialist powers.

Veteran journalist William Grimstad introduces *Journal* readers to two important contributions by honest Jewish historians. That there are men and women such as Noam Chomsky, Livia Rokach, and Palestinian-American Edward Said offers at least the hope that Arab and Jew, inspired by facts, not myths or lies, about the past, may work out some just and humane solution to the problems created by the Zionist colonization of Palestine.

Paul Grubach skewers a familiar but tiresome bit of Zionist hokum, the canard that anyone who criticizes the collective entity of Jewry for anything at all thereby stamps himself an "anti-Semite." Young Mr. Grubach further wins our thanks for having plodded through a particularly deadly-sounding collection of tracts put together by professional anti-anti-Semites, sparing other Revisionists that task. Then Jack Wikoff informs on a particularly informative book about Hollywood (times have changed—just mentioning the sort of thought embodied in Neal Gabler's book's title would have caused one to be labeled—you guessed it—an "anti-Semite" a few years ago).

And finally, it gives us great pride to announce the return of the dean of Revisionist historians, James J. Martin, to the Editorial Advisory Committee of *The Journal*, in the same issue in which he pays tribute to the late George Morgenstern, whose challenge to the Pearl Harbor cover-up over forty years ago may soon be vindicated once and for all. But we save *that* for the next issue of *The Journal*.

Who ever said bringing history into accord with the facts had to be dull?

—Theodore J. O'Keefe

About the Contributors

IVOR BENSON is a South African journalist and political analyst. He wrote for the *Daily Express* and *Daily Telegraph* in London, and later was chief assistant editor of the *Rand Daily Mail*. From 1964 to 1966 he served as Information Adviser to Ian Smith, Prime Minister of Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe). Mr. Benson has lectured on four continents; he produces a monthly newsletter, *Behind the News* (P.O. Box 1564, Krugersdorp, 1740 South Africa).

WILLIAM GRIMSTAD, a professional journalist, has written for four major American newspapers, and been editor of *Georgetown Today*, the official magazine of Georgetown University. Grimstad is a long-time student of international Zionism and its far-flung operations. His two books, *Anti-Zion* and *Six Million Reconsidered*, often regarded as classics in the field, are available from IHR.

PAUL GRUBACH graduated from John Carroll University in Cleveland with honors in Physics (B.S.). He is currently doing graduate work in sociobiology.

FRED A. LEUCHTER is America's leading expert on the design and fabrication of homicidal gas chambers. After receiving a B.A. from Boston University in 1964, Leuchter did postgraduate work at the Harvard Smithsonian Astrophysical Observatory in Cambridge, Massachusetts. He holds patents for the design of sextants, surveying instruments, and optical encoding equipment. He is an accomplished pianist and an NRA-qualified small-arms instructor.

JAMES J. MARTIN graduated from the University of New Hampshire in 1942 and received his M.A. (1945) and Ph.D. (1949) degrees in History from the University of Michigan. His teaching career has spanned twenty-five years and involved residence at educational institutions from coast to coast. Dr. Martin has contributed some of the outstanding books of Revisionism related to the Second World War: the two-volume classic *American Liberalism and World Politics, 1931-1941*, *Beyond Pearl Harbor*, and collected essays *Revisionist Viewpoints* and *The Saga of Hog Island and Other Essays in Inconvenient History*, and his most recent work, *The Man Who Invented 'Genocide': The Public Career and Consequences of Raphael Lemkin*. He is a three-time contributor to the *Dictionary of American Biography* and has as well contributed to recent editions of the *Encyclopedia Britannica*. Dr. Martin's latest book, *An American Adventure in Bookburning in the Style of 1918*, will soon be available through IHR.

CARLO MATTOGNO was born in Orvieto, Italy in 1951. He has done advanced linguistic and exegetical studies in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and Sanskrit. Mr. Mattogno is a specialist in textual criticism, and has published a number of Revisionist studies in Italian, including *Il rapporto Gerstein: anatomia di un falso* and *Auschwitz: due false testimonianze*.

HIDEO MIKI is a graduate of the Japanese Military Academy, and of the Command and General Staff College of the Japanese Self-Defense Forces. In 1982 Lieutenant General Miki retired after a thirty-year career in the Self-Defense Forces. Since 1985 he has been a professor at Japan's National Defense Academy, specializing in the history of the Great Pacific War, including Japan's campaigns in China and against the Soviet Union, and the Korean War. Professor Miki is an expert at kendo, traditional Japanese swordmanship.

JACK WIKOFF is a writer and researcher living in central New York State.

SUPER HIGH-CLARITY
AUDIOTAPES

BROADCAST-QUALITY
VIDEOTAPES

of the complete
NINTH INTERNATIONAL REVISIONIST CONFERENCE

". . . truly the best conference yet . . . splendidly done!" —Carl C. Hatterer

"Significant historical revelations affecting the world to this day . . . Just plain INSPIRING!" —T.J. Constable

"Dynamic, concise, innovative, informative . . . excellent as always." —Dr. A.E. Fucidi

"Exact, deep information. What evidence!" —Jennifer S. Scheib

PROF. ROBERT FAURISSON: "Holocaust Revisionism in France." The growing interest in, and violent reaction to, Holocaust Revisionism in France has made the "gas chamber" issue "the litmus test of French culture." **JEROME BRENTAR: "Demjanjuk Case Update."** Brentar, who has dedicated his life and resources to defending Demjanjuk, tells of his ongoing fight against the OSI, and gives highlights of the Israeli "War Crimes" show trial.

Video (V046) includes Faurisson & Brentar
Faurisson Audio (A091) / Brentar Audio (A092).

DAVID IRVING: "Churchill and U.S. Entry Into WWII." Astounding revelations and hilarious anecdotes concerning Churchill's *real* character and underhanded efforts to maneuver the U.S. into his war against Germany. **FRED LEUCHTER: "The Making of *The Leuchter Report*."** America's leading technical gas chamber expert discusses his dramatic forensic trip to Auschwitz, Birkenau and Majdanek, and the meaning of his startling findings.

Irving Video (V043) / Leuchter Video (V042)
Irving Audio (A088 / Leuchter Audio (A087)

JAMES KEEGSTRA: "Canadian Censorship and the Keegstra Case." Keegstra reveals the sordid fanaticism of the Canadian Holocaust lobby's efforts to suppress Revisionism. **LT. GEN. HIDEO MIKI: "Thoughts on the Military History of the Occupation of Japan."** An honest Japanese appraisal of the East Asia War and the postwar Allied occupation.

Video (V047) includes Keegstra & Miki
Keegstra Audio (A089) / Miki Audio (A085)

REV. HERMAN OTTEN: "Christianity and the Holocaust Story." A leading minister and publisher of *Christian News* takes a stand on the Holocaust story. **PROF. ANTHONY KUBEK: "The Morgenthau Plan."** A leading expert talks on the origins and consequences of the notorious plan to decimate postwar Germany by starvation and disease.

Video (V045) includes Otten & Kubek
Otten Audio (A090) / Kubek Audio (A083)

VICTOR MARCHETTI: "The CIA and the 'Making' of History." Former senior CIA official reveals how intelligence agencies manufacture "history." **CARLO MATTOGNO: "The First Gassing at Auschwitz: Genesis of a Myth."** A critical analysis of the "eyewitness" testimony and documents relating to the very first alleged gassings.

Video (V044) includes Marchetti & Mattogno
Marchetti Audio (A086) / Mattogno Audio (A084)

AUDIOTAPES, $9.75 each / $89.00 for the set of 12
VIDEOTAPES, $49.00 each / $299.00 for the set of 7

INSTITUTE FOR HISTORICAL REVIEW
1822½ Newport Blvd. • Suite 191 • Costa Mesa, CA 92627

The Journal of Historical Review

David Irving

Churchill and U.S. Entry Into World War II

Prof. Anthony Kubek

The Morgenthau Plan and the Problem of Policy Perversion

Victor Marchetti

Propaganda and Disinformation: How the CIA Manufactures History

Herman Otten

Christianity, Truth and Fantasy: The Holocaust, Historical Revisionism and Christians Today

—Reviews—

Why Did the Heavens Not Darken?
The "Final Solution" in History
Hitler's Hometown: Linz, Austria, 1908-1945

VOLUME NINE, NUMBER THREE FALL 1989

VOLUME NINE, NUMBER THREE FALL 1989 The Journal of Historical Review

INSTITUTE FOR HISTORICAL REVIEW

The Journal of Historical Review

VOLUME NINE, NUMBER 3/FALL 1989

Editor: Theodore J. O'Keefe

EDITORIAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE

GEORGE ASHLEY, Ph.D.
Los Angeles Unified School District (Ret.)

JOHN BENNETT, LL.B.
Australian Civil Liberties Union
Melbourne, Australia

FRIEDRICH P. BERG, B.Sc.
The Historical Review Committee
Ft. Lee, New Jersey

ALEXANDER V. BERKIS, LL.M., Ph.D.
Longwood College (Ret.)

WALTER BEVERAGGI-ALLENDE, Ph.D.
University of Buenos Aires
Buenos Aires, Argentina

ARTHUR R. BUTZ, Ph.D.
Northwestern University
Evanston, Illinois

BOYD CATHEY, Ph.D.
The Southern Partisan

ROBERT H. COUNTESS, Ph.D.
Huntsville, Alabama

ALBERT J. ECKSTEIN, Ph.D.
Private Research Consultant

ROBERT FAURISSON, Ph.D.
University of Lyon-2
Lyon, France

DITLIEB FELDERER
Revisionist History Magazine
Taby, Sweden

GEORG FRANZ-WILLING, Ph.D.
Überlingen, West Germany

SAMUEL EDWARD KONKIN III
New Libertarian
Long Beach, California

MARTIN A. LARSON, Ph.D.
The Spotlight
Washington, D.C.

WILLIAM B. LINDSEY, Ph.D.
Research Chemist

JAMES J. MARTIN, Ph.D.
Ralph Myles Publishers
Colorado Springs, Colorado

CARLO MATTOGNO
Italy

REVILO P. OLIVER, Ph.D.
University of Illinois (Ret.)
Urbana, Illinois

IVO OMRCANIN, S.T.D.,
J.D.C., J.S.D., LL.D
Indiana University of Pennsylvania (Ret.)
Washington, D.C.

WILHELM STÄGLICH, Dr. Jur.
Badenweiler, West Germany

UDO WALENDY, Diplo. Pol.
Verlag für Volkstum und
Zeitgeschichtsforschung
Vlotho/Weser, West Germany

MARK WEBER, M.A.
The Historical Review Committee

ANDREAS R. WESSERLE, Ph.D.
Marquette University (Ret.)
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

The Journal of Historical Review is published quarterly by the Institute for Historical Review, P.O. Box 1306, Torrance, California 90505. Subscriptions include the *IHR Newsletter*, containing news of interest to academic and lay Historical Revisionists, which is issued in alternate months of issue of *The Journal of Historical Review* except August. Combined subscription price is $40 per year, $65 for two years and $90 for three years. Add $10 per year for foreign subsciptions. Add $20 per year for overseas airmail delivery. Remittances for subscriptions must be payable in U.S. dollars drawable on a U.S. bank. Quantity subscription and bulk issue rates are available on request. Appropriate, double-spaced manuscripts are welcomed by the editor, and must be accompanied by return postage.

Listed:

Library of Congress
British Library
PTLA Catalog
EBSCO Librarians Handbook/Serials Directory
Ulrich's International Periodical Directory
Turner Periodical Catalog
Standard Periodical Directory
Swet's Subscription Service

ISSN: 0195-6752

Institute for Historical Review
P.O. Box 1306
Torrance, California 90505

Permission is hereby granted for reprints of any article contained herein, providing that no changes or alterations are made prior to printing, and also providing that the following attribution appears with the article:

Reprinted by permission of *The Journal of Historical Review*, P.O. Box 1306, Torrance, CA 90505, United States of America. Domestic subscription rate: $40 per year, foreign rate: $50 per year.

Two copies of each reprint should be submitted to the publisher of *The Journal of Historical Review*.

Table of Contents

Volume Nine, No. 3 *Fall, 1989*

Articles

Churchill and U.S. Entry Into World War II — 261
David Irving

The Morgenthau Plan and the Problem of Policy Perversion — 287
Prof. Anthony Kubek

Propaganda and Disinformation: How the CIA Manufactures History — 305
Victor Marchetti

Christianity, Truth and Fantasy: The Holocaust, Historical Revisionism and Christians Today — 321
Herman Otten

Reviews

Arno J. Mayer, *Why Did The Heavens Not Darken?* — 361
Arthur R. Butz
Robert Faurisson

Evan Burr Buckey, *Hitler's Hometown: Linz, Austria, 1908-1945* — 380
John M. Ries

About the Contributors — 384

From the Editor

This fall the Western media have marked the outbreak of war in Europe fifty years ago, on September 1, 1939, in strident and self-congratulatory tones. To the press, and to the professional historical establishment, the Second World War is still the "good war," American's and its allies' crusade against evil made manifest in the person of Adolf Hitler and his followers.

From the time that Great Britain's "blank check" to Poland in March 1939, which made war virtually inevitable, to the present, powerful intersts have been at work to insure that the subsequent history of the war differ as little as possible from the Allies' wartime propaganda (a propaganda which, to judge from the continuing obsession with German villainy in Hollywood and elsewhere, continues). Two basic themes—the "aggression" of Germany and its allies, and their unparalleled cruelty and brutality, culminating in the Jewish "Holocaust"—have become the touchstones for historical and social orthodoxy in East and West. To challenge the historical taboos of "the good war" has resulted in professional, and even physical, peril since 1945.

We who are seeking to revise the history of the Second World War by bringing it into accord with the facts have faced and fought far more determined foes than did the historians who established the truth about the origins, conduct, and conclusion of the First World War, according to no less an authority than Harry Elmer Barnes himself, the great Revisionist of both this century's world wars. But those of us who have had to become expert at seeing the reality behind the shadows projected for us by Big Brother can readily perceive the clear fact—and a fact becoming more clear with every day—that it is we Revisionists who have seized the offensive and begun our relentless advance, and it is the entire Establishment which is now fighting defensively.

Surely, never before have we noticed as many "revisionists" throughout the length and breadth of the intellectual landscape. It is almost as if someone, somewhere, by attaching the Revisionist label to enough people, sought to distract attention from the genuine article. No "conspiracy theory" here though. All we wish to note is that all of a sudden the "R-word" seems to be on everybody's lips. Since the Institute

(continued on page 304)

Churchill and U.S. Entry Into World War II

(Paper Presented to the Ninth International Revisionist Conference)

DAVID IRVING

Churchill was a magnificent man, a wonderful writer, a brilliant speaker. Writing at his worst, he was better than most of us other writers writing flat-out at our best. I've said it often before and it's undoubtedly true. He had a habit of finding a cutting phrase, and when I look back on my own last 25 years of crime—my writing life as an author—I sometimes remember the sentence which I quote here in Volume II [of *Churchill's War*—ed.]:

> A man's life is similar to a walk down a long passage with closed windows to each side. As you reach each window an unseen hand opens it; but the light that it lets in only increases by contrast the darkness at the end.

Beautiful piece of Winston Churchill descriptive writing. Yet he was a man who had very, very odd facets. He was a man who was almost a pervert, who liked to expose himself to people. You don't find this in the average Churchill biography. You'll find it in mine. Such flashes of mature insight were tempered by patches of behavior that witnesses could only describe as infantile. The same general, wearily watching Winston throw yet another tantrum, remarked *sotto voce* to Hugh Dalton, minister of Economic Warfare: "One feels that a nurse should come and fetch him away."

Some of his fetishes must have had their roots in his unsettled infancy. He had a whimsical habit of exposing himself, just like a naughty child, both to his young male secretaries and to his elders and betters. Each one thought that he was being uniquely privileged, but this happened so frequently that it cannot have been fortuitous. No matter how high ranking the personage—with the exception, it seems, of

His Majesty—he was likely to find himself received by Britain's prime minister in a state of total nudity on one pretext or another. Churchill frequently received his ministers or staff officers while sitting in or stepping out of the bath—these blessed folk being referred to afterwards as Mr. Churchill's "Companions of the Bath." He resembled, in the words of Brigadier Menzies, chief of the secret service, a "nice pink pig" wrapped in a silk kimono. "Sometimes," recalled "C" in 1967, "I had to talk to the PM when he was undressed and once, when in the bath, he mentioned he had nothing to hide from me." (On another occasion Churchill cautioned him to silence and pointed to his Persian cat, Nelson, looking out of a window: "He's in touch with the pelicans on the lake," he said, "and they're communicating our information to the German secret service!")

Not even foreigners were spared this ordeal: on August 26, 1941 he asked the butler at Chequers to bring Elliott Roosevelt to him. "I knocked on his door," wrote the president's son, "and entered. Churchill was dictating to his male secretary with a large cigar in his mouth . . . he was absolutely starkers, marching up and down the room." Others were treated with scarcely greater mercy—he would wear his white linen undergarments to receive the Canadian prime minister Mackenzie-King in May 1943: "He really was quite a picture but looked like a boy—cheeks quite pink and very fresh." (I'm not sure which cheeks he was referring to!)

It's fun, isn't it. You see, I'm English and you're American, or recently American, and we have this kind of love-hate relationship. I'm sorry that I don't speak your language; perhaps I'll just lay down a bit!

This is one of the basic problems that Churchill had in the war years: persuading the Americans to come in and fight his war for him. Because by 1940 it had become Churchill's war. It was no longer concerned with Poland, Poland was forgotten as soon as Poland was defeated, but the war by 1940 became a matter of self-prolongation. It had become important to Churchill's own political reign that the war continue.

Less than 20 per cent of Americans felt in June 1942 that there should be closer collaboration with Britain after the war. This is what the Gallup Poll found out in June of 1942. They saw the British as aristocratic, snobbish, selfish, arrogant and cold. (Now there's nothing wrong with being arrogant, we spend a lot of money sending our boys to school to teach them arrogance.) The Gallup Poll also found how the British, at this

time, saw the Americans: their image was one of conceit, cocksureness, gangsterism, graft and corruption (this sounds almost anti-Semitic, doesn't it?). Churchill generally was liked: 45 per cent liked him—25 per cent liked Chiang Kai-shek, 7 per cent liked Stalin. Those disliking him included the Negroes, the Irish, the Midwestern farmers and people of German descent—for some odd reason!

When Churchill came to the shores of the United States he did not receive unanimously favorable fan mail. The FBI files, which I've been going through for my Churchill research, contain some prize letters which were intercepted by the FBI, including this anonymous letter from a California mother of three:

> Every time you appear on our shores, it means something very terrible for us. Why do you not stay at home and fight your own battles instead of always pulling us into them to save your rotten neck? You are taking foul advantage of our blithering idiot of a president. (June 19, 1942).

You see, if I'm known for anything as a historian, apart from being a pain in the neck, it's because I uncover things. And uncovering things does not necessarily mean you go into the archives and see something and say: "Look at this, this is something quite extraordinary." If you go into the archives long enough, ten or twenty years, you become what I would call a "gap-ologist." I can spot gaps in archives and they're much more difficult to spot, because they've been papered over and the files have been closed and it's only by going through the archives over a period of many years that you get the gut feeling that something isn't there that should be there. And you get this kind of gut feeling when you look into the American archives, and then you look in the British archives, and then you go to Australia and Canada and the other archives, and you think to yourself "Wait a minute, in the American archives I've seen a whole heap of documents on that but here I am in the archives outside of London, and yet there's a gap!" It takes a long time before you can put your finger on that gap—because, it's not there—there's not exactly a label saying "What's this gap. Try and spot what it is." So I've become a bit of a gap-ologist—I look for what is missing from the files. And particularly in the history of how we managed to drag you in in 1941—there are gaps. There are gaps in the files particularly relating to Japan and the United States. And there are gaps in the files all the way back to 1936, when the Americans first invaded the British Empire.

You don't know of this invasion because nobody makes a great fuss about it now, in view of the fact of our special relationship with you. There's not just one nation that has a special relationship with you, there's another one (every time that Israel is described as America's staunchest ally, Mrs. Thatcher winces!) And the fact that occasionally you've done the dirty on us is neatly overlooked. The fact that you robbed us blind in 1940-41 is overlooked. The fact that back in 1936 President Roosevelt sent U.S. Marines to invade Canton Island, at that time a British possession in the Phoenix Islands in the South Pacific peopled at that time by only one British Resident (capital "R" British Resident), who had his native wife (they lived in a grass hut and they had the Union Jack ran up on a flag pole). Pan Am needed that island for an interim stopping point on its flights down to the South Pacific—and so Roosevelt sent the Marines to throw the British out!

Now, you may find it surprising that there's no reference to this in the British archives. But it is referred to in the catalog of the British Archives. You'll find it says: "American policy: Canton Island; closed until the 21st century." All pages referring to this painful episode are closed until 2017—so I'm not going to be able to see them! This is a typical example of the gaps you look for. You'll find the papers on them in the American archives, clearly enough, which is how I first came to find out about this—in the private papers of Harold Ickes, who was the Secretary of the Interior at that time. This was part of his purview.

I think Professor Warren S. Kimball, who is a great Churchillologist in the American university system at Rutgers University, was the first person to draw attention to the gaps in the British archives relating to the Japanese files. For all of the intelligence files relating to Japan have been withdrawn, and not just any files relating to Japan, but precisely the month before Pearl Harbor, gone: out of the British files.

I humbly add to this the fact that if you look a bit further you can see other gaps—if you look at the biography of Winston Churchill written by Martin Gilbert and published by Heinemann, he's the authorized Churchill biographer (which rather implies that nobody else ought to write about Churchill, but I've arrogated to myself, in my arrogant way, the job of writing an un-authorized biography), if you look at Martin Gilbert's biography, you'll find on one page of volume six that something has clearly been removed referring to November the 26th, 1941, which is a very important day in the history of

pre-Pearl Harbor. November 26, 1941 is the day when we prevailed on the Americans to stand firm with the Japanese, thereby insuring that war would break out. And on that day in the Martin Gilbert biography, you'll find a paragraph has obviously been removed at some time because there's been reference to a letter that Churchill wrote to the president that has been taken out on that day—and we know it's gone because in the next paragraph Martin Gilbert rather foolishly continues with the words: ". . . on the same day such and such a thing happened!" And it no longer means the same day. So you could spot where the gap was. It's obviously all been shuffled up again and the pages have been reset, for something has been taken out relating to November 26, 1941.

If you look into the American archives under that date, and you go into the National Archives building on Pennsylvania avenue in Washington D.C., and look at all the telegrams that went between London and Washington on that date, about forty of them went through embassy channels, you can see the serial numbers of the telegrams, and suddenly there are two telegrams that had serial numbers that are not in the archives—they have vanished from the archives! And this kind of thing didn't happen. If a serial number was allocated to a telegram and that telegram number was not used, then a blank page goes into the archives with a reference number "not used."

So two telegrams have been removed from the archives, because there's a gap in the numbering. And we don't know precisely what happened on November 26th, except by odd allusions to it in the diaries of Roosevelt's staff. So the gaps begin to be significant. And then you realize what was making you unhappy about the British and American archives—and it's a huge thing . . . it's so big that you wonder why you didn't discover it in the first place! And it's the big things that people often don't notice. Just like, for example, in the famous case of the Adolf Hitler diaries that were published back in 1983. I was interested in the chemical test of the glue on the string and the ink and the paper, and so on—but it was the big thing that all of us overlooked, I've got to admit. This was the fact that when I saw the diaries—there was 62 of them stacked up on the table—all identical Adolf Hitler diaries in his handwriting, apparently authentic, and yet the thing that should have occured to all of us at that time was obvious. The fact that if there were 62 diaries, all identical, on that table in 1983 this meant that back in about 1920 Adolf Hitler had gone

into his local stationers and said: "I want 62 diaries please . . . I'm going to write a diary!" You see? None of us spotted that. I have to admit that, although I'm rather ashamed to admit it. And so it is with the archives over the water, in London, and here in Washington.

In Washington the American government has now released all their Japanese intercepts. Everything that was decoded from the Japanese diplomatic files, and some of the naval files, and military signals and water company messages and so on, that we were decoding in 1940 and 1941 and onwards, by the famous "Magic" machines, the diplomatic code "Purple," and various other codes of that series, has now been released to the National Archives in Washington by the NSA (the National Security Agency). Millions of pages of intercepts that were generated by the Japanese and decoded by the American army and navy cryptographers during the Second World War are in the American archives. In the British archives there is not one single page of a Japanese message decoded by the British.

This is not easily spotted, because it is a gap! There is no kind of gap on the shelves with a sign saying, "Here's where the British decrypts will eventually come when they are released." They just keep very quiet about them!

For example, a few months ago, I came across a very low-level order by Churchill on security. They're looking at the movements of the Japanese foreign minister. Churchill's chief of staff, a man called Ismay, writes to Churchill, saying "Well, what do we do about the attached document?" And the attached document, which is quite obviously, from the content, an intercept of a Japanese message of February 1941, has been withdrawn by the British government. And there is a withdrawal sheet there saying that the attached document had been withdrawn but you don't know what it is. You only know from inference from the covering letters that it is an intercept of a Japanese message.

So what does all this mean? It means that we British were definitely reading Japanese signals in the years before Pearl Harbor. I will elaborate shortly upon which particular codes we were reading, and it means that we are so ashamed of what we were getting out of those signals that we dare not admit: A, that we were getting Japanese messages, and B, we dare not take the risk of releasing any of those messages in the archives in case some clever David Irving comes along five years from now and sees what inferences to draw from them. We are entitled to draw a further inference, C, from this, and this is

that the people who are hiding things are doing so out of a basically guilty conscience.

The Americans have not hidden any of their Japanese intercepts so far as we're aware. I think any authorized historian would go along with me on that particular claim. The Americans have been enormously up front about releasing all their intercepts now into the National Archives, in fact it's an embarrassing profusion of intercepts—we don't know what to do with them—there are millions of them. No one historian has time to go through them all, they're so many. And yet, we British have not released a single page. You don't even find scattered misfiled pages in the archives—all have sedulously been weeded out of the files.

I think that what happened was this: back in September of 1939 we began reading the Japanese fleet operational code, JN-25 (JN: Japanese Navy), and these Japanese naval intercepts were being read by us, finally, at a much higher level than the American cryptographers were capable of. I could read out to you various documents in the course of this evening if I wanted to show the displeasure that the Americans felt with us that we were not releasing to them everything that we had. George Marshall wrote letters to the President about it. A man called McCormack was sent to Britian in 1943 to find out if there was any way of getting the British intelligence authorities to release still more of their intercepts, because the Americans had by that time realized that we were decoding more than we were releasing. And we are left with the problem of trying to work out why we have not released the JN-25 intercepts to the archives in Britain, and whether we're entitled to draw conclusions from this. It's a gap and it's an embarrassing gap. I think this is one reason why, as Warren Kimball has pointed out, certain British foreign office files relating to Japan from September-October and particularly from November of 1941 have been withdrawn completely from the British archives even though they're just about Japan, apparently, not necessarily containing intercept material. They've been withdrawn from the archives in violation of our 30-year rule and they're not going to be put into the archives until long after all of us in this room are dead. This again is the action of a guilty conscience.

My colleague, John Costello, a very fine writer, who has written detailed books about Pearl Harbor, has made formal applications to the Ministry of Defense in Britain and he has been told: "It would not be in the national interest for these

files to be released." Not in the national interest! Now, nearly fifty years later, we still can't be told what happened before Pearl Harbor?

Let's have a look at some of the other gaps so you can see the way that we've all been misled and how some of your most famous historians have not found out how we've been misled. Let us look, for example, at the private diary of Henry Stimson. Henry Stimson, the American secretary of war, conservative, Republican, elderly gentleman, upright, fine, decent, wrote a very detailed diary. As did a number of cabinet members – thank God – he dictated them onto a dictaphone disk. When he retired at the end of each day he would dictate onto a disk and the next day the secretary would type up what the boss had dictated the day before. These diary entries are sometimes 25 or 30 pages long, and if you go to Yale University you can read the Henry Stimson diary in original. I do emphasize the importance to any of you who want to write or want to see what true history is: don't read "printed" versions of diaries, read the original if you can. If you can't, then get microfilm copies or photocopies, because that's the only way you're going to get a feel for where the faking has been done.

I remember reading one of Rommel's diaries: Rommel had just lost a particularly stupid battle in November of 1941, and he realized a week or two later, the stupid mistake he had made, and he had his secretary, a corporal, retype the page in the diary – correcting history after the event! The corporal sat down and religiously typed it out, and he made the mistake that all of us make on the first day of any new year, he put the wrong year at the head of the page: November 1942! This is a clear give-away.

The same thing happens in the Henry Stimson diary, in the month before Pearl Harbor. If you look in the original diary you will find clear evidence that the pages of the Stimson diary have been tampered with before Pearl Harbor. Probably by him, himself.

Every secretary has her own idiosyncrasies: they indent by a certain number of words at the beginning of a paragraph, they leave two or three spaces after a period or comma, they underline the date or they don't, they write 23 lines to a page or whatever. And Stimson's secretary, being a top-flight Washington secretary, did just that. She typed the diary meticulously. Which means, of course, that if she takes out a paragraph on a page, or takes out a sentence or two sentences

and retypes it, you can spot it. And if somebody else does it, of course, retypes it two or three years later, you can spot it even better, because it's a different secretary by then.

If you look in the Stimson diary you'll find that in November and October 1941, two months before Pearl Harbor, that repeatedly passages have been taken out of the Stimson diary, and that page had been retyped by a different secretary for the reasons I just described. And on Pearl Harbor day itself, December 7, 1941, we find that from page three onward the whole diary has been retyped. Again, by the same secretary, the one who retyped it three or four years later, because it always contains the same idiosyncrasies of the second lady and not the original secretary.

How many historians discovered that? And are we entitled to draw any conclusions as to what went in and to what's been taken out? Well, as luck would have it, on November 4, 1944, Stimson had a strange telephone call from Henry Morgenthau. Henry Morgenthau, secretary of the treasury, telephoned Henry Stimson, deeply troubled because the Morgenthau plan was being accused of costing the lives of two divisions of GIs. Morgenthau telephones Stimson and begs for absolution. He says: "Say it isn't so, Henry!" And if you go into the Morgenthau Diary, in the Roosevelt library in Hyde Park, you'll find this very interesting entry penciled in, which again, nobody else has spotted—not even Arthur Schlesinger Jr. so far as I know—November 4, 1944, 8:45: "Telephoned Henry Stimson, Cold Springs, and urged him to do something [to deny Dewey's claim that the Morgenthau Plan had prolonged the war]. He sounded tired, more tired than ever. He said he was tired out from working the last two weeks on the Pearl Harbor report, to keep out anything that might hurt the president." So there you've got it! Round about the same time he was going through his diaries, thinking: My God, did I write that down in the diaries? Better cut that out." "Miss Moneypenny, can you retype these pages for me?" It's a cover-up.

Again, you can spot what's gone out of those pages. Because if you read the whole of 1941, throughout all the other months Stimson is writing down, every day, the details of the Magics that he gets, the intercepts of the Japanese messages, the diplomatic reports. Stimson is writing them down every day until suddenly, just before Pearl Harbor, around November the third, every reference to Japan dries up suddenly. From November the third onwards, right through until November

the twenty-sixth, there's no reference to Japan at all in his diaries, apparently, in the edited version. Now that's a likely story. What he's done is he's gone through cutting out everything! Because he's very scared indeed, because here is piece of evidence after piece of evidence that the Japanese are up to something. So he's gone throught the diaries and cut out these references.

Now in the British Archives there's another gap, and again it only comes to you when you've been working on the subject intensively in the other archives. This concerns the "Winds message." I won't go into a complicated description of what the "Winds message" was. Suffice it to say that the Japanese had realized that when war broke out, they would need some cryptic way of telling their embassies abroad who was going to be the enemy and when war was going to break out. They decided to tell the various embassies abroad to watch out in the local Japanese weather forecast that was broadcast around the world—an ordinary weather forecast broadcast from Tokyo. These distant embassies in London, Rome, and Berlin, were to watch for certain messages about which way the wind was blowing, and whether it was going to rain. And this "Winds message," which was issued from Tokyo on November 19, 1941, was decoded by us—this preparatory message, from November the twenty-fifth, we should say—was decoded by us, the British and Americans, on November the twenty-fifth. Messages went out to all our listening posts: Singapore, Hong Kong, the east and west coasts of the United States, and in Britain—to listen for the slightest sign of the "Winds execute" transmission.

In the American archives there are tons and tons of documents about the "Winds message," in the SRH series in the National Archives, Record Group 457. You'll find that there are expositions on it, there are summaries of it, there are deliberations and accusations and debates and Pearl Harbor hearings about the "Winds message." We British were asked to keep our ears open for the "Winds message" too. Because obviously we might equally likely pick up the "Winds message." Because such are the idiosyncrasies in the propagation of radio waves that we sometimes pick up radio messages broadcast from Japan that the Americans can't pick up. So we were listening out for it, too. And yet, if you look in the British archives relating to Japan, if you look in the BBC archives too, you won't find even a reference to the "Winds message," let alone the search for it, let alone the result. Did we

or did we not pick up the "Winds execute" message which gave us sufficient warning, as it gave the Americans, in fact on December the fourth, three days before Pearl Harbor, Japan was about to attack Britain, about to attack the United States, but was not about to attack Russia.

Well, I think that we did. I think that our intelligence services did pick up the "Winds message" and that Churchill either did or did not communicate that vital information to the United States. We'll come to that matter in a minute.

Churchill's great nightmare throughout 1941 was that he was going to find himself blundering into war with Japan—alone. And that the United States would hang out until the last minute and then not come in. This is written very large in all of Churchill's deliberations both inside his cabinet and in private. But of course Churchill's deliberations inside his cabinet didn't mean very much because Churchill's cabinet had about as much brains as the band on the Johnny Carson Show. You see, Churchill knew that Roosevelt wanted war, but Churchill was familiar with Roosevelt's basic problem: namely, that the American people did not want war. Churchill did all he could to help Roosevelt out of his dilemma.

We were reading the German submarine codes. We knew where the German submarines were in the Atlantic, so Churchill took pains to ensure that our convoys coming across the Atlantic, escorted by American ships, would head directly to where the German U-boats were, in the hopes that the U-boats would sink an American ship. This was the kind of thing that we can see going on now that we're gradually getting access to all the files. You now begin to understand where the British national interest is: that these things should not be released.

Back in 1941, Churchill's biggest problem was the Ambassador, Joseph P. Kennedy, the American ambassador in the Court of St. James. Joseph P. Kennedy, one of my favorite characters of World War Two, father of President Kennedy, who was probably not one of my favorite characters. Joseph Kennedy was a glorious, Irish, Catholic bigot. Roosevelt had a sense of humor in appointing him to London and he admitted that he had only done it as a bit of a joke. Churchill found it anything but a joke when he became Prime Minister.

Kennedy had a habit of reporting back to Washington the truth! When Kennedy went to ask Chamberlain, the Prime Minister, why he shouldn't have Churchill in his cabinet, Chamberlain's reply was that "the man was very unstable and

he's become a fine two-fisted drinker." Churchill knew what Kennedy was reporting because we were reading the American diplomatic codes as well, and Churchill did everything he could to get rid of Kennedy—by fair means or foul. In fact Kennedy, as his diaries make plain (we've got certain fragments of Kennedy's diaries, which are quite interesting, because he was viciously anti-Semitic). Kennedy believed that Churchill was capable of stooping to anything to bring the United States in to war. In one telegram he reports back to Washington that he thinks that Churchill is on the point of bombing the U.S. Embassy in London. He believed that Churchill, in 1940, was about to bomb the American Embassy in London and claim that the Germans had done it! Later on, in 1940, when Kennedy decides to go back to Florida for a vacation, he takes the plane down to Lisbon, and he boards the USS *Manhattan* to sail back across the Atlantic, and in a bit of a panic because he knows who he's dealing with, he's dealing with Churchill, he sends a telegram to the State Department saying: "Please, will you announce that if the USS *Manhattan* is torpedoed and sunk, it will not be considered a *casus belli*, that the United States will not declare war over this because I have reason to believe that Churchill is planning to torpedo the USS *Manhattan* knowing that I'm on board!" Now these telegrams are not contained in the published volumes of the foreign relations of the United States. I found them in the archives (they are in Suitland, Maryland) and I quoted them in the first volume of my Churchill biography as well as even more hilarious telegrams in the subsequent volume. They do show that Kennedy had correctly assessed what Churchill was up to. He was trying to drag the United States into the war by hook or by crook.

In the middle of 1940 Churchill hit on the idea of buying from the United States, 50 destroyers, World War I destroyers, which were completely useless, and exchanging them for valuable pieces of British Empire real estate. He gave to the United States bits of the Caribbean islands, that were our colonies, he gave bits of Newfoundland, and bits of British Guiana, in return for 50 destroyers, that were so useless, in fact, that not one saw action in World War Two, except, I think, for the *Campbelltown* which was only fit to be towed across the English Channel laden with dynamite and blown up in the French dock gates in St. Nazaire in March 1942. It wasn't a very good bargain, in other words. In the words of

Adolf Berle, the American undersecretary of state, writing in his diary: "With one single gulp we have managed to obtain a large part of the British Empire, in return for nothing." Namely those 50 destroyers. This was one of the methods that Churchill was using in an attempt to bring the United States closer and closer to the brink of war.

Another method that he used was far more cynical. As he said to Ambassador Kennedy in June or July 1940: "You watch, when Adolf Hitler begins bombing London and bombing towns in Britain like Boston and Lincoln, towns with their counterparts in the United States, you Americans will have to come in, won't you, you can't just stand aside and watch our suffering." But he knew from code-breaking, he knew from reading the German air force signals, which were broken on May 26, 1940, that Hitler had given orders that no British town was to be bombed. London was completely embargoed. The German air force was allowed to bomb ports and harbors and dockyards, but not towns as such. Churchill was greatly aggrieved by this. He wondered how much longer Hitler could afford carrying on war like this. Hitler, as we know, carried on until September 1940 without bombing any English towns. The embargo stayed in force, we can see it in the German archives now, and we know from the code-breaking of the German signals that Churchill was reading Hitler's orders to the German air force: not on any account to bomb these towns. So there was no way that we could drag in the Americans that way unless we could provoke Hitler to do it. Which was why, on August 25, 1940, Churchill gave the order to the British air force to go and bomb Berlin. Although the chief of the bomber command and the chief of staff of the British air force warned him that if we bombed Hitler, he may very well lift the embargo on British towns. And Churchill just twinkled. Because that was what he wanted—of course.

At 9:15 that morning he telephoned personally the bomber commander, himself, to order the bombing of Berlin, 100 bombers to go and bomb Berlin. They went out and bombed Berlin that night, and Hitler still didn't move. Then Churchill ordered another raid on Berlin and so it went on for the next seven or ten days until finally, on September 4th, Hitler lost his patience and made that famous speech in the Sport Palace in Berlin in which he said: "This madman has bombed Berlin now seven times. If he bombs Berlin now once more, then I shall not only just attack their towns, I shall wipe them out!" ("Ich werde ihre Städte ausradieren!"A very famous speech. Of

course German schoolchildren are told about the Hitler speech, but not told about what went first. They're not told how Churchill set out deliberately to provoke the bombing of his own capital. And on the following day Churchill ordered Berlin bombed again. And now of course the Germans started bombing the docks in London, the East End of London, finally the city of London and the West End on November 6 and 7, 1940. In September 1940 7,000 Londoners were killed in the bombing as the result of Churchill's deliberate provocation. The files are there, the archives are there. No wonder Harold Macmillan didn't want my book published!

Still the Americans didn't come in. Kennedy was still the ambassador. Churchill moved heaven and earth to have him dismissed and recalled to the United States. Churchill, you see, had been secretly conniving with Roosevelt ever since the outbreak of the war. In fact, we have to say that although these telegrams, from October 1939 onwards, showed Churchill conniving with Roosevelt, we have to wonder what went on between these two men in private, even before the exchange of telegrams. I think, personally, that secret emissaries passed to and fro between these two men.

We know that Roosevelt sent Judge Felix Frankfurter, one of his closest intimates and advisors, to Britain. We know that Frankfurter came over and we know the kind of advice he gave to Churchill, and that was before the war. We know that Churchill frequently sent his own intimates back to Roosevelt. More significantly we know that even though Churchill was only a minister at that time, not even Prime Minister, just the First Sea Lord, the navy minister, Roosevelt telephoned him, frequently.

I don't know, frankly, why Neville Chamberlain put up with it as the prime minister: that the president, the head of state of a neutral power, should go over the head of the Prime Minister, behind his back, behind the back of his own cabinet, in telephone conversations in time of war with a minister, with a subordinate minister, an ambitious subordinate minister, in the shape of Winston Churchill. Possibly because Chamberlain was tapping the telephone and preferred to have a devil he did know to a devil he didn't know! Unfortunately, these telephone conversations between Churchill and Roosevelt, which went on long after Churchill became prime minister, of course, are not in the archives. I have left no stone unturned to try and find the transcripts of those telephone conversations because that is the two men speaking to each

other, through their own mouths and ears and the telephone system. Not through committees, not through telegrams being drafted by undersecretaries and so on, but they were really conferring, conspiring, and conniving with each other.

In the United States these telephone conversations were censored and intercepted by the Department of the Navy. It was the Navy's job to carry out the censorship of the telephone and telegraphic communications in the United States. And unfortunately Harry Truman—no great statesman, God bless him, in the best of times—at the end of World War Two ordered that the office-of-censorship records were to be kept closed in perpetuity. So if those transcripts of those telephone conversations are in those files, we're never going to know what those two men said to each other. But we need to know what they said to each other. In Britain, unfortunately, no transcripts have been released. I find it inconceivable that there isn't somewhere down the telephone line, at each end, there wasn't a shorthand secretary somewhere taking down what these two men said.

There's no doubt at all that they did their major work on the telephone. When Rudolph Hess made his misguided flight to Scotland in 1941, and Churchill kept him locked up under lock and key as the secret prisoner of the British secret service, Roosevelt was desperate to find out about what was going on in Britain and wanted to have some special propaganda movies made of Rudolph Hess. Finally one of Roosevelt's private staff wrote him a memorandum, which I think is highly significant. The memorandum said: "I think it's time for a telephone job." A telephone job! As though it's a kind of key word—a buzz word—inside the White House. The memorandum goes on: "This isn't one which we can put around through the usual channels in the State Department—it's got to be done by a telephone job." I think these are the channels that historians should start looking for when they're trying to find out about the lead up to Pearl Harbor. They've got to get those transcripts of those telephone conversations.

There's a key cabinet meeting of November 7, 1941, a cabinet meeting that's referred to in the Henry Stimson diary and in the private diary of Claude Wickard, oddly enough the secretary of agriculture. You wouldn't think you'd find military secrets in the diary of the secretary of agriculture, but that's just the kind of place that I look. I remember I was sitting in the archives next to Arthur Schlesinger, the famous writer

on Roosevelt, and I drew his attention to these Wickard diaries, handwritten diaries recording Roosevelt's cabinet meetings, which are not recorded officially anywhere else. And Schlesinger's jaw dropped and he said: "Jeez, I didn't know there were these things." On November 7, 1941 Roosevelt held a cabinet meeting in which he revealed that Churchill had telephoned him a few days earlier, and recommended a preemptive attack on Japan. You see, now you're beginning to get the picture of who is pushing whom! We were trying to get the United States in the war somehow, by hook or by crook! And the methods we used in those pre-war years, and in the first years of the Second World War, to bring the United States in—I think are methods you've never even dreamed of.

First of all, we were the ones, I'm sure, in a telephone conversation between Churchill and Roosevelt on the night of the 24th to 25th of July 1941, who persuaded Roosevelt to take the fateful step of issuing sanctions against Japan, sanctions whereby Japan would receive no more oil, no more vital raw materials, sanctions which drove Japan into a corner because oil was running out. She was fighting a war in China, and had no other way of continuing that war. Unless she went to war herself against, for example, the Dutch East Indies, where she could get hold of the oil she needed. I think that it was Churchill that took that step. We had been doing all we could in the 1940-1941 periord to drag the United States in. We had deliberately routed the American convoys towards German submarines.

Sir William Stephenson, remember, the man called "Intrepid," the head of the British secret service in the United States—Sir William Stephenson had been feeding fake documents to Roosevelt through the intelligence service of the OSS, to William Donovan, Wild Bill, the man we ourselves had appointed the head of the American secret service—an extraordinary coincidence you might think. We were feeding documents to him to feed on to Roosevelt proving to him [Roosevelt] that Hitler was about to invade South America. For example, an unfortunate major, Elias Del Monte, who was the Bolivian military attaché in Berlin, found his signature at the foot of a letter that he had written to his government at La Paz describing German plans to invade Bolivia. Fortunately Del Monte was recalled immediately to La Paz, cashiered and dismissed. Bolivia declared war on Germany. All the result of a letter which we ourselves (the British secret service) had

faked. All this came about in 1972. When it came out, Del Monte, who was still alive, was reinstated with full honors, promoted to general and there was a grand parade in his honor at La Paz. One of the extraordinary episodes of World War II!

A British intelligence agent duped the govenor of Dutch Guyana into believing that a German raider was busy in their waters. So that country also declared war on Germany. August 2, 1941, we passed fake documents to Bogota claiming evidence of plans to cause rioting in Bogota. The Colombians didn't play along. In 1942 we went a stage further. Now this is not a rather shaky memory presented forty years later on "60 Minutes," but is recorded in the State Department archives. In May 1942 American ambassador in Bogota sends a rather worried telegram to the State Department saying that I have been approached by our British counterpart saying that the head of their SIS section, Stagg, attached to their embassy in Bogota, has received orders from his headquarters to assassinate the Colombian foreign minister, and has requested the American embassy for technical assistance in carrying out his mission. Are we to go ahead with this? And the State Department wrote right back: "You are not to go ahead with this! We totally disagree with this kind of operation and we are getting rather fed up with what British secret service getting up to in South America!

I was puzzled about this. I thought: had this unfortunate Columbian foreign minister got a record of neo-Nazi activities, perhaps? Was he a disbeliever in the Holocaust? Was there some reason to justify his being terminated—I think that's the modern phrase—by the British secret service?

So I went to great trouble. I checked all the diplomatic books, looked up all the Staggs in the archives, and found a Louis Stagg, who had been honorary consul in Graham Greenesque fashion in Havana, Cuba, and who eventually had been posted further to South America. He was alive and well and living in Paris. I went to interview him and yes, it was true: he had been instructed to assassinate the Columbian Foreign Minister. So I contacted the Columbian authorities, could they give me a small cameo of this Prime Minister, was he particularly pro-German? "Oh no, he was very pro-British!" The plot thickens, why would we want to assassinate a pro-British Columbian Foreign Minister in May, 1942? The answer is: he was due to retire anyway, at the end of that month! And the blame was going to be put on the Germans for

carrying out the assassination! This is all in volume two. Needless to say Macmillan is probably not going to publish this one either.

On Navy Day, October 27, 1941, Roosevelt issued a statement on American ship sinkings. "History has recorded who fired the first shot," he said. "Hitler has often protested that his plans of conquest do not extend across the Atlantic ocean. His submarines and raiders prove otherwise. So does the entire design of his new World Order. For example," says Roosevelt, "I have in my possession a secret map made in Germany by Hitler's government—by the planners of the New World Order." Printed by Her Majesty's Stationers office in London. "It is a map of South America and a part of Central America as Hitler proposes to organize it. Today in this little area there are fourteen separate countries. The geographical experts of Berlin, however, have ruthlessly obliterated all existing boundary lines and have divided South American into five vassal states, bringing the whole continent under their domination. This map makes clear the Nazi design, not only against South America, but against the United States itself." I must say that since I'm an Englishman—we must take credit for this kind of thing—we printed that map, we gave it to Stephenson, the man called "Intrepid," who gave it to Donovan, who gave it to the OSS, who gave it to the White House, who gave it to the president, who gave it eventually to the Roosevelt archives, where it is now to be seen in the Roosevelt Library in Hyde Park, New York. The genuine fake Nazi map proving that Hitler was planning to invade South America. As though Hitler hadn't had enough on his plate! At a time when he was having a lot of trouble outside of Moscow, he was apparently planning, with his left hand to invade South America and then march on up U.S. 1 to Washington.

Now, was Roosevelt being naïve? The answer is no, of course. He knew perfectly well that this had been furnished him by the British secret service. He was trying to frighten his own public into wanting war.

The other people who were coming into Churchill's court in this particular match were the Zionists. They had been giving Churchill a lot of trouble, in fact, ever since the beginning of the war. They were rather unhappy because they had gone a long way towards financing his climb to power in the mid-1930s. But now that he was in office, as happens so often, he wanted them to go away. But they didn't. They kept on beating a path to No. 10 Downing Street, asking for a Jewish

army, asking for an arsenal of munitions in Palestine, and threatening a lot of trouble if he didn't go along with their plans.

Churchill had, however, no other alternative but to ignore them for the time being. You see, there was a rising tide of anti-Jewish feeling in Britain throughout the early war years. You won't find this in the published histories, of course, but it's there in the archives: in the records of the letters censorship in Britain, in the records of the ministry of the interior, the home secretary. There's a great deal about the problems being caused by anti-Semitic feelings. Nobody in authority could overlook the rising tide of anti-Jewish feeling in Britain. I've written on this in volume two. The stereotype of the lazy, artful, racketeering Jew, is to be found in the private writings of many government officers, including Anthony Eden. In part it was an after-echo of Hitler's propaganda, in part the independent perception by the native British people themselves, who had seen the penniless immigrants arrive from Europe and rise to positions of rapid affluence. I quote from a document: "The growth of anti-Semitism in Britain is partly the result of Jewish refugees being able to fend for themselves better than other refugees," wrote Robert Bruce Lockhart, the shrewd director of Psychological Warfare, commenting on publicly reported black-market cases. He would remark in a later wartime entry in his diary on the large numbers of taxis "filled with Jews" making for the Ascot horse races. In March 1941 he learned that Lord Beaverbrook had inquired about Air Vice-Marshal John Slessor, "Was he a Jew, was he a defeatist?" In July Eden's secretary observed in his diary: "The war hasn't made people more pro-Jew," to which he added three weeks later: "The Jews are their own worst enemy by their conduct in cornering foodstuffs and evacuating themselves to the best billets," and so on.

The insidious rise of anti-Semitic feeling was something which Churchill could not ignore. So no matter how often Zionists came to him, Churchill couldn't knuckle under and say, "Very well then, you can have your own Jewish state, I promise to make a public declaration in that respect and we will already start arming a Jewish army." There were Jewish units in the British army, they fought very well in certain areas, but he was not prepared to pay more than lip-service to the Zionists at this time.

Now, I've had private access to the private papers of Chaim Weizmann, who was the first president of the State of Israel and who was the head of the Jewish agency. And it's very interesting to see from these private papers and the records of his meetings with Churchill throughout the war years, precisely how this bargaining, haggling, and blackmail, in fact, went on.

On August 27, 1941, Weizmann hinted for the first time of the leverage the Americans Jews could exert on President Roosevelt. He reminded Oliver Harvey, who was Eden's secretary, that the Jews were an influential ethnic lobby in the United States (*Quoi de neuf?* as the French say: what's new!). The U.S. secretary of the treasury, Henry Morgenthau Jr., was particularly keen, he said, that Britain should allow more Jews to settle in Palestine. "[The] president's entourage is very Jewish," noted Harvey, who made a careful note of Weizmann's remarks. However, the Zionist leader could not get near Mr. Churchill. (I've got Churchill's appointment cards. I rented them from the man who stole them, and we can see how often Weizmann *didn't* get to see Churchill.)

By September 10, 1941, Weizmann was writing an extraordinarily outspoken letter to Prime Minister Churchill in which he again recalled how the Jews of the United States had pulled their country into war before, and could do it again—provided that Britain toed the Zionist line over immigration into Palestine. He reminded Churchill that two years had passed since the Jewish Agency had offered to Britain the support of the Jews in Palestine and throughout the world. A whole year had passed, he added, since the prime minister had personally approved his offer to recruit Jews in Palestine, but for two years, Weizmann complained, the Jewish Agency had met only rebuffs and humiliation.

"Tortured by Hitler as no nation has ever been in modern times," he continued, "and advertised by him as his foremost enemy, we are refused by those who fight him the chance of seeing our name and our flag appear amongst those arrayed against him." Artfully associating the anti-Zionists with the other enemies populating Mr. Churchill's mind, Weizmann assured him that he knew this exclusion was not of his own [Churchill's] doing. "It is the work of people who were responsible for Munich and for the 1939 White Paper on Palestine." After describing his four-month tour in the United States, Weizmann came to his real sales pitch. "There's only one big ethnic group which is willing to stand to a man for

Great Britain and a policy of all-out aid to her: the five million American Jews. From Secretary Morgenthau, Governor Lehman [of New York State], Justice Felix Frankfurter, down to the simplest Jewish workman or trader, they are conscious of all that this struggle against Hitler implies." British statesmen themselves, he reminded Churchill, had often acknowledged that it was those Jews who has effectively brought the United States into the war in 1917. "They are keen to do it, and may do it again."

"But," he admonished, "you are dealing with human beings, with flesh and blood. And the most elementary feeling of self-respect sets limits to service, however willing, if the response is nothing but rebuffs and humiliation." All that he was asking for now was a formation of a Jewish fighting force. That would be signal enough for the Jews of the United States.

This is the kind of blackmail that Churchill had to put up with from the Zionists throughout the Second World War. And of course, when the blackmail didn't work they set about assassinating our people in the Middle East. It's an odd thing that is often forgotten by the admirers of Begin and Shamir and the rest of them, that when the rest of the world was fighting Hitler the Zionists in the Middle East were fighting us! They had nothing better to do with their time!

Felix Frankfurter, in fact, crops up in the Japanese intercepts. Sure enough, on November 18, 1941, the Japanese found a man called Schmidt who had gone and had a long talk with Justice Felix Frankfurter. The message intercepted (by the U.S. Navy and decoded by them) is a telegram in code from Nomura in Washington to Tokyo describing his talks with Schmidt, who had seen Frankfurter on the evening of the eighteenth. Schmidt had said that only Hitler would benefit if a U.S.-Japanese war broke out. If Japan made the first move, the war would be popular in America. Frankfurter, however, said: "Germany had been smart in that she has consistently done everything possible to prevent arousing the United States. Therefore, regardless of how much the President tries to fan the anti-German flame, he cannot make the desired headway."

Now what a scandoulous statement that is! Here's the one country, Germany, trying to prevent a war and the other country—Roosevelt—neutral—trying to fan the flames of anti-German feeling to fuel the war. Yet it is the Germans who are called the criminals, and the Americans who do the prosecuting. And it all turns up in this Japanese signal about

Frankfurter and another Austrian Jew called Schmidt.

So then came the problem of Japan . . . how to drag the United States in. I come back to the fact that we were very probably reading the Japanese signals at a higher level then the Americans were capable of reading. We had been in the code-breaking business much longer than the Americans. By 1940 we had 3,000 code-breakers working in our Bletchley Park installations and we had sub-units operating, devoting themselves exclusivly to breaking the Japanese signals. They were compartmented so that each group didn't necessarily know what the others were doing. At a time when we had 3,000 working on it the Americans had 180! So it's no surprise that we were doing better than the Americans at this time. We were reading, I think, the Japanese fleet code JN25. When we now go into the American archives we find the JN25 signals that the Americans managed to break several years later, signals from 3 or 4 weeks before Pearl Harbor, which show quite clearly that if anybody read those signals they would know that Pearl Harbor was going to be attacked.

I think that it is a reasonable conclusion for us to draw—a conclusion based on the fact that we are too ashamed to reveal any of our Japanese intercepts in the British archives—that we were, in fact, reading JN25 intercepts in 1941. Churchill, in whose hands all of the threads of the intelligence community came together, Churchill, with his Olympian view of what was going on around him, was the man who insisted that the war intelligence be fed to him uncensored, unedited and unscreened. Churchill knew by the middle of November of 1941 that the Japanese were about to attack America, and quite probably he knew the attack was going to be on the Pacific Fleet in Hawaii. He probably never dreamed that it was going to be so successful as it was. But we know what he did know about the other elements of the intelligence puzzle because there are references in the British and in the American archives to steps that he then took. We know that he knew that on December the first, second, third, and fourth, those days before Pearl Harbor, the Japanese had sent out signals to their embassies in London, and in Washington, and Hong Kong and Singapore, of course, to their diplomatic missions abroad to destroy their code machines.

Now, when you tell your foreign ambassador to destroy his code machines, that's a pretty final step. That means something is about to happen—something very ugly. And if you then tell him also to use special chemicals to destroy all

the secret files, that falls in the same category. And that also makes plain why you are then going to rely on your foreign ambassador to listen out for a cryptic weather report message, as being the final clue to when and where that ugly thing is going to happen.

We got those messages. We intercepted Tokyo instructing the Japanese ambassador in Berlin to go and tell Hitler that war was about to break out sooner than anyone may dream. We intercepted the messages to the Japanese embassy in London, and in Washington and in Hong Kong, and in Singapore, instructing the Japanese ambassador to destroy his code machines, and to use chemicals to destroy all his secret files.

On December the 7th, Pearl Harbor day, Churchill invited the American ambassador, no longer John Kennedy, but a rather soft, flabby liberal, John G. Winant, to come and see him, and have lunch and dinner with him out at his private house at Chequers, a stage where so many dramatic events in Churchill's life had taken place. The opening and closing of windows to which he referred. Lunch passed normally. When dinnertime came, Churchill, rather mysteriously, ordered his little American-built portable radio to be set up on the dinner table. It had been given to him by a visiting American, Hopkins, a few months before, a $20 radio set of a kind that when you opened the lid, it came on. But in those days, if you remember, it didn't come right on, it took a minute or two to warm up. And Churchill didn't quite grasp these new-fangled things, portable radio-sets, and he looked at his watch for the nine o'clock news—in England always the main news time and lifted the lid. The news that finally came trickling through was of a great British operation in the Western desert. Operation Crusader, a battle against Rommel. The battle is proceeding well, Montgomery expects to make fresh headway tomorrow, and the rest of it.

And Churchill couldn't understand what had gone wrong. Eventually, rather disgruntled, he closes the lid and takes the radio away. It isn't until fifteen minutes later that his butler comes rushing in, and says to the prime minister: "Have you heard the news? The Japanese have bombed the American fleet at Pearl Harbor!"

If you read Churchill's memoirs, you will see this little scene half described. If you read Winant's memoirs—which I've read in the manuscript form in his papers—you see the same scene described from Winant's point of view. But it isn't until you go

to the BBC's archives and get the script of that night's broadcast that you see what's happened. The news of the bombing of Pearl Harbor has come in only a minute or two before the news broadcast. So the broadcaster has taken his first page of his script, which is all about the successful triumph of the British offensive in the Western Desert in Africa—on top of that he has written in one line saying that: "We are getting reports of a Japanese attack on the American fleet in Pearl Harbor. More about this later." Then he goes straight on, a matter of 10 or 15 seconds to talk about the attack against Rommel. Right at the end of the news broadcast he says, "Now back to the main item of today's news, which is coming in, about the Japanese attack upon Pearl Harbor." And if you look at the BBC script—the actual typescript—you can see how this happened, Churchill had expected to get that first item. That's why the radio was on the table. He didn't get it. That little scene is proof in my mind that Churchill knew about Pearl Harbor.

If you go into the Boston University Library, you'll find another little clue. This is in the private diary of British newspaper man Cecil King. He was the director and editorial chief of our tabloid, fringe newspapers, the *Mirror* and *Pictorial* group of newspapers during the war years. He wrote genuine diaries, which filled two suitcases. Little pocket diaries, written in fountain-pen-ink. You can always tell when diaries like that are genuine, for when you write a genuine diary, the ink changes a little bit from day to day: these are genuine diaries. A few days after Pearl Harbor, Cecil King writes in his diary: "Had a most interesting lunch with Hugh Cudlip." Now Hugh Cudlip was another famous British newspaper owner and proprietor. Not just a nobody, but somebody who moved in high circles, somebody who the big-wigs in Downing Street couldn't ignore. Cecil King writes in his diary: "Interesting lunch with Hugh Cudlip. He has told me the most extraordinary fact, that we knew about Pearl Harbor five days in advance!" There it is, a little clue, where you wouldn't expect to see it, that we knew about Pearl Harbor five days in advance.

