

The Journal of Historical Review

Robert Faurisson

A Dry Chronicle of the Purge

*Hideki Tojo's
Prison Diary*

Charles A. Lindbergh

*War and Peace
Two Historic Speeches*

Theodore J. O'Keefe

Why Holocaust Revisionism?

—Reviews—

Chutzpah

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—Historical News and Comment—

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Hoover-Era American Plan For

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The Holocaust in Perspective: A Letter by Paul Rassinier

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Table of Contents

Volume Twelve, No. 1

Spring, 1992

Articles

- A Dry Chronicle of the Purge 5
Robert Faurisson
- Hideki Tojo's Prison Diary 31
- War and Peace: Two Historic Speeches 87
Charles A. Lindbergh
- Why Holocaust Revisionism? 99
Theodore J. O'Keefe

Book Reviews

- Alan M. Dershowitz, *Chutzpah* 109
John Cobden
- David Hackett Fischer, *Albion's Seed: Four
British Folkways in America* 114
Nelson Rosit

Historical News and Comment

- Pearl Harbor Attack No Surprise 119
- Hoover-Era American Plan For War 121
Against Britain and Canada Uncovered
- The Holocaust in Perspective 123
A Letter by Paul Rassinier
- About the Contributors** 128

Editorial Note

It is doubtful that anything has done more to shape the popular American view of history than motion pictures. Many Americans really believe, for instance, that the wartime motion picture classic *Casablanca* is a more or less accurate depiction of the "good guys" and "bad guys" of the Second World War.

One of Hollywood's most enduring popular images of this era has been that of the idealistic and courageous French Resistance fighter, who cleverly outwits the wicked but generally inept German occupiers. Like so much else about this period, this widely-accepted image has only the most tenuous relationship with reality.

In fact, it was not until the final year of the war, and particularly after the Anglo-American D-Day landing at Normandy in June 1944, that popular sentiment in France turned against the legitimate government of Marshal Pétain. Right up until the end of the war, in fact, he was still widely respected and even revered.

As French-Jewish film maker Marcel Ophuls strikingly emphasized in his much-discussed documentary film *The Sorrow and the Pity*, support for the anti-German Resistance movement was actually quite limited, and many Resistance activists were less than admirable characters.

The simplistic view of most "educated" Americans is that Marshal Pétain was a traitor and that "Free French" leader Charles De Gaulle was a patriotic hero. In truth, each of these extraordinary figures was a patriot—each in his own remarkable way.

Similarly, few Americans realize that it was France that declared war against Germany in 1939 (and not the other way around), or that after the stunning French military defeat in June 1940, Germany's treatment of the vanquished nation was vastly more generous and benign than the Allied treatment of defeated Germany five years later.

The role of De Gaulle's "Free French" Allied forces is well known, but few Americans realize that many thousands of Frenchmen fought with the Germans, most notably in the "Charlemagne" SS Division.

A Dry Chronicle of the Purge

Summary Executions in Certain Communes of Charente Limousine

ROBERT FAURISSON

In the course of the 1960s and the beginning of the '70s, Robert Faurisson began an investigation of the Purge (French: *Epuration*), limited to those summary executions which took place in the summer of 1944 in a part of Charente known as Charente Limousine, or *Confolentais*. This meticulous study was to have been published under the title *A Dry Chronicle of 78 Days of the Purge in Certain Communes of Confolentais*.

The difficulties Professor Faurisson encountered in his other inquiry, into the gas chambers and the genocide, prevented him from completing his work on the Purge. In no way prejudicing the possibility of future publication of the full *Chronicle*, the French Revisionist journal *Revue d'histoire révisionniste* (no. 4) published in spring 1991 several excerpts from the uncompleted work. The *Journal of Historical Review*, accordingly, thanks Professor Faurisson and the *Revue* for enabling us to bring portions of this important (and much neglected) chapter of the history of the Second World War to American readers.

Professor Faurisson has catalogued the executions attributable to two *maquis*, or guerrilla bands, that held sway over the southern part of *Confolentais* and made occasional incursions into the extreme west of the department of Haute-Vienne. The *maquis* "Bernard" and the *maquis* "Chabanne" are the two *maquis* in question. The first, a Communist *maquis*, was a force in the environs of Chabanais-sur-Charente; the second was socialist, or centrist, and active around Chasseneuil-sur-Bonnieure. Chabanais and Chasseneuil are on RN 141, which runs from Angoulême to Limoges.

The four extracts that follow are:

- A list of executions by the *maquis* "Bernard";
- "Executed in Her Wedding Gown," the story of Mlle. Armagnac,

a victim of the maquis "Bernard";

—A list of executions by the maquis "Chabanne";

—"The Purge: From the Death of a Priest under Torture," the story of Father Heymès, a victim of the maquis "Chabanne."

The first extract was published, though with grave typographical errors, in Maurice Bardèche's monthly review *Défense de l'Occident* (July-August 1977, pp. 44-49).

The second extract, concerning Mlle. Armagnac, was communicated, along with much other information, to Henri Amouroux in January of 1988. The latter thereupon made substantial use of it in volume 8 of *La Grande Histoire des Français sous l'Occupation*, under the title "Joys and Sorrows of the Liberated People (6 June to 1 September 1944)" (printed 10 October 1988 by Robert Laffont). In the list of 575 persons to whom Henri Amouroux tenders his thanks, the name of Robert Faurisson is not included.

The third extract has never been published, but was sent to Henri Amouroux, who used it to some advantage.

The fourth extract appeared in *Les Ecrits de Paris* (March 1986, pp. 40-48) under the title "The Purge: From the Death of a Priest to Truncated Statistics [of the Purge]."

I. A List of Some Executions by the Maquis Bernard (15 June to 11 August 1944)

Responsibility for the executions by the Communist maquis "Bernard" rests with Bernard Lelay, a printer at *L'Humanité*, the daily newspaper of the French Communist Party, and with his followers. After Bernard Lelay, the person most directly implicated in the executions was Augustin Raoux, known as "Gandhi." A Jewish convert to Catholicism, Raoux was a solicitor at Ruffec. Assisted by his son Philippe, he directed the *Deuxième Bureau* (Security and Intelligence). He was both prosecutor and judge. The accused had no attorney, and there was no question of last rites for those condemned to death. The corpses were not put into coffins. The dead were not restored to their families. Very expeditious, this maquis seldom used torture. Junien B., native of La Péruse, killed François Destempes by means of torture. Militiaman¹ Labuze was tortured at the rectory of Saint-Quentin and then shot.

Bernard Lelay died in 1975. In 1977, his ashes were removed to the crypt of the Memorial of the Resistance at Chasseneuil-sur-Bonnieure.

Among the 72 or 73 cases enumerated below, there are 14 women. Among them one who was executed in her wedding dress (see pp. below); and another, 22 years of age and the mother of two infants, who was shot even though she was 7 months pregnant. The oldest of those shot was a 77-year-old peasant; the youngest, a schoolboy 16 years of age.

The names followed by an asterisk are those of persons on behalf of whom their families, after the war, obtained the mention "Died for France."

(Before 15 June 1944, this maquis carried out executions in the forest of Rochebrune, near Étagnac. On 1 June: three German prisoners, an unnamed girl, and gendarmerie warrant officer Pierre-Léon Combas (*); on 12 June: chauffeur Sylvain and watchmaker Vignéras. On the same day, two German railwaymen were killed at Roumazières; their dead bodies are still there on the estate of the château of Rochebrune, near Étagnac.

After 11 August 1944, the same maquis carried out many executions in regions other than the one of interest to us here, which is roughly that of the Pressac château, situated near Chabanais [Charente].)

—15 June, *Mme. Chevalier*, St-Maurice-des-Lions, housewife, age 53.

—17 June, *Mme. Beaumatin*, Exideuil, schoolteacher, age 33.

—17 June, *Général Nadal*, Chantrezac, brigadier general, age 65.

—17 June, *Marcel Nadal*, Chantrezac, student, age 22 (son of the above).

—20 June, *Charles Besson*, Chabanais, school principal, age 46 (one or more of his former students were in the firing squad).

—20 June, *Antoine de Cazes*, Verneuil, landowner, age 43.

—20 June, *Charles Schwieck*, Verneuil, age 21.

—20 June, 1 unnamed German soldier, Verneuil.

—26 June, *Marie-Charles Soury-Lavergne*, Rochechouart, importer, age 74 (his wife will be executed on 24 July for having protested).

—26 June, *Pierre V.*, St-Junien, worker, age 33 (member of the maquis accused of theft).

—27 June, *Pierre*, also known as *Julien*, Sardin, La Péruse, carpenter (killed).

–27 June, *Mme. Steiner*, Roumazières, housewife, age 41.

–27 June, *Michel Steiner*, Roumazières, peddler, age 45.

–27 June, *Jean Steiner*, Roumazières, laborer, age 20.

–27 June, *Albert Steiner*, Roumazières, laborer, age 19.

The last four persons mentioned and *Jean Bauer*, executed on 30 June, were members of one and the same family from Moselle.

–28 June, *Auroyer* (no other information).

–28 June, *Alfred Desplanques*, Suris, tenant farmer, age 43 (father of eight children).

–30 June, *Mme. Gingeot*, St-Junien, bookseller, age 35 (found with both feet cut off after being strung up by the feet with wire).

–30 June, *Marie-Louise Texeraud*, St-Junien, office worker, age 48.

–30 June, *Henri Charles*, Roumazières, factory director, age 45.

–30 June, *Serge Bienvenu*, Roumazières, accountant, age 39.

–30 June, *Jean Bauer*, Roumazières, peddler (brother of *Mme. Steiner*), age 36.

–4 July, *Régis Trillaud*, Roumazières, watchmaker, age 34.

–4 July, *Gaston Louis*, Nice, detached guard of the Militia (conveying in a train a set of blankets.)

–4 July, *Raymond Auxire*, Confolens, age 19.

–4 July, *Germain Demontoux*, St-Maurice-des-Lions, clerk, age 24.

–4 July, *Georges Maillet*, St-Junien, workingman, age 42.

–4 July, *Germaine Maillet*, St-Junien, housewife, age 33 (spouse of *Georges Maillet*).

–5 July, *Maurice Verger*, Vayres, farmer, age 36.

–5 July, *Françoise Armagnac*, bride of *Pénicaut*, Exideuil, age 26 (grandniece of *Sadi Carnot*, president of the Republic who was assassinated in 1894; arrested on 4 July by *Nathan Lindner* after the marriage mass; shot in her wedding dress).

–6 July, 1 unknown male (body rolled up in a blanket at the foot of the prisoners tower of the Pressac château).

–6 July, 1 unknown male (head smashed in; same place; confusion with the above?).

–7 July, *Siméon Israel*, Manot, railroad employee, age 42.

- 9 July, Mme Lévêque, St-Laurent-de-Céris, housewife, age 65 (“the nurse”).
- 10 July, Auguste Sibert, Loubert, livestock dealer, age 29.
- 11 July, Henri Malga, Rochechouart, workingman, age 43.
- 12 July, Raoul Chevalier (*), Maisonnais, justice of the peace, age 60.
- 12 July, Maurice Aubert, Montemboeuf, notary, age 31.
- 12 July, Jacques de Maillard, Chassenon, landowner, age 50.
- 13 July, Jean Jonquet, Étagnac, restaurateur, age 63.
- 13 July, François Destempes, Chabanais, town clerk, age 49 (death by torture).
- 13 July, Léonard, alias Adrien, Saumon (*), Maisonnais, maker of sabots (former mayor with socialist leanings).
- 16 July, 1 unknown male (body rolled in a blanket, in back of the château farmhouse).
- 16 July, Pierre Carlin (*), Brigueil, miller of oil, age 25 (was a member of the Resistance network “Action R3”).
- 16 July, Mme. Noël, St-Junien, nurse, age 35.
- 16 July, Eugène Écoupeau, Magnac-sur-Touvre, fitter, age 21.
- 18 July, Mme. Baatsch, Exideuil, housewife, age 45.
- 18 July, Henri Fabre, Roumazières, radio electrician, age 42.
- 18 July, 1 unknown young girl, came from Rouen.
- 18 July, Pierre Sauviat, Chabanais, retired gendarmerie warrant officer, age 61.
- 18 July, Sylvain Vignaud, Confolens, grain inspector, age 58.
- 20 July, Gaston Devoyon, Chabanais, carpenter, age 50.
- 20 July, Amédée Devoyon, Chabanais, carpenter, age 45 (brother of Gaston Devoyon).
- 21 July, Ferdinand Gisson, Chabanais, seed merchant, age 60 (deputy mayor; killed).
- 24 July, Jean Codet-Boisse, Oradour-sur-Vayres, lumber worker, age 28.
- 24 July, Pierre Sadry, Rochechouart, pastry cook, age 60.
- 24 July, Mme. Soury-Lavergne, Rochechouart, housewife, age 57 (husband executed on 26 June).
- 27 July, Angel Besson, Roussines, bus driver, age 24.
- 27 July, Mme. Besson, Roussines, housewife, age 22 (spouse

of Angel Besson; mother of two young children; 7 months pregnant).

–29 July, *Eugène Pannier*, Manot, landowner, age 54.

–30 July, *Jacques Labuze*, St-Junien, medical studies completed, age 30.

–30 July, *Mme. Lagarde*, Étagnac, housewife, age 24 (“la belle Manou”).

–31 July, *Yvon B.*, Limoges (?), age 17 (had denounced a *maquis?*).

–4 August, *Paul Corbiat*, Montemboeuf, farmer-landholder, age 77.

–4 August, *Jacques Londeix*, native of Bordeaux, schoolboy, age 16.

–6 August, *Gustave Nicolas*, Chasseneuil, tradesman, age 47.

–11 August, 1 unknown male (found 150 meters east of the cemetery of Vayres).

–11 August, *René Barbier* (*), Alloue, working landowner, age 37.

–11 August, *Aloyse Fritz*, Rochechouart, gendarmerie warrant officer, age 43.

–11 August, *Pierre Marot*, Rochechouart, gendarmerie warrant officer, age 34.

–11 August, *Jeanne Lamothe*, Chantilly (Oise), stenographer-typist, age 19.

–11 August, *Jean Paillard*, Rochechouart, commercial traveler, age 45.

–11 August, *Georges Remondet*, Confolens, lieutenant retired on pension, age 54.

II. Executed In Her Wedding Gown

DOCUMENT: Death Certificate

Mayorality of Saint-Quentin (Charente):

Madame PÉNICAUT, née Françoise Charlotte Solange ARMAGNAC, on 23 Feb 18 at Paris, residing in Bel Air, Commune of Exideuil/s/Vienne (Charente), farmer, age 26.

Deceased at Pressac, Commune of Exideuil/s/Vienne, on 5 July 44 at 9 p.m.

Françoise Armagnac was the daughter of Jean Marie Armagnac, a Senate official, and of Ernestine Marie Carnot, niece of Sadi Carnot. Through her mother, she was thus the grandniece of the president of the Republic, who, in 1894, had

been assassinated at Lyon by the anarchist Caserio.

Along the Angoulême-Limoges main road, in the proximity of Chabonais but within the territory of the commune of Exideuil, Françoise Armagnac lived with her mother in a Basque-style chalet in the locality of Bel Air. Her uncle, Jean Carnot, resided in a house of imposing size situated in the locality of Savignac.² This house, where Françoise and her sister Cécile, coming from Paris, used to spend their vacations, is improperly designated with the term "château" by certain inhabitants of the region, as well as by the ordinance map. Françoise Armagnac, contrary to the legend, was not the mistress of a château.

The narrative you are going to read owes essentially to the oral testimony of her husband and a written account left by her mother. The narrative is followed by sworn statements.

The Story

The religious wedding of Françoise Armagnac and Georges Pénicaut was celebrated at eleven o'clock in the morning on Tuesday, 4 July 1944, at the church of St-Pierre-ès-Liens de Chabonais. The sparse (?) audience included the Girl Scouts and Jeannettes with whom Françoise busied herself, and whose leader she was. A sermon was delivered by M. Jagueneau, the Catholic priest and dean of Chabonais; less than a month previously, the latter had had dealings with the maquis in connection with the burial of "the Spaniard"³; on the afternoon of that same 4 July, he would be slapped in the face by a member of the maquis.

The ceremony went off without incident. To be sure, it seems that disturbing rumors had circulated the night before, but the couple had known nothing of these. Françoise wore a white silk dress, long and full, as well as a diadem of white roses, a white mantilla and her sister Cécile's white burnoose. It was in this wedding outfit, give or take a few items, that she was to be shot to death some thirty hours after the wedding.

The wedding breakfast was planned for the chalet of Bel Air. Instead of taking the main road, the couple and some of the guests took a shortcut across the fields. About 300 meters before reaching the chalet, a very considerable group of *maquisards* (members of the maquis) appeared and began a peremptory questioning of the entire wedding party. To believe the *adjudant* [noncommissioned officer = warrant officer junior grade], all this was a prelude to a simple search; he

even added that it would be no more than "a call on the family of a former president of the Republic."

A dozen of the wedding guests were placed under close watch in an outbuilding of the chalet. The Catholic dean was put in a separate room, and it was there that he would be slapped. The photographer, M. Aubineau, was isolated in another room; he was suspected of having photographed the *maquisards* the day they occupied Chabanais.⁴

Maquisards seated themselves at the table set up in the main room of the chalet and divided up the wedding breakfast. In the middle of the table there were blue hydrangeas that had been gathered from outside the house, and two bouquets of white roses. The *maquis* distributed cakes and chocolates to the Scouts and Jeannettes.

Around three o'clock in the afternoon the other participants in the wedding would be allowed the cold remains of the meal. At about five o'clock, the guests invited to the wedding feast arrived and in turn were searched. At six o'clock the bride and groom were taken and put into a truck along with the photographer and the Catholic dean. As Françoise had to stand in the truck, one of the *maquis* had gone to find a chair for her from the drawing room. And thus began what, leaning towards her husband, she called "our honeymoon trip." It is unlikely that the couple at that moment really felt themselves in danger. No one attempted anything in their behalf, no doubt precisely because no one feared any fatal consequence. No one save the very young housemaid, Louise V., who declared to Anna, the cook, that Françoise was going to be shot.⁵ She said she was a nervous wreck, and that very evening, taking her belongings, she quit the premises. She would not be seen again.⁶ She had guided the *maquis* during their search, and it was she who had led them to an etagere where there was a little wooden shoe: in this little shoe an insignia of the Militia was discovered. That at least seems evident from what Mme. Armagnac, Françoise's mother, would hear at the Vayres camp where, a few days later, she in her turn would be interned by the *maquisards*.

The chalet was stripped of all objects of value. Yet the *adjutant* had declared that "not one sou, not one centime would be taken"; that "the *maquis* had no need of anything." "Besides," he had specifically stated, "look at how we're dressed!" But it is probable that on discovering, at the time of the search, seem-

ingly damning evidence against Françoise, the order had been given to “salvage” everything. With the arrival of 126 men (on foot) and two trucks, the *maquisards*, taking one of the trucks, carried off the silverware, the clocks and watches, the family jewels, money, the brandy and the wine, plates and dishes and all the food. In particular, they took M. Armagnac’s watch (he had died in 1942) and the contents of the purses of the two children, ages six and eight, who had come to spend their vacation at Bel Air. They left the purses.⁷ As for the truck carrying away the prisoners, it traversed Grenord and reached the Pressac château, near Saint-Quentin-sur-Charente. The guards were singing. One of them broke into the “Internationale,” but his comrades interrupted him, reminding him that “it is forbidden.” The arrival at the château was tumultuous. The *maquisards* were abusive, ready to beat the prisoners black and blue, but “Bernard” came out of the château, a club (?) in his hand, and warned: “I’ll clobber the first one who touches them.”

The prisoners were placed together in a room on the left of the second story that would serve as their prison. Meanwhile, Françoise was conducted to the infirmary on the right. Her identification papers, her bracelet, her watch, and her engagement ring were taken from her. The famed “nurse”—the former maidservant of Mme. Vissol, living in Chabanais—would be seen, after these events, wearing that engagement ring on her finger.

Françoise and her husband underwent two joint interrogations in the office of Raoux, called “Gandhi,” who functioned at one and the same time as examining magistrate, public prosecutor and judge. A diary belonging to Françoise was examined closely: that for 1943, in which she told of having attended the first meetings of the Militia (four meetings in all, it seems). “This is sufficient,” Raoux is supposed to have said, showing her the insignia of the Militia.

There were about fifteen men locked up in the prison of the Pressac château. The new arrivals were given nothing to eat; no doubt they had arrived too late. The following day, Wednesday, 5 July, still nothing to eat. Georges Pénicaut was put to work on the charcoal detail. Françoise Pénicaut sewed forage caps in the infirmary. She asked for and obtained a piece of bread. In between their forced labor, the couple succeeded in exchanging a few words. That morning Françoise

was summoned twice for questioning. She would confide to her husband that they were forever asking her the same questions and that she was sure she would be condemned. At morning's end, she was told that her execution was for that same evening, whereas Georges would have to be released. Georges obtained an audience with "Bernard." He implored him to take his life in exchange for that of his young wife. Far from yielding, "Bernard" enumerated for him the exhibits which proved Françoise's guilt: her Militia insignia, her diary for 1943, her signed deposition. He even read him an excerpt from the diary in which her joining the Militia was related. Thereupon Georges mentioned the page of the diary where Françoise made reference to the certified letter by which she had sent the Militia her resignation. At once "Bernard" resumed reading the diary; coming to the date of 7 August 1943, he tore out the page and declared to Georges Pénicaut: "The evidence that interests us, we keep; that which does not interest us, we have the duty to disregard."⁸ And he added that the execution would not be delayed "by one hour or by one minute."

At 9 o'clock in the evening, Françoise was executed right at the top of the meadow called "The York," behind a thicket and close to a drained fishpond.⁹ Before leaving for the place of the execution, she was granted five minutes to wait for her husband, who was not yet back from his fatigue duty. Upon his return, she rushed to him, and they were able to exchange a few words. To the firing squad she is supposed to have declared: "Kill me. I entrust my soul to God." We have several witnesses to her sangfroid. The coup de grâce was supposedly fired by "the nurse." They refused to show Georges the place where his wife's body had been thrown, and he asked for the return of the engagement ring in vain.

Exhumation could not be effected until five months later, in the mud, on 2 December 1944. Today, Françoise Pénicaut has her grave in the cemetery of Chabanais. The inscription on the gravestone reads: "Here lies Françoise Armagnac, wife of Pénicaut, 1918-1944." To her left, the grave of her father bears the words: "Jean Armagnac, born in Paris, deceased at Bel Air, 1872-1942." On her right is the grave of her mother, where one may read: "Marie Armagnac, née Carnot, 1877-1969."

The Testimonies

Testimony of Cécile Armagnac, elder sister of the slain woman:

At the time of the events in question, I was an ambulance nurse in Cherbourg. Because of the battle of Normandy, the town was cut off from the rest of France. I only learned of the marriage and the death of my sister around the end of the month of August 1944, and then only by chance (someone who came from Paris and was passing through Cherbourg had, on hearing my name, offered me his condolences . . .). We didn't do anything political, my sister and I. We were both against the occupying forces. The Militia seemed at the time it was created, in 1943, like a sort of civil gendarmerie charged with maintaining order in the country. In an area like ours, where there were, so to speak, no Germans in 1943, the Militia was not considered pro-German, as it later came to be, especially as viewed from Paris or the areas where the members of the Militia and the Germans took part in the same operations of "maintaining order." Besides, Françoise was going to go in for the social work of the Militia, that is to say first-aid, packages for the prisoners of war, day nurseries for children. She went, I believe, to only four meetings of the Militia, after which she sent in her resignation as early as 7 August 1943.

I returned to Bel Air on 9 October 1944, that is to say three months after the death of my sister. The area had already been liberated for two months. People were turning their backs on my mother. The tenants were no longer paying her rent. I learned, moreover, that after the Chabonais disaster of 1 August 1944, people had come to Bel Air and commandeered wood and furniture (beds, dressers, wardrobes) for the victims. Among others, B., who was very well known for his Communist opinions, had come looking for furniture. Subsequently we were to be given back only an ebony wardrobe and a mahogany dresser. I also learned that my mother had been taken away and imprisoned by the maquis. She was 67 years old and nearly blind. In a letter addressed to the assessor, she had solicited a reduction in taxes in view of the looting of Bel Air, in which all of her available cash had been taken from her. Her letter had been intercepted. She herself had been arrested, just as the Chabonais tax collector had been. Raoux and other interrogators had tried in vain to make her retract the terms of the letter. Sure of being shot, she resisted them. They also tried

to extort a sum of money from her, as they had from a certain G., of Saint-Junien. She told them they had already taken everything from her. Ultimately the *maquisards* released her from the Vayres camp just as they were precipitously departing it. My mother, cutting herself a staff from the hedgerow, marched a good 20 kilometers to get back to Bel Air.

Those events were the product of a troubled era. It wasn't any prettier on the other side. In times like those, actions are often faster than thoughts, with excesses of all kinds as a result. And things leave their mark . . .

Testimony of Robert du Maroussem, former commanding officer of the local Militia:

I remember that at the end of one of our information briefings, Mlle. Armagnac told us: "You go too far in your attacks on the Jews and the Freemasons; they're hunted like wild animals these days."

Testimony of Mme T., former domestic of the Pressac château:

When the truck arrived at the château, the maquis, in order to mock her, cried: "Long live the bride!" She slept in a loft. They made her clean the toilets and sew clothing. Her dress was soiled. When she crossed the yard, they continued to cry: "Long live the bride!" A young fellow who was a member of the firing squad was impressed by her courage. It seems that she opened the front of her burnoose and told them: "Fire away!"

Testimony of Nathan Lindner, instigator of the arrest:

[In her written statement, Mme. Armagnac names the "newspaper vendor Lannaire (sic), born in Warsaw and a refugee in Chabanais." She adds that this man directed the looting of Bel Air and that he personally carried off "the genealogical tables of the Carnot family." He supposedly boasted of the "Joli coup" he had pulled off and exclaimed: "Won't they think I'm something after that!"—I managed to find Nathan Lindner on 14 May 1974. He was then living in the Halles quarter of Paris and had a newspaper stand at the corner of Tiquetonne and Montorgueil streets. Born in Warsaw in July of 1902, he had been a corporal in the Foreign Legion (height: 1.59 m). During the war of 1939-1940, he had worked in Toulouse for *Paris Soir*; later, because of the Vichy racial laws, he had worked in Issoudun (Indre) for himself. He

finally went back to Chabanais, where he peddled newspapers for the Hachette Store run by Mme. Olivaux. Known by the nickname "Trottinette," in the Resistance he used the pseudonym "Linard."

I had to leave the Chabanais area in 1945 on account of those stories of the Liberation. The newspapers of the time, and especially *L'Essor du Centre-Ouest*, had violently attacked me. A good many years later it was *Historia* that lit into me.

In 1944, at Chabanais, I took delivery of the newspapers at the railroad station and brought them to the Olivaux store. I had a pushcart fitted out with bookshelves. That's why they nicknamed me "Trottinette" [scooter]. One day I hear her say something like: "These young people who refuse the S.T.O. [*Service du Travail Obligatoire* = Compulsory Work Service] should be doused with gasoline and set on fire." Other people could confirm that for you.¹⁰ One of my newspapers was *Signal*, the only review comparable to today's *Match*.¹¹

I was the one who talked to Bernard about Françoise Armagnac. I asked to take care of the search and the rest of it. Bernard gave me carte blanche. When the wedding party got to within 300 meters of the Armagnac property, I told them that we were members of the maquis and not looters, and I read an order that said any man caught pillaging would be shot immediately. We set up the operation on the same day as the wedding in the hope that we'd find other members of the Militia among the guests. In the course of the search we discovered appointment books, armbands, insignia,¹² a Militia membership card.¹³ I took the bride to Raoux, who, provided with my written report, conducted the questioning and *decided on the execution*.

What I did that day was perhaps not very pretty. I entered into history through the death of a descendant of Sadi Carnot. I'm not pleased about it. It had to be done at the time. I'm not a bloodthirsty person; feelings were running very high and people weren't in any state to be reasoned with.

But right now we have lots of people who are doing a lot of harm [now, in 1974]. They ought to have been executed at the time instead of being liberated and whitewashed. All these people besmirch and denigrate the Resistance.

The witness appeared to me to be tormented by the "Armagnac Affair." He does not regret having had the bride shot, but he deplores the vexations that ensued for him. He

says he was always a Communist and affirms that he was expelled from the Party in 1945 for having wanted, contrary to instructions, to help the Spanish Reds arm themselves in order to liberate Spain from the yoke of Franco. Among those Reds, there was "Ramon." Nathan Lindner is mad for history and painting; he paints under a pseudonym (Ainel, as in N[athan] L[indner]]).

Testimony of Annie F., former "Wolf Cub" scoutmistress:

Françoise Armagnac was an idealist and an enthusiast, an ungainly girl, eccentric and sometimes careless in dress. Very much the churchgoer, she was brusque in manner; she was very peremptory, and perhaps timid at bottom. Politics didn't interest her. Once, speaking to me about a movement, perhaps of the Militia's social work or women's movement, she told me that in an age like ours, you couldn't remain indifferent, that this movement looked interesting and that one ought to be able to make oneself useful in it. Someone—was it her mother or was it perhaps myself—cautioned her and counseled her to get the advice of the Scouts at the national level.¹⁴

On 4 July 1944, I witnessed the removal of the Armagnac family belongings in the *maquisards'* truck. Children were playing on the slope of the meadow; it was the "Wolf Cubs" and the Girl Scouts.

Testimony of Joseph L., former president of the Legion:

At one moment, at Bel Air, young Valette, who was one of the *maquisards*, cried out: "The Germans are coming! There are the swastikas!"—It was Scout crosses.¹⁵

Testimony of the widow of Lieutenant Robert, chief of operations:

[Lieutenant Robert's true name was Jean P. He was a farmer at Les Fayards, a commune of Étagnac. His widow now (1974) has an antique shop in the Paris region, at Saint-Mandé.]

My husband has just died of cancer at the age of 52. I met him after the Liberation. He was a croupier then. For two seasons he directed the casino of L. I wasn't familiar with the Resistance in Charente. I don't come from there. My husband was always a Communist. He never talked, so to speak, about his memories of the *maquis*. He was sickened by the ill that was spoken of the Resistance. Basically, he really began to talk about the *maquis* only during the eight months in the hospital

preceding his death. He talked especially about "Gustave" (Bricout), and then he also spoke about a marquise or a countess that had been shot. He was there. I don't remember well at all. Hadn't that woman denounced some Frenchmen? My husband thought that it was just . . . I think that my husband didn't agree all that much . . .¹⁶

Testimony of G.B., of Montbron, alleged witness to the execution:

Then the bride opened her veil and she called out just like that: "Long live Germany!"¹⁷

Testimony of "Bernard," commander of the "Pressac maquis" [or maquis "Bernard"]:

The bride? She was secretary of the Confolens Militia. She told me: "You've got the better of me, but if I had got the better of you, it would be no different."

Testimony of "Gaston," chauffeur for "Bernard":

I took part in the arrest of the Carnot girl. A sensational girl. Facing the firing squad, she took hold of her wedding dress like this [gesture with both hands of baring the throat]. She never lowered her eyes. She was a *chef de centaine* in the Militia.¹⁹

The "**Armagnac Affair**" recounted by Robert Aron:

[*Histoire de l'Épuration*, volume I, "Les Grandes Études Contemporaines," Fayard, 664 pp., 1967, pp.566-567.]

Perhaps the most detestable acts of violence are those which attack women. Near Limoges, a young woman of the region, Mlle. d'Armagnac, whose family are proprietors of a château, gets married in the church of her village: when she comes out on the parvis from the mass, *maquisards* kidnap her, her husband, the priest who married them, and a witness. At dawn the next day she is shot to death in her wedding gown. Motives given: first, she is a *chatelaine*; in the second place, she has taken care of militiamen.²⁰

Testimony of P. Clerfeuille, Professor at Angoulême:

You know, it is very difficult to do this work on the Repression. People don't want to talk. Let us take an example. I am positive that a woman was shot to death in her wedding gown. I went to Chabanais to investigate. I have an official card for doing this kind of work: I'm a corresponding member of the

Committee on the History of the Second World War. We are under the jurisdiction of the Prime Minister. Well, they refused to give me the name of the woman who was shot! I went away without a thing. And nevertheless I know that woman existed.

[P. Clerfeuille is officially charged, among other labors, with research on the Repression at the Liberation (i.e., on the Purge) in the department of Charente. Our interview took place in 1974, say seven years after the publication of the Robert Aron book.]

Two Documents

1. First Battalion, 2406th Company. 4 July 1944

***Report of the Company Lieutenant*²¹**

Today 7/4/44 we carried out a large-scale operation at the Armagnac château; place known as Petit Chevrier²² concerning the possible arrest of militiamen. The operation was completely crowned with success because we arrested a militia-woman. This woman was getting married today and we came at the height of the wedding or at least at the arrival of the wedding party. We interrogated the guests one after the other, and I personally verified their identity and all the papers that were in their possession as well as their wallets. After verification, I detained a photographer named Aubinot²³ who allegedly photographed the maquis the day we occupied Chabanais. This requires a serious investigation at his domicile.

I also detained the Priest of Chabanais who had prevented the bringing of flowers and wreaths and the flag into his church.²⁴

Afterwards we kept a close watch on the Bridegroom and the Bride for having answered us spitefully concerning the work we were doing at their home. Then we made a regulation search without damaging anything up to the moment when we found the evidence that the Bride is a Militiawoman. And so from that instant I all but gave the men a free hand for the removal of the provisions and other things worth our while.

When everything was loaded, we had the prisoners get into the trucks and we returned without incident.

I am satisfied with that expedition because I saw my men at work and I see that I can count on them.

As for my *Adjudant-Chef* [senior warrant officer] Linard,²⁵ I can only thank him for having mounted this expedition and to have supervised it so well. Also, with the consent of the commanding captain of the battalion, I shall request that he be named company adjutant.

In the evening a German airplane flew over the camp at a low altitude and on its way to Pressignac loosed a few bursts of machine-gun fire on civilians.

Signed: Robert

2. First Battalion / Intelligence Service — Activity of the Intelligence Service — the 7th of July 1944.

Closure of the inquiry into the claims for money and real estate of the Armagnac family.

8 July 1944 Chief of Intelligence Service

Signed: Gaudy²⁶

III. A List of Some Executions by the Maquis "Chabanne" (4 July to 17 August 1944)

This maquis was started by three teachers from the secondary school of Chasseneuil: André Chabanne, Guy Pascaud and Lucette Nebout. These three were later joined by a career military man: Jean-Pierre Rogez. André Chabanne died in an accident in 1963. His body rests in the crypt of the Memorial of the Chasseneuil Resistance beside the body of Bernard Lelay, head of the maquis "Bernard." Guy Pascaud was arrested on 22 March 1944 and deported; upon his return from deportation, he embarked on a political career; he died some years ago. Lucette Nebout changed her name following a remarriage; she is still living. After the war, Jean-Pierre Rogez had a brilliant military career; he was chief of staff of a general in command of the Paris garrison. On his retirement, he embarked on a political career and became for a time the mayor of Malaucène (Vaucluse). In the summary of his service record are these four words: "tortured by the Gestapo." The truth is that he was accidentally knocked off his motorbike by a German military vehicle.

The maquis "Chabanne"—also called "Bir Hacheim, AS 18"—killed less but tortured more than the neighboring Communist maquis "Bernard." The responsibility for its executions or tortures is also more diverse, divided between André

Chabanne and a few members of his entourage, in particular François-Abraham Bernheim (of Colmar) and the former Saint-Cyr cadet, Jean-Pierre Rogez. Bernheim, of Jewish extraction—as was Raoux, his counterpart for the maquis “Bernard”—directed the *Deuxième Bureau* (Security and Intelligence) until one day when André Chabanne dismissed him, probably because he found him too severe.

Whereas in the case of the victims of the Communist maquis almost all the bodies have been exhumed, the victims of the maquis “AS” (“Secret Army”) have not all been exhumed, and it is with full knowledge of the case that the authorities persist in refusing these exhumations. In the commune of Montemboeuf, at the locality known as “the fox holes,” near the old Jayat mill, there are bodies which have never been claimed, and others which have been claimed but which the authorities do not want exhumed.

The most astonishing of the executions carried out by the maquis “Chabanne” are those of the “Couture Seven” as well as that of Father Albert Heymès and his servant (see below, pp. 23-26).

Couture (280 inhabitants in 1944) is a village situated north of Angoulême, at the beginning of *Charente poitevine*, in the proximity of Mansles and Aunac. In June of 1944, a skirmish between German and Militia troops on one side and a small detachment of the maquis “Chabanne” (five persons in all) on the other resulted in one dead on the side of the maquis.

The couple in charge of this little detachment were convinced that the inhabitants of Couture had denounced them, and Chabanne had ended up having seven persons of the village arrested: a father and son, another father and son, two brothers, and a seventh man. All were tortured, as a Military Justice report would establish after the war. All were executed at Cherves-Chatelars, near Montemboeuf, on 4 July 1944. The bodies were thrown into a cesspool. It would take their families 28 years of petitioning to obtain the exhumation of the bodies and their transfer in secret to the Couture cemetery. Proof of the denunciation was never produced. The presence of this small maquis was a matter of public knowledge in the region.

In the period from 4 July to 17 August 1944, and limiting myself strictly to the region where it was then to be found, this maquis carried out around 50 executions.

Of the 50 cases, seven were women (one of them was 77 years old; she was shot along with her sister, 70 years of age, and the latter's husband, age 73, a cripple on crutches). There were also four members of a single gypsy family (one of them a woman) among the victims, and three German soldiers, including one who tried to escape.

–4 July, *Louis-André Michaud*, age 34, warrant officer pilot on armistice leave, killed at Labon, commune of Chasseneuil.

–4 July, seven farmers from Couture executed at Cherves, all after torture:

Léon Barret, age 38, brother of the following.

Eugène Barret, age 32, brother of the preceding.

Émilien Gachet, age 61, father of the following.

Émile Gachet, age 23, son of the preceding.

Frédéric Dumouss(e)aud, age 63, father of the following.

Marcel Dumouss(e)aud, age 35, son of the preceding.

Albéric Maindron, age 32.

–5 July, ? *Aurance*, executed at Cherves.

–5 July, unknown male, executed at Cherves.

–6 July, *Joseph Grangeaud*, age 68, tradesman, executed at Cherves.

–6 July, *Édouard Lombreuil*, age 61, insurance broker, executed at Cherves.

–6 July, *André Abadie*, age 33, former stevedore at Bordeaux (?), executed at Cherves.

–10 July, *Jean Veyret-Logerias*, age 67, town clerk, executed at Cherves.

–11 July, *Father Albert Heymès*, died by torture, or following torture, at the Priory of Chatelars.

–13 or 14 July, *Nicolas Becker*, age 57, pharmacy assistant, executed at Chez-Fourt, commune of La Tâche.

–16 July, *Ernest Schuster*, age 24, interpreter at the *Kommandantur* [garrison headquarters] of La Rochefoucauld, tortured and executed at Cherves.

–26 July, *Jean Dalançon*, age 49, watchmaker, executed at Cherves.

–26 July, *Jean Niedzella*, age 24 (?), killed at Cherves.

–29 July, then 30 July for the last of them, four itinerants of the same family (gypsy), killed near Saint-Claud:

Jules Ritz, age 50.

Pauline Jauzert, age 57.

Émile Ritz, age 22.

François Ritz, age 24.

—end of July, three German soldiers were taken prisoner. The sergeant tried to escape; he was killed. His two comrades were fetched, and also killed. The marks of the bullets are still there on the exterior wall of the covered playground of the school at Cherves. The three dead bodies were thrown into a pond “chez Veyret”; they remained in the pond for at least ten years—with their feet sticking out.

—1 August, *Joséphine Adam*, age 29, servant of Father Heymès, executed at Cherves.

—August, *Marie-Germain Groulade*, age 48, housewife, executed at Cherves.

The following executions took place at the “fox holes” near the old mill at Jayat, in the commune of Montemboeuf, where Jean-Pierre Rogez had his command post and where he had a “concentration camp” (its official designation) set up:

—7 August, *Maurice Launay*, age 25, farm domestic; his wife (Mme. Horenstein, of Objat) did not succeed in obtaining exhumation.

—9 or 10 August, *Mlle. Clémence Choyer*, age 65, retired school-teacher, no family; not exhumed.

—10 August, *Augustine Alexandrine Bossu*, age 77, almost blind, sister-in-law of the following.

—10 August, *Victor Maisonneuve*, age 73, invalid needing two canes, husband of the following.

—10 August, *Juliette Henriette Maisonneuve*, age 70, wife of the preceding.

—11 August, *Marie Brénichot*, age 46, tradeswoman.

—14 or 15 August, *Joseph Schneider*, age 25, interpreter at the Kommandantur of Champagne-Mouton, tortured; not exhumed.

—14 or 15 August, *Paulette Marguerite François*, age 27, owner of a cafe; not exhumed.

—15 August, 6 or 7 or 9 Russian volunteers in the German army were executed; no exhumations despite negotiations.

—16 August, *Raphaël Gacon*, age 18 (?), “half day-laborer, half sacristan”; not exhumed.

–17 August, *Emmanuel Giraud*, age 24, farm domestic; not exhumed, despite the apparent request of a brother.

–It might be well to add to this list the name of *Octave Bourdy*, age 53, a grocer, executed belatedly, on 6 December in terrifying circumstances at Saint-Claud.

IV. Death of a Priest Under Torture

Before the execution by the maquis “Chabanne” of the seven inhabitants of Couture, the curé of Saint-Front, Father Albert Heymès, went there and expressed his feelings in a form I have been unable to determine. As a priest serving several parishes, he was coming from celebrating Mass in one of them; and it was on the return journey, at Saint-Front, that he was presumably stopped, along with his servant, Joséphine, and taken by truck to André Chabanne’s command post at Chatelars, an estate—“the Priory”—flanked by the remains of an abbey (not to be confused with “Le Logis du Chatelars,” which is a château). It was his misfortune that Albert Heymès was a refugee from the East²⁷ and spoke with a strong German accent. He was born on 4 November 1901 at Kappelkingen, near Sarralbe, in Moselle.

At Colmar, François-Abraham Bernheim, still living, told me concerning him:

Heymès, I knew him well in 1936 and then in 1939 at Altrippe (where he was the curé). I lived in his village. He spoke the patois of Lorraine, the worst of the German dialects: the “paexer”; originally it’s Luxemburgian (that dialect, it’s enough to sicken you). Heymès was a bit ponderous, a bit coarse. He was not unlikable but he had a bad PR. (I don’t know anything about his death.) I suppose he fell on his back when he was struck and presumably split open the back of his skull. I was the judge. There was no attorney. I made an impression because I didn’t shout. A man blanches and his eyes glitter, when you tell him he’s going to die.