Churchill telephoned Roosevelt as soon as the news came over, as soon as he had confirmation of the attack and said: "Now we are all in the same boat." If you look in the papers of those who were with Roosevelt in those days, you will find more evidence of faking. Harry Hopkins, for example, that day wrote a one page typescript description of his session with

Roosevelt, and it's a glowing description of how Roosevelt turns to him and says: "I have done all I can to prevent wars. All my life I've been dedicated to preventing just what has happened today." But what you spot there is that they are retyped; all Harry Hopkin's other papers are rather messy: there are little bits of typescript on odd scraps of paper, typed and overtyped and with additions. But on Pearl Harbor it's a beautiful typescript—it has been recopied at a later date. So again you get the evidence that something is going on between these two men, Churchill and Roosevelt, that isn't quite kosher.

Frances Perkins, the labor secretary, wrote in an oral interview years later that she caught a glimpse of the old man's eyes in a cabinet meeting at the White House that night, a kind of shifty glimpse that she knew from years of working with him, an unwillingness to look her in the eye, which told her he knew that he had done something dirty. But she couldn't be precisely sure what. And so it was with Winston Churchill. Churchill was convinced that he had done the decent thing. Professor Donald Watt, one of our great English historians now, has commented that the suspicion must arise that Churchill deliberately courted war with Japan in order to bring America in. This is true, he went over the top in pushing America towards war. I think that Churchill deliberately allowed the attack on Pearl Harbor to go ahead in order to bring the Americans in. He did everything to avoid having the Pacific Fleet warned.

Commenting on this, Sir Richard Craigie, the British Ambassador in Japan, who was horrified when war broke out, said in a memo that we had taken every step that was wrong. We could have avoided war with Japan, we could have kept the Japanese out, and yet everything that we've done has brought them in. Churchill commented in 1943 on this memorandum: "It was a blessing that Japan attacked the United States, and thus brought America unitedly and wholeheartedly into the war. Greater good fortune has rarely happened to the British Empire than this event which has revealed our friends and foes in their true light, and may lead, through the merciless crushing of Japan, to a new relationship of immense benefit to the English-speaking countries and to the whole world."

That was Churchill. But of course, the benefit was not ours or the Empire's. Within six months we had lost every single possession we had in the far east. Singapore, Hong Kong,

Burma—the Japanese even seemed on the point of invading India. It was the beginning of the end of the Empire. In fact, we never got those colonies back. They were gone. So how Churchill can regard that as being a grand effort is only explicable from the point of remembering that Churchill was half American. His mother was American—he was never really a true Englishman.

The only blessing for President Roosevelt, in conclusion, was when Churchill came to the White House. That December Churchill came to the White House, where he had his first conference with Roosevelt, who was now in the same boat. Churchill would afterward say to one of his chiefs of staff, who was still using the same delicate language used in the pre-Pearl Harbor days, about the need to avoid creating a war with Japan with the United States out. Churchill had said: "We can now speak more robustly. We only had to use that kind of language when we were wooing the Americans. Now she is in the harem with us. All in one boat!" When Churchill went to the White House that month, December 1941, he bestowed on Roosevelt that same "Order of the Bath, Companion of the Bath," which he has bestowed on many of his friends. Churchill sent for the president to come see him in his room. The president was wheeled in, creaking in his wheelchair along the floorboards of the White House, and he found Churchill standing there stark naked in front of him! Thereby Roosevelt became a Companion of the Bath. He was in the hot water up to his eyeballs with Winston Churchill.

Until those gaps in the archives are filled in, we're not going to be entirely sure what dirty tricks we employed in order to drag him in, but I've given you a foretaste of what is in volume two of *Churchill's War*.

The Morgenthau Plan and the Problem of Policy Perversion

(Paper presented to the
Ninth International Revisionist Conference)

PROF. ANTHONY KUBEK

The Morgenthau Diaries consist of 900 volumes located at Roosevelt Library in Hyde Park, New York. As a consultant to the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, I was assigned to examine all documents dealing with Germany, particularly ones related to the Morgenthau Plan for the destruction of Germany following the Second World War. The Subcommittee was interested in the role of Dr. Harry Dexter White, the main architect of the Plan.

Secretary of the U.S. Treasury Henry Morgenthau, Jr. served in President Franklin D. Roosevelt's Cabinet from January of 1934 to July of 1945. Before Morgenthau was appointed Secretary of the Treasury, he had lived near Roosevelt's home at Hyde Park, N.Y. for two decades and could be counted as one of his closest and most trusted friends. His appointment was clearly the culmination of twenty years of devotion to, and adoration of, his neighbor on the Hudson. According to his official biographer, Morgenthau's "first joy in life was to serve Roosevelt, whom he loved and trusted and admired."[1]

The Treasury Department under Secretary Morgenthau had many functions that went beyond anything in the Department's history. The Morgenthau Diaries reveal that the Treasury presumed time and time again to make foreign policy. In his *Memoirs* Secretary of State Cordell Hull described it in these terms:

> Emotionally upset by Hitler's rise and his persecution of the Jews, Morgenthau often sought to induce the President to anticipate the State Department or act contrary to our better judgment. We sometimes found him conducting negotiations with foreign governments which were the function of the State Department. His work in drawing up a catastrophic plan for

> the postwar treatment of Germany and inducing the President to accept it without consultation with the State Department, was an outstanding instance of this interference.[2]

Actually it was Dr. Harry Dexter White, Morgenthau's principal adviser on monetary matters and finally Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, who conducted most of the important business of the Department. The Diaries reveal that White's influence was enormous throughout the years of World War II. Shortly after Morgenthau became Secretary in 1934, White joined his staff as economic analyst on the recommendation of the noted economist, Prof. Jacob Viner of the University of Chicago. Then 42 years old, White was about to receive a doctorate in economics from Harvard University, where he previously had taught as an instructor. He moved up quickly in the Treasury Department, named in 1938 as Director of Monetary Research and in the summer of 1941 acquiring an additional title as "Assistant to the Secretary." Articulate, mustachioed, and nattily dressed, he was a conspicuous figure in the Treasury but remained unknown to the public until 1943, when newspaper articles identified him as the actual architect of Secretary Morgenthau's monetary proposals for the postwar period.

The Diaries reveal White's technique of dominating over general Treasury affairs by submitting his plans and ideas to the Secretary, who frequently carried them directly to the President. It is very significant that Morgenthau had access to the President more readily than any other Cabinet member. He ranked beneath the Secretary of State in the Cabinet, but Hull complained that he often acted as though "clothed with authority" to project himself into the field of foreign affairs. Morgenthau, Hull felt, "did not stop with his work at the Treasury."[3]

Over the years White brought into the Treasury a number of economic specialists with whom he worked very closely. White and his colleagues were in a position, therefore, to exercise on American foreign policy influence which the diaries reveal to have been profound and unprecedented. They used their power in various ways to design and promote the so-called Morgenthau Plan for the postwar treatment of Germany. Their actions were not limited to the authority officially delegated to them: their power was inherent in their access to, and influence upon, Secretary Morgenthau and other officials, and in the opportunities they had to present or withhold information on which the policies of their superiors

might be based. What makes this a unique chapter in American history is that Dr. White and several of his colleagues, the actual architects of vital national policies during those crucial years, were subsequently identified in Congressional hearings as participants in a network of Communist espionage in the very shadow of the Washington Monument. Two of them worked for the Chinese Communists.

Stated in its simplest terms, the objective of the Morgenthau Plan was to de-industrialize Germany and diminish its people to a pastoral existence once the war was won. If this could be accomplished, the militaristic Germans would never rise again to threaten the peace of the world. This was the justification for all the planning, but another motive lurked behind the obvious one. The hidden motive was unmasked in a syndicated column in the New York *Herald Tribune* in September 1946, more than a year after the collapse of the Germans. The real goal of the proposed condemnation of "all of Germany to a permanent diet of potatoes" was the communization of the defeated nation. "The best way for the German people to be driven into the arms of the Soviet Union," it was pointed out, "was for the United States to stand forth as the champion of indiscriminate and harsh misery in Germany."[4]

Anyone who studies the Morgenthau Diaries can hardly fail to be deeply impressed by the tremendous power which accumulated in the grasping hands of Dr. Harry Dexter White, who in 1953 was identified by J. Edgar Hoover as a Soviet agent. White assumed full responsibility for "all matters with which the Treasury Department has to deal having a bearing on foreign relations . . ."[5] He and his colleagues had Secretary Morgenthau's complete approval in the formulation of a blueprint for the permanent elimination of Germany as a world power. The benefits which might accrue to the Soviet Union as a result of such Treasury planning were incalculable.

When members fo the Senate Internal Security subcommittee asked Elizabeth Bentley, who was a courier between White and Soviet agents, whether she knew of a similar "Morgenthau Plan" for the Far East, she gave the following testimony:

> Miss Bentley: No. The only Morgenthau Plan I knew anything about was the German one.
>
> Senator Eastland: Did you know who drew that plan?

> Miss Bentley: [It was] Due to Mr. White's influence, to push the devastation of Germany because that was what the Russians wanted.
>
> Senator Ferguson: That was what the Communists wanted?
>
> Miss Bentley: Definitely, Moscow wanted them [German factories] completely razed because then they would be of no help to the allies.
>
> Mr. Morris: You say that Harry Dexter White worked on that?
>
> Miss Bentley: And on our instructions he pushed hard.[6]

When J. Edgar Hoover testified before the Subcommittee on November 17, 1953, he affirmed this testimony:

> All information furnished by Miss Bentley, which was susceptible to check, he said, has proven to be correct. She had been subjected to the most searching of cross-examinations; her testimony has been evaluated by juries and reviews by the courts and has been found to be accurate.

Mr. Hoover continued:

> Miss Bentley's account of White's activities was later corroborated by Whittaker Chambers; and the documents in White's own handwriting, concerning which there can be no dispute, lend credibility to the information previously reported on White.[7]

Morgenthau hit the ceiling when he got a copy of the *Handbook for Military Government in Germany*, which was designed for the guidance of every American and British official upon entering Germany. The *Handbook* offered a glimpse of a very different kind of occupation that Treasury officials were hoping for. Its tone was moderate and lenient throughout. Germany was not only to be self-supporting but was to retain a relatively high standard of living.

Morgenthau wasted no time in showing the *Handbook* to President Roosevelt, who immediately rejected its philosophy as too soft. Impressed by the critical memorandum White had prepared, the President killed the *Handbook* and sent a stinging memorandum to the Secretary of War, Henry L. Stimson, and a copy of which was sent to Hull. "This so-called *Handbook* is pretty bad," Roosevelt began, and he instructed that "all copies" be withdrawn immediately because it gave him the impression that Germany was to be "restored just as much as The Netherlands or Belgium, and the people of Germany brought back as quickly as possible to their pre-war estate."[8]

Thus both Hull and Stimson were put on notice by the President that the State and War Departments must develop harsher attitudes towards Germany or be bypassed in the formulation of that policy. According to General Lucius Clay, suppression of the *Handbook* eventually had a "devastating effect on the morale of American officials responsible for disarming Germany."[9]

Meanwhile the State Department and the Joint Chiefs of Staff had earlier completed their own prospectus and directive for postwar Germany. In the State document there was to be no "large-scale and permanent impairment of all German industry."[10] JCS 1067, as the military directive was numbered, was unmistakably akin in spirit to the "soft" State Department prosepctus. Moreover, it was in "harmony" with the *Handbook*—that is to say, this draft not only tolerated but actually encouraged friendly relations between American soldiers and German civilians. From various interdepartmental meetings with State and War, a new version of JCS 1067 finally emerged. It completely reversed the spirit of the original draft. It was largely the handiwork of Harry Dexter White. It is indeed remarkable how the Treasury intervened and eventually got the State and War Departments to alter their basic policy on postwar Germany.

In the realm of finance, of course, the Secretary of Treasury would naturally be involved in the postwar treatment of Germany. But Morgenthau delved deeply into matters altoghether unrelated to economics. The Germans needed psychiatry, Morgenthau told White. He said he was interested in "treating the mind rather than the body," and in planning "how to bring up the next generation of children." It might be wise to take the whole Nazi SS group out of Germany, he thought, and deport them to some other part of the world. "Just taking them bodily," he told White, and he "wouldn't be afraid to make the suggestion" even though it might be very "ruthless . . . to accomplish the act."[11]

Regarding the punishment of Nazi leaders, White suggested that a list of "war criminals" be prepared and presented to American officers on the spot, who could properly identify the guilty and shoot them on sight. Morgenthau remarked jokingly that a good start could be made with Marshal Stalin's "list of 50,000"—a reference to Stalin's vodka toast to Roosevelt and Churchill at the Teheran Conference.[12]

The disposition of the Ruhr Valley was one of the main topics discussed in one of the many Treasury meetings. For

many years the coal fields of the Ruhr had been essential to the German economy. The British economist John Maynard Keynes had said after World War I that the Kaiser's empire was built "more truly on coal and iron than on blood and iron."[13] Coal was the backbone of all German industry, vital to her electric power and to her chemical, synthetic oil, and steel industries.[14] It was Morgenthau's persistent view, therefore, that the Ruhr should be "locked up and wiped out," and he was positive that the President was in "complete accord" on this point.

As the discussion proceeded, White shrewdly intimated that it might be better to place the Ruhr under international controls which would "produce reparations for twenty years." This was a straw proposal that Morgenthau promptly rejected. "Harry, you can't sell it to me at all," he said, "because it would be under control only a few years and the Germans will have another *Anschluss*!" The only program he would have any part of, Morgenthau declared, was "the complete shut-down of the Ruhr." When Harold Gaston, the Treasury public relations officer, interruped to ask whether this meant "driving the population out," Morgenthau replied: "I don't care what happens to the population . . . I would take every mine, every mill and factory and wreck it." "Of every kind?" inquired Gaston. "Steel, coal, everything. Just close it down," Morgenthau said. "You wouldn't close the mines, would you?" inquired Daniel Bell, one of the Secretary's assistants. "Sure," replied Morgenthau, and he reiterated that the only economic activity which should remain intact was agriculture—and that could be placed under some type of international control. He was for destroying Germany's economic power first, he said, and then "we will worry about the population second."

Morgenthau seemed very confident that the President would not waver in his support of a punitive program for postwar Germany. Any effective plan, however, would have to be executed within the next six months, or otherwise the Allies might suddenly become "soft." The best way to begin, Morgenthau advised, was to have American engineers go to every synthetic gas factory, and dynamite them or "open the water valves and flood them." Then let the "great humanitarians" simply sit "back and decide about the population afterwards." Eventually the Ruhr would resemble "some of the silver mines in Nevada," Morgenthau said. "You mean like Sherman's march to the sea?" asked Dan Bell. Morgenthau answered bluntly that he would make the Ruhr a "ghost area."[15]

Such was the character of Secretary Morgenthau's views on the treatment of Germany. Never in American history had there been proposed a more vindictive program for a defeated nation. With the Treasury exerting unprecendented influence in determining American policy toward Germany, the fallacies of logic, evasion of issues and deliberate disregard of essential economic relationships manifest in the above conversation were incorporated in the postwar plan as finally adopted. Furthermore, no paper of any importance dealing with the occupation of Germany could be released until approved by the Treasury. The State and War Departments became virtually subservient to the Treasury in this area, normally their responsibility.[16]

At a meeting in the President's office, Morgenthau and Stimson presented their opposite views. Stimson objected vigorously to the Treasury recommendation for the wrecking of the Ruhr. "I am unalterably opposed to such a program," he declared, holding it to be "wholly wrong" to deprive the people of Europe of the products that the Ruhr could produce.[17] The Treasury Plan, if adopted, would breed new wars, arouse sympathy for Germans in other countries, and destroy resources needed for the general reconstruction of ravaged Europe. He urged the President not to make a hasty decision, and to accept "for the time being" Hull's suggestion that the controversial economic issue be left for future discussion.[18]

At the Quebec summit conference between Roosevelt and Churchill in September 1944, Morgenthau was asked to explain his plan to the British. Churchill was horrified and "in violent language" called the plan "cruel and un-Christian." But Morgenthau hammered on the idea that the destruction of the Ruhr would create new markets for Britain after the war. He also promised Churchill an American loan of $6.5 billion! Churchill "changed his mind" the next morning.[19]

Although foreign affairs and military matters were discussed in depth at the Quebec Confrence, neither Hull nor Stimson were in attendance. The Treasury Department took precedence over State and War in negotiations regarding Germany.

The effects of Morgenthau's victory at Quebec were quickly felt in Washington. At a luncheon with Undersecretary of War Robert Patterson, Morgenthau brought up the Quebec agreement. Patterson said jokingly: "To degrade Europe by making Germany an agricultural country, isn't that offensive to you?" Morgenthau replied: "Not in the case of Germany."[20]

Hull felt strongly that Morgenthau should have been kept out of the field of general policy, and so did Stimson. When Stimson heard of the President's endorsement of the Treasury plan at Quebec, he quickly drafted another critical memorandum. "If I thought that the Treasury proposals would accomplish [our agreed objective, continued peace]," he wrote, "I would not persist in my objections. But I cannot believe that they will make for a lasting peace. *In spirit and in emphasis they are punitive*, not, in my judgment, corrective or constructive." He continued:

> It is not within the realm of possibility that the whole nation of seventy million people, who have been outstanding for many years in the arts and the sciences and who through their efficiency and energy have attained one of the highest industrial levels in Europe, can by force be required to abandon all their previous methods of life, be reduced to a level with virtually complete control of industry and science left to other peoples . . . Enforced poverty is even worse, for it destroys the spirit not only of the victim but debases the victor. It would be just such a crime as the Germans themselves hoped to perpetrate upon their victims—*it would be a crime against civilization itself.*[21]

Word of "Morgenthau's coup at Quebec" leaked to the press with two results. One was that Roosevelt, because of the adverse reaction, evidently concluded that his Treasury Secretary had made "a serious blunder." The other was to stiffen German resistance on the Western front. Until then there was a fair chance that the Germans might discontinue resistance to American and British forces while holding the Russians at bay in the East in order to avoid the frightful fate of a Soviet occupation. This could have shortened the war by months and could have averted the spawning of malignant communism in East Germany.

How the Treasury officials were able to integrate basic features of their plan into the military directive, originally prepared by the Joint Chiefs of Staff and known as JCS 1067, is fully disclosed in the Diaries. White saw to it that many elements of his thinking were embodied in JCS 1067. Previous directives for guidance of American troops upon entrance into Germany, which already had undergone six or more revisions of a stylistic nature, were now brought more in line with the punitive thinking of Morgenthau and White. A new directive, which called for a more complete de-nazification,

was, with some modifications, the spirit and substance of the Treasury plan. In the two full years that JCS 1067 was the cornerstone of American policy, Germany was punished and substantially dismantled in accord with the basic tenets of the Morgenthau Plan. JCS 1067 forbade fraternization by American personnel with the Germans, ordered a very strict program of de-nazification extending both to public life and to business, prohibited American aid in any rebuilding of German industry, and emphasized agricultural rehabilitation only.

Subsequently, JCS 1067 became a severe handicap to American efforts in Germany. It constituted what may be called without exaggeration a heavy millstone around the neck of the American military government. It gave only limited authority to to the United States military government by specifically prohibiting military officials from taking any steps to rehabilitate the German economy except to maximize agricultural production.

Through various channels, White had gathered information concerning the kind of policy directives other departments had in preparation. This he was able to achieve through a system of "trading" which Morgenthau had initiated at his suggestion. As Elizabeth Bentley told the Internal Security Subcommittee, "We were so successful getting information . . . largely because of Harry White's idea to persuade Morgenthau to exchange information." Treasury officials, for example, would send information to the Navy Department, and the Navy would reciprocate. There were, according to Miss Bentley, at least "seven or eight agencies" trading information with Morgenthau.[22]

At the Yalta Conference on February 4, 1945, the question of postwar treatment of Germany was the most important item on the agenda. The President's conduct suggests the powerful effect on his thinking of White's masterplan and Morgenthau's salesmanship. On the major points regarding Germany the President easily capitulated to the Soviets. Stalin and Roosevelt were in general accord that the defeated Germans should be stripped of their factories and left to take care of themselves. But Churchill wished to preserve enough of the existing economic structure of Germany to permit the defeated nation to recover to some degree.

In his book *Beyond Containment*, William H. Chamberlain assesses Yalta as a tragedy of appeasement:

> Like Munich, Yalta must be set down as a dismal failure, practically as well as morally . . . The Yalta Agreement . . . represented, in two of its features, the endorsement by the United States of the principle of human slavery. One of these features was the recognition that German labor could be used as a source of reparations . . . And the agreement that Soviet citizens who were found in the Eastern zones of occupation should be handed over to Soviet authorities amounted, for the many Soviet refugees who did not wish to return, to the enactment of a fugitive slave law.[23]

After President Roosevelt returned from Yalta, State Department officials grasped an opportunity to push through their own program for postwar Germany. On March 10, 1945, Secretary of State Edward Stettinius submitted for the President's consideration the draft of a new policy directive for the military occupation of Germany. The prime movers in this strategy were Leon Henderson, James C. Dunn, and James W. Riddleberger, the departmental expert on German affairs. They purposely did not consult with Treasury officials because they knew there would be major objections from them. The March 10 memorandum was a reasonable substitute for the rigorous JCS 1067, which was so pleasing to White and Morgenthau. It was based on the central concept that Germany was important to the economy recovery of Europe. It provided for joint allied control of defeated Germany, preservation of a large part of German industry, and a "minimum standard of living" for the German people. The memorandum had no provision for dismemberment, and Germany was to begin "paying her own way as soon as possible."[24]

When Morgenthau saw a copy of the State Department memorandum, he became so furious that he immediately telephoned Assistant Secretary of War John J. McCloy to voice his complaints. "It's damnable, an outrage!" he exclaimed. "Riddleberger and these fellows are just putting this thing across . . . I'm not going to take it lying down." The State Department plan, if adopted, would have spelled complete defeat for Morgenthau and White. "It makes me so mad," Morgenthau raged, "I think the President should fire Jimmy Dunn and two or three other fellows." [25]

Several days later, armed with a memorandum drafted by White, Coe, and Glasser, he hurried to the White House. He was disturbed to find Roosevelt's daughter, Anna, and her husband, Maj. John Boettinger, caring for the President,

"whose health by that time was faltering to the point where mental lapses could be expected." Roosevelt apparently no longer thought that Morgenthau had "pulled a boner" with his destroy-Germany plan and when Boettinger commented "You don't want the Germans to starve," the President replied "Why not?" Morgenthau told White he was worried about Boettinger's attitude. The question one may ask is did the Soviets know what the American people did not know—that Roosevelt was close to death and liable to blackouts at any moment?

Morgenthau reported jubilantly, however, to his "team" that the President had accepted his plan as "a good tough document." He confided in his diary:

> We have a good team, they just can't break the team . . . It is very encouraging that we had the President back us up . . . they tried to get him to change and they couldn't—the State Department crowd. Sooner or later, the President just has to clean his house. I mean the vicious crowd . . . They are Fascists at heart . . . [26]

The State Department was sorely disappointed that the President had rejected their March 10th memorandum. It was a severe defeat for Riddleberger, Dunn, and others who were advocating a reasonable program for Germamy. Morgenthau felt that the new JCS document should declare unmistakably that the State Department paper of March 10 was officially withdrawn. White asked McCloy and General Hilldring whether everyone in the War Department would understand that the new document "superseded" the March 10 memorandum. McCloy assured him that everyone would be duly notified. White then asked whether it would be perfectly "clear" in the Army that the Treasury document "took precedence over and caused the revision of any document contrary to it." General Hilldring answered there would be no problem here.

A cardinal point of dispute between the Treasury and the Department of War resided in the question of the treatment of German war criminals. Stimson advised the President to have trials rather than the "shoot on sight" policy advocated by Morgenthau. Stimson believed the accused should have a right to be heard and be allowed to call witnesses to his defense.[27]

Another subject of controversy between the Treasury on the one side and the State and War on the other was the question of reparations. The Treasury believed that reprarations should

be limited to whatever the Allies could wring out of defeated Germany at the end of the war. Morgenthau and White were dead set against the old concept of long-term reparations payments, because such annual tribute would necessitate the re-building of industry on a large scale in Germany. They wished to make the Germans "pastoral" and then throw upon them the full repsonsibility for taking care of themselves. The World War I application of "reparations" would result in nothing more or less that the revitalization of German industrial might. In their thinking this specter loomed large indeed.

White and his colleagues were careful not to jeopardize postwar relations with the Soviet Union. They frequently expressed their fears of Western encirclement of Russia. They thought that those individuals in the American government who wished to restore Germany were motivated by the idea that a strong Reich was necessary as a "bulwark against Russia." This attitude was certainly responsible for many of the current difficulties between Washington and Moscow.

At one of the interdepartmental meetings a dispute developed over the question of compulsory German labor as restitution for war damages in Russia. Treasury officials were boldly advocating the creation of a large labor force with no external controls. This view was challenged by War, State and other departments as treating 2 or 3 million people as slave labor. Morgenthau reminded his opponents that the whole issue of compulsory labor had already been decided upon at Yalta. "We are simply carrying out the Yalta agreement," he exclaimed, and anyone who is going to protest ". . . is protesting against Yalta . . ." It is significant that five months previously, President Roosevelt had sent a memorandum to Morgenthau to the effect that if "they [Russia] want German labor, there is no reason why they should not get it in certain circumstances and under certain conditions."[28]

White opined that if the Russians needed two million German laborers to reconstruct their devastated areas, he saw nothing wrong with it; it was "in the interest" of Russia and even Germany that the labor force come from the ranks of the Gestapo, the S.S., and the Nazi party membership. "That's not a punishment for crime," he stated, "that's merely a part of the reparations problem in the same way you want certain machines from Germany . . ."[29]

As long as Morgenthau was Secretary of the Treasury, White performed adroitly in his strange Svengali role. But

fundamental changes in the management of American foreign policy occurred after Harry Truman became President. While the President was still a Senator, he read in the newspapers about the Morgenthau Plan, and he didn't like it. Morgenthau wanted to come to Potsdam, threatening to resign if he was not made a member of the U.S. delegation. Truman promptly accepted his resignation.

What were the final results of the Morgenthau Plan? What actual effect did it have on Germany? "While the policy was never fully adopted," wrote W. Friedmann, "it had a considerable influence upon American policy in the later stages of the war and during the first phase of military government."[30] Although President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill eventually recognized the folly of what they had approved at Quebec, Morgenthau, White, and the Treasury staff saw to it that the spirit and substance of their plan prevailed in official policy as it was finally mirrored in the punitive directive known as JCS 1067.

In a very definite way JCS 1067 determined the main lines of U.S. policy in Germany for fully two years after the surrender. Beginning in the fall of 1945, to be sure, a new drift in American policy was evident, and it eventually led to the formal repudiation of the directive in July of 1947. Until it was officially revoked, however, the lower administrative echelons had to enforce its harsh provisions. "The military government officers," writes Prof. Harold Zink, "were unable to see how Germany could be reorganized without a substantial amount of industrialization. They tried to fit the Morgenthau dictates into their economic plans, but they ended up more or less in a state of paralysis."[31]

As White had certainly anticipated, the economic condition of Germany was desperate between 1945 and 1948. The cities remained heaps of debris, and shelter was at a premium as a relentless stream of unskilled refugees poured into the Western zones, where the food ration of 1,500 calories per day was hardly sufficient to sustain life. As Stimson, Riddleberger, and others had predicted, the economic prostration of Germany now resulted in disruption of the continental trade that was essential to the prosperity of other European nations. As long as German industrial power was throttled, the economic recovery of Europe was delayed—and this, in time, led to serious political complications. To nurse Europe back to health, the Marshall Plan was devised in 1947. It repudiated, at long last, the philosophy of the White-Morgenthau program.

The currency reforms of June, 1948, changed the situation overnight. These long overdue measures removed the worst restraints, and thereupon West Germany began its phenomenal economic revival.

After all this has been said, an implicit question haunts the historian. It is this: if the Morgenthau Plan was indeed psychopathically anti-German, was it also consciously and purposefully pro-Russian? The Secretary of the Treasury never denied that his plan was anti-German in both its philosophy and its projected effects, but no one in his department ever admitted that it was also pro-Russian in the same ways. In his book, *And Call It Peace*, Marshall Knappen suggested in 1947 that the Morgenthau Plan "corresponded closely to what might be presumed to be Russian wishes on the German question. It provided a measure of vengeance and left no strong state in the Russian orbit."[32]

In document after document the Diaries reveal Harry Dexter White's influence upon both the formative thinking and the final decisions of Secretary Morgenthau. Innocent of higher economics and the mysteries of international finance, the Secretary had always leaned heavily on his team of experts for all manner of general and specific recommendations.[33] White was the field captain of that team; on the German question he called all the major plays from the start. As a result of White's advice, for example, the Bureau of Engraving and Printing was ordered in April, 1944 to deliver to the Soviet government a duplicate set of plates for the printing of the military occupation marks which were to be the legal currency of postwar Germany. The ultimate product of this fantastic decision was to greatly stimulate inflation throughout occupied Germany, and the burden of redeeming these Soviet-made marks finally fell upon American taxpayers to a grand total of more than a quarter of a billion dollars.[34] White followed this recommendation with another, in May of 1944, which again anticipated the emerging plan. This time he urged a postwar loan of 10 billion dollars to the Soviet Union.[35]

Remember that, in her testimony before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee in 1952, the confessed Communist courier Elizabeth Bentley charged that White was the inside man who prepared the plan for Secretary Morgenthau, and "on our instruction he pushed hard." Also, J. Edgar Hoover of the FBI charged that White was an active agent of Soviet espionage, and despite the fact he had sent five reports to the

White House warning the President of White's activities, Truman promoted him to a position at the United Nations. When the shocking story of White's service as a Soviet agent was first revealed by Attorney General Herbert Brownell in a Chicago speech, it created quite a stir of public charges and counter-charges by then retired Harry Truman.

The concentration of Communist sympathizers in the Treasury Department is now a matter of public record. White eventually became Assistant Secretary. Collaborating with him were Frank Coe, Harold Glasser, Irving Kaplan and Victor Perlo, all of whom were identified in sworn testimony as participants in the Communist conspiracy. When questioned by Congressional investigators, they consistently invoked the Fifth Amemdment. In his one appearance before the House Committee on Un-American Activities in 1948, White emphatically denied participation in any conspiracy. A few days later he was found dead, the apparent victim of a heart attack (which is questioned by some investigators). Notes in his handwriting were later found among the "pumpkin papers" on Whittaker Chambers' farm.[36] In a statement before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee in 1953, Attorney General Brownell declared White guilty of "supplying information consisting of documents obtained by him in the course of duties as Assistant Secretary of the U.S. Treasury, to Nathan Gregory Silvermaster . . ."[37] Silvermaster passed these documents on to Miss Bentley after photographing them in his basement. When asked before two congressional committees to explain his activities, Silvermaster invoked the Fifth Amendment.

Never before in American history had an unelected bureaucracy of faceless, "fourth floor" officials exercised such arbitrary power over the future of nations as did Harry Dexter White and his associates in the Department of the Treasury under Henry Morgenthau, Jr. What they attempted to do in their curious twisting of American ideals, and how close they came to complete success, is demonstrated in the Morgenthau Diaries, which I had the privilege of examining and which were published by the Subcommittee of the Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate in 1967.

Notes

1. John Morton Blum, *Years of Urgency, 1938-41: From the Morgenthau Diaries* (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Co., 1965), p. 3.
2. *The Memoirs of Cordell Hull* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1948), Vol. 1, pp. 207-208.
3. *Ibid.*, 1, p. 207
4. Issue of September 5, 1946.
5. December 15, 1941, *Interlocking Subversion in Government Departments, Final Report*, July 30, 1953, p. 29.
6. *Institute of Pacific Relations*, pt. 2, pp. 419-420.
7. *Interlocking Subversion in Government Departments*, pt. 16, p. 1145.
8. August 26, 1944, *Book 766*, pp. 166-170. Morgenthau Diaries, Hyde Park.
9. Lucius Clay, *Decision in Germany* (New York, Doubleday and Co. 1950), p. 8.
10. *Book 777*, p. 70 et seq.
11. August 28, 1944, *Book 767*, p. 1.
12. September 4, 1944, *Book 768*, p. 104.
13. John Maynard Keynes, *The Economic Consequences of the Peace* (New York, Harcourt Brace and Co. 1920), p. 81.
14. B.H. Klein, *Germany's Economic Preparations for War* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959), p. 123.
15. September 4, 1944, *Book 768*, p. 104.
16. November 21, 1944, *Book 797*, pp. 256-258.
17. September 9, 1944, *Book 771*, p. 50.
18. *Ibid.*; Henry L. Stimson and McGeorge Bundy, *On Active Service in Peace and War* (New York, Harper & Row, 1948), pp. 573-574.
19. October 18-19, 1944, *Book 783*, pp. 23-39.
20. September 27, 1944, *Book 776*, p. 33.
21. September 15, 1944, *Book 772*, pp. 4-9. (Italics mine.)
22. *Institute of Pacific Relations, Hearings*, pt. 2, p. 422.
23. (Chicago: Henry Regnery Co., 1953), pp. 36-46.
24. March 10, 1945, *Book 827-1*, pp. 1-2.
25. March 19, 1945, *Book 828-2*, p. 233; March 20, 1945, *Book 830*, p. 24.
26. March 23, 1945, *Book 831-2*, p. 205, et seq.
27. September 9, 1944, *Book 771*, p. 50 et seq.
28. December 9, 1944, *Book 802*, pp. 241-248.
29. May 18, 1945, *Book 847*, pp. 293-299.
30. W. Friedmann, *The Allied Military Government of Germany* (London: Stevens & Sons, Ltd., 1947), p. 20.

31. Harold Zink, *American Military Government in Germany* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1947), pp. 187-189.
32. Marshall Knappen, *And Call It Peace* (University of Chicago Press, 1947), pp. 53-56.
33. *The Secret Diary of Harold L. Ickes: The First Thousand Days* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1953), I, 331.
34. For this strange story in detail, see *Transfer of Occupation Currency Plates—Espionage Phase*, Interim Report of the Committee on Government Operations, December 15, 1953 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1953).
35. May 16, 1944, *Book 732*, pp. 97-99.
36. *Interlocking Subversion in Government Departments*, pt. 16.
37. *Ibid.*, pt. 16, pp. 1110-1141.

(continued from page 260)

which published this journal has been alone among all other journals, publicizing Historical Revisionism ever since its founding, we add one and one together.

The Mathematics of Revisionism

In spite of the monumental setbacks our publisher has experienced since its founding ten years ago, Historical Revisionism is steadily moving ahead, at an increasing cadence. The setbacks we speak of, of course, have been in the realm of the suppression of our works and the persecution of our contributors; of which the arson of our headquarters, with the concomitant nearly total destruction of our physical possessions on July 4, 1984, was clearly the most damaging. As far as our findings and the quality of our research and publications we apologize only for a few typographical errors.

Historical Revisionism is "an idea whose time has come." You have heard that phrase repeated endlessly, from the typewriters of advertising writers hawking everything from dental floss bikinis to disposable finger nails. But for those of us who try to perceive the realities which move history, Revisionism is clearly coming into its own, which is to say, truth is moving ahead.

Events are happening today at the speed of 186,000 miles per second—the speed at which light and electricity move. Is it really possible to bottle up historical truth much longer? If you think so, ask Mr. Gorbachev or any of the legions of demonstrable frauds in the U.S. who are very free with their baseless assertions but who become as silent and empty as their own future when they are asked the simplest of question by any half-educated Historical Revisionist.

* * * * *

This issue of *The Journal of Historical Review* features four papers which were preseented to IHR's Ninth International Historical (and history-making) Conference.

David Irving, Great Britain's foremost independent historian, who has been turning his breakthroughs in the archives and in the original sources into bestsellers for the past quarter century, previews the eagerly awaited second volume of *Churchill's War* with hilarious as well as sobering glimpses of a Churchill unknown to the mythmakers. With his customary wit and verve, Irving conducts readers on a guided tour through the Churchillian years of infamy which led up to America's "day of infamy" at Pearl Harbor. (continued on page 320)

Propaganda and Disinformation: How the CIA Manufactures History

VICTOR MARCHETTI

(Paper presented to the Ninth International Revisionist Conference)

> In the eyes of posterity it will inevitably seem that, in safeguarding our freedom, we destroyed it. The vast clandestine apparatus we built up to prove our enemies' resources and intentions only served in the end to confuse our own purposes; that practice of deceiving others for the good of the state led infallibly to our deceiving ourselves; and that vast army of clandestine personnel built up to execute these purposes were soon caught up in the web of their own sick fantasies, with disastrous consequences for them and us.
>
> —Malcom Muggeridge
> May 1966

That, in a nutshell, sums up what the CIA has accomplished over the years through its various clandestine propaganda and disinformation programs. It has unwittingly and, often, deliberately decieved itself—and the American taxpayer. The CIA is a master at distorting history—even creating its own version of history to suit its institutional and operational purposes. It can do this largely because of two great advantages it possesses. One is the excessively secret environment in which it operates, and the other is that it is essentially a private instrument of the presidency.

The real reason for the official secrecy, in most instances, is not to keep the opposition (the CIA's euphemistic term for the enemy) from knowing what is going on; the enemy usually does know. The basic reason for governmental secrecy is to keep you, the American public, from knowing—for you, too, are considered the opposition, or enemy—so that you cannot

interfere. When the public does not know what the government or the CIA is doing, it cannot voice its approval or disapproval of their actions. In fact, they can even lie to you about what they are doing or have done, and you will not know it.

As for the second advantage, despite frequent suggestions that the CIA is a rogue elephant, the truth is that the agency functions at the direction of and in response to the office of the president. All of its major clandestine operations are carried out with the direct approval of or on direct orders from the White House. The CIA is a secret tool of the president—every president. And every president since Truman has lied to the American people in order to protect the agency. When lies have failed, it has been the duty of the CIA to take the blame for the president, thus protecting him. This is known in the business as "plausible denial."

The CIA, functioning as a secret instrument of the U.S. government and the presidency, has long misused and abused history and continues to do so. I first became concerned about this historical distortion in 1957, when I was a young officer in the Clandestine Services of the CIA.

One night, after work, I was walking down Constitution Avenue with a fellow officer, who previously had been a reporter for United Press.

"How are they ever going to know," he asked.

"Who? How is 'who' ever going to know what?" I asked.

"How are the American people ever going to know what the truth is? How are they going to know what the truth is about what we are doing and have done over the years?" he said. "We operate in secrecy, we deal in deception and disinformation, and then we burn our files. How will the historians ever be able to learn the complete truth about what we've done in these various operations, these operations that have had such a major impact on so many important events in history?"

I couldn't answer him, then. And I can't answer him now. I don't know how the American people will ever really know the truth about the many things that the CIA has been involved in. Or how they will ever know the truth about the great historical events of our times. The government is continually writing and rewriting history—often with the CIA's help—to suit its own purposes. Here is a current example.

Just last month in Moscow, there was a meeting, a very strange meeting. Former Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara met with former Soviet foreign minister Andrei Gromyko and a member of the Cuban Politburo. These three men, along with lesser former officials of their governments, has all been involved in the Cuban missile crisis of 1962, and they had gathered in the Soviet capital to discuss what has really occurred in that monumental crisis, which almost led to World War III.

Since I, too, had been personally involved in that cirisi, I took some interest in the news reports coming out of Moscow concerning the doings of this rather odd gathering of former officials. Much to my surprise, I learned that Robert McNamara was saying that neither he nor the U.S. intelligence community realized there actually had been some 40,000 Soviet troops in Cuba in the autumn of 1962. The former defense chief of the Kennedy administration was also saying that he and the U.S. government did not realize that the few dozen medium and intermediate range missiles the Soviets had tried to sneak into Cuba were actually armed with nuclear warheads and ready to be fired at targets in the U.S. Furthermore, he was claiming that the U.S. did not understand that this huge military build-up by the Soviets had been carried out to protect Cuba and to prevent the U.S. from attacking the island's Communist regime. He added, for good measure, that he was surprised to learn from the talks in Moscow that the Soviets and Cubans thought the U.S. had plans to bring down the government of Fidel Castro through the use of force. According to McNamara, the entire Cuban missile crisis was a dangerous misunderstanding that came about because of the lack of communication among the governments involved in the near catastrophe.

Well, when I heard what McNamara and the band were playing in Moscow, I said to myself, "Either McNamara is getting a little dotty in his old age and dosen't remember what really happened during the Cuban missile crisis—or there's some other reason for this." Well, it soon became apparent that McNamara was not senile. What, then, is the reason for these curious—and false—"admisisons" in Moscow? The reason is that the United States and the Soviet Union have decided to become friends again, and Washington wants to set the stage for rapprochement with Castro's Cuba.

It has evidently been decided by the powers that be in the U.S. to have a little meeting in Moscow and tell the world that

we were all mixed up about Cuba and we didn't know what was going on there in 1962, because we weren't communicating well with the Soviets at the time. Thus, the American people would see how close to war we had come, how we should communicate more with the Soviets, and how they weren't really very bad guys after all. For that matter, neither were Fidel and his gang. Therefore, it would follow that we should in a few months from now get on with disarmament and whatever else is necessary to bring about the new internationalism that is forming between east and west. At the same time, we should begin rebuilding the bridge to Cuba, too.

But to create the proper atmosphere for the coming rapproachement with Moscow and, later, Cuba, it was necessary to scare the American public and the world into thinking that the crisis of October 1962 was worse than it really was. To do that, McNamara, Gromyko, *et al.* were playing a little game—their own distorted brand of historical revisionism. They were rewriting history to suit the present purposes of their governments.

Now, I thought, what if I were a reporter. Would I be able to see through this little charade that was going on in Moscow? Probably not. I began studying the "knowlegeable" syndicated colunmists. They were writing things like, ". . . My God, we never did understand what the Soviets were up to in Cuba. Yes, we better do something about this." What McNamara and friends were saying in Moscow was now becoming fact. It's becoming fact that we, the U.S. government, did not really know what was going on during the missile crisis. That is a lie.

If there was ever a time when the CIA in the United States intelligence community and the United States Armed Forces really cooperated and coordinated their efforts with each other, it was during the Cuban missile crisis. The Cuban missile crisis is probably one of the few examples—perhaps the only one—of when intelligence really worked the way it was supposed to work in a crisis situation.

I was there at the time, and I was deeply involved in this historical event. A colleague and friend of mine, Tack, my assistant at the time, and I were the original "crate-ologists"—which was an arcane little intelligence art that we had developed. We had learned through a variety of tricks of the trade, and some of our own making, to be able to distinguish what was in certain crates on Soviet merchant ships as they went into Cuba, into Indonesia, into Egypt,

Syria, and other places. We could tell if a crate contained a MIG-21, or an IL-28, or a SAM-2 missile.

We did this in such an amateurish way that we dared not tell anyone our methods. While the National Photographic Interpretation Center employed 1,200 people in its office in downtown Washington, using state-of-the-art equipment to analyze aerial and satellite photography, Tack and I would sit in our office, feet up on the desk, using a beat-up old ruler to measure photos taken from U.S. submarines. I'd measure a crate on the deck of the Soviet freighter, say about three-quarters of an inch in the photograph.

"Tack, do you think they could fit a Mig-21 in there?"

He'd thumb through an old Air Force manual and say, "Mig-21, fuselage length 25 feet."

"Well?"

"Take the tail off, and we can fit it in."

"Okay, let's call it a Mig-21."

We were pretty good at this. We had other aids to identification, of course. We were able to learn when the Soviets were preparing shipments, and from which ports they were sailing. We knew which personnel were involved, and the ships' destinations. Thus we could alert the navy, which sometimes conducted overflights, sometimes tracked them with a submarine.

We had an attaché in Istanbul row out in the middle of the night with a Turk whom he'd hired, looking for three things in a Soviet freighter: its deck cargo, how high it was riding in the water, and its name.

By these and other sensitive means we were able to learn, in the summer of 1962, that the Soviets were carrying out an unprecendented arms build-up in Cuba. While some of the other agencies, namely the National Security Agency and the Defense Intelligence Agency, didn't agree with us, CIA director John McCone was able to get President John Kennedy to authorize more intelligence overflights. The overflights revealed that the Soviets were building SAM (Surface-to-Air Missiles) launching sites to protect the build-up. Further overflights revealed the construction of launching sites for Soviet MRBMs (Medium Range Ballistic Missiles) capable of carrying nuclear warheads to most cities in the United States. We know exactly how many there were, where they were, and that they had not yet been armed, because the warheads hadn't arrived yet.

Thus McNamara is lying when he claims that the Soviet missiles in Cuba were armed and ready for launch against the United States. On the contrary, we were watching the ships which caried the warheads; American ships enforcing the blockade which President Kennedy had ordered boarded a Romanian ship (which we knew carried no arms), and the Russian ships bringing the nuclear warheads turned around in mid-ocean and went home.

It is also quite untrue that there were forty thousand Soviet troops in Cuba. We knew that there were only ten thousand of them, because we had developed a simple but effective way of counting them.

The Soviets had sent their troops over on passenger liners to disguise the military buildup. Some genius back in Moscow must have then said: "But these guys need to wear civilian clothes; let's put sport shirts on them." But someone at the department store said: "We've only got two kinds." So half the troops wore one kind, half of them the other. They weren't very hard to spot.

Then, too, Soviet soldiers are a lot like our own. As soon as the first group got established, the colonel sent them out to paint some rocks white and then paint the name of the unit, 44th Field Artillery Battalion or whatever, on the rocks. All we had to do was take a picture of it from one of our U-2s. So it was easy to establish a Soviet troop strength of far below 40,000. Thus, McNamara is agreeing to a second lie.

The big lie, however, is that the Soviet Union came into Cuba to protect the Cubans. That was a secondary, or bonus, consideration. The primary reason for the build-up was that the Soviets at the time were so far behind us in nuclear strike capability that Khruschev figured he could make a quantum leap by suddenly putting in 48 missiles that could strike every city in America except Seattle, Washington.

Nor did we come as close to war as many think, because Khruschev knew he was caught. His missiles weren't armed, and he hadn't the troops to protect them. Kennedy knew this, so he was able to say: "Take them out." And Khruschev had to say yes.

I must admit that at the time I was a little concerned, and so was my buddy Tack. We were manning the war room around the clock, catching four hours of sleep and then going back on duty. My wife had the station wagon loaded with blankets and provisions, and Tack's wife was standing by on alert. If either of them got a phone call with a certain word in

it, they were to take our children and drive to my home town in the anthracite region of northeastern Pennsylvania. We figured they'd be safe there: if you've ever seen the coal region with its strip mines you would think it had already been bombed, and we were hoping the Soviets would look at it that way too.

Last month's conference in Moscow is an example of how history is being rewritten. Any historian who relies on what he reads in the newspapers, on the statements from McNamara and the Russians and the Cubans will not be learning the truth.

The CIA has manufactured history in a number of ways over the years not only through its propaganda and disinformation but through the cover stories it uses for their operations, and the cover-ups when an operation falls through. Then there is "plausible deniability," which protects the president.

All these techniques have one thing in common, and depend on one thing: secrecy. Secrecy is maintained not to keep the opposition—the CIA's euphemistic term for the enemy—from knowing what's going on, because the enemy usually does know. Secrecy exists to keep you, the American public, from knowing what is going on, because in many ways you are the real enemy.

If the public were aware of what the CIA is doing, it might say: "We don't like what you're doing—stop it!," or "You're not doing a good job—stop it!" The public might ask for an accounting for the money being spent and the risks being taken.

Thus secrecy is absolutely vital to the CIA. Secrecy covers not only operations in progress, but continues after the operations, particularly if the operations have been botched. Then they have to be covered up with more lies, which the public, of course, can't recognize as lies, allowing the CIA to tell the public whatever it wishes.

Presidents love this. Every president, no matter what he has said before getting into office, has been delighted to learn that the CIA is his own private tool. The presidents have leapt at the opportunity to keep Congress and the public in the dark about their employment of the agency.

This is what was at the basis of my book, *The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence.* I had come to the conclusion, as a member of the CIA, that many of our policies and practices were not in the best interests of the United States, but were in fact

counterproductive, and that if the American people were aware of this they would not tolerate it.

I resigned from the CIA in 1969, at a time when we were deeply involved in Vietnam. And how did we get into Vietnam on a large scale? How did President Lyndon Johnson get a blank check from Congress? It was through the Gulf of Tonkin incident. The American people were told by President Johnson that North Vietnamese motor torpedo boats had come after two American destroyers on the night of August 4, 1964. This was confirmed by the intelligence community.

The fact of the matter is that while torpedo boats came out and looked at the U.S. destroyers, which were well out in international waters, they never fired on them. They made threatening maneuvers, they snarled a bit, but they never fired. It was dark and getting darker. Our sailors thought they might have seen something, but there were no hits, no reports of anything whizzing by.

That was the way it was reported back: a bit of a scrape, but no weapons fire and no attempt to fire. Our ships had not been in danger. But with the help of the intelligence community President Johnson took that report and announced that we had been attacked. He went to Congress and asked for and received his blank check, and Congress went along. Everyone knows the rest of the story: we got into Vietnam up to our eyeballs.

Every president prizes secrecy and fights for it. And so did President Nixon, in my case. When I came to the conclusion that the American people needed to know more about the CIA and what it was up to, I decided to go to Capitol Hill and talk to the senators on the intelligence oversight subcommittee. I found out that Senator John Stennis, at that time head of the subcommittee, hadn't conducted a meeting in over a year, so the other senators were completely ignorant as to what the CIA was doing. Senators William Fulbright and Stuart Symington would tell Stennis, "Let's have a meeting," but he was ignoring them. The other senators wrote Stennis a letter urging him to at least hear what I had to say in a secret executive session, but he continued to ignore them.

Then I would meet Fulbright—at the barber shop. He was afraid to met me in his office. I would meet with Symington at his home. I would meet with senators at cocktail parties, as if by chance. But still they couldn't get Stennis to convene the intelligence subcommittee.

Senator Richard Schweiker of Pennsylvania told me he had learned more about the workings of the intelligence community in one afternoon of conversation with me than in six years of work on the intelligence subcommittee. That didn't surprise me, because I, several years before, had done the budget for CIA director Richard Helms. It was feared that the Senate appropriations subcommittee might have some hard questions about the growing cost of technical espionage programs. Director Helms had evidently been through this before, however.

As Helms put it, he and the CIA's head of science and technology, Albert (Bud) Wheelon, staged a "magic lantern show" for the committee, complete with color slides and demonstrations of the CIA's most advance spy gadgets: a camera hidden in a tobacco pouch, a radio transmitter concealed in some false teeth, a tape recorder in a cigarette case, and so on. One or two hard questions were deflected by Senator Russell of Georgia, who chaired the committee and was a strong supporter of the agency. There were, of course, no slides or hi-tech hardware to exhibit the programs the CIA wanted to conceal from Congress, and the budget sailed through the subcommittee intact.

What I learned in my dealings with Congressmen, in the CIA and after leaving, was that the men who wanted to change the situation didn't have the power, while those who had the power didn't want any change. With Congress a hopeless case, and the White House already in the know and well satisfied to let the CIA continue to operate in secrecy, I decided to talk to the press. I gave my first interview to *U.S. News and World Report*, and that started the ball rolling. Soon I was in touch with publishers in New York, talking about doing a book.

I soon got a telephone call from Admiral Rufus Taylor, who had been my boss in the agency, but by that time had retired. He told me to meet him at a motel in the Virginia suburbs, across the Potomac from Washington. My suspicions aroused by the remoteness of the room from the office, I was greeted by Admiral Taylor, who had thoughtfully brought along a large supply of liquor: a bottle of scotch, a bottle of bourbon, a bottle of vodka, a bottle of gin . . . "I couldn't remember what you liked," he told me, "so I brought one of everything."

I began to make noise: flushing the toilet, washing my hands, turning on the television. Admiral Taylor was right behind me, turning everything off. I kept making noise, jingling the ice in my glass and so on, until the admiral sat

down. There was a table with a lamp on it between the admiral's chair and the one which he now told me to sit down on. He looked at me with a little twinkle in his eye: the lamp was bugged, of course.

We talked, and Admiral Taylor told me the CIA was worried about what I might write in my book. He proposed a deal: I was to give no more interviews, write no more articles, and to stay away from Capitol Hill. I could write my book, and then let him and other retired senior officers look it over, and they would advise me and the agency. After that the CIA and I could resolve our differences. I told him, "Fair enough." We had a drink on it, and went out to dinner. That was our deal.

What I didn't know was that a few nights later John Erlichman and Richard Nixon would be sitting in the White House discussing my book. There is a tape of their discussion, "President Nixon, John Ehrlichman, 45 minutes, subject: Victor Marchetti," which is still sealed: I can't get it. Ehrlichman told me through contacts that if I listened to the tape I would learn exactly what hapened to me and why.

Whatever the details of their conversatin were, the president of the United States had decided I should not publish my book. I was to be the first writer in American history to be served with an official censorship order served by a court of the United States, because President Nixon did not want to be embarrassed, nor did he want the CIA to be investigated and reformed: that would have hampered his ability to use it for his own purposes. A few days later, on April 18, 1972, I received a federal injunction restraining me from revealing any "intelligence information."

After more than a year of court battles, *CIA and the Cult of Intelligence* was published. The courts allowed the CIA to censor it in advance, and as a result the book appeared with more than a hundred holes for CIA-ordered deletions. Later editions show previously deleted words and lines, which the court ordered the CIA to restore in boldface or italics. The book is therefore difficult to read, indeed something of a curiosity piece. And of course all the information which was ordered cut out ended up leaking to the public anyway.

All this was done to help the CIA suppress and distort history, and to enable presidents to do the same. Presidents like Harry Truman, who claimed falsely that "I never had any thought when I set up the CIA that it would be injected into peacetime cloak-and-dagger operations," but who willingly employed the agency to carry out clandestine espionage and

covert intervention in the affairs of other countries. Or Dwight Eisenhower, who denied that we were attempting to overthrow Sukarno in Indonesia, when we were, and was embarrassed when he tried to deny the CIA's U-2 overflights and was shown up by Khruschev at Paris in 1960.

John F. Kennedy, as everyone knows by now, employed the CIA in several attempts to assassinate Fidel Castro. We used everyone from Mafia hoods to Castro's mistress, Marita Lorenz (who was supposed to poison the dictator with pills concealed in her cold cream—the pills melted). I have no doubt that if we could have killed Castro, the U.S. would have gone in.

There was a fairly widespread belief that one reason Kennedy was assassinated was because he was going to get us out of Vietnam. Don't you believe it. He was the CIA's kind of president, rough, tough, and gung-ho. Under Kennedy we became involved in Vietnam in a serious way, not so much militarily as through covert action. It is a fact that the United States engineered the overthrow of Ngo Dinh Diem, South Vietnam's premier, and Ngo Dinh Nhu, his powerful brother. A cable was sent out to the ambassador which said, "If Lou Conein goofs up [Lucien Conein was a key CIA operative in Saigon], it's his responsibility." So when E. Howard Hunt faked these memos and cables when he was working for the "plumbers" on behalf of President Nixon (and against the Democrats), he knew what he was doing. That was his defense, that he wasn't really forging or inventing anything. "Stuff like that really existed, but I couldn't find it," he said. Of course Hunt couldn't find it: by that time the original documents were gone. But Hunt knew what he was doing.

President Nixon's obsession with secrecy led to the end of his presidency, of course. As indicated earlier, Nixon was determined to suppress my book. On several occasions after his resignation, Nixon has been asked what he meant when he said that the CIA would help him cover up the Watergate tapes, because "they owed him one." He has responded, "I was talking about Marchetti," in other words the efforts (still secret) to prevent *The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence* from being published.

Another instance of the Nixon administrations' attempts to suppress history is the ongoing attempt to cover up the details of the administration's "tilt" toward Pakistan in its conflict with India in the early 1970's. Although the basic facts soon emerged, Pulitzer Prize-winning journalist Seymour Hersh's

account of the affair in his unflattering book on Henry Kissinger revealed that Morarji Desai, an important Indian political leader who later became Prime Minister, was a CIA agent. Kissinger spurred Desai to sue Hersh, and the case is still dragging on today, seven years later. I know what the truth is; Hersh knows as well, but as a conscientious journalist refused to reveal his sources. Here historical truth is caught between official secrecy and Hersh's loyalty to his informants; nevertheless, I have a great deal of admiration for Hersh for his firm stand.

It is a fact that a good many foreign leaders, including those often seen as "neutral" or even hostile to the United States, have been secretly on the CIA's payroll. For instance, when Jimmy Carter came into office, he claimed he was going to reform the CIA. No sooner than was he in the White House, they decided to test him: the news that Jordan's King Hussein had been paid by the CIA was leaked. President Carter was outraged, because now it was *his* CIA. His efforts to deny the relationship were defeated by Hussein's nonchalant frankness. He told the press, "Yes, I took the money. I used it for my intelligence service. And that's all I'm going to say on that subject."

There were a lot of other national leaders in Hussein's category. As I revealed for the first time in my book, Joseph Mobutu, a corporal in the Belgian forces in the Congo before its independence, went on the CIA payroll. That is why he rules Zaire today. The CIA paid the late Jomo Kenyatta, ruler of Kenya, fifty or a hundred thousand dollars a year, which he'd spend on drink and women. Therefore we ended up paying Kenyatta twice as much, telling him: "This is for you and this is for your party."

The CIA has funded individuals and movements across the political spectrum in West Germany. A prime example is Willy Brandt, former chancellor of the Federal Republic, who received much CIA support when he was mayor of West Berlin. Axel Springer, the Christian Democratic-minded press and publishing magnate, who pointed the finger at Brandt for working with CIA, was also a CIA asset, who used his publications to spread CIA propaganda and disinformation. It was a case of the pot calling the kettle black: I knew his case officer quite well.

This is the way the CIA sees its mission, the job it was created to do. The CIA is supposed to be involved with everyone, not merely the Christian Democrats or the Social

Democrats. The agency is supposed to have its fingers in every pie, including the Communist one, so that they can all be manipulated in whichever way the U.S. government desires.

An obvious area of disinformation and deception exists in our relationship with a nation often represented as our closest ally, Israel. I have often been asked about the relationship between the CIA and its Israeli counterpart, the Mossad. The CIA maintains some kind of liaison with virtually every foreign intelligence agency, including the KGB. These relationships vary from case to case, but our relationship with the Mossad was always a peculiar one.

When I was in the agency, the Mossad was generally not trusted. There was an unwritten rule that no Jews could work on Israeli or near Eastern matters; it was felt that they could not be totally objective. There was a split in the agency, however, and Israel was not included in the normal area division, the Near Eastern Division. Instead it was handled as a special account in counterintelligence. The man who handled that account, James Jesus Angleton, was extremely close to the Israelis. I believe that through Angleton the Israelis learned a lot more than they should have and exercised a lot more influence on our activities than they should have.

For his trouble, James Angleton, who died last year, was honored by the Israelis, in the way that the Israelis customarily honor their Gentile helpers. They decided to plant a whole forest for Angleton in the Judean hills, and they put up a handsome plaque in several languages, lionizing Angleton as a great friend of Israel, on a nearby rock. Israeli's intelligence chiefs, past and present, attended the dedication ceremony.

Later on, a television reporter of my acquaintance sought out Angleton's memorial during an assignment in Israel. After some difficulty, he was able to locate it, but something seemed odd about it. On closer inspection, Angleton's plaque turned out to be made, not of bronze, but of cardboard. Nor was the setting particularly flattering to Israel's late benefactor: the trees and plaque were at the edge of a garbage dump. My friend's British cameraman put it best: "This guy sold out his country for the bloody Israelis, and this is the way they pay him back!"

The CIA has distorted history in other ways than by outright coverups and suppression of the truth. One method was to produce its own books. For instance, one of its top agents in

the Soviet Union was Colonel Oleg Penkovsky. Penkovsky was eventually captured and executed. But the CIA was unwilling to let it go at that. The agency decided to write a book, which it published in 1965, called *The Penkovsky Papers*. This was purported to be drawn from a diary that Penkovsky had kept, a diary in which Penkovsky revealed numerous espionage coups calculated to embarrass the Soviets and build up the CIA.

Spies do not keep diaries, of course, and the Soviets were not likely to believe the exaggerated claims made for Penkovsky and the CIA in *The Penkovsky Papers*. Who was taken in? The American public, of course. More than once people have come up to me after a lecture and shown me the book as if it were gospel. I've told them, "I know the man who wrote it." "You knew Penkovsky?" they invariably ask, and I tell them, "No, I didn't know Penkovsky but I know the man who wrote the book."

Not just ordinary citizens were taken in by the Penkovsky deception, either. Senator Milton Young of North Dakota, who served on the CIA oversight subcommittee, said in a 1971 Senate debate on cutting the inteligence budget:

> And if you want to read something very interesting and authoritative where intelligence is concerned, read *The Penkovsky Papers* . . . this is a very interesting story, on why the intelligence we had in Cuba was so important to us, and on what the Russians were thinking and just how far they would go.

Perhaps the most startling example of the CIA's manipulation of the publishing world is the case of *Khrushchev Remembers*. Khrushchev is still widely believed to have been the author. He is supposed to have dashed it off one summer and then said to himself, "Where will I get this published? Ah! Time-Life!" The tapes reached Time-Life, we all read it, and we told ourselves, "Isn't that interesting."

A little thought should be sufficient to dispel the notion that the KGB would allow Khrushchev to sit in his dacha dictating tape after tape with no interference. He certainly dictated tapes, but the tapes were censored and edited by the KGB, and then a deal was struck between the U.S. and the USSR, after it was decided, at the highest level, that such a book would be mutually beneficial. Brezhnev could use against some of the resistance he was encountering from Stalinist hardliners, and Nixon could use it to increase support for detente.

The CIA and the KGB cooperated in carrying out the operation. The tapes were given to the *Time* bureau in Moscow. Strobe Talbot, who appears on television frequently today and is *Time's* bureau chief in Washington, brought the tapes back with him. I was present in an apartment in which he hid them for a couple of days. The tapes were then translated and a manuscript developed. During this period *Time* refused to let people who had known Khrushchev personally, including White House staff members, listen to the tapes.

Knowledgeable people began to tell me. "I don't believe this." "There's something mighty fishy here." When they read what Khrushchev was supposedly saying, they were even more incredulous. But the book came out, *Khrushchev Remembers*, accompanied by a massive publicity campaign. It was a great propaganda accomplishment for the CIA and the KGB.

I touched on *Khrushchev Remembers* in my book. I did not go into any great detail, merely devoting several tentative paragraphs to the affair. Just before my book was published *Time* was considering doing a two-page spread on me until they learned of my expressed reservations on the trustworthiness of *Khrushchev Remembers*. I began to get phone calls from Talbot and Jerry Schaechter, then *Time's* bureau chief in Washington, telling me I should take out the offending passages.

I had written, correctly, that before publication Strobe Talbot had taken the bound transcripts of the Khruschhev tapes back to Moscow, via Helsinki, so that the KGB could make one final review of them. I told Schaechter and Talbot that if they came to me, looked me in the eye, and told me I had the facts wrong, I would take out the section on *Khruschhev Remembers*. Neither of them ever came by, the paragraphs stayed in my book, and in any event *Time* went ahead with the two-page spread anyway.

As I pointed out in the preface to *The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence* in 1974, democratic governments fighting totalitarian enemies run the risk of imitating their methods and thereby destroying democracy. By suppressing historical fact, and by manufacturing historical fiction, the CIA, with its obsessive secrecy and its vast resources, has posed a particular threat to the right of Americans to be informed for the present and future by an objective knowledge of the past. As long as the CIA continues to manipulate history, historians of its activities must be Revisionist if we are to know the truth about the agency's activities, past and present.

(continued from page 304)

Professor Anthony Kubek relates the almost incredible story of how a Soviet agent, Harry Dexter White, authored a plan aimed at the economic and physical destruction of the Germans, and then saw his plan adopted as official U.S. policy. Dr. Kubek, the world's leading authority on the revealing official diaries of White's boss, Treasury Secretary Henry Morgenthau, examines the implications of the "policy perversion" by which Morgenthau and White helped torpedo a just peace with Germany.

Victor Marchetti, the first insider to blow the whistle on the CIA's policy of deceiving the American people, unmasks recent American-Soviet attempts to falsify the facts about the 1962 Cuban missile crisis, in which he played a key role. Then the former agent leads readers on an enlightening tour of the CIA's efforts to control and destroy recent American history.

The Reverend Herman Otten, the Lutheran dynamo who was the driving force in arranging last February's "Great Holocaust Debate" (aborted through no fault of his own), describes his own path to Historical Revisionism. The editor and publisher of *The Christian News* presents a case for Biblical truth and historical skepticism that makes his paper surely one of the most controversial to appear in *The Journal.*

Doubtless the two living deans of Holocaust Revisionism are Professor Arthur Butz of Northwestern and Professor Robert Faurisson of Lyon. Due to the great importance of Professor Arno Mayer's *Why Did the Heavens Not Darken?*—the first book by an Establishment historian to implicitly challenge the Auschwitz myth—we are proud to feature the comments of both these learned and courageous men on Mayer and his book.

Then John Ries reviews an account of the social and political history of Linz—Adolf Hitler's hometown—during the forty years which preceded the *Anschluss.*

And then it's onward and upward into the second decade of *The Journal of Historical Review!*

—Theodore J. O'Keefe

Christianity, Truth and Fantasy: The Holocaust, Historical Revisionism and Christians Today

(Paper presented to the Ninth International Revisionist Conference)

HERMAN OTTEN

The early Christians were champions of the truth, not myth and fantasy. They spoke and wrote on the basis of solid evidence. Peter wrote:

> We didn't follow any clever myths when we told you about the power of our Lord Jesus Christ and His coming. No. With our own eyes we saw His majesty. God the Father gave Him honor and glory when from His wonderful glory He said to Him: "This is My son whom I love and with whom I am delighted." We heard that voice speak to Him from heaven when we were with Him on the holy mountain.
>
> And we have a more sure word of prophecy. Please look to it as a light shining in a gloomy place till the day dawns and the morning star rises in your hearts. Understand this first, that no one can explain any written Word of God as he likes, because it never was the will of a human being that brought us God's Word, but the Holy Spirit moved holy men to say what God told them.[1]

John concludes his Gospel: "This is the disciple who testified about these things and wrote this. And we know what he testifies is true."[2] John begins his first epistle: "It was from the beginning, we heard It, we saw It with our eyes, we looked at It, and our hands touched It—we're writing about the Word of Life."[3] He concludes this epistle: "We know God's Son came and gave us the understanding to know Him who is real, and we are in Him who is real, in His Son Jesus Christ. He is the true God and everlasting life. Children, keep away from idols."[4]

The prophets and apostles who write the Bible presented facts, true history, not pious myths based upon some

emotional experiences. They carefully evaluated the evidence. Luke begins his Gospel:

> Many have undertaken to plan and write a story of what has been done among us, just as we heard it from those who from the first became eyewitnesses and servants of the World. For this reason I too decided to check everything carefully from the beginning and to write it down in the proper order for you, excellent Theophilus, so that you too will be sure what you have heard is true.[5]

Jesus, who said: "I am the Way, the Truth, and the Life, no one comes to the Father except by Me,"[6] emphasized the importance of knowing the truth. He declared: "If you live in My Word, you are really My disciples, and you will know the truth, and the truth will free you."[7]

Today direct revelation, the very concept of truth, doctrine, and real history which can be known are being rejected right within the established churches. The very thought that God revealed Himself or any truths to man in propositions recorded in Holy Scripture is denied. Many contend that there is no such thing as absolute truth and that no one can say with absolute certainty what really happened. A professor we had for a course in philosophy at the University of Rochester in New York held up his pencil and told our class that if we believed the pencil were a cow or an elephant it would be a cow or elephant for us. Our response was that one may very well call it a cow but it certainly would not produce any milk.

Modern liberalism contends that there is no such thing as divinely revealed, authoritative, final doctrine, doctrina divina. However, the idea of propositional truth and revelation is taught by the Scriptures. The Holy Scriptures contain dogma, doctrine, real history, divinely revealed truth, which can be known.

While the Bible does use the term "truth" at times to mean such things as "loyalty," "faithfulness," etc., the Bible also teaches the idea of propositional truth, revelation, absolute truth, which man can know and express in doctrinal statements.

To the Samaritan woman who said, "I have no husband," our Lord replied that since she had had five husbands and since her present consort was not her husband, her answer was quite correct: "You've told the truth." Obviously Christ means "factual precision." He is not attributing "faithfulness" or "loyalty" to the woman.[8]

Of another woman we read in Mark that she came to Christ and "told Him all the truth." Again this can only mean "factual precision." Certainly she is not preaching the Gospel to Christ. She simply narrated the prosaic facts of her case.[9]

Martin Luther and other early Reformers had an intense desire to know and proclaim the truth in all areas. Luther, in his explanation of the Eighth Commandment: "Do not lie concerning your neighbor," noted: "We should fear and love God that we may not deceitfully belie, betray, slander, nor defame our neighbor, but defend him, speak well of him, and put the best construction on everything."

Christians are not free to believe or spread lies and myths about anyone or any people or nation. In short: *A Christian promotes truth, not lies and hoaxes.*

Revisionism

A Christian is not a revisionist in the sense that he wants to revise real history and distort what actually happened. Rather he is interested in learning and promoting facts, not lies, in every area. He is particularly vitally concerned about the true origins of all religions. Christianity is the only religion which is founded upon actual history. Unlike all other religions, it is founded upon actual events, which really happened in ordinary calendar history, not some kind of "history" which is above and beyond real history (the realm of myth). A Christian is not out to revise true history.

However, a Christian can be a Revisionist if by this is meant that a Christian is interested in revising what many consider to be history. *Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace* by Harry Elmer Barnes, who was not a Christian, was one of the first books I bought by a Revisionist during my college days in the early fifties. I still have this copy. Barnes noted in "Revisionism and the Promotion of Peace" in *The Journal of Historical Review* (Spring, 1982):

> During the last forty years or so, Revisionism has become a fighting term. To so-called Revisionists, it implies an honest search for historical truth and the discrediting of misleading myths that are a barrier to peace and goodwill among nations. In the minds of anti-Revisionists, the term savors of malice, vindictiveness, and an unholy desire to smear the saviors of mankind.
>
> Actually, Revisionism means nothing more or less than the effort to correct the historical facts, a more calm political atmosphere, and a more objective attitude. It has been going on

ever since Lorenzo Valla (1407-1457) exposed the forged "Donation of Constantine," which was a cornerstone of the papal claim to secular power, and he later called attention to the unreliable methods of Livy in dealing with early Roman history. Indeed, the Revisionist impulse long antedated Valla, and it has been developing ever since that time. It has been employed in American history long before the term came into rather general use following the first World War.

Revisionism has been more frequently and effectively applied to correcting the historical record relative to wars, because truth is always the first war casualty, the emotional disturbances and distortions in historical writing are greatest in wartime, and both the need and the material for correcting historical myths are most evident in connection with wars.

Growing Up in New York City During World War II

The October, 1988 *IHR Newsletter* announcing this conference referred to me as a "German-American." My parents came to this country from Germany as teen-agers. However, ancestors on both my mother's and father's side came to Germany from Sweden. I mention this because some have said I am a neo-Nazi, out to defend Germany because of my background. But Mother's mother refused to say "*Heil Hitler.*" She insisted that she had only one *Heiland* (Savior) and that was Jesus Christ. Some feared she would be imprisoned. My father's father was one of the first Lutherans in Germany to leave the German territorial [state] church and helped form an independent church free from any government control. He vigorously protested against the liberal anti-Christian theology taught in many German universities and schools of higher learning. Perhaps much of the suffering that Germany has had to endure is because it had to such a large extent departed from God's Word.

I was fortunate to have a father, who, although he was an ordinary housepainter in New York City, was interested in world affairs and did considerable reading, including the writings of some Revisionists. Prior to WW II he followed the work of Charles Lindbergh and the America First Committee, which sought to keep the U.S. out of war. I can still recall sitting in front of our radio in a Bronx apartment on December 7, 1941 listening to reports of the bombing of Pearl Harbor. I was eight years old at the time but I remember Dad telling us that this was the beginning of the most devastating war the world had ever known and that President Franklin Roosevelt

was not entirely innocent in the affair. "F.D.R.'S WAR PLANS!—Goal is 10 Million Armed Men; Half to Fight in AEF—Proposes Land Drive by July 1, 1943 to Smash Nazis" were the headlines of the December 4, 1941 *Chicago Tribune*, three days before Pearl Harbor.

One of the first things we had to do many mornings during WWII was run to a local candy store to buy a copy of the New York *Daily News*, which at that time was only 2 cents. In the evening Dad would come home from work with other newspapers to keep up with the latest news about the war. When the news came on the radio at supper time, the entire family had to be quiet so we could hear the reports. Dad would often comment, after coming home from a day of painting in the homes of some clergymen and college professors, that a good number of them were rather uninformed about what was really going on in the world. He told us that very few of them recognized that Roosevelt actually planned to get the U.S. into the war.

During our public school years in the Bronx, news and evidence of the war were constantly before us. Apartment houses near our public schools were vacated and thousands of WACS, WAVES and SPARS moved in. They regularly marched around our school and trained in what is probably one of the largest armories in the world, which was right across from our school. A few gold stars replaced blue ones in our church and as we walked to school from time to time we could observe in the windows of apartment houses where a gold star had been placed just the day before where there had been a blue one. Another American had died in the war.

Some of the forty families who lived in our apartment house were Jews who had recently come from Europe and still had relatives there. At times there were only two or three of us in some of our grade school classes who were not Jews. Many of our teachers and friends were Jews. We collected newspapers for the war effort in apartment houses where most of the tenants were Jews. Some had only been in this country for a short time and still had some contact with relatives in Eastern European countries.

Before and after the war our family helped European Jews and other refugees settle in this country. A few of them became Christians. Our congregation in New York, St. Mathew Lutheran Church, often called the oldest Lutheran church in the country, probably included more former Jews than any other Lutheran church in the U.S. At one time our pastor told us that there were about 80.

During the years immediately after the war our family sent hundreds of food packages to the destitute in Europe. Since we had no automobile, we children took many of these packages to the post office in our wagon.

We cannot recall any of the many Jews with whom we came into contact growing up in Manhattan and the Bronx from 1933-52 who acted as if he really believed that millions of fellow Jews were being gassed by the Germans.

Undergraduate Revisionist Studies

I attended Concordia College Institute in Bronxville, New York, which consisted of a four-year prep school and two-year junior college. The school had a high academic standing, and four years of Latin, two years of Greek, and four years of German were required of all students, in addition to the standard courses in English, history, mathematics, and science.

Following my Dad's example, I became an early and enthusiastic Revisionist, which got me into difficulty with some of my teachers at Concordia. During my senior year I gave a talk on Roosevelt, Pearl Harbor, and the forced repatriation of millions of Eastern Europeans back to the Communists. One of the resources I used was *The Crime of the Ages*, by Ludwig A. Fritsch. The book included a pamphlet with an endorsement from Dr. Walter A. Maier, who at that time was speaker on the "International Lutheran Hour" and a professor at Concordia Seminary, St. Louis.

My history professor, who was an ardent fan of Roosevelt, almost exploded after I completed the speech. I had previously expressed some disagreement with this professor's views of the causes for the war and Roosevelt's parts in the war, but this was the final straw. A few of my classmates were prepared for a confrontation. I was sent to the principal to get "straightened" out. It didn't do much good and only led me to read more books by such Revisionist historians as Charles Tansill, George Morgenstern, Percy Greaves, John T. Flynn, Charles Beard, Admiral Theobald, etc. I was determined to read all I could about WW I and WW II. When I graduated from Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, in 1957 I also received a Master's Degree in history from Washington University. One reason for majoring in history was because I was interested in writing a textbook on American history which would tell the truth about the origins of World War I and II.

Christian Influences for Revisionism

I. Dr. Walter A. Maier

My thesis at Concordia Seminary in 1957 was on the political and economic thought of Dr. Walter A. Maier, who was one of the best known American churchmen during the war years. 32 years ago I wrote:

> From Maier's endorsement of *The Crime of the Ages* it is rather obvious that he accepted the Revisionist interpretation of World War Two. He concluded a letter of thanks to the author with the words, "It certainly tells the truth." The author of this book, Ludwig A. Fritsch, Ph.D., D.D., stated that Roosevelt and his associates led America into war in order to bring this nation out of the depression. He argues that Roosevelt was not able to solve the unemployment situation in spite of social legislation and huge spending. Since Hitler could not be induced to attack the United States, Fritsch maintains that Roosevelt had to engineer war "via the back door." Through various economic pressures Japan was supposed to have been sufficiently antagonized to attack Pearl Harbor. This was claimed to have permitted Roosevelt and his associates to stand before America and demand revenge for the sneak attack. Fritsch, whom Maier endorsed, wrote:
>
>> TELL OUR PEOPLE what Oliver Lyttleton, British Minister of Production, told the Chamber of Commerce of America June 20, 1944, as reported by the United Press: "Japan was provoked into attacking the United States at Pearl Harbor. It is a travesty of history ever to say that America was forced into the war." . . . TELL OUR PEOPLE, that before God and history, the load of responsibility for the chaotic conditions and the indescribable misery all over the world rests on our conscience; because we played havoc with prehistoric brutality and saved Bolshevism, making it a world menace. Without our intervention there would have been peace and order in Europe and the world long ago.[10]

II. Dr. Alfred Rehwinkel

Most of my professors at Concordia College (Bronxville), Washington University, Columbia University and Concordia Seminary (St. Louis), promoted the generally accepted line about Pearl Harbor, Roosevelt and the cause of both World War One and Two. Almost all of the few who were even aware of the Revisionist position refused to accept it. Dr. Alfred Rehwinkel, one of my advisors at Concordia Seminary, was one of the few who knew what was really going on in the world. Rehwinkel had been associated with Charles Lindbergh and the America First Committee. I often visited

him, even after graduating from Concordia Seminary. He was several times a guest speaker at our congregation in New Haven, Missouri. Rehwinkel had been president of Concordia, Edmonton and later St. John's College in Winfield, Kansas, founded in 1893 by J.P. Baden, a distant relative our family. My father, who was one of Rehwinkel's many admirers among the laymen, first became acquainted with him when Dad worked in the wheat fields in Kansas in the 1920's.

Perhaps one reason The Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod's Concordia Publishing House has never published an excellent well written biography by Rev. Ronald Stelzer of Rehwinkel, known as "Rip," is bacause of his position on WW II. This biography notes:

> To Rip "The Second World War was the bankruptcy of Western statemanship, and worse than that, it was the bankruptcy of Western morality." It was the impetus behind his 400 page unpublished manuscript entitled *War, The Christian's Dilemma.* Herein is depicted one side of the story that likely will never appear in the textbooks of American history. Against the backdrop of American and Allied atrocities in World War II, Rip analyzes the ethical problem of war as it is dealt with in the Old and New Testaments, the early Church Fathers, medieval Church history, by the Reformers and those in recent times . . .
>
> Amidst the jubilant celebration of his countrymen over the German and Japanese surrender, Rip was profoundly unimpressed with the Allies' accomplishments on the battlefield and at the negotiating table. Fifteen years later an interviewer asked Rip, "Who do you think has had the worst influence on our modern world?" Rip spoke without hesitation, "The answer is very simple. The men who have had the most baneful influence on our whole world today are Franklin Roosevelt and Winston Churchill." (Questionnaire prepared by Dr. William Beck of St. Louis at the request of Dr. O.A. Dorn of Concordia Publishing House.) In my own coversations with Rip he consistently referred to these two, but especially Roosevelt, as "contemptible warmongers, deceivers and fools." On occasion he has described them as "the architects of world chaos" or "the curse of our generation" and their acts as "stupendous stupidities" or "selling us down the river." . . .
>
> Rip was a voice crying in the wilderness, a lonely prophet proclaiming God's judgment upon a nation that could see only that it had won a great war. "God's attitude regarding the dignity of human life has not changed. No government has the

where it will do some good. ADL responds to the needs of individual victims of prejudice, and fights against bigotry, racism and anti-Semitism." Attached to your statement is a report titled " An ADL Special Report—HATE GROUPS IN AMERICA—A Record of Bigotry and Violence."

Your special reports include a section titled "List of Extreme-Right Groups." It says: "The following is a list of extreme-right groups that have operated in the U.S. in recent years. These groups espouse racism and/or anti-Semitism: many have engaged in violence." Under a section title "List of Extreme-Right Publications" is *Christian News*, New Haven, Missouri-(no organization)."

Christian News wrote to Mr. Harold Singer, publisher of the *Jewish Journal*, Brooklyn, New York, on March 8: "An article in the February 19 *Jewish Journal* lists *Christian News* as part of the 'Right Wing Hate Press.' Could you please tell us why *Christian News* is considered part of the 'hate press?' Could you please send us the address of Mr. Abraham H. Foxman, National Director of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith?"

Christian News wrote to you on March 29: "A report in the February 19 *Jewish Journal* says that the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith lists *Christian News* as part of the Right Wing Hate Press.' Could you please tell us why *Christian News* is considered part of the 'hate press?'"

Perhaps you never received this letter. Could you now please answer these questions?

I then posed a series of questions to Mr. Foxman, asking to produce a single citation from *The Christian News* advocating or defending racial hatred, anti-Semitism, or violence. Then I put to him a series of questions on the factuality of the Holocaust, and on ADL's willingness to engage in a debate on the issue.

The Christian News never received any response from the Anti-Defamation League and, as far as I know, *The Christian News* is still on the ADL's list of hate and racist publications.

Two hoaxes often promoted by Christians are closely linked. According to one of them, Jesus Christ will establish a kingdom of peace on this earth and reign from Jerusalem for a thousand years. The other hoax represents the contemporary State of Israel as the fulfillment of Biblical prophecy.

Space does not permit me to show how widely Millennialism has infiltrated the fundamentalist, charismatic, evangelical and Reconstructionist movements. Such prominent churchmen as Jerry Falwell, Oral Roberts, Pat

Robertson, Dave Hunt, Carl McIntire, Rousas Rushdoony, Gary North, Robert Sumner, Billy Graham, Jimmy Swaggart, Jim Bakker, Hal Lindsey, and many others are all Millennialists of one sort or another. The State of Israel has welcomed the Israel First Milliennialists, who believe the State of Israel a fulfillment of Biblical prophecy, with open arms.

Millennialists often disagree with one another. Some of the hoaxes the Millennialists promote are rather bizarre. Hal Lindsey, the author of the bestselling *Late Great Planet Earth* (more than 20 million copies) says, in his *A Prophetical Walk Through the Holy Land*, that there will be such a terrific battle in Israel, involving hundreds of millions, that blood will flow up to the horses' bridles for 200 miles. Lindsey's book includes a map showing where this wide tide of blood will flow up to the horses' bridles for 200 miles. Lindsey and other Millennialists are quoted at considerable length in the CNE.[18]

Anyone who wants documents showing that the whole of Millennialism is a dangerous, anti-scriptural hoax, should consult *The Christian News Encyclopedia.*[19]

The Augsburg Confession, one of the confessions of the orthodox Lutheran Church, stated it well when it referred to the Millennialists of the Sixteenth Century as those who were spreading certain "Jewish opinions." The Augsburg Confession says in Article XVII:

> Also they teach that at the Consummation of the World Christ will appear for judgment, and will raise up all the dead; he will give to the godly and elect eternal life and everlasting joys, but ungodly men and the devils He will condemn to be tormented without end.
>
> They condemn the Anabaptists, who think that there will be an end to the punishment of the condemned men and devils.
>
> They condemn also others, who are now spreading certain Jewish opinions, that before the resurrection of the dead the godly shall take possession of the kingdom of the world, the ungodly being everywhere suppressed.[20]

The Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod in its Brief Statement correctly confesses after listing numerous Bible passages: "According to these clear passages of Scripture we reject the whole of Millennialism, since it not only contradicts Scripture, but also engenders a false conception of the kingdom of Christ, turns the hope of Christians upon earthly

goals, (1 Cor. 15:19; Col. 3:2), and leads them to look upon the Bible as an obscure book."[21]

Another widespread delusion among Christians is that today's Jews view the Old Testament in the same way as Christians, and that the Old Testament is the chief Jewish scriptural authority.

Jews today insist that the Talmud is their highest religious authority. They consider it to be far more authoritative than the Old Testament. When I was in Israel last year, various Israeli guides and leaders repeatedly told me that the Talmud was their most authoritative source of religious truth. A new translation of the Talmud is now in the process of publication.

The *Christian News Encyclopedia* includes some 160 pages from the 34-volume Socino edition of the Talmud.[22] Few churchmen have studied the Talmud. Hardly anyone at Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, has checked out the edition of the Talmud in the seminary's library. Almost all the pastors and professors we asked about the Talmud say they had not read even a few pages.

Those who have read what Luther wrote about the Talmud should have at least some idea of the gross immorality and lies found in the Talmud. Fifty and more years ago some of the orthodox theologians of The Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod, such as Lutheran Hour speaker Walter A. Maier, did not hesitate to point out the lies, racism, and immorality in the Talmud. The standard of morality promoted in the Talmud gives Israel the right to take land away from Arabs who have owned it for centuries. Today it seems that even many conservative theologians hesitate to expose the Talmud for "fear of the Jews."

The Talmud reports that the Emporer Hadrian slaughtered some 800,000,000 million Jews at a time when most historians say there were about 2,000,000 Jews in Palestine. Gentiles are said to have fertilized their vineyards for seven years with the blood of Israel without using manure. Sixty-four million Jewish children, according to the Talmud, are supposed to have been slaughtered by the Gentiles in Bethar. Another section of the Talmud says that the Romans killed 4 billion Jews or "as some say" 40 million Jews. The blood of the slain Jews is to have reached the nostrils of the Roman horses and then, like a tidal wave, plunged a distance of one or four miles to the sea, carrying large boulders along with it, and staining

the sea a distance of four miles out. The bodies of Jews slain by the Gentiles were used to build a fence around Hadrian's vineyard, which is said to have been eighteen miles square, and the blood that was saved from the tidal wave was used to fertilize the vineyards for seven years.[23]

Most Jews today are scarcely familiar with the Old Testament. They reject the real message of the Old Testament, the Messiah, Jesus Christ, and salvation only in Him.

The Roman Catholic church has long maintained that some of its saints have been able to raise people from the dead and that the Virgin Mary appears to some of them. An advertisement of *Raised From The Dead, True Stories of 400 Resurrection Miracles* by Father Albert J. Hebert, a book which has the imprimatur of Rome, says:

> The raising of the dead is a miracle which, astonishing as it is, has been performed hundreds of times since the days of Christ. Our Lord told His Apostles to raise the dead (Matt. 10:8), and over the centuries many saints have done so—particularly great missionaries like St. Francis Xavier, St. Patrick, St. Vincent Ferrer, St. Hyacinth, and St. Louis Bertrand, but also a multitude of other saints. The stories of these resurrection miracles are amazing: they include the raising of persons who had drowned, or persons with mutilated bodies, of persons who had been hanged, and of those whose bodies had already suffered decay, been reduced to skeletons, or been buried for several years.[24]

Some Charismatics have requested us to publish their reports about Charismatics raising people from the dead. We asked them for the evidence but they never supplied us with any. Kenneth Copeland, a Charismatic who denies the deity of Christ and speaks in tongues, reports in his April, 1987 *Voice of Victory* that a leading African Charismatic has raised seven people from the dead.[25]

Oral Roberts, one of the leading Charismatics of our day, says that he has spoken face to face with a 900-foot Jesus. Roberts and other Charismatics continually claim that God speaks directly to them, particularly when they are in need of money. There are millions who believe this hoax.

Dr. Percy Collett, who has been widely promoted by Charismatics, including the Full Gospel Businessmen's Fellowship, claims that for almost six days he was literally in heaven. An advertisment promting Collett says: "For 5½ earth

days he talked with God the Father, the Son, the Holy Spirit. Elijah, Elisha, Abraham, Moses, Paul and others. He viewed the mansions of the saints, and toured the buildings NOW under construction."[26]

Dr. Richard E. Eby, who claims that after he died Jesus sent him back to earth to tell people the truth, is now being promoted by charismatics. The Charismatic Full Gospel Business Men's Fellowship says that:

> In 1972, Dr. Eby fell two stories to his death. His blood had drained out into the ground from his crushed skull. He was instantly in a new body with the Lord. He shares this unique experience in Heaven with Jesus Christ as well as the dramatic return to life in his earthly body. He describes the marvels of life after death, and as a physician he includes a vivid description of his immortal body. Jesus sent him back to earth to tell the truth. Everyone has wondered about life after death—is it true? Where will I go? Is there really a Heaven? A Hell? This is your opportunity to meet someone who has actually experienced death and restoration, and find the truth for yourself.

Jimmy Swaggart, one of the tongues-speaking and healing Charismatics who has promoted Collett, said:

> . . . you are going to be literally elated, excited and thrilled at what Dr. Collett is going to share. I could talk to this man for 10 years and never scratch the surface—what he saw, what has happened to him, and the move of the Holy Spirit, within his life . . . He has thrilled my soul and I think he's going to thrill yours as well . . .[27]

The Christian News has for many years exposed the hoaxes promoted by such leading Charismatic preachers as Oral Roberts, Kathryn Kuhlmann, Jim Bakker, Jimmy Swaggart, Kenneth Copeland, Jack Coe, and others.[28]

God speaks to man today through His Word, Holy Scripture, which is powerful and efficacious.[29]

The Charismatics, and visionaries who accept the testimony of those who claim the Virgin Mary spoke to them at Fatima, Medujmorje, and elsewhere have been among those who accepted the Shroud of Turin as the Shroud of Jesus. However, even some conservative and evangelical Christians also believed the Shroud of Turin was the Shroud of Jesus, as we noted in a *Christian News* editorial titled: "Admit Mistakes—Even Some Conservatives Believed in Hoaxes—Recognize the Shroud of Turin is not Shroud of Jesus."[30]

Millions of pilgrims have gone to Turin and many of them claim to have witnessed miracles. Such conservative publications as William Buckley's *National Review*, Billy James Hargis' *Christian Crusade, Human Events*, and even such scientific journals as the *American Medical News* and the *Industrial Research Development* have published articles and editorials supporting the hoax that the Shroud of Turin is the Shroud of Jesus. Some of our conservative friends took sharp issue with us for maintaining that the Shroud of Jesus was not the Shroud of Turin.

Rev. Jeff Gavin, a Lutheran Church-Missouri minister in Dacatur, Illinois, commented:

> I am writing to comment on your article "The Shroud of Turin Is A Hoax," April 12, 1982.
>
> I never considered *The Saturday Evening Post* to be a theological publication, yet compared to your article and your "scholarship" it appears I must reconsider my evaluation of the *Post.*
>
> For some years, I have been interested in the Shroud, and must agree with the *Posts's* conclusion "The man of the Shroud suffered, died and was buried the way the Gospels say Jesus was." You neglect to mention that Dr. McCrone was the only dissenting scientist among the STURP team of 40 scientists. The conclusion reached by the others all indicated that the Shroud cannot be a proven a hoax. What Dr. McCrone did find on the Shroud was not paint but iron oxide, a substance found in paint but also found in blood.
>
> The amount of physical support for the authenticity of the shroud has filled many books and articles. I suggest you study some of them before you make your own conclusions.
>
> Let me conclude by quoting a Biblical scholar far more knowledgeable than either of us. Dr. David P. Scaer of the Concordia Theological Seminary writes concerning the Shroud of Turin in an article in the C.T.Q. [*Concordia Theological Quarterly*] Jan. 1979 issue: "The image on the Shroud of Jesus portrayed in the Gospels . . . there is therefore no valid theological objection to identification of the Shroud of Turin as the Shroud in which Jesus was buried.

While we have often commended the *Concordia Theological Quarterly* (formerly *The Springfielder*) and have urged readers to subscribe (*Concordia Theological Quarterly*, 6600 North Clinton Street, Fort Wayne, Indiana 46825), we still insisted that the Shroud of Turin was not the Shroud of Jesus. We did not retract our editorials on the shroud being a hoax simply

because various scientists and even some orthodox Christian professors concluded that the Shroud of Turin may very well be the Shroud of Jesus. The Shroud of Turin is not the only hoax some orthodox Christians accept as fact.

The October 14, 1988, *Washington Times* reported in a story titled "Triple Testing Finds Shroud Medieval Fake:"

> Turin, Italy—The Shroud of Turin, revered by many Christians as the burial cloth of Jesus Christ, has been shown by carbon-dating tests to be a fake from the Middle Ages, the Roman Catholic church said yesterday.
>
> But Vatican officials said the mystery of how the blood-stained image of a crucified man has appeared on the yellowing cloth was still unsolved and the shroud would remain an object of veneration for the Church.
>
> Turin Cardinal Anastasio Ballestrero told a news conference that tests by three laboratories—in England, the United States and Switzerland—showed with 95 per cent certainty that the cloth dated from sometime between 1260 and 1390.

The results of the carbon-dating tests should again show the folly of accepting as fact all the stories of visions, healings, relics, etc., which Rome, the charismatics, and even some misguided churchmen at times promote. Christians should not accept any hoax as a fact.

Other hoaxes *The Christian News* has exposed include the "new morality" and "situation ethics," the idea that sinful acts are permissible in various situations, thus superseding the teaching of the Bible. The veneration accorded such unrepentant adulterers as Paul Tillich and Martin Luther King, Jr. shows to what extent many within the various churches have swallowed these unscriptural notions.

Last but certainly not least among the hoaxes exposed in *The Christian News* is the Holocaust, the alleged slaughter of some six million Jews, most of them by gassing, in a planned attempt at extermination by the German government in the Second World War. Those not familiar with *The Christian News* may be surprised to learn that we have published hundreds of items *supporting* the Holocaust theory, and numerous letters defending the case for the Holocaust.[31]

The Revisionist Side

While *The Christian News* has given those who are convinced that the Germans exterminated six million Jews plenty of space to defend their position, the paper has also

published a good number of articles, letters, and reports by Revisionists who question the Holocaust story. Some of these articles, in the sections on the Holocaust, Revisionism, Israel, Jews, Germany, Millennialism, and Germany, have been reprinted in the *Christian News Encyclopedia*. We have included photographs of various documents pertaining to the Holocaust.

My father was a friend of Dr. Austin App, a Christian Revisionist honored at your conference last year. When Dr. App published his booklets on the Holocaust, he sent us copies and they were reviewed in *The Christian News* at a time when others hesitated to even mention them.[31] We also published a long statement from a liberal pastor who took issue with Dr. App, and then printed Dr. App's response.[32]

Some of the Revisionists whose writings have appeared in *The Christian News* are Mark Weber, Arthur Butz, Bradley Smith, Charles Weber, Jim Keegstra, Clarence Lang, Ernst Zündel, Walter Bodenstein, Robert Faurisson, Ratibor Ray M. Jurjevich, Martin A. Larson, William Stäglich, and Ditlieb Felderer.[33] We have repeatedly invited readers who disagree with the Revisionists to send us articles and letters showing where the Revisionists are in error. Many of our readers, some tell us the vast majority, including most of the thousands of clergymen and professors who receive *The Christian News*, accept as absolute fact that the Germans exterminated approximately 6 million Jews during World War II. We have noted, however, that some, particularly among our younger readers, are seriously questioning the Holocaust.

Last year when *The Christian News* reviewed Thies Christophersen's *The Truth of Auschwitz*, *The Christian News* published this special notice:

> If any reader knows of someone who was at Auschwitz who is able to refute Thies Christophersen, or anyone who can show that Christophersen is either lying or sadly mistaken, please contact *The Christian News*. *The Christian News* is particularly interested in publishing a statement from someone who actually saw the gas chambers at Auschwitz, where some four million Jews are said to have been gassed by the Germans.[34]

Christophersen was at Auschwitz when the Germans were supposed to be gassing millions of Jews, and states that there were no gas chambers and no mass extermination of Jews in Auschwitz.

Fred Leuchter, one of the leading U.S. experts in the construction of gas chambers, accepted the notion that the

Germans exterminated some six million Jews before he made a thorough examination of the matter last year. "The Leuchter Report—the End of a Myth—An Engineering Report on the Alleged Gas Chamber at Auschwitz, Birkenau and Majdenek, Poland" sets out the methodology and findings of the actual sites in Poland where the gassings were alleged to have occurred. Luechter's conclusion, after inspecting the sites and analyzing samples taken from walls and floors for total cyanide content, was unambiguous: the alleged gas chambers could not have been used, then or now, as execution gas chambers.

The publisher of the "Leuchter Report" comments (CNE, 2363):

> David Irving, the distinguished British historian, has called the "Leuchter Report" a "shattering" document which was instrumental in hardening his belief that the whole of the Holocaust mythology was now open to doubt. It is a document which "Holocaust" historians can ignore only at the peril to their reputations as objective scholars. After the "Leuchter Report," the allegation of genocide perpetrated by the Germans against the Jews, using gas chambers as murder instruments, can no longer be upheld.

When *The Christian News* published a report on the Leuchter document, *The Christian News* noted:

> *Christian News* welcomes a critique from anyone who still believes the Germans gassed six milion Jews after he has read the "Leuchter Report." We have made similar offers to those who still believe in the Holocaust after they have read the words of Faurisson, Rassinier, Butz, Stäglich, and Feldereer. We have repeatedly discovered that those who believe the Germans gassed six million Jews have seldom read the writings of the scholars who maintain there were no gas chambers for the extermination of even a few Jews" (*The Christian News*, July 18, 1988).

Faurisson concludes his "The Problem of the Gas Chambers":

> There was not a single "gas chamber" in even one of the German concentration camps; that is the truth. The non-existence of "gas chambers" should be regarded as welcome news; to hide this news in the future would be an injustice. Just as there is no attack upon religion if one portrays "Fatima" as a fraud, the announcement that the "gas chmabers" are an historical lie is not an attack upon concentration camp survivors. One is merely doing one's duty by being truthful.

When *The Christian News* reviewed Wilhelm Stäglich's *Auschwitz Myth*, we made a similar challenge:

> *The Christian News* now invites a response from anyone who can show that Wilhelm Stäglich's *The Auschwitz Myth* is in error. We would like to publish a review from anyone who has read the book and still believes that the Germans gassed four million Jews at Auschwitz.[35]

No critic of the writings of such Revisionists as Arthur Butz, Charles Weber, Robert Faurisson, Wilhelm Stäglich, and Thies Christophersen has ever sent us any statement showing where their writings are in error.

The Christian News has insisted upon careful documentation and has always been willing to publish the other side in any matter. It is possible for even a careful scholar to use an oft-quoted statement without first checking its authenticity. In the past we have noted that quotations can be spuriously transferred from one writer to another. One of the first quotations we exposed as a phony was one which anti-Communists were quoting at the time. American Communist leader Gus Hall is supposed to have said, at the funeral of Eugene Dennis in 1961, "I dream of the hour when the last congressman is strangled on the guts of the last preacher . . ."

Our efforts to acquire any information which would refute the Revisionists have been sincere. We wrote to both Dr. Jacob Preus, former president of The Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod and Rev. Richard Neuhaus, a prominent churchman, columnist for *National Review*, and editor of other publications, on April 3, 1984:

> This year April 24 is the Annual Day of Remembrance of the Holocaust. Both of you have been among the Lutheran churchmen who have endorsed the idea of Holocaust Sunday . . . You have insisted that it is a fact that some six million Jews were killed by the Germans.
>
> *The Christian News* has published a debate on Luther, the Jews, and the Holocaust. You will note that Pastor R.H. Goetjen maintains that the Holocaust never happened. He claims that Jews say far more ruthless things about Christians in their Talmud than Luther ever said about the Jews. We are inviting you to respond to what Pastor Goetjen says. We would appreciate if you could tell us the sources of your evidence that the Holocaust did occur.

Neither President Preus nor Editor Neuhaus responded.

Fostering Debate on the Holocaust

Five years ago *The Christian News* published a front page article entitled "*The Christian News* Invites Moellering and Goetjen to 'Debate'—Theologian Blasts Critics of Holocaust—Deplores Luther's 'Anti-Jewish Tirades.'" It began:

> "Nothing has been more detrimental to the reformer's reputation that his anti-Jewish tirade," says Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod theologian Dr. Ralph Moellering in the January, 1984 *Cresset* of Valparaiso University.
>
> Writing in an article titled "Lutheranism and the Holocaust—The Question of Culpability," the LCMS clergyman, who is currently the pastor of Grace Lutheran Church in El Cerrito, California, takes issue with some "crazies!" These "crazies" do not believe that the Germans actually exterminated some six million Jews. They excuse Luther's harsh words against Jews because of what the Jews say in their Talmud about Christ, Gentiles, Christians, and the Virgin Mary. Moellering observes that some of these "fanatics help keep alive belief in an international Jewish conspiracy dedicated to the undermining of Gentile civilization . . .[36]

One of the supposed "crazies" Moellering mentioned was Rev. Reinhold Goetjen. He referred to a letter Goetjen had written to *The Christian News.*[37] The Christian News invited both Moellering and Goetjen to submit essays of some 5,000 words on Luther, the Jews, and the Talmud. We invited each to submit their evidence for or against the truthfulness of the reports of the extermination of some six milion Jews. The lengthy essays both submitted have been reprinted in the CNE. Goetjen sent us a rebutal to Moellering's essay, but Moellering failed to respond to what Goetjen said about the Talmud and the Holocaust. [38] At the time Moellering wrote his essay, he had not read what the leading Revisionist scholars have written on the Holocaust.

Two years ago, the Rev. Mark Herbener, who is a member of the Board of Directors of the Dallas Memorial Center for Holocaust Studies and who is now a bishop in the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America, took sharp issue with us for publishing what Revisionists were saying about the Holocaust. He said he had been sending copies of *The Christian News* to such groups as the Anti-Defamation League. We welcomed the bishop's letter and made this proposal:

> The Holocaust is being debated in various European countries. Let's set up a debate on the Holocaust which will

> receive attention all over the U.S. Now would be a good time. Newspapers throughout the nation are mentioning the Holocaust in their reports of the current Demjanjuk trial in Israel.
>
> Could your Memorial Center for Holocaust Studies get Nobel Prize winner Elie Wiesel, who is perhaps the chief spokesman for the Holocaust, to debate one of the leading Revisionists who claims the Holocaust is a hoax and that the Germans never gassed six million Jews?
>
> If you are unable to get Elie Wiesel or someone else to debate the Holocaust, then perhaps you or someone else familiar with the arguments of the Revisionists could debate the same subject in *The Christian News*. *The Christian News* will give each side 6,000 words to present its case, 3,000 words to respond to the opposition, and then 1,000 words for a rebuttal to the response. If you can think of a fairer arrangement, please let me know. *The Christian News* wants to be as fair as possible to both sides.[39]

Bishop Herbener refused to debate the Holocaust, declaring that "your proposition to debate has only wickedness in its intent."[40]

In our response to the Bishop we included this statement:

> The next issue of *The Christian News* will include some quotations from Wilhelm Stäglich's *The Auschwitz Myth*. An English translation of this book has just been published in this country. We welcome a thorough refutation of this book by your Center for Holocaust Studies. Perhaps you could persuade Elie Wiesel to review the book if he is unable to travel to Dallas to debate the Holocaust.

The Bishop responded:

> I understand what you are after and I call it "wicked." It is called "Jew-baiting." It is one of the rankest forms of anti-Semitism I have seen. It is closely akin to racism, the kind of racism that produced the Holocaust in Germany . . .

The Bishop complained that if we had been sincere about getting the real facts on the Holocaust we would have suggested a debate with some Holocaust historians rather than an author like Elie Wiesel. We responded:

> We suggested that your Center for Holocaust Studies get Elie Wiesel to debate, since his is known as the chief spokesman for the remembrance of the Holocaust and the leader of the Exterminationist viewpoint. However, if you can get Raul Hilberg, John Pawlikowski, Eva Fleischner, Byron Sherwin, or

Sybil Milton to debate with any of the leading Revisionists, that would be fine with us. Could you please contact them to see whether they would be willing to debate the Revisionists? It doesn't make any difference to us whom you get to defend your notion that the Germans gassed some six million Jews during World War II.[41]

We asked the Bishop some questions he had previously refused to answer:

1. Do you believe that Jews were gassed at Dachau during the war years, as was alleged at Nuremberg and elsewhere, or do you now concede that this story is not true? If you reject this story, why do you believe that the evidence at Dachau is less credible than the evidence for gassings at Auschwitz, Sobibor, and the other camps?

2. Do you believe the evidence that Jews were steamed at Treblinka? If so, why do you think that Holocaust historians now reject that evidence. If not, why not? Is the evidence for "steam chambers" any less credible than the evidence for "gas chambers?"

3. Do you believe the story that the Germans manufactured bars of soap from Jewish corpses during the war? If so, why do you think that Holocaust historians now reject the story? If not, are you ready to condemn those who spread this story as liars or misinformed defamers?

4. The prominent Jewish and former Auschwitz inmate Elie Wiesel wrote in his book, *Legends of Our Time*: "Every Jew, somewhere in his being, should set apart a zone of hate—for what the German personifies and for what persists in the German." Do you agree with Wiesel?

5. Do you agree that spreading and supporting lies about the German nation and people is a violation of the commandment: "Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor?"

Bishop Herbener was either unable or unwilling to answer these questions. IHR editorial advisor Mark Weber's "Open Letter to the Rev. Mark Herbener," which appeared both in *The Christian News* and *The Journal of Historical Review* (Summer 1988), presented a brief and lucid case for Holocaust Revisionism.

The April 13, 1987 *Christian News*, which published the challenges from "The Committee For Open Debate on the Holocaust," included an editorial which said:

The Christian News is sent to many church leaders, scholars, and professors who maintain that the Germans gassed about

> six million Jews. We hope some of them will accept the offer to debate or urge some scholar they know to accept the offer. We would appreciate it if those who accept the offer of the "Committee for Open Debate on the Holocaust" would send us a copy of their acceptance. We have no association with their committee and want to make certain that both sides receive fair treatment.
>
> Perhaps we should also note that there appears to be a growing number of informed churchmen and scholars who no longer accept the Holocaust. However, some of them have warned us that the subject is too dangerous for *The Christian News*, even if we agree to give both sides equal opportunity to express their views.

The Simon Wiesenthal Center of Los Angeles was quick to reply. After accusing the Committee for Open Debate and the Institute for Historical Review of being "neo-Nazi," the Center told *The Christian News* that it is an absolute historical fact that the Germans gassed some six million Jews during WW II. When *The Christian News* suggested that the Simon Wiesenthal Center accept the challenge from the Committee for an Open Debate of the Holocaust, a spokesman for the center told *The Christian News* that just as Dr. Jonas Salk, the discoverer of polio vaccine, would never debate with a witch doctor, so the reputable historians and scholars at the Simon Wiesenthal Center would never debate with anyone who questions that the Germans gassed some six million Jews. According to the center, the gassing of the six milion Jews is so certain as to be beyond debate.

The Simon Wiesenthal Centers' chief response was to tell a newspaper in the New Haven area that *The Christian News* was publishing material from a neo-Nazi group when it published a challenge to debate the Holocaust from "The Committee For Open Debate on the Holocaust."

Dr. Harry James Cargas of Webster University in St. Louis lectures widely on the Holocaust and is known as a fearless defender of the thesis that the Germans exterminated some six million Jews. Dr. Cargas wrote in the June 26, 1987 *St. Louis Dispatch*:

> Adolph [*sic*] Hitler tried to implement the goal of eliminating all of the world's Jews. He died on the tax rolls of the Catholic Church, never having been excommunicated . . . The silence of Pope Pius XII regarding the murder of Jews is a scandal.

The Christian News wrote to Cargas:

> We have been informed that you are one of the leading Holocaust scholars in the nation and that you have written several books on the subject.
> *The Christian News* has just received the enclosed manuscript from the "Committee for Open Debate on the Holocaust" and has been asked to publish it. (CNE, 2018)
> However, we would like to give you or some other Holocaust scholar you know an opportunity to respond. Would it be possible for you to send us a response by September 10 for our September 14 issue? Possibly you already have an essay which answers those who question whether the Germans actually gassed some six million Jews during WW II . . .
> Are you willing to debate the Holocaust in a forum with someone from the "Committee for Open Debate on the Holocaust"? *The Christian News* would like to print the transcript of such a debate, particularly at the present time when the Holocaust and the Demjanjuk trial are so much in the news.

Dr. Cargas refused to send us an essay responding to the article we sent him from the Committee for an Open Debate of the Holocaust. He wrote: "I am not stupid—which I would be if I engaged in any discussion of the validity of the Holocaust."[42]

Peglau Answers the Challenge

"Peglau Takes Up Gauntlet Against Revisionism—'DEBATE OF THE CENTURY' IS ON!" A news release from the self-styled Exterminators of Revisionism, which appeared in the March 7, 1988 *Christian News*, said in part:

> Defense attorney Glen Louis Peglau has informed *The Christian News* that he and a team of lawyers, theologians and congressmen are challenging the leadership of the Revisionist movement, who say the Holocaust never happended, to an open debate in Washington, D.C. in mid-February, 1989.
> It is already being billed as the "Debate of the Century" by pro-Holocaust supporters. Peglau and his team will take the position that over 6,000,000 Jews were murdered by the Nazis during the reign of the "3rd Reich" in the 1930's and 1/2 of the 1940's.
> It is high time we prove beyond a reasonable doubt before the whole world, in open debate before the global media, that the Holocaust was a real part of history. This must be done now to stop the ridiculous contentions of the Revisionists that the Holocaust is only a figment of the Zionists' imagination. Their anti-Semitic and neo-Nazi propaganda must be stopped in this generation.

"It was because *The Christian News* began a focus on the issue of the Revisionist claims that we decided to silence their ridiculous claims for all history. To say the Holocaust never existed is like saying World War II never happened. This whole Revisionist position is motivated by a pro-Nazi, anti-Semitic mentality that can no longer be tolerated in the world. The distorting of history is an affront to the whole human race. Even though Stalin murdered more human beings than Hitler did it was Hitler's intent to stamp out a whole race of people in one generation . . .

"Two months ago the editor of *The Christian News* and I interviewed for television a fine West German pastor who confessed that the Nazis had killed over 6,000,000 Jews in concentration camps . . .

"It is also doubtful in my mind whether the Revisionists can get one responsible theologian on their side. I assure you we will have at least four of the most responsible, conservative, Bible-believing theologians on our side. These men are godly men who are above reproach. One of them may not only be a theologian, but an attorney as well, Peglau explained . . .

"History will always owe a debt to the editor of *The Christian News* for his bringing the issue of the Holocaust, and the Revisionist position, to the attention of the world, and specifically to the attention of Bible-believing Christians who haven't fallen for the nonsense Revisionists have promulgated.[43]

This news release from the self-proclaimed Exterminators of Revisionism in the April 4, 1988 *Christian News* reported, in part:

Attorney Glen L. Peglau announced that America's best-selling Christian author, Hal Lindsey, has agreed to be one of the debaters in the "Debate of the Century" in Washington, D.C. in mid-February, 1989, on the side of those that support the fact that over 6,000,000 Jews were slaughtered by the "Third Reich" in the reign of Adolf Hitler . . .

Dr. Lindsey is the most widely read Christian author in all of history . . .

The Revisionists only want three or four debaters on each side of the debate. Peglau has asked for 15 debaters to be on each side of the Holocaust issue. Attorney Peglau believes that Revisionists cannot get 15 scholarly debaters for their position in the debate . . .

Peglau is indeed on a course to get the greatest Christian scholars in the West to take up the cause of the Holocaust for "The Debate of the Century." It looks like Peglau is putting together the best in Christendom.[44]

"'Debate of the Century' Peglau Selects Anderson As Final Debater," a press release from the Committee to Exterminate Revisionism in the October 30, 1988 *Christian News* noted:

> Defense Attorney Glen Peglau has finalized his debating team with the addition of the renowned Palm Springs, California attorney Thomas A. Anderson.

According to Peglau:

> Attorney Anderson is a Christian lawyer who has served as the president of the California Trial Lawyers Association.
>
> Anderson is a brilliant lawyer who, Peglau states, is one of the three ranking top lawyers in California, along with Melvin Belli and Marvin Michelson. Anderson is considered one of the leading debaters in modern history. Anderson is a close personal friend of Christian apologist Josh McDowell. Anderson is a lawyer's lawyer who anybody is afraid to take on in a court room. We've two of the great lawyers in modern history with Anderson and Montgomery on our team. Hal Lindsey's track record of over 50,000,000 of his books being sold speaks for itself.

Honestly Seeking the Truth

The Christian News has attempted to be fair to both sides in this debate by printing their news releases exactly as they send them to us. We commented in the March 21, 1988 *Christian News* in an editorial on the debate:

> *The Christian News* commends both the "Extermiantors of Revisionism" and the Revisionists for agreeing to debate. It is true that *The Christian News* has had much more contact with members of The Committee for Extermination of Revisionism and with others who believe the Germans gassed some six million Jews during World War II. Several of them have for years contributed many articles to *The Christian News*. On the other hand, we have not met any of the leading Revisionists and really only know some of them through their writings. Years ago we met the top executive of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith and we have spoken on the phone with a spokesman for the Simon Wiesenthal Center and with Mr. Mark Weber of the Committee for the Open Debate of the Holocaust.
>
> We have confidence in the integrity and honesty of the debaters Attorney Peglau has said will defend the position that the Germans gassed some six million Jews during World War II. We are in accord with the theological position of most of them. While we certainly take issue with the theology of some

of the Revisionists who have sent us material for publication, we have no reason to question their honesty. Some Revisionists are atheists, others accept the anti-scriptural and unscientific myth of evolution and, as Peglau has correctly observed, do not believe the Bible. A good number of Revisionists appear to be taking a rather cynical attitude toward Christian theologians who insist that the evidence clearly indicates that the Germans Gassed six million Jews during World War II. They question the ability of these theologians to think clearly and properly evaluate evidence . . .

We hope that both sides in this debate will keep it on a calm, low key level, where neither side resorts to emotionalism to win but where both sides carefully look at the evidence. Logic and clear facts and not feelings should govern the conduct of both sides. Honest men are persuaded by facts not by some docudramas they see on television.

Now is a good time to carefully examine the evidence for the gassing of some six million Jews. Enough years have passed to minimize the emotionalism which prevails after every war and yet we are still close enough to WW II to establish what ally happened. This is not some minor peripheral issue. The support Israel receives is based to a large extent upon the reality of the Holocaust. The leadership of major denominations in our nation urge thousands of congregations to conduct worship services which call to remembrance the gassing of six million Jews by the Germans. The Holocaust is being used as one reason various Germans, Ukrainians and other Eastern Europeans should be sent back to Communist nations.

Perhaps it would be well if both sides in the debate submit to the other side several months before the debate any documents they intend to introduce. This way all will have the opportunity to check the autnenticity of the document. Such a policy could also save considerable time. While this may not be the practice followed in many debates, we consider the "Debate of the Century" to be different than many debates. Both sides should only be interested in the truth and not in winning some debate. Both sides should follow *The Christian New's* long-standing motto: "Put all the facts on the table and let the chips fall where they may."

After the debate is over, we hope that one side or the other will have the courage to say to the other: "Thanks. We appreciate that you have shown us the truth. We regret that we have been so sadly misled all these years and we will do our best to see that from now on only the truth is told about the Holocaust."[45]

A Thwarted Proposal for Debate

February 15, 1989

Mr. Glen Peglau, Chairman
Committee For the Extermination of Revisionism
67660 Quijo
Palm Springs, California 92264
Mr. Mark Weber and Mr. Bradley Smith
Committee For Open Debate On the Holocaust
Box 931098
Los Angeles, CA 90093

Dear Gentlemen:

Mr. Glen Peglau has just informed us that there may not be a debate on the Holocaust in February 21 in Torrance. According to Mr. Peglau, a team of three members of the Police Intelligence Division visited Pastor Wilbur Wacker and Hal Lindsey and "inferred" a "bomb threat." Mr. Peglau said that this was the first time such a police committee ever visited Hal Lindsey and because of the "inferred" bomb threat Lindsey has "been through hell and back."

Mr. Peglau said he was extremely embarrassed for putting Pastor Wilbur Wacker into so much difficulty and danger. Mr. Peglau expects a riot in front of Pastor Wacker's church if the debate is held as planned. He also noted that the other members of his team will be in court the day of the debate. While Mr. Peglau said he had no evidence as to who was "inferring" the alleged "bomb threat," he repeatedly emphasized that it was not the Jewish Defense League or "the Jews." While he said some "leading Jews" asked him not to go ahead with the debate, he said there was a "small minority" of Jews who thought it would be in order for him to go ahead with the debate.

Mr. Peglau said that in no way should the refusal of his committee to appear at the debate on February 21 be interpreted as a refusal to debate the Holocaust. He told us that he was now proposing a September 23 date for the debate at a secluded place in Palm Springs where there would be no danger of any riot of bomb threats. He said that Dr. John Montgomery and Hal Lindsey are still thoroughly convinced of thir position that the Germans exterminated some six million Jews and are eager to face the Revisionisst and answer their arguments. Mr. Peglau noted that perhaps Bible scholar and "genius" Walter Martin will take Attorney Anderson's place in the debate.

Since I was not entirely certain what was going to happen, I made the following proposal to Mr. Peglau without mentioning the dates:

Christian News in its issue of April 3, 1989 will publish a 5,000 word (approximately) statement from each of the four debaters of both sides. Each side will then have about 20,000 words.

The May *Christian News* will publish a response of approximately 10,000 words from each team to the other side. The space can be divided up in whichever way a team may decide.

The June 5 *Christian News* will then publish a rebuttal to the response of each team from the opposing team. This statement should be no longer than 5,000 words.

Christian News should have the copy six days before the publication date.

Such an approach will give each side time to contact experts for resource information to refute the other side. The Exterminationists, for example, could consult the Simon Wiesenthal Center, such authorties as Raul Hilberg, the Yad Vashem Holocaust Museum or any other place which claims to have material to refute the Revisionists.

Mr. Peglau agreed to this proposal of a written "debate" whether or not you gentlemen are ever able to get together for a debate face to face.

I appears to me that a bomb threat should not prevent a debate, but Mr. Peglau said it was a life threatening matter and that he had a family to care for.

I will leave it up to you gentlemen to contact the various members of your team with this proposal. If the time schedule is not acceptable or if you have some suggestions to improve the format, please let us know. I would also appreciate it if the Revisionists would let us know if they, along with Mr. Peglau and the Exterminationists, will participate in the written debate we are now proposing.

Sincerely yours,

Herman Otten

P.S. If one side in this "debate" sends us its statements and the other does not, we will still publish the statements we receive.

[The "Exterminationors of Revisionism" did not show up for the debate. Dr. Faurisson, Dr. Countess, Mark Weber and Bradley Smith presented the Revisionist case to four empty

Revisionists and Exterminationists

The Christian News has probably published more material and reports from those who are convinced the Germans exterminated some six million Jews than any other religious newspaper. *The Christian News* has repeatedly invited those who are convinced that this Holocaust is a fact to send us their evidence. We have published what they have sent. Last year, when we were in Israel as a guest of Israel, we visited Yad Vashem and saw the "evidence" there for the Holocaust. Throughout our school years and entire ministry most of our teachers and associates have accepted the Holocaust as fact. As far as I know this is probably the first time I have spoken to a group where the majority probably does not believe the Germans gassed some six million Jews.

While Revisionists have responded to the writings and evidence of the Exterminationists have presented, the Exterminationists seldom respond to the writings of the Revisionists. An Exterminationist like Dr. John Warwick Montgomery considers them rather unscholarly and like the works of the "flat earth" society people, even though when he made this analysis he had not yet read the scholarly writings of such leading Revisionists as Arthur Butz, Wilhelm Stäglich, Robert Faurisson, Mark Weber, Charles Weber, Paul Rassinier, Harry Elmer Barnes, Clarence Lang, Ernst Zündel, Austin App, et al. Dr. Montgomery is not alone, among those who believe the Germans exterminated six million Jews, in having read very little of what the Revisionists have wittten.

The real Revisionist scholars, on the other hand, show in their writings that they are thoroughly familiar with the works of the Exterminationists.