For some inhabitants of the Moselle region, the former curé of Altrippe was intelligent, a musician, a big talker with an irritating style. “If he had stayed in Lorraine, it would have been the Germans who’d have cut off his head.”

M. was a member of the maquis and saw the truck arrive with the priest: “They didn’t set up the steps for him. That struck me. You have respect for a curé as you do for a teacher. He had his prayer book. He appealed to the good Lord for help

... But he confessed that he was a member of the Wehrmacht [sic]."

M., of Chasseneuil, told me: "It wasn't a pigsty they put him in, but a shed for sheep. They made him carry stones. A *maquisard* said to me: 'This one will be good for making a beef stew tomorrow.' He said that to me on a Thursday; well, Sunday it was he, the *maquisard*, who had been killed. This *curé* was a noncom in the German army."

G., of Cherves, stated to me: "I saw him carrying very big stones and beaten by his guards. He had tears in his eyes."

Two brothers took a leading role in the torture. I found one of these brothers, a pastry cook, at Gond-Pontouvre (Angoulême). I told him the results of my investigation. He stated to me: "He was tortured very severely but there was neither a rope nor a hot iron. When I came back with X. to the pigsty where the *curé* was, we found him motionless. We lifted his eyelids. We verified his death and concluded that he must have committed suicide with a ring."

And, as I asked for an explanation of the ring, the man answered: "I refuse to say anything more about it to you. I won't say any more about it unless Bonnot is willing to talk. See Bonnot."

This last, a well-known official of the maquis "Chabanne," refused to give me any information.

The priest's family refused to reply to my questions for fear of dealing with someone who was perhaps seeking, in the terms of a letter dated 2 June 1974, to "go along with the anti-clerical propaganda of the age."

Albert Heymès died on or about 11 July 1944; he was 42 years old. His body was buried in the cemetery of Cherves-Chatelars. His name is graven in the stone: "Father Albert Heymès [sic]/ 1901-1944." The bishopric of Metz did not desire exhumation and transfer of the body to Lorraine. The grave is totally neglected. His servant, Joséphine Adam, was executed on the 1st of August, together with another woman. At Chatelars I was often told she "cried a great deal." They had afflicted her with a placard reading: "Curé's Wife."

Nowadays the children of Cherves-Chatelars and the region are nurtured on the hallowed history of the Resistance. A plaque which indicated the dates of the birth and death of André

Chabanne has been replaced with another no longer indicating the dates, giving the impression that the hero died in the war, whereas he died in an accident in 1963. Directly in front of the dwelling called "the Priory," in which Father Albert Heymès was tortured to death, and where many other persons had been imprisoned or tortured or condemned to death, schoolchildren have planted a fir tree. A plaque reads: "Tree planted 3 September 78/ by the children of Cherves-Chatelars in memory of the maquis Bir Hacheim /AS 18/ which was formed in this place/ in September 1943."

In the schoolyard of the Cherves school there is a playground. On the playground's exterior wall, along the road which leads from Cherves to Chasseneuil, there can still be clearly seen, more than forty years after the events, bullet marks: it was here that the three German soldiers were executed. Upon being informed of this execution, André Chabanne flew into a rage. He remembered, he said, that, taken prisoner by the Germans in 1940, he had escaped and been recaptured; his life was spared.

Nevertheless, ten years after the execution of the three Germans, André Chabanne had left their cadavers to lie in a nearby pond, "chez Veyret." Neither the owners of the pond, nor the mayor of Cherves, nor the gendarmes dared intervene in order that they be given a burial. Today ten or so bodies are still buried in the "foxholes" at the old Jayat mill, for exhuming them would mean exhuming a part of the truth in contradiction to the legend that grows stronger year by year. Even at Saint-Front, I interrogated a group of four women, the oldest of whom was a young child in 1944. I asked them what they knew about Father Heymès, the former curé of their village. The oldest one answered me: "That curé was no curé. The Germans put him there to keep an eye on us. He was there to spy." Two of the other three women approved. Other people told me: "He wore a German uniform under his cassock"; or again, "A fine curé, he was! Under his cassock he wore the uniform of a captain in the SS."

It is not difficult these days to find historians of serious repute who peddle even worse nonsense than that. It may nonetheless be true that Albert Heymès had served in the German army in the course of the first World War, during the period when his native province was part of Germany.

Notes

1. [The Milice (French: *Milice française*) was founded as an anti-maquis force by military hero (in both world wars) Jacques Darnand in January, 1943. —Ed.]
2. Pronounced Savignat, in conformity with the original spelling. A century ago, a great many place-names of the region found themselves provided with the suffix -ac instead of the suffix -at.
3. A member of the maquis.
4. After the confiscation of his camera, valued at 60,000 francs [1944], he will have no choice but to join the Maquis. He will be killed in the Royan pocket.
5. Anna was to testify to this after the war, to the investigators of the *Sécurité militaire*.
6. Louise V. is living today (1974) in Limoges, where she married a hairdresser. She has two daughters, one of whom is a teacher and the other an engineer (elsewhere than at Limoges). Her father was a Communist.
7. After the war, investigations of the *Sécurité militaire* will establish facts of this sort. Cécile Armagnac disclosed to us that it was out of concern not to excite bitter feelings that Madame Armagnac renounced having the property returned to her ("... anyway, that would not have returned Françoise to us"); as for the other property, the indemnity collected by Madame Armagnac seems to have been very modest.
8. The special Algiers legislation, like the appeals of the London Radio and in particular those of Maurice Schumann, sanctioned, it seems, this kind of distinction.
9. In 1944 France was on Central Europe time: 9 p.m. thus corresponded to 7 p.m. solar time.
10. The persons questioned, including those most hostile to the Militia, told us emphatically that Françoise Armagnac seemed to them incapable of making any such remarks, either in substance or form. We state here that witness Lindner seemed to us subject to grave shortcomings on points other than just the "Armagnac Affair."
11. This mention of *Signal* is astonishing. Even more astonishing is the comparison with *Match* (or *Paris-Match*). *Signal* was a weekly of very good quality but one that many French people refused to buy on account of its German and National Socialist character. Yet Nathan Lindner was selling it, or trying to sell it, in Chabanais. The sale of it was not compulsory, of course, any more than was its purchase. Françoise Armagnac had forbidden the children she looked after to buy anything at all from "Trottinette," who was guilty, in her eyes, of selling *Signal* as well as publications of a licentious nature.
12. In all probability these armbands and insignia were . . . Guide insignia (with the exception of that found in the little wooden shoe).
13. A probable confusion with the insignia found in the little wooden shoe.

14. According to her sister Cécile, Françoise, receiving no response—the mail was operating under precarious conditions—made her decision without waiting any longer.
15. This confusion seems to have been produced elsewhere in France; see also the confusion between “cheftaine” and “chef de centaine”; that is to say, between a Scout rank and a rank in the Militia!
16. These two last phrases offer an example of the contradictions that we sometimes encountered in the course of our inquiry when a witness attempted to formulate a general judgment.
17. We relate this matter only to give the reader an idea of the conviction of certain witnesses. As was to be revealed later, G.B. was not present at that scene, despite his claim.
18. Françoise Armagnac was never the secretary of the Militia of Confolens. The sentiment the witness attributes to her is unlikely for someone who had broken with the Militia by sending in her resignation eleven months previously. As for the extreme brevity of this testimony, it is due to the fact that at the time of our meeting with “Bernard” we had not yet gathered much information about the executions and, in particular, about this one.
19. “Gaston,” or Jean T. by his true name, nowadays lives near Saint-Victournien (Haute-Vienne). Françoise was not a *chef de centaine* but a *cheftaine*. The witness is confusing here a modest rank in the Girl Scouts with an important rank in the armed Militia!
20. The attentive reader will be able to point out half a dozen errors in this summary of the affair. These errors may be explained by the fact that Robert Aron, who is a generalist, could not devote himself to exhaustive verification of each case. Some of the errors are perhaps also to be accounted for by the force of attraction of certain clichés or stereotypes that call for one another and give the story the stark simplicity and dramatic color that are to the taste of certain readers of novels: “acts of violence . . . detestable . . . descend upon women . . . young woman . . . Mlle d’Armagnac [sic] . . . family . . . proprietor . . . château . . . gets married . . . church . . . her village . . . coming out of the mass . . . parvis . . . kidnapping . . .” In a context like that, we are not too much surprised to see the execution take place “the next day at dawn” (whereas, it will be remembered, Françoise Armagnac, interrogated several times on the day following her arrest, was not executed until nine o’clock p.m.).
21. We are correcting the accentuation, but not the spelling or the punctuation of this document, every phrase of which would merit an attentive reading.
22. In fact, it was not Petit Chevrier but Bel Air.
23. The correct spelling is Aubineau.
24. For the burial of the “Spaniard,” the two Devoyon brothers, of Chabanais, had made a coffin for him that was considered too short; they were both executed.

25. Pseudonym of Nathan Lindner.
26. Cécile Armagnac, to whom we showed this document in 1975, deems it suspect. She cannot imagine that her mother could put forward a claim of that kind within two or three days after the arrest of Françoise and the “removal” of Bel Air.
27. [Meant is the French East, i.e. the regions of Alsace and Lorraine, which were ceded to Germany in 1871, and re-annexed by France in 1918. They changed hands again during the Second World War. —Ed.]

Hideki Tojo's Prison Diary

Published here for the first time in English is the postwar prison "diary" of Japanese General and Premier Hideki Tojo.

After an outstanding army career and service as War Minister, Tojo served as Prime Minister from October 1941 to July 1944—perhaps the most critical period in his country's history. A few weeks after Japan's surrender in August 1945, Tojo was arrested by American occupation forces and then put on trial for alleged war crimes. By all accounts, he conducted himself with dignity and composure during the proceedings. After being sentenced to death, he was executed in December 1948.

Written while in prison, this "diary" consists of several essays, a reconstructed daily log of the critical period of the 1941 Pearl Harbor attack, and answers to anticipated prosecution questions.

Composed in part as an aid in trial proceedings, and in part as an explanation for posterity, this memoir/justification by a central figure of twentieth century history is a valuable historical document. Unknown to the world for more than forty years, these papers were first published in 1991 by historian Sanae Sato in the August and September issues of the Japanese monthly magazine *Hoseki*.

This translation was jointly prepared by General Hideo Miki, retired professor of Japan's National Defense Academy, and Henry Symington, an American specialist of Japanese economic and social affairs. This material has been very slightly edited, and clarifying information has been added in brackets.

* * * * *

I. Events Leading to the First Greater East Asian Outbreak

Immediately before the beginning of the Great East Asian war [which commenced on December 7, 1941], Japan was still engaged in the unfortunate Sino-Japanese War, which had already gone on for more than four years. Throughout that period, Japan had made honest efforts to keep the destruction of war from spreading and, based on the belief that all nations

of the world should find their places, had followed a policy designed to restore an expeditious peace between Japan and China. Japan was ensuring the stability of East Asia while contributing to world peace. Nevertheless, China was unfortunately unable to understand Japan's real position, and it is greatly to be regretted that the Sino-Japanese War became one of long duration.

Clearly, this Sino-Japanese War of more than four years was a considerable burden on Japan's national power and an obstacle to the maintenance of peace in the Pacific. From the point of the view of the nation's power, it was obvious that while we were fighting the Sino-Japanese war, every effort was to be made to avoid adding to our enemies and opening additional fronts. Naturally, this was the view of those who then held positions of responsibility.

In the past, the theory had been: Advance towards the north while defending the south, or advance to the south while defending the north. However, as the Sino-Japanese War dragged on, the only objectives that bore consideration were: 1) a swift peace between Japan and China; 2) the maintenance of international peace; and 3) the restoration of national power.

It was for this reason that Japan: 1) attempted to establish peace with China through negotiations, sometimes through American mediation; 2) strengthened the Russo-Japanese Neutrality Treaty [April 1941] in the hope of avoiding war with the Soviet Union; and 3) tried as much as possible to use diplomatic means to respond to signs that relations with the United States were worsening, even though in so doing it was necessary for Japan to endure things that were unendurable.

Despite Japan's desires and efforts, unfortunate differences in the ways that Japan, England, the United States, and China understood circumstances, together with misunderstandings of attitudes, made it impossible for the parties to agree. Up until the very end, these were important reasons for the outbreak of war, and from Japan's point of view, this is a matter of great regret.

Thus, England and the United States supported the Chungking [Chinese] government [of Chiang Kai-Shek] in every way, obstructed the peace between Japan and China that Japan desired, and thwarted Japan's efforts towards East Asian stability. During this period, in July 1939, the United States suddenly gave notice of the abrogation of the treaty of com-



Prime Minister Hideki Tojo

merce [signed in 1911, its termination restricted the importation of essential raw materials] thereby threatening the existence of the Japanese people. At present, looking back coolly upon the past, I think that both nations have much to reflect upon.

1. Both China and Japan should have emptied their hearts of ill-will, calmly explained their true positions to each other, and reflecting deeply on the fact that they were the corner stones of stability in East Asia, should have more bravely followed the path of direct peace negotiations.

2. Likewise, in dealing with the China problem, the British and American side, which had particularly strong interests in China, should have based its judgments about the origins of the problem on direct observation of the actual circumstances at the time. Moreover, both sides should have considered the point of view and survival of the one billion people of East Asia, who were awakening to world development. Rather than be trapped in the narrow-minded maintenance of old power structures, it was necessary that both sides deliberate together, work harmoniously, and take a broader view of mutual prosperity, cooperation, and the establishment of stability in East Asia.

Note 1. As for the China Incident [the alleged attack by Chinese troops at the Marco Polo bridge near Peking on July 7, 1937, which triggered the Sino-Japanese War] and the problem of whether or not it was possible for Japanese forces to withdraw from China, before concluding for formalist reasons that this was a simple invasion, it is necessary to consider the deeper origins: the exclusion and insult of Japan throughout the entire Chinese region, boycotts of Japanese goods, the infringement of rights and revenues, and violence against resident Japanese. The [Western] powers have had similar experiences with China, such as the exclusion of foreigners in 1899 and the anti-Christian Boxer Rebellion [1899-1901].

Note 2. All peoples are created by God and have the same rights and freedoms to survive on earth together according to law. It goes without saying that when survival is threatened, struggles erupt between peoples, and unfortunate wars between nations result. Furthermore, in the period when they awoke to world development, the one billion people of East Asia had greater demands to make with respect to their survival because of economic development and unusual increases in population. I believe that it is in East Asia where these demands must be met.

Of course, the peoples of East Asia have a natural obligation to be grateful for the sacrifice and efforts of the European powers and America in leading the peoples of East Asia to their present circumstances, and they should respect the existing rights and privileges of those powers. The stability of East Asia can be hoped for only if both sides understand and appreciate the other's position and have the magnanimity to adjust to circumstances. Moreover, this is part of the obliga-

tion towards East Asia that the great powers have as part of their fundamental responsibility for ensuring world peace.

3. With respect to the above and considering the case of Japan, recourse to arms has a profound relation to national policy and bears the following considerations: before resorting to military action, it should be strongly deterred at the appropriate time by diplomatic means if necessary. Unnecessary escalation is to be prevented by diplomatic power, and all efforts should be made to keep operations from interfering with policy.

(Explanation 1) On this matter, in the Japanese system [of the 1930s and 1940s] there are many aspects that relate to the independence of the high command. Actions of the high command are not, as in other nations, included in the national government, but are outside and independent of the nation's constitutional government, and it is natural that they should brook no interference. Consequently, these matters are different from those on which the Interior Minister assists the Emperor. In actions relating to the high command, the Chiefs of Staff of the Imperial General Headquarters, that is to say, the Army Chief of Staff and the Chief of Naval Operations, have a responsibility that is separate from that of the cabinet, and they take independent responsibility for the assistance they provide the Emperor. According to our current system, in matters pertaining to both sides, this is the role of the Army and Navy ministers.

Consequently, once operations have begun, they are largely conducted according to the independent will of the high command. Frequently, the national government finds that it has no choice but to make the best of things or simply submit in silence. In time of war, especially, these conditions become even more extreme because the Imperial General Headquarters has primary control over conduct of the war, and its word carries much weight.

Even military ministers have no more than a certain amount of control. It is customary that they have the right and the power to participate, from a political and military point of view, in the planning of actual operations.

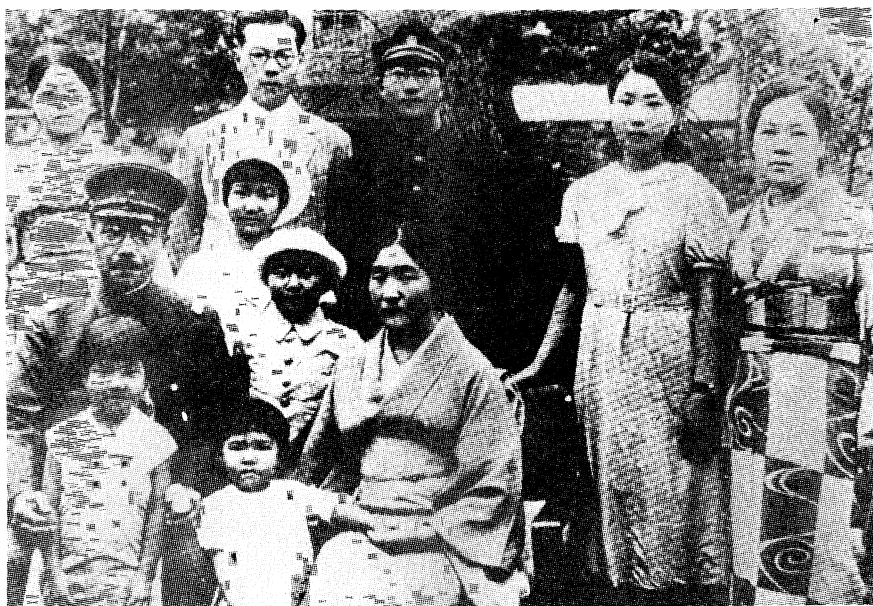
It is obvious that in purely military matters, it is absolutely necessary that operations be energetically executed, and that military objectives be achieved quickly without any political restrictions. However, unanticipated ill results may ensue

when there are delicate policy considerations or when there is an important diplomatic connection. This is to be expected in contemporary warfare because it is often the case that the success or failure of operations is instantly reflected in world conditions.

It is for this reason that relations between the national government and the [military] high command must be harmonized from time to time. This is something to be much reflected upon in the future. In fact, past cabinets have set up regular meetings with the high command and tried to harmonize relations, but such bodies had no formal responsibilities (under the current constitution, each minister counsels and assists the Emperor individually, so organizations of this kind cannot be set up). Furthermore, they were not actually involved in the conduct of operations so their effect was not great. In later years, they were formalized as Meetings of Chief Executives [Liaison Conference], but that probably did not make much difference. This is suggested by the fact that although at that time the Prime Minister attended meetings at the Imperial General Headquarters, it is my recollection that he was not to be involved in the conduct of operations.

(Explanation 2) From around the time of the February 26 incident of 1936 [when an insurgent group of army officers attempted a coup in Tokyo], there appeared in the military trends towards subordinate policy-making (subordinates would ignore the wishes of their superiors) and staff-level control of government (staff officers would seize control, ignoring the ministers and director-generals). These trends were particularly apparent in the army. In that manner, there was a tendency for decisions, entirely contrary to national policy or to top military policy, to be made according to the limited understanding of lower-ranking men, and this, without the knowledge of their superiors. This, too, hindered the smooth operation of national government.

Half of the reason for this was shortcomings in the instruction on staff officer attitude at the War College and deterioration within the military of the psychological and formal feeling of subordination and assistance to superiors. There remains, however, the fact that there had been a loss of ardor and enthusiasm in the spirit of command at the higher levels. There was an absence of strong leadership and initiative, and a



Tojo with his family

tendency to think that given the choice, the best course of action was to do nothing.

After I became Army Minister [in July 1940], His Majesty [the Emperor] told me what he had said to the Army Minister at that time, General Terauchi, immediately after the February 26 incident, namely, that His Majesty was very worried about these matters. After becoming minister, I tried to make improvements. As it happened, at the time troops were dispatched to French Indochina, misbehavior of that kind was detected and those involved – from top to bottom – were firmly disciplined. Later, I worked from time to time to counter those tendencies, but left office before improvements were complete.

As is the case with civilian bureaucrats, the reasons for the abuses committed by lower-ranking bureaucrats are different, but they are the source of the sclerotic manner in which Japan executes policy.

(Explanation 3) For a long time, we have heard about military factions. Also, we have heard for a long time that the armed forces were high-handed, and recently this idea has

been particularly widespread. There were many things in the past about which the military should reappraise its own behavior.

Nevertheless, there is something that must be said about military factions. [A reference to the so-called "Control" and "Imperial Way" factions within the Japanese military.]

Today, it is an error to think that there are factions in the military. A soldier holds his rank for life, but his authority begins only when his position is conferred upon him by the Emperor. With this authority comes the right to influence the high command or, according to his position, the execution of government policy. However, as soon as a man leaves the service, even if he had been a general, his authority ceases and he no longer has the power even to adjust the rank of a second lieutenant. If such power were to continue, that would mean the creation within the military of an individual faction, and it would be impermissible. This has always been the case in Japan, and explains why there are no factions in the military.

As for whether or not the military has been high-handed, it is not as though there are no reasons for thinking this is so. This is something that requires self-examination.

However, I think it possible that much of the public criticism about high-handedness arose from the power of execution born of the command/obedience relationship and strength that come from the military's organization, especially from the importance placed on timing that arises from the requirements of war. I believe that this is what produced the consequences of Explanations 1 and 2 noted above, that is to say, those things that must be acknowledged as high-handedness and reflected upon as such.

4. Later, as operations against China followed natural operational exigencies, the front was gradually expanded towards the south. In order to put a quick end to the Sino-Japanese War, it was necessary first to strike a mortal blow against the Chungking forces [of Chinese leader Chiang Kai-shek]. For this reason, it was necessary to strengthen the blockade of the Southeast China coast and to establish a large, new operations route deep into the South.

5. At about that time, in order for Japan to sustain its own people, and because of the necessity of maintaining internal production, and in order to prosecute the Sino-Japanese War, we were faced with the necessity of obtaining such things as

rice and oil from the southern islands, including French and Dutch Indochina. Particularly at the time when the United States broke off commercial relations with Japan, and the routes that depended on the United States were cut, the survival of Japan was closely connected to whether or not peaceful commerce would be possible with these southern areas. Consequently, Japan despatched ambassadors and conducted negotiations with these areas, but since they already had hostile feelings, nothing could be smoothly established.

Furthermore, it had been clearly established by intelligence that French Indochina was an important, hidden supply route for [the Chinese forces headquartered in] Chungking. Consequently, it was necessary to cut this off, as part of the strengthening of our China operations. At the time, given the conditions in Europe, France was a friendly nation with a duty to cooperate with Japan. Therefore, the peaceful occupation of Indochina (September 1940) was carried out with the understanding of France. Thus, given the uncertainties in the southern Pacific, and the necessity of putting a quick end to the Sino-Japanese War and establishing the cooperative relations necessary for the survival of both nations, a portion of our military was gradually transferred to southern French Indochina.

However, the British-American side called this a threat to their own territories, and in July 1941, together with Holland, ordered the freezing of assets and, in effect, commenced an economic blockade.

This was a grave threat to the existence of Japan. In addition to this, the British-American side concentrated troops in Hawaii, the Philippines, Singapore, and Malaya, and reinforced their defenses. In this way, economic pressure was increased just as the circle around Japan was tightened, and conditions arose that severely threatened the existence of Japan.

(Note) The reasons for the occupation of French Indochina are as explained above, and in outline they were as follows:

- (1) To cut the enemy's supply lines, to make it easier to launch aerial attacks, and to finalize the defenses of French Indochina. This was done on the basis of a mutual defense pact.

- (2) Because commercial relations were smooth, trade was facilitated and relations of mutual benefit were established.

The reasons for the occupation of southern French Indochina were essentially the same. However, conditions in the

Pacific had worsened, and the need to end the Sino-Japanese War was felt more keenly than ever, and the conditions outlined above were more severe.

One of the reasons that Japan prepared for a passive national defense was the worsening conditions in the Pacific, but this was not the main reason.

6. Since conditions were deteriorating, it was necessary to resolve them quickly. It was proposed that the Prime Minister of the time [Konoe Fumimaro] meet directly with the President [of the United States] so that both could express their feelings and debate the general problems of the Pacific that had arisen between the two nations, so as to resolve these dangerous circumstances by political means. However, even though the United States agreed to this proposal in theory, they claimed that since it was an important matter, they preferred that such a meeting take place after differences of opinion had been resolved. Ultimately there was no such meeting, which was very unfortunate. The Japanese government had thought that a meeting would take place, and actually selected an entourage and prepared a ship.

7. The hope for a peaceful solution by means of a summit meeting thus disappeared, but Japan, wishing to reach a solution through diplomatic means, made several later proposals in response to the American position. However, the United States held firm to its initial position and would concede nothing.

8. Around November 20th [1941], conditions were on the verge of deteriorating even further. In order to avoid a rupture of diplomatic relations, the government resisted strong pressures from the high command and made a proposal containing a number of concessions. As I recall, the proposals were the following:

(1) Neither nation will send military forces to the southern Pacific or to any part of South East Asia other than French Indochina. (2) Should peace be established between Japan and China or in the Pacific region, all Japanese troops in French Indochina will be withdrawn. (3) If this agreement is concluded, all Japanese troops in southern French Indochina will be rotated to the north. (4) Commercial relations will be restored to their former state. Assurances will be given so that necessary materials can be obtained.

9. The United States did not agree to these proposals. Fur-

thermore, it took back what it had previously said about acting as an intermediary in Sino-Japanese peace-making and refused to perform this service.

In any case, if one looks at the circumstances immediately before the outbreak of the Great East Asian War from a Japanese point of view, one notes that the China Incident had continued for more than four years without solution. Efforts had been made to resolve the situation by negotiations between Japan and the United States, but this had failed. Furthermore, in accordance with the requirements of operations, the theater of action of the Sino-Japanese War had moved ever more deeply towards the Southwest and international relations continued to deteriorate.

During this period, Japan's peaceful commercial relations were successively obstructed, primarily by the American rupture of commercial relations, and this was a grave threat to the survival of Japan. In particular, the economic blockade by the various powers, led by the United States, inflicted a mortal blow to the survival of Japan.

In connection with these multiple economic pressures, the ABCD [American-British-Chinese-Dutch] encirclement of Japan only drew tighter, and defenses in Hawaii, the Philippines, Singapore and Malaya were strengthened. The main American naval forces were shifted to the Pacific region and an American admiral made a strong declaration to the effect that if war were to break out between Japan and the United States, the Japanese navy could be sunk in a matter of weeks. Further, the British Prime Minister [Churchill] strongly declared his nation's intention to join the fight on the side of the United States within 24 hours should war break out between Japan and the United States. Japan therefore faced considerable military threats as well.

Japan attempted to circumvent these dangerous circumstances by diplomatic negotiation, and though Japan heaped concession upon concession, in the hope of finding a solution through mutual compromise, there was no progress because the United States would not retreat from its original position. Finally, in the end, the United States repeated demands that, under the circumstances, Japan could not accept: complete withdrawal of troops from China, repudiation of the Nanking government [formed under Japanese auspices and headed by Wang Ching-Wei, previously an important

Chinese Nationalist leader], withdrawal from the Tripartite Pact [signed by Germany, Italy and Japan on September 27, 1940]. At this point, Japan lost all hope of reaching a resolution through diplomatic negotiation.

Since events had progressed as they had, it became clear that to continue in this manner was to lead the nation to disaster. With options thus foreclosed, in order to protect and defend the nation and clear the obstacles that stood in its path, a decisive appeal to arms was made.

(Explanation) War was decided upon at the Imperial Conference on December 1, 1941, and the shift to real operations was made at this point. However, even during the preparations for action, we laid our plans in such a manner that should there be progress through diplomatic negotiation, we would be well prepared to cancel operations at the latest moment that communication technology would have permitted.

II. Concerning the Three Final Problems in Japanese-American Negotiations

1. The demand that Japanese troops be withdrawn completely from China.

The causes of the China Incident were the exclusion and insult of Japan throughout China, the exclusion of Japanese goods, the persecution of Japanese residents in China, and the illegal violation of Japanese rights. As Japan had declared on such occasions, it was thought that the stability of East Asia depended on the close, mutual assistance and cooperation between China and Japan. That Japanese troops were stationed in China at the time was the result of unfortunate incidents and not something that Japan had originally desired. Consequently, there would have been no objection to the total withdrawal of troops should the causes be eliminated, and even with respect to the New China-Japan Treaty [March 30, 1940], discussions were pursued in this fashion. However, this required the elimination of those causes and would have been possible only on the basis of a guarantee to that effect.

To withdraw troops without having obtained such guarantees would be only to repeat what had happened before (the troop withdrawal of 1932 after the Shanghai Incident), and would have caused unhappiness not only to Japan and China but would not have permitted the anticipation of stability in East Asia. On the British-American side the causes were

seen entirely to be a Japanese policy of invasion, and little thought was given to actual circumstances. The Japanese policy, as was made clear at the time, was a non-expansionist policy, and it was not carried out as a matter of national intent.

Looking back on that period from the present, there is some cause for self-examination. Even though the Sino-Japanese war was called a non-expansionist policy, it is clear that over a long period events expanded to a wide area. However, this was not the will of the nation but a result of the exigencies of operations, combined with the inability of a weak government to prevent it. The reasons for the latter lie in Japan's internal systems and traditions.

Whether the fundamental cause was China's illegal activities or Japan's invasion may be something of a chicken-and-egg question. The reason was the failure of both Japan and China to understand each other and the inability of America and the European powers to sympathize, without prejudice, with the peoples of East Asia.

2. Repudiation of the Nanking government.

The establishment of a national [Chinese] government [based in Nanking] with Wang Ching-wei as Premier was primarily a domestic question for the Republic of China. Of course, it must be conceded that it was born of the stimulus of Japanese operations, but this is only a secondary reason and not the real reason. As opposed to the Chungking government, which continued to exclude, insult and make war on Japan, the Wang Ching-wei government made overall peace its objective, and attempted to establish permanent peace in East Asia by means of Sino-Japanese mutual assistance. Therefore it was natural that Japan recognize this government and feel friendly towards it.

(Note) When a new government is formed in any country, it is normal to recognize if it is in harmony with one's own government, and to show it good intentions. The [Western] powers have done the same in the course of the current war. However, to repudiate a government less than one year after having recognized it would cause the world to doubt a nation's faith, and therefore it could not be done.

The Nanking government essentially wished for overall peace in China. Consequently, it was thought that when overall peace had been achieved, questions about it would be resolved as a domestic matter. For that, it was necessary that

peace be concluded between Japan and China through termination of the Sino-Japanese War. However, even with Japanese assistance, prospects were uncertain, so it was impossible to resolve questions about the Nanking government.

3. *The problem of repudiating the Tripartite Pact*

The Americans demanded that, "the governments of both parties agree not to interpret any agreements concluded with third countries in a way that contradicts the purpose of this agreement, which is the maintenance of peace in the Pacific region." This clearly required that Japan breach the Tripartite Pact and that, consequently, was the same as requiring that Japan renounce the alliance.

Essentially, the reason for concluding the Tripartite Pact was the fact that as a result of the Washington Conference [on naval armaments, in 1922], the Anglo-Japanese Alliance had been annulled, and world circumstances were such that Japan had withdrawn from the League of Nations [announced in 1933, effective in 1935] because the League would not recognize Japan's claims. In order to end its isolation, alliance was sought with Germany and Italy, which found themselves in much the same circumstances. Furthermore, it was expected that German power could be used to help in a solution to the China problem. However, if Japan were to accede to an American demand of this kind, it would indicate to the world the untrustworthiness of Japan. In the past, Japan fulfilled the terms of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, and at the request of Britain, advanced all the way into the Mediterranean. As is clear from the fact that today, the souls of those fallen [Japanese] soldiers are still on the island of Malta, I believe the world will recognize that Japan is faithful to alliances. [A Japanese destroyer was sunk during the First World War while on escort duty in the Mediterranean, in fulfillment of Japan's obligations to England under the Anglo-Japanese Alliance.] Therefore, Japan could hardly take, for purposes of momentary gain, measures that would cause it permanently to lose the faith of the world.

III. Circumstances Around the Time Of the Resignation of the Third Konoe Cabinet

1. My recollection is that it was at a time when, in accordance with the Imperial Policy Execution Outline adopted at

the Imperial Conference of September 6, 1941, the point had been reached when troops were moved into Southern French Indochina, and the situation had become tense. It was something that had been determined as necessary in order to carry out national policy and, as I recall, we were to be prepared both for war and for peace.

2. The US-Japan summit that Prime Minister Konoe had hoped for was rejected by the American side and did not take place. [The summit proposal was made on August 8.]

There was a difference of opinion between Foreign Minister Toyoda and myself at a cabinet meeting around the 14th or 15th of October. I recall that the points of disagreement were as follows:

(1) My opinion was that, as could be seen from a review of the US-Japan negotiations, Japan had striven for a solution by means of repeated concessions but the United States had stuck firmly to its initial positions and would make no concessions.

(2) US approval could not be obtained for a diplomatic solution by means of the US-Japan summit that the Prime Minister had hoped for. Furthermore, military and economic pressures were being stepped up day by day.

Therefore, if one were to consider that there was virtually no possibility of success through the US-Japan negotiations, the military and economic pressures would only force Japan into further crisis if time were allowed to pass in vain. It was my position that we must recognize that it was impossible to meet Japan's objectives as decided at the Imperial Conference, and that the time had come to make war on the United States (at the Imperial Conference [of September 6] the start of operations had been set for mid-October). At the time, the high command of the army advocated this (starting operations in mid-October).

3. As opposed to this, the Prime Minister and Foreign Minister took the position that the obstacle to the negotiations was the withdrawal of Japanese troops from China, and that if concessions were made on this point, an agreement might not be impossible. As for troop withdrawal, that was a matter of great interest to the army, which was then conducting operations. There were no objections to withdrawal as such. However, the reasons for the China Incident [the alleged attack by Chinese troops at the Marco Polo Bridge near Peking

on July 7, 1937] had been the insults to Japan, and the anti-Japanese and illegal acts that had occurred in various parts of China. Therefore, if there was not to be a guarantee that those causes would be eliminated, the result would simply be a repetition of the same incidents. Furthermore, a withdrawal that did not achieve its purpose would demoralize the Japanese army to no avail, and it was feared that it would confirm the American claim that the China Incident was provoked by a Japanese invasion. This was something to which the army could not agree.

At the time, both the high command and the army in the field were firm on this from top to bottom; a withdrawal without guarantees was unthinkable.

Thus, because of this difference of opinion, the cabinet resigned en masse. I might add that I had nothing whatsoever to do with Prime Minister Konoe's memorandum to the throne on the resignation of his cabinet.

4. On October 18, 1941, I suddenly received a mandate from His Majesty to form a new cabinet. This was completely unexpected, and when I was summoned to the Imperial Palace I thought I would be questioned on the army's point of view. I took with me documents related only to this.

(1) With respect to the formation of a cabinet, I received an Imperial mandate to return to blank paper [that is, with a free hand to direct national policy] and to make no missteps in policy. Therefore, considering that the national leadership responsibilities of the Prime Minister and Army Minister are different from each other, I was unswayed by the usual claims of the army. Though there were demands that negotiations be cut off and war begun, I was unmoved by them, arguing that so long as there was the slightest hope of a negotiated breakthrough, efforts should be continued.

Since there was no desire on the part of the high command for a troop withdrawal from China, it was determined to seek a breakthrough in negotiations on the important matter that had caused a worsening of conditions, namely, the movement of Japanese troops into French Indochina. Even about this, there was considerable unhappiness in the high command.

IV. Various Problems To Which The Pearl Harbor Attack is Central

It is natural that I should bear entire responsibility for the war in general, and, needless to say, I am prepared to do so.

Consequently, now that the war has been lost, it is presumably necessary that I be judged so that the circumstances of the time can be clarified and the future peace of the world be assured. Therefore, with respect to my trial, it is my intention to speak frankly, according to my recollection, even though when the vanquished stands before the victor, who has over him the power of life and death, he may be apt to toady and flatter. I mean to pay considerable attention to this in my actions, and say to the end that what is true is true and what is false is false. To shade one's words in flattery to the point of untruthfulness would falsify the trial and do incalculable harm to the nation, and great care must be taken to avoid this.

As it happens, what has been called the speech of Fleet Admiral Nagano [Chief of the Naval Staff] with respect to the Pearl Harbor attack, was publicized on October 27th. Upon reading it, errors can be found in important matters, and I shall here write the true facts for the benefit of future generations.

1. At the Imperial Conference on December 1, it was decided to make war against England and the United States. How the procedures for the commencement of hostilities were to be carried out was deliberated upon at the Liaison Conference [a joint meeting of civilian and military personnel] where the agenda of the Imperial Conference was discussed. It was decided to proceed according to international treaty and confirm the propriety of those actions while at the same time avoiding a too-early disclosure of our operations. Ambassador Nomura was to deliver a note by hand to the US State Department an hour and a half ahead of time, and the text, as well as the time of domestic notification [within Japan] were to be the responsibilities of the high command and of the foreign ministry. Therefore, I have thought to this day that the notification that Japan was breaking off diplomatic relations and was shifting to the unfettered conduct of its affairs [by declaring war] should have been under the responsibility of the Foreign Minister, communicated without fail. Of course, if there was failure in this matter, I have no argument with the view that, as Prime Minister, the responsibility is mine.

The draft of the final rupture of diplomatic relations was written under the responsibility of the Foreign Minister of the time, and its contents were not reported to the Cabinet.

2. The Imperial Rescript on war, as can be seen from its first page, is directed primarily to the Japanese people. In order

that this be made public as soon as possible after the commencement of war, approval from the Privy Council was obtained on the morning of the 9th.

Though this was a domestic matter, if these procedures had been followed in advance, it might have resulted in a too-early disclosure of operations.

In any case, the way the Imperial Rescript was handled was not by any means intended as a means of concealing the attack on Pearl Harbor. On this matter, according to Fleet Admiral Nagano, it was understood that the declaration of war was to be made before the start of the Pearl Harbor attack, before three in the morning, but this is a grave mistake. That is something that the government would not have known about. Three in the morning would mean getting Privy Seal approval in the middle of the night on Sunday, and the government would not have agreed to something so out of keeping with Japanese custom. Fleet Admiral Nagano has probably confused this with the final official note [to the Americans]. It is most unbecoming that the Fleet Admiral should give the world an impression that is not only mistaken but suggests that Japan deliberately delayed the declaration of war.

When reflecting upon it today, that the Pearl Harbor attack should have succeeded in achieving surprise seems a blessing from Heaven. It was clear that a great American fleet had been concentrated in Pearl Harbor, and we supposed that the state of alert would be very high. At the same time, since we were approaching with a great fleet of our own, there were grave doubts as to success. It is intolerable to think that on that occasion the government did something incorrect, and we had absolutely no intention of doing so.

V. The Manchurian Incident And International Relations

1. After the first Great European War [of 1914-1918], our country made, as the basis of its foreign policy, the support of international understanding and the development of good relations with the powers.

2. At that time, in China, internal disorders had continued ever since the establishment of the Republic of China [in 1912]. Regional war lords proliferated and the internal disorders due to the struggle between the northern and southern governments did not cease. Even after the beginning

of the Showa era [1926] and the establishment of the Nationalist government in Nanking with Chiang Kai-shek as Premier, its power was not sufficient to ensure an orderly nation.

3. After the Nine Power Treaty [of 1922] was concluded [at the Washington Conference], American East Asian policy became more vigorous, and at the same time the Communist movement gained strength on the Chinese mainland. International relations, especially concerning Manchuria and Mongolia, became more complex and tense.

4. Despite this situation, the Nationalist government as well as the [Chinese] war lords were taken in by the East Asian policies of such countries as Britain and the United States, and they did not understand our own spirit of justice and friendship. Furthermore, seeing that public opinion in our country was confused, that the political situation was unstable, and that our foreign policy appeared also to be unstable, they insulted our nation, took policies opposed to Japan, and continued on a national scale with their resistance to Japan, with such efforts as the boycott of Japanese products.

5. Especially in Manchuria, where our special privileges had been secured, such war lords as Chang Tso-lin, who held real power in the region, failed to understand the true significance of the Russo-Japanese War, and lost their understanding and gratitude of what our country had done on the continent on behalf of the stability of East Asia. They called for the recovery of Port Arthur and Dairen, violated our interests, and took an arrogant attitude. After Chang Tso-lin died [in 1928, in an explosion attributed to Japanese plotters] and the era of his son, Chang Hsueh-ling began, outrageous circumstances only worsened.

(1) Plans were undertaken, with American finance, to build a new railroad that would encircle our South Manchurian Railway.

(2) Farmers from the Korean peninsula were persecuted and attempts were made to expel them. Treaties were spurned, and our interests were destroyed. Further, our nation's existence was threatened, and there were continuous plots to disturb the peace of East Asia. Our government was patient, sometimes negotiating, sometimes trying to set up agreements. In return, China showed no sincerity whatsoever, and thus arose a mountain of unsolved problems, both great and small.

6. On the night of September 18, 1931, Chinese [?] troops occupying Mukden blew up the South Manchuria Railway, and that became the Manchurian Incident.

On March 1st, 1932, [the state of] Manchukuo was established [in northern China], and this fact was proclaimed both domestically and to the world. That proclamation meant that a peaceful and happy world was to be built by means of the rule of virtue, that peoples would cooperate and contribute to the peace of the East.

On September 15, 1932, its independence was approved, and the Protocol between Japan and Manchukuo was signed.

PART 2

Hideki Tojo's Log

Dec. 1 [1941]

0900 - 1000 [hours] Extraordinary cabinet meeting (decision to go to war with U.S., Britain, Holland)

1130 - Imperial appointment ceremony [a ceremony in which the Emperor directly appoints someone to a position— not mentioned who was appointed to what] (discussion with Lord Kido [Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal] about the Imperial Conference)

1400 - Imperial Conference (with various officials as well as the participants of the Liaison Conference) Subject: Opening of war with U.S., Britain, Holland (EX 588) Minister explanation (EX2955, DD1892, Record 252-2P) In attendance: Summarized and abbreviated

1630 - Discussion with Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal about the Imperial Rescript on War [the official war proclamation].

Evening - Official Conference with Foreign Minister

Official signature as Prime Minister

Dec. 2

1. From 1000 throughout the morning - cabinet meeting

2. 1330 - private meeting with His Majesty (Hatta to be named Minister of Railroads, Ino to be named Minister of Agriculture)

3. 1500 - Imperial installation ceremony for Hatta and Ino.