I have repeatedly asked theologians and pastors who say they are convinced that the Germans gassed six million Jews, if they have read any of the writings of the Revisionists. Most admit they have not. Even a good number of our conservative friends who subscribe to *The Christian News* and who believe in the Holocaust say they don't have time to read the articles by Revisionists in *The Christian News*. They claim they already know the truth about the Holocaust, so "why waste time" reading about it.

---

chairs, an audience of over one hundred people, and Los Angeles press on February 21 at the Quality Inn in Torrance, Callifornia. —Ed.]

They tell us that they have seen enough TV programs on the subject to know that the Germans exterminated six million Jews. Forty years ago, when we tried to tell our professors and some clergymen the truth about Pearl Harbor, WW II, and forced repatriation of thousands back to the Communists, we found out how uninformed intelligent professors and pastors could be. Thirty-five years ago we discovered how uninformed church officials could be about what was being taught at seminaries and colleges they promoted. As the years went by we discovered how modern man, with all his scientific research and great learning, could still fall for the hoaxes we have mentioned in this essay, one of which is clearly what is now referred to as the Holocaust.

While most Revisionists appear to be opposed to the construction of the Holocaust Museum in Washington, D.C., right next to some of our nations's most cherished monuments, I say let it be built! One day it will serve as a monument to the stupidity of modern man, who can still accept a hoax as a fact. Hopefully it will then serve as a reminder to study all the facts and evidence and repudiate all hoaxes.

The day is surely coming when all the evidence showing that the Germans never exterminated six million Jews can no longer be suppressed. Truth is not determined by majority vote. I learned this lesson in high school, and since then have repeatedly discovered how the majority of scholars, even within our churches, can be in error. That our presidents, senators and congressmen all are supposed to be convinced that the Germans killed six million Jews, that almost all of our nation's professors and churchmen are said to maintain that the Holocaust is a fact, doesn't make it a fact.

There is no dispute over the fact that large numbers of Jews were deported to concentration camps and ghettos, or that many Jews died or were killed during World War II. Revisionist scholars have presented evidence, which Exterminationists have not been able to refute, showing that there was no German program to exterminate Europe's Jews and that the estimate of six million Jewish wartime dead is an irresponsible exaggeration. (CNE, 2918).

The Holocaust, the alleged extermination of some six million Jews (most of them by gassing) is a hoax and should be recognized as such by Christians and all informed, honest and truthful men everywhere.

Here are the reasons which have impressed me as particularly persuasive in comming to my own conclusion that the Revisionist view of the Holocaust story is the correct one:

- There is no convincing or substantial evidence for the allegation of mass killings in gas chambers in the wartime German camps. Careful investigation—in particular that carried out by American engineer Fred Leuchter—has thoroughly discredited the "gas chamber" extermination claims.
- A number of former camp inmates—including some who were interned in the notorious Auschwitz-Birkenau camp—have declared that the wartime German camps were not extermination centers.
- The most reliable statistics available cannot be reconciled with the legendary "six million" figure. The best evidence indicates that no more than a million or perhaps a million and a half European Jews perished from all causes during the war years.
- Neither the major Jewish organizations in the United States, nor the wartime Allied governments, nor the International Red Cross, nor the Vatican acted as if they seriously believed the wartime extermination propaganda.
- Although the German government kept extensive and detailed records of its wartime Jewish policy, not a single document has ever been found which substantiates or even refers to an extermination program or policy. Instead, the voluminous German records confiscated by the Allies at the end of the war clearly show that the German "final solution" program was one of emigration and deportation, not extermination.
- Even prominent Jewish "Exterminationist" historians now acknowledge that the stories of gassings, and extermination in camps in Germany proper are not true, in spite of the fact that such claims were once seriously made, particularly at the great Nuremberg trial of 1945-1946.
- The Holocaust story now centers on just six former camps in what is now Communist-ruled Poland, and the so-called "evidence" presented to prove mass exterminations in these camps is qualitatively no better than the now discredited "evidence" once cited for the exterminations in the camps in Germany proper.

• Much of the so-called "evidence" presented by the "Exterminationists" over the years has already been thoroughly discredited. For example, the well-known horrific photographs of piles of corpses taken in camps in western Germany at the end of the war are now acknowledged to be photos of victims of disease and malnutrition who perished as indirect victims of the war in the final weeks and months of the conflict. Also, so-called "confessions"—such as those of Auschwitz commandant Rudolf Höss—have been shown to be untruthful and extracted by torture. Many of the official reports and testimonies presented as "evidence" by the prosecution in the Nuremberg trials has since been shown to be lies.

• The fact that so many Jews "survived" German rule during the war—many of them even in so-called "extermination" centers such as Auschwitz-Birkenau—is enough to show that there was no German program or policy to exterminate the Jews of Europe.

Christians and the Holocaust Hoax

The Holocaust is a hoax and the time has come for Christian scholars and pastors to recognize this and stop perpetrating a hoax as the truth. A Christian is not free to believe and promote a lie about any person or nations, as we said in our introduction. True Christian scholars should at least read what the Revisionists are saying.

Many have said to us: "What difference does it make? The truth of the Holocaust is of no concern to Christians." Nonsense! A Christian is not free to believe and promote a lie about any person or nation. A Christian is guided by truth and facts, not emotions and majority opinion.

If Christians can accept as historical fact the Holocaust, despite all the powerful evidence that it is a hoax, what does that say about their ability to evaluate evidence? What about their scholarship? Is it any wonder that some Revisionists, who have made a careful study of the Holocaust, question the scholarship of Christians, so many of whom swallow as absolute truth what is clearly a hoax?

I have been told numerous times, even by theologians who claim to be orthodox: "I don't care whether it was six million or one Jew, even one is too many." Such an attitude shows contempt for the truth. A Christian is to show true love and the Apostle Paul tells us that love is "happy with the truth" (1 Cor. 13:6). The writing of Proverbs tells us: "Speak out for

those who can't speak, for the rights of those who are doomed. Talk up, render fair decisions, and defend the rights of the poor and needy people" (Proverbs 31:9).

A Christian bases his faith upon facts and absolute truth, not feelings and emotion. A Christian recognizes that only God is all-knowing. A Christian is willing to listen to evidence and evaluate various viewpoints. He doesn't close his mind to the facts and evidence. He doesn't start out with the assumption that the Jew is right and the German is wrong or that the Jew is wrong and the German is right. He looks at the evidence. Those who say they don't care if it was six million or one are showing a despicable attitude toward truth. They are saying: "We don't care about the truth." Such an attitude is sinful and worldly. Is it any wonder that so many then go on to act as if they don't care about another man's wife or his property? The truth as to the Holocaust is a moral issue. Those who maintain the Germans exterminated some six million Jews, most of them by gassing, are seeing to it that the Christian Church can no longer avoid speaking out. Churches are being pushed, as never before, to have special services commemorating the Holocaust.

A Christian is ready to change his opinion if the evidence shows he is wrong. This essay demonstrates how often we have afforded the "Exterminationists" opportunity to refute the Revisionists.

Some tell us that we are not showing love to the Jews and are being racists and anti-Semitic when we published articles by Revisionists questioning the Holocaust and when we insist that Jesus Christ is the only way to heaven.

We have repeatedly emphasized in many editorials that the Bible teaches that there is no special chosen race. All those, regardless of color, race, nationality, sex, wealth, etc., who trust in the merits of Jesus Christ alone for their salvation are God's chosen people and will go to heaven. Those who tell Jews, Muslims, and any other non-Christian that they worship the true God and can get to heaven without Christ are not showing true love to the Jews and other non-Christians.

The so-called fact of the Holocaust is being used to deport innocent men in this country who served in the German army as teenagers. In some cases they have been sent back to certain death in Communist lands. The Office of Special Investigation is using the Holocaust as an excuse to force even such reputable German and anti-Communist scientists as Arthur Rudolph out of the U.S.

Israel is using the "fact" of the Holocaust as an excuse to execute such innocent men as the Ukrainian, John Demjanjuk. "The Jewish people have a long score to settle with the Ukrainian people" says Dov Ben-Meir, a deputy speaker of Israel's Knesset. According to this top Israeli official, "Unaccounted numbers" of Ukrainians "collaborated with the Nazi regime, especially in the annihilation of hundreds of thousands of Jews." (CNE 2504)

The "fact" of the Holocaust is being used by some to deny that Christianity is the only true religion and that Jesus Christ rose from the dead.

Israel is using the "fact" of the Holocaust as an excuse to kill Palestinians in Israel. This slaughter, together with the anti-scriptural notions of the Israel-first Millennialists, almost all of whom believe in the Holocaust, could lead to another bloody war.

The Holocaust is not some innocent hoax, like children's fairy tales, which entertain and have no evil consequences.

The "chosen people" and "Holocaust " myths makes mission work among non-Christians far more difficult. Arabs, who are told that the Bible teaches that their land belongs to the Jews, find it more difficult to believe what the Bible says about Christ.

A Mighty Fortress Is Our God!

We have been warned, even by some theologians who recognized that the Holocaust is a hoax, to remain silent because of the danger involved. Some have told us to take out more insurance. God is still in control of this world, not some vast conspiracy, whether the Communists, Jews, international bankers, Illuminati, Trilateralists, etc.

For over 25 years *The Christian News* has been exposing a good number of hoaxes, even those held by many church members. Some have asked: Do you believe there is any absolute truth? Is there anything, in your estimation, that is not a hoax? You publish all sorts of opinions. Just where do you stand? Each week we state in our masthead: "*Christian News* is not a doctrinally neutral observer, but it is committed to the full historic Christian faith, as it is authoritatively revealed in the written Word of God, the Holy Scriptures, and correctly set forth in the confessions of the orthodox Church, to wit, the Book of Concord of 1580."

I commend to all Revisionists and everyone else nothing more nor less than historic Christianity. God by "raising Christ

from the dead has given everyone a good reason to believe" (Acts 17:31).

In spite of the many attempts to falsify history, the Christian church has always struggled for the truth. This was true for the first Christians. It was also the basic issue of the Reformation. One of the gratest confessors of the faith in this century, Dr. Herman Sasse, who was also avidly anti-Nazi, points out in his book *Here We Stand* that the "Reformation emphasized the profound seriousness of the truth."

So, as an Evangelical Lutheran pastor, in the tradition of the early church and the Reformation, I stand before you today again to make a strong appeal in the struggle for the truth.

The subject of the Holocaust is not my primary concern in life. It is not my main message. As stated in the masthead the paper we founded and have served as editor for the past 26 years, we preach Jesus Christ and Him crucified. Nevertheless, Christians must not only strive to proclaim the saving Truth of the Gospel. We are obligated by this same Gospel to tell the truth in all areas of life, including events of political economics, war, and Church and secular government.

"These are the things which you should do: speak the truth to one another; judge with truth and judgement for peace in your gates." Zechariah 8:16

Notes

1. 2 Peter 1:16-21. All Bible quotations taken from *An American Translation of the Bible* by Dr. William Beck. Published by Leader Press and *The Christian News*, Box 168, New Haven, Missouri 63068, 1976.
2. John 21:24.
3. John 1:2.
4. 1 John 5:20, 21.
5. Luke 1:1-4.
6. John 14:6.
7. John 8:31, 32.
8. John 4:18.
9. Mark 5:33.
10. Ludwig A. Fritsch, *The Crime of Our Age* (Chicago: Published by the author, 5121 N. England Ave., Chicago 31, Ill., 1947, pp. 74-75.
11. Kurt Marquart, "The Fate of Christians Under Communism," in *A Christian Handbook on Vital Issues* (New Haven, Missouri: Leader Press, 1973), p. 189.
12. *The Christian News Encyclopedia* (hereafter *CNE*), Washington, MO: The Missourian Publisheres, 1988, pp. 2499-2520; 1077-1104; 1060-1074; 2405-2469.

13. "Was Moses The First Nazi?" *Christian Vanguard*, New Christian Church, December, 1988, 7.8. Sons of Liberty, Box 214, Metarie, Louisiana. Adolph Hitler in his *Mein Kampf* regards "racial pollution as the original sin of humanity." (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1971), p. 624.
14. Galatians 3:8, 9.
15. 1 Peter 2:8, 9.
16. Acts 10:35. See "Down With All Racism" by Jim Keegstra, *CNE* 2465. "Who Are the Chosen People? Rightly Dividing The World of Truth" by Jim Keegstra, *CNE* 2981.
17. *CNE* 2517.
18. *CNE* 2708, 9.
19. *CNE* 2688-2709; 2888-2895; 1306-1319.
20. *Augusburg Confession, Article XVII. Concordia Triglotta* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House), 51.
21. *CNE* Appendix, volume II.
22. *CNE* 3102-3129.
23. *CNE* 2310-3129.
24. *CNE* 1920.
25. *CNE* 1948.
26. December 12, 1988 *Christian News*. *CNE* 1943.
27. *CNE* 1943.
28. Index of *CNE*, under charismatics, and also individual names.
29. Romans 1:16. 1 Thess. 2:13.
30. *Christian News*, November 14, 1988, p. 9.
31. See *CNE* index, under "Holocaust."
32. *CNE* 1090.
33. *CNE* 2909-2929; 2302-3603.
34. *CNE* 2925.
35. *CNE* 2925.
36. *CNE* 2321.
37. *CNE* 1099.
38. *CNE* 2321-2329.
39. *CNE* 2336.
40. *CNE* 2337.
41. *CNE* 2339.
42. *CNE* 2348.
43. *CNE* 2356.
44. *CNE* 2357.
45. *Christian News*, March 21, 1989.

Reviews

WHY DID THE HEAVENS NOT DARKEN? THE "FINAL SOLUTION" IN HISTORY, by Arno J. Mayer. New York: Pantheon, 1988, Hb., 492 pages, $27.95, ISBN 0-394-57154-1.

Reviewed by Arthur R. Butz

In May of this year the general public learned, through an article by Tamar Jacoby in *Newsweek*, of the "venom of the accusations" being made over Professor Arno Mayer's new book. A few days later Jacoby's husband, Eric Breindel, made it clear in his *New York Post* column what the occasion for the venom was: "The cranks who argue that there were no gas chambers—and that the Jews who died fell victim to poor conditions in ghettos and labor camps—have found a serious scholar who at least agrees with some of what they say. Thus, *Why Did the Heavens Not Darken?* is a dangerous and ugly book."

I had heard that Mayer listed my *Hoax of the Twentieth Century* in his bibliography, so as I sat waiting to receive a copy of the book I was hoping to see a worthy effort perceptibly influenced by my work. Now that I have read it, I see no such influence, and I am relieved. It is a bad book on several grounds, and on the allegation of mass gassings in the camps it expresses not the author's conviction but his confusion.

Arno J. Mayer is the Dayton-Stockton Professor of European History at Princeton University and has specialized in twentieth-century diplomatic history. He offers considerable personal information as presumably relevant. He was born into a Luxembourg Jewish family in 1926; his father was a Zionist. Fleeing their home in May 1940, the family managed to stay a step ahead of the invading Germans, reaching North Africa, then Lisbon, and finally the United States. His maternal grandparents, not so mobile, were sent to Theresienstadt; the grandfather died there but the grandmother survived, never having heard anything about the "killing sites."

He served in the U.S. Army in 1944-1946, in an intelligence unit that interrogated captured German generals and processed German scientists being "recruited to help America's postwar military buildup against the Soviets." In 1950 he spent the summer in Israel "on a kibbutz of the Marxist Hashomer Hatzair."

The reader of Mayer's book who has seen the reviews in advance will be puzzled as to what the fuss is about until he reaches the last chapters. Early chapters seem to place Mayer in the so-called "functionalist" (as opposed to "intentionalist") camp, which denies that extermination of the Jews took place according to a long-standing plan centrally ordered and directed, but developed on its own out of the exigencies of events and the internal logic of the Nazi system.[1] Until late in the book the reader perceives no equivocation, explicit or implicit, on the historical reality of the physical extermination of the Jews.

Mayer's purpose is to place the persecution of the Jews "in the historical context of its time" which is that of what he calls the "Thirty Years War of the twentieth century," 1914-1945. He is unusually diligent in making terminological distinctions relevant to his subject, e.g. among "Judeophobia," "anti-Semitism" and "anti-Judaism." He does not like "the religiously freighted word concept 'the Holocaust,' [the basis of an] embryonic creed . . . which . . . has taken the reflective and transparent remembrances of survivors and woven them into a collective prescriptive 'memory' unconducive to critical and contextual thinking about the Jewish calamity." He complains that "this cult of remembrance has become overly sectarian [and] has helped to disconnect the Jewish catastrophe from its secular historical setting, while placing it within the providential history of the Jewish people to be commemorated, lamented, and restrictively interpreted." In place of "Holocaust" Mayer uses "Judeocide."

This striving for precision is admirable. For purposes of this review I will use the term "Judeocide," but I will indicate below why "Holocaust" is preferred.

The field has suffered from considerable abuse of terminology. The term "Exterminationists" has been used to designate those who defend the Judeocide legend, e.g. Raul Hilberg, Yehuda Bauer, etc. I notice that Mayer uses that term in the different and, in my judgment, more correct sense of one who is involved in exterminating. Here I shall call people like Hilberg and Bauer "Holoscribes."

We who essentially deny this Judeocide have been calling ourselves "Revisionists," appropriating a word of wide application to a very narrow one (all historical writing that is worth anything is "revisionist" in some sense). For lack of a better term at hand, however, I shall use it in that sense here.

Mayer's extreme anti-German and pro-Soviet biases are rare among contemporary issues from serious publishing houses. I thought this most evident when he briefly departed from the role of historian to declare that, although the Soviets had never signed the Geneva conventions, "as a signatory, Germany was bound by them" nevertheless in its war with the Soviet Union. While this bias applies generally I shall focus here only on an instance of it that crucially concerns our subject.

Mayer makes no mention of the interwar (1918-1939) atrocities of the Bolsheviks and affiliated movements generally and of Stalin in particular. These are not irrelevant to the subject because it is clear that the German policy of disregarding the rules in the war with the Soviet Union, one consequence of which were the bloody activities of the Einsatzgruppen, was largely motivated by an assessment in which this past record weighed heavily. Indeed as the Germans swept into former Soviet controlled territory this past seemed very much alive. Mayer makes brief mention of Ukrainian massacres of Jews in the city of Lwow in early July 1941, after the Soviets withdrew and as the Germans started to arrive. The motivation for the masacres was indeed, as Mayer reports, that the Jews "were traduced for having been, and continuing to be, among the major carriers of communism and collaborators of Soviet Russia," but Mayer does not hint at the specifics. The Soviets left Lwow in such great haste that the Germans and Ukrainians were able to learn what had been going on in the NKVD prisons. The ghastly scenes they found made deep impressions on them, and are not for the delicate or fragile reader.[2] Since the local NKVD informer had been a Jew, the Ukrainians indulged a common human fallacy (all NKVD informers were Jews; therefore all Jews were NKVD informers) and conducted anti-Jewish pogroms. For the Germans, encountering such scenes scarcely more than a week into their invasion, it must have seemed that the Nazi anti-Bolshevik propaganda of the period before the Hitler-Stalin pact, doubtless assumed by many of them to have been the usual hyperbole of a movement given to rhetorical extravagance, had been restrained. In any case the Lwow revelations would have dispelled any German qualms about

carrying out the ruthless resolutions made before the invasion. It is interesting that the facts about the background of the Lwow massacres became available to the postwar general public only indirectly and unexpectedly as a consequence of an international brouhaha over a minister in Konrad Adenauer's government, accused of atrocities in Lwow by the Soviets, and over a Soviet agent who defected to West Germany in 1961 and confessed to carrying out two political assassinations of Ukrainian exiles in Munich.

Mayer's aim, as stated, is to place the alleged Judeocide "in the historical context of its time" and interpret it accordingly. His thesis is clear. The failure to take Moscow, and the entry of the U.S.A. into the war (even if only in an economic role), made ultimate defeat plain to Hitler in December 1941, rather than a year later after Stalingrad. Thus according to Mayer "the Nazi fundamentalists and their accomplices . . . turned to venting their rage on the Jews." At this point in the book there is no doubt in the readers' mind what this "rage" would have consisted in. It was "a decision to exterminate the Jews [although no] written document containing or reporting an explicit command to exterminate the Jews has come to light . . . the presumption must be that the order or informal injunction to mass-murder Jews was transmitted orally (probably by Hitler himself)." This idea is repeated throughout and is the ostensible thesis of the book (although we shall see that Mayer ought to have made another of his conclusions the thesis). The stalling of the invasion of the Soviet Union, implying ultimate defeat, made the Germans so angry that they took it out on the Jews, although originally there had been no intention to exterminate them. Mayer manages to make this "Judeocide" seem almost erratic; just another Hitler tantrum. There are even analogies to random massacres of Jews carried out by eleventh century crusaders.

Mayer's thesis accounts for certain peculiarities of his book. Although the Einsatzgruppen activities in the early phases of the Russian campaign certainly liquidated many Jews, Mayer claims, contradicting both the Holoscribes and the alleged written reports of the Einsatzgruppen, that their "methodical mass slaughters of Jews . . . did not start until the fall of 1941, after the Red Army had slowed the German advance [and] the eastern campaign had begun to run aground."

It is implausible that the Germans could have viewed the Einsatzgruppen as the means of "extermination" of the Jews of the Soviet Union. For one thing, a great many Jews were

evacuated by the Soviets before the Germans arrived. Numbers are of course difficult to arrive at. Mayer throws out, with no particular support, a guess of 1.5 million evacuated out of 4 million originally resident in territories occupied by the Germans and allies. Sanning[3] believes that more than 80% of those Jews were evacuated. In any case, "extermination" could not under the circumstances have been achieved. For another thing, the personnel of the Einsatzgruppen numbered only 3,000 men (as Mayer notes), a force that must have been quite strained in performing only its primary security and counterinsurgency functions and could not possibly have contemplated performing "extermination" activities in such a vast theater, if the Jews were there to exterminate. Mayer pauses briefly over this point, but does not demur.

As for Soviet behavior, it is hazardous to say that they literally did not until 1943 charge the Germans with attempting to exterminate the Soviet Jews, since they charged the Germans with virtually every crime they could think of, but I think that is a fair statement.

Another peculiarity of Mayer's book is that it has more military history than any other book on this subject. The reason is Mayer's thesis, which claims that the physical extermination of the Jews was decided in "rage" over specific military reverses on the eastern front. I believe that most will agree that there is far too much military history here than is required, even for his thesis. It does not take long, e.g., to explain the military conditions of January 1942 or February 1943, as seen by the Germans.

It is strange that, in a book dedicated to placing the alleged Judeocide in "context," there is really so little historical context. What Mayer means by context are events as seen by the Nazis in terms of their own ideas. This context is primarily the military context but Mayer's conception of Nazi ideology ("an apocalyptic movement against modern times . . . an essentially syncretic ideology . . . a religion in a secular guise . . . intrinsically irrational and impulsive . . . Hitler, determined to provide the Nazi movement with a single enemy, seized upon 'the Jew' as best suited") also plays a role. The conservatives who disdained Hitler's populist movement but reconciled themselves with and served it also play an important role in Mayer's account.

In any case, Mayer's "context" is purely German. I believe the proper context of this alleged Judeocide would put in significant roles the other actors of the World War II period,

viz. the western Allies, the Soviets, the Vatican, the Red Cross, the German resistance to Hitler (to which Mayer makes only brief passing mention) and of course the Jews themselves. If Mayer had considered this context then he could have answered the unanswered question which is the title of his book. Mayer explains that the title is a quote from a Jewish chronicler of an eleventh century massacre of Jews in Mainz by transient crusaders. The contemporary interpretation of the question ("Why did the heavens not darken?") is "Why did not somebody act as though the Jews were being exterminated?" I have amplified elsewhere[4] on this utter lack of contemporaneous evidence for Judeocide, and the total dependence of the legend on postwar declarations, made mainly in trials, and on a few apocryphal and/or ambiguous documents, also mainly produced in postwar trials. If the "Judeocide" were real, it would be the only complex of European events of its scale to transpire in recent millennia without generating contemporaneous evidence. If Mayer had considered his own question, he might have seen that the legend is funny history, something like a war between Illnois and Indiana, whose historicity is proved by later confessions of the National Guard commanders.

In Mayer's book Jewry does not appear as an international power at all. I was first jolted by this perspective when I read that in the aftermath of World War I the Jews of eastern Europe "were without a potential external protector." Continuing while wondering if the diplomatic historian knew what he was talking about at all, I was relieved to read on the next page that "Jewish notables rushed to the Paris Peace Conference to help convince the Big Four to design international instruments to require the governments of the new and newly recreated nations to respect the human rights of their large ethnic and religious minorities." In Mayer's account these Jewish notables are not presented as doing more than rushing to the Conference. In fact Woodrow Wilson's advisors included Walter Lippman, Bernard Baruch, and other leading Jews. The observer E.J. Dillon wrote of the tremendous influence that Jews from many countries exercised at the Conference in behalf of Jewish causes, in particular the status of east European Jews, and that "a considerable number of delegates believed that the real influences behind the Anglo-Saxon peoples were Semitic."[5]

The one place where Mayer hints at an international Jewish power is in his account of the boycott of Jewish businesses

that was called by the Nazis for one day only, 1 April 1933. This was in retaliation for a campaign in the U.S. and elsewhere, via rallies and pressures on governments, then being waged by Stephen S. Wise and other Jewish leaders for an unlimited trade boycott of Germany.

It is, however, the late chapter on Auschwitz that provoked the vehemence against Mayer, e.g. Daniel J. Goldhagen's angry review in the *New Republic.* Starting early in the book Mayer states, unequivocally and repeatedly, that the Jewish calamity consisted in physical extermination at the hands of the Nazis. The Auschwitz chapter begins with the usual classification of Auschwitz as one of six "centers of mass killing." It goes on to describe the high "normal" death rate at Auschwitz due to unhealthy conditions, primarily typhus. To a great extent these conditions are depicted as somehow singularly Nazi. It would have helped the "context" a lot, especially in view of Mayer's "Thirty Years War of the twentieth century" construct, to have noted that the Germans had essentially the same typhus problems during World War I in their camps that quartered Russian POW's.

Well into his Auschwitz chapter, Mayer perks up the reader (perhaps as bored by the book as I was at this point) by conceding that:

> Sources for the study of the gas chambers are at once rare and unreliable . . . there is no denying the many contradictions, ambiguities, and errors in the existing sources. These cannot be ignored, although it must be emphasized strongly that such defects are altogether insufficient to put in question the use of gas chambers in the mass murder of Jews at Auschwitz.

So, despite his explicit words, Mayer has implicitly said to the typical reader that "the use of gas chambers" is indeed a "question."

Since on the matter of the gas chambers, as on virtually all other features of the received legend, it is only necessary for one to admit the possibility of reevaluation in fundamental respects in order to become very skeptical in those respects. Mayer's critics were justified in suspecting him of being just a little bit pregnant in writing thus, but a later claim by Mayer perhaps made them view him as six months along: "from 1942 to 1945, certainly at Auschwitz, but probably overall, more Jews were killed by so-called 'natural' causes than by 'unnatural' ones" (Mayer means mainly typhus in the former category and gassing in the latter).

The "probably overall" would of course apply to the other five alleged extermination via gassing sites, which are treated in the following chapter. Again, that chapter starts with several unequivocal statements about extermination. By this time, however, the reader has been told that even when the gassings in those places are taken into account they "probably" accounted for fewer victims than natural causes, so the reader is prepared for statements to come along having the effect of nullifying or rendering enigmatic all of Mayer's previous unequivocal remarks. Indeed they come: "Because of sparse evidence, there are some uncertainties about the fiery ordeal at Belzec, Sobibor, and Treblinka." As for "1,274,166 Jews of the General Government . . . There is a strong presumption that most . . . were slaughtered in Belzec, Sobibor, and Treblinka," whose alleged gas chambers he is very vague about. On cremation he is more than vague. He does not remark on the fact that for Belzec, Sobibor and Treblinka we do not have conclusive and detailed evidence of the contstruction of great cremation facilities, as we have for Auschwitz (of course not; those places were transit camps, not concentration camps). Rather, he mutters that the exterminated at Belzec were first burned but later dug up "for the corpses to be burned in the open." Mayer notes that the Jews in the Polish ghettos did not believe the rumors of extermination in the camps, and kept cooperating with both the war production demands and resettlement policies of the Germans.

Mayer's critics have complained that he does not document his assertions. There are no footnotes but it is too pedantic to require that all be documented. When documentary sources are well understood, there is no need to document. Most of Mayer's book is devoted to reviewing well-known events, so references and documentation are unnecessary. When there is a thesis based on a new interpretation of known sources, rather than on new sources (most Revisionist literature is necessarily of that sort), then the reasoning must be set forth, and the specific documents and records that are being reinterpreted should be specified. Mayer fails to do any of this on his most provocative points about Auschwitz, which should have formed his thesis.

This lapse is especially grave in view of Mayer's insistence early on that "historians are expected to . . . invite critics, both friendly and hostile, to verify the authenticity and reliability of their evidence as well as to debate the logic of their

constructions and the coherence of their explanations." Mayer perversely ignores his own precept in his book. Moreover, according to the *Newsweek* story, Mayer refuses to respond to his critics.

It is what Mayer does not say that is so vexing. Why is it that, despite the deficiencies in the evidence for gassings at Auschwitz, there is no question of them? That is, what is the evidence for gassings at Auschwitz? What specific faults did Mayer find in the testimonies? No hint from Mayer. If more died of natural causes than gassing, what were the numbers involved? No numbers, precise or otherwise, from Mayer, although his claim is specifically quantitative. Indeed he offers no overall numerical estimate for the number of Jews who perished in German occupied territories. This is not because the historian feels himself incompetent with numbers; the book is replete with numerical data or estimates, even where such estimates are difficult to make.

The failure to provide numbers is astonishing in that some decent idea of the numbers that perished in the concentration camps from natural causes, and in particular at Auschwitz, can be formulated. The surviving concentration camp records are held by the International Tracing Service (ITS), administered by the International Committee of the Red Cross and quartered in Arolsen, West Germany. In April 1977 the ITS published a report entitled "The Number of Victims of the National Socialist Persecution." The report says that as of the end of 1976 the ITS had 357,190 specific names of people who had died in the German camps. The report added, however, that no records were kept of the millions gassed and that even in some cases where records were kept they are missing today. For example, a "number of death cases certified" of 50,923 is given for Auschwitz, but is it stipulated that "the documenation of this camp is very incomplete." When I visited the ITS in the summer of 1977 the official I spoke to, and who gave me a copy of the ITS report, added that some analysis subsequent to the writing of the report allows us to say that there were "at least" 45,575 certified deaths at Auschwitz in 1942 and 36,960 in 1943, but the death books for 1940, 1941, 1944 and January 1945 (when Auschwitz was evacuated) are missing. The ITS has not been as free with such estimates in more recent years, but I think that Mayer could have formulated a fairly good idea of the numbers of natural deaths at Auschwitz if he had wanted to, and perhaps the ITS would have opened up for him. I feel reasonably

secure in placing the total in the range 100,000-150,000, probably closer to the former, since the camp population was small in 1940-1941 and by 1944 the Germans had made some progress against typhus. Of these victims a large number would have been Jews since Auschwitz quartered proportionately more Jews than the other German concentration camps, apart from Majdanek. The number of Jewish dead of natural causes at Auschwitz seems less than 100,000. If "certainly at Auschwitz" there were fewer gassed, Mayer must be talking about less than 50,000 gassed.

This is a unique claim. Up to now we have had on the one hand the Holoscribes, who claim victims of gassings at Auschwitz in the neighborhood of a million or even millions (since after all the purpose of the alleged gassings was mass extermination), and on the other hand the Revisionists, who claim that there were no gassings. Both sides have explanations as to why the Germans would have conducted themselves thus. Mayer gives no explanation or hint why the Germans would conduct a gassing program of the magnitude he claims and I can't imagine a motivation. I find it bewildering and appalling that a professionally trained historian could have thrown such unsupported claims out to the public and then could have so obdurately declined to defend them. As he evidently refuses to help dispel this confusion it is our task to attempt to account for it. (Since he is now presumably back from his sabbatical in France, I wonder how he will handle questions from students, if students at Princeton ask questions).

* * * * *

Mayer has troubles writing about the alleged gas chambers at Auschwitz. For example mass gassings are supposed to have started in mid-1942 when "only the two improvised gas chambers . . . were functioning," and not the carefully engineered ones said to have been integrated into the four large crematorium buildings. He does not, however, place those great gas chambers in the crematoria or anywhere else (he only says they started operating at the same time), and does not write that they operated by improvisation with the Zyklon B pesticide as did the improvised ones (the legend claims all gassings at Auschwitz used Zyklon B).

It is inviting to imagine that Mayer has balked at the ridiculous, but it is not that simple. For example, Mayer has no trouble believing that each of the 46 crematorium ovens which

functioned at the Birkenau sub-camp from 1943 had a daily capacity of about 100 bodies. One would have thought that even without any technical training, and even without consulting any of the cremation literature, Mayer would have seen the impossibility of such a figure. Instead, after adding 340 per day from the old crematorium at the main camp he makes the sort of silly calculations I made[6] a long time ago (as an example of bad deduction) and comes up with a capacity of 1,712,160 per year. He does not say that the ovens were ever used at such a rate and, given his idea of the small numbers gassed, it is impossible to see why such capacities would have been provided (if each oven could dispose of 100 per day then two ovens would have served the whole Auschwitz complex of camps very well).

Mayer accepts the usual claim that "the SS operatives dutifully eliminated all traces of their murderous activities and instruments." Indeed, it is true that the "traces" do not exist. Mayer continues that "care was taken to dipsose of the bones and ashes of the victims." This illustrates what happens to professors who keep their noses buried in books and documents too much, not sitting back to think just a little bit about what they are reading and writing. Does anybody imagine, for example, that we could contemplate physically exterminating the Chinese minority in the U.S. while keeping the deed secret from our immediate successors (either fellow Americans or invaders with a penchant for telling atrocity stories), by not committing the Sinocide to writing and then hiding the ashes? Mayer calls for "excavations at the killing sites and in their immediate environs." Since there were many thousands cremated at Auschwitz then, ashes may turn up, but one must assume that the ashes of millions of victims would have turned up long ago. In any case, the Germans would never have been so foolish as to imagine they could destroy evidence of genocide on a continental scale, consuming millions of civilian victims shuttled about on long journeys over a three-year period, by hiding the ashes. It is interesting to compare this legend of concealment with the loud publicity the Germans gave to their Lidice atrocity.

* * * * *

There is another matter which did, I believe, play a role for Mayer in reaching his conclusions. He is frankly and salutarily distrustful of postwar testimonies: "Most of what is known is based on the depositions of Nazi officials and

executioners at postwar trials and on the memory of survivors and bystanders. This testimony must be screened carefully, since it can be influenced by subjective factors of great complexity." Mayer makes no mention of the "confession" of Auschwitz commandant Höss, the homologue of the confessions of the National Guard commanders of Illinois and Indiana. In fact Mayer's theory stands in stark contradiction to the Höss confession:[7]

> I . . . estimate that at least 2,500,000 victims were executed and exterminated there by gassing and burning, and at least another half million succumbed to starvation and disease . . . Included among the executed and burnt were approximately 20,000 Russian prisoners of war . . . The remainder of the total number of victims included about 100,000 German Jews, and great numbers of citizens, mostly Jewish from Holland, France, Belgium, Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Greece, or other countries. We executed about 400,000 Hungarian Jews alone in the summer of 1944 . . . We were required to carry out these exterminations in secrecy but of course the foul and nauseating stench from the continuous burning of bodies permeated the entire area and all of the people living in the surrounding communities knew that exterminations were going on at Auschwitz.

Mayer devotes more space to the nature of the unreliability of the testimonies of Jewish survivors, especially in his Prologue chapter. As mentioned, he is bothered by the contemporary status of the "Holocaust" as a "sectarian cult," but he does not adequately describe just how sectarian it is, although I am sure he knows. He is very emphatic on this idea of the unreliability of Jewish testimonies and the historical error of ethnocentric Jewish formulations, and I believe it is the key to his problem. The 6 million legend is Talmud "providential history" refurbished for the twentieth century. The 4 billion Jews killed by the Romans under Hadrian, the ensuing tidal wave of blood that plunged down into the sea, carrying large boulders along with it and staining the sea a distance of four miles out, the 64 million Jewish school children of Bethar who were wrapped in their scrolls and burned alive by the Romans, the bodies of the martyred Jews used to build a fence around Hadrian's huge vineyard, and the blood saved over from the tidal wave to fertilize vineyards, have become our 6 million gassed and burned, the flames reaching heaven (from modern crematorium ovens no less; how many times has Elie Wiesel evoked that image?), the

stench of cremation hanging over large parts of Poland, with the hair, ashes and fat being used for sundry purposes, many children being thrown alive into the flames without benefit of prior gassing (another Talmudic yarn Wiesel is fond of).[8] When a man of Mayer's ethnic and educational background reads the standard "Holocaust" tales, the Talmud must drop into his lap. The need to reformulate the subject is obvious.

Mayer is intent on offering an alternative to this "sectarian . . . Holocaust" that is somehow in the context of European history. Mayer's confusion has its source in his effort to make part of European history that which is not properly part of it, and has however approached just "the providential history of the Jewish people" that he would set aside as a distorted representation of historical truth. Mayer purports to offer us a history relatively uncontaminated by unreliable testimonies, especially Jewish ones, but the reader with working knowledge of the sources sees that he is relying on the usual ones, even if only vicariously through other authors. He has, however, arbitrarily and without explanation or acknowledgment, chosen to reject only some of them, because there is in fact no "Judeocide" without the usual sources. For Mayer there is alas no escape from the sectarian "Holocaust," and confusion is inevitable. Mayer's problem is paralleled today by the problem of the many intellectuals who are fed up with Elie Wiesel but do not speak up. It is clear that Wiesel is the perfect spokesman for this "Holocaust," which is the only alleged "Judeocide" we have. That is why the right word for anybody who claims physical extermination is "the religiously freighted word . . . Holocaust."

Mayer's book is a failure, not because he has not succeeded in establishing the "context" of what happened to the Jews, but because he has gotten whatever happened to them utterly confused. He started by trying to describe the precisely framed "Judeocide" and ended with something whose incompatibility with "critical and contextual thinking" equals that of the "Holocaust," since his context is wrong, he uses the same sources, and he does not reveal a factual and logical basis for his conclusions. That reversion was inevitable, for the reasons stated.

It is true that Mayer's book has Revisionist implications. The worth of this work is only as a symptom of that which should not have been in doubt even forty years ago, namely that serious and professionally trained historians have trouble accepting the legend's evidence. However, Mayer shows the

confusion of a historian who will not draw the conclusions indicated by that apprehension, and the embarrassment he can suffer when he offers his confusion to the reading public. In terms of basic academic and scholarly criteria, this must be one of the worst history books published by a ranking academic historian in recent years.

Notes

1. The intentionalist-functionalist (or structuralist) debate was aired at a conference in Stuttgart in 1984. See e.g. W. Carr, "Nazi policy towards the Jews," in *History Today*, Nov. 1985. Also W. Stäglich, "Historians Wrangle Over the Destruction of European Jewry," this journal, Summer 1986.
2. Hermann Raschhofer, *Political Assassination*, Fritz Schlichtenmayer, Tübingen, 1964.
3. Walter N. Sanning, *The Dissolution of Eastern European Jewry*, Institute for Historical Review, Torrance, CA, 1983, pp. 103ff.
4. Arthur R. Butz, "Context and perspective in the 'Holocaust' controversy," this journal, Winter 1982. Also reproduced in Butz, *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, Institute for Historical Review, Torrance, CA, printing of 1983 or later.
5. E.J. Dillon, *The Inside Story of the Peace Conference*, Harper, NY 1920, pp. 494-508.
6. Butz, *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, *op. cit.*, p. 118.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 101.
8. The relevant Talmud passages are reproduced in an appendix of Yigael Yadin, *Bar-Kokhba*, Random House, NY and Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London, 1971.

WHY DID THE HEAVEN'S NOT DARKEN? THE "FINAL SOLUTION" IN HISTORY, by Arno J. Mayer, New York: Pantheon, 1988, Hb., 492 pages, $27.95, ISBN-0-394-57154-1.

Reviewed by Robert Faurisson

In the United States a Jewish Professor Takes the Revisionist Path

In its May 1989 issue, *Newsweek* described (pp. 64-65) a "storm over a new book" devoted to "the extermination of the Jews" during the Second World War. The book is *Why Did the Heavens Not Darken? The "Final Solution" in History.*

Pierre Vidal-Naquet's Friend

Its author, Arno J. Mayer, was born in 1926 into a Jewish family in Luxembourg. He is a professor of European history at Princeton University. Pierre Vidal-Naquet, in his 1987 book *Les Assassins de la Mémoire* (Editions de la Découverte), called Mayer his "colleague and friend" (page 203, note 21) and mentioned his name nine times. For example, he wrote: "I owe very much to Arno J. Mayer, whom I warmly thank" (page 216, note 12). He said that he had read the manuscript of a book that Mayer was going to publish in 1988, probably bearing the title *The Final Solution in History.*

It seems that in 1982 the American professor infuriated an Israeli colleague during an international conference at the Sorbonne presided over by François Furet and Raymond Aron (29 June to 2 July). At that time Mayer undoubtedly had the courage to express some reservations about the dogma of the Holocaust and the gas chambers.

In any event, Mayer's own conference paper did not appear in the book *L'Allemagne nazie et le génocide juif,* (Gallimard/Le Seuil, 1985, 607 pages) that was published three years later and was supposed to contain the results of that conference. We were thus kept in ignorance of Mayer's thesis from 1982 to 1988.

According to the author, he submitted the penultimate draft of his entire manuscript, except for the prologue, to three of

the leading people in the field of Jewish history: Raul Hilberg (United States), Hans Mommsen (West Germany), and Pierre Vidal-Naquet (France) (see page xiv). On the cover of Mayer's book one can read the following appreciation of the book: "The most important effort ever made by a historian to think critically about the unthinkable (Pierre Vidal-Naquet, Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, Paris)."

Sources for the Gas Chambers Are Rare and Unreliable

Arno J. Mayer says that he believes there was a policy to exterminate the Jews and that the homicidal gas chambers were a reality, but at the same time he writes pages of text and makes observations with which many Revisionists would agree. Furthermore, in his bibliography he even mentions two Revisionist works: *The Lie of Ulysses* by Paul Rassinier (in the edition published by La Vieille Taupe in Paris in 1979), as well as Arthur Butz's masterly study, *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century.*

According to Mayer there is no trace of any plan for the extermination of the Jews and, as regards the gas chambers, he includes, in his chapter on Auschwitz, the following sentence, which is quite astonishing coming from a friend of Pierre Vidal-Naquet: "Sources for the study of the gas chambers are at once rare and unreliable" (p. 362). He adds:

> Most of what is known (on this subject) is based on the depositions of Nazi officials and executioners at postwar trials and on the memory of survivors and bystanders. This testimony must be screened carefully, since it can be influenced by subjective factors of great complexity (pages 362-63).

Would it not be more correct to say that people must be suspicious of the so-called statements, confessions, and eye-witness accounts that the Exterminationists so shamelessly make use of.

Then the author adds, regarding the above-mentioned sources: "there is no denying the many contradictions, ambiguities, and errors in the existing sources" (p. 363). One would like to see Arno J. Mayer review some of these contradictions, ambiguities and errors; no doubt he is thinking about the "sources" that the same Exterminationists have used for more than forty years.

He mentions the "gassings" at Chelmno, Belzec, Sobibor, and Treblinka but those references are fleeting and are swept up in a flood of considerations foreign to the subject.

Generally speaking, throughout the book the central subject, the supposed genocide of the Jews (here called "Judeocide") and the supposed gas chambers, is buried under a mass of digressions on such things as the anti-Semitism of the Middle Ages and Hitler's campaign in Russia. This is what professors complaisantly call the study of the context; I would prefer a study of the text or, in other words, of the subject.

More Dead from Natural than Non-Natural Causes

Mayer also takes the Revisionist path when he insistently emphasizes the ravages caused in the Jewish communities of the East and in the concentration camps by typhus epidemics. People too often forget that one of the most important motives for the Germans when they created the ghettos was their fear of seeing typhus spread almost everywhere in that part of the world, which was already suffering from war. Even as he is vague on the subject of the supposed "gassings," Mayer is precise and detailed on typhus. During the period from 1942 to 1945—in other words at the very time when, according to Exterminationist historians, the fantastic "gassings" supposedly took place—he estimates (unfortunately without furnishing any figures) that more Jews were killed by so-called natural causes (starvation, disease, sickness and overwork) than by "non-natural" causes (executions of all kinds). He specifically says that this was true "certainly at Auschwitz, but probably overall" (p. 365). That remark has not gone unnoticed and it has provided fuel for a lively controversy.

Elsewhere, Mayer interprets, then eliminates one by one all the documents or arguments which up until now have been used to make people believe that the Germans practiced a policy of exterminating the Jews (the Göring-to-Heydrich letter of 31 July 1941, the Wannsee Conference transcript, the conduct of the Einsatzgruppen in Russia, Himmler's speeches at Posen in October 1943, etc.).

Things that have been presented to us as definitely established facts are often described by Mayer as being uncertain or untrustworthy. The numbers and the statistics, which have finally achieved, in a sense, an official, sacred character, are greeted by Mayer with great mistrust.

Differentiating between, on the one hand, Jewish "memory"—not to say Jewish legend or mythology—and, on the other hand, "history," Mayer deplores the existence of a cult of memory which, with the distortions that it imposes on historical reality, has become "too sectarian" (p. 16). Memory,

he thinks, tends to "rigidify" while history calls for "revision" (p. 18). Historians today have "the urgent task of thinking, critically, about the unthinkable" (p. 363).

Two Suggestions for the Future

Regarding the gas chambers at Auschwitz, Mayer writes:

> The Soviet archives may well yield significant clues and evidence when they are opened. In addition, excavations at the killing sites and in their immediate environs may also bring forth new information.

I would remind the reader that those are two Revisionist ideas for which I have personally fought. Early in 1988, during the second trial of Ernst Zündel in Toronto, I was able, working through defense attorney Doug Christie, to get one of the prosecution experts, Charles Biedermann, to confirm that the Auschwitz "death registers," left intact by the Germans, are in fact to be found, for the most part, in Moscow.

The scandal is that these registers are being kept hidden in the same way as the few volumes that remain at the Auschwitz Museum are concealed. The Americans, British, French, Germans, and Israelis cooperate in hiding these documents and even refuse to reveal how many names are contained in the several registers at the Auschwitz Museum, photocopies of which are in the possession of the International Tracing Service at Arolsen (an organ of the International Committee of the Red Cross located in West Germany, but under the strict surveillance of the Allies and of the Israelis for fear of an intrusion by Revisionist researchers). Would Mayer agree in demanding the opening of the "secret file"?

As regards excavations, here again the Revisionists have taken the initiative in spite of prohibitions against it. I refer to that in my preface to the "Leuchter Report," named after the American engineer who studied the so-called homicidal gas chambers at Auschwitz, Birkenau, and Majdanek (*The Journal of Historical Review*, Fall 1988, p. 376-80).

In February 1989, in Los Angeles, during the 9th International Conference of our Institute for Historical Review, Fred Leuchter asked for the creation of an international commission of inquiry into the homicidal gas chambers supposedly used by the Germans. Would Mayer break with his Exterminationist colleagues by responding to the "Leuchter Report" with something other than an

embarrassed silence or a hoax of the kind resorted to by Serge Klarsfeld and his disciples? What does Mayer think about an international commission of experts?

Progress in Ten Years

Ten years ago, Pierre Vidal-Naquet and Léon Poliakov took the initiative in drawing up a public statement directed against me which said that, because of the abundance and reliability of the evidence, "there is not, there cannot be any debate about the existence of the gas chambers" (*Le Monde*, 21 February 1979, p. 23). Among the 34 signatories of that declaration were Philippe Ariès, Fernand Braudel, Pierre Chaunu, François Furet, Jacques Le Goff and Emmanuel Leroy-Ladurie. But René Rémond refused to sign it.

We had to wait until 1988 for an established historian like Arno Mayer to say, in his chapter on Auschwitz, that sources for the study of the gas chambers, far from being *abundant* and *reliable*, as people asserted, are only *rare* and *unreliable*. This is just a single example of the significant progress that Historical Revisionism has made in the scholarly community.

The Jewish professor from Princeton is going to learn the cost of scrutinizing the taboo of the century. He has done so with the greatest caution, without being aggressive or provocative, but he has already unleashed, along with some favorable reactions in the American press, some real attacks. Daniel Jonah Goldhagen of Harvard, in an article entitled "False Witness," accuses Mayer of falsification, distortion, Revisionism, and of having "produced a mockery of memory and history" (*The New Republic*, 17 April 1989, p. 39-44).

That sounds familiar. Fortunately for Professor Mayer, he lives in the United States and not in France, like Faurisson, in Sweden, like Felderer, or in Germany, like Stäglich.[1]

---

1. Mayer's book, more than 500 pages long, doesn't contain a single footnote. Also, many of his quotations can only be verified by personal research on the part of the reader. At the beginning of 1981, Arno J. Mayer was still so hostile towards Revisonism that he wrote:

> Regrettably, Faurisson's new book [*Mémoire en défense contre ceux qui m'accusent de falsifier l'histoire*, 1980] has an unconscionable preface by Noam Chomsky that is being used to legitimate Faurisson as a bona-fide scholar of the Holocaust. As an unqualified civil libertarian Chomsky claims—disingenuously—that he has not read the book he is prefacing! (*Democracy*, April 1981, p. 68).

HITLER'S HOMETOWN: LINZ, AUSTRIA, 1908-1945 by Evan Burr Buckey. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1986, xv + 288 pages, hardbound, $27.50, ISBN 0-253-32833-0.

Reviewed by John M. Ries

Tracing the transition of Linz, Austria from a peaceful Danubian êntrepot in the waning years of the Emperor Franz Josef to one of Europe's major industrial and manufacturing centers, this comprehensive account by Evan Burr Buckey is a worthy addition to the growing list of specialized studies in Central European history.

The development of Linz and the surrounding countryside of Upper Austria since the early years of this century is a sort of microcosm of the problems and solutions that have beset German-Austria. Dominated by three major political elites, the Christian Socials, the German Nationalists, and the Social Democrats, Linz became somewhat of an exception to the prevailing pattern of sociopolitical activity through the development of a "moderate political culture." This was largely the work of the provincial governor (*Landeshauptmann*) of Upper Austria from 1908 until his death in 1925, the so-called "red prelate," Johann Nepomuk Hauser. Hauser believed in democratic political rule and was instrumental in establishing the first measure toward universal manhood suffrage in Linz as early as 1908, through a phasing out of the strict property requirements for voting. His ability to convince the competing elites of the merits of compromise assured his continued popularity, enabling him to become the only provincial governor to survive the transition from imperial to republican rule in 1918-1919.

The 1920's produced the same conflicts in Linz as in the rest of Austria, with the exception that they were kept in bounds due to the moderate, democratic tradition established by Hauser and carried on by his successor, Josef Schlegel. Mr. Buckey ably describes the state of balance that existed between Social Democratic Linz, protected by its paramilitary Republican Defense Corps (*Schützbund*), and the Upper Austrian countryside, where quasi-fascist organizations, led by Prince Starhemberg's *Heimwehr*, tried to gain control. Eventually, the forces of reaction won out, as the Austrian Civil War in February 1934 put an end to parliamentary government in Linz and Upper Austria.

From the standpoint of this reviewer, and perhaps for the readers of the *Journal* as well, it seems that the author's treatment of the less familiar, and somewhat controversial, years from the Anschluss up to the end of World War Two should bear the closest scrutiny. Accordingly, it is with the period 1938-1945 that the remaining portion of this review is concerned.

Beginning with the entry of German troops into Linz itself around noon on the 12th of March, 1938, there seemed little doubt as to where the citizens of this once "rather dull and unexciting capital" of the province of Upper Austria stood with respect to the impending re-unification. Indeed, Hitler, who had grown up in Linz, was so struck by the "wild jubilation" that greeted his arrival later that evening, that he "impulsively decided to abandon an earlier plan for a 'personal union' of Austria and Germany and to incorporate his homeland into the Reich." In Linz, as elsewhere in the future *Ostmark*, "Blumen statt Bomben" ("flowers instead of bombs") was the order of the day.

Yet how do we account for such a "torrent of enthusiasm"? Certainly, as Mr. Buckey clearly documents, the National Socialist seizure of power in Linz was "the direct result of German pressure and intervention. It did not occur as a consequence of a deal with traditional elites nor in the wake of a mass upheaval." Moreover, the Catholic peasantry of the surrounding countryside would remain aloof and suspicious of the Third Reich throughout the next seven years. Whatever prompted the spontaneous display of approbation at the dissolution of the Austrian state can only be explained if we take into account the years its inhabitants had spent searching for a national identity, a quest that transcended class and party lines; a stagnating economy made worse by the recent effects of the worldwide Depression; and the prevailing belief that unification with a resurgent Germany would be a major improvement over the way things had been. In the end, therefore, it was the compelling desire for change, regardless of the consequences, that ultimately sanctioned what seemed to many on the outside as the "suicide of a state."

And the changes would, indeed, be extensive. Mr. Buckey points to the measures "relieving social distress, especially by the Strength Through Joy [Kraft durch Freude] Organization, the revitalization of the Linz economy, and above all, the elimination of local unemployment within six months of the Anschluss," as decisive factors in the establishment of a

popular consensus for the National Socialist regime. Considering the latter, in March 1938, of the some 37,120 people without jobs in Upper Austria, some 12,000 resided in Linz. Seven months later, in October, the number had dropped to 3,195 and 1,098, respectively. Within two years after the Anschluss, there would be as many as 13,900 unfilled jobs in the region.

Hitler's plans to transform his hometown into a "Second Budapest" received a great deal of personal attention, but while his patronage did not quite produce the extensive cultural changes that he had envisioned, it did contribute to the development of a major manufacturing center from the decaying remnants of a pre-industrial provincial capital. With an infusion of 60 million marks, courtesy of the director of the Four-Year Plan, a massive industrial complex arose, focusing on the appropriately named Hermann Göring Steel Works. Also, a nitrogen plant, a chemical works, and other large scale enterprises manufacturing aluminum, artificial fibers, and armaments began to spring up. The period of National Socialist rule in Linz, as "brutal and capricious" as it may have been, witnessed the creation of a modern industrial city. Outmoded structures and interest groups, recalcitrant labor unions and leftist parties—all were altered through a thorough reworking of the entire economic system. In the process, it was the Reich Germans who "played the most conspicuous role since they alone possessed the vision and the capital" to effect the desired changes.

Outside of the Hitler regime's economic program, a great deal of local support for the National Socialist government rested on its anti-Jewish and anti-clerical policies. In an earlier section of the book, Mr. Buckey describes how the German Nationalist followers of the nortorious Judeophobe Georg Ritter von Schönerer gained strong support in Linz during the first decades of this century, even controlling the municipal council from 1900-1919. Anti-Semitism had also been encouraged by the Church and was perhaps reflected to a great extent in the enthusiasm demonstrated by the local peasantry in the anti-Jewish measures taken by the National Socialists following the Anschluss. Indeed, given this background, it may come as no surprise to learn that "the Nazi seizure of power in Hitler's hometown began with a pogrom." During the ensuing months, the relatively small number of Jews (there seemed to be around 1000 at the time of the Anschluss) who lived in Linz was significantly reduced, many

either volunteering or being forced to leave. The assertion that the remnant who decided to remain following the Kristallnacht (November 9-10, 1938) "perished in the 'final solution' in mid-summer 1942" is open to question from a Revisionist standpoint.

The anti-clerical policies of the National Socialist government were also supported strongly by the town population, going back to a long tradition of opposition to Church authority. Schools were closed, priests deported or imprisoned, and other restrictions were imposed, all against the sustained opposition of local Bishop Gföllner, who, according to Mr. Buckey, "may have been the only bishop in Germany and Austria to have opposed National Socialism for two decades." As it turned out, these and similiar policies by the government cost the regime the allegiance and support of the region's Catholic peasantry.

The prolonged effects of the war did not seem to weaken seriously the National Socialist consensus in Linz, at least until late 1944, when the suffering due to food shortages, disease, and repeated bombing began to take its toll. Only then did the Hitler regime begin to be perceived as an alien domination. This is perhaps underscored by the resistance movements which sprang up in Linz over the preceding few years: all seemed to be mainly concerned with ending the war rather than Nazi rule. In this sense, they should more properly be called "peace movements."

I highly recommend this excellent study of an important city in recent Austrian history not only for its own sake but also as a valuable preparation for the eventual appearance of that definitive modern history of Austria which we are all anxiously awaiting.

About the Contributors

ARTHUR R. BUTZ is Associate Professor of Electrical Engineering and Computer Sciences at Northwestern University. He is the author of *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century.*

ROBERT FAURISSON is Associate Professor of French Literature at the University of Lyon-2 in France. He specializes in the appraisal and evaluation of texts and documents. A frequent contributor to *The Journal of Historical Review*, Professor Faurisson has published numerous articles and books, including *Is the Diary of Anne Frank Genuine?* and *Réponse à Pierre Vidal-Naquet.*

DAVID IRVING is the author of many books on the Second World War, including *The Destruction of Dresden, The Rise and Fall of the Luftwaffe,* and *Hitler's War.* His latest books are *Churchill's War* (Volume 1) and *Göring: A Biography.*

PROFESSOR ANTHONY KUBEK earned a Ph.D. in political science and history from Georgetown University. Dr. Kubek has taught at the University of Dallas, where he became senior professor and chairman of the social sciences division. He was dean of the University of Plano in Texas, and has been visiting professor at several universities in the Republic of China (Taiwan). Dr. Kubek has served as a consultant for the U.S. Senate Judiciary Committee, for which he edited the Morgenthau Diaries. He is the author of *How the Far East Was Lost, The Amerasia Papers, Modernizing China,* and many other books and articles.

VICTOR MARCHETTI served for fourteen years with the CIA, where he rose to be executive assistant to the deputy director. His book *The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence*, co-authored with John Marks, was the first critical account of the agency written by an insider. When Marchetti was ordered to submit his book to the CIA censors, he became the first American to be served with an official censorship order by a court of the United States. Marchetti is also the author of *The Ropedancer*, an espionage novel, and currently edits *New American View*, a newsletter critical of Israel and the Israeli lobby in America, with Mark Lane.

THE REVEREND HERMAN OTTEN received his master's degrees in history (Washington University) and sacred theology (Concordia Seminary, St. Louis). He is pastor of the Trinity Lutheran Church in New Haven, Missouri and publisher and editor of the weekly *Christian News.*

JOHN M. RIES is a graduate of Notre Dame University (B.A.) and the University of Tulsa (M.A.). He teaches Latin and history at the secondary school level.

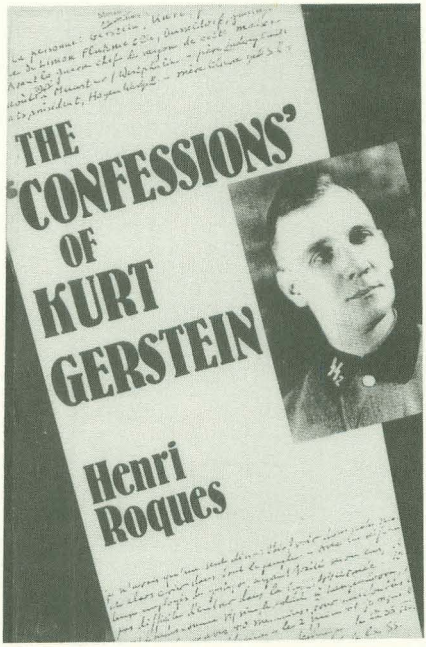
What historians are saying about the Roques thesis . . .

. . . from now on researchers will have to take his work into account . . . **—Alain Decaux, member, Académie Française**

Had I been a member of the jury, I would probably have given a grade of "Very good" to Mr. Roques' thesis.

—Michel de Bouard, Institut de France

This is the exposé which shattered the myth of Pope Pius XII's complicity in the Holocaust, and struck at the very roots of the Holocaust story's credibility by challenging the "confessions" of SS officer Kurt Gerstein. Author Henri Roques' doctoral thesis made world headlines in 1986, when for the first time in the history of French academe a duly awarded doctorate was revoked by state fiat.