Dec. 3

1. From 1000 Liaison Conference, throughout the morning, at the palace. Afternoon - funeral of Princess Kaya

Dec. 4

1. Morning - Privy Council - Foreign Minister Togo, private
2. From 1400 Liaison Conference
3. 1600 - Foreign Minister Togo, private meeting with his majesty

Deliberations at the Liaison Conference of Dec. 4:

1. How to handle Manchukuo with respect to the opening of hostilities
2. How to handle Holland
3. The final notice to the United States

The text was to be the responsibility of the Foreign Minister. It was agreed that notice was to be given before the start of operations, and details were to be worked out between the Foreign Minister, the Army Chief of Staff, and the Chief of Naval Operations.

Dec. 5 (Fri.) Sunny

Official visit to Imperial War College. Luncheon with Emperor at the Imperial Army Headquarters

1630 - Report to Emperor on what was to be brought up in Cabinet meeting. Discussion with the Lord Keeper Privy Seal about the Imperial Rescript on War (Article 6).

Dec. 6 (Sat.) Cloudy, later sunny

1000 - Liaison Conference at the Palace

1130 - Discussion with Lord Kido, Keeper of the Privy Seal, about Imperial Rescript on War

1500 - 1750 Liaison Conference 1) On negotiations with Germany 2) On instructions on when to begin negotiations with Thailand 3) On when to deliver the notice to the United States. Deliver by hand on the 7th at 3 a.m. (Japan time) 4) How to deal with the Nationalist government with respect to the opening of hostilities 5) Decision about the Imperial Rescript on War 6) Planning for the events of Dec. 8.

Dec. 7 (Sun.) Sunny

1100 - Consultation with Emperor. Discussion with Secretary of the Cabinet Hoshino, and Kido, Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, about commencement of hostilities against US, Britain, and Holland.

Dec. 8 (Mon.) Sunny

0100 - Visit from Foreign Minister Togo

- 0430 - Report came of the success of the Pearl Harbor attack
0600 - Broadcast about entry into war
0715 - Cabinet meeting
0730 - Meeting of the Privy Council, Consultation with Emperor
1000 - End of Privy Council Meeting. Cabinet meeting (East wing of palace, Room 1)
1140 - Presentation of the Imperial Rescript on War
1200 - Broadcast of the Imperial Rescript on War
1300 - Central cooperation meeting of the Imperial Rule Assistance Association
1400 - Army and Navy are given written orders addressed to them directly by the Emperor. Addresses [by Tojo] to the Army Ministry and the Interior Ministry. Paid reverence at Meiji Shrine and Yasukuni Shrine [to Japanese war dead]
1730 - Taped broadcast
1800 - Liaison Conference

The Imperial Conference of December First

Outline of explanations made by Prime Minister Tojo

1. Acting in accordance with the decisions arrived at during the Imperial Conference of Nov. 5, the army and navy worked to complete their preparations while, at the same time, the government made every effort to adjust diplomatic relations with the United States. However, the latter effort resulted in failure and it is clear that Japan's claims cannot be met by diplomatic means.

2. We have entered a state that can no longer be tolerated, neither from the point of view of our nation's power nor from an operational point of view. At the same time operational demands can no longer brook delays.

3. At this point, in order to resolve the current crisis, and in order to effect the self-preservation and self-defense of the nation, Japan has no choice but to make war upon the US, Britain, and Holland.

4. The China Incident has already continued for more than four years, and henceforth we are about to enter another great war. I deeply regret that His Highness' heart be inflicted with such a concern.

5. The morale of the officers and men of the army and navy is very high, the spirit of the nation is firm, and the people are prepared to act as one. With a spirit willing to face death, I have no doubt that they will triumph over every difficulty.

6. I seek your [the Emperor's] consideration of these matters.

Explanation by the Foreign Minister «Shigenori Togo»

1. Explanation of the progress of US-Japan negotiations. Although over a period of seven months our nation has offered many compromises, they have held to their original position and will concede nothing.

2. The Japan policy of the United States hinders the establishment of a new order in East Asia—which has been our unwavering policy from the beginning.

3. If we were to accede to American demands, our international stature would sink even lower than it was before the Manchurian Incident, and our existence might be imperiled.

4. Even if we continue negotiations further, there is virtually no possibility of our claims being met.

Explanation by the Chief of Naval Operations, representing the Combined Chiefs of Staff of the Army and Navy.

1. We have continued to prepare for operations. As soon as the order to commence operations should be given, we are prepared swiftly to commence operations according to plan.

2. The US, Britain, and Holland have strengthened their preparations for war, but I am convinced that operations can be carried out according to plans that are already established.

3. With respect to the Soviet Union, our diplomacy is coupled with a state of high alert, but at present this does not appear to be a matter of great concern.

4. The martial spirit is high in both officers and men, and the spirit burns within them to serve the nation even unto death. Should orders come, they are eager to do their duty bravely.

Explanation by Interior Minister Tojo

Concerning such things as changes in public opinion, the state of domestic control, the protection of foreigners and foreign diplomats, and special security forces. Efforts will be made so that the various policies for handling emergencies can be carried out without mishap.

Explanation by the Finance Minister

1. So long as the necessary materials, facilities, and skilled

labor are available, our nation can be financially self-sufficient.

2. Even if Japan issues military or other currency with which to secure labor and materials overseas, it will be difficult to maintain the value of such currency. We will attempt to establish a policy of local self sufficiency [for Japanese troops stationed abroad] and we will limit the despatch of materials overseas to the least amount necessary to maintain local security and to meet the needs of local labor. We must not be overly concerned about such things as a deterioration in the value of local currency, and the turmoil in the local economy that would result.

Explanation by the Agriculture Minister

We must establish measures to bolster self-sufficiency in food stuffs, and develop a coordinated food policy for Japan, Manchuria, and China. We must make plans for an increase in livestock production and fish catches. If thoroughly carried out, these policies can probably ensure the minimum necessary food supply for the people for an extended period.

Main points of questions by Chairman of the Privy Council Hara.

1. Will the current strengthening of the enemy's military preparations be an obstacle to our operations?

(Answer) Chief of Naval Operations: The United States has its forces in a proportion of four in the Atlantic and six in the Pacific. However, it is the British who are currently maneuvering [in a way to threaten us], though they will have no effect on our operations.

2. What tendency is seen in Thailand? What will we do if Thailand opposes us?

(Answer) Prime Minister: That will be dealt with just before occupation. At present, things could go either way; Thailand is wavering. Japan would wish that they do as we ask while there is still peace. Just before we start operations we intend to approach them and have our demands met. If we must resort to force, we will attempt to keep it to a minimum.

3. What measures will be taken in the case of aerial bombardment of the home islands?

[no reply written]

Chairman Hara's final views

1. The American attitude is one that Japan can no longer tolerate and further negotiation is pointless. War cannot be avoided.

2. There are no doubts about early victory, but in the case of a long war, the support of the people's will is necessary.

3. A long war cannot be avoided, but it is necessary that resolution be reached as quickly as possible. Therefore we must now begin thinking about how things are to be concluded.

4. Decisions About the Formalities of Opening Hostilities. Notice of the Breaking Off of Negotiations.

(1) Neither the date and time of the opening of hostilities nor the related formalities were discussed at the Imperial Conference on Dec. 1.

(2) After the Imperial Conference on Dec. 1, at the Liaison Conference on Dec. 4, the following agreements were reached:

1. Foreign Minister Togo's proposal for the final notice was approved.

2. It would be notice to the effect that on Dec. 8th (Japan time) Japan was breaking off diplomatic negotiations and considered itself free to take unhampered action.

3. The above notification would take place in Washington.

4. The above notification would take place before attacking.

5. The time of delivery of the notice would be decided by consultation between the Foreign Minister and the Army and Navy Chiefs of Staff.

The diplomatic handling of the final notice would be the responsibility of the Foreign Ministry.

Note: According to Yamamoto's testimony [Admiral Isoroku Yamamoto, Commander of the Combined Fleet]:

1. The final notice would be drafted by the Foreign Ministry based on what had been discussed at the Liaison Conference. Corrections to be made, based on discussions with army and navy personnel, and text to be proposed at the Dec. 4 Liaison Conference. Copies to be distributed to all in attendance. Final approval was secured.

2. The participants in the Liaison Conference firmly believed that the last part clearly indicated the breaking of diplomatic relations and the opening of hostilities.

The outline of the final notice was reported by the Foreign

Ministry to the cabinet meeting on Dec. 5, and was approved by all present.

Note: According to Yamamoto's testimony, the decision about the formalities of commencing hostilities, that is to say, the decision to give notice in Washington that negotiations were being broken off, was made at a Liaison Conference on Dec. 2nd. The facts are correct, but there was no Liaison Conference on Dec. 2nd. It is my recollection that it was on Dec. 4. [According to General Miki, Tojo is referring here to Kumaichi Yamamoto, who was head of the US desk at the Foreign Ministry during the third Konoe cabinet.]

On the Ultimatum to the United States

1. The final notice [the fourteen-part final Japanese reply to Secretary of State Hull's proposals of November 26] that was ordered to be delivered by hand to the United States government at 1:00 p.m. on Dec. 7, 1941 [Washington, DC, time] is as described in testimony (No. 1245) of this trial.

2. It was believed that in this notice the Japanese government was breaking off diplomatic negotiations and had determined to make war.

3. The research as to whether this notice was in accordance with international law was undertaken with sufficient care by the Foreign Ministry, especially in the Treaty Section, and the Liaison Conference put its faith in that study.

4. I do not accept the prosecution's claim that the text of the notice does not correspond to what the Hague treaty, in article three, calls a declaration of war with reasons included [a reference to the 1907 Hague Convention on the commencement of hostilities]

5. If one reads the 2400 characters of the entire document, particularly in light of circumstances at the time, it criticizes the American attitude, and makes it clear that Japan had no choice but to take military action. Therefore:

(1) World peace must be built upon reality and an understanding of the other's position, and can be achieved only by finding means that are acceptable. It is not conducive to negotiations for one country to ignore reality and force its own self-righteousness upon another country.

(2) It can only be said that the United States, seduced by its own doctrines and selfishness, was planning to expand the war.

(3) Although it avoided handling its international relations by means of force, the United States government advanced its harsh claims by applying economic pressure, together with the British government and others. This kind of pressure can, at times, be even more inhumane than military pressure and should be avoided as a means of handling international relations.

(4) In every instance, what the US government demanded of Japan ignored reality in China and attempted to subvert the position of Japan, which was the stabilizing force in East Asia. These demands by the American government prove that it had abandoned its position of ceasing to aid Chiang Kai-shek, and that its intention was to hinder the reestablishment not only of peace between Japan and China but in all of East Asia.

The above makes it clear that Japan had lost all hope in further negotiation, and was forced to extreme measures as a matter of pure self defense.

(5) Furthermore, at the end [of the final note] it states: "The Japanese government has finally lost its hope of adjusting international relations and, together with the government of the United States, establishing and supporting peace in the Pacific. It is therefore with much regret that we notify the United States government that having taken into consideration the attitude of the United State government, we see no prospect for a solution by means of continued negotiation."

The above is a notice of a break in diplomatic relations and, moreover, given the strained circumstances of the time, we understood it to be notice of Japan's intent to make war.[On the evening of December 6, 1941, President Roosevelt himself read this and commented: "This means war".]

Note: 1. Yamamoto, in his testimony, says, "The members of the Liaison Conference firmly believed that the last words make clear the intention to break off diplomatic relations and make war."

Various Problems to which the Pearl Harbor Attack is Central

[Tojo's notes of likely trial questions, and draft replies]

1. Why did Japan start the useless Great East Asian War?

Answer: Leaving aside the more distant causes, the direct reasons were as follows: Japan's military and economic survival was threatened by a group of nations led by Britain and the United States. Attempts were made to reach a solution by

negotiation between Japan and the United States, but that route was eventually foreclosed, so for reasons of self-preservation and self-defense, war was decided on.

2. On what day did Japan decide to make war?

Answer: It was decided on the basis of conclusions reached at the Imperial Conference of Dec. 1.

3. As for the Imperial Conference of Dec. 1, was it not the case that war was to be made against the United States, Britain and Holland because the negotiations with America based on the Imperial Policy Execution Outline adopted on Nov. 5 had come to nothing [a reference to the final Japanese proposal for a peaceful settlement].

Answer: That is correct.

4. In that case, Japan decided on war, not for reasons of self preservation, but because the US-Japan negotiations had failed. Is that not so?

Answer: No. Naturally, there were various kinds of problems included in the US-Japan negotiations. However, the main thing was to relieve the threat to Japan's existence. War was decided on because relief could not be obtained.

5. Nevertheless, according to the decision of the Imperial Conference of Nov. 5, 1941, "In order to break out of the present crisis and to achieve self-preservation and self-defense, and in order to establish a new order in Greater East Asia, war against the United States, Britain, and Holland is decided upon and the following measures are to be taken." Does this not show that the establishment of a greater East Asian order was the main objective of the US-Japan negotiations?

Answer: That is correct. At the time, the establishment of the new order in greater East Asia was one objective.

6. If that is the case, then was not the main reason for the decision to go to war the rejection of Japan's claims about the establishment of a new order in greater East Asia?

Answer: No. The establishment of a new order in greater East Asia was one of the objectives of the US-Japan negotiations, but if this had been the only objective there would still have been prospects for a peaceful solution. In fact, during the course of the US-Japan negotiations, in this area Japan considered the American claims and made many concessions in the hope of reaching a solution. However, during this period, economic and military pressure from the British-American side grew ever stronger, and it became clear that Japan's existence was endangered. The decision to go to war was made

for that reason. Thus, the main reason for the decision to make war was self-preservation and self-defense.

7. According to the Imperial Conference of Nov. 5, 1941, "At this time, it is decided to make war on Britain, the United States, and Holland, and the following measures are to be taken." Does this not mean that the decision to make war on Britain, the United States, and Holland was made, not on Dec. 1st, but by decision of the Imperial Conference of Nov. 5?

Answer: No. At the Imperial Conference of Nov. 5, it was decided that war against Britain, the United States and Holland would be unavoidable if no solution could be reached by diplomatic negotiation. On Dec. 1st, war was decided upon as a consequence of the failure of diplomatic negotiations.

8. [sic] Had not Japan already decided at the Imperial Conference of Nov. 5, 1941 to make war? Did it not send Ambassador Kurusu to America in order to camouflage the decision to make war and to carry out operations, rather than in any hope of achieving a diplomatic solution?

Answer: No. Japan's position at the Imperial Conference of Nov. 5, 1941 was that the decision to make war would be unavoidable if the diplomatic negotiations did not reach a solution. We sincerely hoped that the US-Japan negotiations would achieve a breakthrough.

At that Imperial Conference we did the following:

1) Decided to propose further concessions at the US-Japan negotiations. 2) As can be clearly seen from the decision that the deployment of force would be canceled if negotiations succeeded by 0000 hours of Dec. 1, this was by no means a policy of camouflage. Japan does not engage in camouflage foreign relations as part of a policy to gain power. Moreover, at an important meeting held in the presence of the Emperor, something like this would never have been permitted against his wishes.

9. That can be understood to some degree, but did you not make proposals in the US-Japan negotiations that you knew the United States could not accept, and thus anticipating the failure of the diplomatic negotiations, did you not deceive Ambassadors Nomura and Kurusu? Has not Ambassador Nomura himself said, "I had not even imagined an attack on Hawaii"?

Answer: No. What had been decided at the Imperial Conference of Nov. 5, 1941, was the limits of the concessions that Japan was then able to make. On the American side, from the very beginning there had not been the slightest softening of

demands. It is a fact that only the Japanese side had made concessions. Moreover, in my policy speech, as Prime Minister, to the 77th Diet session on Nov. 17, 1941, I spoke clearly of what we expected from diplomatic negotiations. At the same time, Foreign Minister Togo stated plainly, "Naturally, should it come to a matter in which a great nation were to lose its authority, a strong position must be taken to reject this, and we look forward to negotiations with sufficient determination on this point." The full text was broadcast overseas at the time, intentions were made clear to the world, and the full text was printed in American newspapers. Consequently, at that stage American officials should have understood Japan's resolve.

If, at that point, the American side had accepted Japanese concessions and the US-Japan negotiations had reached a solution, deployment of force and preparations for same would have promptly been canceled, in accordance with the decision of the Nov. 5th Imperial Conference. To know this is to know that there was no camouflage policy. That Ambassador Nomura did not expect an attack on Hawaii is a fact. That sort of attack is top secret from an operational point of view, and in order for it not to be disclosed, it was not even revealed to the general cabinet members who participated in the Imperial Conference.

10. When were operational preparations started for war against the United States, Britain, and Holland?

Answer: That would be a matter for the Imperial General Headquarters and I do not know the details, but both the army and navy started operational preparations on the basis of decisions taken at the Nov. 5, 1941 Imperial Conference. However, this was undertaken on condition that if there were a compromise in the diplomatic negotiations by 0000 hours, Dec. 1, 1941, everything could be halted immediately.

11. Is it correct to assume that the orders with regard to the opening of hostilities in the war against the United States, Britain, and Holland were issued immediately after the Imperial Conference of Nov. 5, 1941?

Answer: No. Immediately after the Imperial Conference of Nov. 5, 1941, orders were given for joint operational preparations by the army and navy, and they would not have been orders to start operations. At this Imperial Conference it was decided only to start preparing for operations.

12. In that case, what were the specifics of those preparations?

Answer: That would be a matter for the Imperial General Headquarters and not within the area about which I can responsibly speak. About the navy, in particular, I am poorly informed.

13. Tell us what you knew as Army Minister.

Answer: As I recall, the principal matters were as follows. However, they were undertaken principally under the authority of the Army Chief of Staff.

Nov. 6, 1941 – General Headquarters of the Southern Army. Appointment of Marshall Terauchi as Supreme Commander of the Southern Army. Marshall Terauchi ordered to prepare to occupy vital areas to the south.

Nov. 15, 1941 – Decision on an outline for an operations plan against Britain and U.S.

14. Did you know about the “Imperial Policy Execution Outline” that was adopted at the Imperial Conference of Sept. 6, 1941?

Answer: I don’t recall the details but I have a general knowledge of it.

15. About its general outline:

Based on Japan’s resolve to wage war against the United States, Britain, and Holland for reasons of self-preservation and self-defense, war preparations were to be largely complete by the latter part of October. Also, as mentioned before, if, by the first part of October, Japan’s requirements were still not met by diplomatic negotiation, Japan was resolved to wage war on the United States, Britain, and Holland. This is to say that preparations for war against the US, Britain, and Holland, that is to say, for the Great East Asian War, were not decided on at the Imperial Conference of Nov. 5, 1941, but had already been decided on at the Imperial Conference of Sept. 6, had they not?

Answer: Yes. As pointed out in the main text, under the strained circumstances of the time, for its own self-preservation and self-defense, Japan was to make every attempt at diplomacy. However, if Japan’s requirements could not be met, we had resolved to prepare for war, and were resolved to wage war against the US, Britain, and Holland. Thus, our war preparations had two postures: both war and peace.

16. The war preparations based on the decisions of the Imperial Conference of Sept. 6, 1941, were reconfirmed at the Imperial Conference of Nov. 5, were they not?

Answer: No. They were not reconfirmed. The war preparations of the Sept. 6 Imperial Conference were based on the possibility of war with the US, Britain, and Holland, and were preparations in a broad sense. Specific preparations had not yet begun. In the meantime, the third Konoe cabinet had fallen and the Tojo cabinet had taken its place. Under instruction of the Emperor, all decisions up to the point were returned to a state of blank paper, and the current conditions were reappraised by the Liaison Conference. It was on a new foundation that operations planning was decided on at the Nov. 5th Imperial Conference.

17. Even if that were the case, it was canceled only in the mind, and in reality war preparations had been continued since Sept. 6, and consequently they were only reconfirmed on Nov. 5 were they not?

Answer: No. It was not only in the mind. It was based on the results of a reappraisal, and in reality, the preparations that began Sept. 6 were canceled. To be specific, this is clear from the fact that such specific operational preparations as the appointment of the Supreme Commander of the Southern Army and the conclusion of the outline for operational plans against the US and Britain took place after the Imperial Conference of Nov. 5th.

18. Do you know about the "Imperial Policy Execution Outline to Follow Changing Circumstances" that was established at the Imperial Conference of July 2, 1941?

Answer: I don't remember the details but I know the general outline.

19. [sic] In order to execute the decision items it clearly says, "completion of preparations for war against Britain and America," and "do not shirk from war with Britain and America." Judging from this, had not plans for the Great East Asian War already been considered by July 2, 1941?

Answer: This Imperial Conference was held to set national policy after the beginning of hostilities between Germany and the Soviet Union. [Germany invaded the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941.] Its main thrusts were to maintain the policy of establishing the Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere, and to determine a southern policy as well as a posture to adopt towards northern problems so as to solve the China Incident and establish a foundation for self-preservation and self-defense. With respect to executing a southern policy with regard to French Indochina and Thailand, these were con-

tingency defensive preparations against the possibility that we might face military resistance from Britain or America. These were not preparations for the Great East Asian War, which came later.

20. Earlier you said that the resolve to make war on Britain and America was a result of military and economic threats from the British-American side that endangered the existence of Japan, and was for self-preservation and self-defense, but when did those threats begin to be felt?

Answer: In answer to that question, let me first say three things.

First, Japan, China and Manchuria are at the center of a northern threat from Soviet power in the Siberian area, British power directed eastward from India, Burma, and Malaya, and American power directed northward from the Pacific. Thus, they were at the center of these three great forces and were in circumstances in which, as independent nations, they had to engage in self-preservation and self-defense.

Second, in that environment, from July of 1937, Japan had been at war with China—a China complicated by the various powers' rights and privileges. Japan's opponent, the Chungking government, was receiving support from powerful Britain and America, and was continuing the war.

Third, after the first great European war, the United States raised its tariffs and strengthened the Pan American Union. Britain tightened its grip on the British economic bloc, the Soviet Union went into isolation, and Japan's trade was excluded all around the world. Then, when war broke out in Europe in 1939, one of its effects was that Japan's peaceful trade was restricted to the United States and the southern countries, and this trade was vital to the support of Japan's existence.

21. When did Japan begin to feel menaced by the British-American side?

Answer: In early 1940 there was a threat to Japan in the [US] naval policy proposal. On July 25, 1940, oil and scrap metal were put on a permit-only basis. In Aug. 1940, there was the establishment of a regular Joint Committee with Canada. In Sept. 1940, there was a representative meeting in Britain of Africa, Hong Kong, Malaya, Palestine and Britain about maintenance of the situation in French Indochina. On Jan. 15, 1941, a Conference on Joint Pacific Defense was held in Washington for U.S., Britain, and Holland. In Feb. 1941, there

were measures to reinforce military bases in East Asia, Alaska, and the Pacific, followed by a concentration of forces in Malaya, Burma, and on the Thai border in order to disturb conversations between Japan and Thailand. On March 11, 1941, the Lend-Lease Act was passed.

22. Wasn't that because war preparations had been completed and the decision had been made to go to war? History shows that among the reasons for war there are always misunderstandings and miscalculations. Wasn't it because there were important misunderstandings between Japan and the United States?

Answer: The US-Japan negotiations were a series of misunderstandings right from the start. However, the Hull note could not possibly have been a simple misunderstanding. [This is a reference to Secretary of State Hull's stiff response to the Japanese proposals of November 25, 1941, which he issued on the following day.]

Outline of the Disagreements with

Chief of Counsel Keenan's Opening Address

[Joseph Keenan was the Chief Prosecutor at the International Military Tribunal for the Far East]

Part I: On General Issue

(1) Differences from the Japanese point of view about the wish for world peace and security.

1. The ultimate purpose of the trial is said to be "to contribute significantly to the future peace and security of the world." The purpose of the indictments is "do justice properly." It is arbitrarily concluded that Japan "declared war on civilization." Consequently, "by means of the rights and powers granted," "in order to prevent future wars," it is claimed that "a firm struggle has been begun to protect the world from the destruction and obliteration of civilization." It is also added that "it is not for such petty reasons as retribution or revenge."

2. I have no objections to the wish for world peace and security and that all peoples be spared war. However, this cannot be expected merely because [a nation] arbitrarily defines "civilization" and assumes the posture of the world's policeman. The fundamental causes of war must be studied, and they must first be removed.

3. If the victorious nations unilaterally and arbitrarily decide that their way of thinking is the best, and force it on other nations and peoples, it will instead be a reason for future conflicts and wars. The circumstances after the First Great European War and today's world situation after the end of the Second World War are eloquent testimony to this.

4. A correct conclusion about Japan's behavior cannot be arrived at without understanding that the semi-colonized status of East Asia, which had its roots in the distant past, was always a reason for the troubles of East Asia, and that the conditions of war that Japan encountered had these special circumstances as their origin.

5. When a nation risks its fate by making war, there are always profound reasons for it. There is no nation in the world that likes war, and no people that likes war.

(2) Errors in comments about civilization and international justice.

Japan's point of view:

1. I deny that Japan "declared war on civilization."

2. To advocate a New Order was to seek freedom and respect for peoples without prejudice, and to seek a stable basis for the existence all peoples, equally, and free of threats. Thus, it was to seek true civilization and true justice for all the peoples of the world, and to view this as the destruction of personal freedom and respect is to be assailed by the hatred and emotion of war, and to make hasty judgments.

3. I would like to point out their [my accusers'] inhumane and uncivilized actions in East Asia ever since the Middle Ages.

4. In the shadow of the prosperity of Europe and America, the colored peoples of East Asia and Africa have been sacrificed and forced into a state of semi-colonization. I would point out that the cultural advance of these people has been suppressed in the past and continues to be suppressed in the present by policies designed to keep them in ignorance.

5. I would point out that Japan's proposal at the Versailles Peace Conference on the principle of racial equality was rejected by delegates such as those from Britain and the United States.

6. Of two through five above, which is civilization? Which is international justice? Justice has nothing to do with victor nations and vanquished nations, but must be a moral standard

that all the world's peoples can agree to. To seek this and to achieve it—that is true civilization.

7. In order to understand this, all nations must hate war, forsake emotion, reflect upon their pasts, and think calmly.

(3) The principle of no retroaction is being needlessly trampled under foot.

1. The illegality of trampling on the principle of no retroaction.

2. The illegality of trying to explain that illegal action in the name of civilization.

3. The danger posed to the maintenance of future peace by affirming this. Its myopic and incoherent character.

(4) Denial of conspiracy

1. It is an absurdity to define “conspiracy,” which had as its purpose “domestic plots,” in such a way as to include the deliberations held as part of an independent nation’s political system (including cabinet meetings, Imperial Conferences, Imperial General Headquarters, Liaison Conferences).

2. In Japan there was no secret association that conspired, or plotted to wage war. One must be dreaming to think that there was an association in Japan like the Nazis in Germany, and any thinking based on such an assumption is a delusion.

3. On the true nature of the changes in Japan’s governments and the system of deciding on war.

4. It is absurd to ignore the treaty-making rights and powers of an independent nation and to conclude that the Tripartite Pact [of September 1940] with Germany and Italy was a conspiracy.

5. Japan had no consistent war policy.

6. I would like to know how it was that many different defendants, of different ages, active at different times, in different jobs, and in different locations could possibly have entered into a conspiracy.

7. The independence of the high command refutes the existence of a conspiracy.

8. That there were differences of opinion among the defendants is evidence that there were arguments among the defendants. I point out the frail foundation for the view that “expansion of Japanese power in every direction” constitutes a crime of conspiracy.

9. The army’s land-based programs were opposed to the

navy's sea-based programs, and this, too, is proof that there was no plot.

(5) *The appropriateness of the right of self-defense. Denial that Japan waged aggressive war.*

1. The appropriateness, in international relations, of the right of self-defense is a right of an independent nation.

2. American claims to the right of self-defense and claims to the right of self-defense made prior to the outbreak of the Great East Asia War. (Claims made with respect to the European War and its related actions. Also, an interpretation of the American claims to self-defense focusing on the Tripartite Pact, made during the US-Japan negotiations.)

3. It was natural that given the special circumstances of East Asia, there would be frequent occurrences of self-defense activity.

4. I point out the self-righteous interpretation of "aggression."

(6) *Manchukuo and the other nations that were established in East Asia were legitimate.*

1. Indicate the evidence that they were established according to the wills of their peoples. (Contrast with war-time governments in exile that were not on their native soil.)

2. I deny any violation of the Nine Power Treaty [concluded in 1922 to guarantee China's territorial integrity].

3. Japan's friendly internal guidance during the developmental stage of the nation of Manchukuo did not deny its sovereignty.

4. The fact that ten or so nations recognized it. In particular, at the time of the signing of the Japanese-Soviet Neutrality Treaty in 1941, the Soviet Union affirmed the existence of Manchukuo, promised to respect its territory and refrain from aggression, and exchanged consuls.

5. Point out that pride was taken in political and economic help and intervention.

6. In their fundamental thinking, troop operations on the one hand, and the establishment and development of an independent nation on the other, are different elements. It is not correct to confuse the two and mistakenly conclude that there was aggression or subjugation.

(7) *The maintenance of international law and custom. I believe that in East Asia, human relations, customs, and habits are different from those in the West.*

1. It is natural to respect and to abide by international law and custom, but this must apply to victors as well as to the vanquished.

2. On the Japanese national character and its respect for humanity.

3. How this applies to East Asia, where human relations, customs, habits and standards of living are different.

4. The true meaning of not having ratified the treaty on prisoners of war [Geneva Conventions of 1929], and the fact that we applied the treaty.

5. That it is unreasonable to equate the casualties of a war, started with the intention of exercising self-defense, with murder.

Part II – SPECIFIC ITEMS

(The main purpose being to prove that Japan's actions were not aggressive war but the exercise of the right of self-defense.)

Outline of My Impressions of the Chief of Counsel's Address

Did Japan really declare war on civilization?

(1) War is something that destroys the civilized life of peoples, so there can be no question that it is something that a nation must do everything to avoid. For this reason, in normal times, causes that could lead to war are suppressed before they lead to crisis or conflict, and early solutions that prevent the eruption of conflict are necessary—so long as they are arrived at in the spirit of constant mutual compromise. This is particularly important for great nations. Moreover, not only does war result in great sacrifice and cost to both the opponent and to one's own people, if an error is made and war is lost, it can result in miserable conditions in which the nation can be destroyed. Since this is well known, there is no such thing on the face of the earth as a nation that loves war, or what one might call a war-loving nation or war-loving people.

Moreover, for one who is in a position of national leadership, it is natural that, faced with the heavy responsibility he bears towards nation and people, such a resolve should be thought over very seriously. Especially, when a small, weak

nation plunges into war with a great nation, that act in itself explains, without one word, the reason why war is necessary. When a great nation uses its power to force its will upon a small, peaceful nation, and tries to prevent its normal development and, moreover, threatens that nation's existence in order to achieve these aims, can that be conceived of as civilized conduct?

According to the address by the chief of counsel, Japan declared war on civilization, but the responsibility for declaring war lies rather, as explained above, with the Anglo-American side, which forced Japan into war. Japan fought in order to ensure its own survival and also to establish the proper survival of the people of East Asia. In other words, it sought true civilization for mankind. This truth is not to be judged hastily as the sorrowful lamentations of a vanquished country, for it is the truth of mankind. (A weak and gentle lamb—or nation—is born, and lives by eating grass. It has never even thought of eating the flesh of lions or tigers. Lions and tigers do eat the flesh of lambs and [what the chief of counsel is arguing] is like claiming that it is the natural fate of the lamb to be eaten by lions and tigers, and that this is civilization and justice.)

(2) If one examines the Chief of Counsel's address it is similar to denying to an independent nation the right to a war of self-defense.

Avoiding any discussion of the reasonableness of a war of self-defense, it is unilaterally declared that Japan's behavior was aggressive war, and this is the point of departure. It is not necessary to say a great deal about the fact that according to international law, a war of self-defense can be reasonable. As is clear from the diplomatic documents that preceded the conclusion of the No-War Treaty [the Kellogg-Briand Pact of 1928], before adhering to this treaty, Japan reserved this very point. This is also clear from the explanation that then-US Secretary of State Kellogg gave to an American conference on international law. If an independent nation faces an external threat to its existence and is endangered, it has the right to remove that threat. Many misunderstandings arise from not doing a theoretical study of the fact that Japan based its behavior on this right, and from summarily and arbitrarily concluding that what Japan did was a violation of international law. Moreover, the fact that Japan's military self-defense activity was frequent is dismissed as nothing more than a com-

mon Japanese tactic, but no thought is given to the circumstances of East Asia that gave rise to frequent self-defense activity. Further, a war of self-defense is proper under international law, it is a free action, and it is a right that an independent nation has under international law. Therefore it does not come under the constraints of the Hague Convention with respect to the initiation of war, and it is therefore not a violation of law if the final notice does not necessarily follow the form that it sets forth. For these reasons, it is a great error deliberately to ignore the circumstances and declare that Japan's initiation of war on Dec. 8, 1941 was an attack without warning and therefore a treaty violation, and therefore murder.

(3) When I listen to the discussions about conspiracy, I get the impression that in order to find some basis for the charge, materials have been collected and an attempt has been made to make something out of them.

The assumption is that Japan had established the Great East Asian War as a goal, and had already planned and plotted it for many years. I do not get the impression that evidence was first gathered and that a judgment was then made on the basis of the evidence.

Nothing is said about the international facts of the Anglo-American legal pressure applied after the First Great European War [the First World War], Japan's political circumstances are ignored, and no thought is given to the efforts made to establish peace in East Asia. Moreover, there is no explanation as to how a conspiracy could be possible among a large number of defendants, whose ages differ greatly, and whose active periods, jobs, and workplaces are all different.

Furthermore, it is a great error to say that the first step towards aggression was for an independent nation to establish school instruction as a way of nurturing citizen spirit. Japan suffered greatly in the Russo-Japanese war [1904-1905]. Because China was weak, Japan assumed the burden in place of China, and earned treaty-based rights by risking its very existence as a nation. As a consequence, Manchukuo became a flourishing territory, and Japan was trying to develop. To say that this was the second step towards aggression is another great error.

(4) An independent nation has the right to hold to an ideal. Despite this, the Anglo-American side sets up its own ideal about the establishment of world peace as the only correct

view. It summarily determines that Japan's ideals—the New East Asian Order and the Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere—are supranational thinking, and builds its arguments on that basis. Moreover, it fails to distinguish measures that were taken to realize that ideal and bring common benefits to the related nations, from measures taken to win the war and that were in effect only during the war. Thus mixed together, both are criticized.

(5) Whether or not the laws and conventions of warfare were violated will be examined later in this trial. However, Japan is one of the civilized nations, and as part of its national character it would have attempted to abide by laws and conventions. These would be incidental acts undertaken by people on the battlefield (and obviously if they occurred, they are not be forgiven or justified). It is charged that this sort of behavior was an indispensable part of Japanese military activity and it is concluded that it was simply one of the Japanese methods of war. However, compared to what was done to Japan—the indiscriminate bombing of defenseless cities and the calculated, gigantic massacre achieved by use of the atomic bomb—our actions were natural measures for maintaining civilization and our sin is light.

(6) Manchukuo, the Nanking government, and such [Japanese sponsored] nations [Chinese] as the Philippines and Burma were recognized by as many as ten or more nations, including Japan. They were established according to international law, by the will of the people, and within national territories. Just because they were not recognized by the enemy during the war, they are now being called puppet governments. It is true that as a result of that war they were destroyed, but it is a fact that they were not puppet governments but nations recognized by a number of other nations.

(7) Did the Tripartite Pact really plan world conquest? The real purpose of the Tripartite Pact was explained in the text of the treaty itself and was as follows:

1. That each country, in whatever it does in order to gain its place, should first of all work for permanent peace.

2. That a new order was to be sought in Europe and in Greater East Asia for the common existence and prosperity of peoples. It was promised that this would be supported through mutual association and cooperation.

3. Further, cooperation was not to be denied nations, anywhere in the world, that were making similar efforts.

There would be an attempt to fulfill the ultimate hope of the three nations with respect to world peace. In other words, imperialist policies were to be avoided, with a goal of co-existence and mutual prosperity rather than subjugation. It is natural for independent nations to wish for such things. For a disadvantaged nation, and for one to which pressures were being applied, this was nothing more than to seek the natural path of mankind, to advance along the path towards civilization. To think of this as world conquest is a grave mistake. Furthermore, it is natural that the Anti-Comintern Pact, as stated in the text, would have entirely different purposes. As for whether there were secret agreements of some kind, I never heard of such a thing.

(8) Leaving aside the question of whether it is appropriate to discuss the Russo-Japanese War during this trial, it was very much with the help of Britain and the United States that the war was carried out and was successful. At the time, the Japanese people felt grateful to those two nations.

1) Japan never planned to wage a war for the purposes of aggression. Japan always tried to establish its independence and self-preservation and self-defense, and tried to counter the instability and turmoil that resulted from European and American aggression in East Asia. Japan tried to stabilize East Asia and believed that this was a contribution to world peace.

2) Contrary to the reasons for prosecution that are set out in many pages, the events from 1928 to 1945 – such things as the Manchurian Incident, the China Incident, and the Great East Asian War – were not carried out on the basis of a coherent, common plan. Each had its own causes based on the international situation of the time, and each is a separate matter.

3) The “construction of a New East Asian Order” that was planned at the time of the China Incident, and the “construction of a Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere” that was planned at the time of the Great East Asian War were not for the purpose of gaining a sphere of military, political, and economic domination for Japan. The purpose was to relieve East Asia from the fetters and exploitation of the past several centuries of aggression and exploitation by the great powers of Europe and America. Each nation of East Asia was to respect the mutual autonomy of the others, cooperate economically, engage in mutual defense, seek the fruits of co-existence and co-prosperity, and seek peace in East Asia.

There was not the slightest attempt at aggression or exploitation. Instead, it was defense in the name of ensuring the survival of East Asian nations and peoples. Furthermore, war was not waged in order to achieve the goals of "construction of a New East Asian Order." The attempt was made to achieve its goals by harmonizing it with the China Incident, which had occurred for other reasons. The same can be said for the construction of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperty Sphere, which was undertaken in connection with the Great East Asian War, which in turn occurred for separate reasons of its own.

4) Contrary to what is written in indictment 5, Japan did not join the Tripartite Pact in an attempt to secure military, political, and economic domination over the whole world. Instead,

1. Ever since the Washington Conference [Nov. 1922-Feb. 1923], Japan had fallen into a state of international isolation, and it sought allies. It sought world peace, and the maintenance of a balance of world power.

2. Efforts were made to prevent the European War from spreading to East Asia.

3. It was hoped that Germany's power would be of assistance in resolving the issue that was then of greatest concern to Japan, namely, the China Incident.

4. It was hoped that it would be of assistance in "construction of a New East Asian Order."

Furthermore, contrary to what is written in indictment 5, there was no effort made to establish a particular position of domination in East Asia. It was a mutual recognition of Japan's leadership position, of Japan's capabilities of the time, of the fact that it was in a position to take the initiative with the various nations of East Asia. There was no attempt to subjugate the nations of East Asia. This is clear from the wording of the treaty.

It was not, as written in indictment 5, an attempt to rule the world. It was the hope for a world in which every nation could achieve its own place. Moreover it is not the case that Japan, Germany, and Italy plunged into the Second World War according to plan. Each fell into a state of war in accordance with the circumstances of the time.

(5) The Manchurian Incident has deep roots. Japan had won special rights as a result of the great sufferings of the Russo-Japanese War. China launched a planned, systematic, illegal

program of exclusion, insult, boycott of Japanese products, and persecution and violence against 1-1/2 million imperial subjects, including Koreans and legally-resident Japanese. The Mukden Incident was simply the spark that set things off. Contrary to what is written in indictment 2, it was not something that happened with the calculated objective of "establishing a separate nation under Japanese and Chinese rule." At the time the incident began, the policy was to keep the trouble from spreading. That it did spread was a result of the natural exercise of an independent nation's responsibilities in protecting 1-1/2 million imperial subjects--Japanese and Koreans--who were suffering from a deterioration of public order.

Furthermore, the establishment of Manchukuo was conceived of by the people of Manchukuo themselves. Manchukuo itself was the reason for the existence of the state of Manchukuo. Finally, for anyone who does not disregard the history of its origins and its geography, it is obvious that Manchukuo would depend on Japan and have a destiny that was pro-Japanese.

(6) The China Incident did not occur as set forth in indictment 3. It was a result of the fact that China had persisted, in a planned and systematic way, in excluding and insulting Japan, boycotting Japanese goods, persecuting resident Japanese, and committing massacres and violence. Its purpose was not, as set forth in indictment 3, "the direct or indirect establishment of one or more nations under the rule of Japan so that Japan could dominate China militarily, politically, and economically." On the contrary, Japan hoped for the unity of China. Further, even after the incident began, reflecting on the reasons for the incident, Japan hoped for the "construction of a New East Asian Order" so as to bring about permanent stability in East Asia.

The purpose was not for Japan to gain military, political and economic control of China. It was an effort to seek the true liberation of co-existence and co-prosperity that comes from neighborly relations, economic cooperation, and common defense.

(7) Contrary to what is claimed in indictment 4, Japan did not, for an extended period beginning in 1928, try to establish military, political, and economic dominance over broad areas of East Asia, Asia, the Pacific, the Indian Ocean, and the adjacent nations and islands. Instead, it sought to liberate East

Asia from several centuries of aggression, control, and exploitation by the great powers of Europe and America. Its wish was for every nation of East Asia mutually to respect the autonomy of others, to build friendly relations, to cooperate economically, to maintain a common defense, to seek the fruits of co-existence and co-prosperity, and establish peace in East Asia. Japan had not the slightest aggressive or exploitative intent. Instead, it wished to defend and ensure the survival of every East Asian nation and people. This is not to say that others were to be excluded.

Moreover, war was not waged in order to achieve the goals of the construction of a Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere. The reasons for war lay elsewhere. It was during a war that had occurred for other reasons, but in accordance with those circumstances, that an attempt was made to achieve the construction of a Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere.

It was ordered [by the "war crimes" tribunal] that virtually all enemy [American] documents of the following kind be withheld: those that might substantiate the Japanese claim that this was a war of self-defense or that there had been anti-Japanese economic pressure. (Such documents might have included the report of the Pearl Harbor Attack Investigation Committee [Joint Congressional Committee on the Pearl Harbor Attack] and other US State Department documents.) Pressures of this kind were so flagrantly unfair that the American lawyers assigned to the defense finally made a request: "We seek instruction from the Court as to whether evidence that Japan's war was in self-defense will be accepted." The court, touched in a vital spot, gave a vague answer.

The question of military pressure will probably be handled in the same way. I will note with interest what happens. Pressures like this are fine. I hope that there is more and stronger pressure. It only demonstrates to the world how unfair this trial is. It is amusing. (Impressions of Aug. 6).

On the Causes of the War

(1) I will ask about the reasons why Japan started the Pacific war.

Answer: There is much that I would like to say about the deeper causes, but I will save that for later. The immediate cause was the Anglo-American side's extreme military and

economic threats that put Japan's existence in crisis. Japan tolerated this, and though it had little hope of success, sought resolution through US-Japan negotiations. However, in the end, the United States made difficult, unbearable demands, and the route to a solution through negotiation finally came to nothing. Japan was forced into a situation that could permit no further delay. Thus, as an independent nation, for reasons of self-preservation and self-defense, Japan bravely determined to wage war.