FIRST ENGLISH TRANSLATION

For the first time, the accusations of Kurt Gerstein—the enigmatic, twisted Third Reich functionary who claimed to have witnessed mass gassings of Jews in 1942—are here subjected to thorough critical review. Roques' stunning conclusion: not only are Gerstein's allegations of a mass extermination of Jews and a Roman Catholic cover-up of the slaughter groundless, but postwar academics have deliberately manipulated and falsified key parts of Gerstein's tortured testimony. An indispensible resource for scholar and layman alike, *The 'Confessions' of Kurt Gerstein* provides transcripts and translations of an unprecedented six versions of Gerstein's story, as well as photocopies of the originals; a searching examination of both the authenticity and credibility of the "confessions"; and numerous documents and records which have never before been published. Henri Roques' thesis is sure to become a classic, not only of meticulous scholarly detective work but of the liberating power of free inquiry in the time-honored Western tradition.

ISBN: 0-939484-27-7
Pb. 340 pp., Tables, Notes, Index – $11.00
INSTITUTE FOR HISTORICAL REVIEW
Send for our catalog of unusual and hard-to-find titles

The Journal of Historical Review

Mark Weber

My Role in the Zuendel Trial

Florence S. Rost van Tonningen

For Holland and for Europe: The Life and Death of Dr. M.M. Rost van Tonningen

Mark Weber

Simon Wiesenthal: Bogus "Nazi Hunter"

Joseph Halow

Innocent in Dachau: The Trial & Punishment of Franz Kofler et al.

John Cobden

Lessons from Dachau

—Review—

Goering: A Biography

VOLUME NINE, NUMBER FOUR WINTER 1989-90

The Journal of Historical Review

VOLUME NINE, NUMBER 4/WINTER 1989-1990

Editor: Theodore J. O'Keefe

EDITORIAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE

GEORGE ASHLEY, Ph.D.
Los Angeles Unified School District (Ret.)

PHILLIP BARKER, Ph.D.
Minneapolis, Minnosota

JOHN BENNETT, LL.B.
Australian Civil Liberties Union
Melbourne, Australia

FRIEDRICH P. BERG, B.Sc.
The Historical Review Committee
Ft. Lee, New Jersey

ALEXANDER V. BERKIS, LL.M., Ph.D.
Longwood College (Ret.)

WALTER BEVERAGGI-ALLENDE, Ph.D.
University of Buenos Aires
Buenos Aires, Argentina

ARTHUR R. BUTZ, Ph.D.
Northwestern University
Evanston, Illinois

BOYD CATHEY, Ph.D.
The Southern Partisan

ROBERT H. COUNTESS, Ph.D.
Huntsville, Alabama

ALBERT J. ECKSTEIN, Ph.D.
Private Research Consultant

ROBERT FAURISSON, Ph.D.
University of Lyon-2
Lyon, France

DITLIEB FELDERER
Revisionist History Magazine
Taby, Sweden

GEORG FRANZ-WILLING, Ph.D.
Überlingen, West Germany

SAMUEL EDWARD KONKIN III
New Libertarian
Long Beach, California

MARTIN A. LARSON, Ph.D.
The Spotlight
Washington, D.C.

WILLIAM B. LINDSEY, Ph.D.
Research Chemist

JAMES J. MARTIN, Ph.D.
Ralph Myles Publishers
Colorado Springs, Colorado

CARLO MATTOGNO
Italy

REVILO P. OLIVER, Ph.D.
University of Illinois (Ret.)
Urbana, Illinois

IVO OMRCANIN, S.T.D.,
J.D.C., J.S.D., LL.D
Indiana University of Pennsylvania (Ret.)
Washington, D.C.

WILHELM STÄGLICH, Dr. Jur.
Badenweiler, West Germany

UDO WALENDY, Diplo. Pol.
Verlag für Volkstum und
Zeitgeschichtsforschung
Vlotho/Weser, West Germany

MARK WEBER, M.A.
The Historical Review Committee

ANDREAS R. WESSERLE, Ph.D.
Marquette University (Ret.)
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

From the Editor

The Winter 1989-90 issue of *The Journal of Historical Review* concludes Volume Nine of *The JHR* and launches it into the 1990's. If this last issue of the 80's, and first issue of the 90's, may be said to have a theme, that theme is "justice denied." Nearly every article and review bears, directly or indirectly, on the postwar "trials" with which the Second World War's victors have attempted to consolidate their triumph by continuing the propaganda war against the defeated, above all the Germans. These courtroom events, which commenced even before the war was over and are far from ending even today, over forty years after the German surrender, have in the past two decades expanded their educational function by targeting persons whose offense is not alleged to have been a "war crime" but rather a challenge to the authorized Allied propaganda version of the war as certified at Nuremberg in 1946.

Joseph Halow, who as a very young man had a unique vantage point on the trials of German concentration camp personnel by American military courts at Dachau in 1947, supplies a sensitive and highly personal account of how he lost his innocent belief in a unique American righteousness there. The intrepid Florence Rost van Tonningen, on the other hand, herself subject to persecution in the courts of her native Netherlands for the past decade for distributing and possessing forbidden literature on the war, tells of her quest for truth and justice in the matter of her murdered husband, the noted Dutch economist M.M. Rost van Tonningen: he was killed, without even the appearance of a trial, in circumstances which the Dutch government has decreed must remain secret until the year 2069. *The JHR's* prolific editorial adviser, Mark Weber, meanwhile, reports on his important testimony at the second trial of Ernst Zündel, who, as past readers of *The Journal* know, is being punished under Canada's retrograde laws against spreading "false news" for daring to challenge the historicity of the "Holocaust." Weber also provides a thorough debunking of professional "Nazi-hunter" Simon Wiesenthal, who more than any man alive has stoked the popular fever that fuels the interminable trials of alleged German war criminals. John Cobden's thorough mining of the Revisionist truths contained in the official survivors' history of Dachau helps elucidate many of the problems touched on in the Halow article, while Professor Henry Adams, a close associate of Revisionist founding father Harry Elmer Barnes, closes his review of David Irving's massive biography of Hermann Göring with a reminder of Göring's masterful performance before the International Military Tribunal in Nuremberg.

These articles demonstrate that the legacy of Yalta and Potsdam and Nuremberg continues to bloom in the icy minds and hearts of the West's ruling intellectual and political Establishment, in America and Canada and Great Britain and France and West Germany. The truth about this century's great wars—what caused them, for which interests their victims died, and how disastrously, for most of

(continued on page 515)

My Role in the Zündel Trial

MARK WEBER

For the better part of five days in March 1988, I testified as an expert witness for the defense in the "Holocaust Trial" of German-Canadian publisher Ernst Zündel. It was one of the most challenging and interesting experiences of my life, as well as one of the most emotionally grueling.

Zündel was on trial in Toronto District Court for publishing *Did Six Million Really Die?*, a 32-page booklet (often called the "Harwood booklet" after the pen name of its English author) that contests the Holocaust story, that the Germans systematically exterminated six million European Jews during the Second World War.

During my time on the stand, which included a detailed examination of the booklet itself, I presented evidence which, together with the testimony of the other defense witnesses, powerfully discredits the extermination story. I also told the court about the solid achievements of Holocaust Revisionism in the years since the Harwood booklet was first published in England in 1974.

For the sake of clarity in this essay, I have reorganized and compressed my testimony into a coherent summary. I have also tried to convey something of the atmosphere in the courtroom, and have included a few personal observations.

Ernst Zündel

The defendant was born in Germany's Black Forest region in 1939. After migrating to Canada at the age of 18, he made a successful career for himself as a professional graphic artist. Zündel was charged under a Canadian law, enacted in 1892 and used only twice before, which makes it illegal knowingly to publish "a statement, tale or news that he knows is false and that causes, or is likely to cause, injury or mischief to a public interest."

His first trial in 1985 for publishing the Harwood booklet received intensive coverage in the Canadian media and resulted in conviction. But the verdict was set aside in 1987 by

the Ontario Court of Appeal, which ruled that the judge had, among other things, improperly excluded defense evidence, permitted inadmissable prosecution evidence and had given improper instructions to the jury. The Ontario provincial government then ordered a new trial, which began on January 18, 1988. (On May 11, 1988, Zündel was found guilty and sentenced two days later to nine months in jail. His courageous and dedicated attorney, Douglas Christie, immediately appealed the verdict.)

Zündel first asked me to participate in the second Holocaust Trial as a possible interpreter. William A. Curry, a Nebraska businessman who knew both Zündel and me, had strongly encouraged my participation in the trial and was instrumental in arranging our first meeting in Toronto on March 3. Zündel and his attorney quickly decided that I could actually be of greater help as a witness than as an interpreter.

I was called to the stand on Tuesday morning, March 22. Defense attorney Christie began by briefly questioning me about my competence as a historian. Among other things, he established that I had received a Master's degree in European history in 1977 from Indiana University (Bloomington), and had studied the Holocaust issue in considerable detail since 1979. Crown (prosecution) attorney John Pearson objected to my being allowed to testify, arguing that I am biased and not sufficiently "professional." But Christie pointed out that I had more academic training as a historian than Raul Hilberg, who had testified for the prosecution in the first Zündel trial. Christie said that my testimony should be admitted on the same basis as that of historian Christopher Browning, who had appeared earlier as the main prosecution witness.

Pearson suggested that my Revisionist writing is motivated by money I have received for some of my writing on this issue from people whom Pearson called "Holocaust deniers." Christie noted in response that Browning had received infinitely more generous funding from the Israeli government's Yad Vashem center. Judge Ronald Thomas hardly hesitated in ruling that I be allowed to testify as an expert witness who could give, as he put it, "opinion evidence on the question of the Holocaust and the alleged extermination policy of the German government."

Reviewing the Harwood Booklet

Doug Christie guided me through a line-by line evaluation of virtually the entire text of *Did Six Million Really Die?*, an often tedious chore that took up the better part of three days. I was asked to assess the accuracy and comment on the historical background of nearly every sentence of the booklet, except for portions about the International Red Cross and the Belsen camp, which had been reviewed with previous witnesses.

Despite a number of errors, the booklet is "generally accurate," I testified. I told the court that I agreed with its basic thesis, which is given in the very first sentence, "that the allegation that six million Jews died during the Second World War, as a direct result of official German policy of extermination, is utterly unfounded."

I specified the booklet's inaccurate and misleading statements, but stressed that these errors did not originate with the author. Instead, they were carried over from errors in the writings of Paul Rassinier and David Hoggan, upon which the author relied heavily. The Harwood booklet "does not purport to be a scholarly work of history," I said. It is a "journalistic or a polemical account" which should not be "held up to the same standards of rigid scrutiny" as a serious scholarly work. "Its main value lies in encouraging further discussion and thought and debate."

I also emphasized that the nature of the errors shows that the author did not write maliciously or with the intention to deceive the reader. For example, in cross-examination Pearson focussed on the booklet's assertion that the first accusation that the Germans were exterminating Jews was made in 1943 in a book by Raphael Lemkin. (p. 7) The Crown attorney made a point of getting me to acknowledge that this is not true. The first serious extermination claims were actually made in 1942 by the World Jewish Congress, I said, but stressed that this mistake by Rassinier is not critically important to his central thesis, and in any case can hardly be considered malicious or deceitful.

When Pearson asked me to agree that the booklet falsely claims that the Jews invented the extermination story *after* the war to make money for Israel, I referred him to the passage he himself had cited, which mentions the *wartime* origins of the extermination charge. Pearson and the Crown's (mostly

Jewish) supporters in the courtroom seemed somewhat crestfallen by this observation.

I testified that it is not especially remarkable that Ernst Zündel did not know about the mistakes in the Harwood booklet. Zündel is not nor has he claimed to be a historian. Publishers normally rely on the basic trustworthiness of their authors, I said. Besides, the errors in the Harwood booklet are trivial compared, for example, to the enormous fraud perpetrated by several internationally prominent periodicals, including *Newsweek* magazine, which published the forged "Hitler diaries." I pointed out that despite its vast human and financial resources, *Newsweek* magazine did not undertake even the minimum effort that would have been enough to establish that the "diaries" were phony. The author of *Did Six Million Really Die?* at least relied on previously published material that he had much better reason to believe was accurate.

I also compared the Harwood booklet to William Shirer's bestselling volume, *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich,* which contains numerous demonstrable errors of fact. And although the book has been reprinted many times, in many different editions, neither the author nor the publisher has ever bothered to correct these errors. For example, Shirer repeated the now totally discredited story that the National Socialist leaders themselves set fire to the Reichstag (parliament) building in February 1933. The Shirer book must be held to a higher standard of truthfulness and reliability than the Harwood booklet, which does not claim to be a scholarly work of history.

I compared the Harwood booklet to two Holocaust booklets published by the Jewish Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith (*The Record: The Holocaust in History* and *Anatomy of Nazism*) which contain grotesque and demonstrable errors of fact. The prosecution objected to this comparison, and Judge Thomas agreed, declaring that "this evidence is not relevant to the charge and will not be admitted."

I testified that "Richard Harwood" was a pen name used by Richard Verrall, whom I met in England in 1977. Based on my conversations with Verrall and the booklet's publisher, I told the court that the author graduated from the University of London with high honors, and that he had written *Did Six Million Really Die?* hastily but honestly. Verrall "did not

maliciously or willfully make false statements of fact," I told the court. When I first testified about Verrall, Pearson objected to my presentation of such information as hearsay. Later, however, during cross-examination, the Crown attorney reversed himself (apparently because the judge and jury seemed to accept what I had said on this issue), and asked for more information about my meeting with Verrall and the origin of the booklet. It seemed obvious that the prosecution knew all along just who really wrote the booklet, but had hoped to keep this information from the jury.

The "Final Solution"

A good deal of my time on the stand, especially during the first and final days, was devoted to questions about Germany's "final solution" policy, which prosecution witness Browning had dealt with earlier. The "final solution" was a term sometimes used by the German government for its wartime Jewish policy, I explained.

At the end of the Second World War, the Allies confiscated a tremendous quantity of German documents dealing with this policy. But not a single document has ever been found which even refers to an extermination program. To the contrary, the German documents show that the "final solution" meant removing the Jews from Europe—by emigration if possible and by deportation if necessary. Later, during cross-examination, I agreed with the Crown attorney that the "final solution" was a euphemism, although not for extermination. But after I had a chance to consult a dictionary, I said that I had spoken too hastily, and that the term was not a euphemism because the term "final solution" was actually harsher-sounding than the policy it described. It would be more accurate to describe the term as a label or description, I said.

I emphasized that the German "final solution" policy is clearly explained in three important German documents, which I quoted. The first is the letter from Reichsmarschall Hermann Göring to SS security chief Reinhard Heydrich of July 31, 1941, which orders measures for "the intended final solution of the Jewish question." As I pointed out, the document specifically confirms that the German policy was "to solve the Jewish question by emigration and evacuation."

The second document is the so-called "Wannsee Protocol," a record of the "Wannsee conference" of January 20, 1942, in

Berlin. (Nuremberg document NG-2586-G) The document, which contains nothing about extermination, explains the policy of deporting Jews to the occupied Soviet territories in the East. "The emigration program has now been replaced by the evacuation of the Jews to the East as a further solution possibility, in accordance with previous authorization by the Führer," it notes. The document refers to the eventual "freeing" or "liberation" of the Jews ("bei Freilassung" in German), which implicitly confirms the intention of the German government to free the Jews after the war. Interestingly, these words were deleted from the English-language translation published in the official "green series" record of Nuremberg documents issued by the U.S. government. (NMT "green series," vol. 13, p. 213) The "Wannsee Protocol" also states that elderly German Jews and Jews who had served honorably during the First World War would not be deported to the East, but would instead be housed in the special Theresienstadt ghetto in Bohemia.

I pointed out that the real nature of the "final solution" policy was also confirmed by Heydrich in a speech to German officials in Prague two weeks after the Wannsee conference (which he chaired), and by his widow, Lina Heydrich, in her memoir. Heydrich explained that the German policy was to deport the Jews of Europe to the Soviet territories. Furthermore, I added, every one of the officials who participated in the conference and survived the war (with the exception of Adolf Eichmann in Israeli custody) later testified that the conference had nothing to do with a policy of extermination. I mentioned that even the prominent West German historians Martin Broszat and Hans Mommsen had come to the conclusion in recent years that the conference did not involve an extermination policy.

Finally, the German Foreign Office memorandum of August 21, 1942, explains Germany's wartime policy towards the Jews in clear and unmistakable language. (Nuremberg document NG-2586-J.) It was written by Martin Luther, who represented the German Foreign Office at the Wannsee conference. I quoted from it at some length: "The present war gives Germany the opportunity and also the duty of solving the Jewish problem in Europe," it notes, and refers specifically to the "territorial final solution." The policy "to promote the evacuation of the Jews [from Europe] in closest cooperation

with the agencies of the Reichsführer SS [Himmler] is still in force." The memo mentions that, unfortunately, "the number of Jews deported in this way to the East did not suffice to cover the labor needs."

The document quotes German Foreign Minister von Ribbentrop as saying that "at the end of this war, all Jews would have to leave Europe. This was an unalterable decision of the Führer [Hitler] and also the only way to master this problem, as only a global and comprehensive solution could be applied and individual measures would not help very much." This internal memorandum concludes by saying that the "deportations [of the Jews to the East] are a further step on the way of the total solution . . . The deportation to the [Polish] General Government is a temporary measure. The Jews will be moved on further to the occupied [Soviet] eastern territories as soon as the technical conditions for it are given." I made clear to the court that when those who uphold the Holocaust extermination story are confronted with documents like this, they interpret them to suit what I called "their preconceived notion" and "try to make the evidence fit."

Hitler and the "Final Solution"

I reminded the court that there is no documentary evidence that Adolf Hitler ever gave an order to exterminate the Jews, or that he knew of any extermination program. Instead, the evidence shows that the German leader wanted the Jews to leave Europe, by emigration if possible and by deportation if necessary.

Hitler sometimes spoke privately with close associates about his policy towards the Jews. I cited his remarks to colleagues at his headquarters on July 24, 1942, in which the German leader emphasized his determination to remove all Jews from Europe after the war: "The Jews are interested in Europe for business reasons, but Europe must reject them, if only out of self-interest, because the Jews are racially tougher. After this war is over, I will rigorously hold to this position: I will break up one city after the other if the Jews don't come out and emigrate to Madagascar or some other Jewish national state." (Source: Henry Picker, ed., *Hitlers Tischgespräche im Führerhauptquartier*, Stuttgart: 1976, p. 456.)

In response to an Allied radio broadcast that the Jews were being exterminated, Hitler angrily commented: "Really, the

Jews should be grateful to me for wanting nothing more than a bit of hard work from then." And I mentioned that when Hitler received a report in October 1944 about Soviet reports that the Germans had killed hundreds of thousands of Jews in the Majdanek concentration camp, he dismissed the stories as baseless propaganda, no different than Allied lies during the First World War. (Source: David Irving, *Hitler's War*, Viking Press 1977 ed., pp. 362, 787.)

Six Million?

There is no doubt that the Jews of Europe "suffered a great catastrophe during the Second World War," I said. There is indeed "a basis for the Holocaust story," adding that it "is not just something made out of whole cloth." For example, the large Jewish community of Poland was essentially uprooted during that period. But the Jews were hardly the only people to suffer. When I said that more Germans than Jews perished during the Second World War, the Jews in the courtroom were noticeably upset. More than five million Germans lost their lives during the war, including more than half a million who were killed in Allied bombings of German towns and cities, many of them literally "holocausted" in flames and fire storms.

I stressed that it is difficult to estimate the number of European Jews who perished during the war because reliable and complete data are simply not available. I quoted from an article, "How high is the number of Jewish victims?," that appeared in the daily *Baseler Nachrichten* of Basel, Switzerland, of June 13, 1946, and which is cited in the Harwood booklet. This respected newspaper concluded that not more than 1.5 million European Jews could have perished (of all causes) during the war:

> One thing is already certain today: The claim that this figure [of Jewish dead] runs up to 5 or 6 million (a figure which has also been assumed by the Palestine Committee, which is very difficult to understand) is not true. The number of Jewish victims may vary between 1 and 1.5 million, because a higher number was not "within reach" of Hitler and Himmler. It may be assumed and hoped that the final figure of losses of the Jewish people will be even lower than this figure. But clarification is necessary, which is why an investigation by a special United Nations committee should establish the truth, which is so terribly important for the present and for the future.

It should be kept in mind that all Jews who died during the war, no matter what the cause of death, are deceitfully counted as "victims of the Holocaust." This includes Jews killed in Allied bombing raids on concentration camps and European cities. I mentioned the thousands of Jews who were killed in the final weeks of the war as they were being evacuated from camps in two German ships, the *Cap Arcona* and the *Thielbeck*, which were sunk by British war planes. They are counted as "Holocaust victims," even though if the policy has been to kill them, the German authorities obviously would not have bothered to evacuate them on desperately needed ships.

Wartime Propaganda

The Holocaust extermination legend began, I said, with stories circulated during the summer and fall of 1942 by the World Jewish Congress, and particularly by its president, Rabbi Stephen Wise, who also headed the American Jewish Congress. At that time, Wise preposterously charged that the Germans were manufacturing soap and lubricants from the corpses of murdered Jews, and that the Germans had given up gassing Jews in favor of extermination by systematically injecting them with air. (See, for example, the *New York Times*, November 26, 1942, p. 16.)

The prosecution attorney spent a good bit of time asking about the joint declaration issued by the Allied governments in December 1942, which charged that the Germans were exterminating the Jews. He tried to argue that any "reasonably well-read" person would have known about this declaration, but I replied that it is doubtful if even one college-educated Canadian in a hundred had ever heard of it. Two important facts about this fateful declaration should be kept in mind, I said. First, it was issued in spite of private protests by the American and British officials responsible for Jewish affairs in Europe, who reported that there was no evidence for the Jewish extermination stories. Second, it was issued largely as a result of an intensive behind-the-scenes pressure campaign orchestrated by the World Jewish Congress, as the organization later boasted in its official history, a book entitled *Unity in Dispersion*.

The extermination stories were subsequently promoted by the Allied governments as part of their wartime propaganda

campaign against Germany. The wartime German government protested against these fantastic allegations. Deputy Reich Press Chief Helmut Sündermann specifically refuted the Allied extermination claims at two press conferences in Berlin for foreign journalists, including some from neutral countries. The government of Hungary, which was a wartime ally of Germany, also protested against the Allied charge that Jews were being exterminated.

The Einsatzgruppen

Much of my first, second and final days on the stand was devoted to questions about the activities of the "Einsatzgruppen" security police units, a subject which prosecution witness Browning had dealt with earlier in some detail. The Einsatzgruppen, I explained, were special task forces responsible for quickly imposing a "sort of 'rough and ready' form of order and security" in the newly-occupied Soviet territories before the establishment of regular civil administration. I had spent quite a lot of time studying the detailed Einsatzgruppen reports at the National Archives, I said.

Contrary to the view of Holocaust historians such as Raul Hilberg and others, I said that when these reports are considered as a whole and taken in the context of other evidence, it becomes clear that these units were not established to exterminate the Jews of the Soviet Union. It is quite true that these Security Police units shot considerable numbers of Jews, I said, but that if the original reports are read objectively and in context, it is clear that Jews were shot for specific security reasons, including reprisal killings, and not simply because they were Jews. I pointed out that even Raul Hilberg, probably the most prominent Jewish Holocaust historian, acknowledges that the Einsatzgruppen did not kill Jews without a security reason. (*Destruction of the European Jews*, 1985 ed., p. 331.)

I stressed that the German policy towards the Jews in the occupied Soviet territories cannot be understood without taking into account the merciless war that was raging at the time between regimes with mortally opposed ideologies. The grim work of the Einsatzgruppen must be evaluated within the context of the savage conflict that was being waged outside of the accepted rules of warfare. I mentioned Stalin's order of

July 3, 1941, calling on the entire Soviet civilian population to conduct a campaign of terror, sabotage and guerrilla warfare against the Germans. The Jews were especially active in this campaign, as numerous Jewish historians have proudly acknowledged, I said.

History shows that only extremely harsh measures seem to work against guerrilla or terrorist forces, I said, citing the experience of the American forces in Vietnam and the French in Algeria. I also mentioned the current conflict between the Israelis and the fighters of the PLO, who are regarded as terrorists by the Israelis and freedom fighters by the Palestinians.

At this point, Jews present in the courtroom noisily indicated their displeasure at my very brief reference to the Arab-Israeli conflict, and Judge Thomas suddenly ordered a short recess. After the jury had left the room, he angrily criticized my reference as an "attempt to smear this trial" (which it most certainly was not) and announced that he would not tolerate any further references to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. "There's no need for this witness to bring into this courtroom the present environment in Israel." I was free to make comparisons with the Vietnam war or other historical conflicts, he said, but not to current events. Although I had obviously touched a sore nerve, I was not the only one in the courtroom who felt that Thomas had over-reacted. Unfortunately, this was by no means the only time he lost control of his emotions.

On another occasion, I compared the sometimes very severe measures taken by the Einsatzgruppen with the "free fire zone" policy of the Americans during the Vietnam war. American forces would evacuate all Vietnamese civilians from designated areas to so-called "strategic hamlets," which in their forced resettlement of civilians were not unlike concentration camps. Any Vietnamese remaining in the so-called "free fire zones" were subject to extermination on the assumption that they were hostile and dangerous.

The tasks of the Einsatzgruppen were clearly laid out in an order by Heydrich, the chief of the Security Police and the Security Service, dated July 2, 1941, I said. This order specified that the only ones to be executed in the occupied Soviet territories *as Jews* were "Jews in [Communist] Party and [Soviet] government positions." It also ordered the executions

of "other radical elements (saboteurs, propagandists, snipers, assassins, inciters, etc.)" as well as high-level, middle-level Communist officials along with radical lower-level Communist officials. When I mentioned that this document had only come to light in recent years, Jews in the back of the courtroom expressed audible skepticism that such an order ever really existed. So I quickly added that it has appeared in several works, including *Documents on the Holocaust*, published by the Israeli government's Yad Vashem center in 1981. The courtroom crowd seemed struck by this citation.

The basic German policy towards the Jews in the Soviet territories is also laid out in the "Guidelines for the Handling of the Jewish Question." (Nuremberg document 212-PS.) There is no mention of extermination, but instead this Security Police directive emphasized the importance of putting Jews to work, and specifically refers to the "peaceful solution of the Jewish question."

I mentioned Himmler's private conversation with Mussolini in October 1942 and his speech of December 16, 1943, when he spoke frankly to German officers in Weimar about his ruthless policy towards the Jews in the occupied Soviet territories. This speech is also important because it clarifies the meaning of Himmler's widely-cited speech of October 4, 1943, in Posen.

A rather typical Einsatzgruppen report, dated October 31, 1941 (No. 127, pp. 4-5), describes the situation in the Ukraine:

> In this area the Security Police has come up against two major groups of adversaries. They are: 1) the Jews, 2) those once active in the former Soviet regime . . . In this regard it should be pointed out that in the Ukraine, those who sympathized with the Soviets were predominantly Jews . . . It can now be stated without reservation that the Jews were, without exception, supporters of Bolshevism.
>
> Over and over again, particularly in the cities, the Jews are cited as the real Soviet rulers who exploited the people with indescribable brutality and delivered them to their deaths at the hands of the NKVD [Soviet Secret Police]. The [German Security Police] units have carried out approximately 10,000 interrogations during the past four months. Again and again, the Jews were cited as having worked actively for the Soviets, if not in responsible positions than at least as agents, collaborators or informers. Not a single Jewish corpse had been found in any of the numerous mass graves. In any case, it is

> evident that the Jews share the greatest guilt with others for the slaughter of the Ukrainian people and the ethnic Germans.
>
> For this reason, special measures against the Jews are considered necessary by the Security Police.

I also quoted from several Einsatzgruppen reports to show that there was no extermination policy. For example, the reports of July 24, 1941, and August 5, 1941, refer to the establishment of Jewish health centers in the newly-created Jewish ghettos to prevent the outbreak of diseases.

I quoted from the report of September 12, 1941 (No. 81, p. 14), which clearly suggests that the "solution of the Jewish question" was simply to get the Jews out of Europe, not to kill them. It also shows that these security units were glad when they did not have to deal with the large numbers of Jews who fled to the eastern areas still under Soviet control:

> During the first weeks [of the military campaign] considerable numbers of Jews fell under our control, whereas in the central and eastern Ukrainian districts it has been observed that in many cases 70 to 90 percent, and sometimes 100 percent, of the Jewish population has fled. This can be seen as an indirect result of the work of the Security Police [Einsatzgruppen], since the removal [Abschiebung] at no cost of hundreds of thousands of Jews—most of them reportedly to beyond the Urals—represents a considerable contribution to the solution of the Jewish question in Europe.

Numerous Jewish sources also confirm that the great majority of Jews were evacuated or fled from the Soviet territories before they were occupied by the Germans.

The Einsatzgruppen report of August 25, 1941 (No. 63, pp. 6-7) also explains what was meant by "solution of the Jewish question":

> Slowly but surely, one of the most important problems, the *solution of the Jewish question* [emphasis in original], is being tackled. In Kishinev [the capital of Bessarabia, a Rumanian-speaking province], there were approximately 60-80 thousand Jews before the war. Most of them were deported with the withdrawal of the Russians. When the city was captured, there were only about 4,000 Jews present, but that number has since increased. Upon the initiative of the Einsatzkomando the Rumanian city commander established a Jewish ghetto in the old city which currently contains about 9,000 Jews. The Jews are being organized into work groups and assigned to various German and Rumanian units for clean-up work and other kinds of labor.

Altogether there were never more than about 3,000 men and women in the four Einsatzgruppen that operated in the vast occupied Soviet territory. And this number included administrative personnel, female secretaries, teletype and radio operators, truck drivers, and interpreters. The size and make-up of the Einsatzgruppen alone indicate that they were not organized for the purpose of killing the entire Jewish population of the occupied Soviet Union, as is often alleged.

The numbers of Jews said to have been shot in the Einsatzgruppen reports are wildly exaggerated, I emphasized, in much the same way that the so-called "body count" figures of enemy dead produced by the American military during the Vietnam war were greatly inflated. Although the Einsatzgruppen reports would indicate that 2.2 million Jews were killed, every reputable historian who has written on this subject acknowledges that this figure bears little relationship to reality. In this regard, I cited the works of historians Gerald Reitlinger, Raul Hilberg, William Shirer, Reginald Paget, and Werner Maser, as well as the most detailed work on this subject, *Die Truppe des Weltanschauungskrieges*, by Helmut Krausnick and Hans-Heinrich Wilhelm. I also mentioned statements by Einsatzgruppen trial defendants Paul Blobel and Gustav Nosske.

British historian and member of parliament Reginald Paget specifically checked the accuracy of a February 18, 1942, report which claimed that Einsatzgruppe D had killed 10,000 Jews in Simferopol, Crimea. Paget found that the real number could not have been more than about 300, and that "these 300 were probably not exclusively Jews but a miscellaneous collection of people who were being held on suspicion of resistance activity." (R.T. Paget, *Manstein: His Campaigns and His Trial*, pp. 168-173.) Raul Hilberg gives a figure of 1.3 million Jewish dead in the Soviet territories, which implies that he also acknowledges that these figures are greatly exaggerated.

I also spoke about the case of Otto Ohlendorf, the commander of Einsatzgruppe D, who told the main Nuremberg trial as a very cooperative prosecution witness that his unit had shot 90,000 Jews. Later, much to his astonishment, he found himself in the Nuremberg dock as a defendant. He repudiated much of his previous testimony, insisting, for example, that the figure of 90,000 Jewish dead was wildly exaggerated.

During my cross-examination, Crown attorney Pearson cited portions of Ohlendorf's testimony at his trial in which he spoke about an alleged "Führer Order" to kill all the Jews in the occupied Soviet territories. I replied by pointing out that no record of such an order has ever been found and that even Hilberg no longer speaks of such a thing. Also, the Heydrich order of July 2, 1941, as well as the Einsatzgruppen reports themselves are not consistent with such an extermination policy. The fact that there were large numbers of Jews living in these territories under German control in 1942 and 1943 cannot be reconciled with the alleged extermination policy, I said, and I mentioned that during the final chaotic months of the war, the Germans actually evacuated Jews from former occupied Soviet territories back to Germany.

In evaluating the testimony of men like Ohlendorf, the circumstances and the probable motives of the speaker must be taken into account, I stressed. The apparently self-incriminating nature of much of Ohlendorf's testimony in his own trial is understandable, I said, because he was desperately trying to make a case that was reasonably consistent with what had supposedly been established as fact in the main Nuremberg trial. A common defense strategy in Holocaust-related trials has been to agree with the prosecution claims about an extermination program, but to insist that the defendant was not involved or responsible.

Prosecution attorney Pearson raised the matter of a November 1941 order by General Erich von Manstein which directed the German army to cooperate with the Einsatzgruppen. "The Jewish-Bolshevist system must be exterminated once and for all. Never again must it encroach upon our European living space," Manstein ordered. (Nuremberg document PS-4064.) Pearson maintained that this was equivalent to an order to exterminate the Jews. I strongly disagreed. The "extermination" of a social-political system does not mean the extermination of people, I said. We have documents showing that at least some German soldiers were even punished for mistreating Jews in the occupied Soviet territories, I added.

Katzmann's Galicia Report

The Crown attorney asked quite a few questions during cross-examination about a June 1943 report by SS Major General Katzmann on the "solution of the Jewish Question in

Galicia." (Document L-18. IMT, Vol. 37, pp. 391-419.) This was a difficult session because I took the position that this document is authentic, but that many of the figures given in it are greatly exaggerated. Although it does refer, for example, to the "most severe measures to destroy Jewish banditry," I stressed that this report, if read carefully and with an open mind, is not evidence of an extermination program, as Pearson argued. Although the prosecution cited only select portions of this report, I pointed out that a passage not cited by Pearson specifically mentions that the Jews in the 20 Jewish camps in Galicia were to receive "appropriate housing, clothing and medical care," and that sick Jews in the camps were to continue to receive normal food rations.

Pearson quoted the document as reporting that the Germans confiscated enormous quantities of money, jewelry, gold and other valuables from the Jews, which were turned over to the Special Staff "Reinhard." Pearson and I sharply disagreed about this "Reinhard" organization. Holocaust historians generally claim that it was responsible for exterminating the Jews of Poland, and that it was named after assassinated SS security chief Reinhard Heydrich. I strongly disputed this allegation and said that the Germans did not name units or operations after someone's first name. The "Reinhard" group was actually responsible for processing confiscated Jewish property, not exterminating Jews.

In a sense, my testimony may sometimes have been helpful to the prosecution case because I did not deny or whitewash the severity of German measures against the Jews, particularly in the occupied Soviet territories. For example, I mentioned that Jews found outside of ghettos without the yellow star badge were normally shot. Although it would be nice to think that this kind of frankness strengthened my credibility with the jurors, in reality it almost certainly hurt the defense case.

"Eyewitness" Testimony

Much of the evidence for the extermination story is "eyewitness testimony" of so-called "Holocaust survivors." To support my statement that these testimonies are "notoriously unreliable," I quoted from an article by Jewish historian Samuel Gringauz (who was interned in the Kaunas ghetto during the war) which appeared in the New York quarterly, *Jewish Social Studies* (January 1950, Vol. 12). The Jews in the

courtroom were visibly upset when I read Gringauz' emphatic denunciation of what he called the "hyperhistorical" nature of these "testimonies." He wrote that "most of the memoirs and reports are full of preposterous verbosity, graphomanic exaggeration, dramatic effects, overestimated self-inflation, dilettante philosophizing, would-be lyricism, unchecked rumors, bias, partisan attacks and apologies."

In addition, more than 10,000 of the 20,000 so-called "testimonies" of Jewish "survivors" on file at Yad Vashem in Israel are also unreliable, I said, citing a front page article that appeared in the *Jerusalem Post* newspaper of August 17, 1986. The report quoted Shmuel Krakowski, the archives director of the Israeli government's Holocaust memorial center, who declared that "over half of the 20,000 testimonies from Holocaust survivors on record at Yad Vashem are 'unreliable.'" The article continued:

> Krakowski says that many survivors, wanting "to be part of history" may have let their imaginations run away with them. "Many were never in the place where they claim to have witnessed atrocities, while others relied on second-hand information given them by friends or passing strangers," according to Krakowski. A large number of testimonies on file were later proved inaccurate when locations and dates could not pass an expert historian's appraisal . . .

Pearson objected to my quoting of this article, claiming that it was hearsay. But Judge Thomas overruled the objection, saying that an expert is permitted to cite what might normally be considered hearsay. The judge added that he assumed that I was quoting from an actual newspaper report. I also cited French-Jewish historian Olga Wormser-Migot, who wrote in her detailed study of the camps about the tendency of Jewish inmates to invent stories about gas chambers.

Gas Chambers

Although a few individuals have claimed to have personally witnessed gassings of Jews, I told the court that I did not believe these stories because they are "not consistent" with other available evidence. For example, it would not have been technically possible to cremate the vast numbers of Jews said to have been gassed and cremated at Auschwitz in the cremation facilities there. The extermination and cremation of one million persons at Auschwitz within this period of time is "virtually impossible," I said.

In this regard, I also referred to the Allied aerial reconnaissance photos taken of Auschwitz in 1944 and made public by the CIA in 1979. These photos, taken at random during what is supposed to have been the height of the extermination period there, show no trace of piles of burning corpses, smoking chimneys and masses of Jews awaiting death, all of which have been alleged and which would have been clearly visible if Auschwitz had indeed been an extermination center. (See: D. Brugioni and R. Poirier, *The Holocaust Revisited*, 1979.)

At the time they were first made public in 1979, I was struck by the fact that these photos are simply not consistent with the orthodox Auschwitz extermination story, and I was astonished by the way in which they were seized upon by Elie Wiesel and others to charge that the wartime U.S. government not only knew about mass extermination at Auschwitz, but consciously decided to do nothing to stop it. I concluded that if such gross distortion of evidence was possible so many years after the war, it is at least possible that other Holocaust claims might likewise be wrong. These remarkable photos, and the way in which they were misrepresented, first prompted me to seriously investigate this entire issue, I said.

On one occasion Zündel's attorney presented large blow-ups of striking photographs taken from 1942 to 1944 at Auschwitz III camp (Monowitz), and I explained that what they show cannot be reconciled with the orthodox extermination story. (I had examined these photos in the Dürrfeld defense exhibit file at the National Archives in Washington, D.C.)

I quoted from an important document that came to light in 1987 which confirms that numerous stories of "gassings" at camps in Germany and Austria were inventions. This is circular notice No. 31 of October 1, 1948, of the Austrian Military Police Service in Vienna. It was issued by Major Müller and certified by his assistant, Lt. Emil Lachout, who later testified in the Zündel trial and swore to its authenticity. (Incidentally, this document also corroborates the Stephen Pinter letter quoted in the Harwood booklet, pp. 21-22.) The Müller/Lachout circular notice reads in part:

> The Allied Investigation Commissions have so far established that no people were killed by poison gas in the following concentration camps: Bergen-Belsen, Buchenwald, Dachau, Flossenbürg, Gross-Rosen, Mauthausen and its

> satellite camps, Natzweiler, Neuengamme, Niederhagen (Wewelsberg), Ravensbrück, Sachsenhausen, Stutthof, [and] Theresienstadt.
>
> In these cases it has been proven that confessions were extorted by torture and that statements by witnesses were false.
>
> Former concentration camp prisoners who gave information during interrogations about the murder of people, especially Jews, with poison-gas in these concentration camps, are to be made aware of the results of this investigation. If they persist with their claims, they are to be charged with making false statements.

I mentioned several claims about Treblinka that were once widely believed but which no serious historian now accepts. I cited the charge by the U.S. prosecution at the main Nuremberg trial that masses of Jews were killed at Treblinka not by gassing, as is now generally claimed, but by steam in so-called "steam chambers." (Nuremberg document PS-3311). And at the Nuremberg trial against Oswald Pohl, U.S. judge Musmanno said that Jews were killed at Treblinka by gas, steam and electric current. (NMT "green series," Vol. 5, pp. 1133-1134.)

On the other hand, I said, former Treblinka inmate Samuel Rajzman testified after the war that Jews were killed at the camp not by gassing or steaming, but by suffocating them to death with a machine that pumped air out of chambers. I quoted from *The Black Book*, a volume published in New York in 1946 by the "Jewish Black Book Committee," which alleged that three million Jews had been killed at Treblinka by gassing and steaming, but that the most "widespread method consisted of pumping all air out from the chambers with large special pumps." (See also: M. Weber, "Open Letter," *Journal of Historical Review*, Summer 1988, pp. 176-177.)

At one point I criticized the deliberate confusion by some Holocaust writers of the distinction between gas chambers and crematories, and I mentioned the references in popular Holocaust literature to so-called "gas ovens." This is "a nonsensical term," I said, which is "typical of the kind of sensational terminology used in much of the literature about the Holocaust story."

Camps

The Crown attorney and the Jews in the courtroom appeared visibly upset when I read a portion of the official

German regulations for the concentration camps. This document was first made public many years after the war by a former Auschwitz-Birkenau inmate in a Polish medical journal. English translation in: *Anthology, Inhuman Medicine*, Vol. 1, Part 1. Warsaw: International Auschwitz Committee, 1970., pp. 149-151.)

Among other things, the regulations ordered:

> The new arrivals in the camp have to be examined carefully. Those suspected should immediately be put into the camp hospital and kept there for observation . . . Prisoners asking for medical treatment should be brought before the camp doctor that same day to be examined.
>
> The camp doctor should regularly check how the food is prepared and its quality. Any shortcomings should immediately be brought to the attention of the camp commandant. Special care should be given to the treatment of accidents, so as to avoid impairment of the prisoners' ability to earn their living. Prisoners who are to be set free or transferred from the camp should be brought before the camp physician for medical examination.

Consistent with this, I testified that SS chief Heinrich Himmler, who was ultimately in charge of the concentration camp system, was so concerned about the high death rate due to disease that he issued an emphatically worded order in December 1942 to improve the nutrition of the inmates and take all necessary measures to reduce the death rate. (Nuremberg document PS-2171, Annex 2. Published in: NC&A "red series," Vol. 4, pp. 833-834.) I quoted from a January 1943 directive from the inspecter of the concentration camps, Richard Glücks, to the commandant of each concentration camp, including Auschwitz. "As I have already pointed out," he ordered, "every means must be used to lower the death rate in the camp." (Nuremberg document NO-1523.)

I referred to the allegation that the Germans manufactured lamp shades and other household items from the skin of murdered camp inmates. (Harwood booklet, p. 24. This story was once seriously endorsed. See, for example, W. Shirer, *Rise and Fall*, paperback ed., p. 1280.) I pointed out that General Lucius Clay, Commander in Chief of U.S. forces in Europe and Military Governor of the U.S. Occupation Zone of Germany, 1947-49, repudiated this particular horror story as early as 1948. (See: M. Weber, "Buchenwald," *Journal of Historical Review*, Winter 1986-87, pp. 406-407.)

Asked about the photo in the Harwood booklet showing "healthy and cheerful inmates" at Dachau at its surrender to American soldiers in the final weeks of the war, I replied that it is an official U.S. Army photo, one of a series I had examined in the archives at the Pentagon. Another photo in the series, which was taken at the same time, shows Jewish mothers and their babies in the camp.

A large chart showing the monthly death rate at Dachau during the war was also presented to the court as a defense exhibit. I testified that the figures given were from a U.S. government prosecution exhibit presented at one of the postwar trials in Germany. The chart graphically showed a tremendous increase in the death rate during the final months of the war, which was the result of disease brought on by tremendous overcrowding and other unavoidable consequences of the chaotic wartime conditions. The figures implicitly confirm that there was no extermination program or policy at the camp.

A plaque placed at Dachau shortly after the end of the war proclaimed that 238,000 people had died in the camp, I noted. Today, the total number of Dachau dead is pretty universally acknowledged to have been about 20,000. In the case of other camps as well, I said, the numbers of alleged victims have been drastically revised downwards over the years, although the public is rarely ever told that these figures have been changed. New figures are given without explaining why the old ones are no longer accurate.

The German guards at the Dachau, Buchenwald and Mauthausen camps were simply murdered after the camps were taken by the Americans in the final weeks of the war, I testified. The murder of more than 500 guards at Dachau is confirmed, I said, by two eyewitnesses to the atrocity. The first is U.S. Army officer Howard Buechner, who described the killings in detail in his book, *Dachau: The Hour of the Avenger*. The second is by Turkish inmate Nerin Gun, who describes the atrocity in his memoir, *The Day of the Americans*. U.S. Army records, which were declassified at my request, also confirm the atrocity.

Konrad Morgen Testimony

Quite a lot of my testimony was devoted to the Nuremberg Tribunal testimony of Konrad Morgen, an SS judicial official

who is cited in the Harwood booklet. (pp. 13, 22) From July 1943 until the end of the war, Morgen investigated some 800 cases of corruption and murder within the SS, which resulted in about 200 trials. Five concentration camp commanders were arrested, and two of them were shot. For example, Buchenwald commandant Karl Koch was executed by the SS for corruption and murder. After the war Morgen established himself as a successful attorney in Frankfurt.

I quoted from Morgen's description of Buchenwald, where he lived for eight months:

> The prisoners were healthy, normally fed, sun-tanned, working . . . The installations of the camp were in good order, especially the hospital. The camp authorities, under the Commander Diester, aimed at providing the prisoners with an existence worthy of human beings. They had regular mail service. They had a large camp library, even books in foreign languages. They had variety shows, motion pictures, sporting contests and even had a brothel. Nearly all the other concentration camps were similar to Buchenwald. (Source: IMT "blue series," Vol. 20, p. 490)

Morgen also explained the reason for the terrible conditions in the camps in the final months of the war, which resulted in the horrible scenes filmed by the British and Americans when they overran the camps:

> To a great extent the horrible conditions at times prevailing in some concentration camps did not arise from deliberate planning, but developed from circumstances which in my opinion must be called *force majeure*, that is to say, evils for which the local camp leaders were not responsible.
>
> I am thinking of the outbreak of epidemics. At irregular intervals many concentration camps were visited by typhoid fever, typhus, and other sicknesses caused especially by the arrival of prisoners from the concentration camps in the eastern areas. Although everything humanly possible was done to prevent these epidemics and to combat them, the death rates which resulted were extremely high.
>
> Another evil which may be considered as *force majeure* was the fluctuating numbers of new arrivals and the insufficient billets. Many camps were overcrowded. The prisoners arrived in a weakened condition because, due to air raids, the transports were under way longer than expected. Towards the end of the war, there was a general collapse of the transportation system. Supplies could not be carried out to the necessary extent; chemical and pharmaceutical factories had

> been systematically bombed, and all the necessary medicines were lacking. To top all, the evacuations from the East further burdened the camps and croweded them in an unbearable manner. (IMT "blue series," Vol. 20, pp. 498-99)

Pearson later made quite a lot of the fact the Morgen also testified at Nuremberg that he believed that mass killings of Jews were carried out. However, I was able to show that Morgen believed that these mass killings were carried out not at Auschwitz I (the main camp) or Auschwitz-Birkenau, which is supposed to have been the main Auschwitz extermination center, but instead at Auschwitz-Monowitz, which no serious historian, including those who accept the Holocaust extermination story, now contends was an extermination center.

Pearson suggested that Morgen may have mixed up the two sites, but I was able to point out that the SS official not only referred to "the extermination camp Monowitz" several times, but that he also specifically said that it "lay far away from the concentration camp. It was situated on an extensive industrial site and was not recognizable as such and everywhere on the horizon there were smoking chimneys." As even Pearson had to concede, this clearly refers to Monowitz and not Birkenau. (Source: IMT, Vol. 20, pp. 499, 503, 504.)

I also pointed out that Morgen was not able to complete his judicial investigation of the Monowitz extermination story and bring formal charges against Commandant Höss before the Soviets overran the camp complex. Finally, I quoted Morgen as confirming that an internal inquiry established that there was no German or SS extermination policy. In this case, I emphasized, the prosecution has failed to carefully read or understand its own evidence, which actually refutes the Holocaust story. (IMT, vol. 20, pp. 507, 510)

It is not surprising that Morgen might have made the mistake of believing that mass killings were being carried out at Auschwitz-Monowitz, I said. Apparently most Auschwitz inmates believed the same thing, and it's likely that Morgen accepted their testimony. In this regard, I quoted from an affidavit by Charles Coward, a British soldier who was interned at Monowitz in 1943 and 1944. He testified after the war that "everybody" there believed that mass gassings were being carried out. This is quite understandable, I said, when one considers the following portion of Coward's affidavit:

> . . . At Auschwitz we got radio broadcasts from the outside speaking about the gassings and burnings at Auschwitz. I recall one of these broadcasts was by [British foreign secretary] Anthony Eden himself. Also, there were pamphlets dropped in Auschwitz and the surrounding territory, one of which I personally read, which related what was going on in the camp at Auschwitz. These leaflets were scattered all over the countryside and must have been dropped from planes. They were in Polish and German. Under those circumstances, nobody would be at or near Auschwitz without knowing what was going on. (Nuremberg Document NI-11696, printed in NMT "green series," vol. 8, p. 606)

Torture

Rudolf Höss, the Auschwitz commandant whose "confessions" and "affidavits" have been such an important part of the Holocaust extermination story, was tortured to produce "evidence" for the prosecution, I said. Details are given in the book *Legions of Death* by Rupert Butler. (See also: R. Faurisson, *Journal of Historical Review,* Vol. 7, No. 4, Winter 1986-87, pp. 389-403.) The Höss affidavit of April 5, 1946 (document 3868-PS), which is still widely-cited and quoted, is nevertheless "quite inconsistent with the Holocaust story" as told today, I said. It refers to a fictional extermination camp, "Wolzek," which is not mentioned anywhere else. The affidavit also alleges that Jews were already being exterminated at Treblinka in the summer of 1941, which no reputable historian now believes.

During cross-examination the Crown attorney read aloud at length from the apparently incriminating testimony of Oswald Pohl, the head of the SS agency responsible for the concentration camp system (WVHA), at his Nuremberg trial (Case No. 4), and questioned me about this. When I first mentioned that Pohl had been tortured by the Allies, Crown attorney Pearson asked me to cite my source for this statement. When I replied that, unfortunately, I could not remember the source off hand, Pearson seemed quite pleased with himself. However, over the weekend I was able to obtain a copy of the statement about his treatment by the British and American military that Pohl wrote after he was tried at Nuremberg but before he was finally executed by the Americans.

In this statement, which is dated June 1, 1948, Pohl described his mistreatment in 1946 by British soldiers, who

kicked and repeatedly beat him. He lost two teeth in these beatings before he was turned over to the American military. Because Pohl held the rank of general in the German armed forces, his treatment by the British and Americans was therefore completely illegal according to the international agreements on the treatment of prisoners of war. "As a result of the brutal physical mistreatment in Nenndorf and the treatment in Nuremberg, I was emotionally a complete wreck," Pohl wrote: "I was 54 years old. I had served my country for 33 years without dishonor, and I did not feel that I had committed any crime."

Pohl was intensively interrogated for more than a half a year in sessions that lasted for hours. There were about 60 to 80 interrogation sessions altogether. He reported that although he was generally not physically mistreated in Nuremberg as he had been at Nenndorf, he was nevertheless subjected to the less noticeable but, as he put it, "in their own way much more brutal emotional tortures." During his interrogation by the Americans, Pohl was accused of killing 30 million people, and of condemning 10 million people to death. The interrogators themselves knew very well that such accusations were lies and tricks meant to break down his resistance, Pohl declared. "Because I am not emotionally thick-skinned, these diabolical intimidations were not without effect, and the interrogators achieved what they wanted: not the truth, but rather statements that served their needs," he wrote.

During this period of interrogation he had no access to an attorney or any other help, and he was never formally charged with anything, nor even told precisely why he was being interrogated. Pohl also pointed out that the American prosecution at his trial used false affidavits which he had been forced to sign: "This is how affidavits were produced and presented which contain provable errors of fact regarding essential points." Pohl cited specific examples of phony affidavits that had been produced for the trial by others. He pointed out that German defense attorneys were not allowed free access to the German wartime documents, which the prosecution was able to find and use without hindrance.

The total number of those who died of all causes in all the German concentration and labor camps between 1933 and 1945 was 200,000 to 250,000, Pohl wrote. They were not victims of any extermination program, he explained, and most perished during the chaotic final months of the war. The

practice of using torture to produce incriminating statements was certainly not limited to German prisoners, I said. It is well established that such torture techniques have been and are being systematically used by many governments around the world today.

Changing Holocaust Story

On several occasions I pointed out that the Holocaust story has changed significantly over the years. In this regard, I mentioned the "human soap" story. Rabbi Stephen Wise, who was president of both the World Jewish Congress and the American Jewish Congress during the Second World War, charged in 1942 that the Germans were manufacturing soap from the corpses of murdered Jews. This story was also repeated at the main Nuremberg trial, and has appeared often in the popular press ever since. The Jewish Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith was still making this claim in a booklet published and distributed by it during the 1980s, *Anatomy of Nazism*, although, as I put it, "no reputable historian now accepts it," not even those who generally support the Holocaust story.

At Nuremberg and for some years afterward, I said, it was seriously claimed that Jews were gassed at Dachau, Buchenwald and other concentration camps in Germany proper. American historian William Shirer wrote in his most influential work, *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*, that "All the thirty odd principal Nazi concentration camps were death camps and millions of tortured, starved inmates perished in them." (Fawcett/Crest paperback ed., p. 1259. This quotation is also given in the Harwood booklet, p. 21.) The Holocaust story these days, of course, is that there were only six "extermination" camps, all of them in what is now Poland. I noted that even famed "Nazi hunter" Simon Wiesenthal acknowledged in 1975 that "there were no extermination camps on German soil." (*Books & Bookmen*, London, April 1975, p. 5) But historians such as Hilberg have never bothered to acknowledge the profound implications of these changes. For one thing, the great shift in the Holocaust extermination story means that countless affidavits, "testimonies" and many other pieces of "evidence" are implicitly acknowledged to be invalid and untruthful.

One of these, which I cited, is a document submitted by the French prosecution at the Nuremberg Tribunal:

> Everything had been provided for down to the smallest detail. In 1944, at Buchenwald, they had even lengthened a railway line so that the deportees might be led directly to the gas chamber. Certain [of the gas chambers] had a floor that tipped and immediately directed the bodies into the room with the crematory oven. (Document 274-F, in IMT "blue series," Vol. 37, p. 148.)

In his closing address to the Nuremberg Tribunal, chief British prosecutor Sir Hartley Shawcross described Buchenwald as a camp where "murder [was] conducted like some mass production industry in the gas chambers and the ovens." No serious historian today believes that anyone was ever gassed at Buchenwald.

Even Raul Hilberg is, in a sense, a Revisionist, I said, and I mentioned a significant change he had made about a key aspect of the Holocaust story. In the first edition of his major work, *The Destruction of the European Jews* (1961), he maintained that Hitler issued two extermination orders: one in "the spring of 1941" to kill all Jews "on the spot" in the occupied Soviet territories, and a second a short time later to exterminate all European Jews. (p. 177) This passage was drastically rewritten for the revised "definitive" edition published in 1985 (p. 273). Hilberg now made no mention at all of any order by Hitler to kill Jews. As he has since explained, Hilberg's view these days is that there was an extermination program, but that it developed "spontaneously," without a plan or budget. Every reputable historian of this subject now acknowledges that there is no documentary evidence of a German extermination program or policy. As a result, those who basically accept the Holocaust story increasingly refer to alleged verbal orders, and the growing school of "Holocaust functionalists" maintains that there was only a "spontaneous extermination," supposedly conducted without specific orders.

The Revisionists

Crown attorney Pearson argued that Holocaust Revisionists are not serious scholars, but merely neo-Nazis motivated by hatred who dispute the obvious in order to rehabilitate Hitler and attack Jews. I emphatically stressed that this portrayal is wrong.

I spoke about Paul Rassinier, the French professor who is often considered the pioneer of Holocaust Revisionism. He

was no Nazi. To the contrary, he was a Socialist who was arrested by the Germans during the war for illegally helping Jews to flee to Switzerland. Rassinier was then sent to the Dora and Buchenwald concentration camps in Germany. When he returned to France at the end of the war, he was astonished by the stories that were being circulated about the camps, and he felt honor-bound to refute them.

For example, a French priest who had also been an inmate at Buchenwald, Jean-Paul Renard, claimed to have seen "thousands and thousands of persons" going into gas chambers at Buchenwald. When Rassinier met with the priest and pointed out to him that no one was ever gassed in the camp, Renard replied: "Right, but that's only a figure of speech . . . and since those things existed somehwere, it's not important." (Source: P. Rassinier, *Debunking the Genocide Myth*, 1978, pp. 129-130.)

Unfortunately, Rassinier's writings are not free of errors, I said. But it's important to remember that he was in poor health after the war, and particularly during the years when he did most of his writing on this subject. Futhermore, I said, his errors were neither malicious nor deceitful, which is shown by the fact that they are not critical to his central thesis. The tradition of a French Revisionism spanning the ideological spectrum did not end with Rassinier. In recent years, the director of the main French publisher of books supporting the Revisionist view of the extermination story is a Marxist who vehemently opposes racism and Nazism.

I told the court about the eminent American historian, Harry Elmer Barnes. Earlier in the trial, Pearson had talked of Barnes with respect as a reputable scholar, apparently not knowing that Barnes had included the Holocaust in his Revisionism. Barnes publicly expressed doubts about the extermination story in an article that appeared shortly before his death in the Summer 1967 issue of the libertarian periodical *Rampart Journal*. (The essay is quoted briefly in the Harwood booklet). Barnes' rejection of the Holocaust story is also confirmed in several private letters and by individuals who knew him well. Like so many others, he was understandably reluctant to publicly express his doubts about this highly emotional issue.

Contrary to what Pearson had suggested earlier, Barnes suffered tremendously for his Revisionist views, I said. His

career was ruined because he sharply disagreed with the prevailing notion of exclusive German responsibility for the outbreak of the Second World War. He was effectively blacklisted, even though he had been one of America's most widely read and highly regarded historians. During the final years of his life he was forced to finance the publication of his writings.

James J. Martin, personal friend of Barnes and a life-long fighter for freedom of expression, is a member of the IHR's Editorial Advisory Committee. Martin brings impeccable professional credentials (University of Michigan Ph.D. in history and 25 years' teaching career) to the Revisionist cause. He is the author of the critically acclaimed *Men Against the State* and *Americal Liberalism and World Politics*, and a contributor to recent editions of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*..

Another important Revisionist was the late Dr. Austin App, who wrote a booklet entitled *The Six Million Swindle*. Dr. App, was a fervent Roman Catholic and a respected professor. He was certainly no Nazi. In fact, he strongly opposed racial discrimination of any kind. Until his death in 1984, he was a staunch supporter of the Institute for Historical Review.

The most prominent Holocaust Revisionist in Australia is John Bennett, who is also president of the Australian Civil Liberties Union. He is a well-known defender of the rights of non-White immigrants in Australia. Bennett is a member of the IHR's Editorial Advisory Committee. Samuel Konkin, a leading libertarian theorist who steadfastly opposes any and all forces of state collectivism, including Nazism, is another important Revisionist who is a current member of the IHR Editorial Advisory Committee. Major articles by three Jewish writers—Alfred Lilienthal, Bezalel Chaim, and Howard Stein—have appeared in the IHR's quarterly *Journal of Historical Review* over the years.

Even in West Germany, where Holocaust Revisionism has been subject to unrivaled legal constraint, Dr. Helmut Diwald, a senior professor of history at the University of Erlangen, has supported the Revisionist view of the extermination story. He wrote about Germany's wartime policy towards the Jews in his sweeping and well-written book, *Geschichte der Deutschen* ("History of the Germans"). The first edition was published in 1978 by the prestigious Propyläen publishing house.

I cited the two pages of his book devoted to the "final solution," in which Dr. Diwald pointed out that there were no

extermination camps in Germany proper. He described the postwar Holocaust campaign as one of distortion, deception and exaggeration which is meant to morally degrade and totally disqualify the German people. Jewish deaths in the German concentration camps were not the result of an extermination policy, he wrote, but rather the consequence of chaotic and unavoidable wartime conditions. Diwald concluded his section on this issue by pointing out that in spite of all the literature that has been written on this subject, the central questions about the fate of the Jews during the war are still not clear. (Some years earlier I was, incidentally, the first person to translate this section of Diwald's book into English.)