(2) However, the decision of the Imperial Conference of Dec. 1, 1941, says, "the American plan based on the Imperial Policy Execution Outline formulated on Nov. 5 not having come to fruition, war will be waged with the United States, Britain, and Holland." From this it appears that Japan went to war, not out of self-preservation and self-defense, but because the US-Japan negotiations failed to reach a conclusion.

Answer: Included in the US-Japan negotiations were various matters in addition to the demands that the threats against Japan be eased. The US and British economic and military threats were continued in parallel with the negotiations. I think that if there had been no such threats, the US-Japan negotiations would have continued, and even though there were problems, they could have been resolved by mutual compromise, and the Pacific War could have been avoided. However, these threats were only strengthened with the passage of time, and by August or September of 1941, Japan had already been pressed to the brink of the crisis. Hope lay only in the slim chance of a breakthrough in the US-Japan negotiations.

The decision at the Imperial Conference of Nov. 5, 1941, was taken in these circumstances. The specific conditions with respect to the US-Japan negotiations that arose from this decision were that concessions were to be made on the other political issues, and our demands were to be concentrated on one thing: the easing of the threats to Japan's self-preservation and self-defense. However, in reply to that last proposal, the United States made difficult proposals that were clearly unacceptable to Japan. The possibility of breakthrough through US-Japan negotiations disappeared. Therefore, as explained above, the decision was reached, as an independent nation, to wage a war of self-preservation and self-defense so as to escape from these very real threats. The breakdown in the negotiations itself was not the reason for war.



**Tojo reading
in his
prison
cell.**

Your Excellency, it may be appropriate at this point to quote from the speech you made at the Imperial Conference. It says:

1) An attempt was made on the basis of the decision of Nov. 5 to adjust relations with the United States, but the United States did not make a single concession.

2) In fact, they sought unconditional and complete [Japanese] troop withdrawal [from China] under the joint supervision of the United States, Britain, Holland and China; the repudiation of the Nanking government; and the renunciation of the Tripartite Pact.

3) The United States, Britain, Holland, and China stepped up their economic and military pressure.

The decision of Nov. 5 sought the end of economic pressure (in particular, the unfreezing of funds, and the free acquisition of oil and other materials). The second draft mentions these things clearly.

—Kiyose [*Chief defense counsel for Tojo*]

(3) From the mass of evidence produced so far, it can be concluded that Japan considered the construction of a New Order for Greater East Asia an important political objective. Since the construction of a New Order for Greater East Asia was the primary objective of the US-Japan negotiation and was also the reason for starting the war, this talk of US and British threats is nothing more than an excuse, is it not?

Answer: No. As explained above, the cause of the war was the threats from the US-British side. This is not an excuse.

The construction of a New Order for Greater East Asia was certainly, ever since the China incident, an important Japanese policy, and it was the main point of the US-Japan negotiations. However, Japan hoped for a realization of this policy on a peaceful basis of understanding by both nations. The US-Japan negotiations were one of the means to bring this about. In fact, on this issue, during the US-Japan negotiations, Japan considered the American side's claims and tried to reach a solution by making concession after concession. Consequently, if this had been the only issue, there would have been no necessity to decide on war with the United States.

(4) If, as you say, the cause of the Pacific War was military and economic pressure from the American and British side that forced Japan into a crisis over its very existence, why were the US-Japan negotiations not concentrated on solving this one question?

Answer: The US-Japan negotiations changed over time. In April 1941, when the negotiations began, Japan had political objectives including the following:

1) The reestablishment of peace in East Asia by means of a resolution of the China Incident. 2) The maintenance of peace in the Pacific, which was beset by crises. 3) Prevention, in accordance with the Tripartite Pact, of the spread of the Great European War to East Asia. 4) Establishment of an economy of self-supply and self-sufficiency in the face of US and British economic pressure.

We concluded that the US side also hoped to keep peace in East Asia. It was thought that the satisfactory solution of these issues would be the foundation of a recovery in relations between Japan and the United States, and this was made the basis of U.S.-Japan negotiations. At that time, the economic and military pressure against Japan had not yet reached its peak.

In July 1941, the economic blockade of Japan—of which the freezing of assets by the US, Britain, and Holland was the main element—along with military pressure brought Japan face to face with death. Consequently, at this period, the main issue of the negotiations was the relief and elimination of threats. This is clear from the Japanese side's proposal of November 0 [November 7] based on the second draft based on the decision of the Imperial Conference of Nov. 5, 1941.

(5) You say that the cause of the war was economic and military threats from the United States and Britain against the existence of Japan, but what do you mean? Please give us a summary.

Answer: As has already been demonstrated, after the First Great European War, and after the Manchurian Incident, the United States adopted a policy of high tariffs, Britain built up an imperial economic bloc, and Japan's trade was excluded from one part of the world after another.

Further, at the end of July 1939, the United States suddenly applied economic pressure, principally by rescinding its trade and commerce treaty with Japan. This, together with the outrageous act of economic blockade by means of the freezing of Japanese assets by the United States, Britain, and Holland, was a mortal threat to Japan, whose economic activities depended on foreign trade. This kind of economic blockade by nations with which Japan was not in a state of war was felt as an enemy act that was little different from war. From a military point of view, the US-British side openly increased its support of the Chungking forces, thus causing the war to continue. Moreover, the United States, Britain, and Holland, in concert with the Chungking government, concentrated troops in the Philippines, Malaya, Burma, and Dutch Indochina, and strengthened their military preparations by such means as increasing airbase facilities. A great American fleet was assembled in Hawaii and readied so as to be able to start operations at a moment's notice. Such were the threats that faced Japan. Moreover, at the same time, according to reports, on October 3, 1941, British and American leaders met in Manila to discuss operations. Further, on October 9, a U.S. military delegation was received at a meeting in Hong Kong, at which support for China and the continued resistance of Chungking were discussed. Likewise, a certain American admiral (note: commander of the Pacific fleet, [Husband E.] Kimmel) threatened Japan with his famous statement to the effect

that if there were war with Japan, the entire Japanese fleet could probably be sunk in a few weeks. Further, on Nov. 10, 1941, the British Prime Minister, at a luncheon for the installation of the [lord] mayor of London, said that if there were war between Japan and the United States, Britain was prepared to declare war on Japan within 24 hours. This was taken to mean that Britain and the United States were in complete accord on the subject of war with Japan, and that this resolve was intentionally being revealed.

Even if the threats from Britain and the United States were real, were they not provoked by Japan's southern advance into French Indochina and the consequent threat to British and American territory?

Answer: No. Japan's southern advance was to:

1. Cut off the life line to the Chungking forces that ran through French Indochina and Burma—this, with the intention of resolving the China Incident.

2. Establish economic self-sufficiency so as to escape from Anglo-American economic pressure.

If, on the American and British side, there had been no support for Chungking or encouragement of continued resistance, this would not have been necessary. Moreover, if there had been no American and British economic pressure, and Japan had been able to continue in its economic dependency on peaceful foreign commerce, there would have been no need to advance to the south. It was natural that Japan should try to improve friendly relations with French Indochina and Thailand while peace lasted; these were nations with which Japan had broad connections.

When you touch on this point, the Chief of Counsel is likely to refer to the decisions of the July 6 Imperial Conference, particularly "French Indochina and Thailand policy items" and "matters related to furthering the southern policy," and to cross examine you on these matters. Please be prepared.

The summary of item two of the decisions made on July 2 reads, "For its self-preservation and self-defense, Japan will continue the diplomatic negotiations necessary with respect to the southern territories, and will promote various other policies." Furthermore, according to this section—"for this reason preparations for war with the United States and Britain are to be advanced, and first, policy items with regard to French Indochina and Thailand, as well as the matter of promoting the southern policy"—various policies with respect to

French Indochina and Thailand were to be carried out and the conditions for southern advance were to be strengthened. It says, "in order to achieve this goal, Japan should not shirk from war with the United States and Britain." The policy items with regard to French Indochina and Thailand were decisions of the Liaison Conference of Feb. 1, 1941, and it says, "for the self-preservation and self-defense of Japan, military, political, and economic union that is close and inseparable is to be established with French Indochina and Thailand."

Furthermore, with respect to the promotion of the southern policy, at what is thought to be about the time of the April 17 Liaison Conference decision, (1) Military, political, and economic relations that are close and inseparable are to be established with French Indochina and Thailand. (2) Close economic relations are to be established with Dutch Indochina. (3) Proper commercial relations will be maintained with the remaining southern nations.

In principle, the realization of the above objective is to be by diplomatic means. In carrying out the above policy, military force is to be used for self-preservation and self-defense, only if such things as the following occur, and there is no means of resolving them: (1) A trade embargo by the United States, Britain, and Holland that threatens the survival of Japan. (2) The encirclement policy against Japan is strengthened by the United States, Britain, Holland, and China, and this cannot be tolerated for reasons of national security.

There is no contradiction between this and your proposed answer, but I noted it so that you would have it in mind. Furthermore, was it not concluded that the reason economic negotiations with Dutch Indochina by Kobayashi [Kobayashi Ichizoo, Minister of Commerce and Industry, who was head of the trade delegation that was sent to negotiate the import of oil, tin and rubber] and Yoshizawa [Yoshizawa Kenichi, former Foreign Minister, who succeeded Kobayashi] failed, was that there was behind-the-scenes interference by the United States and Britain?

—Kiyose

(7) In reply to the first question, you said that you would put aside the deeper causes, but are those deeper causes additional reasons why Japan entered the Pacific War?

Answer: The deeper causes are what created the objective circumstances that drew the opponents into the unhappy fate

of the Pacific War, but they are not the direct causes. However, in order to avoid future wars, and in order seriously to think about world peace, they are large subjects on which both the winners and the losers should reflect calmly. The reason why disturbances are common in East Asia, the reason Japan had been speaking of a New Order, the idea of building a Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere, the real meaning of the cry from the heart of the peoples of East Asia – all have their origins in these deeper causes.

(8) Is that your personal view or is that the official view of the Japanese government?

Answer: It is not my personal view. It is the foundational thinking on which the Japanese government based important policies.

(9) In that case, how can you demonstrate that this was official, foundational thinking?

Answer: Of all the declarations made by the various governments since the start of the China Incident, the clearest is the Joint Declaration of Greater East Asia made at the Greater East Asian Conference on Nov. 8, 1943. It is also clear from the speeches given at the conference by the delegates of the various countries. Also, the actual independence or independence movements that arose during the Pacific War in the Philippines, Burma, India and in other places are an eloquent testimonial.

(10) If what you say is true, then what you call the cry from the heart of East Asian peoples and nations, their ardent desire, took shape as Japan's New Order policy. That can be taken as an important cause of the war, can it not?

Answer: No. Indeed, it was one of Japan's important national policies, and everything was done to bring it to fruition. However, it is well known that a nation that exists in an international setting cannot expect its unilateral demands and wishes to be accepted unquestioningly by others. This is something that comes about from a spirit of mutual compromise and mutual sympathy, with each nation and people recognizing the welfare of others and making as their ideal the establishment of world peace. It is a question of the heart, and if only there is a conviction that war is unnecessary can things be achieved peacefully. This was what Japan hoped and strove for to the end. However, for other reasons, and before its policies could be achieved by peaceful means, Japan was lured into war. Therefore, these became the deeper causes that

established the environment for the Pacific War, but they were not the direct causes.

(11) Nevertheless, any world statesman from a nation with an important connection with East Asia, if he had the slightest genuine desire for world peace, would not have ignored something as important as this was to the nations and peoples of East Asia. What do you say to that?

Answer: That is correct. It is something that could not be ignored and was not ignored.

(12) On what basis do you say that it was not ignored?

I shall explain the facts.

1. At the Washington Conference in 1922, other important questions were raised, but this problem was also considered. However, at that time, the cry from the heart of the nations and peoples of East Asia was not thoroughly understood. It was thought that the East Asian nations could be controlled through pressure and by alienating them from each other.

2. It can also be seen in the "Atlantic Charter," which was agreed to by Prime Minister Churchill and President Roosevelt at a meeting held in the Atlantic [August 14, 1941]. At this time, the full war in Europe had already broken out, the unfortunate China Incident had occurred in East Asia, and the tactic used by the Americans and the British of sowing discord among the nations of East Asia was a great obstacle to Japan's attempt to reach peace with China. In the Atlantic Charter that resulted from this meeting, one cannot fail to note that the feelings of the East Asian peoples and nations were taken into consideration relatively often. However, the President and the British Prime Minister had, as top politicians, already lost appropriate expectations for East Asia. They should have been more bold in grasping what was happening in East Asia, in making important corrections to the mistakes of the past, and in making adjustments to the demands of the times. Moreover, both nations had failed to understand that they should abandon their traditional East Asian policy of sowing discord among nations, and should instead adopt a position of leadership based on the spirit of mutual aid and cooperation. Their only preparation for a great conflagration was a fire-fighting policy rather than a fire prevention policy.

3. These things are given further consideration in the Potsdam Declaration [August 2, 1945] but this was at the close of the Pacific War, and was not a policy for avoiding war.

(13) Do you mean, in your testimony, to criticize the past policies of the victorious powers and thereby defy the dignity of this court?

Answer: I have no intention at all of defying the dignity of the court. Nor do I intend to criticize the past policies of the victorious powers. It is regrettable if what I have said gives that impression. I am only describing the facts, and explaining the effect that Britain and America's past policies had on the peoples of East Asia. It should be the intention of the victorious powers to seek true peace for the future, and in order to help them make fair observations, I believe it is the duty of a defendant to provide the court with material for reflection.

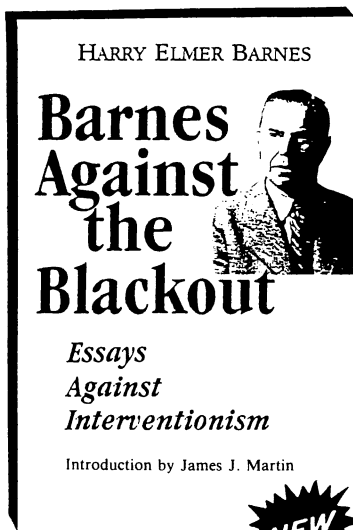
(14) Assuming that what you say is true, if the leaders of the United States and England had, even to a small degree, taken heed of the hopes and cries from the heart of the nations and peoples of East Asia, then you, as a leader of Japan, should have taken a positive role in showing understanding to these hopes and cries, should you not?

Answer: That is correct. I think what you say is true. This is what Japan desired for Japan as well as for the nations and peoples of East Asia. However, world politics must work with nations and peoples, which are living things. An effect can be achieved, and peace preserved only if the right policies are carried out at the right time. It does no good to give medicine to a corpse.

(15) According to your testimony so far, the reason that Japan went to war was not the breakdown of the US-Japan negotiations, nor was it as a result of Greater East Asian policies. Instead, you say the direct cause was economic and military threats from the allied side, and that Japan went to war for reasons of self-defense and self-preservation. If that is the case, why did Japan not adopt a policy of stopping the war in its early stages, in mid-1942, for example, by which time those threats had been largely dissipated?

Answer: War is not a solitary undertaking. Even if that might have been good for Japan, we did not think that the enemy would have agreed. In particular, both sides were bound by treaty not to make conclude a separate peace, and the world situation did not appear to be one in which proposals advantageous only to Japan would be accepted. Moreover, whatever the reasons for making war, once it had begun, we thought to win it, to adjust Japan's policies to the

circumstances of war and, within the parameters permitted by international law, to proceed boldly.



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War and Peace: Two Historic Speeches

CHARLES A. LINDBERGH

In May 1927, a shy, handsome young man from Michigan named Charles Lindbergh suddenly became the idol of millions when he landed his small airplane in Paris after a grueling 33-hour flight from New York — the first person to fly alone, non-stop, across the Atlantic ocean.

Twelve years later, this politically astute son of a United States Congressman resolved to speak out against President Franklin Roosevelt's illegal campaign to push the United States into the European war that had broken out in September 1939.

The Most important national peace organization of this period was the America First Committee. Founded in July 1940, the broad-based citizens' coalition quickly grew to a membership of some 800,000. For his work as the Committee's most prominent and articulate spokesman, Lindbergh was both widely praised and bitterly denounced.

In a series of persuasive and widely-noted speeches, Lindbergh gave voice to the thoughts and feelings of the great majority of Americans who wanted to keep their country out of war.

Published here are the complete texts of two of these historical speeches: Lindbergh's radio address of October 13, 1939, "Neutrality and War," and his speech of August 4, 1940, "Our Relationship with Europe." Each address was broadcast on the Mutual radio network.

Neutrality and War

Tonight, I speak again to the people of this country who are opposed to the United States entering the war which is now going on in Europe. We are faced with the need of deciding on a policy of American neutrality. The future of our nation and of our civilization rests upon the wisdom and foresight we use. Much as peace is to be desired, we should

realize that behind a successful policy of neutrality must stand a policy of war. It is essential to define clearly those principles and circumstances for which a nation will fight. Let us give no one the impression that America's love for peace means that she is afraid of war, or that we are not fully capable and willing to defend all that is vital to us. National life and influence depend upon national strength, both in character and in arms. A neutrality built on pacifism alone will eventually fail.

Before we can intelligently enact regulations for the control of our armaments, our credit, and our ships, we must draw a sharp dividing line between neutrality and war; there must be no gradual encroachment on the defenses of our nation. Up to this line we may adjust our affairs to gain the advantages of peace, but beyond it must lie all the armed might of America, coiled in readiness to spring if once this bond is cut. Let us make clear to all countries where this line lies. It must be both within our intent and our capabilities. There must be no question of trading or bluff in this hemisphere. Let us give no promises we cannot keep—make no meaningless assurances to an Ethiopia, a Czechoslovakia, or a Poland. The policy we decide upon should be as clear cut as our shorelines, and as easily defended as our continent.

This western hemisphere is our domain. It is our right to trade freely within it. From Alaska to Labrador, from the Hawaiian Islands to Bermuda, from Canada to South America, we must allow no invading army to set foot. These are the outposts of the United States. They form the essential outline of our geographical defense. We must be ready to wage war with all the resources of our nation if they are ever seriously threatened. Their defense is the mission of our army, our navy, and our air corps—the minimum requirement of our military strength. Around these places should lie our line between neutrality and war. Let there be no compromise about our right to defend or trade within this area. If it is challenged by any nation, the answer must be war. Our policy of neutrality should have this as its foundation.

We must protect our sister American nations from foreign invasion, both for their welfare and our own. But, in turn, they have a duty to us. They should not place us in the position of having to defend them in America while they engage in wars abroad. Can we rightfully permit any country in America to

give bases to foreign warships, or to send its army abroad to fight while it remains secure in our protection at home? We desire the utmost friendship with the people of Canada. If their country is ever attacked, our Navy will be defending their seas, our soldiers will fight on their battlefields, our fliers will die in their skies. But have they the right to draw this hemisphere into a European war simply because they prefer the Crown of England to American independence?

Sooner or later we must demand the freedom of this continent and its surrounding islands from the dictates of European power. American history clearly indicates this need. As long as European powers maintain their influence in our hemisphere, we are likely to find ourselves involved in their troubles. And they will lose no opportunity to involve us.

Our congress is now assembled to decide upon the best policy for this country to maintain during the war which is going on in Europe. The legislation under discussion involves three major issues—the embargo of arms, the restriction of shipping, and the allowance of credit. The action we take in regard to these issues will be an important indication to ourselves, and to the nations of Europe, whether or not we are likely to enter the conflict eventually as we did in the last war. The entire world is watching us. The action we take in America may either stop or precipitate this war.

Let us take up these issues, one at a time, and examine them. First, the embargo of arms: It is argued that the repeal of this embargo would assist democracy in Europe, that it would let us make a profit for ourselves from the sale of munitions abroad, and, at the same time, help to build up our own arms industry.

I do not believe that repealing the arms embargo would assist democracy in Europe because I do not believe this is a war for democracy. This is a war over the balance of power in Europe—a war brought about by the desire for strength on the part of Germany and the fear of strength on the part of England and France. The munitions the armies obtain, the longer the war goes on, and the more devastated Europe becomes, the less hope there is for democracy. That is a lesson we should have learned from participation in the last war. If democratic principles had been applied in Europe after that war, if the “democracies” of Europe had been willing to make

some sacrifice to help democracy in Europe while it was fighting for its life, if England and France had offered a hand to the struggling republic of Germany, there would be no war today.

If we repeal the arms embargo with the idea of assisting one of the warring sides to overcome the other, then why mislead ourselves by talk of neutrality? Those who advance this argument should admit openly that repeal is a step toward war. The next step would be the extension of credit, and the next step would be the sending of American troops.

To those who argue that we could make a profit and build up our own industry by selling munitions abroad, I reply that we in America have not yet reached a point where we wish to capitalize on the destruction and death of war. I do not believe that the material welfare of this country needs, or that our spiritual welfare could withstand, such a policy. If our industry depends upon a commerce of arms for its strength, then our industrial system should be changed.

It is impossible for me to understand how America can contribute to civilization and humanity by sending offensive instruments of destruction to European battlefields. This would not only implicate us in the war, but it would make us partly responsible for its devastation. The fallacy of helping to defend a political ideology, even though it be somewhat similar to our own, was clearly demonstrated to us in the last war. Through our help that war was won, but neither the democracy nor the justice for which we fought grew in the peace that followed our victory.

Our bond with Europe is a bond of race and not of political ideology. We had to fight a European army to establish democracy in this country. It is the European race we must preserve; political progress will follow. Racial strength is vital—politics, a luxury. If the white race is ever seriously threatened, it may then be time for us to take our part in its protection, to fight side by side with the English, French, and Germans, but not with one against the other for our mutual destruction.

Let us not dissipate our strength, or help Europe to dissipate hers, in these wars of politics and possession. For the benefit of western civilization, we should continue our embargo on

offensive armaments. As far as purely defensive arms are concerned, I, for one, am in favor of supplying European countries with as much as we can spare of the material that falls within this category. There are technicians who will argue that offensive and defensive arms cannot be separated completely. That is true, but it is no more difficult to make a list of defensive weapons than it is to separate munitions of war from semi-manufactured articles, and we are faced with that problem today. No one says that we should sell opium because it is difficult to make a list of narcotics. I would as soon see our country traffic in opium as in bombs. There are certain borderline cases, but there are plenty of clear cut examples: for instance, the bombing plane and the anti-aircraft cannon. I do not want to see American bombers dropping bombs which will kill and mutilate European children, even if they are not flown by American pilots. But I am perfectly willing to see American anti-aircraft guns shooting American shells at invading bombers over any European country. And I believe that most of you who are listening tonight will agree with me.

The second major issue for which we must create a policy concerns the restrictions to be placed on our shipping. Naval blockades have long been accepted as an element of warfare. They began on the surface of the sea, followed the submarine beneath it, and now reach up into the sky with aircraft. The laws and customs which were developed during the surface era were not satisfactory to the submarine. Now, aircraft bring up new and unknown factors for consideration. It is simple enough for a battleship to identify the merchantman she captures. It is a more difficult problem for a submarine if that merchantman may carry cannon; it is safer to fire a torpedo than to come up and ask. For bombing planes flying at high altitudes and through conditions of poor visibility, identification of a surface vessel will be more difficult still.

In modern naval blockades and warfare, torpedoes will be fired and bombs dropped on probabilities rather than on certainties of identification. The only safe course for neutral shipping at this time is to stay away from the warring countries and dangerous waters of Europe.

The third issue to be decided relates to the extension of credit. Here again we may draw from our experience in the last war. After that war was over, we found ourselves in the

position of having financed a large portion of European countries. And when the time came to pay us back, these countries simply refused to do so. They not only refused to pay the war-time loans we made, but they refused to pay back what we loaned them after the war was over. As is so frequently the case, we found that loaning money eventually created animosity instead of gratitude. European countries felt insulted when we asked to be repaid. They called us "Uncle Shylock." They were horror struck at the idea of turning over to us any of their islands in America to compensate for their debts, or for our help in winning their war. They seized all the German colonies and carved up Europe to suit their fancy. These were the "fruits of war." They took our money and they took our soldiers. But there was not the offer of one Caribbean island in return for the debts they "could not afford to pay."

The extension of credit to a belligerent country is a long step toward war, and it would leave us close to the edge. If American industry loans money to a belligerent country, many interests will feel that it is more important for that country to win than for our own to avoid the war. It is unfortunate but true that there are interests in America who would rather lose American lives than their own dollars. We should give them no opportunity.

I believe that we should adopt as our program of American neutrality—as our contribution to western civilization—the following policy:

1. An embargo on offensive weapons and munitions.
2. The unrestricted sale of purely defensive armaments.
3. The prohibition of American shipping from the belligerent countries of Europe and their danger zones.
4. The refusal of credit to belligerent nations or their agents.

Whether or not this program is adopted depends upon the support of those of us who believe in it. The United States of America is a democracy. The policy of our country is still controlled by our people. It is time for us to take action. There has never been a greater test for the democratic principle of government.

Our Relationship with Europe

Several weeks have passed since I received the honor of your invitation to speak in Chicago. At that time it was essential to create strong and immediate opposition to the trend toward war which was taking place in this country. The agitation for our entry in the war was increasing with alarming rapidity. Hysteria had mounted to the point where anti-parachute corps were being formed to defend American cities against air attacks from Europe. Greenland, with its Arctic climate, its mountainous terrain, and its ice-filled seas was called an easy stepping-stone for German bombing planes invading America. Cartoons showed the Atlantic Ocean reduced to the width of the English Channel. American safety was said to depend upon the success of European armies. Foreign propaganda was in full swing, and it seemed in many ways that we were approaching the greatest crisis in the history of our country.

But events move swiftly in this modern world, and the true character of a nation lies beneath such surface foam. When the danger of foreign war was fully realized by our people, the underlying tradition of American independence arose, and in recent weeks its voice has thundered through the weaker cries for war.

We have by no means escaped the foreign entanglements and favoritisms that Washington warned us against when he passed the guidance of our nation's destiny to the hands of future generations. We have participated deeply in the intrigues of Europe, and not always in an open "democratic" way. There are still interests in this country and abroad who will do their utmost to draw us into the war. Against these interests we must be continuously on guard. But American opinion is now definitely and overwhelmingly against our involvement. Both political parties have declared against our entry into the war. People are beginning to realize that the problems of Europe cannot be solved by the interference of America. We have at last started to build and to plan for the defense of our own continent. By these acts, our eyes are turned once more in the direction of security and peace, for if our own military forces are strong, no foreign nation can invade us, and, if we do not interfere with their affairs, none will *desire* to.

Since we have decided against entering the war in Europe, it is time for us to consider the relationship we will have with Europe after this war is over. It is only by using the utmost intelligence in establishing and maintaining this relationship that we can keep America out of war in the future.

I have a different outlook toward Europe than most people in America. In consequence, I am advised to speak guardedly on the subject of the war. I am told that one must not stand too strongly against the trend of the times, and that, to be effective, what one says must meet with general approval.

There is much to be said for this argument, yet, right or wrong, it is contrary to the values that I hold highest in life. I prefer to say what I believe, or not to speak at all. I would far rather have your respect for the sincerity of what I say, than attempt to win your applause by confining my discussion to popular concepts. Therefore, I speak to you today as I would speak to close friends rather than as one is supposed to address a large audience.

I do not offer my opinion as an expert, but rather as a citizen who is alarmed at the position our country has reached in this era of experts. As laymen we are often told that the solution of difficult problems should be left to the specialist. But since specialists differ in the solutions they recommend, they must at least allow us the privilege of choosing those we wish to follow. And in making this choice, it seems that we are back where we started and must form an opinion of our own.

I found conditions in Europe to be very different from our concept of them here in the United States. Anyone who takes the trouble to read through back issues of our newspapers cannot fail to realize what a false impression we had of the belligerent nations. We were told that Germany was ripe for revolution, that her rearmament was a bluff, that she lacked officers, that she flew her airplanes from one field to another so they would be counted again and again by foreign observers. We were informed that Russia had the most powerful air fleet in the world, that the French army was superior to any in Europe, that the British navy was more than a match for the German air force, that Germany lacked enough food, fuel, and raw material to wage war, that the Maginot Line was impregnable, that Italy would never enter a war against England. Statements of this sort have issued forth in an endless stream from Europe, and anyone who questioned their accuracy was called a Nazi agent.

These examples show how greatly we have been misled about the military conditions in Europe. If one goes still farther back, he will find that we have also been misled about political conditions. It has seemed obvious to me for many years that the situation in Europe would have to change, either by agreement or by war. I hoped that we had reached a degree of civilization where change might come by agreement. Living in Europe made me fear that it would come only through war.

There is a proverb in China which says that "when the rich become too rich, and the poor too poor, something happens." This applies to nations as well as to men. When I saw the wealth of the British Empire, I felt that the rich had become too rich. When I saw the poverty of Central Europe, I felt that the poor had become too poor. That something would happen was blazoned even on the skies of Europe by mounting thousands of fighting aircraft.

From 1936 to 1939, as I travelled through European countries, I saw the phenomenal military strength of Germany growing like a giant at the side of an aged, and complacent England. France was awake to her danger, but far too occupied with personal ambitions, industrial troubles, and internal politics to make more than a feeble effort to rearm. In England there was organization without spirit. In France there was spirit without organization. In Germany there were both.

I realized that I was witnessing a clash between the heirs of another war. A generation had passed since the Treaty of Versailles. The sons of victory and the sons of defeat were about to meet on the battlefields of their fathers. As I travelled first among those who had won, and then among those who had lost, the words of a French philosopher kept running through my mind: "Man thrives on adversity."

The underlying issue was clear. It was not the support of "democracy," or the so-called democratic nations would have given more assistance to the struggling republic of post-war Germany. It was not a crusade for Christianity, or the Christian nations of the west would have carried their battle flags to the confiscated churches of Russia. It was not the preservation of small and helpless nations, or sanctions would have been followed by troops in Abyssinia, and England would not have refused to cooperate with the United States in Manchuria. The issue was one of the oldest and best known among men. It concerned the division of territory and wealth between

nations. It has caused conflict in Europe since European history began.

The longer I lived in Europe, the more I felt that no outside influence could solve the problems of European nations, or bring them lasting peace. They must work out their destiny, as we must work out ours. I am convinced that the better acquainted we in America become with the background of European conflicts, the less we will desire to take part in them. But here I would like to make this point clear: while I advocate the non-interference by America in the internal affairs of Europe, I believe it is of the utmost importance for us to cooperate with Europe in our relationships with the other peoples of the earth. It is only by cooperation that we can maintain the supremacy of our western civilization and the right of our commerce to proceed unmolested throughout the world. Neither they nor we are strong enough to police the earth against the opposition of the other.

In the past, we have dealt with a Europe dominated by England and France. In the future we may have to deal with a Europe dominated by Germany. But whether England or Germany wins this war, Western civilization will still depend upon two great centers, one in each hemisphere. With all the aids of modern science, neither of these centers is in a position to attack the other successfully as long as the defenses of both are reasonably strong. A war between us could easily last for generations, and bring all civilization tumbling down, as has happened more than once before. An agreement between us could maintain civilization and peace throughout the world as far into the future as we can see.

But we are often told that if Germany wins this war, cooperation will be impossible, and treaties no more than scraps of paper. I reply that cooperation is never impossible when there is sufficient gain on both sides, and that treaties are seldom torn apart when they do not cover a weak nation. I would be among the last to advocate depending upon treaties for our national safety. I believe that we should rearm fully for the defense of America, and that we should never make the type of treaty that would lay us open to invasion if it were broken. But if we refuse to consider treaties with the dominant nation of Europe, regardless of who that may be, we remove all possibility of peace.



Charles Lindbergh speaks out against the campaign to push the United States into war.

Nothing is to be gained by shouting names and pointing the finger of blame across the ocean. Our grandstand advice to England, and our criticism of her campaigns, have been neither wanted nor helpful. Our accusations of aggression and barbarism on the part of Germany, simply bring back echoes of hypocrisy and Versailles. Our hasty condemnation of a French government, struggling desperately to save a defeated nation from complete collapse, can do nothing but add to famine, hatred, and chaos.

If we desire to keep America out of war, we must take the lead in offering a plan for peace. That plan should be based

upon the welfare of America. It should be backed by an impregnable system of defense. It should incorporate terms of mutual advantage. But it should not involve the internal affairs of Europe; they never were, and never will be, carried on according to our desires.

Let us offer Europe a plan for the progress and protection of the western civilization of which they and we each form a part. But whatever their reply may be, let us carry on the American destiny of which our forefathers dreamed as they cut their farm lands from the virgin forests. What would they think of the claim that our frontiers lie in Europe? Let us guard the independence that the soldiers of our Revolution won against overwhelming odds. What, I ask you, would those soldiers say if they could hear this nation, grown a hundred and thirty million strong, being told that only the British fleet protects us from invasion?

Our nation was born of courage and hardship. It grew on the fearless spirit of the pioneer. Now that it has become one of the greatest powers on earth, ours must not be the generation that kneels in fear of future hardships, or of invasion by a Europe already torn by war.

I do not believe we will ever accept a philosophy of calamity, weakness, and fear. I have faith in an American army, an American navy, an American air force—and, most important of all, the American character, which in normal times, lies quietly beneath the surface of this nation.

An audio cassette tape with these two Lindbergh speeches is available from the IHR for \$9.95, plus \$2 for shipping.

Hamilton Fish, a leading anti-interventionist Congressman, provides a critical, first-hand account of Franklin Roosevelt's war-mongering campaign in *Tragic Deception*, a 120-page hardback work. (Available from the IHR for \$16.95, plus \$2 for shipping. Stock No. 0601.)

For more on Lindbergh and the America First Committee, see the following works by Wayne S. Cole: *America First* (1953, Charles A. Lindbergh and the Battle Against American Intervention in World War II (1974), and *Roosevelt and the Isolationists* (1953).

Why Holocaust Revisionism?

THEODORE J. O'KEEFE

The "Holocaust," the alleged murder of some six million Jews by the German Nazis during the Second World War, has in recent years come under increasing fire from the Revisionists, those unconventional historians who challenge orthodox versions of past events. Researchers such as Arthur Butz, Robert Faurisson, David Irving, and Wilhelm Stäglich have become famous (some would say notorious) around the world for their scholarly critique of the claim that Hitler and his followers sought to exterminate European Jewry during the war, killing millions by poison gas and other means.

There are those who would suppress the Revisionists by restricting their freedom of research and expression, and indeed the Revisionists have suffered physical attacks and legal sanctions, even in countries which take pride in being "open societies."

Many more people, however, are not so much hostile to the Revisionists as they are simply puzzled by them. They have questions about Holocaust Revisionism, questions like these: "What motivates these Revisionists? Are they simply Nazis, seeking to rehabilitate the Hitler regime? Even if some of their facts are correct, does it really matter if the number of Jews who died in the war was 'only' a million and a half? Or half a million? Or just one? And even if the Revisionist case against the Holocaust could be proved, what difference does it make what did or didn't happen to some Jews in Europe fifty years ago? Why not stick to issues that are more important—and safer?"

To answer these questions, it is necessary to say something about the origins of modern Historical Revisionism. While conscientious historians have always attempted to "correct" the errors and omissions of their predecessors, modern Revisionism dates from the First World War. That great and terrible war was the first in history to affect people in every

corner of the globe. It brought the great empires of Europe, their colonies in Asia and Africa, and finally the independent nations of the Americas into conflict on an unprecedented scale. Technology developed fearsome new weapons—airplanes, submarines, tanks, machine guns, poison gas—to gain military victories. A different sort of technology—directed at the minds, not the bodies, of men—was raised to new levels of effectiveness.

While both sides—the German-led Alliance and the Franco-British-Russian Entente—lured the political and financial leadership of the neutral nations in secret with bribes and promises, they wooed the masses at home and abroad with propaganda. Each side depicted its own war aims as a mighty crusade for peace and freedom, and those of its enemies as a diabolical grab for world domination.

Even more effective was the so-called “atrocities propaganda,” which attributed every crime imaginable to the enemy. And the undisputed masters of “atrocities propaganda” were in the Allied camp. Their mastery of the propaganda weapon gave the world such images as the Belgian-baby-killing Hun, the crucified Canadian, a corpse factory in which the Germans processed their own dead, and a hundred others which raised Allied and neutral populations to righteous and patriotic frenzy.

Allied propaganda helped lure America into the war, tipping the scales to insure Allied victory. Then, Allied leaders forced the defeated nations, Germany and its allies, to sign humiliating treaties which stripped them of territory and colonies, imposed crushing reparations and virtual disarmament, and, most galling of all, compelled the defeated to accept all responsibility for starting the war.

Soon after that war it had already become evident that much of what the citizens of America and the other powers had been told by their leaders about the causes, the conduct, and the aims of the war was simply not true. In particular, the vast majority of the lurid atrocities attributed to the Germans and their allies were admitted by the politicians and journalists who fabricated them to have been lies.

A group of concerned scholars and laymen in America and other countries, who became known as Revisionists, became determined to establish the historical facts, as opposed to the government and press propaganda, about the war. Within a decade Revisionist historians in America, England, France,

Germany, and Austria were able to demonstrate that the war had *not* been waged to save the world for democracy, and that Germany and its allies did not bear sole guilt for starting the war.

One of Revisionism's founding fathers was the young American historian Harry Elmer Barnes. Barnes would later define Historical Revisionism as "bringing history into accord with the facts." Barnes' study of the facts, as opposed to the propaganda, of the years 1914 to 1918 taught him that, in his words, "Truth is always the first war casualty. The emotional disturbances and distortions in historical writing are greatest in wartime."

The hard facts which Revisionists had established about the First World War, only after a bloodbath which cost ten million lives, inspired Revisionists in America and elsewhere to resist their countries' involvement in wars and interventions at the behest of politicians and bankers. But the rise of international Communism, which gained a firm base in Russia following the First World War, the crisis of capitalism in the worldwide depression of the 1930's, and the emergence of authoritarian, anti-Communist, nationalist regimes in Europe and Japan set the stage for new conflicts.

Unlike the years before 1914, the build-up to the Second World War found not only nations but supra-national ideological movements competing for power in every sphere of human life. Communists, Fascists, Nazis, and Zionists joined the existing nationalists, imperialists, and enthusiasts for "one world" in a no-holds-barred struggle in which, spurred by the world economic crisis, propaganda technicians brought the arts of mass persuasion to unprecedented levels of achievement.

By the outbreak of war in 1939, Germany had already been the object of a furious, international propaganda campaign by the left, led by the Communists, and by the world's Jews. Britain's formidable global propaganda apparatus had shifted into high gear, particularly in anti-interventionist America, where British agents had set up a vast, clandestine propaganda operation with the covert agreement of President Franklin Roosevelt. When Germany and its European allies attacked Stalin's Russia in June 1941, the uneasy truce between the Nazis and the Reds ended, and Moscow's agents around the world began transmitting the Kremlin's version of events to an

often unsuspecting audience in the democracies. Such propaganda influences, combined with President Roosevelt's stealthy policy of entangling America on the side of the Allies, defeated the wise counsels of American Revisionists, prominent in the anti-interventionist camp, and in December 1941 America entered the war through the back door at Pearl Harbor.

Although officials among the Western Allies, mindful of the cynicism which had followed the exploded atrocity lies after the First World War, at first tried to steer clear of more lurid and improbable accusations, as the Axis triumphed on all fronts Allied propagandists began to abandon their scruples. Meanwhile, Jewish and Communist sources had opened up a drumfire of allegations against the Germans, blasting them for every conceivable crime. By the summer of 1942 Jewish spokesmen were demanding that Allied leaders condemn the Germans for annihilating a million Jews and plotting the extermination of millions more. Churchill, Roosevelt, and Stalin's condemnation was forthcoming by December 1942; for the remainder of the war Jewish and Allied propagandists spread fantastic tales of Jews murdered by scores of methods, as diabolical as they were improbable: they were reported to have been steamed, baked, electrocuted, gassed, eaten away by quicklime, starved, shot, buried alive, mauled by wild beasts, subjected to sadistic experiments, and deliberately injected with lethal chemicals or germs. According to the propaganda, not even their remains were inviolable: their skins made into lampshades or riding breeches, their hair stuffed into mattresses or used to make slippers, their gold dental fillings swelling the Reich's coffers, and what was left over turned into soap or fertilizer.

Even during the war, as Exterminationist writers have lately emphasized, there was widespread disbelief of the extermination claims among Americans and Britons, not to mention the peoples of the Axis nations. Allied policy-makers—Jewish, Communist, or Western democratic—mindful of the aftermath of the “war to end all wars,” took steps to insure that the war-time propaganda would not be so easily discredited. Following the Second World War, they arranged for a series of trials devised to “prove” all of their atrocity claims as well as to convict and punish their enemies. Germany, and Japan as well, were occupied by the victors. The occupying powers wrote new constitutions, picked out new ruling elites, and imposed

new modes of thought and methods of education so that the Germans and Japanese would absorb and internalize the propaganda of their conquerors.

Like most critical-minded citizens, Revisionist scholars and publicists had believed that eventually the exaggerations and fabrications surrounding Germany's treatment of the Jews would be swept away after the war, as propaganda and the passions it stoked were replaced by dispassionate gathering and analysis of the facts. They failed to reckon, however, with the rise of Israel and Zionism as a focus of allegiance for the world's Jews. The Zionists regarded the alleged extermination attempt—and the seemingly miraculous rise of a Jewish state and nation which followed it—as the central myth of a reborn Israel. Jews seized on the Holocaust story as a means of rendering criticism taboo and support almost automatic for Israel and the Diaspora. Opponents of Israel were routinely compared to Hitler, while an endless and ubiquitous media Shoah business promoted Holocaust items and themes, from Anne Frank's alleged diary to the latest docudrama, gradually raised the wartime extermination legend to an unassailable sacred cow. The Holocaust propaganda became a tool to generate billions, first as reparations or aid, now as virtual tribute, from West Germany and America. The enemies of German nationalism, from the Soviet Union with its newly consolidated satellite empire in Eastern Europe to leftists and jingoists in Western Europe, not to mention British "balance of power" enthusiasts and the would-be Caesars of an American imperium: all these forces had an interest in maintaining the Holocaust story as a barrier to free investigation of not merely the Jewish experience, but to any objective re-examination of the key historical questions of the Second World War.

Nevertheless, despite what Harry Elmer Barnes' called "the historical blackout," a small cohort of open-minded and intrepid writers in Europe and America began to challenge publicly the supposed magnitude of Jewish losses in Europe, and to examine critically the evidence for a German program to annihilate European Jewry. The Revisionists who called for skepticism toward Holocaust claims, and began the hard work of bringing "history into accord with the facts" on this thorny issue, pointed out that the Holocaust was bad history. Paul Rassinier, the French pacifist and socialist who was himself interned in Buchenwald for his part in the French resistance, exposed the lies and exaggerations of his fellow survivors,

who blithely testified to the existence of an imaginary gas chamber. Early Revisionists, like Harvard-educated historian David Hoggan and German-American Professor Austin App, focussed on the disparities between the documented National Socialist Jewish policy and the postwar oral accounts of "survivors," the "confessions of German prisoners in Allied custody, and the self-serving testimony of witnesses for the prosecution. These and other Revisionist pioneers exposed the rickety statistical foundations of the figure of six million Jewish dead, paving the way for a efflorescence of critical Revisionist scholarship which began in the 1970's and flourishes today. The coming of age of Holocaust Revisionism is best symbolized by the founding of the Institute for Historical Review in California in 1978, enabling the publication of the key findings of such contemporary Revisionist scholars of the Holocaust as Arthur Butz, Robert Faurisson, Wilhelm Stglich, Ditlieb Felderer, Walter Sanning, Henri Roques, Fritz Berg, Mark Weber, Carlo Mattogno, and many others.

It should be emphasized that men and women who have dedicated themselves to determining and spreading the truth about the Holocaust are anything but Nazis or unconditional apologists for Germany's National Socialist regime. In fact, Holocaust Revisionists neither subscribe to nor represent a fixed ideology. Politically, Revisionists have come not only from the ranks of the political right, but also from the left, and even from the ranks of the anti-statist libertarians and anarchists. They run the gamut from fundamentalist Christians to militant atheists (and yes, like Joseph G. Burg and Bezalel Chaim, there are Jewish Revisionists of the Holocaust). Harry Elmer Barnes, for example, expressed himself with increasing frankness on the corrosive effects of the Holocaust propaganda in his last years, was a free-thinking humanist and progressive. As a glance at the roster of the Institute for Historical Review's editorial advisory committee reveals, Revisionists are not merely Germans or of German descent, but include scholars from France, Sweden, Hungary, Italy, Croatia, Latvia, Argentina, Australia, and South Africa, as well as Americans of English, Irish, Swedish, French, and Italian extraction.

Besides challenging the factual basis of the legend of a war-time Nazi extermination program for Jews, the Revisionists

have sought to establish a historical context for the undeniable persecutions and wrongs which were carried out against the Jews. In this context the Revisionists remind those critics who object, quite rightfully, that the murder of a single Jew is inexcusable, that the willful exaggeration of Jewish losses is similarly intolerable: What man or woman person would condone deliberately multiplying the number of children slain by Israeli soldiers and settlers during the Palestinian intifada?

Revisionist scholars further attempt to compare the ordeal of the Jews during the Second World War with the experiences of other groups during that war and indeed throughout the course of history. Here the Revisionists are mindful of the unique status that most Exterminationists, particularly Jews, have tried to arrogate for the Holocaust. Basing their arguments on the false premise that the architects of Germany's anti-Jewish program planned the systematic killing of all the Jews of Europe, Exterminationists have often minimized the sufferings of non-Jewish civilians. Such has been the power of the Holocaust taboo that the losses of such victims of Axis invasion and occupation as the Poles, Russians, and Ukrainians have been neglected by the Establishment academy and media. It need scarcely be added that the Holocaust devotees who dominate the air waves, the press, and the schools guard against the shedding of even a single tear over the millions of German and other civilian victims of British and American bombers or of the hands-on brutality of Soviet troops.

Above all, the Revisionists argue that the Holocaust story and its exploitation form a massive obstacle to the objective history of Western Civilization in the twentieth century. The successful imposition of the Extermination thesis as an unchallengeable orthodoxy has helped Western intellectuals and opinion makers to shirk a confrontation with the far bloodier record of Communist regimes, as well as to gloss over sometimes comparable atrocities by regimes and movements, Left and Right, colonialist and revolutionary, around the world. By exploiting the Holocaust taboo, the ideologues of so-called liberal democracy are able to forestall any dispassionate analysis of ideas and movements tarred as "fascist" or "Nazi." The inevitable result has been a general version of the political and historical dynamics of this century which is woefully inaccurate, is not merely useless but dangerous as an aid to

understanding the present and the future, and which serves only the short-sighted and selfish interests of small elites.

For today's—and tomorrow's—Americans, the consequences of a continued refusal to establish and disseminate the facts, instead of the lies, about the Extermination legend can only be grave. For present-day America is in the grip of what can only be called "Holocaustomania." The purveyors of this contagion—in New York, in Hollywood, in Washington, and in schools all across America—have been working industriously for years now to convert the Holocaust from an alleged historical event to an active present reality. Their mastery of the media has enabled them to vend Holocaust propaganda as edification and entertainment to tens of millions. Their grip on governments—national, state, and local—has allowed them to mandate national holidays in "remembrance" of this historical hoax, to construct museums and memorials for the exhibition of relics and the generation of hatred and guilt. Federal prosecutors and police hunt down "war criminals" fifty years after the fact—or often, the non-fact—but only "Nazi" war criminals—for justice, too, must yield its claims to the Holocaust. Our children are being indoctrinated in a growing number of compulsory programs in the schools, programs which aim not merely at conveying information and reasoning ability, but which attempt to mold emotions and attitudes through techniques of "group learning" and "enforced sensitivity" that recall those of the Communist Chinese in Chairman Mao's heyday. Christian theologians grandly proclaim that the Jewish tales from Auschwitz invalidate the Gospel of Christ, and that Christians and Gentiles bear a moral stain which can be expunged only by eternal allegiance to Israel.

The next few decades will be dangerous ones for Americans blinded to past and present realities by Holocaustomania. Like it or not, Germany and Europe are working free from political and economic domination by the rulers of America and Russia. That they will shake free from the historical myths which served to dominate them spiritually is inevitable. In the Soviet Union, the archives are opening, the mass graves are being opened, almost invariably to the embarrassment of those who placed their trust in Stalin's propagandists. Israel has become an international pariah everywhere except in America and among America's dwindling number of subervient clients abroad. A country that can't support itself

economically and daily violates the liberal and humane ideals it urges on everyone else—as a matter of its own survival as a state—is not a fit friend for America. To rely on Zionists and their supporters in America to determine our perception of history—particularly through the distorted lens of the obsessive Holocaust hoax—is to court disaster.

That is why intelligent, concerned Americans—and people everywhere—owe the Holocaust Revisionists a fair hearing. The brave little band of conscientious scholars and sometimes flamboyant publicists who have risked social and economic ostracism in this country—and physical violence and prison abroad in countries as diverse as France, Canada, Sweden, West Germany, Brazil, and South America—doesn't demand blind faith or unquestioning adherence to a creed. What they ask for is the right to argue their case—from facts, not emotions or covert political agendas—in the public forum, in that marketplace that we Americans have fought to keep open to ideas, even strange and unpleasant ones, ever since this country was founded. For the Revisionists, the right to continue participating in what a French lawyer has called “the intellectual adventure of the twentieth century” without legal or illegal harassment is quite enough.

“Why Holocaust Revisionism?” I think Thomas Jefferson answered that question over two centuries ago, when he wrote: “There is not a truth existing which I fear, or would wish unknown to the whole world.”

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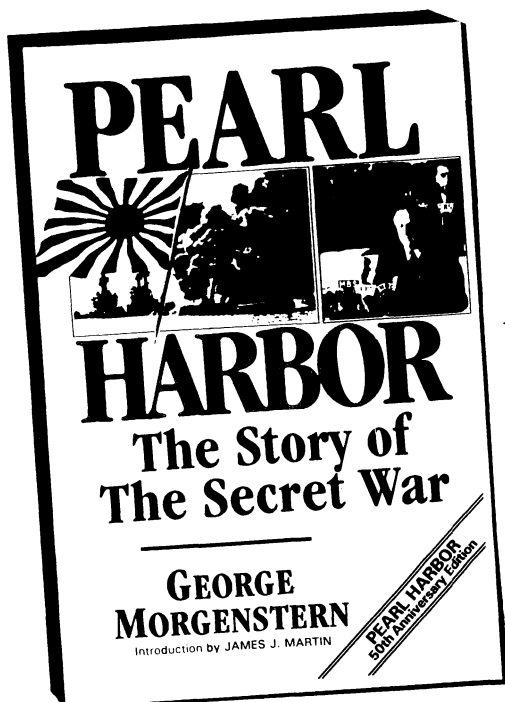
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REVIEWS

CHUTZPAH by Alan M. Dershowitz. Boston: Little, Brown, 1991. Clothbound, 378 pages, \$22.95, ISBN 0-316-18137-4.

Reviewed by John Cobden

“I admit that my wife is outspoken,” the genial Jewish comedian Sam Levenson used to say, “but by whom?” Levenson no doubt was unacquainted with Alan M. Dershowitz, the Harvard University law professor, columnist and man-about-politics. He has definitely never been at a loss for words, on every conceivable subject. Yet, as we see from the title and the numerous other words from Yiddish and Hebrew with which the book bristles—many of them shockingly “insensitive” to non-Jews—this one is not going to be a very congenial read.

Chutzpah, according to Leo Rosten’s *Joy’s of Yiddish* (1968), is from Hebrew and means insolence, audacity, gall, effrontery: “A *Chutzpahnik* may be defined as the man who shouts ‘Help!’ ‘Help!’ while beating you up.” As we’ll see, that may not be too wide off the mark as to what Dershowitz and company are up to. Example: the author’s immediate and insistent use of the insulting epithet *goy*, which is roughly on a par with certain now-banned English slang for other races.

As Rosten uneasily observes, “some Jews use *goy* in a perjorative sense,” which seems to fit most of Dershowitz’s applications; so his decision to descend into this sort of calculatedly abrasive vocabulary certainly sets a bizarre tone for one trumpeted as a great civil libertarian who is demanding more sensitivity toward Jewish and “minority” concerns. Moreover, it seems an oddly Orwellian doublespeak from the principal architect of the sinister and one-sided “anti-hate” (or better, anti-White) laws now being hammered into place across the country.

Why this book, now? Unless one naively accepts that books are unalloyed pearls of wisdom dropped into our laps by a benign Providence, skepticism about the real motives for their writing and publishing is always in order. Dershowitz makes

pompous allusions to the Jewish "literary and oral tradition that goes back thousands of years," to "documenting my journey as a Jew," and the like, but he probably has more mundane fish to fry.

Readers of Dershowitz's newspaper column will recognize much recycled material, cobbled together in a sometimes rambling and always topical style that probably will not have an extended "shelf life." Aside from their long-term saleability, however, several of Dershowitz's themes are of current import and show us what he and other *chutpahniks* are really concerned with: "anti-Semitism," Holocaust Revisionism, and the rise of populist political rebels, such as Pat Buchanan and David Duke, who are less than reverential to the primacy of Jewish and Israeli concerns in modern America.

On the whole, *Chutzpah* will be a familiar litany to connoisseurs of dual-loyalist special pleading. Certain key terms are hammered insistently, with the first "Holocaust" in the second paragraph and the first "anti-Semitism" in the sixth. From there on, the cumulative effect of these dismal epithets begins almost to resemble the chanting of Oriental mantras, or the chattering of commercial trademarked jargon in advertising jungles. Such heavily loaded proprietary terms and others, such as "bigotry," "prejudice," and "hatred," are worked into the context of every subject subsequently discussed. I am not convinced that even so alert a writer as Dershowitz is entirely aware of how compulsively he belabors this woeful cant, and of what impression the average intelligent reader must take away.

Dershowitz offers some of his deepest ruminating on what he calls his "Holocaust mentality":

. . . The Holocaust remains the most formative event in my experience. I cannot escape—nor do I try—its continuing influences on my life . . . The Holocaust changed the nature of Judaism and of Jews forever . . . It changed the way every compassionate person views justice and injustice. It should challenge the faith of every thinking being . . . [It] makes it possible to contemplate, without welcoming, the destruction of the human species . . .

With that turgid commitment to the legend, it is not surprising that he lashes out in acrimony at the proliferating international scholarship suggesting that attempted extermination of Jewry ever happened.

* * * * *

Dershowitz deplores the lack of an adequate “Jewish revenge movement” after the war. Maintaining that the Nuremberg trials did not prosecute significant numbers, he is seemingly oblivious to the historically unprecedented spectacle of the “Nazi war crimes” trials that continue to wear on a half-century after the war. Such an extreme notion of “Jewish revenge” leads him, perhaps inevitably to the ultimate in venom: lending his endorsement implicitly, to the genocidal Morgenthau Plan for the impoverishment and deindustrialization of Germany as what should have been done: “They should have suffered—as a people—after the Holocaust.”

So much for the objectivity credentials of an American intellectual icon who feels compelled, apparently for the first time in a major establishment-produced book, to attempt a refutation of some themes of “Holocaust” Revisionism. We may be quite certain that such a clear departure from the previous “silent treatment” in major media indicates growing alarm and intent to quench a persistent brush-fire before it gets any larger.

If that is the plan, however, it will have to be far better addressed than it is. Either from his own obvious unfamiliarity with the subject and evident reliance on often outdated file material supplied from elsewhere, or from his inability to quickly dispose of truly important issues with the *ad hominem* insults and quick snippets of casuistry that he favors, Dershowitz’s foray into anti-Revisionism is decidedly inadequate.

A case in point is his handling of a “Holocaust” dubiety by columnist Patrick Buchanan. While pondering the likelihood of the Treblinka camp’s supposed diesel-powered gas chambers, Buchanan had noted a 1988 incident in which 97 children who were trapped deep underground in a Washington, D.C., tunnel while two locomotives billowed exhaust fumes into the car emerged unscathed after 45 minutes.

Dershowitz tilts at this modest item of Revisionism by quipping that he had “challenged Buchanan to test his hypothesis by locking himself in an airtight chamber in which diesel exhaust is pumped,” and by echoing a Jewish writer in the *New Republic* magazine who opined that “much of the material on which Buchanan bases his columns (about the Holocaust) is sent to him by pro-Nazi, anti-Semitic cranks.” Clearly, this is not major-league historical analysis, whatever Dershowitz’s

academic affiliations. He will have to do better, or deal with other subjects, to avoid further embarrassing that portion of the Holocaust lobby that pretends to an objective historical method.

His discussion of the deplorable John Demjanjuk case, in which the Ukrainian-born, retired Ohio auto worker was deported to Israel and sentenced to hang as no less than "Ivan the Terrible, Butcher of Treblinka," shows the "flip-side" of the Dershowitz mentality: Israel, right or wrong.

Dershowitz won his spurs as a hair-trigger civil libertarian and defender of the underdog (plus a few over-dogs, like Claus von Bülow and hotel "queen" Leona Helmsley) whose ability to pounce upon and impeach trial evidence of the slightest doubtfulness is legendary. Yet in *Chutzpah* he vigorously defends every aspect of the Israeli proceeding, including the reliability of eyewitness testimony 40 and 50 years after the fact and the controversial SS identification card that supposedly placed Demjanjuk at a training site for "death camp" guards. Although the card had been supplied to the Israelis by the Soviet secret police and was denounced as a forgery by Demjanjuk's lawyers, for Dershowitz there is no problem: Guilty as charged. Nor, as we know, is Dershowitz perturbed by the fact that nowhere on the card does there appear a reference to a stationing at Treblinka: he has mused, in one of his newspaper columns, that perhaps Demjanjuk's "killing fields," were not at Treblinka after all!

Elsewhere in the book, Dershowitz jokes about the KGB's skill at retouching photos and fabricating documents when persecuting Russian Jews as spies, but then quickly adds that "skepticism about one source of evidence does not translate into criticism of the noble enterprise of bringing Nazi war criminals to justice." However, a new wrinkle emerged in August 1991, when Demjanjuk's lawyers secured "surprise evidence" from Soviet archives indicating that the so-called "Ivan" was actually a man named Ivan Marczenko. The Israelis may well feel themselves forced to reopen the case. If so, one wonders whether Dershowitz will be critical of the new evidence, or whether he will acknowledge his, OSI's, and Israel's mistakes in justly evaluating the Soviet and survivor evidence.

* * * * *

Dershowtiz purveys his own extreme take on the interests of the “organized Jewish community,” as he calls it:

—The Jonathan Pollard spy case: Dershowtiz thinks Pollard was treated unfairly, possibly with bigotry, in getting a life sentence for spying for “an ally,” Israel, and should now be freed;

—Limits on Jewish enrollements at elite universities: there shouldn’t be any (Jews constitute 2.5 per cent of the U.S. population [according to Dershowitz], but represent more than ten times that proportion at Harvard and similar schools); affirmative-action quotas for non-Whites are desirable as well, and thus room for them must be made by reducing “WASP” enrollment;

—Limits on Jewish immigration: There should be no curbs on “the ongoing relocation of world Jewry to the United States and Israel . . .,” because “no Jew should ever be compelled to go anywhere, just as they should never be excluded from anywhere.”

(Remember, the title is *Chutzpah!*)

Without a doubt, however, his ruling obsessions—“the Holocaust,” Israel, and the ever-menacing specter of “anti-Semitism”—are overriding. He picks a fight, for instance, with a Jew who is unwilling to claim a “special indulgence” for his people stemming from their sufferings at Auschwitz. Not surprisingly, Dershowtiz’s notion is that “The world owes Jews, and the Jewish state, which was built on the ashes of Auschwitz, a special understanding . . . The Holocaust persuaded the world—Jews as well as non-Jews—of the necessity for a Jewish state.” Given these assumptions, it is easier to understand what a yawning abyss the possible undoing of the “Holocaust” legend presents to fanatical partisans such as Dershowitz.

In the end, though, many of Dershowtiz’s readers will be left with a nagging sense of something seriously awry, something which shines through the author’s red welter of angry hyperbole. His notable professional and financial success at levels far above those of all but a few Americans, is frequently and boastfully paraded by the author, against the incongruous backdrop of dark-age specters of persecution and bigotry

which menace Dershowitz and his people, even in America.

I keep thinking back to the highly insightful words of another Jewish writer, Howard F. Stein, writing in *The Journal of Psychohistory* (Fall, 1978) on "Judaism and the Group-Fantasy of Martyrdom." Following up on this peculiarly modern phenomenon, the victim-as-victor, for *The Journal of Historical Review* (Winter, 1980), Dr. Stein writes with clear insight in his article, "The Holocaust and the Myth of the Past as History":

For the Jews, the term "Holocaust" does not simply denote a single catastrophic era in history, but is a grim metaphor for the meaning of Jewish history. The word "Holocaust" lies at the heart of the Jewish experience of time itself. One is either anxiously awaiting persecution, experiencing persecution, recovering from it, or living in a period that is a temporary reprieve from it.

According to an oft-quoted Yiddish phrase, It's "tough to be a Jew" ("schwer tsoo zine a Yid"). No doubt, but just possibly, Mr. Dershowitz might find that a bit less chutzpah and a bit more psychological self-examination would make things easier for everyone.

ALBION'S SEED: FOUR BRITISH FOLKWAYS IN AMERICA by David Hackett Fischer. New York: Oxford University Press, 1989, hardbound, 946 pages, illustrations, maps, index, \$39.95. ISBN 0-19-503794-4.

Reviewed by Nelson Rosit

David Hackett Fischer has performed several notable services in writing *Albion's Seed*. First, he has brought to American historiography the approach of the French school of the *Annales* begun by Georges Dumezil and developed further by Fernand Braudel. French social historians have been concerned with both continuity and change over long periods of time. American historians of the 20th century have written history that is almost exclusively concerned with the new.

Second, Fischer has sought to write a total or unified social history rather than a historical fragment. As the author explains in the preface:

Instead of becoming a synthesizing discipline it [U.S. social history] disintegrated into many special fields—women's history, labor history, environmental history, the history of aging, the history of child abuse, and even gay history—in which the work became increasingly shrill and polemical. (p. ix).

This book is a comprehensive, almost encyclopedic, guide to the origins of colonial American culture.

The third achievement of *Albion's Seed* is that it "searches for a way beyond reductive materialist models" for causality in history. Professor Fischer, though of German Lutheran stock, teaches at Brandeis. Predictably, he disavows any racial determinist theories.

Fourth, Fischer brings back from recent oblivion the colorful regional stereotypes of American history. New Englanders really were puritanical; Southern gentlemen genuine aristocrats; Quakers were very pious; and Southern highland clans feuded as they had in the old country.

Fischer's basic thesis is that although less than 20% of the present U.S. population has British antecedents, our British genesis is still the dominant factor determining our culture. This formative British culture, however, was not monolithic. America still reflects the regional, religious, and class divisions of 17th and 18th century Britain.

According to Fischer, the foundation of American culture was formed from four mass emigrations from four different regions of Britain by four different socio-religious groups. New England's constitutional period occurred between 1629 and 1640 when Puritans, most from East Anglia, settled there. The next mass migration was of southern English cavaliers and their servants to the Chesapeake Bay region between 1640 and 1675. Then, between 1675 and 1725 thousands of Quakers, led by William Penn settled the Delaware Valley. Finally, English, Scots, and Irish from the borderlands settled in Appalachia between 1717 and 1775. Each of these migrations produced a distinct regional culture which can still be seen in America today.

The plotting of cultural continuities of long duration inevitably leads to the question of causality. As stated above,

Fischer discounts race as a factor in such continuity. He does so in a very brief and completely unconvincing discussion. Of course there is overwhelming historical evidence for race being one very important factor in determining culture. For example, racial change within a society inevitably brings about fundamental and lasting cultural change.

Although Fischer disallows the racial factor there is still much of interest for the student of race in *Albion's Seed*. The book for instance, lends weight to those who see a Teutonic/Celtic split between the American North and South. the thoery is that the Puritans and Quakers came from the areas of England with heavy Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian influences while the cavaliers and southern high-landers originated from the more Celtic areas. East Anglia, as its name implies, was the home of the Angles, the regions where the epic Beowulf originated and after became part of Danelaw. The North Midlands, the Quaker stronghold, has a heavy concentration of Scandinavian place names. "From the Norsemen came the custom of moots, or assemblies in the open at a standing-stone or hilltop grave, which may have influenced the Quakers' love for such meeting places," quotes Fischer from another historian (p. 446). Instead of the town meetings of the Puritans or the Friends meetings of the Quakers, Southerners, whether cavaliers or highlanders, tended to be less communal and more individualistic; less collective and more libertarian.

The Nordic aesthetic is not totally neglected either. The author relates the story of a "Latin adventurer named Francisco de Miranda" who visited America in 1784. While here he attended a Quaker meeting which he describes in his journal:

I entertained myself . . . by examining slowly the dress and the countenance of the female concourse and I can assure you with all ingenuousness that neither more simplicity, cleanliness and taste in the first nor natural and simple beauty in the second can be imagined. I am firmly persuaded that the coloring of Rubens and the carnations of Titian can never imitate what nature offers her in the hue and complexion of simple Quaker women who have not a grain of powder or drop of oil on their persons. (p. 551).

As Fischer wrote his conclusion in 1988 he saw the continued dominance in America of cultural values and

institutions originating in Britain. The author supposes that if Anglo-American culture can remain pre-eminent while the British ethnic component sinks to less than 20% such a culture can survive any manner of racial change. Unfortunately, there are several factors the author does not consider.

While America is less than 20% British, it is still 60% northern European. The main reason America has remained so British culturally is because the millions of German, Irish, Scandinavians, Dutch, and other Europeans who came to these shores, along with their descendents were close enough racially to assimilate culturally. Millions of Americans who are not ethnically Anglo-Saxon are culturally Anglo-Saxon.

To make his point Fischer has somewhat overstated his case for the continuity of British culture in America. Certainly the formative or constitutional period of America was overwhelmingly the work of British peoples. Many of their values and institutions remain. But how much of mass culture; the products of the entertainment industry and the mass media, can still trace its origins to 17th and 18th century England? Perhaps the last volume (*Albion's Seed* is the first of a five volume cultural history of America) will deal with these concerns.

Whether or not Professor Fischer provides the right answers, he has asked the right questions. To finish enumerating the accomplishments of the book, probably the work's greatest asset is that it asks the right questions. The author asks, "Where do we come from? Who are we? Where are we going?" To be useful, history should ask the big questions, the questions of collective identity and purpose. Asking the right questions is half the battle.

(Continued from page 1)

In our lead article, "A Dry Chronicle of the Purge," French scholar (and frequent *Journal* contributor) Robert Faurisson takes a look at the wave of mass terror that swept France during the 1944-1946 period. Although the Purge (or *épuration* in French) was almost certainly the worst single outbreak of mass killing in French domestic history, few Americans know anything about it. In this essay, Dr. Faurisson details the grim record of the Purge in just one small region of France, and thus gives an idea of the nationwide scope of the bloodletting.

Perhaps the best single account available in English of this grim period is contained in Sisley Huddleston's fascinating first-person overview, *France: The Tragic Years, 1939-1947*. Huddleston, who was born in England and lived most of his life in France, was Paris director of the *London Times* and European correspondent of the *Christian Science Monitor*. He contributed to a score of British and American periodicals, and was the author of some twenty books.

In *France: The Tragic Years*, he writes:

There has never been, in the history of France, a bloodier period than that which followed the Liberation of 1944-1945. The massacres of 1944 were no less savage than the massacres of Jacquerie, of St. Bartholomew, of the Revolutionary Terror, of the Commune; and they were certainly more numerous and on a wider scale. (. . .)

It is estimated that 20,000 persons lost their lives under the [18th century] Reign of Terror; that 18,000 fell in the frightful butchery that followed the war and insurrection of 1870-1871. The American services put the figures of "summary executions" in France in the first months of the Liberation at 80,000. A former French minister later placed the figure at 105,000. (. . .)

Authentic figures about the disorders and massacres of 1944-1945 are impossible to obtain but, in spite of belated official attempts to minimize the number of victims—in many cases innocent of any serious offense—the evidence points to a total of at least a hundred thousand persons—men women and even children—murdered (I can employ no other term) by individuals, by criminal bands, by irregular tribunals, by self-appointed bodies which proceeded, without trial, to what were euphemistically called "summary executions." (. . .)

(Continued on page 126)

HISTORICAL NEWS AND COMMENT

Pearl Harbor Attack No Surprise

ROGER A. STOLLEY

Historians are still arguing over whether President Franklin Roosevelt knew in advance that Japanese forces were about to launch a devastating attack against the U.S. Pacific fleet at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, on December 7, 1941.

Mr. Roger A. Stolley, a resident of Salem, Oregon, has something important to add to this discussion. In the following essay, which first appeared in the Salem daily Statesman Journal, December 7, 1991, he provides personal information to confirm that Roosevelt not only anticipated the Japanese attack, but specifically ordered that no steps be taken to prevent it. (Mr. Stolley's essay is reprinted here with grateful permission of the author.)

John Toland, the Pulitzer Prize-winning historian who addressed the October 1990 IHR conference in Washington, DC, tells us that Stolley's essay "rings true."

Each year near the anniversary of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, Dec. 7, 1941, I get angry at the lie perpetrated upon the U.S. people that it was a surprise attack.

It may have been a surprise to the U.S. people, but it certainly was not a surprise to President Franklin D. Roosevelt and the select few persons who surrounded him or the U.S. Army intelligence officer working under his direct orders.

I previously worked in a civilian capacity for LTC Clifford M. Andrew, a former U.S. Army intelligence officer, who temporarily was assistant chief of staff, military intelligence, general staff, United States Army.

My employment ended with Andrew on May 15, 1966 when a bullet entered the back of his head, ending his life.

Upon at least three occasions in his home in Tigard [Oregon] he related to me the history of his military life and

personal involvement in the actions of Roosevelt and other officials surrounding the Pearl Harbor attack. He said:

Anything I now tell you I will deny ever saying. I am still subject to military court martial for revealing the information. The American public is completely ignorant of those affairs that occur behind the scenes in top American government positions and offices. If you try to tell them the truth, they won't believe you.

Five men were directly responsible for what happened at Pearl Harbor. I am one of those five men . . . We knew well in advance that the Japanese were going to attack. At least nine months before the Japanese attack upon Pearl Harbor, I was assigned to prepare for it.

I was operating under the direct orders of the President of the United States and was ordered not to give vital intelligence information relating to the whereabouts of the Japanese fleet to our commanders in the field.

We had broken the Japanese code . . . We'd been monitoring all their communications for months prior to the attack . . . It was a lie that we didn't have direct radio communications with Washington, D.C.

It was at least 48 hours before the attack that I personally received the most tragic message of my life . . . which was Top Secret and coded, which my radio operator handed to me. I had the code book and decoded it. The basic text of the message ran: "The Japanese will attack at (the approximate time). Do not prepare retaliatory forces. We need the full support of the American nation in a wartime effort by an unprovoked attack upon the nation in order to obtain a declaration of war."

That message and my 40 file cabinets of top secret information on Pearl Harbor were taken out and burned by myself and two other witnessing intelligence officers so that the Congressional investigation could not get to the truth as to what actually did happen at Pearl Harbor.

For the people of the United States both then and now I feel sorrow, for a people to have been so misled, to have been lied to so much, and to have so thoroughly believed the lie given to them.

Pearl Harbor is an example of how a small group of men in control of government has the power to destroy the life, property, and freedom of its citizens. How can this nation, or any nation, survive when its electorate is uninformed, when

its government hides the truth, labels it top secret, and destroys it.

The most complete and up-to-date summation of the Revisionist view that Roosevelt anticipated the attack against the American fleet in Hawaii is Toland's best-selling book, *Infamy: Pearl Harbor and its Aftermath*. (The 398-page illustrated paperback edition is available from the IHR for \$8, plus \$2 shipping.)

The best overview of the background to the fateful attack remains George Morgenstern's masterful 425-page work, *Pearl Harbor: The Story of the Secret War*. (Available in softcover edition from the IHR for \$14.95, plus \$2 shipping.)

For further confirmation of Roosevelt's deceitful and illegal campaign to bring a supposedly neutral United States into war against Japan and Germany, see "Roosevelt's Secret Pre-War Plan to Bomb Japan" in the Winter 1991-92 IHR *Journal*, and "President Roosevelt's Campaign to Incite War in Europe," in the Summer 1983 *Journal*.

Hoover-Era American Plan For War Against Britain and Canada Uncovered

American military officials drew up a secret plan in 1930 for war against Britain in which Canada would be the main battleground. "Joint Plan Red," as it was known, envisaged the elimination of Britain as a trading rival.

Professor Floyd Rudmin of Queens University in Ontario, Canada, charges that the plan was a blueprint for an American invasion of Canada. According to the plan, the United States was prepared to invade Canada if political unrest brought on by Quebec's secession threatened American access to Canada's fresh water and cheap hydroelectric power.

The war plan document was drawn up by the Joint Board of the Army and Navy in May 1930, when Herbert Hoover was President. It identified Britain as Red, Canada as Crimson, Australia and New Zealand as Scarlet, and the U.S. as Blue. Its aim was to dismember the British empire on the grounds of "competition and interference with American foreign trade."

Describing the objectives of a possible war, the document stated:

It is believed that Blue's war aims in case of war with Red [Britain] should be the expulsion of Red from North and South America and the definite elimination of Red as a strong competitor in foreign trade.

Plan Red called for a series of coordinated military attacks against Canada to deny Britain land and naval bases. A naval force from Boston would seize Halifax (Nova Scotia), cutting off Canada from the Atlantic Ocean. Other U.S. forces would occupy the gulf of St. Lawrence, isolating Quebec City and Montreal.

American land forces would move from New York, Vermont and New Hampshire to take Montreal and Quebec City, much as American forces did during the Revolutionary war for independence during the 1770s. Other U.S. forces would cross into Canada at Detroit and head for Ottawa, Canada's capital. American troops would also take the Welland Canal, paralyzing shipping on the Great Lakes, and would seize the power stations at the Niagara falls. Naval forces would blockade the Pacific at Victoria and Vancouver.

It was envisaged that British, Australian, New Zealand and Indian forces would quickly overwhelm American bases in the Philippines and Guam. Out of concern that British forces might take the American-run Panama Canal, Plan Red called for a U.S. naval and air assault against British possessions in the Caribbean, including the seizure of Jamaica, the Bahamas and Bermuda.

Christopher Cushing of the Canadian Institute of Strategic Studies in Toronto recently commented:

The Americans would be threatened by economic and political instability. They would be especially worried about access to Canadian fresh water and hydroelectric power. It is the same motivation which sent them to the Gulf.

For many years now, Quebec has been a major supplier of cheap hydroelectric power from dams on northern rivers to New York state and New England.

The 94-page Joint Plan Red document is now in the National Archives in Washington, DC. Edward Reese, a military archivist there, noted that "there were [official American] color plans for all parts of the world." Indeed, all major military powers have similar contingency plans for military

operations in different countries. Plan Red remained an active US military strategy until 1939, when it was superseded by Joint Plan Orange, which was directed against Japan.

The Holocaust in Perspective

A Letter by Paul Rassinier

Paul Rassinier is the generally acknowledged founder of scholarly Holocaust Revisionism. Born in France in 1906 and trained as an educator, he taught history and geography at the secondary school in Faubourg de Montbéliard.

During the Second World War, he co-founded the “Libé-Nord” underground Resistance organization, which helped smuggle Jews from German-occupied France into Switzerland. As a result, he was arrested by the Gestapo in October 1943 and deported to Germany, where he was held prisoner until the end of the war in the Buchenwald and Dora concentration camps.

After returning home, the French government recognized his courage and suffering with the highest decoration awarded for Resistance activities. Rassinier was also elected to the French National Assembly as a deputy of the Socialist party (SFIO).

Rassinier was profoundly distressed by the many lies and myths about the concentration camps that were being circulated. Accordingly, until his death in July 1967, he sought to set the record straight in a series of books about his camp experiences and Germany’s wartime Jewish policy.

A collection of his most important writings on the Holocaust issue has been published in an English translation by the IHR under the title *The Holocaust Story and the Lies of Ulysses*. (A new IHR edition of this collection is available from the IHR for \$12, plus \$2 shipping. Stock No. 0689.)

What motivated this stalwart Frenchman who, in spite of internment and privation in German concentration camps, all but absolved Germany’s leadership of the alleged crime of genocide? What did he really think about the Third Reich and National Socialism?

Rassinier helps to answer these questions in the following letter, which was provided by Mr. Myron Kok and is published here in English translation for the first time.

Dear Sir,

May 8, 1965

Thank you for your letter of May 3, 1965.

No, I am not a supporter of National Socialism: I am a socialist in the historical and doctrinal sense of the word, and this has absolutely nothing to do with the interpretation which is given to it at present by the leaders of parties, incorrectly called socialist. If, therefore, I do not support National Socialism, this is simply a philosophical attitude: The *Führerprinzip* [leadership principle] does not attract me; I am not only a socialist, but also a democrat. However, when I correct the vulgar errors of the hysterical adversaries of Nazism, I do so because, although I am a Frenchman, I am also a European: these vulgar errors, committed with malice aforethought, have no other aim than to exclude Germany from the community of European nations and to abort the birth of Europe, something that is impossible without Germany—or, indeed, any other country on our continent.

In the twentieth century, the quarrel between Germany and the other European nations is a resurrection of the quarrel between the Armagnacs and the Burgundians or between the Guelphs and the Ghibellines. It is maintained at fever pitch by Bolshevism, which is the modern version of Pan-Slavism, and it aims at the subversion of Europe, a subversion against which Germany is our only shield. In 1965, the Slavs, who had been driven back by Charlemagne beyond the Vistula, are 50 kilometers from Hamburg. If they can engineer the collapse of Germany, they will, tomorrow, be in Brest and Bayonne. The lies which the Press pours out over Germany in a never-ending stream must serve as their moral justification.

It is my intention to wring from public opinion the admission that, in the war of 1939-1945, Englishmen, Russians, Frenchmen and Americans committed crimes just as horrible and in just as great a number as those attributed to the Germans—whose real crimes are, however, very much open to dispute. I also wish to have it conceded that it is immoral to investigate merely German war criminals, especially when the criminal nature of their behavior has been exaggerated, as has indeed been the case. I believe that, after a war, there should be a general amnesty for all combatants because this is the only way to bring about an atmosphere of peace between the nations, and to avoid future wars. There is, of course, the

Communist danger, as well, which can only be warded off by a Europe, united in mutual and brotherly goodwill.

That is my point of view: it defines my intentions. And it has, furthermore, the advantage of being based on a search for historic truth, beyond the rancors of outmoded nationalism.

With my best wishes,

Paul Rassinier.

(Continued from page 118)

There was an almost unlimited field – an “open season” – for the *épurateurs* [Purgists]. Everybody in France was a “collaborator,” in the sense that he had at some time or other come into contact with the Germans.

“In practice,” Huddleston goes on to note, “the *épuration* was purely arbitrary.” The alleged crime of collaboration was often merely a pretext: Many of those who lost their lives in the Purge were actually victims of personal vendettas and hatreds.

Huddleston also notes that many of the *épurateurs* were foreigners, and that the ad hoc tribunals that summarily sentenced alleged “collaborators” to death or imprisonment were often dominated by Communists.

Among the Purge’s victims was the brilliant young writer Robert Brassilach, as well as several members of the Académie Française. Another victim was the internationally renowned scientist Dr. Alexis Carrel, author of the brilliant work *Man the Unknown*.

Our second feature piece is the postwar prison memoir of Hideki Tojo, Japan’s wartime premier. Like the memoir of any political personality, of course, Tojo’s writings are self-serving and self-justifying. Nevertheless, this material by a key figure of twentieth century history is a significant historical document. We are proud to be able to present it here for the first time in English.

Next, we present two historic speeches by Charles A. Lindbergh from 1939 and 1940. Reading them today strongly underscores the drastic extent to which the basic outlook and fundamental prevailing assumptions about life of Americans have changed during the last half century. The reader may also be struck by the thought that few, if any, prominent Americans today seem capable of speaking with Lindbergh’s clarity, honesty and truthfulness.

In a culturally distorted age that boisterously acclaims a figure like “Magic” Johnson as a hero and role model, it is refreshing to recall the life and legacy of an authentic American hero.

In September 1939, just before Lindbergh delivered the first of his speeches against efforts to involve the United States in the war raging in Europe, President Franklin Roosevelt tried to “buy off” the aviator with a prestigious and comfortable

high-level post in his administration. Naturally, this would mean that Lindbergh would have to refrain from any public criticism of Roosevelt's policies. The aviator promptly rejected the attractive bribe.

In 1970, looking back on the legacy of the Second World War, Lindbergh reflected:

We won the war in a military sense; but in a broader sense it seems to me we lost it, for our Western civilization is less respected and secure than it was before. In order to defeat Germany and Japan we supported the still greater menaces of Russia and China . . . Much of our Western culture was destroyed. We lost the genetic heredity formed through aeons in many millions of lives . . . It is alarmingly possible that World War II marks the beginning of our Western civilization's breakdown . . .

In the next essay, "Why Holocaust Revisionism," IHR editor Theodore O'Keefe makes an eloquent and persuasive plea for a skeptical look at the orthodox Six Million extermination story.

In the Book Review section, John Cobden critically reviews *Chutzpah*, attorney Alan Dershowitz' best-selling manifesto. Then, in a review of Professor David Fischer's acclaimed work, *Albion's Seed*, Nelson Rosit discusses the lasting legacy of British migration to the United States, including the crucial impact of the British cultural heritage on American life, customs and thinking.

In the "Historical News and Comment" section, we first present a startling essay by Roger Stolley that provides further evidence that President Roosevelt knew in advance about the December 1941 Japanese attack against Pearl Harbor.

A short item follows that tells about a recently uncovered official document, "Joint Plan Red," which outlines a startling 1930 contingency plan for war by the United States against Britain and Canada.

We conclude this issue with the text of a noteworthy letter by Paul Rassinier, the founder of scholarly Holocaust Revisionism. This letter, which is published here for the first time in English, sheds light on the motives and outlook of this remarkable Frenchman.

— Mark Weber

About the Contributors

JOHN COBDEN is the pen name of an American writer whose essays on political issues have appeared in nationally-circulated magazines and major daily newspapers, including the *Hartford Courant* and the *Orange County Register*. His writings on aspects of the Holocaust issue have appeared in *The Journal of Historical Review* and, in translation, in the French journal *Revue d'Histoire Révisionniste*.

ROBERT FAURISSON was educated at the Paris Sorbonne, and served as associate professor of French literature at the University of Lyon in France from 1974 until 1990. Dr. Faurisson is a recognized specialist of text and document analysis, and is the author of four books in French literature. After years of private research and study, he first made public his skeptical views about the Holocaust extermination story in articles published in 1978 in the French daily *Le Monde*. His writings on the Holocaust issue have appeared in the Italian journal *Storia Illustrata*, the French scholarly journals *Annales d'Histoire Révisionniste* and *Revue d'Histoire Révisionniste*, The American quarterly *The Journal of Historical Review*, and two books. As a result of his work, Faurisson has been the target of numerous legal efforts to silence him, and has been the victim of several violent attacks.

NELSON ROSIT is an American writer who lives in the Washington, DC, area.

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*The Nuremberg Trials
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—Reviews—

Beyond Innocence and Redemption

—Historical News and Comment—

*Reviews of IHR Books Show
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*Croatia's President Rejects "Six Million" Story
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SUMMER 1992

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Appropriate manuscripts are welcomed by the editor. They should be double-spaced and accompanied by return postage. Especially helpful are submissions on IBM-compatible computer diskette.

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Errata: In the essay, "Simon Wiesenthal: Bogus 'Nazi Hunter,'" in the Winter 1989-90 issue, footnote 19 on page 451 is not correct. Instead of 206,000, this figure should be 335,000. This sentence should read: "According to the *Encyclopedia Judaica* ("Mauthausen," *EJ*, Vol. 11, p. 1138), a grand total of 335,000 persons were inmates of Mauthausen and its satellite camps (including Hartheim) at one time or another."

In the letter by Paul Rassinier in the Spring 1992 issue, page 124, line 25, "Vistual" should be "Vistula" (the river in Poland).

Table of Contents

Volume Twelve, No. 2

Summer, 1992

Articles

- | | |
|--|-----|
| Treblinka | 133 |
| <i>Mark Weber And Andrew Allen</i> | |
| The Challenge of "Multiculturalism" | 159 |
| <i>In How Americans View the Past and the Future</i> | |
| <i>Samuel Taylor</i> | |
| The Nuremberg Trials and the Holocaust | 167 |
| <i>Mark Weber</i> | |

Reviews

- | | |
|--|-----|
| Mark H. Ellis, | 215 |
| <i>Beyond Innocence and Redemption</i> | |
| <i>Robert Countess</i> | |

Historical News and Comment

- | | |
|--|-----|
| Reviews of IHR Books Show Greater Acceptance
of Revisionism | 231 |
| Croatia's President Rejects "Six Million" Story | 240 |
| War Atrocity Propaganda Exposed | 243 |
| Letters | 245 |
| About the Contributors | 255 |

From the Editor

We begin this issue with another IHR “scoop.” Published here for the first time in the United States are revealing reconnaissance aerial photographs of the site of the Treblinka “death camp.”

These wartime reconnaissance photos—which lay forgotten for more than forty years on the dusty shelves of the National Archives in Washington, DC—cast new doubt on the widely accepted story that Treblinka was a mass extermination center.