Although his book became an immediate best-seller in Germany, which is unusual for a heavy, 760-page work of history, Dr. Diwald quickly learned what happens to even a prominent and reputable scholar who questions the official version of history. As a result of protests from Jews and others, sales of the first printing of 100,000 copies were immediately stopped, and a new edition with a hastily rewritten and "acceptable" section about the "final solution" was quickly substituted.

The Crown attorney's claim that Holocaust Revisionists are only Jew-hating, unscholarly neo-Nazis is not only completely false, but many other scholars—including some whom I know personally—would publicly support the Revisionist view of the Holocaust story if it were not for the climate of intimidation and fear surrounding this subject (as manifest by the Zündel trial).

The prosecution tried to argue that what Revisionist historians have written should be rejected out of hand because they are anti-Jewish. This view is bigoted and prejudiced. What any historian writes should be judged on its own merits, and not on the basis of any preconception. Fair consideration for even controversial views is essential to fruitful scholarship. Every fair and competent historian has a responsibility to evaluate historical writing on the basis of a careful consideration of historical evidence, and not on the basis of the historian's religion or race, or his political or philosophical views. It is just as closed-minded and bigoted to dismiss the Revisionist view of the Holocaust story on the basis of the irrelevant points raised by the Crown attorney as it would be

to reject the writing and conclusions of Holocaust historians such as Raul Hilberg, Lucy Dawidowicz and Christopher Browning because they are either Jewish or affiliated with blatantly Zionist organizations.

"Holocaustomania"

During cross-examination of a previous witness, the prosecution attorney had suggested that the Holocaust media campaign is directed only against evil "Nazis" and not against the Germans. That's simply not true, I said. This perpetual campaign, which Jewish historian Alfred Lilienthal has called "Holocaustomania," defames the German people as a whole. To support this view, I first cited the widely-reported statement some years ago by Israeli prime minister Menachem Begin that because of the twelve Hitler years, the guilt of the German people would last until the end of time. (I was surprised at the audible expression of unhappiness by Jews in the courtroom when I made this point, which was certainly neither secret nor particularly remarkable.)

I then cited the statement by Elie Wiesel, former Auschwitz inmate and one-time chairman of the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council, who declared (in his book, *Legends of Our Time*), that because of Germany's wartime policy against the Jews, every Jew today should maintain "somewhere in his being" a "zone of hate" for the Germans. And finally, I pointed out that Israel and individual Jews around the world are still receiving vast reparations payments from West Germany, even though most of the Germans paying this money were not alive during the Hitler era.

Motives

The Crown attorney had repeatedly asserted that Revisionists claim that the Holocaust story was invented after the war by the Jews to extort money for Israel from the German people. It is certainly true, I said, that West Germany has paid out massive reparations to Israel and individual Jews around the world. The basis for these payments is the 1953 Luxembourg Treaty signed by Israel, West Germany and the "Claims Conference," a special ad hoc international Jewish organization. The very nature of this reparations agreement, which I said "has no parallel" in diplomatic history, "presupposes that the Jews of the world are to be represented not by the governments of which they happen to be citizens,

but rather by the State of Israel, of which most Jews are not citizens, and by a special international body called the Claims Conference." I also cited the words of Australian Jewish professor W.D. Rubinstein, who wrote in 1979: "If the Holocaust can be shown to be a 'Zionist Myth,' the strongest of all weapons in Israel's propaganda armory collapses."

At the same time, I emphasized my belief that even more important than the financial benefits for Israel has been the role of the Holocaust story as a vehicle for promoting Jewish group solidarity. A key lesson of the Holocaust story for many Jews, I said, is that non-Jews are never completely trustworthy. If a people as cultured and as civilized as the Germans could turn into murderers, so the thinking goes, then surely no non-Jewish nation can ever be completely trusted. I noted that the well-known Jewish author Jacobo Timerman has pointed out that the Holocaust has become a "civil religion" for many Jews. The nations of the world can only live together in peace, I said, when the passions and hatreds of past wars are put behind us. Normally such passions diminish after terrible conflicts are over, but in this one case, they are artificially kept alive.

Prosecution Tactics

Pearson expended quite a bit of effort trying to discredit me because of my brief affiliation, more than eight years earlier, with an organization called the National Alliance. He had me read the entire text of an article I had written for the May 1978 issue of *National Vanguard*, the National Alliance paper. The essay, which I hadn't seen in years, was a personal and rather heart-felt explanation of why I had joined the pro-White organization. Many people in the courtroom, I was told later, were expecting an emotional tirade. In that sense, what they heard was disappointing. I had written, for example, of my "devotion to truth, no matter where it may lead." All the same, the essay almost certainly detracted from the overall effectiveness of my testimony in the eyes of the jury and the judge.

Pearson also had me confirm that I was the author of two articles that appeared in the weekly *Spotlight* paper. One was about the Allied torture of Germans to produce evidence for the Holocaust story (Dec. 24, 1979), and the other dealt with Zionist power and influence in the state of Nebraska (August 9, 1982).

In response to all this, I pointed out that I had not had any affiliation whatsoever with the National Alliance for more than eight years. I told the court that since that affiliation I had contributed several articles to the pro-Jewish but anti-Zionist monthly newsletter, *Middle East Perspective*, which was published by Jewish-American author and historian Alfred Lilienthal. In any case, I emphasized, what I write about history should be judged on its own merits, and not prejudicially on the basis of an affiliation eight years ago.

During my first day on the stand, Crown attorney Pearson tried to suggest that I, and by implication, other Revisionists, have taken the position we do on this issue in order to make money. During my fifth and final day of testimony, I responded to this accusation, calling it "ludicrous and contemptible." I specifically mentioned three prominent Holocaust Revisionists who had paid a heavy price for their views. Joseph G. Burg (who later testified on Zündel's behalf) was beaten up by thugs. Dr. Wilhelm Stäglich, a West German judge, had his pension cut and his doctoral title revoked. And Prof. Robert Faurisson has been beaten several times [the latest and most severe instance resulting in a broken jaw, nose, and ribs, and head injuries on September 16, 1989. —Ed.], repeatedly dragged into court by powerful and influential organizations, and had his family life thrown into turmoil.

As a result of my own support for Revisionism, I said, I had received numerous death threats. Unlike Browning, who had appeared earlier for the prosecution, I was not receiving $150 an hour to testify. I had not received any compensation for appearing beyond the satisfaction of helping in a struggle that I said is worthy of the support of every defender of free speech. The Crown attorney objected to this reference, insisting that this case did not concern the issue of free speech. (Even the *New York Times* acknowledged that Zündel was on trial for his beliefs. March 30, 1988, p. 7.)

Crown attorney Pearson seemed to be a capable lawyer, but he was often surprisingly ignorant of the historical questions at issue in this trial. For example, I mentioned at one point that although the alleged extermination camps of Sobibor, Treblinka, Belzec and Chelmno were supposedly obliterated by the Germans to destroy all traces of their crimes, the two allegedly most important extermination centers, Lublin

(Majdanek) and Auschwitz-Birkenau, were left intact by the Germans. Pearson then asserted that Auschwitz-Birkenau was destroyed by the Germans. "You are speaking in ignorance," I replied. The camp was left almost totally intact, I said, and the barracks and other buildings are still there today. In fact, I added, the Germans left behind thousands of inmates who were too weak to be evacuated, and they were there when the Soviets took control of the camp in January 1945.

Pearson spent a good bit of time citing a recently-published book by Canadian-Jewish professor Michael Marrus, *The Holocaust in History*. (Marrus sometimes sat in on the court proceedings.) Apparently confident that it would impress the jury, the prosecution attorney asked me to acknowledge Marrus' not unsurprising reference to Holocaust Revisionist historians as "malevolent cranks." Pearson also referred to Marrus' citation of the well-known letter by Göring of July 31, 1941, about the "final solution," as if this is a sinister reference to extermination. But as I pointed out, Marrus does not let the reader know that the document itself specifically refers to solving "the Jewish question by emigration and evacuation." This method of selectively presenting history, which is all too typical of Holocaust historians, is essentially deceitful, I said.

With regard to the alleged extermination program, Marrus writes that "the Nazis' own records provide little help. Typically, Hitler and his lieutenants cloaked their most criminal activities in euphemistic language, [and] tried strenuously to keep their murderous plans secret . . ." Marrus also mentions "the absence of a clear record of Hitlerian decision making on the Final Solution . . ." This is Marrus' roundabout way of saying that there is no documentary evidence for the alleged extermination policy. He simply ignores the numerous German documents which confirm that there was no such policy or program. Nor does he bother to explain why the highest-level German officials should deceive each other about an extermination policy that was not only supposedly well-known in Germany, but which Allied propaganda was tirelessly announcing to the entire world. Like other Holocaust historians, Marrus starts with the unproven extermination thesis, and then tries to find evidence to support it. This is precisely contrary to the methodology of an honest and open-minded historian.

Unhappy Spectators

What I said on the stand often upset the group of Jews who regularly attended the proceedings. It wasn't long after I began testifying that they began to loudly mutter "liar!" and make other noises to indicate their displeasure. For example, this group was noticeably agitated when I spoke about conditions in the Warsaw ghetto, and made the point that while some were starving, there were other Jews in the ghetto at the same time who were very well off and spent money on expensive meals in ghetto restaurants. When I saw that the Jews in the courtroom were obviously skeptical of this statement, I quickly added that my source for this information is the well-known Warsaw ghetto diary of Jewish historian Emmanuel Ringelblum, which is often cited by Holocaust historians. Sabrina Citron, the "survivor" who brought the original charge against Zündel that started this whole legal battle, walked out of the courtroom shortly after this remark.

During a 20-minute recess on my first day of testimony, a group of mostly elderly Jews gathered together in the courtroom to verbally assault me with epithets like "liar" and "neo-Nazi." One said to the others "he even looks like Hitler," and another cursed me with the words "God should strike you dead." Later in the hallway, an elderly Jewish woman rather incoherently told me that I "should be washed with human soap."

Reflections

A major lesson I learned from this whole experience is the importance of careful preparation and close attention to detail in a trial. Although I had prepared myself as I had been asked, the duration and far-ranging scope of the interrogation was a surprise. I did not know, for example, that I would be questioned about virtually every sentence of the Harwood booklet. As a result, I had to rely heavily on memory, and it wasn't until my second or third day on the stand that I learned that I could read from documents and other prepared material.

Probably my best day was Thursday, the 24th, which was due in large part to careful review of the material the previous night with Christie, his able associate Keltie Zubko, attorney Barbara Kulaszka, and Zündel himself. By far my most difficult session was Friday afternoon, when an almost total

lack of sleep during the previous four nights caught up with me. My fatigue was apparent, I'm afraid, and I answered many of the prosecution attorney's questions too quickly.

The adversarial nature of a trial, and especially one as emotionally charged as this one, makes it inherently almost impossible for a jury of very average men and women to arrive at a clear understanding of historical truth. The prosecuting attorney's task was not to determine historical truth, but rather to convict Zündel by discrediting him, his witnesses and Revisionism generally. Pearson's job was to uphold the historical doctrine which Judge Thomas had proclaimed at the outset of the trial when he took "judicial notice" of the Holocaust story.

Zündel's Achievement

Ernst Zündel announced at the outset that his main goal in this trial would be to set straight the historical record about this critically important chapter of history. He said that this task is far more important than his own personal fate.

In spite of the disappointing verdict, Zündel and his supporters are justifiably proud of what they achieved in this costly and time-consuming struggle. To wage the campaign that was forced upon him, Zündel brought together an impressive international team of Revisionist scholars, legal specialists, researchers, and many others. From numerous libraries and archives in North America and Europe, this group assembled one of the most impressive collections of evidence anywhere in the world on this chapter of history.

The dedicated Zündel legal team and the many defense witnesses presented exhaustive and compelling evidence refuting the Holocaust extermination story to the court and thereby made it part of the permanent public record. Much to the chagrin of Zündel's enemies, these lengthy court proceedings have immeasurably strengthened the conviction of the defendent and his supporters, as well as many others, that the Holocaust extermination story is a great fraud. All this is a great tribute to Zündel's organizational ability and extraordinary personality.

Zündel, who often describes himself as a "Swabian peasant," is outgoing, good-humored, confident, and blessed with a rare combination of unflagging optimism and sober realism. He maintains this infectious spirit even under very trying

conditions. He is an unusually sensitive man with a keen understanding of human nature. He knows how to persuade, cajole and encourage his supporters to give their best for the greater good. He inspires confidence, loyalty and even affection. He does not ask more of others than he himself is willing to sacrifice. No one at "Zündelhaus" works more tirelessly.

Anyone who visited the Zündel headquarters during the trial could not help but be struck by the electric spirit of comradeship, purposeful activity and devotion to a righteous cause that pervades the place. At the end of each day's court session, a debriefing meeting was held in the headquarters "bunker" during which Zündel and Christie would review the day's events, sustain morale and explain the next round of tasks. A typical meeting brought together an eclectic group of individualistic men and women from half a dozen different countries—often speaking in as many thick accents—who share a common loyalty to a man and a cause.

For me, it was a tremendously challenging and instructive experience, as well as an honor to be a part of such a historically important legal battle.

For Holland and for Europe: The Life and Death of Dr. M.M. Rost van Tonningen

(From a paper presented to the Ninth International Revisionist Conference)

FLORENCE S. ROST VAN TONNINGEN

What is the point of speaking about the past? Why take another look at the worldview of my late husband, who was a National Socialist? Is there any point in speaking about such things in the liberal democratic era in which we live today?

My answer is that there most certainly is, for it is only through an open-mindedness towards the past that we can understand the road to the future. An understanding of history guides us on that road.

My husband, Meinoud Marinus van Tonningen, was born on February 19, 1894 in Surabaja, Dutch East Indies, to a well-respected Dutch family, many of whose members had held positions of great national importance. My husband was brought up a patriot, and at the age of 15 he decided on a military career.

His father had also chosen that path, and had been decorated more than once for his loyal military service. At the zenith of his career, my husband's father was appointed commander-in-chief of the Royal Dutch Army in the Eastern Colonies, that is, for the area now known as Indonesia. He led the three famous Bali, Lombok, and Atjeh expeditions, for which he was appointed an Adjutant-General to the Queen. He resigned in 1909, however, as a result of the parsimonious attitude of the Dutch parliament toward the armed forces.

When the youthful Rost van Tonningen told his father of his military ambitions, the latter discouraged him with the words: "Don't, my boy. This parliament will never recognize the needs of our army and will prevent it from properly carrying out its mission, which is, above all, to withstand any foreign aggression. Believe me, my son, all your efforts would be in vain." It was not until years later that my husband came to understand the wisdom and far-sightedness of his father's

advice, which proved to be not only correct for my husband, but prophetic for his country and for Europe as a whole.

In 1912 my husband decided to become an engineer. But the outbreak of the First World War in 1914 intervened, and he served instead in the army as an officer in the Royal Artillery. He learned a great deal by closely following the intense political controversy within the Dutch army during this period. He came to believe that only a thorough reform of the entire economic and political system could prevent the downfall of Europe. And out of that realization grew his interest in politics. Despite his father's protests, he did not resume his engineering studies after the end of the war in 1918, but instead registered as a law student at the University of Leiden.

The revolution which shook Germany and the immense economic crisis which loomed over Europe in the aftermath of the World War further strengthened Rost van Tonningen's determination to devote himself to an idealistic career in politics. In 1921 he was awarded his doctorate by the University of Leiden. His dissertation, on international law, dealt with possibilities of alleviating the economic and political distress in Central Europe, much of it in consequence of the imposed peace treaties of Versailles and St. Germain. At that time still a liberal by education and training, Rost van Tonningen believed that Central Europe could be rescued through the intervention of the League of Nations.

Eager to work for the League, Dr. Rost van Tonningen worked hard to improve his fluency in French, English, and German, so that he could deal with political and economic issues on a truly European basis. His understanding of international law and his close study of the operations and problems of the League of Nations made him a welcome volunteer at the League's headquarters in Geneva in 1922.

In the following year Rost van Tonningen was appointed assistant to the Commissioner General of the League of Nations in Vienna, Dr. Zimmerman, the former mayor of Rotterdam, who was attempting to revive the economy of the shriveled Austrian state on the basis of the Balfour Plan of 1922. Dr. Zimmerman, the first man of pronounced anti-Semitic opinions whom Rost van Tonningen had met, attributed a portion of postwar Austria's economic woes to the activities of Jewish speculators, many of whom had flocked to Vienna after 1918. Although Rost van Tonningen was not completely won over to the Commissioner General's

standpoint, he became aware for the first time of the Jewish question in Central Europe.

In 1928 Rost van Tonningen left Vienna and the League to work as a banker at Hope & Co. in Amsterdam and New York, but the world economic crisis of 1931, which followed the New York Stock Exchange crash of 1929, led him to return to his work for the League of Nations in Vienna. The collapse of the Credit-Anstalt, Vienna's biggest bank, in the spring of 1931 had been followed by financial disaster in Austria and Germany, and Great Britain's departure from the gold standard in September.

Dr. Rost van Tonningen became the representative of the Council of the League of Nations in Vienna, with a mandate to promote Austria's economic reconstruction. During the next five years he tried to work closely with the Austrian government in expanding Austrian productivity and trade with neighboring nations.

During that period Austria was beset by political as well as economic miseries. The Christian Socialists, strongly clerical and authoritarian, banned both the Marxist Social Democrats and the National Socialists, setting up a one-party state under the dictatorial rule of Engelbert Dollfuss (until his assassination in an unsuccessful National Socialist putsch in 1934) and Kurt Schuschnigg.

Rost van Tonningen, who at first worked closely with Dollfuss and opposed the National Socialists, grew horrified at Dollfuss' repression of his political enemies. At the same time, Dollfuss grew to oppose a union of Austria with Germany, which seemed to Rost van Tonningen to offer the only solution to Austria's economic problems.

Dr. Rost van Tonningen had meanwhile concluded that economic liberalism and free trade were no longer suited to Austria or to a politically balkanized Europe of small, independent states. He had come to believe that only the formation of a controlled economy, based on the just needs of a racial community occupying a large area (*Grossraum*), could enable the Europeans to compete, in the long run, with such vast entities as the Soviet Union, the British Empire, and the United States. His idea was one of the first expressions of the need for a European economic community.

In 1935 and 1936 most European countries devalued their gold currencies and went off the gold standard, threatening monetary chaos. My husband, now a convinced National Socialist, saw that the usefulness of the League to Austria and

the rest of Europe was at an end. Accordingly, Rost van Tonningen resigned his position in Vienna, resolved to return to the Netherlands to devote himself to his country's National Socialist movement.

Before his return, my husband arranged through Germany's ambassador to Austria, Franz von Papen, to meet Hitler at his mountain chalet in Berchtesgaden. They discussed the Führer's policy toward England and the Germanic nations of the Continent; Rost van Tonningen learned that Hitler favored a united European economy, and that he believed that world prosperity would only be returned with the restoration of the purchasing power of Europe, a block of over 300 million people with a high standard of living.

In the Netherlands, Anton Mussert, leader of the Dutch National Socialist movement (Nationaal-Socialistisch Beweging), appointed Rost van Tonningen editor of the movement newspaper, *Het Nationale Dagblad* (The National Daily). The following year my husband was elected to the Dutch parliament, where he was able to observe first-hand how the party politicians obstructed their own experts, and those of the other parties, in solving the nation's problems.

Within the Dutch National Socialist Movement, the N.S.B., there was at first no general agreement about the importance of large-scale economic thinking, or of racial unity. For example, Jews had been members of the N.S.B. since its founding in 1931. Before long, however, Dutch Jews organized a concerted campaign against the N.S.B., and it became impossible to ignore the Jewish question any longer. Mussert and my husband met to discuss this issue, and they agreed that it had to be solved in an orderly and peaceful way. They were convinced that the only solution would have to be an independent Jewish state.

Palestine was considered, but ultimately rejected as too small. Surinam, a Dutch colony in South America, was decided upon instead. Our party presented this plan to the Dutch parliament, where it was rejected by our political adversaries.

Meanwhile, Dr. Rost van Tonningen had been sent by Mussert to Germany to promote discussion of this "Mussert Plan" in the German press. Through Heinrich Himmler's intervention, my husband was able to meet and discuss the resettlement plan with Foreign Minister Joachim von Ribbentrop. After some hesitation, the foreign minister agreed to its publication. The permission of Dr. Goebbels' propaganda

ministry for press treatment of the issue was also obtained, but in the end there was little mention made of the Mussert Plan.

In 1937 my husband spoke privately for the first time with Heinrich Himmler, the "Reichsführer SS," and soon became a member of his inner circle. Himmler held my husband in high esteem, and introduced him to leading German National Socialist figures in the fields of economics, sociology, and science.

Next to Hitler, Himmler was the most significant personality in the Reich's leadership. His basic views can be summarized as follows:

Unification of all Germans in a greater German Reich;

cultivation of close ties between all Germanic people;

unshakable faith in the greatness and abilities of the Nordic race;

conviction that racial mixing, if carried too far, is disastrous.

From early 1940 rumors spread that Hitler planned to attack our country. My husband believed that a German invasion would make the task of the Dutch National Socialists impossible. Accordingly, he traveled to Berlin that spring to discuss his and Mussert's feelings with Himmler. Rost van Tonningen was unsuccessful in seeing the Reichsführer, but was able to speak with his chief of staff, Obergruppenführer Wolff. Despite their understanding for the dilemma of the Dutch National Socialists, it was clear that the Germans mistrusted Great Britain and France, and believed (not without cause) that the government of the Netherlands was secretly pro-Allied.

A week before Germany attacked, Rost van Tonningen was arrested by the Dutch government, and accused of high treason over the national radio. Dutch authorities shifted him from place to place, fleeing before the German blitzkrieg. My husband was taken as far south as Calais, from where the Dutch government planned to carry him across the Channel to England, but was freed when the Germans captured the city.

Rost van Tonningen returned to the Netherlands at the start of June 1940. Since not only Queen Wilhelmina but the Dutch government as well had fled to England, General Winkelman, commander-in-chief of the Dutch land and sea forces, surrendered not only the army and navy but also the Dutch civil administration to the Germans. Hitler appointed the Austrian Arthur von Seyss-Inquart as Reichskommissar; the

delicate situation which Rost van Tonningen feared had come to pass.

For a year Rost van Tonningen devoted himself to working politically with the German authorities. He was entrusted with closing down the Marxist parties, including the Communists and the Social Democrats, and building up a new organization, The Workers' Front (Arbeitsfront) for labor. Rost van Tonningen assumed control of the *Het Volk* (The People), the Social-Democratic daily; as long as the paper refrained from criticizing the occupation, Rost van Tonningen did not intervene in its workings.

Several parties were tolerated under the German occupation, including Mussert's National Socialists; "De Nederlandsche Unie" (Dutch Union), made up of members of several prewar parties; and the NSNAP (National Socialist Dutch Workers Party), which advocated the total incorporation of the Netherlands into the German Reich. When it became clear to my husband, a Dutch patriot, that the initial German policy of free development of political parties (not hostile to the occupation) had been abandoned, he ceased his political work. With war against the Soviet Union looming, Rost van Tonningen volunteered for service in the Waffen SS.

To Rost van Tonnigen's surprise Seyss-Inquart opposed his plans; the Reichskommissar prevailed on Himmler to reject Rost van Tonningen's application. Together with Anton Mussert, Himmler and Seyss-Inquart convinced my husband to accept the post of President of the Netherlands and Secretary-General of Finance.

Rost van Tonningen's mission was a difficult one. Customs duties had been abolished between Germany and the Netherlands in January 1941; the resignation of Rost van Tonnigen's predecessor, Dr. Trip, had been prompted by the abolition of the foreign exchange barrier between the two countries on April 1, 1941. Although my husband was assured that these two steps had been taken with the ultimate aim of setting up a continental free trading community, this never came to pass.

Rost van Tonningen represented Dutch interests within the German-dominated wartime continental economy to the best of his ability. Although Hitler and Himmler were broadly sympathetic to the Dutch desire for autonomy, my husband's efforts met with much resistance in administrative and business circles.

After the Dutch capitulation the Netherlands Bank had become virtually a branch office of the Reichsbank. Various occupying authorities made big demands on the Dutch treasury: Göring wanted 500 million RM per month, and so forth. In early 1942 Dr. Fischböck, Seyss-Inquart's economic adviser, reached an agreement with Count Schwerin von Krosigk, Reichminister of Finance, obligating the Netherlands to contribute 50 million RM per month, retroactive to July 1, 1941, to the fight against Bolshevism.

Despite these challenges, my husband was able to institute a thorough reform of the Dutch banking system. He defended the interests of Dutch business and workingmen alike. He devoted considerable energy to building up the Netherlands East Company, which joined in German reconstruction and development in the occupied Eastern territories in summer 1942.

Capture and Murder

M.M. Rost van Tonningen and I were married on December 21, 1940. Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler was best man. Our matrimonial vow echoed the SS oath: "Our honor is loyalty."

Before the end came for the German Reich, my husband and I were given the chance to escape to Brazil. He refused, determined to see things through to the end and ready to take responsibility for his acts. Finally granted his wish, he took up arms as a member of the Dutch Waffen SS.

Although my husband had let me decide for myself whether I should flee with our two children to South America, naturally I declined. With the birth of my third child imminent, I made a perilous escape from advancing Polish troops across lands which the Germans had largely flooded to hinder the Allies' progress. A German ship then brought me to the island of Terschelling, in West Frisia, far from the front.

There, in a small room, unaided and alone, I brought my third child into the world, hale and hardy. My husband was never to learn of the birth of this son.

Soon the people of the village knew, however. My child's arrival was entered into the local register of births and, following the local custom, the town crier, after blowing on his great horn, proclaimed that the new-born child was the son of Rost van Tonningen. At virtually the same time the islanders learned of the official announcement of their country's liberation by the Allies, and the streets blossomed with little Dutch flags.

My husband was well known; his name adorned every Dutch bank note. The frenzied crowds, discovering that the wife of a notorious "collaborator" was in their midst, dragged my children and me from our room and would surely have lynched us in their wild hysteria had not the ship's doctor of the German vessel which brought me to the island happened by in his car just then. Driving into the crowd, he pulled us into the car and drove off at high speed.

Since the Kriegsmarine had capitulated, there was no chance of escaping on the ship which had brought me to Terschelling; like the rest of the German warships in the harbor, it was under embargo. Even my brave rescuer believed there was no hope for me; he offered me a poison capsule.

There was, however, one German vessel at anchor there which hadn't been seized, for it wasn't a warship. I begged the captain to help my children and me escape. Without wasting any words he weighed anchor and we sailed off into the North Sea, negotiating dangerous minefields, until we reached Cuxhafen, at the mouth of the Elbe. I was eager to reach Germany because I believed, following the death of Adolf Hitler on April 30, that the Allies might cease hostilities against the Reich and march, together with the remaining Waffen SS formations, against the Red Army. Himmler had transmitted just such a proposal, through Count Bernadotte, to the British and Americans, and my husband, close to the Reichsführer's circle, had gotten wind of it. Like my children, I was half-dead with hunger and fatigue, but I still hoped that I would meet my husband somewhere in Germany. That was not to be, however. As I was to learn later, M.M. Rost van Tonningen died brutally at the hands of his captors.

Shortly after arriving at Cuxhaven, where my children and I were admitted to the hospital, I learned that I was about to be arrested and extradited by the British. With the help of a nurse I escaped and, fleeing by foot with my children along country roads, made my way to Goslar in the Harz, where I was reunited with my family. After a few days, however, I was arrested by the British and returned to the Netherlands. It was only after returning that I learned something of my husband's fate.

At first I was kept prisoner in the subterranean dungeons of Ft. Honswijk, where I endured terrible treatment from the embittered and vengeful so-called Dutch "democrats." After my release, I was able to locate and regain custody of my three sons, but all our property had been confiscated.

My Fight for the Truth

I was then forced to make a living for my family and myself, not an easy thing for the widow of a prominent National-Socialist sympathizer in postwar Holland. Before the war I had studied biology under the great ethologist Konrad Lorenz, and my studies had brought me to China and the Dutch East Indies. Like other "collaborators," however, I was excluded from work in my own field.

At first I tried to support my sons by painting lampshades. No sooner had my persecutors learned of this than the rumor was spread that the lampshades were made of human skin (the same lie that was spread about Ilse Koch). I had to give up that enterprise. Thereafter I started an electrical equipment business. Trained as a biologist, I made myself into a businesswoman and technical expert. Beginning with 100 florins, over the course of 34 years I built up my business to a factory employing 25 men.

Since my release from prison I have worked tirelessly to establish the truth about my husband's death, of which I learned in my captivity. Due to the refusal of the allegedly "humane" and "democratic" regime which the Allies restored in the Netherlands. I have so far been able to learn very little.

In April 1945 M.M. Rost van Tonningen was captured by Canadian troops during the Allied invasion of the Netherlands. At first he was held, together with other Dutch SS officers, at a concentration camp in Elst. Following a visit by Prince Bernhard, consort of Queen Wilhelmina, my husband was transferred to Utrecht and then, on May 24, to a jail in Scheveningen, near The Hague. Thirteen days later he was murdered by his captors in Scheveningen.

I never received official notice of my husband's death, which authorities later claimed was a suicide. They have never produced any evidence to support this claim: the records pertaining to my husband have been sealed until the year 2069.

I was presented, however, with a bill from the municipal sanitation service of The Hague, for on June 6, 1945, the day of my husband's death, his remains were transferred, first from the prison to a hospital and then to a cemetery, in a garbage truck. It was given to me by a policeman named Gross, who carried a dossier with gruesome details of my husband's mistreatment.

When I visited the hospital to which my husband had been taken, the physician-in-charge was badly rattled when he

learned who I was. When I asked him about my husband's death, he stammered, "No, no, Mrs. Rost van Tonningen, I can't talk about it." Then he took of his white coat and led me out of the hospital, where he hailed a taxi and directed me to the Witte-Brug Cemetery.

When I arrived there, it was the same story. The director was frightened, for he had been told to say nothing regarding my husband. He simply pointed to a row of portfolios, labeled "Secret," on a shelf, and told me that one of them told the story of my husband's death, of which he could say nothing more. Then he showed me the grave, a mass-grave set aside for paupers, into which my husband's body, without coffin, had been tossed.

Although I tried for years to obtain permission to reinter my husband in our family plot, I was unsuccessful. My request was taken under consideration by the Council of State, which procrastinated for some time before informing me that the grave had been cleared.

In 1950, which had been proclaimed a Holy Year by Pope Pius XII, I visited the Pope in Rome. He was aware of the mistreatment and murder of my husband, and he promised to help me. On my return to Holland, I visited the papal nuncio in order to obtain a document concerning my husband's death. I was unsuccessful, however, since the Minister of Justice, a Catholic who was cooperating with the nuncio, was suddenly transferred to the West Indies, where he had been appointed governor. His successor, who was Jewish, was not friendly to my case. My attempts to present my case to the International Court of Justice at The Hague were similarly frustrated.

When I reached seventy years of age, I fell ill, and required two operations. My sons were not interested in taking over the running of my factory, and during my convalescence some of my enemies, allegedly former members of the resistance, were able through various tricks, to gain control of my business.

During the past five years I have received over one hundred bomb threats, and my windows have been smashed many times. My brake cables have been cut. For my opponents, everything is allowed.

The press has stepped up its campaign against me as well. Since my husband had been a member of the Dutch parliament, I am entitled by law to a small pension. In 1984 a Dutch magazine discovered this, and the professional "anti-Nazis" succeeded in pressuring parliament to hold a hearing

on whether my pension should be cancelled. So far they have been unsuccessful.

Nevertheless, I have become something of a judicial "muscle-meter," called "the Black Widow," on whom litigants and lawyers can try their strength. After my periodical *Manuscripten* published a picture of an unknown woman in the costume of a fisherman's wife, I was astounded to receive a letter from a lawyer demanding 50,000 florins for his client, an actress. Since we had (quite unawares) used her picture without obtaining permission, I was eventually forced to pay her 2,500 florins, as well as assume the costs of the lawsuit, an additional 10,000 florins.

My home has been twice searched by police looking for allegedly anti-Jewish literature. On their first search the police found a brochure which questioned the factuality of the Holocaust. The court found that to challenge the Holocaust was anti-Jewish, and I received a three-month suspended sentence. The second search resulted in the police confiscating Hitler's *Mein Kampf* and *the Great Holocaust Trial.* My trial for possession of these books will begin on March 9, 1989 [Mrs. Rost van Tonningen was subsequently convicted of possessing these forbidden books, each available from the IHR.—Ed.].

I hope that I have been able to communicate successfully to an American audience something of my husband's life and the ideals for which we both struggled. My husband refused to abdicate his responsibilities or abandon his people. He stayed and fought honorably, only to be butchered. Why? I believe not merely because Rost van Tonningen was a Dutch National Socialist, but because he knew too much about those of his countrymen who cooperated with the Germans in the beginning, then went over to the Allies as Dutch patriots, "heroes of the resistance," and the like. Had my husband stood trial, his defense might have proved embarrassing for many Dutchmen in high places.

In my life I have experienced many high points, as well as low points. I have tried to be equal to each situation, always attempting to live in accordance with the spiritual basis of life, the mission that is given each of us to carry out on the earthly plane. The life of each of us is merely a thread in the larger fabric or plan.

I still count our meetings with Adolf Hitler as highlights in my life. For us he was a leader who dedicated, and sacrificed, himself for his people, one who eminently fulfilled his life's

mission. He united his countrymen, of all classes and stations, from the aristocracy to the farmers and laborers, as had no man before him. His soldiers fought heroically to the last, particularly the men of the Waffen SS, not only Germans but from across Europe. Like my beloved brother, who died in combat in the ranks of the SS, and my husband, I think of Adolf Hitler as the first European.

I shall close with the words of Rudolf Hess, the martyr who earned, but was never awarded, the Nobel Prize for Peace. After being sentenced to life imprisonment at Nuremberg despite his flight for peace, he told the court:

> If I were standing once again at the beginning, I would act again as I acted, even though I knew at the end I would burn at the stake. No matter what people may do, one day I shall stand before the judgement seat of God Eternal. I will justify myself to Him, and I know that He will absolve me.

Simon Wiesenthal: Bogus "Nazi Hunter"

MARK WEBER

Simon Wiesenthal is a living legend. In a formal White House ceremony in August 1980, a teary-eyed President Carter presented the world's foremost "Nazi hunter" with a special gold medal awarded by the U.S. Congress. President Reagan praised him in November 1988 as one of the "true heroes" of this century.

He is the recipient of West Germany's highest decoration, and one of world's most renowned Holocaust organizations bears his name: the Simon Wiesenthal Center of Los Angeles. He was portrayed in flattering terms by the late Laurence Oliver in the 1978 film fantasy "The Boys From Brazil," and by Ben Kingsley in the April 1989 made-for-television movie "The Murderers Among Us: The Simon Wiesenthal Story."

Wiesenthal's reputation is undeserved. The man whom the *Washington Post* calls the "Holocaust's Avenging Angel" has a well-documented record of reckless disregard for truth.[1] He has lied about his own wartime experiences. He has misrepresented his postwar "Nazi-hunting" achievements, and has spread vile falsehoods about alleged German atrocities. He is certainly no moral authority.

Different Stories

Szymon (Simon) Wiesenthal was born on December 31, 1908, in Buczacz, a town in the Galicia province of Austria-Hungary (now Buchach in Soviet Ukraine). His father was a prosperous wholesale sugar merchant.

In spite of all that has been written about him, what Wiesenthal did during the war years under German occupation is still not clear. He has given disturbingly conflicting stories in three separate accounts of his wartime activities. The first was given under oath during a two day interrogation session in May 1948 conducted by an official of the U.S. Nuremberg war crimes commission.[2] The second is a

summary of his life provided by Wiesenthal as part of a January 1949 "Application for Assistance" to the International Refugee Committee.[3] And the third account is his autobiography, *The Murderers Among Us*, first published in 1967.[4]

Soviet Engineer or Factory Mechanic?

In his 1948 interrogation, Wiesenthal declared that "between 1939 and 1941" he was a "Soviet chief engineer working in Lvov and Odessa."[5] Consistent with that, he stated in his 1949 declaration that from December 1939 to April 1940 he worked as an architect in the Black Sea port of Odessa. But according to his autobiography, he spent the period between mid-September 1939 and June 1941 in Soviet-ruled Lvov, where he worked "as a mechanic in a factory that produced bedsprings."[6]

"Relative Freedom"

After the Germans took control of Galicia in June 1941, Wiesenthal was interned for a time in the Janowska concentration camp near Lvov, from where he was transferred a few months later to a camp affiliated with the repair works (OAW) in Lvov of the *Ostbahn* ("Eastern Railroad") of German-ruled Poland. Wiesenthal reported in his autobiography that he worked there "as a technician and draftsman," that he was rather well treated, and that his immediate superior, who was "secretly anti-Nazi," even permitted him to own two pistols. He had his own office in a "small wooden hut," and enjoyed "relative freedom and was permitted to walk all over the yards."[7]

Partisan Fighter?

The next segment of Wiesenthal's life—from October 1943 to June 1944—is the most obscure, and his accounts of this period are contradictory. During his 1948 interrogation, Wiesenthal said that he fled from the Janowska camp in Lvov and joined a "partisan group which operated in the Tarnopol-Kamenopodolsk area."[8] He said that "I was a partisan from October 6, 1943, until the middle of February 1944," and declared that his unit fought against Ukrainian forces, both of the SS "Galicia" division and of the independent UPA partisan force.[9]

Wiesenthal said that he held the rank of lieutenant and then major, and was responsible for building bunkers and fortification lines. Although he was not explicit, he suggested that this (supposed) partisan unit was part of the *Armia Ludowa* ("Peoples Army"), the Polish Communist military force established and controlled by the Soviets.[10]

He said that he and other partisans slipped into Lvov in February 1944, where they were "hidden by friends of the A.L. ["People's Army"] group." On June 13, 1944, his group was captured by the German Secret Field Police. (Although Jewish partisans caught in hiding were often shot, Wiesenthal reports that he was somehow spared.) Wiesenthal told much the same story in his 1949 statement. He said that he fled from internment in early October 1943 and then "fought against the Germans as a partisan in the forest" for eight months—from October 2, 1943, to March 1944. After that, he was "in hiding" in Lvov from March to June 1944.

Wiesenthal tells a totally different story in his 1967 autobiography. He reports there that after escaping from the *Ostbahn* Repair Works on Oct. 2, 1943, he lived in hiding in the houses of various friends until June 13, 1944, when he was discovered by Polish and German police and returned to a concentration camp. He makes no mention of any partisan membership or activity.[11]

According to both his 1948 interrogation and his 1967 autobiography, he tried to commit suicide on June 15, 1944, by cutting his wrists. Remarkably, though, he was saved from death by German SS doctors and recovered in an SS hospital.[12] He remained in the Lvov concentration camp "with double rations" for a time, and then, he reports in his autobiography, he was transferred to various work camps. He spent the remaining chaotic months, until the end of the war, in different camps until he was liberated from Mauthausen (near Linz) by American forces on May 5, 1945.[13]

Did Wiesenthal invent a past as a heroic wartime partisan? Or did he later try to suppress his record as a Communist fighter? Or is the true story altogether different—and too shameful to admit?

"Nazi Agent"?

Did Wiesenthal voluntarily work for his wartime oppressors? That's the accusation leveled by Austrian

Chancellor Bruno Kreisky, himself of Jewish ancestry and leader for many years of his country's Socialist Party. During a wide-ranging interview with foreign journalists in 1975, Kreisky charged Wiesenthal with using "Mafia methods," rejected his pretense of "moral authority," and suggested that he was an agent for the German authorities. Some of his more pertinent remarks, which appeared in Austria's leading news magazine *Profil*, include:[14]

> I really know Mr. Wiesenthal only from secret reports, and they are bad, very nasty. I say this as Federal Chancellor . . . And I say that Mr. Wiesenthal had a different relationship with the Gestapo than I did. That's right. And it can be proven. Can I say more than that? Whatever else there is to say, I'll say in court.
>
> My relationship with the Gestapo is indisputable. I was their prisoner, their inmate. I was interrogated by them. His relationship was different. That's what I say, and that will eventually come out. It's bad enough what I've already said. But he can't clear himself by charging me with defaming his honor in the press, as he might wish. It's not that simple, because that would mean a big court case . . . A man like that doesn't have the right to pretend to be a moral authority. That's what I say. He doesn't have that right . . .
>
> Whether a man who, in my view, is an agent, yes, that's right, and who uses Mafia mehtods . . . That man has to go . . .
>
> He is no gentleman, and I would say, to make this clear, so that he won't become a moral authorty, because he is not . . . He shouldn't pretend to be a moral authority . . .
>
> I say that Mr. Wiesenthal lived in that time in the Nazi sphere of influence without being persecuted. Right? And he lived openly without being persecuted, right? Is that clear? And you perhaps know, if you know what was going on, that no one could risk that.
>
> He wasn't a "submarine" . . . that is, submerged and in hiding, but instead, he was completely in the open without having to, well, ever risk persecution. I think that's enough. There were so many opportunities to be an agent. He didn't have to be a Gestapo agent. There were many other services.

Mauthausen Myths

Before the "Nazi hunter" came the unscrupulous and deceitful propagandist. In 1946 Wiesenthal published *KZ Mauthausen*, a sensational work which consists mainly of his own amateurish sketches purporting to represent the horrors

of the Mauthausen concentration camp. One drawing depicts three inmates who had been bound to posts and sadistically put to death by the Germans.[15]

The sketch is completely phony. It was copied—with some minor alterations—from photographs that appeared in *Life* magazine in 1945, which graphically record the firing-squad execution in December 1944 of three German soldiers who had been caught operating as spies behind the lines during the "Battle of the Bulge."[16] The source of the Wiesenthal drawing is instantly obvious to anyone who compares it with the *Life* photos.[17]

The irresponsible character of this book is also shown by Wiesenthal's extensive citation therein of the supposed "death bed confession" of Mauthausen Commandant Franz Ziereis, according to which *four million* were gassed to death with carbon monoxide at the nearby Hartheim satellite camp.[18] This claim is totally absurd, and no serious Holocaust historian still accepts it.[19] Also according to the Ziereis "confession" cited by Wiesenthal, the Germans supposedly killed another *ten million* people in Poland, Lithuania and Latvia.[20] In fact, this "confession" is fraudulent and was obtained by torture.[21]

Years later, Wiesenthal was still lying about Mauthausen. In a 1983 interview with the daily newspaper *USA Today*, he said of his experience in Mauthausen: "I was one of 34 prisoners alive out of 150,000 who had been put there."[22] This is a blatant falsehood. The years have apparently not been kind to Wiesenthal's memory, because in his own autobiography he wrote that "almost 3,000 prisoners died in Mauthausen after the Americans liberated us on May 5, 1945."[23] Another former inmate, Evelyn Le Chene, reported in her standard work about Mauthausen that there were 64,000 inmates in the camp when it was liberated in May 1945.[24] And according to the *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, at least 212,000 inmates survived internment in the Mauthausen camp complex.[25]

After the war Wiesenthal worked for the U.S. Office of Strategic Services (the forerunner of the CIA) and the U.S. Army's Counter-Intelligence Corps (CIC). He was also vice chairman of the Jewish Central Committee in the U.S. occupation zone of Austria.[26]

"Human Soap"

Wiesenthal has given circulation and credence to one of the most scurrilous Holocaust stories, the charge that the Germans manufactured soap from the corpses of murdered Jews. According to this tale, the letters "RIF" in bars of German-made soap allegedly stood for "Pure Jewish Fat" ("Rein jüdisches Fett"). In reality, the initials stood for "National Center for Industrial Fat Provisioning" ("Reichstelle für industrielle Fettversorgung").[27]

Wiesenthal promoted the "human soap" legend in articles published in 1946 in the Austrian Jewish community paper *Der Neue Weg* ("The New Path"). In an article entitled "RIF," he wrote: "The terrible words 'transport for soap' were first heard at the end of 1942. It was in the [Polish] General Government, and the factory was in Galicia, in Belzec. From April 1942 until May 1943, 900,000 Jews were used as raw material in this factory." After the corpses were turned into various raw materials, Wiesenthal wrote, "The rest, the residual fat stuff, was used for soap production."

He continued: "After 1942 people in the General Government knew quite well what the RIF soap meant. The civilized world may not believe the joy with which the Nazis and their women in the General Government thought of this soap. In each piece of soap they saw a Jew who had been magically put there, and had thus been prevented from growing into a second Freud, Ehrlich or Einstein."[28]

In another imaginative article published in 1946 entitled "Belzec Soap Factory," Wiesenthal alleged that masses of Jews were exterminated in electrocution showers:[29]

> The people, pressed together and driven on by the SS, Latvians and Ukrainians, go through the open door into the "bath." Five hundred persons could fit at a time. The floor of the "bath chamber" was made of metal and shower heads hung from the ceiling. When the room was full, the SS turned on the 5,000 volts of electric current in the metal plate. At the same time water poured from the shower heads. A short scream and the execution was over. An SS chief physician named Schmidt determined through a peep hole that the victims were dead. The second door was opened and the "corpse commando" came in and quickly removed the dead. It was ready for the next 500.

Today no serious historian accepts the stories that Jewish

corpses were manufactured into bars of soap or that Jews were electrocuted to death at Belzec (or anywhere).

Wiesenthal's imaginative veiw of history is not limited to the twentieth century. In his 1973 book *Sails of Hope*, he argued that Christopher Columbus was secretly a Jew, and that his famous voyage to the western hemisphere in 1492 was actually a search for a new homeland for Europe's Jews.[30]

Fraudulent "Nazi Hunter"

Wiesenthal's reputation as the world's foremost "Nazi hunter" is completely undeserved. His greatest achievement in more than thirty years of searching for "Nazi criminals" was his alleged role in locating and capturing Adolf Eichmann. (Eichmann headed the wartime SS Jewish affairs department. He was kidnapped by Israeli agents in Buenos Aires in 1960 and was hanged in Jerusalem after a trial that received worldwide media attention.)

But Isser Harel, the Israeli official who headed the team that captured Eichmann, has declared unequivocally that Wiesenthal had "absolutely nothing" to do with the capture. (Harel is a former head of both the Mossad and Shin Bet, Israel's foreign and domestic security agencies.) In addition, Arnold Forster, general counsel of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, the influential Zionist organization, reported in his book *Square One* that just before the Israelis seized Eichmann in Argentina, Wiesenthal was placing him in both Japan and Saudi Arabia. When the Israeli government refused to give Wiesenthal funds to search for Eichmann, the "Nazi hunter" issued a statement to the Israeli press claiming the government was refusing to help capture the former SS man.[31] One of Wiesenthal's most spectacular cases involved a Chicago man named Frank Walus. In a letter dated Dec. 10, 1974, he charged that Walus "delivered Jews to the Gestapo" in Czestochowa and Kielce in Poland during the war. This letter prompted the U.S. government's investigation and legal campaign against Walus.[32] The *Washington Post* dealt with the case in a 1981 article entitled "The Nazi Who Never Was: How a witchhunt by judge, press and investigators branded an innocent man a war criminal." The lengthy piece, which was copyrighted by the American Bar Association, reported:[33]

> In January 1977, the United States government accused a Chicagoan named Frank Walus of having committed atrocities in Poland during World War II.

> In the following years, this retired factory worker went into debt in order to raise more than $60,000 to defend himself. He sat in a courtroom while 11 Jewish survivors of the Nazi occupation of Poland testified that they saw him murder children, an old woman, a young woman, a hunchback and others . . .
>
> Overwhelming evidence shows that Walus was not a Nazi War criminal, that he was not even in Poland during World War II.
>
> . . . In an atmosphere of hatred and loathing verging on hysteria, the government persecuted an innocent man.
>
> In 1974, Simon Wiesenthal, the famous "Nazi hunter" of Vienna, denounced Walus as "a Pole in Chicago who performed duties with the Gestapo in the ghettos of Czestochowa and Kielce and handed over a number of Jews to the Gestapo."

The Chicago weekly newspaper *Reader* also reported on the case in a detailed 1981 article headlined: "The Persecution of Frank Walus: To Catch a Nazi: The U.S. government wanted a war criminal. so, with the help of Simon Wiesenthal, the Israeli police, the local press and Judge Julius Hoffman, they invented one."[34] The article stated:

> . . . It is logical to assume that the "reports received by Wiesenthal [against Walus] actually were rumors . . . In other words, Simon Wiesenthal had no evidence against Walus. He denounced him anyway.
>
> While [Judge] Hoffman had the Walus case under advisement, *Holocaust* aired on television. During the same period, in April 1978, Simon Wiesenthal came to Chicago, where he gave interviews taking credit for the Walus case. "How Nazi-Hunter Helped Find Walus," was the *Sun-Times* headline on a story by Bob Olmstead. Wiesenthal told *Sun-Times* Abe Peck that he "has never had a case of mistaken identity." "I know there are thousands of people who wait for my mistake," he said.

It was only after an exhausting legal battle that the man who was vilified and physically attacked as "the butcher of Kielce" was finally able to prove that he had spent the war years as a peaceful farm laborer in Germany. Wiesenthal's irresponsiblity and recklessness in the Walus case should have been enough to permanently discredit him as a reliable investigator. But his Teflon reputation survived even this.

After Wiesenthal was ultimately proven wrong in a similar case in Canada, the Toronto *Sun* newspaper commented in an

editorial: "It seems that material provided by professional Nazi hunter Simon Wiesenthal is wrong, but repeated anyway [in the media]."[35]

Much of the Wiesenthal myth is based on his hunt for Josef Mengele, the wartime physician at Auschwitz known as the "Angel of Death." Time and time again, Wiesenthal claimed to be close on Mengele's heels. Wiesenthal reported that his informants had "seen" or "just missed" the elusive physician in Peru, Chile, Brazil, Spain, Greece, and half a dozen locations in Paraguay.[36]

One of the closest shaves came in the summer of 1960. Wiesenthal reported that Mengele had been hiding out on a small Greek island, from where he escaped by just a few hours. Wiesenthal continued to peddle this story, complete with precise details, even after a reporter whom he had hired to check it out informed him that the tale was false from beginning to end.[37]

According to another Wiesenthal canard, Mengele arranged for the murder in 1960 of one of his former victims, a woman he had supposedly sterilized in Auschwitz. After spotting her, and her distinctive camp tattoo, at a hotel in Argentina where he was staying, Mengele allegedly arranged to have her killed because he feared that she would expose him. It turned out that the woman was never in a concentration camp, had no tattoo, had never met Mengele, and her death was a simple mountaineering accident.[38]

Mengele regularly dined at the finest restaurants in Asuncion, the Paraguayan capital, Wiesenthal said in 1977, and supposedly drove around the city with a bevy of armed guards in his black Mercedes Benz.[39] Wiesenthal announced in 1985 that he was "100 percent sure" that Mengele had been hiding out in Paraguay until at least June 1984, and charged that the Mengele family in West Germany knew exactly where. As it turned out, Wiesenthal was completely wrong. It was later definitively established that Mengele had died in 1979 in Brazil, where he had been living for years in anonymous poverty.[40]

In truth, the bulging Mengele file in Wiesenthal's Vienna "Documentation Center" was such a jumble of useless information that, in the words of the London *Times*, it "only sustained his self-confirmatory myths and gave scant satisfaction to those who apparently needed a definitive

answer to Mengele's fate."[41] Even Israel's former ambassador to Paraguay, Benjamin Varon, cautiously criticized the phony Mengele campaign in 1983: "Wiesenthal makes periodic statements that he is about to catch him, perhaps since Wiesenthal must raise funds for his activities and the name Mengele is always good for a plug."[42]

In the words of Gerald Posner and John Ware, co-authors of *Mengele: The Complete Story*, Wiesenthal spent years assiduously cultivating a mythical "self-image of a tireless, dogged sleuth, pitted against the omnipotent and sinister might of Mengele and a vast Nazi network." Because of his "knack of playing to the gallery," Posner and Ware concluded, Wiesenthal "ultimately compromised his credibility."[43]

Bruno Kreisky once summed up his unambiguous attitude towards the "Nazi hunter" in these words:[44]

> The engineer Wiesenthal, or whatever else his title is, hates me because he knows that I despise his activity. The Wiesenthal group is a quasi-political Mafia that works against Austria with disgraceful methods. Wiesenthal is known as someone who isn't very careful about the truth, who is not very selective about his methods and who uses tricks. He pretends to be the "Eichmann hunter," even though everyone knows that this was the work of a secret service, and the Wiesenthal only takes credit for that.

Wiesenthal is not always wrong, of course. In 1975 he acknowledged in a letter published in a British periodical that "there were no extermination camps on German soil."[45] He thus implicitly conceded that the claims made at the postwar Nuremberg Tribunal and elsewhere that Buchenwald, Dachau and other camps in Germany proper were "extermination camps" are not true.

"Commercializing the Holocaust"

Simon Wiesenthal and the Los Angeles Center that bears his name "commercialize" and "trivialize" the Holocaust, according to the director of Israel's Yad Vashem Holocaust center. The charge was reported by the Israeli daily newspaper *Ha'aretz* in December 1988.[46] The Brooklyn weekly *Jewish Press* commented on the charge: "The displeasure of Yad Vashem over what it sees as the commercialization of the Holocaust by the Wiesenthal Center has long been well known, but this is the most open attack yet."

Wiesenthal "threw out" the figure of "11 million who were murdered in the Holocaust—six million Jews and five million non-Jews," said the director. When asked why he gave these figures, Wiesenthal replied: "The gentiles will not pay attention if we do not mention their victims, too." Wiesenthal "chose 'five million (gentiles)' because he wanted a 'diplomatic' number, one that told of a large number of gentile victims but in no way was larger than that of Jews . . ."

The Los Angeles Center pays Wiesenthal $75,000 a year to use his name, the Yad Vashem director said. "The Jewish people does many vulgar things," the report added, "but the Wiesenthal Center raised it to a complete level: The optimum use of sensitive issues in order to raise money . . ." The *Jewish Press*, which claims to be the largest-circulation English-language Jewish community paper in America, went on to comment: "What Wiesenthal and the Los Angeles Center that bears his name do is to trivialize the Holocaust, to take from it its unique Jew-hatred. And of course, Jews will continue to support it because it is so fashionable."

Wiesenthal is often asked why he does not forgive those who persecuted Jews more than forty years ago. His stock answer is that although he has the right to forgive for himself, he does not have the right to forgive on behalf of others. But this is Talmudic sophistry. On the basis of this logic, neither does he have the right to accuse and track down anyone in the name of others. Wiesenthal has never confined his "hunt" to those who victimized him personally.

It is difficult to say just what drives this remarkable man. Is it a craving for fame and praise? Or is he trying to live down a shameful episode from his past?

Wiesenthal clearly enjoys the praise he receives. "He is a man of considerable ego, proud of [his] testimonials and honorary degrees," the *Los Angeles Times* has reported.[47] Bruno Kreisky has given a simpler explanation. He said that Wiesenthal is "driven by hatred" ("von Hass diktiert").[48]

In light of his well-documented record of deception, lies and incompetence, the extravagent praise heaped upon this contemptible man is a sorry reflection of the venal corruptibility and unprincipled self-deception of our age.

Notes

1. Quoted in: M. Weber, "'Nazi Hunter' Caught Lying," *Spotlight*, Washington, DC), Oct. 26, 1981, p. 9.
2. Interrogation of S. Wiesenthal on May 27 and 28, 1948, conducted by Curt Ponger of the Interrogation Branch of the Evidence Division of the Office (U.S.) Chief of Counsel for War Crimes. Interrogation No. 2820. On file at the National Archives (Washington, DC), "Records of the U.S. Nuremberg War Crimes Trials Interrogations, 1946-49," Record Group 238, microfilm M-1019, roll 79, frames 460-469 and 470-476. Also cited in: "New Documents Raise New Doubts About Simon Wiesenthal's War Years," *Journal of Historical Review*, Winter 1988-89 (Vol. 8, No.4), pp. 489-503.
3. PCIRO (International Refugee Organization, Austria) "Application for Assistance" filled out and signed by Wiesenthal. Dated Jan. 16, 1949. (This was a trial exhibit in the Walus court case. Photocopy in author's possession.)
4. Simon Wiesenthal, *The Murderers Among Us*, edited by Joseph Wechsberg. (New York: McGraw Hill, 1967)
5. Interrogation of S. Wiesenthal, May 27, 1948, pp. 1-2.
6. *Murderers Among Us*, p. 27.
7. *Murderers Among Us*, pp. 29-35. This account is not inconsistent with his 1948 and 1949 statements.
8. Interrogation of May 27, 1948, p. 2.
9. Interrogation of May 28, 1948, pp. 1-2.
10. Interrogation of May 28, 1948, p. 5.
11. *Murderers Among Us*, pp. 35-37.
12. *Murderers Among Us*, pp. 37-38. Interrogation, May 27, 1948, p. 2, and May 28, 1948, p. 5.
13. *Murderers Among Us*, pp. 39-44. Interrogation, May 27, 1948, pp. 2-3.
14. Interview with foreign journalists in Vienna, Nov. 10, 1975. Text published in: "War Wiesenthal ein Gestapo-Kollaborateur?," *Profil*, Vienna, No. 47, Nov. 18, 1975, pp. 16, 22-23. See also reprint in: Robert H. Drechsler, *Simon Wiesenthal: Dokumentation* (Vienna: 1982), pp. 215-218.
15. S. Wiesenthal, *KZ Mauthausen* (Linz: Ibis-Verlag, 1946). Facsimile reprint in: Robert H. Drechsler, *Simon Wiesenthal: Dokumentation* (Vienna: 1982), p. 64.
16. "Firing Squad," *Life* magazine, U.S. edition, June 11, 1945, p. 50.
17. See also: M. Weber, "The Sleight-of-Hand of Simon Wiesenthal," *Journal of Historical Review*, Spring 1984 (Vol. 5, No. 1), pp. 120-122.
18. S. Wiesenthal, *KZ Mauthausen* (1946). See also facsimile reprint in: Robert H. Drechsler, *Simon Wiesenthal: Dokumentation* (Vienna: 1982), pp. 42, 46. This "confession" is a somewhat altered version of Nuremberg document NO-1973.

19. According to the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* ("Mauthausen," *EJ*, Vol. 11, p. 1138), a grand total of 206,000 persons were inmates of Mauthausen and its satellite camps (including Hartheim) at one time or another.
20. S. Wiesenthal, *KZ Mauthausen* (1946). Facsimile reprint in: R. Drechsler, *Simon Wiesenthal: Dokumentation*, p. 47.
21. R. Faurisson, "The Gas Chambers: Truth or Lie?," *Journal of Historical Review*, Winter 1981, p. 361. See also: Hans Fritzsche, *The Sword in the Scales* (London: 1953), p. 185; M. Weber, "Allies Used Torture . . ., *The Spotlight*, Dec. 24, 1979 (reprint), p. 8; Gerald Reitlinger, *The Final Solution* (London: Sphere, pb., 1971), p. 515.
22. *USA Today*, Thurs., April 21, 1983, p. 9A.
23. *Murderers Among Us*, p. 44.
24. Evelyn Le Chene, *Mauthausen: The History of a Death Camp*, (London: 1971), pp. 166-168 and 190-191.
25. "Mauthausen", *Encylopaedia Judaica* (New York & Jerusalem: 1971), vol. 11, p. 1138.
26. C. Moritz, ed., *Current Biography 1975* (New York: H.W. Wilson, 1975), p. 442; Wiesenthal interrogation of May 27, 1948, p. 3.
27. Robert Faurisson, "La savon juif," *Annales d'Histoire Révisionniste* (Paris), No. 1, Printemps 1987, pp. 153-159. (The "human soap" myth is repeated, for example, in: H. Kamm, "Elie Wiesel's Hometown," *The New York Times*, Dec. 9, 1986, p. A9.)
28. *Der Neue Weg*, Vienna, No. 17/18, 1946, pp. 4-5. Article entitled "RIF" by "Ing. Wiesenth." (Simon Wiesenthal).
29. *Der Neue Weg*, Vienna, Nr. 19/20, 1946, pp. 14-15. Article entitled "Seifenfabrik Belsetz" ("Belzec Soap Factory"), by "Ing. S. Wiesenth."
30. S. Wiesenthal, *Sails of Hope* (Macmillan, 1973).
31. S. Birnbaum, "Wiesenthal's Claim on Eichmann disputed by Former Mossad head," Jewish Telegraphic Agency *Daily News Bulletin* (New York), April 4, 1989. (Dispatch dated April 3). See also: "Israeli Spy Terms Wiesenthal No Help in Finding Eichmann," Reuters dispatch from New York, *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, April 9, 1989. Facsimile reprint in: *Christian News*, April 24, 1989, p. 17.
32. Michael Arndt, "The Wrong Man," *Sunday, The Chicago Tribune Magazine*, Dec. 2, 1984, pp. 15-35, esp. p. 23.
33. "The Nazi Who Never Was," *Washington Post*, May 10, 1981, pp. B5, B8.
34. "The Persecution of Frank Walus," *Reader* (Chicago), Jan. 23, 1981, pp. 19, 30.
35. Quoted in: M. Weber, "The Sleight-of-Hand of Simon Wiesenthal," *Journal of Historical Review*, Spring 1984, pp. 120-122.
36. Gerald L. Posner and John Ware, *Mengele: The Complete Story* (New York: Dell, 1987), pp. 220-221.; Gerald Astor, *The 'Last' Nazi: The Life and Times of Dr. Joseph Mengele* (Toronto: Paperjacks, 1986), p. 202.
37. G. Posner and J. Ware, *Mengele: The Complete Story* (cited above), p. 220.