(This German camp was supposedly one of the greatest killing centers in history. Only Auschwitz-Birkenau is supposed to have claimed more victims. Treblinka became the focus of worldwide attention in 1987-1988 during the trial in Israel of Ukrainian-American John Demjanjuk, who was accused of operating machinery used there to gas more than 800,000 Jews.)

As the accompanying article points out, Treblinka’s reputation as an extermination center rests on dubious testimony evidence. More reliable evidence—including these aerial photographs—suggests instead that Treblinka was actually a transit camp.

Next, American writer Samuel Taylor takes a hard look at “multiculturalism,” the anti-Western movement that is currently very fashionable among much of America’s cultural-educational elite. In Taylor’s view, this misguided phenomenon has alarming implications for the future. “The multicultural, multiperspective history that has arisen,” he writes, “is not merely a departure from the history that America has always taught its children. It may be the first time that a nation has abandoned the single identity of its origins and set out deliberately to adopt multiple national identities.” Interestingly, Taylor is critical of both liberal and

(continued on page 166)

Wartime Aerial Photos of Treblinka Cast New Doubt on "Death Camp" Claims

Treblinka

MARK WEBER and ANDREW ALLEN

Treblinka is widely regarded as the second most important German wartime extermination center. Only Auschwitz-Birkenau is supposed to have claimed more lives.

Treblinka became the focus of worldwide attention in 1987-1988 during the 14-month trial in Jerusalem of John (Ivan) Demjanjuk, a Ukrainian-born American factory worker. As Treblinka's "Ivan the Terrible," Demjanjuk supposedly operated the machinery used to gas hundreds of thousands of Jews there. Citing testimony by Jewish survivors, the Israeli court that condemned him to death in April 1988 declared that more than 850,000 Jews were killed at Treblinka between July 1942 and August 1943.

After the death sentence was handed down, Demjanjuk's family was able to discover previously suppressed evidence—much of it from Soviet Russian archives—indicating that the real "Ivan the Terrible" was another Ukrainian named Ivan Marchenko (or Marczenko). This new evidence discredited the courtroom testimony of five Jewish camp survivors, each of whom had "positively" identified Demjanjuk as the sadistic mass murderer of Treblinka.¹

As historians know, and as common sense would suggest, such decades-old testimony is far less trustworthy than contemporary records or forensic evidence.²

And yet, Treblinka's reputation as a mass extermination center is based almost entirely on precisely such subjective and unprovable testimony by former prisoners—evidence that has proven to be notoriously unreliable in several major trials of alleged "Nazi war criminals."³

There is no documentary evidence that Treblinka was an extermination center. In fact, contemporary records suggest that the camp had a very different function.

Aerial reconnaissance photographs taken in 1944 of the Treblinka “death camp” site—and forgotten for almost 45 years in the National Archives in Washington, DC—cast serious doubts on the widely accepted story that it was a mass extermination center.

Discovered in 1989, and published here for the first time in the United States, these German reconnaissance photos corroborate other evidence indicating that Treblinka was actually a transit camp.⁴

These photographs indicate that the remarkably small camp was not isolated, or even particularly well guarded. (They clearly show that fields where Polish farmers planted and cultivated crops were directly adjacent to the camp perimeter.)

Moreover, the camp’s burial area quite obviously appears too small to contain the hundreds of thousands of bodies supposedly buried there. (Casting doubt on the widely accepted story of hundreds of thousands of Treblinka victims, these photos suggest instead that only those deportees who died during the sometimes protracted rail journey to the camp were buried there.)

“Steam Chambers”

The generally accepted story today is that hundreds of thousands of Jews were killed at Treblinka in gas chambers with poisonous exhaust from engines. But the “original” Treblinka extermination story was that Jews were steamed to death there in “steam chambers.”

According to an “eyewitness” account received in November 1942 in London from the Warsaw ghetto underground organization, Jews were exterminated in “death rooms” at Treblinka with “steam coming out of the numerous holes in the pipes.”⁵ In August 1943, the *New York Times* reported that two million Jews had already been killed at Treblinka by steaming them to death.⁶

The Treblinka steam story is also given in detail in *The Black Book of Polish Jewry*, a work published in New York in 1943 and “sponsored” by Albert Einstein, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Congressman Sol Bloom, New York Mayor Fiorello LaGuardia, and other personalities.⁷ Another book, *Lest We Forget*, published in New York in 1943 by the World Jewish Congress, describes in detail how Jews were steamed to

death, and provides a diagram showing the location of the purported “boiler room” that produced the “live steam.”⁸

According to a 1944 “eyewitness” account compiled by the OSS, the principle US intelligence agency, Jews at Treblinka “were in general killed by steam and not by gas as had been at first suspected.”⁹

At the main Nuremberg trial of 1945-1946, two conflicting stories were given: steaming and gassing. Former Treblinka prisoner Samuel Rajzman testified that Jews were killed there in gas chambers.¹⁰ (To confuse matters still more, a few months earlier Rajzman claimed that during the time he was in Treblinka, Jews were “suffocated to death” there with a machine that pumped air out of death chambers.)¹¹

American prosecutors at the main Nuremberg trial supported the steam story. As proof, a Polish government report dated December 5, 1945, was submitted as prosecution exhibit USA-293. It charged that Jews were killed at the camp “by suffocating them in steam-filled chambers.” This report, which says nothing about poison gas killings, was published in the official Nuremberg trial record as document PS-3311.¹² An American prosecutor quoted from this report during his address to the Tribunal on December 14, 1945.¹³

Although no reputable historian now supports the “steam” story, and little has been heard of it during the last several decades, it was revived in a widely-circulated booklet published in 1979 and 1985 by the influential Anti-Defamation League of B’nai B’rith.¹⁴

There may have been a factual basis for the “steam chamber” stories. It is quite possible that there was indeed some kind of steaming operation at Treblinka—but one designed to kill disease-carrying lice, not people. Such disinfection steaming was commonly used in German camps for Allied prisoners of war.¹⁵

Shortly after the war, the World Jewish Congress published *The Black Book*, a 559-page volume of real and imagined wartime atrocities against Jews. At Treblinka alone, the book alleges, three million persons were killed. Three diabolical techniques, including poison gas and steam, were supposedly used there to kill some 10,000 Jews daily. But “the most widespread” method “consisted of pumping all the air out from the chambers with large special pumps.”¹⁶ A former inmate testified shortly after the war that Treblinka’s victims were “poisoned by the different gasses or asphyxiated

when the chamber was turned into a vacuum and all the air sucked out."¹⁷

In the Nuremberg trial of Oswald Pohl, U.S. Judge Michael A. Musmanno declared that "death was inflicted here [at Treblinka] by gas and steam, as well as by electric current." Citing Nuremberg document PS-3311, Musmanno declared: "After being filled up to capacity the chambers were hermetically closed and steam was let in."¹⁸

Adolf Eichmann, the wartime head of the SS Jewish affairs section, said in 1961 during pre-trial interrogation in Israel that during the war he "was told" that Jews were gassed at Treblinka "with potassium cyanide."¹⁹

One of the strangest Treblinka extermination stories, which appeared in September 1942 in a Polish underground periodical, claimed that Jews were killed there with a "delayed action" gas:²⁰

They enter it [the gas chamber] in groups of 300-500 people. Each group is immediately closed hermetically inside, and gassed. The gas does not affect them immediately, because the Jews still have to continue on to the pits that are a few dozen meters away, and whose depth is 30 meters. There they fall unconscious, and a digger covers them with a thin layer of earth. Then another group arrives.

According to the testimony of yet another "eyewitness," a Jew named Oskar Berger who escaped from the camp, many Jews were systematically put to death at Treblinka by shooting them with rifle and machine-gun fire.²¹

Diesel Gassing

In recent years, the most widely-circulated story has been that Jews were gassed at Treblinka with carbon monoxide from the exhaust of a diesel engine.²²

However, as American engineer Friedrich Berg has established, this story is improbable for technical reasons.²³ In spite of the obnoxious odor of diesel exhaust, diesel engines produce much smaller quantities of toxic carbon monoxide than ordinary gasoline motors.²⁴ It would thus be difficult efficiently to gas large numbers of people using diesel exhaust. A normal gasoline engine would be much more logical.²⁵

It is important to keep in mind that the “evidence” now usually cited for diesel gassing at Treblinka is no more credible than the evidence that was once presented for steaming and suffocating. Apparently the steaming and suffocating stories have been dropped for the sake of credible consistency.

Solid evidence for gassings at Treblinka has proven to be very elusive. For example, it turned out that none of the witnesses in the 1951 West German “Treblinka” court case ever actually saw anyone being gassed. “The type of gas used to kill the people there [Treblinka] cannot be determined with certainty because none of the witnesses was able to witness this procedure,” the judges declared in their verdict.²⁶

At least some former Treblinka prisoners testified in postwar West German trials that they not only never saw a gas chamber, but did not even hear about gassings from others.²⁷

Holocaust historians today are not able to agree about the number of homicidal “gas chambers” at Treblinka. Raul Hilberg maintains that there were three at first, but because they were allegedly not adequate for the job, more were built later on. There were eventually six or perhaps ten chambers, he reports.²⁸ Others have reported the existence of 13 gas chambers at Treblinka.²⁹

Bomba's Testimony

One of the most memorable testimonies about Treblinka presented in *Shoah*, the nine-and-a-half-hour Holocaust film by French Jewish film maker Claude Lanzmann, is that of Abraham Bomba. He told how he and other Jewish barbers cut the hair of the naked Jews who were about to be gassed. They worked *inside* “the” gas chamber (he always spoke of one chamber), which was “around four by four meters” (about 12 feet by 12 feet). Bomba also reported that “140 or 150 women,” with children, as well as 16 or 17 barbers, were inside this small room. In addition, there were *benches* where the women sat while their hair was cut, as well as two or more German guards.

The barbers had to leave the chamber for five minutes while the victims were gassed, Bomba said, and it took just *one minute* to clear out the 140 or so corpses, and clean the

floor and walls, before everything was ready for the next batch of victims.³⁰

Bomba's moving testimony, which conservative writer George Will called the "most stunning in this shattering film," is simply not credible.

Treblinka Labor Camp

About one mile (1.5 km) from the "extermination camp," which was known as "Treblinka II," was a penal labor camp for Poles and Jews known as "Treblinka I." It was not at all secret. The 1941 directive announcing the establishment of the "Treblinka Labor Camp" was published in both Polish and German in widely distributed official journals.³¹ Poles and Jews worked in a large sand and gravel quarry at the Treblinka labor camp.³²

As wartime aerial reconnaissance photographs clearly show, the Treblinka T-I labor camp was located at the end of the rail spur on which the Treblinka T-II "extermination" (transit) camp was also located. This fact strengthens the thesis that the T-II camp was not particularly secret, since penal labor prisoners being taken by train to and from the publicly known T-I camp passed directly by the supposedly top secret T-II "extermination" camp.³³

Documentary Evidence

Documents found after the war confirm that large numbers of Jews were deported to Treblinka in 1942 and 1943. German railway records report the transfer of trainloads of "settlers" (*Umsiedler*) and "workers" to Treblinka from various places in Poland and from other countries.³⁴

In July 1942, a senior German railway official reported to the chief of Himmler's personal staff that 5,000 Jews were being transported daily to Treblinka.³⁵ An August 3, 1942, German "Ostbahn" railway directive similarly reported that special trains would be carrying "resettlers" from Warsaw to Treblinka daily, until further notice.³⁶

Interestingly, it was not until September 1, 1942, that the Treblinka train station was closed to passenger rail travel by the general public ("to permit a smooth handling of the special resettlement trains"), which suggests that German

officials were not particularly concerned with keeping the deportations or the station secret.³⁷

Other records mention trains to Treblinka in March 1943 from Vienna, Bulgaria and Greece.³⁸ From Vienna and Luxembourg, Jews reportedly arrived at the camp in passenger train coaches, and the deportees were given food and medical care during their journey.³⁹ In at least one case, a train with sleeping cars and a dining car arrived at Treblinka.⁴⁰

German railway records have been cited as evidence that hundreds of thousands of Jews were exterminated at Treblinka.⁴¹ While there is little doubt that these documents are genuine, and that they confirm transports of Jews to Treblinka, they are not proof of an extermination program.⁴²

Transit Camp

If Treblinka was not an extermination center, what was it? As already mentioned, the balance of evidence indicates that Treblinka II—along with Belzec and Sobibor—was a transit camp, where Jewish deportees were stripped of their property and valuables before being transferred eastwards into German-occupied Soviet territories.⁴³

The generally-accepted story is that Treblinka II was a “pure” extermination center, from which no Jew was permitted to leave alive.⁴⁴ However, credible reports of deportations of Jews *from* Treblinka refute the allegation that all Jews sent there were destined for extermination, and indicate instead that the camp functioned as a transit center.

In the aftermath of the April 1943 Warsaw ghetto uprising, for example, Jews were transported from Warsaw to Treblinka II. As some of the deportees later confirmed, after a “selection” in the camp, trainloads of hundreds of Jews were taken from Treblinka to Lublin (Majdanek), and possibly other camps.⁴⁵ Several thousand Jews (at least) were transferred by German authorities from Treblinka to other camps, a postwar German court determined.⁴⁶

Letters and postcards that arrived in the Warsaw ghetto from Jews who, by all accounts, had been deported to Treblinka, indicate that the camp was a transit center from where Jews were resettled in the occupied Soviet territories. These messages, which arrived from settlements and camps in Belarus (Byelorussia), Ukraine, and even Russia proper

(near Smolensk), were written by Jews who had been deported in 1942. Some letters and cards had been sent by mail and some had arrived through the underground. Many mentioned that the senders were working hard, but confirmed that they (and often their children) were being fed.⁴⁷

Completely contrary to its supposed character as a top secret extermination center, Treblinka was neither secret nor even closely guarded, as both former inmates and officials have confirmed. "Secrecy? Good heavens, there was no secrecy about Treblinka," Jewish prisoner Richard Glazer later testified. "All the Poles between there and Warsaw must have known about it, and lived off the proceeds. All the peasants came to barter, the Warsaw whores did business with the Ukrainians—it was a circus for all of them." Polish farmers worked the fields that directly adjoined the camp. "And many others," said Jewish survivor Berek Rojzman, "came to the fence to barter, mostly with the Ukrainians, but with us too."⁴⁸

Even regular German concentration camps such as Dachau and Buchenwald were much more closely guarded than Treblinka. As already mentioned, aerial reconnaissance photographs taken in 1944 confirm that the area around Treblinka was not cleared. The photos show that one perimeter of the camp passed through a wooded area, and that cultivated fields where Polish farmers worked were directly adjacent to the camp perimeter.⁴⁹

How Many Victims ?

Shortly after the end of the war, the World Jewish Congress and at least one former Treblinka prisoner alleged that more than three million Jews had been exterminated there.⁵⁰ More recent estimates of the number of people allegedly killed at Treblinka range from between 700,000 (Leon Poliakov and Uwe Adam), 750,000 (Raul Hilberg and *Encyclopaedia Judaica*), 870,000 (Yitzhak Arad), to more than 900,000 (Wolfgang Scheffler and *Washington Post*).⁵¹

There is no documentary or physical evidence for any of these figures, which are simply conjectural estimates.

Layout and Size

Diagrams published in recent years that show Treblinka as a neatly organized, rectangular-shaped camp are not accurate.⁵² As already mentioned, though, wartime aerial reconnaissance photographs confirm that the Treblinka II camp was actually unsymmetrically four-sided and irregularly shaped.⁵³

One of the most remarkable features of the Treblinka "death camp" is its small size. The entire Treblinka II camp area was only 32 or 33 acres (13 hectares), or about one-twentieth of a square mile.⁵⁴ Even smaller was the alleged "extermination" area of the camp, which was 200 by 250 meters in size (or five hectares) according to purportedly authoritative sources.⁵⁵

Poland's "Central Commission" announced shortly after the war that the burial or "ditches" area where the bodies of Treblinka's victims were buried (before they were supposedly later dug up for burning) was about two hectares or five acres (or some 20,235 square meters).⁵⁶ And according to a diagram in a book about Treblinka by Jewish Holocaust historian Alexander Donat, the camp's "ditches" area was not more than 80 or 100 meters in length and about 50 meters wide—that is, a maximum of 5,000 square meters or half a hectare.⁵⁷

By comparison, the mass graves area in the Katyn forest (near Smolensk), which held the bodies of some 4,500 Polish officers who had been killed by Soviet secret police and buried there in 1940, measured about 500 square meters.⁵⁸

In short, it is very difficult to accept that anything like 700,000 or 800,000 bodies could have been buried in the minuscule area allegedly set aside at Treblinka for this purpose.

Cremation Inconsistencies

Between April and July 1943, the corpses of Treblinka's hundreds of thousands of victims were allegedly dug up from the burial pits and burned with "dry wood and branches" on grids made of rails in batches of 2,000 or 2,500. The residual "ash and bits of bone" were dumped back into the burial pits, and covered with a layer of sand and dirt two meters deep. This was done, it is said, in order to eliminate the physical evidence of mass extermination.⁵⁹

Although enormous amounts of fuel would have been needed to cremate the hundreds of thousands of alleged corpses, there is no documentary record or witness recollection of the great quantities of firewood that would have been required. According to Polish-Jewish historian Rachel Auerbach, fuel to burn bodies was not needed at Treblinka because "the bodies of woman," which had more fat, "were used to kindle, or more accurately put, to build the fires among the piles of corpses." Even more incredible, "blood, too, was found to be first-class combustion material," she wrote.⁶⁰

Missing Remains

A wartime Warsaw ghetto internee, Dr. Adolf Berman, testified in the 1961 Eichmann trial that he visited the Treblinka camp site shortly after the Soviet occupation of Poland. He told the Jerusalem court that he saw "an area of several square kilometers covered with bones and skulls, and nearby tens upon tens of thousands of shoes, many of them children's shoes."⁶¹

Berman's testimony, which was considered one of the most emotionally moving of the Eichmann trial, is completely inconsistent with known facts. For one thing, the entire Treblinka camp was much smaller than one square kilometer in size, and no other witness has confirmed the presence of "tens of thousands" of shoes.

Jewish historian Rachel Auerbach, a member of an official Polish commission that inspected the camp site in November 1945—that is, a few months after the end of the war—reported finding large human bones, "rotted masses of corpses," "pieces of half-rotted corpses," and "fully dressed" corpses, at the Treblinka camp site.⁶²

In the area where the gas chambers were supposed to have been located, the commission's team of 30 excavation workers reportedly found "human remains, partially in the process of decay," and an unspecified amount of ash. Untouched sandy soil was reached at 7.5 meters, at which point the digging was halted. An accompanying photograph of an excavated pit reveals some large bones.⁶³

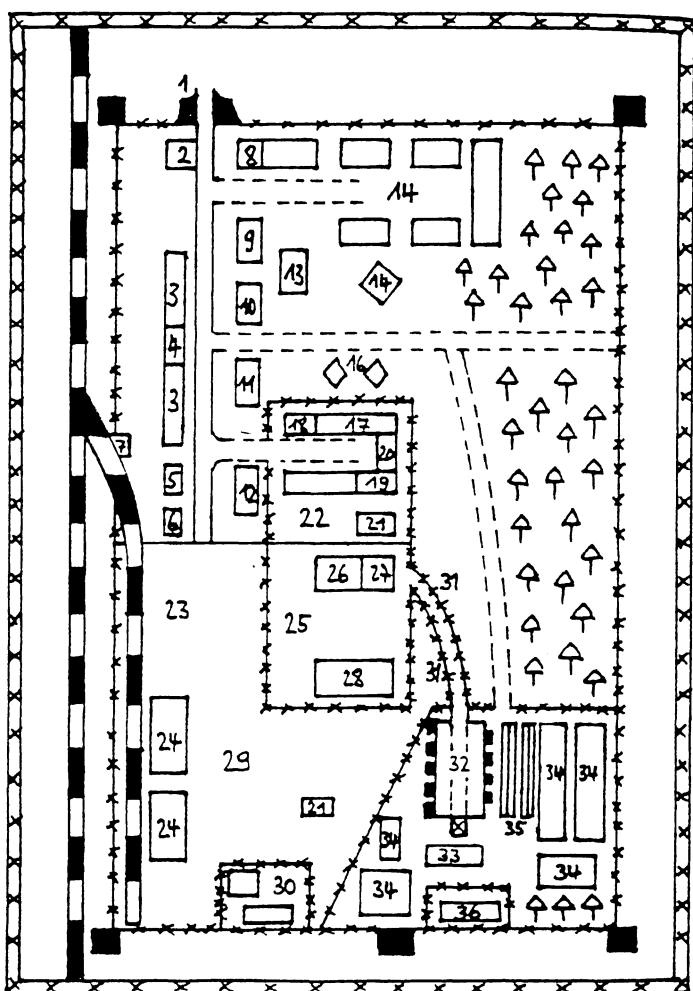
Poland's "Central Commission for Investigation of German Crimes" reported that "large quantities of ashes mixed with sand, among which are numerous human bones, often with the remains of decomposing tissues," were found in the five

acre (two hectare) burial area during an examination of the site shortly after the end of the war.⁶⁴

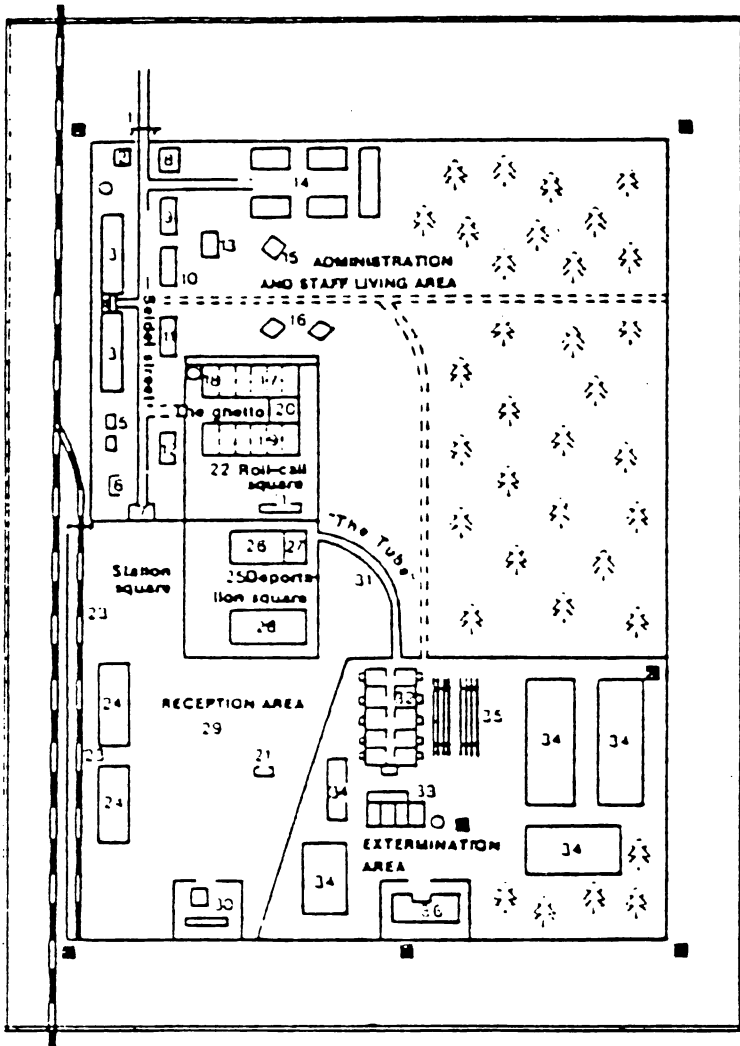
The presence of uncremated human remains is not consistent with the often-repeated allegation that all such remains were thoroughly destroyed. Significantly, none of the Polish reports specifies the quantity of human remains, the numbers of corpses, or the amount of ash found at the camp site, which suggests that evidence of hundreds of thousands of victims was not found.⁶⁵

In spite of its often inconsistent, contradictory and implausible character, testimony indicating that many Jews lost their lives at Treblinka cannot easily be dismissed. Many Jewish prisoners doubtless perished during their rail journey to the camp site, and were almost certainly buried there. Furthermore, it is plausible and even likely that hundreds and perhaps thousands of Jews who were too weak or ill to continue the eastbound journey from the camp were killed there by officials acting on their own authority.

All the same, there is no hard or compelling evidence that Treblinka was a mass extermination center where hundreds of thousands of Jews were systematically put to death. To the contrary, credible reports of transfers of Jews from Treblinka eastwards to the occupied Soviet territories, the relative lack of secrecy and security in the camp, and the small size of the area where the bodies were supposedly buried, all suggest instead that this was a transit center.



This diagram of the Treblinka II camp was used in the “Treblinka Trial” in Düsseldorf, where it was supposedly “accepted by all of the defendants and witnesses.” In this diagram, not only is the general shape of the camp inaccurate, but no scale is provided, thus giving a misleading impression that the camp was much larger than it actually was. The alleged extermination “gas chambers” are marked 32 and 33. The supposed mass burial sites, which are marked 34, are not large enough to have held the hundreds of thousands of bodies allegedly buried there. [From: Eugen Kogon, et al., *Nationalsozialistische Massentötungen durch Giftgas* (Frankfurt: 1986), p. 342.]



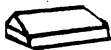
Inaccurately portraying a rectangular-shaped camp, this diagram of Treblinka appears in the *Encyclopedia of the Holocaust*. The alleged extermination “gas chambers” are marked 32 and 33. The supposed mass burial areas are marked 34. [From: Israel Gutman, editor, *Encyclopedia of the Holocaust* (New York: Macmillan, 1990), Volume 4, p. 1485.]

Treblinka II Camp

KEY



Buildings (still standing in 1944)



Buildings (foundations visible in 1944)



Watchtowers



Probable arrival and re-embarkation path
("Schlauch")



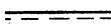
Perimeter fence



The "black road"



Roads and paths (still visible)



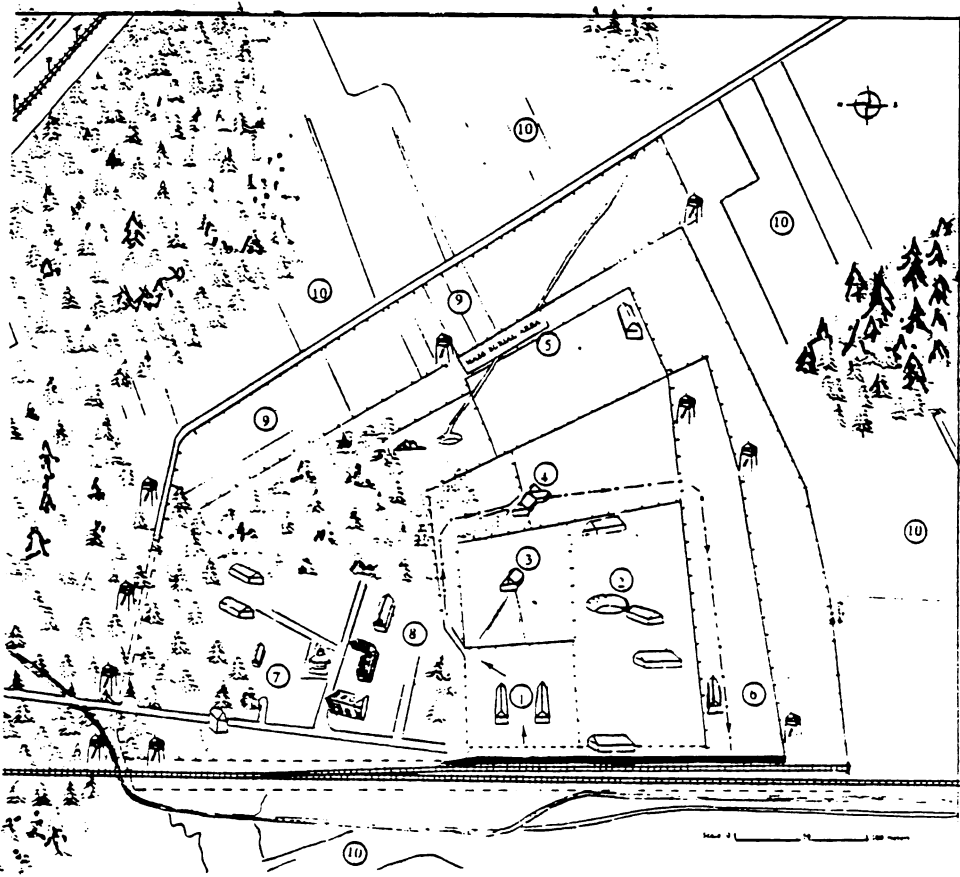
Main road (Malkinia-Siedlce) [at upper right]

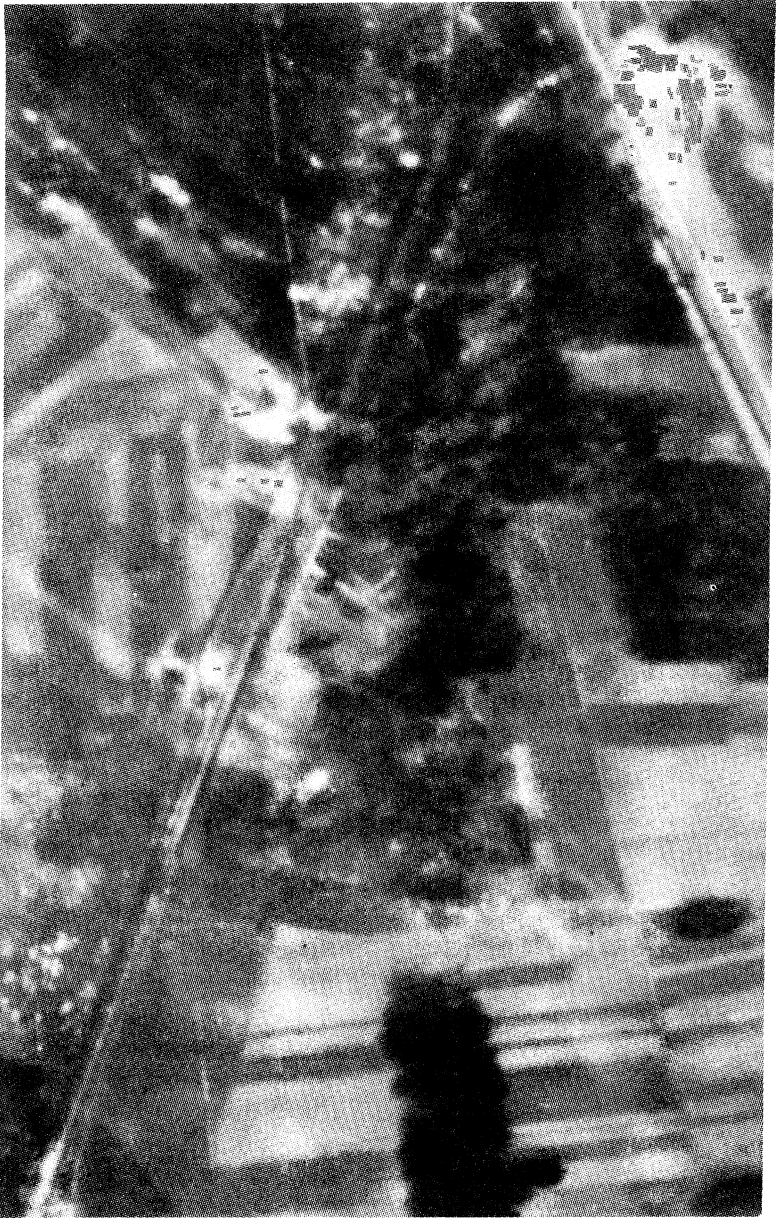


Railroad

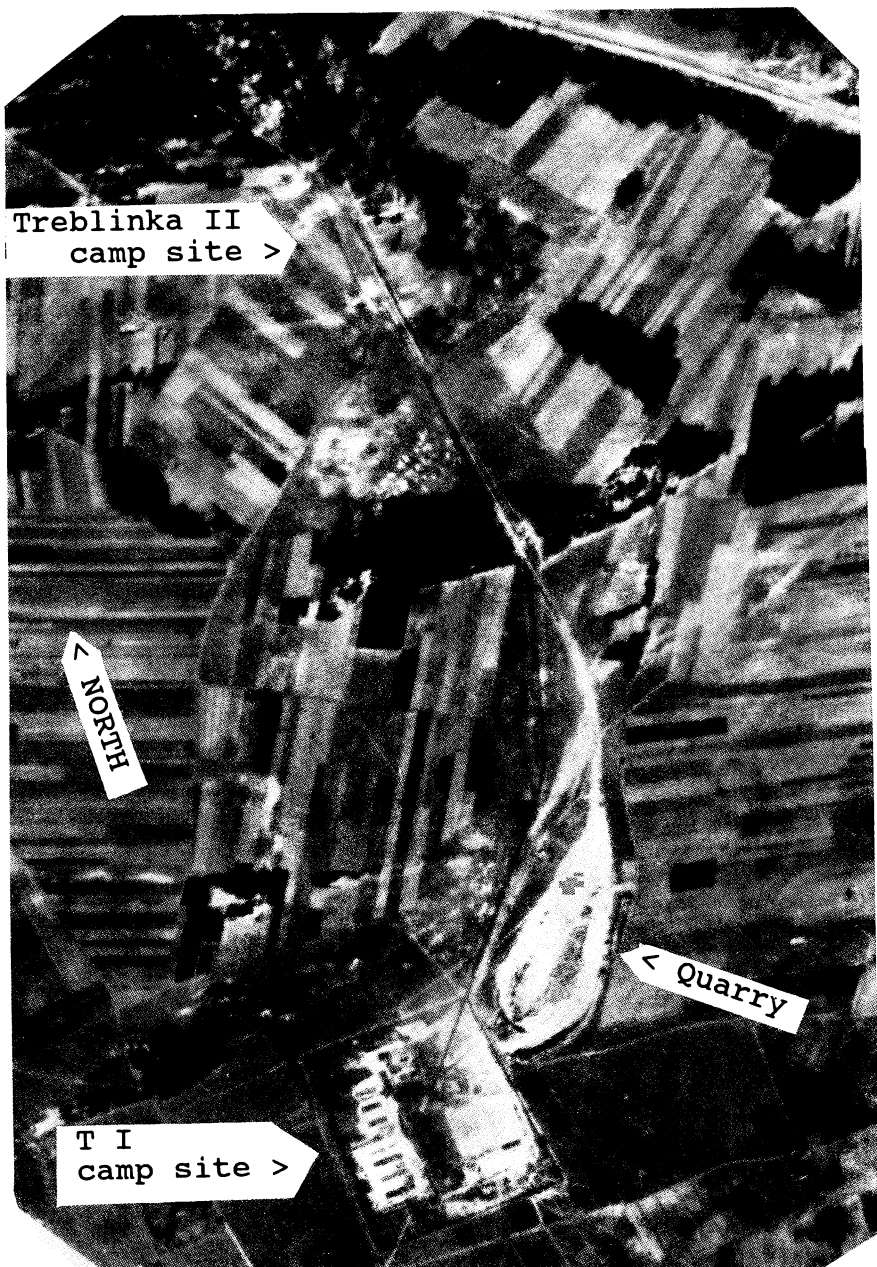
1. Arrival area
2. Sorting and storage area, and "Lazarett" execution pit.
3. "The Vault"
4. Supposed location of extermination "gas chambers"
5. Mass burial area
6. Probable re-embarkation and departure area
7. Camp administration buildings and staff quarters
8. "Ghetto" quarters for Jewish forced laborers
9. Camp vegetable gardens
10. Adjacent fields cultivated by Polish peasants
(Note: Size of buildings shown here is exaggerated for clarity.)

The diagram on the facing page of the Treblinka II camp in 1942-1943 is based on wartime aerial photographs, published sources, and postwar on-site inspection. (Copyright 1991 by Janusz Patek. Reproduced by permission.)





The site of Treblinka II ("death camp") is at the center of this aerial reconnaissance photo (reportedly taken in September 1944). Cultivated fields of Polish farmers can be seen directly adjacent to the T II camp, suggesting that it was not carefully guarded or closed off. A small part of the Malkinia-Siedlce main road is visible at the upper right. At the bottom, the Treblinka I labor camp site can be clearly seen, just below the quarry area.



Trees and other vegetation seen in this aerial photo of Treblinka II (Sept. 1944) show that the camp site was not carefully closed off from the surrounding area.



This reconnaissance photo of Treblinka II (reportedly taken in October 1944), clearly shows that part of the outer perimeter of the camp (above) passes through part of a forest of trees, and that the area around the camp was not cleared to insure a high level of security.

Notes

1. F. Dannen, "How Terrible is Ivan?," *Vanity Fair* (New York), June 1992, pp. 132 ff.; "New Evidence: Demjanjuk a Nazi Guard, Probably Not 'Ivan,'" *Los Angeles Times*, January 16, 1992.; C. Haberman, "Soviet Files Are Presented . . .," *The New York Times*, June 2, 1992, p. A6.
2. On the unreliability of such testimony, see John Cobden's review of *Witness for the Defense* (by E. Loftus and K. Ketcham) in *The Journal of Historical Review*, Summer 1991, pp. 238-249.; Samuel Gringauz, a Jewish historian who was himself interned in the Kaunas ghetto during the war, wrote: "Most of the memoirs and reports [of Holocaust survivors] are full of preposterous verbosity, graphomantic exaggeration, dramatic effects, overestimated self-inflation, dilettante philosophizing, would-be lyricism, unchecked rumors, bias, partisan attacks and apologies." (*Jewish Social Studies*, New York, January 1950, Vol. 12, p. 65.).
3. On the unreliability of such "eyewitness" testimony in the illustrative case of Frank Walus, who was falsely accused of murdering Jews as a Gestapo officer in Poland, see, for example, "The Nazi Who Never Was," *The Washington Post*, May 10, 1981, pp. B5, B8.
4. These aerial reconnaissance photos are on file in the National Archives (Washington, DC), Cartographic Division (Record Group 373).

Several of these reconnaissance photos were published in Germany in 1990 by Udo Walendy in the booklet "Der Fall Treblinka," *Historische Tatsachen*, Nr. 44, 1990. (Postfach 1643, D-4973 Vlotho, Germany). See especially pages 13, 31, 34, 35, 38. In this booklet, Walendy cites specific archival source references from the US National Archives for these photographs. Unfortunately, these specific references are not always quite accurate. The specific source references cited by Walendy are:

GX 12225 (or 122225?), Exp. 257 (and 258, 259?). (November or May 1944)
 GX 180 D F 934/44 SK, Exp. 246 (May 18, 1944)
 GX 12299 B A -2249, Exp. 014 (July 10, 1944)
 GX 72 F 933/44 SK, Exp. 139, 140 (May 13, 1944)
 GX 1946 F 2926 /44 SK, Exp. 062 (Sept. 18, 1944)
 GX 937 F 13 A 6099, Exp. 74
 GX 12250 F 2795 SK, Exp. 045 (Sept. 2, 1944)
 GX 12290 F 3086 SK r 2600, Exp. 68 (Oct. 16, 1944)
 GX 1946 / 44 SD, Exp. 076.
 GX 12373, Exp. 11 (Sept. 2, 1944)

The most important of these Treblinka aerial photographs were made public for the first time in the United States in January 1991 at a meeting in Palo Alto, California. (*IHR Newsletter*, Feb. 1991, p. 3.).

We gratefully acknowledge the assistance of the Polish Historical Society (Stamford, Connecticut) in compiling this essay.

Soviet wartime aerial reconnaissance photographs of the Treblinka camp site almost certainly exist, and are very probably still held in Russian archives. If so, they should be made public.

5. "Likwidacja zydowskiej Warszawy, Treblinka," *Biuleytn Zydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego* (Warsaw), Jan.-June 1951, pp. 93-100. Quoted in: Carlo Mattogno, "The Myth of the Extermination of the Jews," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Fall 1988, pp. 273-274, 295 (n. 16).
6. *New York Times*, Aug. 8, 1943, p. 11. Reprinted in: *The Record: The Holocaust in History* (New York: ADL, 1985), p. 10. (*The Record* was also distributed as an advertising supplement to the *New York Post*, April 17, 1978.)
7. Jacob Apenszlak, ed., *The Black Book of Polish Jewry* (New York: 1943), pp. 142-143, 145.
8. World Jewish Congress, *Lest We Forget* (New York: 1943), pp. 4, 6-7.; See also the reference to killings at Treblinka by "hot steam" in *Hitler's Ten-Year War On the Jews* (p. 149), a book published in New York in 1943 by the "Institute of Jewish Affairs," an agency of the American Jewish Congress and the World Jewish Congress.
9. OSS document, April 13, 1944. National Archives (Washington, DC), Military Branch, Record Group 226 (OSS records), No. 67231.
10. International Military Tribunal, *Trial of the Major War Criminals Before the International Military Tribunal*, Nuremberg: 1947-1949, ("blue series"), Vol. 8, p. 325. (Feb. 27, 1946)
11. Rajzman text in: Yuri Suhl, ed., *They Fought Back* (New York: 1967), p. 130.; This story also appears in: Isaiah Trunk, *Jewish Responses* (New York: 1982), p. 263.
12. IMT, *Trial of the Major War Criminals Before the International Military Tribunal* (IMT "blue series"/ 1947-1949), vol. 32, pp. 153-158; Also published in: *Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression* (NC&A "red series"/ 1946-1948), Vol. 5, pp. 1104-1108. See also: NC&A ("red series"), vol. 1, pp. 1005-1006.
13. IMT, *Trial of the Major War Criminals* ("blue series"), vol. 3, p. 567-568.
14. *The Record: The Holocaust in History*. (The NYT report of Aug. 8, 1943, is reproduced here.)
15. Major S. G. Cowper, "A Note on a Disinfestation Plant Used in a Typhus Hospital for Prisoners of War in Germany," *Journal of the*

Royal Army Medical Corps, Sept. 1946, Vol. 87, No. 3, pp. 173-176.; "Typhus," 1922 supplement to *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. Facsimile reprint in: Carlos Porter, *Made in Russia* (1988), p. 364.; Globocnik reported in Jan. 1944 that textile goods seized in the course of "Aktion Reinhardt" were disinfected. See: 4024-PS. IMT "blue series," vol. 34, p. 84.

Jacob Seewald, a Polish Jew, spent the war years working as a forester in a German labor camp. When he came down with a severe illness, he was transferred to a hospital, where he recovered. After the war he emigrated to the United States. In a 1983 interview, he recalled that the camp authorities "took us [Jewish workers] into a shower for the steam to kill lice. There we got no clothes, just a bundle with our names on them. Naked. Then they turn on the water for a second—scalding water." (John C. Bromely, "Stories from the Darkness," *The Denver Post Magazine*, Sunday, June 12, 1983, p. 20.) Similar events at Treblinka may perhaps have provided a basis for the camp's "steam" legend.