38. G. Posner and J. Ware, *Mengele* (cited above), pp. 179-180.; G. Astor, *The 'Last' Nazi* (cited above), pp. 178-180.
39. *Time* magazine, Sept. 26, 1977, pp. 36-38. Cited in: G. Posner and J. Ware, *Mengele* (cited above), p. 219.
40. "Hunting the 'Angel of Death.'" *Newsweek*, May 20, 1985, pp. 36-38. See also: M. Weber, "Lessons of the Mengele Affair," *Journal of Historical Review*, Fall 1985 (Vol. 6, No. 3), p. 382. Also, on Wiesenthal's distortion of truth in the Mermelstein-IHR case, see: M. Weber, "Declaration," *Journal of Historical Review*, Spring 1982 (Vol. 3, No. 1), pp. 42-43; M. Weber, "Albert Speer and the 'Holocaust,'" *Journal of Historical Review*, Winter 1984 (Vol. 5, Nos. 2-4), p. 439.
41. Tom Bower in *The Times* (London), June 14, 1985, p. 14. Quoted in: G. Posner and J. Ware, *Mengele* (cited above), pp. 222-223.
42. *Midstream*, Dec. 1983, p. 24. Quoted in: G. Posner and J. Ware, *Mengele* (cited above), p. 219.
43. G. Posner and J. Ware, *Mengele* (cited above), pp. 222-223.
44. "Was hat Wiesenthal zu verbergen?," *D. National-Zeitung* (Munich), Nov. 11, 1988, p. 4.
45. Letter by Wiesenthal in *Books & Bookmen*, London, April 1975, p. 5.; he later mendaciously disclaimed this statement. In a letter dated May 12, 1986, to Prof. John George of Central State University in Edmond, Oklahoma, (copy in author's possession), Wiesenthal wrote: "I have never stated that 'there were no extermination camps on German soil.' This quote is false, I could never have said such a thing."
46. *Ha'aretz*, Dec. 16, 1988. Reported in: *Jewish Press* (Brooklyn, NY), Dec. 23, 1988.
47. Quoted in: M. Weber, *Spotlight*, Oct. 26, 1981, p. 9.
48. *D. National-Zeitung* (Munich), July 8, 1988, p. 7.

Innocent in Dachau: The Trial and Punishment of Franz Kofler et al.

JOSEPH HALOW

An unusual set of circumstances, over which I had only limited control, and timing, over which I had no control whatsoever, determined the course of my military career and led me to work as a court reporter at Dachau for the 7708 War Crimes Group in Germany after my discharge from the Army. Arriving in Germany innocent of war and politics, I found my preconceptions of right and wrong during wartime, as well as the justice of the postwar trials, challenged by what I observed and experienced during the Dachau trials. Many years later, my review of the records of those trials has only strengthened my belief that justice was not served at Dachau after the war.

* * * * *

The war with Japan ended on August 15, 1945, and I reached the age of eighteen on August 20, 1945. Unhappy with my life in a small city in Pennsylvania and sure I would in any event soon be drafted into the army, when I registered for the draft on my eighteenth birthday I asked for immediate induction. I could not have enlisted, since this would have required parental permission, and the death of my eldest brother in Italy during the war against Germany had so profoundly affected my parents they would not have considered granting it. My mother, grief-stricken, could only proclaim that had George enlisted and not been drafted she would have felt she had sent him to his death.

The Army moved as rapidly on my request for immediate induction as a Federal bureaucracy is able. In this case it wasn't until October 23, 1945 before I was taken into the Army. This worked in my favor, for by fall the nation had such a backlog of servicemen awaiting discharge that thousands of

men remained on terminal leave for weeks until the military service groups were able to process them.

I learned of the Army's desperate manpower situation within a few short days of my induction. At Fort Meade, Maryland, where each day thousands were being separated from the service, anyone with any office training whatsoever was immediately pulled from the ranks of the other recruits and put to work in Army Administration. The plan was to send these new recruits to basic training camps later, after the Army had been able to effect the discharge processing of so many World War II veterans.

I had grown up in Pennsylvania during the Great Depression, and, because of my father's heart condition, which would not permit him to work, we were probably even poorer than many of our neighbors. It never occurred to me that I would ever attend a university. I elected to pursue a commerical course in high school, so that I could have a well-paying job as soon as I graduated and I could begin a business career. Excelling in my studies, I broke the high school speed record in shorthand by passing a speed test at 175 words per minute.

This ability determined the course of my military service for the next two and a half years. I was not sent to a basic training camp but instead was put to work in G-4, the administrative office at Fort Meade. Hopelessly lost at a desk at which I was expected to work independently—for I had no experience and I received virtually no guidance whatever—I was pleased when, after only two or three weeks, I was asked to serve as a reporter on Army Retiring Board cases. The work was much easier than office administration, in which I was charged with responding to correspondence which I was unable to understand. Reporting required no experience, although attempting to record the proceedings faithfully is obviously stressful. This assignment lasted less than two months, for on my return to base from a Christmas furlough I learned that I was one of two enlisted men selected to go to China.

Chosen on the spur of the moment, we flew to China in propeller planes, and even under the A-1 priority assigned our travel, it was a week before we arrived in the city now called Beijing. We learned that our mission was to establish offices which would administer the negotiations the United States

was then mediating between the Communists and the Nationalists. Today it is difficult for me to imagine the extent of my political naiveté during the time I was stationed in China. The intent of our mission there I found incomprehensible. It may have been because we were an immigrant family, but at home in Pennsylvania, before I entered the Army, I was not at all interested in even American politics. At that time I could not have distinguished between the Republicans and the Democrats. In China, although I worked in the Commanding General's office and had access to every bit of information available, no matter how highly classified it was, I failed to understand the differences between the Chinese Nationalists and the Communists. It seemed obvious to me then that we favored the Nationalists, but it was not until much later that I understood the reasons for establishing the Peiping Headquarters Group, as our outfit was named.

When I arrived in China I had been in the Army exactly two and a half months, and I was still completely lost in an office. Thanks to my buddy Smitty's administrative abilities and his experience, we soon earned a good reputation and were highly regarded by officers and the enlisted men alike.

My tour in China ended on the termination of the six-month period of temporary duty. Although Smitty and I could have stayed on, both of us elected to return. We were ordered to Washington, D.C., and there assigned to the Office of the Chief of Staff, European Division, at the Pentagon.

After months of bored inactivity at the Pentagon, I was discharged from the Army on December 2, 1946. I longed to see more of the world, and sought a job with the Department of the Army abroad. Since I was still only nineteen, however,I was considered to be too young for overseas employment as a civilian. I argued that I had been overseas in the Army, where I had to manage essentially alone. The Civilian Personnel office agreed (probably because of the shortage of shorthand reporters in the European Theater). Despite my trepidation about being assigned to Germany, I left New York on the S.S. *Marine Angel* on December 10, 1946, and arrived in Bremerhaven, Germany, on December 21st. From there I traveled to Augsburg, where I awaited assignment as a pre-trial reporter on a war-crimes investigating detachment. There were at least fourteen such detachments, and each of them was to assign its own pre-trial reporter.

The first few months I spent in Germany were particularly unpleasant, due to an unusually severe winter and a shortage of fuel. We Americans had to cut back on our use of heating fuel, and so we were constantly cold, inside as well as outside our quarters. If our fuel rations were limited, rations for the Germans simply did not exist, and I later learned that they would frequently awaken to find frost on their inside walls, which remained frigid all day.

When the pre-trial detachments had finished their work, I was transferred to Dachau, to serve as an official reporter in the American trials at Dachau. The German cities I had seen had been so thoroughly destroyed by Allied bombers that it was a pleasure for me to come to Dachau. There, although one could purchase nothing in any of the shops, the buildings were at least intact. The summer of 1947, following the extremely cold winter, was also unusually warm and sunny, with mild weather which lasted through the fall. This made living conditions in Dachau very pleasant for me, though this contrasted starkly with the gloom involved in the cases we tried in court.

* * * * *

So many years have passed since the war crimes trials that I should perhaps explain that my unit, the 7708 War Crimes Group, was assigned the function of administering and holding the war crimes trials which took place under the aegis of the American military government in Dachau, Germany. This included trials of cases involving concentration camps in Germany and Austria, as well as trials of isolated atrocity cases. The latter involved the fates of crews from American planes shot down during bombing raids over Germany. Fliers forced to parachute from their disabled planes were often attacked by civilians from the towns in which these bombing raids had taken place. The enraged German civilians would then kill the unfortunate fliers, either by beating to death or shooting them, sometimes both.

It was on one of these atrocity cases that I was tested for my ability to report officially. Working with an experienced official reporter, I was to sit through the trial in order to understand and learn the procedure. I then had to record and transcribe the proceedings of one official court session or "take," a period of approximately one and a half hours in court.

Had I failed the test, I would doubtless have been transferred to some other function. I did pass the test, which proved to be more trying to my emotions than to my skill as a reporter.

I might have been indifferent regarding this trial had it not been for a young "accused" (as we called the defendants), who sat in the dock with several other, appreciably older, German civilians. He was so much younger than the others that I took note of him as soon as I entered the courtroom. I watched him throughout, and, undoubtedly because he sensed I was his peer, he watched me. Checking the record, I learned that the defendant, Rudolf Merkel, was six months younger than I; I was still only nineteen. The crime for which he was being tried had taken place when he was fifteen, when the other accused had attacked a flier who had parachuted into an area close to his town. Two of the older men had struck the flier, and on their instruction, Merkel had struck him twice with a stick.

My excitement during the proceedings had grown to a fever pitch by the time the court announced its sentences. When young Rudolf Merkel was sentenced to life imprisonment I was stunned. On hearing his sentence, young Merkel broke down. Tears streamed down his face, and he shook as he fought back the sobs which tore through his body. Throughout the trial I had sympathized with the murdered flier, my countryman, and had been deeply shaken to hear of his pathetic attempts to escape the attacks of the infuriated German townspeople. Now I was struck by the plight of this boy, and I had to look away to avoid crying with him. Listening to the testimony, I had already concluded that in his shoes I would have acted, despite my peaceful nature, as he had. Going a step further, I soon realized that had this happened in America those who had disposed of an enemy flier would have been considered heroes. We, the victors, considered them lawless criminals. I came to the conclusion that in such cases it is invariably the winners who determine whether those involved are heroes or terrorists.

After I had transcribed this testimony, I was told I had passed the test. My response was to say that I did not feel I was emotionally able to work in court. After three days, however, I realized that I had very little choice. I was under contract with the 7708 War Crimes Group as a reporter (technically a pre-trial reporter). To the best of my knowledge,

there was no other position available to me. I returned to work, where, after my baptism of fire, I soon adjusted. I could listen to the sentences given the accused, even when I thought they were harsh, without ever again having to battle tears on their behalf. Then again, Rudolf Merkel was the youngest accused whose trial I recorded (I learned later that he was the youngest prisoner interned at Landsberg prison).

* * * * *

Merkel's case was not the only trial I remember clearly. There were others that have stayed in my memory, either due to the crimes alleged, the sentences handed down, or simply the notoriety the case had gained. Some cases I remembered only for specific details, sometimes personal but more often regarding one or another of the accused. It was not until recently, however, following the declassification of the American military court files, that I was able to gain access to them. (They are held by the National Archives Records Administration at the Washington National Records Center in Suitland, Maryland.) What a thrill it was to look through the documents I had myself prepared more than forty years ago! The files served not only to confirm my recollections, but enabled me to review the complete documentation pertaining to the individual cases, including the reports of the review authority and subsequent correspondence.

When I started my review, I quickly checked the file on Rudolf Merkel. I discovered that he had been released from prison after serving seven years. I noted that his release was based on the same thing that had led me, long ago, to feel such pain at his sentence: his extreme youth. When his case came under review, his German counsel presented a strong statement on his behalf, indicating other instances in which, moved by political expediency, the Americans had excused the actions of boys slightly older than Rudolf Merkel was when he struck the fallen American. On his release, Merkel, who came from a village close to the French border, returned home, married and reared a family.

Apart from satisfying my curiosity, my review of the files allowed me to gain greater insight into the cases than was possible during my time in Dachau. My review of the files aroused my interest in writing about my experiences in Dachau, which involved reporting the trials of guards and

Kapos at Mauthausen, Buchenwald, and their various subcamps, or Kommandos.

The isolated flier case had been particularly difficult for me to endure, since it was much easier to identify with a single victim, usually an American, known by name, rank and serial number. The concentration camp cases provided a different challenge, since they involved many victims not identified by name or nationality. The witnesses in the concentration camp cases were virtually all of the sort we court reporters termed "professional witnesses," those who spent months in Dachau, testifying against one or another of the many accused. They were fed and housed by the Americans at Dachau in comfort they could never have hoped to attain elsewhere in Germany in those days. They were also paid a fee for each day they spent at court. Thus it was to their economic advantage to testify, and many of them made a good living doing so.

As one might well imagine, the motive of the professional witnesses was also one of spite and revenge. Those of them who had been in the concentration camps hated the Germans and would have done anything to harm them. In many instances their vengeance included relating exaggerated accounts of what they had witnessed. It also included outright lying.

To complicate matters even further, those who investigated the cases and brought them to court were often untrained. Their major qualification for these jobs was that they spoke German. In most instances this was not difficult for them, since, as Jewish refugees from Germany, German was their mother tongue. Virtually all of these investigators also hated the Germans, as did a large portion of the professional staff assigned to work in the courts. Many of the investigators gave vent to their hatred by attempting to force confessions from the Germans by treating them brutally. This frequently emerged in the testimony of some of the accused in the court proceedings, and the accompanying documents in the files contain allegations of instances of severe beatings of the accused by some of these investigators. The most famous example of this brutality was in connection with the interrogation of the suspects in the "Malmedy Case," and was confirmed by the Army's review board. The military courts,

set up as court martial, tended, however, generally to believe those who made the accusations, paying scant attention to testimony by and for the accused.

A popular accusation against an accused in the concentration camp case was that he had "so severely beaten prisoners that they died." Initially the "witnesses" were not even required to identify prisoners who had been so killed. Such accusations were responsible for many of the sentences which sent 229 of the 925 individuals accused in the 332 concentration camp cases to hang at Landsberg. Death sentences were, in fact, quite usual, as were sentences of life imprisonment.

There were also strong indications that the professional witnesses worked together, helping each other with their testimony. The witnesses would frequently attend sessions in a court trial, following which they would relate to their friends what had transpired. This helped their friends prepare for their own testimony.

The professional witnesses were known to the authorities in Washington, as is proved by a memorandum for the Judge Advocate General's Office in the Pentagon, speaking of a professional witness whose testimony was to be considered to be "unreliable." A note in the review of "The United States vs. Lauriano Navas, *et al.*" (file no. 000-50-5-25) states that:

> A memorandum for the Chief of the War Crimes Branch, European Command, dated 2 April 1951, states that Pedro Gomez, although never officially declared unreliable, definitely falls into the class of a "professional witness" and that testimony from him should be considered with caution and given little weight unless corroborated.

This admonition from the Office of the Chief of the War Crimes Branch, European Command, came unfortunately too late to have had any bearing during the war crimes trials, all of which were complete by the end of 1947. The sentences meted out by the courts and the subsequent documents prepared by the review authority demonstrate what I was able to observe, that there was very little caution applied in the acceptance of such testimony.

One of the factors which disturbed me the most in the concentration camp cases was the "common cause" finding by one of the courts, to the effect that anyone who had been in a position of any authority within a camp or any of its subcamps

had to have known what was transpiring in that camp and was, as a result, guilty of participation in a common cause. This finding struck me even then as being grossly unjust, since there are various reasons why one remains at a specific post. This awakens the age-old argument about whether one follows commands and performs what he is ordered to do or whether he follows the dictates of his own conscience. It is obvious that in such instances such a choice would have been very difficult even in the United States (witness the plight and the shame suffered by the conscientious objectors in the United States during World War II and the cases of those who would not fight in Vietnam during the Vietnamese war). In a dictatorship such as the Third Reich, the latter choice would have meant certain death.

* * * * *

One of the most memorable war crimes trials on which I worked was a subsidiary trial of the parent Mauthausen trial. I remember it vividly, despite its similarity to the other subsidiary concentration camp trials which I recorded; there was the usual intervention of professional witnesses and their confusion on the stand, leading, nevertheless, to the sentencing of the accused. What impressed me about this particular case was not so much the sloppy trial proceedings, the professional witnesses or any other aspect of the case, but the intervention of one witness and a single incident about which she testified. Her name was Danuta Drbuszenska. I still can see, in my mind, this young, blond, pretty Polish girl. Even her name fascinated me: a jumble of consonants so difficult to type I could not have forgotten it or her.

As in the other subsidiary Mauthausen Concentration Camp trials, the chief prosecutor required the court to take cognizance of the decision rendered in the parent Mauthausen case, "that the mass atrocity operation was criminal in nature and that the participants therein, acting in pursuance of a common design, subjected persons to killings, beatings, tortures, etc., and [the court] was warranted in inferring that those shown to have participated knew of the criminal nature thereof." The court indicated that those convicted in this case would also be considered part of this finding.

The trial was designated as "The United States vs. Franz Kofler *et al.*" Originally there were eleven accused. Kofler himself was not a German but an Austrian. The other seven accused included two men, Michael Heller and Stefan Lennert, who had been born in Rumania but were *Volksdeutsche*, ethnic Germans. These men served in the German Schutzstaffel (SS) but their foreign nationality posed no problem for them, since the *Volksdeutsche* were considered German despite having been born outside Germany proper. Another of the accused was Gustav Petrat, a Lithuanian *Volksdeutscher*, a German born in Lithuania and a citizen of that country until he became a German citizen in 1942. Gustav Petrat was also a member of the SS.

The other four were German nationals, apparently born in Germany, who gave home addresses in Germany. These other Germans accused were Hermann Franz Buetgen, Quirin Flaucher, Arno Albert Reuter and Emil Thielmann.

Danuta Drbuszenska was the first witness, called to the stand by the prosecution. Because she was Polish, the proceedings had to be translated twice, leaving me, the first reporter to begin recording testimony in this case, more time than usual to observe. I noted that she was of about medium height, blue-eyed as well as blond, with a pale oval face on which she used no makeup whatever. Drbuszenska was slim, and she wore a simple, pale pink cotton summer dress with a small print, very light in color, indicating frequent laundering. In 1947 she was, as she testified, only twenty-one, little more than two years older than I.

Danuta Drbuszenska had been taken prisoner in Warsaw when she was only sixteen. After a brief stay at an internment camp at Lodz, Poland (then called Litzmannstadt and annexed by Germany), she was moved to the Mauthausen Concentration Camp complex. She and a group of other Polish women had, I understood, been housed in a barracks which the SS had turned into a brothel. This brothel served the German military on duty at the camp, as well as those inmates who could pay for such benefits or were being rewarded for some service to the camp.

Apart from her physical good looks, I was immediately taken by Drbuszenska's calm manner from the momment she entered the court room to take the witness chair. Her simple dress gave her a casual look. Her manner of speaking, in a

very measured and even tone, was unhurried, giving the impression that she had all her thoughts collected and perfectly in order. I could not help but be impressed by her, and it was obvious that the court was as well. Hearing her testimony, taken in direct examination, I was convinced that her appearance would suffice to have Gustav Petrat, against whom she testified, sentenced to hang.

Drbuszenska's speech conveyed the impression that she was not aware of the severity of the statements she made, nor did she seem to notice the impression they were making on the court. She remained the coolest, most matter-of-fact witness of all those whose testimony I recorded in Dachau, even when presenting the lurid details of the incidents to which she testified. Drbuszenska remained unshaken even during the defense counsel's cross-examination. She appeared to have taken no note of me, but I watched her closely as she testified.

After giving her name, age, address and occupation (translated as "tailor" but which must have been "seamstress"), Drbuszenska was asked if she knew any of the accused in the case. She promptly responded that she knew "number six, Petrat." She said she knew another man but that he was not among the accused. She subsequently stated that she was to serve as a witness in another of the subsidiary camp case trials.

Drbuszenska testified that at Mauthausen she and the other women prisoners had to carry heavy rails, so heavy that it took five women to carry one. She stated that Petrat was the "SS man who was in charge of the lot of us," and she quickly came to the main points in her testimony by stating that whenever they went to the washroom he would beat them. Drbuszenska said that Petrat had first of all singled her out, for what reason she did not know. She stated that as the prisoners were gathering on the roll call square "to go to work," a report was made by the block eldest, a women, and Drbuszenska was "fetched out." Drbuszenska testified that Petrat had then struck her on the inside of the upper arm with a club constructed of wood and iron, leaving a scar about four inches long and about one inch wide. At the prosecution's request she arose calmly from the witness' chair and walked coolly toward the members of the court, where she slowly raised her right arm, turning so that each could see the scar on the inner side of the upper arm. The club, she testified, was about two and a half feet long and about as thick as her right wrist.

Following this, the witness then testified, the accused took her "back to his apartment," where he first grabbed her by the pigtails and gave her a beating. He then took her by her pigtails, winding them around his hands, and raised and lowered her until she fainted. While she was unconscious, Drbuszenska added, Petrat had taken her "hands back and tied them behind my back and up on a stake," where he let her hang for half an hour.

Drubszenska said she regained consciousness only when she was back in the prisoners' block. She testified further that "My girl friends told me afterwards that I had been hanging for half an hour, but I couldn't say because I had been unconscious and I don't know if he went on beating me or not." (I was so absorbed by this girl and her manner that I did not then notice the similarity between her statements about being picked up and lowered by *her hair* and a statement made by Moses Meschel, a Polish Jewish witness in the subsidiary Mauthausen trial of the four Spanish kapos, who stated that he had been picked up by his ear and then thrown to the floor, where he landed on the ear by which he had been originally lifted!)

Something which did not occur to me then is that Drbuszenska was never asked how her friends knew she could have been hanging for a half an hour. She herself could hardly have even known that Petrat had hanged her by her pigtails, since, according to her own statement, she had fainted before all this had happened, and, according to her own statement, regained consciousness only after her return to the prisoners' block. Only she and Petrat were present in what she said was his apartment, where all this was purported to have taken place. This glaring inconsistency appeared not to have troubled the court at the time. I recall only that I briefly questioned the statement in my own mind, but then forgot it because what then transpired in the court seemed to me bizarre.

When Drbuszenska began the account of her alleged mistreatment, I looked at Petrat, the man she was accusing, and saw he was blushing a deep red! The former SS man looked down at the floor, then looked up again. He had a sheepish grin on his face, and looked for all the world like a foolish young boy caught with his hand in the cookie jar, as though he had merely committed some petty misdemeanor!

The contrast between the two of them was startling, as though they had switched roles: the girl testifying was so calm and composed as to seem hard, unpressed by concern or any apparent emotion, while the look on the face of the man she was accusing was absolutely adolescent, if not actually puerile. I don't know if any of the court members noticed his discomfort, but I immediately guessed that there had been, not cruelty, but deep intimacy between the two. To me Petrat's blush confirmed this.

Asked if she had ever again been personally mistreated by Petrat, Drbuszenska responded "After that he didn't hit me any more because I used to say to him 'Well, when the Americans come you will be finished in any case,' and he used to say 'No, you will be finished before me.'" This type of exchange between a reputedly tough SS non-com, charged with guarding prisoners at a concentration camp, and a young and attractive female prisoner would have been incomprehensible to me if they had not been lovers. I was young, but not that young, and I couldn't forget that at the time she was in the camp she had been my age. Had Petrat so disliked Drbuszenska (which was unbelievable to me), he would have been more apt to strike her or to ignore her rather than have spent time in adolescent chit-chat about who would be "finished" first and whether or not this would be before or after the Americans liberated the camp.

My speculation was interrupted by the further questioning of Drbuszenska. The prosecutor's next question was "Now, do you know of any mistreatment of any other prisoners at Mauthausen by Petrat?" She responded "Yes." When asked to tell the court about it, Drbuszenska testified that she and her friend Zilenska were helping another friend, Wisniewska, who, because of a hernia, had been unable to walk alone to the washroom which they used. When they arrived there Petrat was standing on top of a barrel, with another SS man, against whom Drbuszenska had also "brought some charges somewhere else." Since Wisniewska could not walk unaided, Drbuszenska stated, Petrat struck her on the head with the same club with which he had earlier hit Drbuszenska, so hard that "all the brains came out and there was so much blood flowing about so that two SS men got two prisoners to clean up the blood and put her on a stretcher and carried her to the crematory."

When she was asked if her friend had been dead when she was carried away, Drbuszenska responded by saying "She was dead and she couldn't be anything else except dead because when he hit her all her brains had fallen out. She fell to the ground and didn't get up any more. We stood and cried." All this she recounted in the same, unbelievably calm manner, without any break in her voice, any change in the volume or the rate of speed at which she spoke.

Since their friend Wisniewska had been taken to the crematorium, Danuta Drbuszenska continued, she and her friend Zilenska picked up their towels and returned to the prisoners' block, exiting through a door which led directly into their block. Danuta and Zilenska then went, with another friend, to the crematorium, and with her two friends acting as look-outs for her, Danuta walked quietly over to the crematorium window and watched as Wisniewska's body was "put on a huge, what you might call a tray, and shoved inside the stove to be burned." She reported that there were more people there, "and I saw how he [Petrat] was rushing them onward. He said 'Hurry up, hurry up!' There was a five-minute alert and the Americans were to come in pretty soon." Drbuszenska stated that this incident had taken place on April 15, 1945, approximately three weeks before the Americans arrived at the camp.

During cross-examination, the defense counsel, Major William Oates, asked Drbuszenska if at the time Petrat struck her she did not have something in her hands. She responded that she had been holding a carrot, which she had stolen. The block eldest had seen her steal the carrot, and it was for this reason that she had been beaten. In response to further questioning by the defense counsel, Drbuszenska said that it was at their place of work where Petrat had struck her and, when asked to indicate approximately where Petrat was standing when he struck her, she indicated that it was about a foot and a half *to the left* (the scar was on her right arm). She then added quickly that when she saw him about to strike her she had raised her arm *to scratch her head* [emphasis provided by the author]!

The defense counsel asked Drbuszenska if she had ever had a love affair with Petrat (which confirmed my own feelings about what might have been the case). She did not answer this question but responded instead by saying, again coolly, "I

would kill him if I could!" The next question was "And at the time he struck you with this object, that was what you were trying to do, wasn't it?" Drbuszenska responded "What he was after was that I was swearing at him because I didn't want to have anything to do with him, and when he passed I didn't even say 'Good morning' to him." The defense counsel then asked her, "You had been stealing food stuffs from other inmates and this wasn't the first time that you had stolen from your fellow countrymen, was it?" The prosecution objected to the question, but the court president overruled the objection. The witness responded "No, we were going to peel potatoes and I picked up this carrot while peeling potatoes, so it is quite untrue."

There was another accusation brought against Petrat which I still recall, although not with the same prurient interest. This was a statement made by Andor Fried, a seventeen-year-old Polish Jew. Fried was one of several witnesses who testified that Petrat had accompanied a long column of prisoners walking to Gunskirchen from Mauthausen during the last several days of the war. He appeared to be uncertain in his indentification of Petrat, since the man he saw was following the procession at a distance of *about one and a half city blocks.* Fried asserted, nevertheless, that it had been Petrat, and he described how he saw Petrat, at such a great distance, had been killing stragglers or those who had fallen in the ditches by the wayside. Later in the trial, Andor Fried was recalled triumphantly by the prosecution to testify that, during a court recess, he had passed relatively close to the accused, who were then in the hall, and that Petrat had called him a "jüdisches Schwein!" (Jewish swine).

If Andor Fried was lying, and his story indicates he was at least not sure what he was saying was exact, Petrat might have been so offended by his statements, either untrue or at least exaggerated, that he could have called him a *"jüdisches"* or any other kind of a swine. But a witness who will lie about one thing can be counted on to lie again, and it is possible that Petrat never said anything of the kind to Fried. At that time, however, no one would have dared question such an accusation made by a concentration camp survivor.

The accusation that Petrat had been following the forced march was thoroughly refuted—or at least cast in doubt—by the witnesses for the defense. These witnesses said that Petrat

could not have been accompanying the transport, since it was not his function. They pointed out that Petrat had been assigned to the Mauthausen Camp because he had been wounded so severely on the Russian front that he was no longer fit to fight. His physical condition would not have permitted him to ride a motorcycle. One of the defense witnesses said that the prosecution witnesses might have mistaken Petrat for Hans Altfuldisch, who had been tried and sentenced to death in the parent Mauthausen case.

Prosecution witnesses further testified that Petrat had beaten and killed inmates working at the stone quarry. He was accused of once having killed a fallen inmate by stamping on his head. Petrat was a dog leader, i.e., one who guarded work crews outside the camp with a leashed dog, and his dog was described as a savage animal, which tore pieces of flesh out of the inmates when she bit them.

Defense witnesses, on the other hand, testified that Petrat's dog was a fat and lazy bitch, which might have threatened but would not attack. They also testified that Petrat would never have been permitted in the camp where the inmates were housed; yet, according to Drbuszenska, he was frequently in their washroom, which she herself admitted men were not permitted to enter.

The court evidently accepted the testimony of Drbuszenska, as well as the charges by some of the other witnesses. It found Petrat guilty and sentenced him to death by hanging. This did not surprise me at the time, for I had expected it ever since I had heard Danuta Drbuszenska's initial testimony.

The testimony presented against Quirin Flaucher, a prisoner, condemned him just as quickly as that against Petrat had condemned him. In Flaucher's case, however, testimony was presented by at least one credible witness, Jean Loureau, who had already testified in the Lauriano Navas case. He traveled to Germany from France once again for the Kofler trial. Loureau testified that Flaucher had been the block eldest of Block 8, which was the dispensary. Flaucher, a criminal inmate, had been made a kapo and given responsibility for the dispensary, which contained sick inmates of many nationalities. Some of the ill and infirm were Russians, classed as both prisoners of war and Russian political prisoners, but those in the dispensary also included Yugoslavs, Belgians, Frenchmen, Poles, Germans, Austrians, Italians and even Swedes.

Flaucher was, according to Loureau, particularly intolerant of prisoners suffering from diarrhea and unable to control themselves. If one of them attempted to get up from his bed to go to the bathroom, managed only to get out of bed and soiled the floor, Flaucher would become enraged and beat him severely.

Loureau described having witnessed one beating by Flaucher, from which his victim, an ill Yugoslav, ultimately died. Loureau said that he didn't know why Flaucher had beaten the Yugoslav, but that Flaucher had announced he was going to give the Yugoslav a beating of fifty lashes with the whip. According to Loureau, the Yugoslav was forced to bend over a stool, while Loureau(!) pinned the man's hands behind his back and an orderly held the man's head between his legs. Then Flaucher whipped him. The Yugoslav endured several lashes without uttering a sound, but he soon began to shout and try to get free. During the ensuing struggle the Yugoslav fell from the stool. When he did not obey Flaucher's order to get up, Flaucher discarded his whip, called the Yugoslav to him and began to beat him unmercifully, slapping him and striking him with his fists. When the Yugoslav again fell to the floor, Flaucher kicked him viciously, until the Yugoslav stopped shouting, for he was dead.

Loreau also testified that Flaucher was a homosexual who kept two boys, whom he used "as women," in Block 8. When asked if he had ever witnessed this, the witness responded that he had not, but that he had seen Flaucher kiss one of them. Virtually all other witnesses made similar statements about Flaucher, testifying that he would seek out young boys of about fourteen and fifteen and attempt to use them sexually. When the boys refused he would mistreat and frequently beat them.

Augusta (Gussie) Lapins (now Augusta Lukomski) returned from her "take" in this trial and told me that one of the witnesses, Herbert Wisniewski, a young Polish Jew testifying against Flaucher, had collapsed on the witness stand during direct examination by the prosecution. He had been testifying to the effect that after the Polish uprising in Warsaw (late in 1944), the Germans had arrested a large number of young boys of about fourteen and fifteen whom they then brought to Mauthausen. Wisniewski said Flaucher had wanted to sleep with them, and when they would not comply, he had beaten them. The prosecution asked the witness "Did you see these

beatings?," to which there was no response, since Wisniewski had at that moment fainted and fallen to the floor.

Two days later the prosecutor announced that he had a communication from Wisniewski, apologizing for having collapsed on the stand, but stating that he would not return to testify during the trial. The prosecutor said he had completed his examination of the witness, but the defense counsel moved his testimony be stricken from the record, since he had not had an opportunity to cross-examine the witness. Advised that Wisniewski would supply an affidavit, the defense counsel said that this would not serve his purposes. The court recessed briefly to discuss the defense's move but returned to deny it, stating that the defense counsel had refused to accept a sworn statement by the witness in lieu of an opportunity to question him in court. Yet the defense's motion should have been perfectly clear; it could not accept a statement which contained in it only what the witness or the prosecution wished to have in it, without any opportunity to question the witness about the points which the defense wished to raise.

The court found Flaucher guilty of the charges and sentenced him to death by hanging.

The other witnesses for the prosecution were from the groups of professional witnesses collected at Dachau. They continued to complicate the proceedings, for their testimony appeared to raise more questions than provide answers. Some of it was obviously fabricated, or so grossly exaggerated as to render it unbelievable. There were repeated instances of mistaken identity of the same accused and vague, uncertain statements about some of the others. These prosecution witnesses accused various of the other accused of indiscriminately beating and killing inmates. One witness, Simon Bressler, testified that Hermann Buetgen had continually beaten the inmates he was guarding at the stone quarry. Bressler provided a description of Buetgen which fit that of Michael Heller, another guard. The accused Buetgen had not worked at the quarry, but Heller, to whom the witness had not pointed and whom he apparently did not know, had been one of the guards stationed there. Bressler was asked "Did you ever see the accused, No. 2 [Buetgen], commit any atrocities against or upon any prisoner there at Mauthausen?" Bressler replied that "He would strike every prisoner, each individual prisoner. He would give him a blow, then another

blow all the way down to the quarry." When asked "How many prisoners did you see this accused, No. 2, beat in this fashion?" Bressler responded "All of them. We were eight hundred men in the detail, and he struck all eight hundred of them."

Another prosecution witness, Josef Feldstein, who stated that he had been at Mauthausen from the end of 1942 until May 1945, when the camp was liberated by the Americans, pointed out accused Hermann Buetgen when asked if he knew any of those on trial. He identified him as "Wittingen," however, also ascribing to him functions which had been performed in Mauthausen by Michael Heller. When asked to spell the name, Feldstein said he only knew that "Wittingen" was the accused's name; he did not know how to spell it.

Feldstein was asked "Just what makes you so sure that this is the same man that you saw at Mauthausen?" and he responded "I have a good memory, and what I see I am able to remember after thirty years."

Jacob Sztejnberg, who testified for the prosecution, also definitely identified accused No. 2, Hermann Buetgen, as performing the functions of a Block leader or guard, which one might expect to have heard of Michael Heller. He said that Buetgen had been guarding the inmates working in the quarry and that he beat them severely, frequently causing some to die. Sztejnberg testified that Buetgen would beat prisoners who carried stones smaller than Buetgen wished.

In addition to testifying against Buetgen, Sztejnberg testified also against Petrat and Flaucher, whose name he said he did not know properly and which he mispronounced as "Laucher." When questioned about his testimony against Flaucher, which appeared to be vague, Sztejnberg, an arrogant witness, grew testy and made caustic comments to the prosecution, which was not calling into question, but merely attempting to clarify, Sztejnberg's statement. The court president was finally forced to call Sztejnberg before the court and instruct him that the court wanted "no more smart remarks," that he was to respond to the question raised and that the court would determine what was appropriate and what was not.

During the trial, the prosecution was clearly angered by the fact that some of its witnesses against one accused might speak well of another. Feldstein had accused Buetgen of deeds which could only have been committed by Michael Heller. But

Wilhelm Mornstein spoke well of Michael Heller, as he accused Emil Thielmann of having committed atrocities, saying that Heller was "the opposite of Thielmann." He said that Heller always expressed horror at what he saw and had said he would be glad when he could get out of there.

Herbert Melching, a witness for the prosecution, testified that he had seen Franz Kofler, the Kommando leader and roll call leader, beat prisoners to death. When asked by the defense counsel how he could be sure that the prisoners had been beaten to death, he responded: "Because the blows were pretty hard." Melching admitted he had never seen any of the dead bodies, either physically or in photographs, of the men he presumed had died as a result of the beatings.

Kofler was also accused of having taken a group of five Jews from Block 5 into the washroom, whipping them there, then attempting to drive them into the electrically charged wire. When the men refused, Kofler so harried them that, weakened, they could be forced into the wire and electrocuted. Peter Bleimüller, another prosecution witness, testified that Kofler would come into the Jewish block once a week to beat the Jewish prisoners. He said that this was during the period of January and February of 1942, when no Jew survived more than three days in the camp. The defense's response to this was contained in testimony which Kofler presented voluntarily to the court. He asked why not one of the 180 inmates from Block 5 had testified that he forced Jews from Block 5 into the electrically charged wire. He said that the only one who had testified to this effect had been from Block 4.

One of the witnesses who testified against Kofler was a Josef Schwaiger. He testified that Kofler had beaten prisoners during roll call. During cross examination the defense counsel accused Schwaiger of having been angered because Kofler had taken away his girlfriend, and vowing that he would get even with him. The girlfriend to whom the defense counsel referred was a Mrs. von Schwertberg, who lived in a house near Mauthausen, where Schwaiger had frequently worked.

After Herbert Melching had appeared as a witness for the prosecution, he was subsequently recalled as a witness by the defense, over the prosecution's objections. Melching, who properly identified Buetgen, testified that as an electrician and as operator of the camp movie projector, Buetgen had no

responsibility for guarding prisoners and could not have beaten and killed prisoners.

In the end it was obvious the court placed not only more confidence, but immediate and almost blind belief in the prosecution's witnesses, despite the confusion in their indentification of the accused and their otherwise weak statements. As was usually the case in the Dachau courts, there is no indication that the testimony presented by the witnesses for the defense was even considered.

With virtually no testimony against Stefan Lennert which could even have begun to prove the charges made against him, the court found Lennert not quilty, the only one of the accused who was acquitted. Hermann Buetgen was sentenced to three years imprisonment at hard labor, and Arno Albert Reuter to two years imprisonment at hard labor. Emil Thielmann was sentenced to life imprisonment. Michael Heller and Franz Kofler, along with Quirin Flaucher and Gustav Petrat, were sentenced to death by hanging.

I saw Danuta Drbuszenska once more, quite by chance, shortly after the termination of the trial. That September there was a *Volksfest* (carnival) in Dachau, and I went to see what it might be like. Completely alone, I was wandering around the grounds when I suddenly saw Drbuszenska, who was, like me, wandering by herself through the crowd. I had thought she would not recognize me, but she did, and approached me as though we were old friends. We spent the afternoon together, hand in hand, enjoying some of what the *Volkfest* had to offer. There was no food to be purchased there, but there were side shows, a merry-go-round, and a tunnel of love. We parted late in the afternoon as friends.

Later, I regretted that I never thought to ask her about the trial, but at that time I had no interest in the accused, and my mind was on her rather than on the case. It surprises me now, but I don't even remember any discussion of what her plans might have been, whether she would continue to live in Germany or might consider returning to Poland. I never saw her again.

* * * * *

When, a few years ago, the U.S. Army declassified its files on the war crimes trials, I eagerly examined them. The records which most surprised and disillusioned me were

those which dealt with the Franz Kofler trial, in which I had been so enchanted by Danuta Drbuszenska. So taken by her at the trial, I was startled when, in studying the case file, I found such discrepancies in her testimony that I could only conclude that she was an outrageous liar.

No one asked her, nor did she explain, how she could have been peeling potatoes when Petrat struck her, if she had been "fetched out" of the roll call, as she originally claimed. Nor did the defense question the differences in her statements about the work these Polish women actually performed. Drbuszenska had testified she was carrying rails at the camp, rails so heavy it took five women to carry one rail, which would suggest she was not merely peeling potatoes. Yet she could not have picked up a carrot had she been carrying rails, a job function which later witnesses testified, furthermore, was never assigned to the women. Drbuszenska, obviously, had been stealing food, and her denial of this accusation did not erase the doubts raised in my mind when I read the defense's question and her response.

At the time of the trial I was convinced she and Petrat had been intimate, and the fact that he blushed so intensely when she was testifying tended to confirm this for me. Since I could not imagine an older man blushing, a trait usually associated with younger people afflicted with a conscience, I now checked his identification sheet. I learned that he was only twenty-two at the time of the trial, and he had been about twenty at the time of the incident. Drbuszenska had been only nineteen at the time she claimed he had struck her and subsequently killed her friend Wisniewska.

It is impossible to imagine that Petrat took Drbuszenska to "his apartment" only to strike her, and I could not believe he took her there only to twist her pigtails around his arm so that he could raise and lower her! (Witnesses subsequently testified, in fact, that Petrat had no apartment but was billeted with as many as twenty other enlisted men, which sounds far more credible.) Had Drbuszenska claimed that he had raped her she would have been more believable, for he was, after all, twenty and she nineteen at the time, and also very attractive. It further struck me as odd that in a regime such as that of Hitler a twenty-year old corporal could have had so much authority he could "kill and gas people and nobody would do anything to him," as I discovered Drbuszenska had claimed. The other SS

personnel at the camps were seriously concerned about their responsibilities to their superiors. The camp commandant of Buchenwald—hardly a junior-grade officer—had been tried, sentenced and executed because of such abuses of authority, yet Drbuszenska had blithely attributed the power to kill prisoners at will to Petrat, who was then only twenty! Her statement about Petrat's authority in the camp was obviously untrue.

Her later testimony is also completely out of harmony with her earlier statements that he apparently disliked and wanted to harm her. If this were so, he could never have engaged with her in the gossipy, teasing form of small talk she indicated they frequently shared.

If there had been a Zilenska, the prosecution appeared never to have bothered to contact her, to have her either submit an affidavit or testify in person to corroborate Drbuszenska's story. Since there was no one else to confirm or deny the accounting, in the absence of a third party the court had to choose which account they would believe: Petrat's or Drbuszenska's. Given the atmosphere of the time and place, there was never any question that the court would choose her statement, even if Petrat had testified.

The court—and if not the court, certainly the Review Authority—should have questioned Danuta Drbuszenska's statements about the fact that Petrat was always lurking around the women's washroom, where he would be at any time of the day she appeared there. Other witnesses testified that he was a "dog leader," testimony which must have had some degree of accuracy since it was logical and was repeated by diverse sources. Yet despite claiming she frequently encountered Petrat in camp, Danuta Drbuszenska did not once mention his dog. One wonders, if he was the dog leader, where he kept his dog when he was, as she alleges, stalking her in the camp. Drbuszenska stated Petrat was always there when she went to the washroom. This too is impossible to believe. What SS camp guard would be allowed to loiter in a woman's washroom?

Drbuszenska's testimony is clearly that of a woman who had been used and then rejected. Such instances are not rare (in the Army I frequently heard the cautionary expression that one "should not play around too close to the flagpole"). The defense counsel attempted to make this point in court, but in a

court so biased against the accused he could not have hoped for success.

With regard to the other accused, I noted, with regret, that the court had obviously chosen not to follow the lead provided by the defense counsel, who had attempted to prove complicity among the witnesses against the accused. The fact that three witnesses, and possibly four, had so firmly identified Hermann Buetgen, but then attributed to him another function in the camp, one which applied only to Michael Heller, could hardly have been coincidental. The testimony of a fourth witness, Wincenty Lipinski, in which he identified Hermann Buetgen as another of the accused, was stricken from the record. There exists nothing now to show either why it was stricken or with whom he had confused Buetgen. We shall, therefore, never know what Lipinski said or with whom he confused Hermann Buetgen, but it is quite likely that it was also Heller.

The prosecution had made one direct reference to the special findings during the proceedings, when toward the end of the trial the defense counsel had moved that Lennert, one of the accused, be acquitted since there was no evidence linking him to any crimes. The prosecution objected to this motion, indicating that one of the pretrial statements by Lennert had established he had been a member of the staff at Mauthausen and was, therefore, guilty under the common cause finding of the court in the Altfuldisch case.

These special findings were introduced in every subsidiary concentration camp trial and were accepted literally by the courts. It always seemed to me outrageous for anyone to assign guilt to an individual on the basis of where he worked, without taking into consideration that the individual might have been ordered to work there. Such a finding ignores the fact that an individual might have been strongly opposed, philosophically and morally, to the principles according to which he was forced to perform.

The review counsel for this particular case, Louie T. Tischer, obviously considered the special findings his authority for upholding the court's finding of guilty in each of the cases, except that of Stefan Lennert. He began and ended his review by citing the special findings. Although Tischer made mention of the witnesses, both those who testified in person and those who had provided extrajudicial statements,

he clearly relied on the special findings to uphold every conviction.

At one point in the trial, the defense counsel had objected to a witness whom the prosecution had called. The defense counsel noted that this particular witness had been sitting in the courtroom two days earlier, listening to testimony presented by prosecution witness Fosel Schoeps against five of the accused. The court considered the objection and sustained it, denying use of the witness to prosecution. Evidently the court did not consider the fact that Schoeps might have been advising all the other witnesses on what was transpiring in the proceedings.

Regarding Hermann Buetgen, Tischer noted that several witnesses had confused Buetgen with Lennert, but he brushed aside their confusion and went on to rule that the incidents subsequently described by the witnesses were committed by Buetgen. This, I felt, was hardly conscionable, for the witnesses' statements, as they appear in the record, clearly indicated they were lying. These false statements should at least have raised a question in the review counsel's mind. The evidence presented indicated very strongly that Buetgen was not and could not have been at the stone quarry. One also wonders how Heller could have been found guilty of the crimes the witnesses attributed to him there when these witnesses could not even identify him!

On the basis of testimony by several witnesses—Lipinski, Schmeling and Milonia, a former Yugoslav inmate—Michael Heller was sentenced to death by hanging. Peda and Lipinski had been questioned by the defense as to whether they had not discussed the case outside the court, only to have the two witnesses respond with conflicting statements. Many of the prosecution's witnesses testified in Heller's favor. It appeared, however, that all the positive testimony with regard to this accused—even that presented by the prosecution's witnesses—appeared to have been ignored. One such witness, Barzinsky, testified he had made a new uniform for Heller to wear on his furlough, which would have placed him outside the camp at the time he was alleged by some of the witnesses to have shot and killed inmates. But this testimony, too, played no role in the court's decision.

As I had expected, Gustav Petrat had been done irreparable harm by the testimony of Danuta Drbuszenska. Not only had

the court never questioned her, neither did the review authority, Mr. Tischer. He quoted her testimony entirely, although he did mention that "she appeared to be slightly confused over one of the details," which he treated and overlooked as though it were a minor incident.

Other than for his blushing in court, I had not again thought of Gustav Petrat nor ever considered him as a human being, even during the trial, but I was suddenly overwhelmed by a feeling of compassion for him when I read the file in the archives. He was a man who was sentenced to death and subsequently hanged on the basis of testimony which was, by even the admission of the review counsel, flawed, and by other testimony which failed to identify him conclusively.

According to Petrat's statement, he had been transferred to Mauthausen because of wounds he had received in the war. Certainly this could have been verified. Even if the court and the review counsel had been convinced it had indeed been Petrat who had been following the march to Gunskirchen, they might also have asked themselves if he, as a low-ranking SS soldier in a dictatorship, had not merely been obeying orders.

In my review of the file, I sadly noted a pathetic sworn statement submitted by Gustav Petrat, which appeared to me to be, so many years after he had been hanged in consequence of his duty at Mauthausen, the echo of a lonely young ghost. The statement was prepared in German but was translated for the recipient, since it was submitted to the Military Governor of the U.S. Zone of Occupation. The statement, in translation, reads as follows:

> I, Gustav PETRAT, born 12 November 1924 in Wirballen/Litauen [Lithuania], presently in Landsberg/Lech, make the following sworn statement after I have been informed that this statement is to be submitted to the Military Governor of the U.S. Zone and that any false statement may be severely punished.
>
> 1. In May 1944, on account of my wound, I was transferred to the guard personnel of the Mauthausen concentration camp and served there as dog leader with the 16th Guard Company. My rank was Corporal (*Rottenführer*) in the Armed (*Waffen*) SS.
>
> 2. On 10 May 1945, I was taken prisoner by American soldiers in Ried near Mauthausen and taken to the Tittling camp. When I got there I was mistreated with whips, fists and

feet, as was the general custom at that time for newly arrived prisoners.

3. Like many others I was quartered in a potato patch in the open air, so that we all were exposed to the weather.

4. On 26 May 1945 I had my first interrogation there, which was one of the most memorable of my entire captivity. Even before they asked me the first question, they struck me so that I collapsed. After I had managed to stagger upright again in spite of my weak condition and aided by the necessary kicks from the interrogator, the real interrogation began. They asked me questions that I could not have answered if I had had the best will in the world to do so. I was to state where the leader of the Mauthausen concentration camp was. It was impossible for me to give the information, since I really didn't know, and as a little corporal I couldn't know. My reply loosed a hail of blows.

The second question concerned myself. They asked me how many prisoners I had shot and beaten, to which I replied truthfully and with a clean conscience, "Not one."

The interrogator drew a pistol and threatened to kill me if I did not tell the truth immediately. He meant, however, that I should be hanged. I told him again that I only spoke the truth and he could kill me if he wanted to, that at least I would be freed from the whole mess. Then more blows, and with a push in the small of the back I fled [*Sic.* This may be a typographical error, since the German text in the original statement is *bin geflogen*, which means literally "flew," but should be translated "was sent out flying" or "was thrown out."]

5. On 9 May [*sic*] 1945 I was taken to the Moosburg internment camp with about 80 other prisoners. On 7 September 1945 I had my second interrogation, in Moosburg, at which they asked me the same questions they asked in the Tittling camp. There too, I received blows from a whip. This consisted of a wooden handle about 30 cm. long to which leather straps had been fastened. Since I had to answer the questions in the negative, they told me that there were other ways and means to force me to tell the truth. Then the interrogator left the room for a few minutes, and returned with a second interrogator. Since I had to reply to this man's questions in the negative also because I did not know of any killing, he struck me with his fists and theatened to "hang" and "shoot" me. After I stuck to my guns, I was taken back to my quarters.

On 10 February 1946 I was transferred to the Dachau internment camp.

6. There I was interrogated two times. At the interrogation on 21 June 1946 they read statements to me that said that I had shot eight prisoners in the Mauthausen concentration camp. I was to sign this, but I vigorously refused because I never shot a prisoner. After repeated requests to sign, I was struck with fists and kicked with feet. They put a paper in front of me to sign in which it said that I had never been beaten by American interrogators and soldiers. I refused, and only after repeated blows with the threat that I would never leave the room alive until I had signed, and that they would know how to break down my obstinacy, did I put my name to it.

I had never had anything to do with the court in my life and I was afraid that they would make my life even more difficult.

7. In January 1947 the so-called "line-ups" commenced in the Dachau Special Camp. I was confronted with prisoners three times, yet, no one accused me of the least thing. The man in charge of the line-up, Mr. ENTRESS, told the prisoners that I was said to have shot many prisoners and beaten them to death, whereat only a burst of laughter arose. At that time I was 22 years old. When I was 19½ I came to Mauthausen as dog-leader.

A former prominent prisoner, Dr. SANNER, asserted he did not know me, but if a dog leader had beaten prisoners to death or shot them that would certainly have become known in the camp. Many other former long-term prisoners joined in this exonerating testimony.

8. At mid-July 1947 I and my seven co-accused were presented for the first time to our official defense lawyer, Major William A. OATES. To his question whether I knew what I was accused of, and by whom, I could only reply that I was not conscious of any guilt and also had never counted on being brought to trial, since I had never mistreated or killed anyone.

Major OATES told me that he too, knew nothing, that he could not get a glimpse of the incriminating papers of the prosecution, and therefore he would have to go by my statements, the general charge sheet, and the testimony of the prosecution witnesses at the trial.

Since only the prosecution had access to the records, my lawyer did not see them, and so naturally it was very difficult for him to prepare a defense. Major OATES promised to do everything he could. Also I gave him the names of the witnesses who were important for me, and who themselves were interned in Dachau.

9. On 15 July 1947 I received a general charge sheet and was transferred with my co-accused to the Bunker I, Camp Dachau.

It was impossible for me to procure any exonerating material there. One was cut off from the outside world. Letters to relatives or acquaintances in which something was said about witnesses or the approaching trial were so cut up that the receiver received only scraps from which he could glean nothing. For that reason it was made impossible for me to procure any defense material. Requests for special letters to witnesses or prior reports to the defense lawyer were fruitless.

Already in little things they were making the procuring of exonerating material impossible. Also the time before the beginning of the trial was far too short to obtain any material.

10. On 6 August 1947 the trial began, and lasted until 21 August.

11. The prosecution witnesses had every support of the prosecuting authorities. When they were shown to be lying, up jumped the prosecutor, Mr. Lundberg, and accused the defense lawyer of intimidating the witnesses and trying to make out that they were liars.

12. In reality, the opposite was the truth. Defense witnesses were intimidated by the braying of the prosecutor or were branded as false. It happened that defense witnesses were threatened and beaten by foreign former prisoners so that the former had no more interest in appearing for the defense. They were afraid that they too would be accused of something, which the foreign prisoners were quite capable of, as they hated everything German and were out for revenge.

13. In the courtroom were Polish, Jugoslav and Jewish prisoners as spectators who served as an information bureau, that is, during the court recesses they told their comrades, who were still waiting for their interrogation, everything that had been discussed during the course of the trial. On the basis of this information the latter were then able to reinforce the accusations and bring to naught the exoneration, which was scanty enough anyway.

For this reason it was also possible to always bring out the same points in the accusations.

14. The questionnaires we had filled out were handed to the prosecution witnesses by the prosecutor or by his interpreter. In this way each exact date could be looked up in order to incriminate the accused without having to fear that a false statement was being made. In spite of this, it happened that they contradicted themselves in cross-examination. However, because the witnesses were under the protection of the American court, they had nothing to fear from perjury, which they committed repeatedly.

15. We, as accused, had no right to give our opinion. At the beginning of the trial the defense lawyer told us that we had to keep quite still and the questions we wanted to have put to the witnesses we were to write on a slip of paper and give to his interpreter, Mr. BARR. I did not understand most of the trial, since I am a Lithuanian and only know a little German. I had to find out during the court recesses, from my comrades, of what I was accused.

17. [*Sic.* The paragraph is misnumbered in the original document.] There was no final argument by the defense lawyer. I was sentenced to death on 21 August 1947. The sentence was approved on 26 June 1948.

Landsberg/Lech, 10 September 1948 /s/ Gustav PETRAT.

It is now late to be considering the question of Petrat's personal innocence or guilt, since he was executed in 1948. Apart from some possible exaggerations, Petrat's statement must be considered credible. His comments with regard to the witnesses conferring with one another has the ring of truth and confirms what the defense counsel had already suspected and had indicated to the court during his interrogation of the witnesses: that there was discussion among the witnesses about the testimony. The witnesses' mistaken identification of the accused Buetgen firmly and clearly indicates collusion among the Prosecution's witnesses.

There can also be no question about the use of duress and physical force by the interrogators. This was confirmed by the review of the Malmedy case, but was present in other American cases as well. There were certainly American legal personnel who were disturbed by the beatings administered to the prisoners in order to extract confessions of guilt, but for the most part they kept silent. One investigator who did know and was deeply distressed was, surprisingly enough, Fred Fleischmann, an American Jew who had been forced to flee Germany during World War II. Fleischmann later complained bitterly about the beatings the German prisoners were forced to endure.

* * * * *

I was the reporter assigned to record the last session of the Nordhausen trial, which was also the last trial session held in Dachau. Following that I left Dachau for another post in Germany before returning to the United States, one month before my twenty-first birthday. I subsequently married,

fathered three childen, and spent the intervening years attempting to provide for my family.

My thoughts often return to the Dachau war crimes trials. My memories of my duties there have remained strong, and, like many Americans, I continue to hear much about German misdeeds during the war.

There is a time after which all things should end. The time is long past for one-sided recriminations over German war crimes and concentration camps. As anyone who worked in Dachau, impartially, could testify, there were also injustices committed in the trials instituted to punish the Germans. The Americans gave the defendants less than due process. Jewish and Polish investigators and witnesses took vengeance on many of the accused, some of whom had done nothing to them, many of whom they did not even know.

There were many innocents in Dachau. Most of them were not permitted free departure from the camp, and many lost their lives to the executioners at Landsberg, never again to return to their homes and families.

REVIEW ARTICLE

Lessons from Dachau

DACHAU: 1933-45, THE OFFICIAL HISTORY by Paul Berben. London: The Norfolk Press, 1975, Hardcover, 300 pages, ISBN 0-85211-009-X.

JOHN COBDEN

Sometimes important "revisionist" works are produced, not by the Revisionists, but by believers in Exterminationist theory. A case in point is Arno Mayer's *Why Did the Heavens Not Darken?*, which downplays Auschwitz as a center of gassings and admits that most deaths in the camps, including the so-called "death camps," were the result of "natural" causes and not from gassings or executions. Another book that, remarkably, helps the Revisionist case is Paul Berben's *Dachau: 1933-45, The Official History. Dachau* begins by positing that Dachau was an "extermination camp," then implicitly demolishes its own thesis.

Berben's *Dachau* was first published in 1968 in Belgium, then republished by the Norfolk Press in 1975 "on behalf and under the auspices of the Comité International de Dachau." The C.I.D. "represents the tens of thousands of deportees who were exterminated in the death camp and also those who survived." (p. xiv) It is incontestably an official history: the 1975 edition, which is reviewed in this article, contains the statement that it was "published for sale only at the Dachau Camp Memorial Site."

The book subscribes to what might be termed the ecumenical version of the Holocaust, according to which not merely six million Jews but millions of others—Communists, Slavs, gypsies et al. were deliberately annihilated by the Germans. The preface, written by C.I.D. leader Major General Dr. A.M. Guerisse, G.C., D.S.O. (alias Lt. Cdr. Pat O'Leary, R.N.), claims that "Many millions of people suffered the horrors of the concentration camps; millions were exterminated in them. Their crime had been to fight for

freedom, for human rights, for the respect due to each and every individual."