16. Jewish Black Book Comm., *The Black Book* (1946), pp. 407-408.
17. Isaiah Trunk, *Jewish Responses* (New York: 1982), p. 263.
18. *Trials of the War Criminals Before the Nuernberg Military Tribunals* (NMT "green series"/ Washington, DC: 1949-1953), vol. 5, pp. 1133-1134.
19. Jochen von Lang, ed., *Eichmann Interrogated* (New York: 1983), p. 84.; See also: R. Aschenauer, ed., *Ich, Adolf Eichmann* (1980), pp. 179, 183.
20. "Information Bulletin," Sept. 8, 1942, published by the command of the Polish underground "Armia Krajowa." Quoted in: Yitzhak Arad, *Belzec, Sobibor, Treblinka* (Bloomington: 1987), pp. 353 f.
21. E. Kogon, *Theory and Practice of Hell* (New York: Berkley, pb., 1981), pp. 183-185.
22. Raul Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews* (New York: 1985), p. 878.; "Treblinka," *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (1971), vol. 15, p. 1368.; Eugen Kogon, et al., *Nationalsozialistische Massentötungen* (1986), p. 163; Yitzhak Arad, "Treblinka," in: I. Gutman, ed., *Encyclopedia of the Holocaust*, pp. 1483, 1484.
23. F. Berg, "The Diesel Gas Chambers," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Spring 1984, pp. 15-46.
24. R. Schmidt, A. Carey, and R. Kamo, "Exhaust Characteristics of the Automotive Diesel," *Society of Automotive Engineers Transactions* (New York), Vol. 75, Sec. 3, 1967, pp. 106, 107. (paper 660550).

25. Even more logical and efficient than a gasoline engine—in the view of engineer Friedrich Berg—would have been the “Holzgas” generator, which were in very widespread use in Europe during the war years. See: F. Berg, “The Diesel Gas Chambers,” *The Journal of Historical Review*, Spring 1984, pp. 38-41.
26. Case against J. Hirtreiter, LG Frankfurt, 1951. *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* (Amsterdam: 1972), Band 8, p. 264 (270 a-4).
27. Hans Peter Rullmann, *Der Fall Demjanjuk* (Sonnenbühl: 1987), p. 149. Source cited: Adalbert Rückerl, *NS-Vernichtungslager* (1977); An unsatisfactory explanation has been offered for this remarkable testimony: these witnesses must have been inmates of the nearby Treblinka labor camp, or for some other reason were never in the “extermination” section of the T-II camp.
28. R. Hilberg, *Destruction* (1985), p. 879.
29. Central Commission . . . , *German Crimes in Poland* (Warsaw: 1946-1947), vol. 1, p. 97.; Yitzhak Arad, “Treblinka,” in: I. Gutman, ed., *Encyclopedia of the Holocaust*, pp. 1483, 1485.
30. *Shoah* (Paris: Fayard, 1985), pp. 126-129. (I am thankful to Dr. Faurisson for pointing this out.) See also: Bradley R. Smith, “Shoah: Abraham Bomba, the Barber,” *The Journal of Historical Review*, Summer 1986, pp. 244-253.
31. Directive of Nov. 15, 1941. *Amtsblatt für den Distrikt Warschau*, Dec. 16, 1941, p. 116. Facsimile reproduction in: S. Wojtczak, “Karny Oboz,” *Biuletyn Głownej Komisji Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Polsce* (Warsaw), Vol. 26, 1975, pp. 155-156.; Also published in: *Amtlicher Anzeiger*, Dec. 2, 1941. Cited in: Yitzhak Arad, *Belzec, Sobibor, Treblinka* (1987), p. 352. Facsimile reproduction in: C. Pilichowski, *No Time-Limit for These Crimes* (Warsaw: 1980), no page number.; An internal German document dated July 7, 1942, refers to the “Treblinka labor camp,” which means that it was operating at the same time as the nearby “extermination center.” Facsimile is reprinted in: H. Eschwege, ed., *Kennzeichen J* (East Berlin: 1966), p. 245.
32. I. Gutman, ed., *Encyclopedia of the Holocaust* (1990), p. 1482.
33. Note particularly the aerial photograph dated Sept. 2, 1944, in: U. Walendy, “Der Fall Treblinka,” *Historische Tatsachen*, Nr. 44 (1990), p. 31.; Even today, a visitor to the site is struck by the large size of the quarry pit there. Hundreds (and perhaps thousands) of rail cars must have gone to and from the site (passing by the T-II “extermination camp”) to carry away the sand and gravel excavated from the large pit.

34. Facsimile documents in: *Biuletyn Głownej Komisji Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Polsce* (Warsaw), Vol. 26, 1975, pp. 171-182.; These records also show that (presumably empty) trains were promptly returned to their points of origin.; See also: Raul Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews* (1985), p. 488 (and notes).
35. Ganzenmüller to Wolff, July 28, 1942. Document NO-2207. R. Hilberg, *Destruction* (1985), p. 491.
36. Main rail office (Gedob) in Krakow, directive No. 548. Facsimile in: *Biuletyn Głownej Komisji . . .* (Warsaw), Vol. 26, 1975, p. 171.
37. Main rail office (Gedob) in Krakow, directive of Aug. 27, 1942. Facsimile in: *Biuletyn Głownej . . .* (Warsaw), Vol. 26, 1975, p. 182.; Also quoted in: Y. Arad, *Belzec, Sobibor, Treblinka* (1987), p. 96.
38. *Biuletyn Głownej . . .* (Warsaw), Vol. 26, 1975, pp. 178 f.; Y. Arad, *Belzec, Sobibor, Treblinka* (1987), p. 145.
39. Gerald Reitlinger, *The Final Solution*, (London: Sphere, pb., 1971), p. 150.
40. Martin Gilbert, *Final Journey* (New York: 1979), p. 119.
41. R. Hilberg, *Destruction* (1985), p. 488 (and notes).
42. For one thing, the surviving documents are not at all clear about the numbers of deportees, and certainly do not confirm the deportation of hundreds of thousands of Jews to the camp.
43. Dr. Arthur Butz has concluded that Treblinka served both as a labor camp and as a transit center for Jews being deported eastwards: A. Butz, *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* (1983), p. 221.; See also: Steffen Werner, *Die Zweite Babylonische Gefangenschaft* (1990), pp. 70-71, 171.
44. Y. Wiernik, in: A. Donat, ed., *The Death Camp Treblinka* (New York: 1979), p. 166.; Jewish Black Book Comm., *The Black Book* (1946), p. 399.
45. I. Trunk, *Jewish Responses* (1982), pp. 197-198, 261-262.; A. Donat in: B. Chamberlin, M. Feldman, eds., *The Liberation of the Nazi Concentration Camps* (Washington, DC: 1987), p. 171.; This point is also confirmed in US Dept. of Justice (OSI) interviews with Treblinka survivors. Portions of several such OSI interview reports are reproduced in facsimile in *UFFA Bulletin* (Stamford, Conn.), Oct. 1990, p. 6.
46. Adalbert Rückerl, ed., *NS-Vernichtungslager im Spiegel deutscher Strafprozesse* (Munich: DTV, 1977), p. 198. This work by the main

German official responsible for prosecuting war crimes cases is based on records of postwar German court cases.

47. Yisrael Gutman, *The Jews of Warsaw, 1939-1943* (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana Univ., 1982), p. 219.; Lucy Dawidowicz, *The War Against the Jews*, (New York: Bantam, pb., 1976), pp. 414, 451.; L. Dawidowicz, *Holocaust Reader* (New York: 1976), pp. 356, 364.; See also: Abraham Lewin, *A Cup of Tears* (New York: 1988), pp. 38-39. (Holocaust historians maintain that because none of the "resettled" Jews from Warsaw survived Treblinka, these letters and postcards therefore are either forgeries or were written under duress.)
48. Gitta Sereny, *Into That Darkness* (London: A. Deutsch, 1974), p. 193.; The Lanzman film *Shoah* also confirms that Polish farmers worked the fields right next to Treblinka.
49. Aerial reconnaissance photos from the US National Archives. Published in: U. Walendy, "Der Fall Treblinka," HT Nr. 44 (1990), pp. 31, 34, 35, 38.
50. I. Trunk, *Jewish Responses to Nazi Persecution* (1982), p. 263.; Jewish Black Book Comm., *The Black Book*, pp. 400, 407.
51. Leon Poliakov, *Harvest of Hate* (New York: 1979), p. 334.; Uwe Adam, in: F. Furet, ed., *Unanswered Questions*, (New York: 1989) p. 146.; R. Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews* (1985), p. 893.; *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, vol. 15, p. 1371.; Lucy Dawidowicz, *The War Against the Jews* (Bantam pb., 1976), p. 200.; Y. Arad in: I. Gutman, ed., *Encyclopedia of the Holocaust*, p. 1486.; A. Rückerl, ed., *NS-Ver-nichtungslager* (DTV, 1977), p. 199 (n.); Glen Frankel, "Demjanjuk Proceeding Unites Israel," *Washington Post*, Feb. 21, 1987, p. A 17.; K. Feig, *Hitler's Death Camps* (1981), p. 311.; Gitta Sereny, *Into That Darkness* (1974), p. 250.
52. For example: I. Gutman, ed., *Encyclopedia of the Holocaust*, pp. 1482, 1485.; Gitta Sereny, *Into That Darkness* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1974), p. 146.; *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939-1945* (Warsaw: 1979), p. 526.; E. Kogon, et al., *Nationalsozialistische Massentötungen* (1986), p. 342.;
53. U. Walendy, "Der Fall Treblinka," HT Nr. 44 (Vlotho: 1990), pp. 31, 34, 35, 38.; This same layout is also shown in: Central Commission..., *German Crimes in Poland* (Warsaw: 1946), Vol. 1, fold-out diagram between pp. 96-97.
54. Central Commission . . . , *German Crimes in Poland* (1946), Vol. 1, p. 96.; Janusz Gumkowski, K. Lezczynski, *Poland Under Nazi Occupation* (Warsaw: Polonia, 1961), p. 72.; "Treblinka," *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (1971), vol. 15, p. 1367.; One hectare equals 10,000 square meters. One square mile is 640 acres.

55. E. Kogon, et al., *Nationalsozialistische Massentötungen* (1986), p. 162.; Y. Arad, *Belzec, Sobibor, Treblinka*, p. 41.; I. Gutman, ed., *Encyclopedia of the Holocaust*, p. 1483.; Note also the discussion of this matter in: U. Walendy, "Der Fall Treblinka," HT 44 (1990), *passim*.
56. Central Commission . . . , *German Crimes in Poland* (Warsaw: 1946-1947), Vol. 1, p. 96.; This is equivalent to about 142 by 142 meters.
57. A. Donat, ed., *The Death Camp Treblinka* (1979), pp. 318-319.
58. Louis FitzGibbon, *Katyn* (IHR, 1980), p. 141.; According to one informed historical researcher, the 1944 aerial reconnaissance photographs indicate that the burial area of the Treblinka II camp was about one-fifth smaller than the mass graves area in the Katyn forest. Also, contrary to claims made during the Demjanjuk trial and elsewhere, the 1944 aerial photos also suggest that the retreating Germans left the camp's burial area intact.
59. Y. Arad, *Belzec, Sobibor, Treblinka* (1987), pp. 174-177.; E. Kogon, et al., *Nationalsozialistische Massentötungen durch Giftgas* (1986), p. 190.; On the other hand, the World Jewish Congress claimed in 1946 that the bodies of Treblinka's victims were cremated immediately after gassing in large crematory furnaces. See: Jewish Black Book Comm., *The Black Book* (New York: 1946), pp. 410 f.; And according to one "eyewitness" account, bodies were burned while still in the large burial pits. This is physically all but impossible. See: Abraham Krzepicki, in: A. Donat, ed., *Death Camp Treblinka*, p. 92.
60. Rachel Auerbach, "In the Fields of Treblinka," in: A. Donat, ed., *Death Camp Treblinka* (1979), p. 38.; Similarly, former prisoner Wiernik claimed that "the bodies of women were used for kindling the fires" at Treblinka. J. Wiernik, in: A. Donat, ed., *Death Camp Treblinka*, p. 170.
61. Moshe Perlman, *The Capture and Trial of Adolf Eichmann* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1963), pp. 303-304.
62. R. Auerbach, "In the Fields of Treblinka," in: A. Donat, ed., *Death Camp Treblinka*, pp. 19, 69, 71, 72.
63. Facsimile of report, Nov. 13, 1945, in: *Biuletyn Glownej Komisji* . . . (Warsaw), Vol. 26, 1975, pp. 183-185. (Translation provided to the author).; Note also photo of skulls and large bones on p. 151. This is similar to the photo in: A. Donat, ed., *Death Camp Treblinka*, p. 266.
64. Central Commission . . . , *German Crimes in Poland*, Vol. 1, pp. 96-97.

65. After cremation, between five and about ten pounds of residual ash and bone are left from each corpse. (Frederick Peterson, with Haynes and Webster, *Legal Medicine and Toxicology*, vol. 2, pp. 877, 883. Facsimile in: C. Porter, *Made in Russia*, pp. 346, 351.) If, let us say, 700,000 Jews were killed at Treblinka, and each cremated corpse resulted in five pounds of ash and residual bone, 1,750 *tons* of remains would have been left at the camp site. Nothing like this quantity of remains has ever been found and identified.

The Challenge of "Multiculturalism" *In How Americans View* *the Past and the Future*

SAMUEL TAYLOR

Of all the ways in which a nation defines itself, few are more important than what it teaches its children about itself. In the history classes of its public schools, a nation retells its own story and instills a national identity in the minds of young citizens. In today's America, where competing racial, cultural and linguistic claims now make it nearly impossible even to speak of national identity, questions about history have become a struggle for the possession of America's past.

The multicultural, multiperspective history that has arisen from this struggle is not merely a departure from the history America has always taught its children. It may be the first time that a nation has abandoned the single identity of its origins and set out deliberately to adopt multiple national identities.

Significantly, the understanding by many non-whites of multicultural history is entirely different from that of whites. For whites, the central concepts are "inclusion" and "pluralism." American history is to be rewritten so that racial and cultural perspectives that were once "ignored" or "neglected" will get equal treatment. For many non-whites, however, multicultural history is merely a step on the way to an explicitly racial, Afrocentric or Hispanic history. Their goal is separation rather than inclusion.

The "conservative" view is that explicitly racial histories are illegitimate. America, it is argued, must be united by a common history, and exclusionist histories will disunite us. This position is logically correct; exclusionist histories are divisive. But as we shall see, the "conservative" position is wrong—practically, emotionally, and even morally. America is *already* disunited by race, and no approach to history can

change that. Just as it would be impossible to use the same history book in both France and England, it is impossible to write a single American history that satisfies white, black, Indian, Hispanic, and Asian.

Schooling as Assimilation

The purpose of American public education has never been simply to impart knowledge. One of its central goals has been to make children into Americans. American schools fly the American flag and students pledge allegiance to it. The central events of history are from the American past. The most glorious achievements are American achievements. There is nothing odd about that. Every nation gives its children a national education.

Nevertheless, American schools have had an even more explicitly nation-building purpose than others because of the need to assimilate immigrants. John Quincy Adams wrote that immigrants “must cast off their European skin, never to resume it.” Horace Mann argued that “a foreign people . . . cannot be transformed into the full stature of American citizens merely by a voyage across the Atlantic.” One of the strongest motives for building public schools was, therefore, the need to make *Americans* out of Europeans.

Europeans weren't going to be made into Americans by teaching them about the contributions of Africans, Mexicans and Indians. The old, standard history united Americans because it has a coherent purpose and a single voice. It emphasized one point of view and ignored others. To put it bluntly, it was history about white people for white people.

This history served the country well, so long as the population was overwhelmingly white, and the two traditional minorities—blacks and Indians—did not have voices. All this changed, beginning in the 1960s. The civil rights movement gave voices to blacks and Indians, and changes in immigration laws brought a massive influx of non-whites. It was the end of a certain kind of America.

Non-whites began to complain about a version of history that left them out. The nation-building history that has bound Europeans into a single people had not bound whites and non-whites into a single people. “Multicultural” history was therefore to be a broader, more inclusive history that would give every American his rightful share of America's

past. At the same time, “culturally relevant” history would keep blacks and Hispanics in school and stop them from dropping out at ever-increasing rates.

Squaring the Circle

Something that well-meaning whites did not understand is that an “inclusive” history—one that would be all things to all people—is impossible. History has winners and losers, and they see the same events with different eyes. At the same time, virtually every non-white group sees the conflicts of the past as struggles with whites, so multicultural history becomes a collection of perspectives that are often not merely non-white but anti-white.

How, for example, is a multicultural history to treat the discovery and settlement of North America by Europeans? The old history called it a triumphant advance for civilization. But for Indians, the same historical events are an unending sequence of defeats and disaster. Does a multicultural textbook call this a triumph or a disaster or both or neither?

What about the Mexican-American War [1846-1848]? At the time, it was thought a glorious success because it added huge chunks to the American West. But was it, instead, an imperialist atrocity? Are today's school children to rejoice that California is part of America or are they to weep over the stolen birthright of their Hispanic brothers?

Slavery poses a similar riddle. Blacks want to make it the centerpiece of their history, and in many ways it is. For nearly 300 years, most American blacks were slaves, and virtually everything that blacks did or thought was circumscribed by slavery. Today, it is still the centerpiece of black history, because it excuses failure and can be used to extract benefits from whites.

For whites, though, slavery is a minor historical event. Except for the Civil War (which was set in motion and fought by whites) the course of the nation's history would hardly have been different if there had been no slavery. To give it a prominent place in white history is a transparent effort to manipulate the way that whites think about the present.

Once slavery is promoted to the status of unparalleled evil, much of the past becomes incomprehensible. Is George Washington *both* the Father of his Country *and* a wicked

man because he owned slaves? Is Abraham Lincoln the storied savior of the Union or is he a fiend because he thought blacks were inferior and should be sent back to Africa?

Those of us who went to school when American history still had coherence are likely to learn about the new, multicultural history only by accident. One such accident is that this year is the 500th anniversary of the discovery of America. A typical multicultural problem has thus spilled out of the classroom and gotten wider notice: Was Columbus a great explorer or was he a genocidal tyrant? Are we to celebrate half a millennium of European America or are we to hang our heads in shame? Or are we to do both?

Problems and Uncertainties

Multicultural histories, by their very nature, cannot answer these questions. And because they cannot, they present American history as a bundle of uncertainties, as a series of unsolved "problems." Unlike the old history, which viewed the past with pride and the future with confidence, multicultural histories are diffident and perplexed. Unlike the old history, which at least gave white children a firm foundation for national identity, multicultural history says, in effect, that America has no identity. The only thing left to unite a multicultural America is geography.

One way to understand the impossible task that multicultural history has set itself is to imagine how one would write a school history book to be used in both France and Britain. How would it treat Napoleon? The very geography of London—Waterloo Station, Trafalgar Square—is a monument to Englishmen who killed Frenchmen. Napoleon's tomb, Austerlitz station, and street names like Jena and Ulm all mark the pride the French take in their ancestors' readiness to slaughter foreigners. A "multicultural" history book of the Napoleonic wars would be an absurdity, and everyone knows it. And yet, it would be no more absurd than the history books American children use today.

Non-whites have a much keener sense of their group interests than whites. They see very clearly that the future will have its winners and losers, just as history has had them. Thus, while virtually every school district with a white majority is trying to square the circle by teaching a history

that is everything to everyone, school districts with black majorities are beginning to replace the old "Euro-centric" curriculum with one that is openly "Afro-centric." They are not interested in supplementing the traditional history with different points of view. They want a single, African point of view.

In Atlanta, where 92 percent of the public school students are black, history and social studies courses have been rewritten from an "African-American" perspective. New York's public schools recently authorized a curriculum revision based on an openly anti-white position paper drafted, in part, by the black-supremacist professor, Leonard Jeffries. In California, school districts in heavily-black Oakland and East Palo Alto started the 1991/1992 school year *without social studies textbooks*. They decided to develop their own black-centered materials because they could find nothing suitable.

Private black schools have gone the farthest. Some reject America, and teach their pupils that they are the African diaspora. Many teach patent nonsense, claiming that the ancient Egyptians and even King Solomon were black. Nevertheless, even if some of their material is ridiculous, Afro-centric teachers have recognized something that white teachers have forgotten: History has a point of view; it cannot be all things to all people.

Building a Nation

Blacks, then, are learning the kind of history that whites once learned—a history that builds identity and certitude. White children are learning that every interpretation is valid, that nothing is certain, that their nation's past is all paradoxes and unsolved problems. Patriotism will not grow in the heart of a child who cannot look back with pride upon his nation's past. We have come a long way from schooling that made Europeans into Americans. We now make Americans into nothing at all.

Multicultural history is like Affirmative Action. Just as whites are to step aside to give hiring preferences to minorities, whites are to set aside their own point of view and study those of others. Non-whites, on the other hand, are free to promote their own interests and exclusionist histories.

Like Affirmative Action, multicultural history is possible only because the majority has abandoned its position at the center. If whites insisted on their own history as strongly as non-whites insist on theirs, the inevitability of separate histories would have been recognized long ago. Nor will whites be willing to forego their own history forever. They will eventually realize that only they are studying a past with no answers and no certainties. They will eventually see that there *cannot* be one history that satisfies all. And they will begin to wonder whether there can be one nation that satisfies all.

History for Everyone and No One

Five years ago, the California Board of Education adopted guidelines for a new history curriculum that would “accurately portray the cultural and racial diversity of our society.” Several book companies proposed texts to meet that requirement, and last year, Houghton Mifflin won approval for its series for grades one through eight.

The title of the fifth-grade text tells the whole story. It is a line from a poem by the black writer, Langston Hughes: *America Will Be*. It is hard to imagine any other country publishing a history book that puts the nation in the future tense. Most nations want their children to look back on their people’s history with pride. This book seems to suggest that the real, multicultural America is yet to come.

Of course, as the texts go to great pains to explain, America was always multicultural. A typical section is entitled, “A Nation of Many Peoples,” and this does not mean Englishmen, Swedes, and Germans. One gets the impression that Europeans were a furtive side-show in a vast history that began with Indians and ends with Chinese, blacks, Hispanics, West Indians, and Native Americans.

Among the “moments in time” that the books illustrate with full-page portraits of people typical of a period, is a lasso-whirling, bronco-busting, Mexican lady-cowboy, or *vaquera*. Such an apparition would probably have astonished the longhorns as much as this “moment in time” astonished anyone over the age of twenty. In the 50 pages that one text

devotes to the horrors of Negro slavery, there is a full-page portrait, not of a working slave but of an *escaping* slave.

This was not enough for the racial activists, for what they want is their own, exclusionist history. Houghton Mifflin officials, who expected praise and gratitude for their painstakingly "inclusive" history, were astonished by the accusations hurled at them. They did not realize that, for the most part, it is only whites who want a multiperspective history.

The overall director of the series, Professor Gary Nash, is a well-known leftist and a leading proponent of multiculturalism. He, too, was shocked by critics who called him a racist and a white supremacist. "If I'm the bad guy," he wanted to know, "who are your allies?"

Several majority-black school districts rejected the texts outright. In San Francisco, where 82 percent of the public school children are non-white, the school board reluctantly accepted the books, but added a supplemental reading list with titles like *Black Heroes of the Wild West*, *Chinese Americans, Past and Present*, and *Gays in America*. (Homosexuals were angry that these grade school texts said nothing about their contributions to America.)

The battle over text books was especially bruising in California because, by 1995, a majority of its public school students will be non-white. Nevertheless, the white decline is rapidly moving East. The struggle for America's past is only warming up.

Some battles have already been lost. A 1983 study by Nathan Glazer and Reed Ueda of six leading history texts found that blacks and Hispanics got at least four times as much coverage as European immigrant groups, and even trivial non-white successes were paraded as brilliant achievements.

The multiculturalists have already come a long way. More American 17-year-olds can now tell you who Harriet Tubman was than know who Winston Churchill or Joseph Stalin were. They are more likely to know about her than to know that Lincoln wrote the Emancipation Proclamation or that George Washington commanded the American revolutionary army.

traditional conservative views of how we should look at our history and ourselves.

When people first hear about Holocaust Revisionism, a very common reaction is to say something like “What about Nuremberg? What about all the evidence presented at the war crimes trials? Everyone knows that the extermination of the Jews was proved at Nuremberg.” In our next article, “The Nuremberg Trials and the Holocaust,” we take a close look at those trials, and the evidence presented there to prove Judeocide.

This article—which is adapted from a chapter of a forthcoming book that your editor has been working on for several years now—shows that the evidence presented at Nuremberg for an extermination plan or program is, to put it mildly, far from compelling. This article also exposes the hypocrisy and moral pretentiousness of the most elaborate judicial undertaking in history.

In our book review section, Dr. Robert Countess introduces an important new book by an astute and sensitive Jewish writer, *Beyond Innocence and Redemption: Confronting the Holocaust and Israeli Power*. In carefully argued and sometimes eloquent prose, author Marc Ellis challenges two of the most venerable icons our age: Israel and the Holocaust story. He warns of the terrible price to be paid for Zionist cruelty towards Palestinians, and for Jewish obsession with the pseudo-religion of the Holocaust.

So provocative is Ellis’s book that, in New Zealand at least, a kind of boycott has been organized to stifle distribution and sales. In Christchurch, a New Zealander recently told Dr. Countess, the book purchaser at the main branch of Whitcoulls, the country’s largest national bookstore chain, acknowledged that Ellis’ book is not available because, he had heard, it is “offensive to Jewish people.” While conceding that the book is not, as far as he knows, actually anti-Jewish

(continued on page 230)

Do the “War Crimes” Trials Prove Extermination?

The Nuremberg Trials and the Holocaust

MARK WEBER

A common response to expressions of skepticism about the Holocaust story is to say something like “What about Nuremberg? What about the trials and all the evidence?!” This reaction is understandable because the many postwar “war crimes” trials have given explicit, authoritative judicial legitimacy to the Holocaust extermination story.

By far the most important of these was the great Nuremberg trial of 1945-1946, officially known as the International Military Tribunal (IMT). The governments of the United States, the Soviet Union, Britain and France put on trial the most prominent surviving German leaders as “Major War Criminals” for various “war crimes,” “crimes against peace,” and “crimes against humanity.” In the words of the Tribunal’s Charter, these “Nazi conspirators” carried out their crimes as part of a great “Common Plan or Conspiracy.”

In addition, twelve secondary Nuremberg trials (NMT) organized by the US government alone were conducted between 1946 to 1949. Similar trials were also conducted by the British at Lüneburg and Hamburg, and by the United States at Dachau. Since then, many other Holocaust-related trials have been held in West Germany, Israel and the United States, including the highly-publicized trials in Jerusalem of Adolf Eichmann and John Demjanjuk.

Germany’s wartime treatment of the Jews figured prominently in the Nuremberg trials. In their condemnation of the defendants, the Allies gave special emphasis to the alleged extermination of six million European Jews. Chief US prosecutor Robert H. Jackson, for example, declared in his opening address to the Tribunal:¹

The most savage and numerous crimes planned and committed by the Nazis were those against the Jews . . . It is my purpose to show a plan and design, to which all Nazis were fanatically committed, to annihilate all Jewish people. . . . The avowed purpose was the destruction of the Jewish people as a whole . . . The conspiracy or common plan to exterminate the Jews was . . . methodically and thoroughly pursued . . . History does not record a crime ever perpetrated against so many victims or one ever carried out with such calculated cruelty.



Robert Jackson, chief US prosecutor at the Nuremberg Tribunal, listens to the proceedings. He privately acknowledged that the Allied governments conducting the trial were guilty of the same crimes they accused the defendants of committing. In a letter to President Truman, he confided that the Allies "have done or are doing some of the very things we are prosecuting the Germans for."

Echoing these words, chief British prosecutor Sir Hartley Shawcross declared in his final address to the Tribunal:²

There is one group to which the method of annihilation was applied on a scale so immense that it is my duty to refer separately to the evidence. I mean the extermination of the Jews. If there were no other crime against these men [the defendants], this one alone, in which all of them were implicated, would suffice. History holds no parallel to these horrors.

How compelling was the evidence presented at Nuremberg to substantiate such damning words? How did the defendants respond to the charges?

While much of the specific testimony and documentation presented in these trials has been dealt with in other *Journal* articles, here we take a closer look at the general trustworthiness of the evidence cited at Nuremberg and elsewhere for the Holocaust extermination story. This chapter also focuses on the basic character of these trials, which have played such an important role in “legitimizing” the Holocaust story.

Political Justice

The Nuremberg enterprise violated ancient and fundamental principles of justice. The victorious Allies acted as prosecutor, judge and executioner of the German leaders. The charges were created especially for the occasion, and were applied only to the vanquished.³ Defeated, starving, prostrate Germany was, however, in no position to oppose whatever the Allied occupation powers demanded.

As even some leading Allied figures privately acknowledged at the time, the Nuremberg trials were organized not to dispense impartial justice, but for political purposes. Sir Norman Birkett, British alternate judge at the Nuremberg Tribunal, explained in a private letter in April 1946 that “the trial is only in form a judicial process and its main importance is political.”⁴

Robert Jackson, the chief US prosecutor and a former US Attorney General, declared that the Nuremberg Tribunal “is

a continuation of the war effort of the Allied nations” against Germany. He added that the Tribunal “is not bound by the procedural and substantive refinements of our respective judicial or constitutional system . . .”⁵

Judge Iola T. Nikitchenko, who presided at the Tribunal’s solemn opening session, was a vice-chairman of the supreme court of the USSR before and after his service at Nuremberg. In August 1936 he had been a judge at the infamous Moscow show trial of Zinoviev and Kamenev.⁶ At a joint planning conference shortly before the Nuremberg Tribunal convened, Nikitchenko bluntly explained the Soviet view of the enterprise:⁷

We are dealing here with the chief war criminals who have already been convicted and whose conviction has been already announced by both the Moscow and Crimea [Yalta] declarations by the heads of the [Allied] governments . . . The whole idea is to secure quick and just punishment for the crime. . .

The fact that the Nazi leaders are criminals has already been established. The task of the Tribunal is only to determine the measure of guilt of each particular person and mete out the necessary punishment—the sentences.

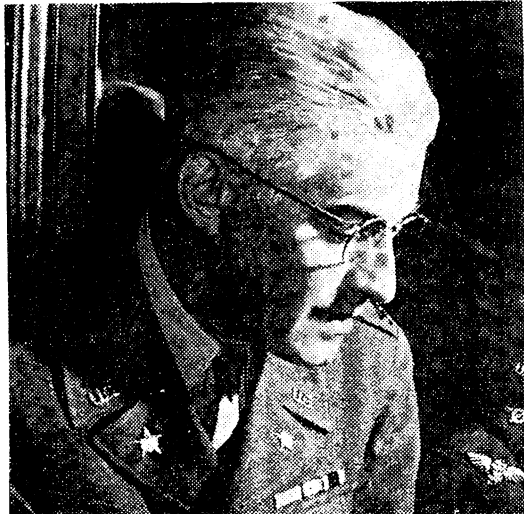
Indicative of the largely political nature of the Nuremberg process was the important Jewish role in organizing these trials. Nahum Goldmann, one-time president of both the World Jewish Congress and the World Zionist Organization, reported in his memoir that the Nuremberg Tribunal was the brain-child of World Jewish Congress officials. Only after persistent effort were WJC officials able to persuade Allied leaders to accept the idea, he added.⁸

The World Jewish Congress also played an important but less obvious role in the day to day proceedings. Above all, the powerful but secretive organization made sure that Germany’s persecution of the Jews was a primary focus of the trials, and that the defendants were punished for their involvement in that process.⁹

Two Jewish officers in the US Army—Lieutenant Colonel Murray Bernays and Colonel David “Mickey” Marcus—played key roles in the Nuremberg enterprise. In the words of historian Robert Conot, Bernays was “the guiding spirit leading the way to Nuremberg.” Bernays, a successful New York attorney, persuaded US War Secretary Henry

Stimson and others to accept the idea of putting the defeated German leaders on trial.¹⁰

Marcus, a fervent Zionist, became the "number three man in making American policy" in occupied Germany. As chief of the US government's War Crimes Branch in 1946 and 1947, he selected almost all of the judges, prosecutors and lawyers for the Nuremberg NMT Trials. (He later became a commander of Zionist "Haganah" military forces in Palestine.)¹¹



US Army Colonel Murray C. Bernays persuaded War Secretary Henry Stimson and others to accept the idea of putting the defeated German leaders on trial. American historian Robert Conot called Bernays "the guiding spirit leading the way to Nuremberg."

Some of the Americans who participated in the Nuremberg trials became disillusioned with the entire business. One of the few to make public his feelings was Charles F. Wennerstrum, an Iowa Supreme Court justice who served as presiding judge in the Nuremberg trial of German generals. "If I had known seven months ago what I know today, I would never have come here," he declared immediately after sentences were pronounced. "The high ideals announced as the motives for creating these tribunals have not been evident," he added.¹²

Wennerstrum cautiously referred to the extensive Jewish involvement in the Nuremberg process. "The entire atmosphere here is unwholesome . . . Lawyers, clerks, interpreters and researchers were employed who became Americans only in recent years, whose backgrounds were imbedded in Europe's hatreds and prejudices." He criticized the one-sided handling of evidence. "Most of the evidence in the trials was documentary, selected from the large tonnage of captured

records. The selection was made by the prosecution. The defense had access only to those documents which the prosecution considered material to the case." He concluded that "the trials were to have convinced the Germans of the guilt of their leaders. They convinced the Germans merely that their leaders lost the war to tough conquerors." Wenn-erstrum left Nuremberg "with a feeling that justice has been denied."

America's leading jurist was dismayed by the Nuremberg process. US Supreme Court Chief Justice Harlan Fiske Stone remarked with irritation: "[Chief US prosecutor] Jackson is away conducting his high-grade lynching party in Nuremberg. I don't mind what he does to the Nazis, but I hate to see the pretense that he is running a court and proceeding according to common law. This is a little too sanctimonious a fraud to meet my old-fashioned ideas." In a private letter he wrote: ". . . I wonder how some of those who preside at the trials would justify some of the acts of their own governments if they were placed in the status of the accused." On another occasion Stone specifically wondered "whether, under this new [Nuremberg] doctrine of international law, if we had been defeated, the victors could plausibly assert that our supplying Britain with fifty destroyers [in 1940] was an act of aggression . . ."¹³

In Congress, US Representative Lawrence H. Smith of Wisconsin declared: "The Nuremberg trials are so repugnant to the Anglo-Saxon principles of justice that we must forever be ashamed of that page in our history . . . The Nuremberg farce represents a revenge policy at its worst."¹⁴ Another Congressman, John Rankin of Mississippi, stated: "As a representative of the American people I desire to say that what is taking place in Nuremberg, Germany, is a disgrace to the United States . . . A racial minority, two and a half years after the war closed, are in Nuremberg not only hanging German soldiers but trying German businessmen in the name of the United States."¹⁵

Probably the most courageous condemnation was by US Senator Robert A. Taft, widely regarded as the "conscience of the Republican party." At considerable risk to his political career, he denounced the Nuremberg enterprise in an October 1946 speech. "The trial of the vanquished by the victors cannot be impartial no matter how it is hedged about with the forms of justice," he said. Taft went on:¹⁶

About this whole judgment there is the spirit of vengeance, and vengeance is seldom justice. The hanging of the eleven men convicted will be a blot on the American record which we will long regret. In these trials we have accepted the Russian idea of the purpose of trials—government policy and not justice—with little relation to Anglo-Saxon heritage. By clothing policy in the forms of legal procedure, we many discredit the whole idea of justice in Europe for years to come.

Milton R. Konvitz, a Jewish specialist of law and public administration who taught at New York University, warned at the time that the Nuremberg Tribunal “defies many of the most basic assumptions of the judicial process.” He went on: “Our policy with respect to the Nazis is consistent with neither international law nor our own State Department’s policy . . . The Nuremberg trial constitutes a real threat to the basic conceptions of justice which it has taken mankind thousands of years to establish.”¹⁷

In the years since, distinguished figures in both the United States and other countries have expressed similar views. US Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas wrote: “I thought at the time and still think that the Nuremberg trials were unprincipled. Law was created *ex post facto* to suit the passion and clamor of the time.”¹⁸

US Rear Admiral H. Lamont Pugh, former Navy Surgeon General and Commanding Officer of the National Naval Medical Center, wrote: “I thought the trials in general bordered upon international lunacy. I thought it particularly unfortunate, inappropriate, ill-conceived and dupably injudicious that the United States should have been cast in the leading role as prosecutors and implementators of the trials of German participants or principals.”¹⁹

Another indictment of the Nuremberg trial appeared more recently in the pages of the liberal *New Republic*:²⁰

The whole majesty of the Western heritage of the law was used to subvert that heritage in the Nuremberg Tribunal. Weighty jurists in every Western country (but not Russia) protested against this travesty of the Western legal system. So did historians. So did merely cultured and moral men and women. If the victors were to “try” the vanquished for war crimes, then they should try themselves for often committing the same crimes. Who would try [British] Air Chief Marshal Sir Arthur Travers “Bomber” Harris, the architect of the

policy of saturation bombing of German cities? But it was not only a matter of our own "war crimes." If it was right to use the apparatus of the law to punish those responsible for exceptional crimes like the Holocaust, it was wrong to use it to punish errors of judgment and statecraft such as every defeated regime seems to have committed. "We used the methods of the enemy"—and used them in peace at Nuremberg.

While the Nuremberg trials were underway, and for some time afterwards, there was quite a lot of talk about the universal validity of the new legal code established there. A new age of international justice had begun, it was claimed. Many sincerely believed that the four Allied powers would themselves abide by the Tribunal's standards.²¹

As it happened, none of the four powers that participated in the Tribunal ever made the slightest effort to apply the principles so solemnly and self-righteously proclaimed at Nuremberg either to their own leaders or to those of any other country.

No Soviet leader was executed for the Soviet military interventions in Hungary in 1956 or Czechoslovakia in 1968. No British leader was put on trial for the British invasion of Egypt in October 1956. President Eisenhower was not tried for his invasion of Lebanon in 1958. President Kennedy was not hanged for his ill-fated 1962 "Bay of Pigs" invasion of Cuba. President Johnson was never called to judicial account for his conduct of the war in Vietnam or his invasion of the Dominican Republic. President Nixon was not brought before a tribunal for his armed "incursion" into Cambodia.

When (North) Vietnamese officials threatened to put captured US airmen on trial in 1966, US Senator Everett Dirksen was moved to remark that the Nuremberg trials "may have been a ghastly mistake."²²

A Double Standard

In conducting the Nuremberg trials, the Allied governments themselves violated international law. For one thing, their treatment of the German defendants and the military prisoners who testified violated articles 56, 58 and others of the Geneva convention of July 1929.²³

Justice—as opposed to vengeance—is a standard that is applied impartially. At Nuremberg, though, standards of “justice” applied only to the vanquished. The four powers that sat in judgment were themselves guilty of many of the very crimes they accused the German leaders of committing.²⁴ Chief US prosecutor Robert Jackson privately acknowledged in a letter to President Truman that the Allies²⁵

have done or are doing some of the very things we are prosecuting the Germans for. The French are so violating the Geneva Convention in the treatment of [German] prisoners of war that our command is taking back prisoners sent to them [for forced labor in France]. We are prosecuting plunder and our Allies are practicing it. We say aggressive war is a crime and one of our allies asserts sovereignty over the Baltic States based on no title except conquest.

In violation of the first Nuremberg count of “planning, preparation, initiating or waging a war of aggression,” the Soviet Union attacked Finland in December 1939 (and was expelled from the League of Nations as a result). A few months later the Red Army invaded Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, and ruthlessly incorporated them into the Soviet Union. The postwar French government violated international law and the Nuremberg charge of “maltreatment of prisoners of war” by employing large numbers of German prisoners of war as forced laborers in France. In 1945 the United States, Britain and the Soviet Union jointly agreed to the brutal deportation of more than ten million Germans from their ancient homes in eastern and central Europe, a violation of the Nuremberg count of “deportation, and other inhumane acts committed against any civilian population.”²⁶

While Allied prosecutors charged the defendants with a “crime against peace” in planning the German invasion of Norway in 1940, the British government eventually had to admit that Britain and France were themselves guilty of the same “crime” in preparing a military invasion of Norway, code-named “Stratford,” before the German move. And in August 1941, Britain and the Soviet Union jointly invaded and occupied Iran, a neutral nation.²⁷

Given this record, it is hardly surprising that the four governments that organized the Nuremberg trial of 1945-

1946 included no definition of "aggression" in the Tribunal's Charter.²⁸

Mikhail Vozlenski, a Soviet historian who served as a translator at the Nuremberg Tribunal in 1946, later recalled that he and the other Soviet personnel felt out of place there because the alleged crimes of the German leaders were "the norm of our life" in the Soviet Union.²⁹ The Soviet role in the proceedings, which the United States fully supported, moved American diplomat and historian George F. Kennan to condemn the entire Nuremberg enterprise as a "horror" and a "mockery."³⁰

Nuremberg's double standard was condemned at the time by the British weekly *The Economist*. It pointed out that whereas both Britain and France had supported the expulsion of the Soviet Union from the League of Nations in 1939 for its unprovoked attack against Finland, just six years later these same two governments were cooperating with the USSR as a respected equal at Nuremberg. "Nor should the Western world console itself that the Russians alone stand condemned at the bar of the Allies' own justice," the *Economist* editorial went on. It continued:³¹

. . . Among crimes against humanity stands the offence of the indiscriminate bombing of civilian populations. Can the Americans who dropped the atom bomb and the British who destroyed the cities of western Germany plead "not guilty" on this count? Crimes against humanity also include the mass expulsion of populations. Can the Anglo-Saxon leaders who at Potsdam condoned the expulsion of millions of Germans from their homes hold themselves completely innocent? . . . The nations sitting in judgment [at Nuremberg] have so clearly proclaimed themselves exempt from the law which they have administered.

An official with the postwar US military occupation administration in Germany commented: "What good are the high-flown morals enunciated at Nuremberg if the Americans have agreed to such things as deportation in documents which bear official signatures, and which, therefore, give the Allies the legal right to do the things which at Nuremberg they described as immoral?"³²

If the Nuremberg Tribunal's standards had been applied to the victors of the Second World War, American General and supreme Allied commander in Europe Dwight Eisenhower-

er would have been hanged. At the end of the war Eisenhower ordered that German prisoners in American military custody were no longer to be treated according to the Geneva Convention on the treatment of prisoners of war. This violation of international law removed masses of Germans from the protection of the International Red Cross (ICRC), and condemned hundreds of thousands of them to slow death by starvation and disease.³³

Perhaps nothing better illustrates the essentially unfair character of the Nuremberg proceedings than the treatment of Rudolf Hess, Hitler's deputy. He was sentenced to life imprisonment even though he alone of leading figures of the countries involved in the Second World War risked his life in a dangerous but fruitless effort to conclude peace between two of the warring nations. British historian A.J.P. Taylor once succinctly summed up the injustice of the Hess case and, by implication, of the entire Nuremberg enterprise:³⁴

Hess came to this country in 1941 as an ambassador of peace. He came with the . . . intention of restoring peace between Great Britain and Germany. He acted in good faith. He fell into our hands and was quite unjustly treated as a prisoner of war. After the war, we should have released him. Instead, the British government of the time delivered him for sentencing to the International Tribunal at Nuremberg . . . No crime has ever been proved against Hess . . . As far as the records show, he was never at even one of the secret discussions at which Hitler explained his war plans.