Dachau begins, however, by casting some doubt on its claim that the concentration camp's inmates were champions of freedom and human rights. The author makes it quite clear that many of Dachau's inmates had been sent there because they were common criminals. Nor were they a small group. According to Berben:

> The third *main* category of prisoners was the "criminals." The S.S. distinguished between two groups in their statistical summaries: the P.S.V. and the B.V.; but both wore the same badges. The P.S.V. (*Polizeisicherungsverwahrte*) were criminals who had served their prison terms, in some case many years since, but they were considered to be dangerous and were held

Chart 1:

Number of Prisoners Who Died at Dachau and in Outside Kommandos, 1940-5

	1940	1941	1942	1943	1944	1945
January	---	455	142	205	53	2,888
February	17	393	104	221	101	3,977
March	86	321	66	139	362	3,668
April	101	227	79	112	144	2,625
May	87	322	98	83	84	2,226
June	54	219	84	55	78	
July	34	140	173	51	107	
August	119	104	454	40	225	
September	134	73	319	45	325	
October	171	88	207	57	403	
November	273	110	380	43	997	
December	439	124	364	49	1,915	
	1,515	2,576	2,470	1,100	4,794	15,384

NOTE: This, chart reprinted from page 281 of Berben's "Dachau," illustrates some interesting facts. Note that the death rate in Dachau fell slightly in 1942. In 1943 the death rate fell almost 50 per cent. In 1943 the death rate was at an all-time low, yet according to Exterminationist theory the "final solution" should have been in full swing. In 1944, with the reappearance of typhus in the camp, deaths rose dramatically. Note that 66 per cent of all deaths at Dachau took place in the last 7 months. It should also be noted that in the winter months of 1942-43 another typhus outbreak hit the camp. There is also an unusually high number of deaths for March, 1944, due to Allied bombings of Kommandos which resulted in the deaths of 223 prisoners. (See p. 95).

> in the concentration camp as a preventive measure (*vorbeugend*) . . . The second group, the B.V. (*Befristete Vorbeugungshaft*; often wrongly called *Berufsverbrecher*, professional criminal), was composed of men who were not released on the completion of their prison sentences but sent straight to the camp. (pp. 13-14)

It seems very unlikely that many men in this group (even after thousands had been transferred for various reasons out of Dachau, there were still 759 criminals in the camp on April 26, 1945) were there because they were fighters for human rights.

It also seems unlikely that many of the political prisoners, especially the Communists, were advocates of individual rights. In light of the atrocities committed by Communists throughout Europe and Asia from 1917 to 1945, and beyond, it is certainly naïve at best, and a lie at worst, to paint these people as freedom fighters. Yet most of the prisoners in the camp were political prisoners, of whom a large percentage were Communists or Communist sympathizers. A camp census taken on April 26, 1945 showed that 43,401 prisoners were there for political reasons. In contrast, the number of Jews in the camp was 22, 100; 128 prisoners had been purged from the Wehrmacht; 110 were incarcerated for being homosexual; 85 were Jehovah's Witnesses; and 1,066 were classed as "anti-socials." (p. 221)

What of "the tens of thousands of deportees who were exterminated in the death camp," according to the author's claims? In the first place, Berben, while alleging that there was a homicidal gas chamber at Auschwitz, states at the outset that "the Dachau gas-chamber was never used." (p. 8) Like virtually all Exterminationist writers who claim that the Dachau "gas chamber" was never completed, or completed but never used, Berben neither offers believable evidence that there actually was such an installation at Dachau, nor explains why numerous Dachau inmates swore that thousands had been gassed in it.

Dachau does, nonetheless, offer a precise figure for deaths during the war years at Dachau. According to a chart (p. 281), the number of deaths at the main Dachau camp and its smaller outstations totalled 27,839 for the years from 1940 through 1945 (again, the claim that some 238,000 inmates perished at Dachau, once exhibited on a sign at the entrance to the camp, is passed over by Berben in silence).

An analysis of this figure affords some interesting insights. Of the 27,839, 2,226 are said to have died in May 1945, after the Americans liberated the camp. In other words, fully eight per cent of the wartime deaths at Dachau took place in a month that the camp was in the hands of Allied forces.

If one were disposed to citing such figures without regard to their context (i.e., disregarding the reason for the deaths), a damaging case against the American occupiers could be made. According to the figures Berben provides, during the 65 months from January 1940 to May 1945 27,839 prisoners died from all causes, working out to an average of 428 per month (see Chart 1). During the first month of Allied control of Dachau, therefore, the death rate was 400 per cent higher than average.

Doubtless someone who felt compelled to defend the American "liberators" of Dachau would quickly establish, and argue, that the cause of death was not an American extermination program, but the continuation of the contagion which had racked Dachau in the months before the camp's capture at the end of April 1945. Exactly! Dachau fell prey to a devastating epidemic (of chiefly typhus) from the end of 1944. From November of that year through May 1945, 18,296 inmates died, 66 per cent of the deaths during the war years. If one includes the deaths which took place from November 1943 to March 1944 (another epidemic), the number of the victims rises to 19,605, or 70 per cent of the wartime victims.

If the figures in the official history are correct, and deaths during epidemics taken into account, we are left with 8,234 possible victims of extermination. But Berben makes it quite clear that sickness and disease was a constant problem, and that many people died year in, year out of such natural causes. He also points out that numerous individuals committed suicide, that some prisoners believed to be working for the Nazis were murdered by fellow prisoners, and that some were killed in Allied bombings. Bergen notes that in March 1944 one Allied bombing of a factory where prisoners worked killed 223 prisoners. In another case a tunnel collapsed in a factory, killing 22 prisoners. An Allied bombing at the same site later killed an additional 6. These two incidents alone account for another 251 deaths in the camp, almost one percent of the total deaths. Bergen also claims that some executions took place, mostly by firing squad. But these executions only

account for a very small percentage of the deaths in the camp, about .0087 per cent. (p. 271)

Berben also notes that Himmler wanted to lower the death rate in the camps as much as possible, which seems odd if the extermination of prisoners was the goal.

> The death-rate in the camps forced the S.S. to take notice. With the help of copious statistics they watched its progress, not to save human lives, but to economize on man-power. On 30th September 1943 Pohl informed Himmler that the number of deaths in August was 40 out of an average work force of 17,300, that is 0.23 per cent, whereas the previous month the percentage had been 0.32 per cent. They had achieved a reduction of 0.09. Results were obtained from other camps too Out of a total strength estimated at 224,000 in August, there had been 4,699 deaths, that is 2.09 per cent, compared with 2.23 per cent in July: the improvement was therefore 0.14 per cent. Himmler congratulated Pohl on the results he had obtained even though they were difficult to check! (p. 94-95)

What one finds in this official history of Dachau is not confirmation of Exterminationist theory but a repudiation of it. It is quickly evident that a very high percentage of the total deaths can be accounted for in terms other than an "extermination." While we don't know how many of the remaining non-epidemic deaths fell into "natural" categories, we can rationally assume that many of them were caused by disease, accidents, suicides, and natural causes. The last category is important because Dachau housed quite a few older prisoners. "Statistics made by the camp administration on 16th February 1945 list 2,309 men and 44 women aged between 50 and 60 and 5,465 men and 12 women over 60." (p. 11) This admission is rather significant, since, according to general Exterminationist theory, older prisoners often were not even admitted to the camps, but were separated from the other prisoners immediately upon arrival, then gassed. At a camp which its offical survivors' committee calls a "death camp," however, we find 2,910 prisoners of advancing years who had evidently not been exterminated.

Extermination theory, either that focussing on the Jews or the broader version, has long told us that, like the elderly, children were singled out for death immediately, because they were incapable of working. Dachau, however, also housed an unstated number of children. Berben states that a group of prisoners formed an unofficial governing body, called the

International Committee, and that this group started a school in the camp for the children.

> As has already been mentioned, there were times when even children were imprisoned in Dachau. The International Committee saw to it that they were not abandoned. A school was organized for Russian children under a Yugoslavian teacher, and the older ones were placed in Kommandos [subsidiary work camps of Dachau] where they were looked after by prisoners who tried not only to keep them in good health but to teach them the rudiments of a trade as well. (p. 175)

While the older children were old enough to work, it is unlikely that the younger children in the school were doing so. Thus, according to Exterminationist theory, they too should have been immediately killed.

An important component of the extermination theory is the notion that prisoners not killed immediately were subject to "extermination through work," in which brutal on-the-job drudgery and miserable living conditions made the life in the camps nasty and short. Under a regime intent on the death of all Jews and other "undesirables" we would expect very little food, medical care, and other necessities to be available to the prisoners. There would certainly be no orders to lower the death rate, just as there would be no elderly or sick prisoners sitting around. Those capable of working would work; the others would have been put to death, the sooner the better. But, as described in this official history, at Dachau the Germans were intent on keeping the prisoners alive, even the sick and the elderly.

Living conditions at Dachau, as described by Berben, offer hard evidence to counter the Exterminationist theory. Berben sketches the history of the camp from its opening on March 23, 1933. His first real reference as to living conditions concerns the kitchen at the camp.

> The cleanliness of the cook-house caused visitors from the Nazi Party, from Junker schools [training schools for future high-ranking officers] and the Army to remark that the treatment given to men classified as the "dregs of humanity" was much too good. (p. 4)

Living conditions in the camp didn't suddenly worsen as a result of a decision to exterminate. For most of the camp's history conditions were fairly good, considering that it served

as a type of prison. Berben quotes Wolfgang Jasper, legation counselor and member since 1935 of an S.S. cavalry unit:

> We found the camp [in 1937] and the huts in faultless condition and perfectly clean. The prisoners made a very good impression on us and did not seem to be at all hungry. They were allowed to receive letters and parcels and had a canteen where they could buy things. There were also cultural activities available. (p. 43)

The food situation should be investigated. While Berben constantly speaks of the lack of food, his own book contradicts his claims. Regular meals, though Berben always claims that they were inadequate, were of course provided by the kitchens. Other sources of food existed as well, and they seem to have been rather numerous. Berben notes that the camp officials actually increased the number of meals for some work groups during the war:

> When manpower needs became pressing during the war supplementary food was sanctioned to increase output. Certain categories of workers were given a much-appreciated "second breakfast," called *Brotzeit*, consisting of an eight or tenth part of a loaf and 2 ounces of sausage. (p. 69)

It is little known that there was a canteen in the camp from which prisoners could purchase food. As Berben notes, "Money brought on arrival and any that was subsequently sent to a prisoner was credited to him . . ." (p. 60) In 1942 a system of "gift coupons" was instituted and the possession of money forbidden, because it was believed that money in the hands of prisoners would make it easier for them to escape. "The money in their account had to be used for the purchase of articles obtainable at the canteen." (p. 60) Berben lists some of the items available for purchase:

> Beetroot jam, oatmeal, sauerkraut, dried vegetables, tinned mussels and fish, cucumbers, condiments, etc. were on sale . . . The canteen also stocked articles such as needles and thread, and particularly lotions, creams and perfume: the close-cropped prisoner was invited to buy something to put on his hair! (p. 69)

The S.S. is condemned because it "made considerable profits" from the canteen. But even if prices were extremely high, "considerable profits" could not have been made without considerable sales. According to Berben, "A large selection of goods could be bought before the war, but the canteen

gradually lost its importance, and little by little reached a state when it could offer nothing." (p. 69)

How goods disappeared from the shelves of the canteen seems irrelevant but is actually quite important. Had the National Socialist regime decided to exterminate prisoners, it would doubtless have closed down the canteen and simply confiscated the money the prisoners had in their accounts. But the canteen didn't suddenly close. Instead it "gradually lost its importance" and goods disappeared from the shelves "little by little." But goods disappeared from the shelves in stores all over Germany "little by little" as the war progressed. We may conclude that the prisoners in Dachau were experiencing shortages of goods, just like those the German people experienced.

In addition to regularly scheduled meals and the second breakfast, and what prisoners could purchase at the canteen, other food was available as well. "From the end of 1942, however, large consignments of food and other useful things did reach the camp . . ." Family and friends of prisoners were sending parcels of food into the camp. In addition to these parcels, "The consignments sent to the Red Cross also brought assistance whose beneficial efforts cannot be overemphasized." Berben said that the Red Cross shipments alone consisted of "thousands" of parcels. Dachau served as the main camp for all prisoners who were clergy, about 2,700 prisoners. According to Berben:

> Food parcels could be sent to clergy and the food situation improved noticeably. Germans and Poles particularly received them in considerable quantities from their families, their parishioners and members of religious communities. In Block 26 one hundred sometimes arrived on the same day. (p. 151)

The clergy continued to receive the "considerable quantities" of food until nearly the end of the war.

> This period of relative plenty lasted till the end of 1944 when the disruption of communications stopped the dispatch of parcels. Nevertheless the German clergy continued to receive food through the Dean of Dachau, Herr Pfanzelt, to whom the correspondents sent food tickets: the priest brought bread and sausage with these and sent the parcels by the local post. (p. 151)

Thus Berben, while lamenting the lack of food, tells us that prisoners had regular meals, some had a second breakfast, that

"large consignments" were mailed to prisoners, that "thousands" of parcels arrived from the Red Cross, that food could be purchased at the canteen, that the clergy received "considerable quantities" from parishioners and that this "period of relative plenty lasted till the end of 1944." All of this came to an end, not because the Nazis decided to starve people, but because "the disruption of communications stopped the dispatch of parcels." Yet, in spite of these admissions that large quantities of food were available to the average prisoner, Berben says that "legitimate means of obtaining extras were available to only a limited number of privileged prisoners." (pp. 164-165)

Berben tells us at length how the National Socialist government continually expanded medical services throughout the war. He notes that when the camp was first built in 1933 very few medical services were available. But as the camp was expanded, a hospital was included:

> . . . Blocks A and B: they consisted of an operating theatre with modern equipment. Visitors were invariably shown these buildings, because they proved "the interest taken by the S.S. in the prisoners' health." (p. 104) As the war progressed the demand for health services in the camp increased. In 1940 the hospital was extended to Blocks 1, 3 and 5. But it was mainly from 1942 onwards that increasing numbers caused the sick block to be extended: in September of that year it comprised 7 blocks, one of which had no wards and was reserved for offices, the pharmacy, the laboratory and the rooms occupied by the experimental departments. In the second half of 1944, the seven blocks were linked by a long closed corridor, and then the three blocks, 11 to 15, were added . . . (p. 104)

The hospital care given to prisoners is praised continually in Berben's official history.

> The accommodation was complete and modern, and in normal conditions specialists could have treated all the diseases efficiently. Operations were performed in two well-equipped theatres. The laboratory was well appointed, and all the necessary analyses could be made there until, at the end of 1944, the service was overwhelmed. There was an electrocardiograph and the very latest model of a Siemens X-ray apparatus. (p. 104)

The author states that the increase in hospital service was beneficial to the prisoners.

> The effect of these changes on the prisoners' situation was beneficial. Generally speaking, there was good understanding between the doctors and prisoner-nurses, and their co-operation achieved good results. Thanks to the doctors' initiative, backed up by the nurses and with the help of workmen, a special hut was built between Blocks 11 and 13 for the tuberculosis patients to take open-air cures. Sputum was examined in the laboratory and most of those prisoners in whom it was found to give a positive reaction were hospitalized and treated by rest and fresh-air cures and given extra rations. (p. 106)

Dachau: The Official History makes clear that the camp officials attempted to keep disease to a minimum. They attempted to enforce certain hygiene standards, which of course became increasingly difficult as the war progressed. Berben writes:

> It is obvious that in a camp where thousands of men live in a far too confined area and in deplorable conditions very strict hygiene was vital. In the early years, when numbers were still relatively low and arrivals were in small groups, adequate precautions could be taken. "The newcomers went to the showers, were cropped, given clothes and underwear, wretched, it is true, but laundered." The rooms were not overcrowded. The orders concerning the upkeep of the premises, clothing and bodily cleanliness were irksome and prompted the bullying of prisoners, but all in all they were useful because the vast majority of the prisoners realized that if they were to stand any chance of survival they would have to conform to strict rules. They knew that they could of course expect nothing from the camp authorities; when hygienic precautions were laid down, it was merely to protect the S.S. staff and to have the maximum labour force. (p. 109)

Even a cursory read of *Dachau: The Official History* shows that conditions were fairly decent and only fell apart near the end of the war, when all of Germany was in chaos.

Besides admitting that large amounts of food and generally good medical care were available, Berben provides interesting information as to recreational activities for Dachau inmates. According to this official historian, the prisoners had Sundays off for leisure and culture. He tells us that on Sunday afternoons the prisoners were allowed to play games, but that was stopped in 1938. In 1941, however "this permission was granted again, and there were cultural activities as well. On

Sundays a certain amount of freedom was allowed for amusements."

> Theatrical entertainments, concerts, revues and lectures were arranged too. Among the thousands of men who lived in the camp there were all sorts of talents, great and small, to be found: famous musicians, good amateur musicians, theatre and music-hall artists. Many of these men devoted their time in the most admirable way to gain a few moments of escape for their comrades in misery, and to keep up their morale. And these activities helped too to create a feeling of fellowship. During the last months there were also a few film shows, about once a fortnight. (page 72)

In addition to these forms of entertainment, "The camp had a library which started in a modest way but which eventually stocked some fifteen thousand volumes . . . There was a very varied choice, from popular novels to the great classics, and scientific and philosophical works." (p. 72) Berben also notes that "some men in spite of their miserable convicts' existence nevertheless found the energy to take an interest in the arts, in science and in philosophical problems." (p. 73) And if the library was insufficient to meet the reading needs of the prisoner, "A prisoner could subscribe to newspapers and various publications . . ." (p. 75) Newspaper subscriptions were allowed right up until the very end of the war. (p. 180)

An interesting feature of Dachau, regarding prisoner recreation, was the brothel established for the prisoners.

> During the summer of 1943 [note that the exterminations are alleged to have been going full-steam at this time] Himmler ordered the setting-up of brothels in concentration camps, called *Sonderbau* (special building). His aim was to solve the sexual problem, combat homosexual practices, and increase the workers' output . . . In mid-December 1944 there were thirteen of these women in Dachau. (p.7)

Somehow, the vision of a brothel for prisoners doesn't fit in with a policy of exterminating all prisoners.

The treatment of the clergy warrants some special attention. Under general German policy most clergymen who came under arrest were transferred to Dachau, the total number reaching 2,720. According to Berben:

> On 15th March 1941 the clergy were withdrawn from work Kommandos on orders from Berlin, and their conditions improved. They were supplied with bedding of the kind issued

> to the S.S., and Russian and Polish prisoners were assigned to look after their quarters. They could get up an hour later than the other prisoners and rest on their beds for two hours in the morning and afternoon. Free from work, they could give themselves to study and to meditation. They were given newspapers and allowed to use the library. Their food was adequate; they sometimes received up to a third of a loaf of bread a day; there was even a period when they were given half a litre of cocoa in the morning and a third of a bottle of wine daily. (p. 147)

While work was not required from clergymen, some of them did volunteer as nurses in the hospital beginning in 1943. This proved fatal, since typhus was ravaging the camp at that time. Berben notes that "Several of them fell victim to their devotion, as this was the time when typhus was raging in the camp." (p. 151)

The clergy also persuaded the camp officials to build a chapel for religious services. Prior to this, services were held in the camp's prisoner barracks. "The patient work by clergy and lay people alike had in the end achieved a miracle. The chapel was 20 metres long by 9 wide and could hold about 800 people, but often more than a thousand crowded in." (p. 153) Services were held all day long on Sundays, with one service immediately following another. (p. 154) In the last days in the camp the chapel became somewhat controversial. As prisoners from the camps near the front were evacuated to the interior, the camp became increasingly overcrowded. When health care broke down, typhus began to take an incredible toll. Relieving overcrowding was one way of helping stem the disease. Camp officials asked the clergy for permission to convert the chapel into housing in an attempt to improve living conditions. ". . . the suggestion was put to the clergy that they should give it [the chapel] up in order to combat the shortage of accommodation, which was becoming disastrous." (p. 154) The clergy were adamant that they would not surrender the chapel even to save lives. They argued that not all the buildings in the camp were being used to house prisoners and suggested that instead of the large chapel the smaller cobbler's shop and the brothel be converted into housing. They also argued that the chapel could only house 250, "which was nothing compared with the continuous intake of prisoners." The clergy had the final word. The camp

officials acceded to their wishes "and the chapel was retained to the last." (p. 154)

While the day to day treatment of prisoners, as described by Berben, doesn't seem to fit a pattern of extermination, charges of medical experiments do raise legitimate concern. The camp was a center for medical experiments studying the effects of malaria, high altitudes and freezing. Abuses in experiments should rightfully be condemned in the strongest of terms. Much of Berben's case, however, rests on the testimony of one Walter Neff. Neff was a prisoner who worked as an assistant to Dr. Sigmund Rascher in the camp. According to Neff medical experiments were conducted on 180 to 200 prisoners. He testified that 10 prisoners were volunteers, and that most of the other prisoners, with the exception of about 40, had been condemned to death. During the course of the medical experiments, he said, 70 to 80 prisoners died. Berben does not make clear how many of these 70 to 80 prisoners had already been "condemned to death."

Neff worked with Dr. Rascher from the beginning of 1941. He was released from camp custody as a prisoner, on the condition that he continue working with the doctor. Berben notes that Neff would regularly report to the camp for duty in uniform, and carried a pistol. In his testimony Neff claimed that he worked in the interest of the prisoners and tried to sabotage the work of the doctor. He also claimed that he helped in a "revolt" in the town of Dachau a few days before the American forces arrived. Berben notes that Neff's "role in his dealings with Rascher never seems to be very clear, nor the part he played in choosing the subjects for experiments." (p. 127) Yet Neff is the source for much of the "evidence" of medical experiments at Dachau.

According to Berben:

> The most terrible experiment at which Neff was present was one carried out on two Russian officers. They were taken from the Bunker and plunged naked into a tank [of freezing water] at about 4 p.m., and they held out for almost five hours. Rascher had leveled his revolver at Neff and a young Polish aide who tried to give the two wretches chloroform. Dr. Romberg considered the whole episode as described by Neff during the trial to be improbable; in his view, the subject of such experiments is stiff and incapable of making a movement or uttering a word after 10 or 20 minutes, whereas, according to

> Neff, the two officers were still talking to one another during the third hour and bade each other farewell. (p. 133)

Neff had no opportunity to face the man he charged with these crimes. Rascher was arrested by the German police and himself imprisoned at Dachau. Berben and Neff both claim that Rascher was executed by the Germans at Dachau. Both point out that he was shot to death, and not gassed.

Accepting the medical experiments as fact does not impeach the case made by Revisionists. These experiments were quite limited in scope and included a very small fraction of the prisoners. Most of the prisoners chosen had been sentenced to death.

Berben lets on that German authorities were concerned with abuses by camp personnel. Commandant Alex Piorkowski, according to Berben, "rarely entered the prisoners' camp. He was not active, and left most things in the hands of his subordinates. They were given a free reign and could treat prisoners at they wished." (p. 48) But Piorkowski was removed from his position on September 1, 1942, and later expelled from the Nazi party. He was replaced by Martin Weiss, former commandant of the Neuengamme concentration camp. Berben notes that:

> Some people emphasize that he [Weiss] introduced a number of humane changes in camp administration and that he took a personal interest in seeing that his orders were carried out. He forbade Kapos [prisoners in charge of the camp] and Seniors to strike other prisoners arbitrarily; he personally inspected reports of punishments; he decided the level of these sanctions and was present when they were administered so as to prevent abuses. According to "privileged" prisoners [clergy, high-ranking individuals, etc.] he often showed consideration and obtained a good deal of relief for them (p. 49).

Weiss left the camp to take control of the Lublin camp on November 1, 1943 and was replaced by Wilhelm Weiter. Things seemed to remain in the status quo under Weiter. Berben says, "Few changes were made in the camp due to any personal action of his." (p. 50)

Conditions under Weiss must have been fairly decent. According to Berben, "In spite of the great number of witnesses who spoke for him during the postwar Dachau trial, Weiss was condemned to death and executed." It would have been highly unlikely, particularly in the highly charged postwar atmosphere, for a "great number of witnesses" to have

defended Weiss if he had been a monster. It is also interesting to note that, after moving to Lublin, Weiss was promoted to the position of Inspector of Camps.

Under Weiter's command, conditions in the camp remained fairly decent. Many of the camps did suffer under unscrupulous officers: the National Socialist government convened a special commission to investigate camp conditions and the honesty of the officers who ran the camps. The commissions' findings led to some 200 convictions. Investigations of camp conditions were held at Dachau between May and July of 1944. Berben notes that Konrad Morgen, the judge who investigated the camp, "thoroughly examined all the internal arrangements. The hospital was in perfect order. He had visited all the buildings. There was no significant overcrowding, and what was specially noteworthy was the astonishingly high number of medical instruments for the treatment of the prisoners." (p.44)

If the prisoners, in general, were not being purposefully murdered by the Nazis and generally enjoyed tolerable food, medical care, and housing, then how did they die? The answer to that question is relatively easy to find and Berben is quite helpful. His official history of Dachau supports the Revisionist case that has been made since Rassinier, and decisively refutes ongoing attempts to make the scenes the Americans discovered at the camp the result of deliberate German policy.

As the German government, economy, and infrastructure collapsed during the last months of the war, badly needed supplies became unavailable. Berben regularly notes how food supplies and parcels almost disappeared toward the end of the war. For instance, he tells us that food shipments to the clergy "lasted till the end of 1944 when the disruption of communications stopped the dispatch of parcels." (p. 151) Medical service was "complete and modern, and in normal conditions specialists could have treated all the diseases efficiently" but "at the end of 1944, the service was overwhelmed." Bunk space was sufficient until the last few months of the war, when the huts became increasingly overcrowded. The key factor in the death rate for prisoners was the German breakdown.

As the Allies closed in on the center of Germany, large numbers of prisoners were evacuated from camps near the front and moved to the interior. Dachau, centrally located as

the Reich contracted, became a key camp in these transfers. Thus, while food and medical supplies became more difficult to obtain, the demand at Dachau increased as prisoners were transferred there from the other camps.

> From the start of the evacuation tens of thousands of prisoners arrived at Dachau in a state of terrible exhaustion, and a vast number died before the liberation and in the weeks that followed. These massive arrivals caused unparalleled difficulties and a large number of deaths among the camp population, particularly as a typhus epidemic spread. (p. 101)
>
> . . . When the evacuation began of camps situated in areas threatened by the victorious advance of the Allies, the horror surpassed anything that had been seen till then. (p. 100)

The overcrowding could be quite dramatic. In the blocks selected in Berben's book as a point of illustration, the population rose by 49% in 5 months (see chart 2), this during the height of a typhus epidemic in which the number of deaths averaged 2,614 per month.

Berben describes how the disease spread throughout the camp.

Chart 2:

Increase in Numbers of Prisoners in Certain Blocks Between 28th November 1944 and 26 April 1945

Block	28.11.44	26.4.45
2	654	939
4	733	842
6	901	1,403
8	854	1,356
10	889	1,117
12	855	1,140
14	682	990
16	869	1,137
18	861	1,138
20	889	1,152
22	783	1,446
24	968	1,306
26	524	1,090
28	707	1,547

> Finally exanthematous typhus came to this block [Block 30, where invalids and some of the older prisoners were kept] as well; it had thus jumped across the Lagerstrasse and traveled through the unevenly numbered blocks to the west wing. In short, writes Msgr. Neuhäusler, "what happened from the end of December 1944 and in January and February 1945 in the Dachau concentration camp constitutes one of the most frightful tragedies in the history of all concentration camps." (p. 108)

But typhus wasn't the only disease camp officials had to cope with.

> Digestive ailments were very widespread, especially diarrhea and persistent enteritis, which could only have been cured by an appropriate diet. Most of the prisoners suffered from oedema, which led to frequent abrasions around the feet; when infected, these caused painful phlegmons. There were all kinds of pulmonary infections, including pneumonia, and infectious diseases, of which erysipelis, very contagious, was the commonest. There were also cases of diphtheria and scarlet fever. All these illnesses accentuated the patient's general debility where there was no adequate treatment or diet, and fatal complications often set in. (p. 102)

Rampant disease killed thousands, "in spite of all efforts," writes Berben. (p. 107) If extermination were the plan, however, why make such efforts, especially in the very last months of the war?

Even the Americans' best efforts were unable to stop the disease. As we have already pointed out, 2,226 died in May, 1945, after liberation. Berben concedes:

> However eager they might be to return to their families, the thousands of liberated prisoners had to be realistic: many days would go by before repatriation could begin. The typhus epidemic which had for months reaped a daily toll of lives had to be checked, so that it should not spread to the civilian and military population. Inevitably, the camp had to be put into quarantine until further notice. (p. 197).

The Allies were hampered in their efforts for the same reasons the Germans were incapable of ending the disease: "for want of hospitals and medicines." (p. 198) Even after the quarantine was lifted, May 12, deaths continued due to disease. This official history notes that an additional 200 died in the camp between June 1 and June 16. Berben also notes that in spite of liberation food "continued to give grounds for serious concern."

The death toll, particularly near the end of the war, was high. According to Berben, the victims totaled 27,839 out of a camp population of 168,433 for the years 1940-45. Thus, during the years of the most devastating war ever known, the death rate at Dachau was 16.6%. This is unquestionably high, but is still probably much lower than what is assumed by the public after decades of propaganda. The Dachau death rate is rather low, compared to other wartime catastrophes. The death rate in central Hamburg, in one night of Allied bombing, more than doubled the wartime death rate for Dachau. Paul Johnson, in his massive history *Modern Times*, notes that ". . . in one night alone fatal casualties in the four fire-storm districts were 40,000 or up to 37.65% of the total population." (p. 403) The infamous fire bombings of the civilian targets of Dresden resulted in an even greater percentage of casualties. David Irving, in *The Destruction of Dresden*, writes:

> If a death-rate of this scale [367.5 per thousand] could have been possible in a city like Hamburg, where the most elaborate air-raid precautions had been taken, it seems not unreasonable to assume at least the same proportion and very probably a higher proportion of fatalities during the triple blow on Dresden . . . (p. 229)

The death rates in these two civilian centers were quite high, as were the rates in various armed forces in Europe. For instance, the German military lost 34.3% of its personnel. Death rates were equally high, or higher, for the armies of such nations as Poland, the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, Finland, Hungary, and Rumania. Since most of the prisoners in Dachau were non-Jews, we can assume that many of them, if they hadn't been incarcerated in the camp, would have been drafted into the German military. It is certainly one of the strange facts of the war that those prisoners who joined the German army to escape the camp (certain criminal and political prisoners were eventually allowed to do so) actually doubled their odds of dying.

Nor should one forget that about 16,500,000 Germans and ethnic Germans were expelled from eastern Germany and Eastern Europe by the Allies, many of them forced to flee on foot to Germany. Of some 17,000,000 eastern Germans, a total of 3,211,000 died during wartime flight and postwar expulsion, representing a figure of 18.89 percent. (*Nemesis at Potsdam*, Alfred de Zayas, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979, p. xxv)

While, as we have seen, Berben claims that the Dachau "gas chamber" was never used, he includes in his book the confession of Dr. Muthig, Chief Camp Doctor at Dachau. Like so many others after they were "interrogated," Dr. Muthig confessed that "prisoners unfit to work [were] subjected to euthanasia and transferred to Mauthausen concentration camp to be gassed." (p. 275) There are two problems with this "confession." First, as Berben so amply illustrates, prisoners unfit to work were medically treated, given extra rations, offered "open-air cures," etc. Secondly, today's academic Exterminationists concede that Mauthausen was not an extermination camp. Berben does not report on Dr. Muthig's fate.

Berben also commits some eccentric errors when it comes to listing "death camps." On page 292 of the book, he prints a map based on one made by the Service of Research and Documentation of the Ministry of Public Health and the Family from Brussels. This map lists six "extermination camps," but only coincides with current Holocaust doctrine on two of them: Treblinka and Auschwitz. Berben's map lists four camps not currently claimed to be "extermination camps": Soldau, Pustknow [*sic*], Platzow [*sic*], and Theresienstadt. Majdanek is classified simply as a concentration camp, disregarding Exterminationist claims that it also functioned as an "extermination camp." Sobibior is listed as an "independent camp," a term left undefined. Amazingly enough the "extermination camps" Belzec and Chelmno don't even appear on his map. One may certainly marvel at such discrepancies in a book published under the auspices of the official committee of Dachau survivors.

Regarding mortality at Dachau, Berben informs us that before 1943 any prisoner who died in the hospital or as a result of a "medical experiment" had an autopsy performed. After 1943, "post-mortems were carried out on all prisoners who died at the sick block or elsewhere in the camp." When the typhus epidemic raged through the camp "they had to be statisfied with a few bodies picked at random." (p. 109) Yet Berben tells us that "More than ten thousand autopsies were carried out under Dr. Blaha's direction." (p. 109). Where are these autopsy reports today? And, if the Nazis were following a program of planned extermination, why would they bother to perform an autopsy? These questions are not even addressed in this official history.

All in all Berben's *Dachau, 1933-1945: The Official History* is fascinating. The book tells us that the prisoners had a brothel, a canteen, Sundays off, church services, plays, lectures, a library, newspapers, concerts, and movies. It tells us that they were given regular meals, some even receiving a second breakfast, that food came in from the Red Cross, that food parcels were sent in by relatives and that prisoners could purchase food at the canteen. It tells us they had a modern hospital with doctors and nurses who made every effort to help the prisoners, until they were finally overwhelmed by disease near the end of the war. It tells us that disease was the primary cause of death at Dachau, and that even the American liberators lost thousands of prisoners to disease. While speaking of "the tens of thousand of deportees who were exterminated in the death camp," *Dachau: The Official History* establishes that no such extermination took place. In the face of continuing propaganda efforts to represent Dachau and other German concentration camps to the public at large as centers of annihilation, Berben's official history if anything gives authoritative support to the Revisionist position.

GÖRING: A BIOGRAPHY by David Irving. New York: William Morrow and Company, 1989, 573 pages, hardbound, $22.95, ISBN 0-688-06606-2.

Reviewed by Henry M. Adams

David Irving is a British, non-academic historian, who has published many books in English and German on German historical developments in the 20th century. All his books have been based on exhaustive research. He is also a lecturer and conference speaker in English and German, well-known and well-liked for presenting the historical facts as well as destroying historical myths and legends in hard-hitting style. His oral and written presentations are dramatic. Like a dramatist, he submerges himself in his characters so that it is they who speak. Only the evidence of his sources, exhaustively footnoted, the threads of history, descriptions here, analyses there, woven into the narrative, reveal the author.

So it is in this biography of Hermann Göring, Irving's latest book in English. The book opens with a thrilling prologue, "Arrest the Reichsmarschall," and closes with his death. Throughout, those trends in German history which shaped Göring's life are impressionistically developed from Wilhelmine Germany through the subsequent periods of German history, ending with the Nuremberg Trial. The author makes clear his thorough acquaintance with all the previous biographies of Göring, from 1934 to 1986.

After the prologue, based on documents looted by an American captain from Martin Bormann's desk in a Berlin bunker, reveals the attempt of Bormann and Hitler to arrest and execute the Reichsmarschall, and Göring's fortunate capture by the Americans (based on records of the American 36th Infantry Divison), the story of Göring's life begins.

Hermann Göring was born in the Marienbad Sanatorium at Rosenheim, Bavaria, on January 12, 1893. His father was a German colonial official; his mother, a simple peasant girl. His godfather, Dr. Epstein, was a Jew, whose Castle Veldenstein was the romantic setting for Hermann's boyhood. Educated at home, at boy's schools, and at officer-cadet school, Göring entered the military academy at Gross Lichterfelde, outside Berlin, in 1910. After passing his leaving exam he traveled to Italy.

Dreamy, physically brave and romantic, young Hermann Göring became an officer in the infantry, joining his regiment as a lieutenant on January 20, 1914. The contents of Göring's personal records since 1905, air reconnaissance reports, extracts from war diaries and personal-mission reports, are delineated by Irving.

When the war ended Göring was uncertain about his future. He decided to seek his fortune in Scandinavia. His dazzling good looks and courtly manner won him easy acceptance in Swedish society. There he met Carin, Countess von Fock, who was married to a Swedish officer. Göring fell deeply in love with her, she with him. The letters they exchanged, which were looted from his train at Berchtesgaden in 1945 and resurfaced in 1988, testify to the depth of their love.

In 1922, penniless, the Görings began a romantic existence outside Munich. Late that year Hermann heard Hitler speak against the Versailles Treaty and joined the National Socialist German Workers Party (NSDAP). In February 1923, one month after the French and Belgians occupied the Ruhr, Carin and Hermann married. Later that year the famous National Socialist *Putsch* took place in Munich. Double crossed by the Munich authorities, Ludendorff, Hitler, Göring and thousands of marchers were met by a hail of bullets at the Feldherrnhalle. Göring, badly wounded, was able with Carin's help to escape to Innsbruck. Delirious with pain, Göring began taking morphine. Over the next three years, he would become an addict, then battle free of his craving.

After recovering from his wound, Göring went south to Italy: Hitler had ordered him to make contact with Mussolini. Hampered by his morphine habit and by the Duce's unwillingness to meet him, Göring decided to return with Carin to Sweden in the spring of 1925. There Göring alternately battled and succumbed to morphine, entering an asylum for the criminally insane twice. In January 1927 Göring returned to Germany for business and political reasons (he rejoined the NSDAP), while Carin, whose health was failing, stayed behind at a sanatorium in Stockholm. From Sweden Carin threw her fragile weight into the battle for her husband's survival, writing letters that are the most moving documents in their story. "Abstain as long as you can, Hermann," she wrote. But once again Göring returned to a

Swedish clinic. During a three-week stay in September, 1927, he was able to vanquish his addiction. After spending Christmas at Carin's sick bed, Göring departed for Germany in January 1928.

On May 20th Göring was one of the 12 National Socialists elected to the Reichstag. His poverty was at an end, for he received 500 Reichmarks per month as a member of the Reichstag and 800 as Party orator. Carin, although still in fragile health, was able to join him.

Göring now came into contact with Erhard Milch, director of Lufthansa, and became his "consultant" at 1000 Reichmarks per month. (Irving indicates that these payments were out-and-out bribes.) The Göring-Milch relationship runs through the entire narrative. Irving's account of it is based on Milch's diaries, papers, and his interviews with the author. Soon afterwards lucrative consulting fees began to accrue to Göring from such pillars of German industry as BMW, Heinkel, Messerschmitt, and Thyssen.

As the National Socialist movement snowballed, Göring crisscrossed Germany, delivering many speeches during the election campaign of September 14, 1930. They paid off when a landslide gave his party 107 seats in the Reichstag. Göring became deputy speaker (*Vizepräsident*) of the Reichstag when it opened on October 13. The only blight on Hermann's career was the failing health of his beloved Carin, who would love him to the end. On October 3, 1932 Carin died in Stockholm.

In 1933 began Göring's, Germany's and Europe's years of destiny; they were to bring undreamed of power and wealth to Göring.

Irving supplies a brief description of the Reichstag fire and Goring's embarrassment at the subsequent trial of Dmitrov, Van der Lubbe, *et al.*, then chronicles Göring's rapid expansion of his authority. As commissar for aviation Göring, ably assisted by Milch, his deputy, built up the Luftwaffe, banned by the Treaty of Versailles, into a powerful air force. As Minister of the Interior of Prussia, Göring founded the Gestapo and set up concentration camps.

On April 10, 1933 Göring created the Forschungsamt, the Reich intelligence agency charged with signals intelligence, wire tapping, and cryptanalysis. Its operatives, chiefly code breakers and analysts, numbered 3500 or more, operating through Germany and later occupied Europe until the end of

the war. Irving draws on his book *Breach of Security*, coauthored with Professor Donald Cameron Watt, to describe this little-known but very effective intelligence agency.

1933 also marked the building of Göring's baronial hunting lodge, named Carinhall, on his estate, northeast of Berlin, of lakes and forests extending almost to the Baltic sea. There Göring developed a wild life sanctuary for elk and buffalo. Carinhall became Göring's private home, containing crystal chandeliers, Flemish tapestries, pricelees Old Masters and opulent gifts from around the world, all meticulously catalogued. Irving suggests that Göring's problem with morphine, now reappearing, may explain the speed with which he abandoned personal honesty and began to accept political gifts and bribes. Göring's waking thoughts, Irving tells us, were overshadowed by the morbid memory of Carin. On a visit to her grave in Sweden he discovered that it had been desecrated by Swedish Communists; he then had her remains shipped to Carinhall in a massive pewter sarcophagus, in which he too planned eventually to be laid to rest.

On June 30, 1934, in response to the problem of the Second Revolution, Göring, Hitler, and the SS replied with the "Night of the Long Knives," the massacre of alleged enemies of the regime—Ernst Röhm, General Schleicher, Gregor Strasser and others—some of whose intrigues were revealed by the wiretaps of Göring's Forschungsamt. 84 people are known to have been liquidated, including Gustav von Kahr, who had double-crossed Hitler and Göring at the Feldherrnhalle in 1923. After President Hindenburg died in August 1934, Hitler proclaimed himself Führer in December and made Göring his deputy and successor. On April 10, 1935 Göring married Emmy Sonnemann, with whom he had been acquainted since 1932.

By the mid-thirties, the authority of Hermann Göring was universally respected within the Reich. In 1936 he became economic overlord and began developing the Four Year Plan. The new economic plan's secret memorandum by Hitler (with Göring's help) called for a German army and a war-ready economy in four years. Göring's economic power, and his abuse of it, was illustrated at this time by his favoring the famous tobacco firm of Reemtsma for government purchases of billions of cigarettes, in exchange for which the firm

contributed 15 million Reichmarks to the cultural and forest activities of Göring's estate.

At the end of July 1936 a letter from a Spanish officer, Francisco Franco, spurred Hitler and Göring to send Junkers-52 transport planes and their volunteer crews, disguised as tourists, to Spanish North Africa to ferry insurgent troops to Spain. In studying the Luftwaffe's role in the Nationalist victory in the Spanish Civil War, Irving makes a special investigation of the bombing of Guernica and Picasso's famous painting, unearthing startling new evidence.

Göring's permanent preoccupation, by this time, was his new enlarged Carinhall, with its own private animal kingdom for bison, elk and other fauna. Irving describes Göring's enlightened game laws, and quotes from Göring's hunting diaries of 1936-37. As international tension rises in Europe, Irving skillfully interweaves his subject's personal concerns with his political and military roles. Thus the International Hunting Exhibition, triumphantly presided over by Göring in November 1937 in Berlin, is described around the secret "Hossbach Conference," which Irving, unlike some other Revisionists (see *The Journal of Historical Review*, Vol. 4, No. 3, Fall 1983), believes to be accurately summarized by the "Hossbach Protocol." Irving describes hunting visits to Carinhall by such sportsmen as the new British ambassador to Berlin, Nevile Henderson, and by Britain's foreign minister, Lord Halifax.

Irving provides an incisive account of the Bromberg-Fritsch affair, with citations from Milch's private diaries, secret letters, and a manuscrupt. He details Göring's role in the Austrian Anschluss, from Göring's disapproval of Hitler's meeting with Schuschnigg at Obersalzberg to his surprise at learning, through one of the Forschungsamt's telephone taps, of the Seyss-Inquart cabinet's immediate approval of the union between Germany and Austria.

As the Sudeten crisis unfolded in 1938, Göring's wife Emmy gave birth to a girl, Edda. While somewhat mellowed by this event, Göring did not neglect his responsibilities in building up the war economy and the Luftwaffe. Irving recounts Göring's tough confrontation with Nevile Henderson at Carinhall, and the four-power conference at Munich which settled the Sudeten crisis peacefully.

On November 4, 1938 daughter Edda was christened by Reich Bishop Müller, with Hitler acting as godfather. A few

days later, as Göring took the sleeper back to Berlin, he noted fires while passing through Halle. Göring learned the reason in Berlin, where he drove across broken glass from Jewish shops. It was the first he knew of the nationwide pogrom, which Irving attributes to Dr. Joseph Goebbels. Irving contrasts Göring with doctrinaire National Socialists, who fought the Jews at every level of their existence, whereas Göring fought only certain Jews for economic reasons. As Irving reminds us, nobody particularly wanted the European Jews. Up to October 1939, Irving points out, 300,000 left Germany, 130,000 left Austria, and 30,000 left Bohemia Moravia. 70,000 of them went to Palestine. Two thirds of the Jews under German control before the war were thus allowed to emigrate.

By January 1939, according to Göring's diaries, he was politically at odds with Hitler. He was opposed to Germany's occupation of Czechoslovakia in March 1938. The Forschungsamt taps reveal the growing animosity between Göring and Ribbentrop.

Göring doubled his efforts that summer to head off the coming war with England, which he opposed. Irving gives a solid account of his unsuccessful attempt to sway Chamberlain's men in London. In August 1939 a Swedish manufacturer, Birger Dahlerus, began to act as a secret unofficial link between Göring and Neville Chamberlain. According to Dahlerus, the British Foreign Office rejected a reasonable settlement in 1939. Meanwhile, Ribbentrop went to Moscow and reached an agreement with Stalin, while London abided by its guarantee to Poland: on 2 September Chamberlain declared war on Germany. Irving provides a detailed analysis and description of the persons and events involved.

During the war, Göring's popularity with the German public remained intact. Thanks to the Luftwaffe's achievements in the first years, his relations with Hitler were at first satisfactory. Göring detested the senseless destruction of war, and he continued diplomatic overtures to Britain, which remained unsuccessful. Irving describes the British and German invasions of Norway, (from the planning for which Göring was first excluded), then describes Göring's plans for air attacks against the Dutch, Belgian, and French fortifications.

As the German victory in the West unfolded, Göring established his luxurious special train, code-named *Asia*, and air force headquarters at Kurfürst outside Berlin. The initial success of Göring's air force was outstanding, although it failed to destroy the British Expeditionary Force at Dunkirk. On May 30, 1940 Göring left France for Potsdam, unaware of the escape of the British and French. After the defeat of France, Göring believed the war had been won. He now began one of his major wartime pursuits, collecting art from the defeated nations. Irving describes and analyzes the collection Göring accumulated at Carinhall.

Göring was promoted to Reichmarschall by Hitler on July 19, 1940, a day on which Hitler made a peace offer to Britain. Irving mixes a description of Göring hunting in Rominten, East Prussia, with ordering the air raid on Coventry, and collecting art in Paris. He points out that Göring still longed for peace with England and was bitterly opposed to Barbarossa (for economic, not moral, reasons). According to Irving, Göring leaked the actual date of the Barbarossa plan to the British. To Irving, this was an extraordinary act, bordering on treason. In May 1941, Göring's prestige remained high. Irving describes his reaction to the flight of Hess to England and his replacement by Bormann, as well as the successful assault Göring's paratroopers carried out that month on Crete.

On June 22, 1941, Germany attacked Russia. Irving provides much data on the technical superiority of the German air force, citing Milch's diary's entries of hundreds of Russian planes destroyed each day during the first week of the war. Göring spent much of the summer of 1941 aboard *Asia* in East Prussia, mostly in poor health, Irving reveals. Nevertheless Göring found time to visit Paris to buy more paintings and to vacation in Bavaria. Göring's lax leadership of the Luftwaffe resulted in low production of aircraft. His director of air armament, Ernst Udet, committed suicide in November of that year. Leningrad and Moscow held out against the German assault, and December brought Pearl Harbor and Hitler's declaration of war against the U.S. Göring's diary shows him drained by the immense human drama on the Eastern front, causing him to flee south and west to Carinhall.

As the RAF began incendiary bombings of German cities, Göring revisited Veldenstein castle and made more than one trip to Paris. Showing favoritism, as he did often, Göring

exempted Horcher's, a leading Berlin restaurant, staff from military service, receiving in return 70,000 bottles of port wine for the Luftwaffe. The British air attacks increased with the first thousand-plane raid, over Cologne, in May 1942. By the end of the year, Stalingrad was surrounded, the British were on the offensive at Alamein, and the Anglo-Americans had landed in North Africa.

In January 1943 RAF bombers, as well as American daylight bombers, began to attack Berlin. Göring's drug problem had returned, which, together with his poor health, made him a poor commander-in-chief of the German air force. Göring's popularity with the people was still undiminished, although his stock was fading with Hitler and the rest of the leadership.

Irving describes the worsening of Germany's military situation in 1943, as the Russians repelled the German Citadel tank offensive at Kursk in July. On July 9 the Allies landed in Sicily, bringing about the fall of Mussolini and the Italian government's surrender. Irving describes how, ironically, Göring's greed for art treasures led him to preserve 16 crates of masterpieces from the Allied aerial devastation of Monte Cassino in February 1944.

Throughout 1944 the British and Americans continued to pound Germany's cities and factories, badly hampering aircraft production. Göring's anti-invasion operations in Normandy were thwarted, in good part by British code breakers. His prestige was now in steep decline. Irving describes the attempt to assassinate Hitler on 20 July, from which Luftwaffe officers remained almost completely aloof. After an initial success in the Ardennes offensive, the Luftwaffe was driven from the skies. Göring's impotence was demonstrated when the RAF and American bombers destroyed Dresden in February. (Irving follows his classic account, *The Destruction of Dresden*.) When the Soviet armies approached, Göring sent Carinhall's treasures to southern Germany.

As Germany collapsed, Göring, at the Obersalzberg, attempted, prematurely, to succeed Hitler. Göring was arrested by troops from Himmler's SS. On May 7 Göring, now 52 years of age, surrendered to the Commander of the American 36th Infantry Division. Three days later he was taken to 7th Army Headquarters, where he met General Spaatz, commander of the American strategic air forces, who interviewed him over a bottle of whisky.

Parting from Emmy and Edda, whom he would not see again for 18 months, Göring was taken across Germany to Mondorf, in Luxembourg, and confined there for three months, along with fifty other prominent National Socialists. Irving describes his all-important luggage and toilet case, which contained at least three brass capsules, each fashioned from a nine millimeter cartridge case, one and one half inches long, and containing a glass vial of hydrocyanic acid. One cartridge, in a tin of American coffee, was discovered and confiscated by the Americans. Irving recounts Göring's medical examination, which revealed his drug addiction, and the constant interrogations, especially by American military historian Dr. George N. Shuster. On August 12, 1945 Göring was transported to Nuremberg. A German doctor, Ludwig Pflücker, provided injections of Vitamin B and Seconal tablets to Göring, so he could sleep.

On November 20, 1945 the "Trial of the Major War Criminals" began. The chief American prosecuting attorney, Justice Robert H. Jackson—later Göring's prominent adversary—opened the prosecution case by accusing the Germans of killing 5.7 million Jews. As the prosecution case wore on, Göring was able to strike up a friendship with Lt. Jack G. Wheelis, a hard-drinking six-foot-two Texan. Göring sought this friendship for two reasons: Wheelis was an impressive huntsman, and he held a key to the baggage room. The American officer carried Göring's letters to Emmy and Edda, and retrieved other valuables from the locked baggage room. In exchange for this, Wheelis received choice gifts from the Reichsmarschall.

The prosecution presented its case over five months. Then, on March 13, 1946, Göring, in physical prime and slimmer than ever before, took the stand. His immense ability and knowledge, his mastery and understanding of the captured documents, were impressive. Five days later Jackson began his cross examination. It was an historic duel. Noble in manner, handsome in feature once again, Göring's bearing in the witness box impressed friend and foe alike. Jackson was out of his depth, with little knowledge of history and none of German, while Göring had a good grasp of English. Göring's conviction was nevertheless a foregone conclusion.

On August 31, 1946, in his closing trial statements, Göring accepted blanket responsibility for the charges against Hitler

and the Third Reich. He was sentenced to death on October 1, but one poison capsule was still in his baggage, hidden in a pot of skin cream, according to one of Göring's letters. The capsule was in all probability smuggled into his cell by Lt. Wheelis and Dr. Pflücker. This reviewer, who always thought that the vial of poison was concealed in the bowl of Göring's meerschaum pipe, found Irving's revelations on Göring's final hours surprising.

Irving's massive biography of Hermann Göring contains superb photographs, a select bibliography, comprehensive acknowledgements, and exhaustive notes. The author's notes and microfilms have been deposited at the Institut für Zeitgeschichte in Munich for others to use. Such is the generosity of this British historian.

To this reviewer Göring's life and career up to 1932, though sad, were admirable in many respects. The love story of Carin and Hermann, sensitively delineated by Irving from their letters, is a classic, like those of Romeo and Juliet or Abelard and Héloise. From 1932 onward, Göring's life and career turns megalomaniac and bizarre, in many respects not admirable. Some positive achievements are overshadowed by his greed for material things; his self-indulgence, manifested in his obesity, his fantastic costumes, and his theatrical make-up; and his serious neglect of his military and political responsibilities. Only with Göring's arrest and trial at Nuremberg does his earlier character resurface. One can admire Göring's resolution and courage in his last days.

Irving is already at work of the second volume of *Churchill's War*, his wartime biography of Winston Churchill, as he indicated in his address at the February 1989 conference of the Institute of Historical Review (published in the Fall 1989 issue of this journal). Volume one of the Churchill biography is now available from the Institute, as is the volume under review.

(continued from page 388)

humankind, they ended—continues to be shackled and guarded in Western Europe and North America as thoroughly, and more effectively, than historical truth in the pre-*glasnost'* East.

If we at IHR may make one prediction about this final decade of the second millennium after Christ, however, it is that the coming ten years will see the triumph of Historical Revisionism around the world. As the past decade began, the Holocaust cult and its beneficiaries, the chief stumbling block to establishing the facts about the Second World War, seemed invincible. As it closes, the Soviet system in Eastern Europe is collapsing, and the USSR itself faces an existential crisis in which it has no alternative but to confront and reveal the bitter facts of its own past. The state of Israel and the Zionist movement stand exposed to most of the world as morally bankrupt; they approach intellectual bankruptcy; how long will America's prodigal subsidies be there to avert financial and political bankruptcy?

The peoples of Central and Eastern Europe are tearing down the barriers to freedom of action and movement. Despite the best efforts of the ideological police of the Bundesrepublik, Austria, and elsewhere, the barriers to freedom of historical inquiry and expression are coming down, too: the handwriting is on the Berlin Wall. The pioneering work of Rassinier and Barnes and Hoggan and Irving and Stäglich and Butz and Faurisson and the many other courageous Revisionist fighters for truth will not, can not, be suppressed much longer.

None of this is to suggest, of course, that the battle is won, let alone that some sort of millennium, or "end of history," is at hand. The savage and nearly fatal attack on Robert Faurisson in Vichy last September is reminder enough of how vicious the enemies of truth continue to be. The trials and tribulations of Revisionists, of those Americans and others accused of "war crimes" long ago and far away, and of whole peoples still exposed to campaigns of hate propaganda, are not yet over.

In this country, the American values for which America's Revisionists have fought—the proud self-sufficiency and non-interventionism advocated by George Washington in his great Farewell Address—pose a distinct threat to the Establishment which rules America. A continuing task for American Revisionists in the coming years will be alerting their countrymen to the harsh consequences that have flown from their leaders preference for meddling abroad rather than solving problems at home.

We at IHR and *The Journal of Historical Review*, after meeting the challenges of the 1980's (from sniper's bullets to hotel cancellations to nuisance lawsuits to the terrorist arson destruction of our headquarters and warehouse on July 4, 1984) are ready and willing to tackle those of the 1990's. We thank you, our subscribers, without whom our achievements would not have been possible. On to the year 2000 and victory over the historical blackout!

—Theodore J. O'Keefe

About the Contributors

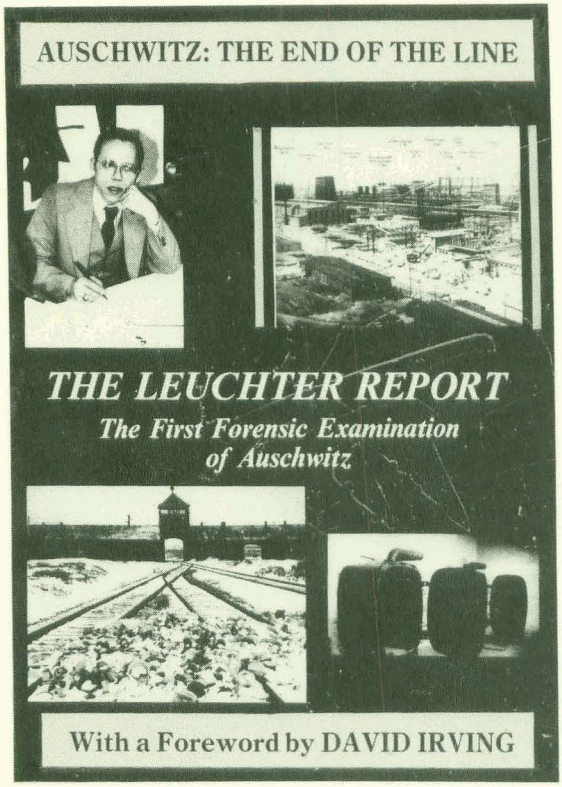
HENRY M. ADAMS is Professor Emeritus of Modern History at the University of California, Santa Barbara. Dr. Adams earned his Ph.D. at Stanford in 1937, after study at Lehigh University (B.A., 1930), the University of Berlin (1931), and the University of Southern California (M.A., 1934). Dr. Adams is the author of *Prussian-American Relations 1775-1870* and *Recht im Dienste der Menschenwürde* (Law in the Service of Human Dignity). *Rebel Patriot*, his comprehensive biography of Franz von Papen, was reviewed in the Spring 1988 issue of *The Journal of Historical Review* and is available for purchase from IHR.

JOHN COBDEN is the pseudonym of an American writer on politics. His articles have appeared in numerous national magazines and major newspapers, including the *Hartford Courant*, the *Oakland Tribune*, and the *Orange County Register*. He is also the author of a bestselling book on current American poltical thinking.

JOSEPH HALOW is a retired business executive. After his work as a court reporter in Dachau, he worked for an export-import firm, then headed a company which traded internationally in grain. He lives near Washington, D.C.

FLORENCE ROST VAN TONNINGEN was born in the Netherlands in 1914. After university studies in biology (under the late Nobel laureate Konrad Lorenz), she traveled widely in Europe and Asia. The wife of Dutch economist M.M. Rost van Tonningen from 1940 until his murder in 1945, Mrs. Rost van Tonningen founded a successful business after the war. She heads Consortium "De Levensboom," an organization which promotes a folkish worldview, and publishes *Manuscripten*, the group's Dutch- and German-language periodical.

MARK WEBER studied history at the University of Illinois (Chicago), the University of Munich, Portland State University (B.A., 1976), and Indiana University (M.A., 1977). He has published many articles on Revisionist subjects in *The Journal of Historical Review* and elsewhere, and is currently working on a major Revisionist study of the Holocaust story.



"The ball is in their court."
–DAVID IRVING

THE LEUCHTER REPORT

AN ENGINEERING REPORT ON THE ALLEGED EXECUTION GAS CHAMBERS AT AUSCHWITZ, BIRKENAU AND MAJDANEK, POLAND

This is the report which convinced world-renowned historian David Irving to change his mind about the Holocaust. (Irving called it "shattering"!) The testimony of its author, American engineer and gas chamber expert Fred Leuchter, rocked the second trial of Ernst Zündel in Toronto. Now you can find out why.

At the urging of Prof. Robert Faurisson, Fred Leuchter traveled to Poland and gathered the physical evidence for this report at Auschwitz and Majdanek, right under the noses of the Communist authorities. Now *you* can obtain and study his milestone forensic analysis in a highly readable summary edition. A brand new printing of **The Leuchter Report**, with a foreword by David Irving and an introduction by Robert Faurisson, the full forensic summary, and the meticulous documentation laying out the evidence, is $20.00, with part of the proceeds earmarked to help defray the enormous costs of the project.

The Leuchter Report: The First Forensic Examination of Auschwitz is straightforward and clearly presented with photos, maps and charts. You'll not only learn what everyone interested in this aspect of World War II history needs to know about the properties and applications of Zyklon-B and real-world gas chamber construction, you'll hold in your hands a thorough scientific demonstration that the famous homicidal "gas chambers" at Auschwitz, Birkenau, and Majdanek *could not have, and did not, exist.*

The Leuchter Report is an indispensible reference. No Revisionist library is complete without it. Order yours today. Supplies are limited.

THE LEUCHTER REPORT

Foreword by David Irving • Introduction by Robert Faurisson
High-quality, glossy 8½ by 11 Softcover Format, 66 pages, $20.00
Available from the **Institute for Historical Review**
1822½ Newport Blvd. • Suite 191 • Costa Mesa, CA 92627

VOLUME NINE, NUMBER FOUR WINTER 1989-1990 The Journal of Historical Review INSTITUTE FOR HISTORICAL REVIEW