The Problem of Evidence

The victorious Allies thoroughly scoured Germany for every scrap of paper that might be used to incriminate the defeated regime. Never before or since have a nation's records been so completely ransacked. In addition to official government papers, including countless secret documents tracing Germany's wartime Jewish policy, the Allies confiscated the records of the National Socialist Party and its affiliated organizations, as well as those of numerous private business firms, institutions and individuals. The sheer quantity of paper seized is staggering. For example, the records of the German Foreign Office confiscated by US officials amounted to some 485 *tons* of paper.³⁵

From this mountain of paper, US military personnel alone selected some two thousand documents considered most incriminating for use in the main Nuremberg trial. The tons of confiscated records were later shipped to the United States. It is estimated that in the US National Archives alone, more than one million pages of documents on the Third Reich's Jewish policy are on file. Many hundreds of these Nuremberg documents have since been published, most notably by the U.S. government in the 42-volume "blue series" record of the main Nuremberg trial, the 15-volume "green series" record of the "second string" Nuremberg trials, and in the 11-volume "red series."³⁶

It is as if governments hostile to the United States were to seize the top secret files of the Pentagon and CIA, and then selectively publish the most embarrassing and incriminating documents from the vast collection.

In the years since the Nuremberg trials, historians of many different countries have carefully sifted through the German records, including countless documents that were not available to the Nuremberg prosecutors. Historians have been able to compare and cross-check the records of different ministries and agencies, as well as numerous private diaries and papers.³⁷

And yet, out of this great mass of paper, not a single document has ever been found that confirms or even refers to an extermination program. A number of historians have commented on this remarkable "gap" in the evidence. French-Jewish historian Leon Poliakov, for example, noted in his best-known Holocaust work:

The archives of the Third Reich and the depositions and accounts of its leaders make possible a reconstruction, down to the last detail, of the origin and development of the plans for aggression, the military campaigns, and the whole array of procedures by which the Nazis intended to reshape the world to their liking. Only the campaign to exterminate the Jews, as regards its conception as well as many other essential aspects, remains shrouded in darkness.

No documents of a plan for exterminating the Jews have ever been found, he added, because "perhaps none ever existed."³⁸

At Nuremberg, the German documents were in the custody of the Allied prosecutors, who did not permit defense attorneys to make their own selections of the material. Historian Werner Maser has pointed out that at Nuremberg "thousands of documents which seemed likely possibly to incriminate the Allies and exonerate the defendants suddenly disappeared . . . There is much evidence that documents were confiscated, concealed from the defense or even stolen in 1945." Other important documents suddenly "disappeared" when specifically requested by defense attorneys. Officials at the National Archives in Washington have confirmed to this writer on several occasions that the originals of numerous Nuremberg documents remain "lost" to this day. The Tribunal refused to allow in evidence several collections of German and captured foreign documents published during the war as German Foreign Office "White Books." Most of the 1,809 affidavits prepared by the Nuremberg defense have never been made public.³⁹

Among the documents that the defense was not permitted to bring to light was the secret supplement to the German-Soviet treaty of August 23, 1939, which divided eastern Europe into German and Soviet spheres of influence.⁴⁰

After the Nuremberg Tribunal pronounced its sentence, Foreign Minister von Ribbentrop pointed out some of the obstacles put up in his particular case:⁴¹

The defense had no fair chance to defend German foreign policy. Our prepared application for the submission of evidence was not allowed . . . Without good cause being shown, half of the 300 documents which the defense prepared were not admitted. Witnesses and affidavits were only admitted after the prosecution had been heard; most of them were rejected . . . Correspondence between Hitler and Chamberlain, reports by ambassadors and diplomatic minutes, etc., were rejected. Only the prosecution, not the defense, had access to German and foreign archives. The prosecution only searched for incriminating documents and their use was biased. It knowingly concealed exonerating documents and withheld them from the defense.

The Charter of the International Military Tribunal permitted the use of normally inadmissible "evidence." Article 19 specified that "The Tribunal shall not be bound by technical rules of evidence . . . and shall admit any evidence

which it deems to have probative value." Article 21 stipulated.⁴²

The Tribunal shall not require proof of facts of common knowledge but shall take judicial notice thereof. It shall also take judicial notice of official governmental documents and reports of the United [Allied] Nations, including acts and documents of the committees set up in the various allied countries for the investigation of war crimes, and the records and findings of military and other Tribunals of any of the United [Allied] Nations.

On the basis of these articles, the Tribunal accepted as valid the most dubious "evidence," including hearsay and unsubstantiated reports of Soviet and American "investigative" commissions. For example, the Tribunal accepted an American congressional report that "proved" gas chamber killings at Dachau, and a Polish government report (submitted by the US) that "proved" killings by steam at Treblinka.⁴³ (No reputable historian now accepts either of these stories.)

In addition, the Tribunal validated Soviet reports about Auschwitz and Majdanek (documents USSR-8 and USSR-29), which explained in detail how the Germans killed four million at Auschwitz and another one-and-a-half million at Majdanek. (These days, no reputable historian accepts either of these fantastic figures.)

German guilt for the killing of thousands of Polish officers in the Katyn forest near Smolensk was similarly confirmed by Nuremberg document USSR-54. This detailed report by yet another Soviet "investigative" commission was submitted as proof for the charge made in the joint indictment of the four Allied governments. As a Soviet prosecutor explained: "We find, in the Indictment, one of the most important criminal acts for which the major war criminals are responsible was the mass execution of Polish prisoners of war shot in the Katyn forest near Smolensk by the German fascist invaders."⁴⁴ (Interestingly, two of the eight members of the Soviet Katyn Commission were also members of the Soviet Auschwitz commission: Academician N. Burdenko and Metropolitan Nikolai.) It wasn't until 1990 that the Soviet government finally acknowledged that the Katyn massacre was carried out, not by a German unit, as "proven" at Nuremberg, but by the Soviet secret police.⁴⁵



The Nuremberg Tribunal judges (left to right): A. F. Volchkov, the Soviet alternate; I. T. Nikitchenko, the Soviet judge; Norman Birkett, the British alternate; Lord Geoffrey Lawrence, the British judge; Francis Biddle, the American judge; John J. Parker, the American alternate; Donnedieu de Vabres, the French judge; and Robert Falco, the French alternate. Seated in front of the judges' bench are members of the secretariat and stenographers.

It is sometimes claimed that the evidence presented by the prosecution to the Nuremberg Tribunal was so incontrovertible that none of the defense attorneys ever disputed the authenticity or accuracy of even a single prosecution document.⁴⁶ This is not true. Not only did defense lawyers protest against the prosecution use of spurious documents, but some of the most important Nuremberg documents are now generally acknowledged to be fraudulent.⁴⁷

For example, defense attorney Dr. Boehm protested to the Tribunal that Nuremberg document 1721-PS, which purportedly confirms attacks by stormtroopers against Jewish synagogues in November 1938, is a clumsy forgery. He went on to explain his reasons at some length.⁴⁸

Several Nuremberg documents based on the purported "death bed confession" of Mauthausen commandant Franz Ziereis, are demonstrably fraudulent. (Nuremberg documents 1515-PS, 3870-PS, and NO-1973.) These documents supposedly prove systematic killings of hundreds of thousands of people by gassing and other means at Mauthausen and Hartheim.⁴⁹

Almost forty years after the Tribunal handed down its verdicts, Nuremberg document USSR-378 was definitively exposed as a fraud. It is a purported record of numerous private conversations with Hitler by Hermann Rauschning, a former National Socialist official in Danzig. In brutal language, the Führer supposedly revealed his most intimate thoughts and secret plans for world conquest. Rauschning's "memoir" was published in 1939 in Britain under the title *Hitler Speaks*, and in the United States in 1940 as *The Voice of Destruction*. It was this US edition that was accepted in evidence at Nuremberg as proof of the "guiding principles of the Nazi regime."

Chief British prosecutor Sir Hartley Shawcross and his Soviet colleagues cited numerous quotations from it. Defendant Baldur von Schirach contested its authenticity, but defense attorney Pelckmann (who did not know any better) accepted this "evidence" as authentic.⁵⁰ In 1983 Swiss historian Wolfgang Hänel established that the "memoir" is entirely fraudulent. Rauschning never had even a single private meeting with Hitler.⁵¹

Another fraudulent Nuremberg document is the so-called "Hossbach protocol" (document 386-PS), a purported record of a high-level 1937 conference at which Hitler supposedly

revealed his secret plans for aggressive conquest. US Nuremberg prosecutor Sidney Alderman called it "one of the most striking and revealing of all the captured documents," and told the Tribunal that it removed any remaining doubts about the guilt of the Germans leaders for their crimes against peace. It was largely on the basis of this document that Göring was condemned to death.⁵²

Similarly spurious is Nuremberg document L-3 (US-28), supposedly a record of a bellicose speech by Hitler to armed forces commanders on August 22, 1939. It contains a widely-cited quotation attributed to Hitler, "Who talks nowadays of the extermination of the Armenians?"⁵³

Jewish historian Lucy Dawidowicz, author of *The War Against the Jews*, acknowledged that "There are also Holocaust documents that are outright falsification and some that purvey myth rather than historical fact."⁵⁴

Dubious Testimony

Much of the evidence for the Holocaust story presented at Nuremberg and in subsequent trials has been "survivor testimony." As numerous historians have acknowledged, though, such testimony is often defective.⁵⁵

Gerald Reitlinger cautioned readers of his detailed study, *The Final Solution*, that Holocaust evidence, including Nuremberg documents and testimony, cannot be accepted at face value: "A certain degree of reserve is necessary in handling all this material, and particularly this applies to the last section (survivor narratives) . . . The Eastern European Jew is a natural rhetorician, speaking in flowery similes."⁵⁶ French historian Jean-Claude Pressac likewise warned in his detailed book about Auschwitz that "extreme care is required with the testimony of survivors . . ."⁵⁷

Jewish historian Hannah Arendt observed in her book *Eichmann in Jerusalem* that the "eyewitnesses" who testified in the 1961 trial in Jerusalem of Adolf Eichmann were only rarely able to distinguish between what actually happened to them years earlier and what they had read, heard or imagined in the meantime.⁵⁸ Holocaust historian Lucy Dawidowicz similarly noted that "the survivor's memory is often distorted by hate, sentimentality, and the passage of time. His perspective on external events is often skewed by the limits of his personal experience."⁵⁹

French historian Germain Tillion, a specialist of the Second World War period, has warned that former camp inmates who lie are, in fact,⁶⁰

very much more numerous than people generally suppose, and a subject like that of the concentration camp world—well designed, alas, to stimulate sado-masochistic imaginations—offered them an exceptional field of action. We have known numerous mentally damaged persons, half-swindlers and half fools, who exploited an imaginary deportation. We have known others of them—authentic deportees—whose sick minds strove to even go beyond the monstrosities that they had seen or that people said happened to them.

Jewish historian Samuel Gringauz, who was himself interned in the ghetto of Kaunas (Lithuania) during the war, criticized what he called the “hyperhistorical” nature of most Jewish “survivor testimony.” He wrote that “most of the memoirs and reports are full of preposterous verbosity, graphomantic exaggeration, dramatic effects, overestimated self-inflation, dilettante philosophizing, would-be lyricism, unchecked rumors, bias, partisan attacks and apologies.”⁶¹

Shmuel Krakowski, archives director of the Israeli government’s Holocaust center, Yad Vashem, confirmed in 1986 that more than 10,000 of the 20,000 “testimonies” of Jewish “survivors” on file there are “unreliable.” Many survivors, wanting “to be part of history” may have let their imaginations run away with them, Krakowski said. “Many were never in the places where they claimed to have witnessed atrocities, while others relied on second-hand information given them by friends or passing strangers.” He confirmed that many of the testimonies on file at Yad Vashem were later proved to be inaccurate when locations and dates could not pass an expert historian’s appraisal.⁶²

We now know that witnesses at the main Nuremberg trial gave false testimony. Perhaps the most obvious were the three witnesses who ostensibly confirmed German guilt for the Katyn massacre of Polish officers.⁶³

Stephen F. Pinter of St. Louis, Missouri, served as a US Army prosecuting attorney from January 1946 to July 1947 at the American trials of Germans at Dachau. Altogether, some 420 Germans were sentenced to death in these Dachau trials. In a 1960 affidavit Pinter stated that “notoriously

perjured witnesses" were used to charge Germans with "false and unfounded" crimes. "Unfortunately, as a result of these miscarriages of justice, many innocent persons were convicted and some were executed."⁶⁴

A tragi-comic incident during the Dachau proceedings suggests the general atmosphere. US investigator Joseph Kirschbaum brought a Jewish witness named Einstein into court to testify that the defendant, Menzel, had murdered Einstein's brother. But when the accused pointed out that the brother was, in fact, sitting in the courtroom, an embarrassed Kirschbaum scolded the witness: "How can we bring this pig to the gallows if you are so stupid as to bring your brother into court?"⁶⁵

August Gross, a German who worked as a civilian employee for the U.S. Army at the Dachau trials, later declared:⁶⁶

The American prosecutors paid professional incrimination witnesses, mostly former criminal concentration camp inmates, the amount of one dollar per day (at that time worth 280 marks on the black market) as well as food from a witness kitchen and witness lodging. During the recess periods between trial proceedings the US prosecuting attorneys told these witnesses what they were to say in giving testimony. The US prosecuting attorneys gave the witnesses photos of the defendants and were thereby able to easily incriminate them.

A young US Army court reporter at the Dachau trials in 1947, Joseph Halow, later recalled the unwholesome situation:

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 . . . 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 . . . In many instances their vengeance included relating exaggerated accounts of what they had witnessed. It also included outright lying.

In one case, testimony provided by the prosecution witnesses "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." Moreover, Halow reported, the US courts paid "scant attention to testimony by and for the accused."⁶⁷

In the 1947 "Nordhausen-Dora" case, American defense attorney Major Leon B. Poullada protested against the general unreliability—and frequent outright lying—of prosecution witnesses in this US military trial of former concentration camp officials.⁶⁸

Use of such unreliable testimony continued in "Holocaust" trials in later years. Federal district judge Norman C. Roettger, Jr., ruled in 1978 in a Florida case that all six Jewish "eyewitnesses" who had testified to direct atrocities and shootings at Treblinka by Ukrainian-born defendant Feodor Fedorenko had wrongly identified the accused after being misled by Israeli authorities.⁶⁹

New York "Nazi hunter" Charles Kremer visited Israel in 1981 looking for Jews who could confirm atrocities allegedly committed by a former Ukrainian SS man living in New Jersey. But Kremer cut short his visit, bitterly disappointed by the numerous Jews who offered to provide spurious "testimony" in return for money. As the Brooklyn *Jewish Press* reported, "Kremer was stricken with gastronomic pains—a malady he attributes to his difficulties in dealing with hucksters who tried to use his search for their personal gain."⁷⁰

One of the most blatant examples of perjury by Jewish Holocaust witnesses in recent years was in the case of a retired Chicago factory worker named Frank Walus who was charged with killing Jews in his native Poland during the war. A December 1974 letter from "Nazi hunter" Simon Wiesenthal that accused Walus of working for the Gestapo prompted the US government's legal campaign. During his trial, eleven Jews testified under oath that they personally saw Walus murder Jews, including several children. After a costly and bitterly contested four-year legal battle, Walus was finally able to prove that he had actually spent the war years as a teenager quietly working on German farms. A lengthy article copyrighted by the American Bar Association and published in 1981 in the *Washington Post* concluded that

“... in an atmosphere of hatred and loathing verging on hysteria, the government persecuted an innocent man.”⁷¹

Torture

Allied prosecutors used torture to help prove their case at Nuremberg and other postwar trials.⁷²

Former Auschwitz commandant Rudolf Höss was tortured by British officials into signing a false and self-incriminating “confession” that has been widely cited as a key document of Holocaust extermination. His testimony before the Nuremberg Tribunal, a high point of the proceeding, was perhaps the most striking and memorable evidence presented there of a German extermination program.⁷³ Höss maintained that two and half million people had been killed in Auschwitz gas chambers, and that another 500,000 inmates had died there of other causes. No serious or reputable historian now accepts either of these fantastic figures, and other key portions of Höss’ “confession” are now generally acknowledged to be untrue.⁷⁴

Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn has cited the case of Jupp Aschenbrenner, a Bavarian who was tortured into signing a statement that he had worked on mobile gas chambers (“gas vans”) during the war. It wasn’t until several years later that he was finally able to prove that he had actually spent that time in Munich studying to become an electric welder.⁷⁵

Fritz Sauckel, head of the German wartime labor mobilization program, was sentenced to death at the main Nuremberg trial. An important piece of evidence presented to the Tribunal by the US prosecution was an affidavit signed by the defendant. (Nuremberg document 3057-PS.) It turned out that Sauckel had put his signature to this self-incriminating statement, which had been presented to him by his captors in finished form, only after he was bluntly told that if he hesitated, his wife and children would be turned over to the Soviets. “I did not stop to consider, and thinking of my family, I signed the document,” Sauckel later declared.⁷⁶

Hans Fritzsche, another defendant in the main Nuremberg trial, was similarly forced to sign a self-damning confession while he was a prisoner of the Soviet secret police in Moscow. (Nuremberg document USSR-474.)⁷⁷

Nuremberg defendant Julius Streicher, who was eventually hanged because he published a sometimes sensational

anti-Jewish weekly paper, was brutally mistreated following his arrest. He was badly beaten, kicked, whipped, spat at, forced to drink saliva and burned with cigarettes. His genitals were beaten. Eyebrow and chest hair was pulled out. He was stripped and photographed. Fellow defendant Hans Frank was savagely beaten by two black GIs shortly after his arrest. August Eigruber, former *Gauleiter* of Upper Austria, was mutilated and castrated at the end of the war.⁷⁸

Josef Kramer, former commandant of both the Bergen-Belsen and Auschwitz-Birkenau camps, and other defendants in the British-run "Belsen" trial, were reportedly also tortured, some of them so brutally that they begged to be put to death.⁷⁹

Although most of the defendants at the main Nuremberg trial were not tortured, many other Germans were forced to sign affidavits and give testimony against their former colleagues and superiors. A simple threat to turn the subject over to the Soviets was often enough to persuade him to sign an affidavit or provide testimony needed in court. Threats against the subject's wife and children, including withdrawal of ration cards, delivery to the Soviets or imprisonment, often quickly produced the desired results. If all else failed, the subject could be placed in solitary confinement, beaten, kicked, whipped or burned until he broke down.⁸⁰

The testimony of the prosecution's chief witness in the Nuremberg "Wilhelmstrasse" trial was obtained by threat of death. The American defense attorney, Warren Magee, had somehow obtained the transcript of the first pretrial interrogation of Friedrich Gaus, a former senior official in the German Foreign Office. Despite frantic protests by prosecuting attorney Robert Kempner, the judge decided to permit Magee to read from the document. During the pretrial interrogation session, Kempner told Gaus that he would be turned over to the Soviets for hanging. Tearfully pleading for mercy, Gaus begged Kempner to think of his wife and children. Kempner replied that he could save himself only by testifying in court against his former colleagues. A desperate Gaus, who had already endured four weeks in solitary confinement, agreed. When Magee finished reading from the damning transcript, Gaus sat with both hands to his face, totally devastated.⁸¹

American soldiers repeatedly beat former SS captain Konrad Morgen in an unsuccessful effort to force him to sign

a perjured affidavit against Ilse Koch, a defendant in the US military's 1947 "Buchenwald" case. American officials also threatened to turn Morgen over to the Soviets if he did not sign the false statement.⁸²

Luftwaffe General Field Marshal Erhard Milch was warned by a US Army Major to stop testifying on behalf of Hermann Göring in the main Nuremberg trial. The American officer told Milch that if he persisted, he would be charged as a war criminal himself, regardless of whether or not he was guilty.⁸³ Milch did not back down and was indeed charged. In 1947 a US Nuremberg court sentenced him to life imprisonment as a war criminal. Four years later, though, the US High Commissioner commuted his sentence to fifteen years, and a short time after that Milch was amnestied and released.⁸⁴

Reports of widespread torture at the postwar American-run "war crimes" trials at Dachau leaked out, resulting in so many protests that a formal investigation was eventually carried out. A US Army Commission of inquiry consisting of Pennsylvania Judge Edward van Roden and Texas Supreme Court Judge Gordon Simpson officially confirmed the charges of gross abuse. German defendants, they found, were routinely tortured at Dachau with savage beatings, burning matches under fingernails, kicking of testicles, months of solitary confinement, and threats of family reprisals. Low ranking prisoners were assured that their "confessions" would be used only against their former superiors in the dock. Later, though, these hapless men found their own "confessions" used against them when they were tried in turn. High ranking defendants were cynically assured that by "voluntarily" accepting all responsibility themselves they would thereby protect their former subordinates from prosecution.⁸⁵

One Dachau trial court reporter was so outraged at what was happening there in the name of justice that he quit his job. He testified to a US Senate subcommittee that the "most brutal" interrogators had been three German-born Jews. Although operating procedures at the Dachau trials were significantly worse than those used at Nuremberg, they give some idea of the spirit of the "justice" imposed on the vanquished Germans.

Virtually all of the US investigators who brought cases before American military courts at Dachau were "Jewish

refugees from Germany" who "hated the Germans," recalled Joseph Halow, a US Army court reporter at the Dachau trials in 1947. "Many of the investigators gave vent to their hatred by attempting to force confessions from the Germans by treating them brutally," including "severe beatings."⁸⁶

The case of Gustav Petrat, a German who had served as a guard at the Mauthausen, was not unusual. After repeated brutal beatings by US authorities, he broke down and signed a perjured statement. He was also whipped and threatened with immediate shooting. Petrat was prevented from securing exonerating evidence, and even potential defense witnesses were beaten and threatened to keep them from testifying. After a farcical trial by a US military court at Dachau, Petrat was sentenced to death and hanged in late 1948. He was 24 years old.⁸⁷

Use of torture to produce incriminating statements has not been limited to postwar Germany, of course. Such techniques have been systematically used by governments around the world. During the Korean War, American airmen held as prisoners by the Communist North Koreans made detailed statements "confessing" to their roles in waging germ warfare. Under physical and psychological torture, 38 US airmen "admitted" dropping bacteriological bombs that caused disease epidemics and claimed many Korean civilian lives. These statements were later shown to be false, and the airmen repudiated them after returning to the United States. Their phony confessions were the same kind of evidence given by Rudolf Höss and others at the Nuremberg trials. Under similar circumstances, Americans proved at least as ready to "confess" to monstrous but baseless crimes as Germans.⁸⁸

One of the most important and revealing Nuremberg cases is that of Oswald Pohl, the wartime head of the vast SS agency (WVHA) that ran the German concentration camps. After his capture in 1946, he was taken to Nenndorf where British soldiers tied him to a chair and beat him unconscious. He lost two teeth in repeated beatings.⁸⁹ He was then transferred to Nuremberg, where American military officials intensively interrogated him for more than half a year in sessions that lasted for hours. Altogether there were about 70 such sessions. During this period he had no access to an attorney or any other help. He was never formally charged

with anything, nor even told precisely why he was being interrogated.

In a statement written after he was sentenced to death at Nuremberg in November 1947 by the American military court ("Concentration Camp" Case No. 4), Pohl described his treatment.⁹⁰ 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."

American interrogators (most of them Jews) accused Pohl of killing 30 million people and of condemning ten 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.

Pohl was forced to sign false and self-incriminating affidavits written by prosecution officials that were later used against him in his own trial. As he recalled:

Whenever genuine documents did not correspond to what the prosecution authorities wanted or were insufficient for the guilty sentences they sought, "affidavits" were put together. The most striking feature of these remarkable trial documents is that the accused often condemned themselves in them. That is understandable only to those who have themselves experienced the technique by which such "affidavits" are obtained.

He and other defendants were "destroyed" with these affidavits, which "contain provable errors of fact regarding essential points," Pohl wrote. Among the false statements signed by Pohl was one that incriminated former Reichsbank President Walter Funk, whom the Nuremberg Tribunal eventually sentenced to life imprisonment.⁹¹

American officials also made use of false witnesses at Nuremberg, Pohl wrote:

Whenever these productions [affidavits] were not enough to produce the result sought by the prosecuting authorities, they marched out their so-called 'star witnesses,' or rather,

paid witnesses . . . A whole string of these shady, wretched characters played their contemptible game at Nuremberg. They included high government officials, generals and intellectuals as well as prisoners, mental defectives and real hardened criminals . . . During the WVHA trial [of Pohl] a certain Otto appeared from a mental institution as a "star witness." His previous lifestyle would have been considered exemplary by any hardened criminal. The same is true of prosecution witness Krusial who presented the most spectacular fairy tales to the court under oath, which were naturally believed . . .

Pohl also protested that defense attorneys were not allowed free access to the German wartime documents, which the prosecution was able to find and use without hindrance:

For almost two years the prosecution authorities could make whatever use they wanted of the many crates of confiscated documentary and archival material they had at their disposal. But the same access right was refused to the German defendants despite their repeated efforts . . . This meant a tremendous or even complete paralysis and hindrance of the defense cases for the accused, for those crates also contained the exonerating material that the prosecution authorities were able to keep from being presented to the court. And that is called "proper" procedure.

Because Pohl held the rank of general in the German armed forces, his treatment by the British and Americans was illegal according to the international agreements on the treatment of prisoners of war.

"As result of the brutal physical mistreatment in Nenndorf and my treatment in Nuremberg, I was emotionally a completely broken man," he wrote. "I was 54 years old. For 33 years I had served by country without dishonor, and I was unconscious of any crime."

Pohl summed up the character of the postwar trials of German leaders:

It was obvious during the Dachau trials, and it also came out unmistakably and only poorly disguised during the Nuremberg trials, that the prosecution authorities, among whom Jews predominated, were driven by blind hatred and obvious lust for revenge. Their goal was not the search for

truth but rather the annihilation of as many adversaries as possible.

To an old friend Pohl wrote: "As one of the senior SS leaders I had never expected to be left unmolested. No more, however, did I expect a death sentence. It is a sentence of retribution."⁹²

He was hanged on June 7, 1951. In his final plea to the Nuremberg court, Pohl expressed his faith that one day blind hysteria would give way to just understanding.⁹³

After distance and time have clarified all events and when passion has ceased and when hatred and revenge have stilled their hunger, then these many millions of decent Germans who have sacrificed their lives for their fatherland will not be denied their share of sympathy which today is being attributed to the victims of the concentration camps, although a large number of them owe their fate not to political, racial or religious characteristics, but to their criminal past.

Extermination Denied

Along with the millions of people around the world who avidly followed the Nuremberg proceedings by radio and newspaper, the defendants themselves were shocked by the evidence presented to substantiate the extermination charge. Above all, the testimony of Auschwitz commandant Rudolf Höss and Einsatzgruppen commander Otto Ohlendorf made a deep impression. Contrary to what is often claimed or insinuated, however, the Nuremberg Tribunal defendants declared that they did not know of any extermination program during the war.⁹⁴ These men were, in a sense, the first "Holocaust revisionists."

The main Nuremberg defendant, Hermann Göring, who had been Hitler's second-in-command and designated successor during most of the Third Reich years, vehemently denied knowing of any extermination program during the war. "The first time I learned of these terrible exterminations," he exclaimed at one point, "was right here in Nuremberg." The German policy had been to expel the Jews, not kill them, he explained, and added that, to the best of his knowledge, Hitler did not know of any extermination policy either.⁹⁵



Chief Nuremberg Tribunal defendant Hermann Göring, who had been Hitler's second-in-command, denied knowing of any extermination plan or program during the war. "The first time I learned of these terrible exterminations," he declared, "was right here in Nuremberg."

During a rare unguarded break between court sessions, fellow defendant Hans Fritzsche privately asked Göring about the truth of the extermination charge. The former *Reichsmarschall* solemnly assured Fritzsche that the accusation was not true. The Allied evidence for the charge, he insisted, was inaccurate or incomplete and totally contradicted everything he knew about the matter. In any case, Göring added, if there had been any mass killings, they certainly were not ordered by Hitler.⁹⁶

General Alfred Jodl, chief of the operations staff of the Armed Forces High Command, and probably Hitler's closest

military adviser, gave similar testimony to the Tribunal. Responding to a direct question about this matter, he said:⁹⁷

I can only say, fully conscious of my responsibility, that I never heard, either by hint or by written or spoken words, of an extermination of Jews . . . I never had any private information on the extermination of the Jews. On my word, as sure as I am sitting here, I heard all these things for the first time after the end of the war.

Hans Frank, the wartime governor of German-ruled Poland, testified that during the war he had heard only rumors and foreign reports of mass killings of Jews. He asked other officials, including Hitler, about these stories and was repeatedly assured that they were false.⁹⁸

Frank's testimony is particularly noteworthy because if millions of Jews had actually been exterminated in German-occupied Poland, as alleged, hardly anyone would have been in a better position to know about it. During the course of the trial, Frank was overcome by a deep sense of Christian repentance. His psychological state was such that if he had known about an extermination program, he would have said so.

At one point during the proceedings, Frank was asked by his attorney, "Did you ever take part in any way in the annihilation of Jews?" His reply reflects his emotional state at the time:⁹⁹

I say yes, and the reason why I say yes is because, under the impression of these five months of the proceedings, and especially under the impression of the testimony of the witness [former Auschwitz commandant] Höss, I cannot answer to my conscience to shift the responsibility for this solely on these low-level people. I never built a Jewish extermination camp or helped to bring one into existence. But if Adolf Hitler personally shifted this terrible responsibility onto his people, than it also applies to me. After all, we carried on this struggle against Jewry for years . . . And therefore I have the duty to answer your question in this sense and in this context with yes. A thousand years will pass and this guilt of Germany will not be erased.



Standing among co-defendants in the dock of the Nuremberg Tribunal, Alfred Jodl makes his final plea. Hitler's closest wartime military adviser testified that he had "never heard, either by hint or by written or spoken words, of an extermination of Jews . . . I heard all these things for the first time after the end of the war."

These words, and especially the final sentence, have often been quoted to give the impression that the defendants themselves admitted their guilt and acknowledged the existence of a wartime German policy to exterminate the Jews.¹⁰⁰ Less well-known are Frank's words during his final address to the Tribunal:¹⁰¹

In the witness stand I said that a thousand years would not be enough to erase the guilt of our nation because of Hitler's behavior in this war. [However,] not only the behavior of our wartime enemies against our people and our soldiers, which has been carefully kept out of these proceedings, but also the enormous mass crimes of the most terrible kind against Germans, which I have only now learned about, especially in East Prussia, Silesia, Pomerania and in the Sudetenland, which have been and are still being carried out by Russians, Poles and Czechs, have now already completely canceled out any possible guilt of our people. Who will ever judge these crimes against the German people?

Ernst Kaltenbrunner, wartime head of the powerful Reich Security Main Office (RSHA), was certain that he would soon be put to death regardless of the evidence presented to the Tribunal: "The colonel in charge of the London prison that I was in has told me that I would be hanged in any case, no matter what the outcome would be. Since I am fully aware of that, all I want to do is to clear up on the fundamental things that are wrong here." In a question-and-answer exchange, Kaltenbrunner rejected the charge that he had ordered gassings.¹⁰²

Q. Witness after witness, by testimony and affidavit, has said that the gas chamber killings were done on general or specific orders of Kaltenbrunner.

A. Show me one of those men or any of those orders. It is utterly impossible.

Q. . . Practically all of the orders came through Kaltenbrunner.

A. Entirely impossible.

The case of Albert Speer, one-time Hitler confidant and wartime Armaments Minister, deserves special mention. His Nuremberg defense strategy was unique and also rather successful because he did not hang. While maintaining that he personally knew nothing of an extermination program during the war, he nevertheless declared himself morally culpable for having worked so diligently for a regime he belatedly came to regard as evil. After serving a twenty-year sentence in Spandau prison, the "repentant Nazi" was "rehabilitated" by the mass media for his somewhat subtle but fervent condemnation of the Hitler regime. His contrite memoir, published in the US as *Inside the Third Reich*, was highly acclaimed and sold very profitably in Europe and America.

Until his death in 1981, Speer steadfastly insisted that he did not know of any extermination program or gassings during the war. His position was remarkable because, if a wartime policy to exterminate the Jews had actually existed, almost no one would have been in a better position to have known about it. As Reich Armaments Minister, Speer was responsible for the continental mobilization of all available resources, including critically needed Jewish workers. That millions of Jews could have been transported across Europe and killed at a wartime industrial center as important as Auschwitz, and elsewhere, without Speer's knowledge simply defies belief.¹⁰³

During the Nuremberg "Wilhelmstrasse" trial, the chief of the Reich Chancellery from 1933 to 1945, Hans Lammers, was asked if he "was still of the opinion that no program for exterminating the Jews was ever set up." He answered: "Yes, I am of that opinion. At least the program never came to my attention. The program cannot have been set up." Lammers, who was Hitler's closest legal adviser, went on to explain: "I did not know of any mass killings and, of the cases I heard about, the reports were allegations, rumors . . . The fact that individual cases occurred here and there, the shooting of Jews in wartime in some towns or other, that I read something about that and heard something about that, that is very easily possible."¹⁰⁴

Such testimony by the men who were most familiar with Germany's overall Jewish policy is routinely dismissed as brazen lying. But the categorical and self-consistent nature of this testimony, sometimes by men who knew that death

soon awaited them, suggests a core of truth. On the other hand, to accept the Holocaust extermination story means giving greater credibility to the most fantastic and often demonstrably false testimonies by very questionable witnesses.

Other Postwar Trials

During the decades since Nuremberg, many individuals have been tried in (West) Germany and other countries for alleged wartime participation in exterminating the Jews. Rarely, if ever, has a defendant ever substantially challenged the Holocaust story. The accused invariably adopted the defense strategy successfully used by Speer at Nuremberg: He accepted the extermination story but denied or minimized his own personal involvement. To deny an extermination program in trials that were organized on the working assumption that such a program existed would have been judicial suicide.

These trials are comparable in some respects to the Soviet show trials of 1936-1938. The defendants in the well-publicized Moscow trials never denied the existence of vast criminal conspiracies involving major Soviet personalities who supposedly plotted the most horrible crimes in league with hostile foreign powers. Instead, the accused pleaded that he was not personally guilty, or that his guilt was minimal and that he had truly repented. (Remarkably, even *foreign observers who should have known better, such as US Ambassador in Moscow Joseph Davies*, were inclined to accept the Stalinist show trials as genuine and essentially just.)¹⁰⁵

Comparisons have also been drawn between the "Holocaust" trials and the witchcraft trials of past centuries. Those accused of witchcraft never denied the existence or diabolical power of witches. Instead they insisted that they were not personally guilty of the charges against them. Nuremberg defendant Hans Fritzsche, who had been one of Germany's most prominent and effective wartime radio news commentators, summed up the problem: "If someone accuses me of killing someone, than I can prove the contrary. But if I am accused of being the devil, there's no way to disprove that, because it can't be done."¹⁰⁶

One of the most important of the post-Nuremberg "Holocaust" trials was the 1963-1965 Frankfurt "Auschwitz" trial

of 22 former Auschwitz SS men. The lengthy case received worldwide media coverage and assumed something of the character of a show trial.¹⁰⁷ Deciding the guilt or innocence of the defendants was “extraordinarily difficult,” the judges declared in their verdict, because of the very inconclusive nature of the evidence. “We have no absolute evidence for the individual killings. We have only the witness testimonies.” The judges acknowledged that “the possibilities of verifying the witness declarations were very limited.” The judges further emphasized “this weakness of witness testimony” by citing the case of a Buchenwald official convicted of murdering an inmate who later turned up alive.¹⁰⁸

This situation was embarrassingly underscored during the trial when former inmate Rudolf Kauer suddenly repudiated earlier statements about his one-time SS masters. In pre-trial interrogation he claimed to have seen defendant Wilhelm Boger brutally beat a naked Polish woman with a horse whip, ripping off one breast and flooding a room with blood. When asked to repeat his statement in court, Kauer admitted: “I lied about that. That was just a yarn going around the camp. I never saw it . . .” Another claim that Boger had smashed an infant’s skull against a tree trunk was also not true, he confessed. Although Boger was not liked, Kauer told the court, he was actually a just SS man.

Another defendant, Klaus Dylewski, whom Kauer had called “one of the worse killers” at Auschwitz, was actually “harmless.” All of his pre-trial accusations were lies, Kauer said, calmly adding: “You can punish me if you want. I am used to that.” After the presiding judge admonished him several times for repudiating his earlier statements, Kauer replied: “We don’t need to lose any more words. It’s not worth it. What I say now is the truth.”¹⁰⁹

Former Auschwitz camp adjutant and SS Captain Robert Mulka, the main defendant in the trial, was pronounced guilty of participation in mass murder and sentenced to 14 years at hard labor, a verdict that many outsiders considered outrageously lenient. But less than four months later Mulka was quietly released, an outcome that should astonish only those not familiar with the nature of such trials.¹¹⁰

Conclusion

Very few of those who glibly refer to “all the Nuremberg evidence” as proof for the Holocaust extermination story are familiar with either the real nature of this “evidence” or the character of these trials. On closer examination, solid documentary or forensic evidence of a wartime German policy to exterminate Europe’s Jews proves to be elusive. As we have seen, the evidence that has been presented consists largely of extorted confessions, spurious testimonies, and fraudulent documents. The postwar Nuremberg trials were politically motivated proceedings meant more to discredit the leaders of a defeated regime than to establish truth.

We do not need trials or “confessions” to prove that the Katyn massacre or the postwar deportation of Germans from eastern and central Europe actually took place. By comparison, the Holocaust story does not claim just a few isolated massacres, but a vast extermination program taking place across the European continent over a three-year period involving several governments and millions of people. The fact that the Holocaust story must rely so heavily on highly dubious testimony evidence and trials staged in a historically unparalleled atmosphere of hysteria, intimidation and propaganda demonstrates its inherent weakness.

Notes

1. Office of the United States Chief of Counsel for the Prosecution of Axis Criminality, *Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression* (11 vols.), Washington, DC: U.S. Govt., 1946-1948. (The “red series.”) / NC&A, Vol. 1, pp. 134-135.
2. International Military Tribunal, *Trial of the Major War Criminals Before the International Military Tribunal*. 42 vols. Nuremberg: 1947-1949. (The “blue series.”) / IMT, vol. 19, p. 501.
3. See the succinct declaration by all the German defense attorneys in the IMT case. Published in: Jay W. Baird, ed., *From Nuremberg to My Lai* (Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath, 1972), pp. 81-83.; Note also the summary comment by Hans Lammers of the Nuremberg verdict

against him, in: Georg Franz-Willing, *Die Reichskanzlei 1933-1945* (Tübingen: 1984), p. 221.

4. Werner Maser, *Nuremberg: A Nation on Trial* (New York: Scribner's, 1979), pp. 281, 282.; The liberal American weekly *Nation* editorially acknowledged in October 1945: "The Nuremberg court is political court with a political job to perform." *Nation*, Oct. 27, 1945, p. 418. Quoted in: James J. Martin, *Revisionist Viewpoints* (Colorado Springs: 1971), p. 125.
5. International Military Tribunal, *Trial of the Major War Criminals...* ("blue series"), IMT, Vol. 19, p. 398. (Testimony of July 26, 1946).; In a letter to his wife, written shortly before his execution, former Foreign Minister Joachim von Ribbentrop commented: "Everyone knows that the [guilty] verdict is utterly untenable, but I was once Adolf Hitler's Foreign Minister and politics demands that for this fact I shall be condemned." Quoted in: Joachim C. Fest, *The Face of the Third Reich* (New York: 1970), p. 185.
6. Robert Conquest, *The Great Terror* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), p. 92.
7. *Report of Robert H. Jackson, United States Representative to the International Conference on Military Trials, London, 1945* (Washington, DC: US State Dept., 1949), pp. 104-106, 303.; Whitney R. Harris, *Tyranny on Trial: The Evidence at Nuremberg* (Dallas: S.M.U. Press, 1954), pp. 16-17.; Leo Kahn, *Nuremberg Trials* (New York: Ballantine, 1972), p. 26.
8. Nahum Goldmann, *The Jewish Paradox* (New York: 1978), p. 122.; N. Goldmann, *The Autobiography of Nahum Goldmann* (New York: 1969), pp. 216-217.; WJC official Rabbi Maurice Perlzweig claimed in 1949 that "it was the WJC which had secured the holding of the Nuremberg Trials . . ." See: "W.J.C. Claims: The Nuremberg Trials," *Jewish Chronicle* (London), Dec. 16, 1949, p. 17. See also confirmatory letter by Zelmanovits in: *Jewish Chronicle*, Dec. 30, 1949, p. 16. Note also: Milton R. Konvitz, "Will Nuremberg Serve Justice?," *Commentary* (New York), Vol. I, No. 3, January 1946, p. 11.
9. World Jewish Congress, *Unity in Dispersion* (New York: WJC, 1948), pp. 141, 264, 266, 267.
10. Robert E. Conot, *Justice at Nuremberg* (New York: Harper & Row, 1983), pp. 10-13; Bradley F. Smith, *Reaching Judgment at Nuremberg* (New York: Basic, 1977), pp. 26-33. Tom Bower, *Blind Eye to Murder* (London: 1983), pp. 116 f. On the other hand, American-Jewish newspaper publisher Joseph Pulitzer did not favor such trials. In May 1945 he urged that 1.5 million leading Germans should be simply be summarily shot. *The New York Times*, May 23, 1945, p. 11.

11. Arthur R. Butz, *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* (IHR, 1983), pp. 27-30, 100. Sources cited: Ted Berkman, *Cast a Giant Shadow* (1962); "War Crimes" article written by Marcus in *Britannica Book of the Year, 1947*, pp. 819-21; *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, vol. 11, p. 945; *Saturday Evening Post*, Dec. 4, 1948, p. 179. See also: R. Conot, *Justice at Nuremberg* (1983), p. 11.
12. Hal Foust, "Nazi Trial Judge Rips 'Injustice'," *Chicago Tribune*, Feb. 23, 1948, pp. 1, 2.
13. Alpheus T. Mason, *Harlan Fiske Stone: Pillar of the Law* (New York: Viking, 1956), p. 716.
14. *Congressional Record - Appendix*, Vol. 95, Sec. 14, (June 15, 1949), p. A 3741.
15. *Congressional Record - House*, Vol. 93, Sec. 9, (Nov. 28, 1947), p. 10938. Also quoted in: W. Bosch, *Judgment on Nuremberg* (1970), p. 83.
16. Delivered at Kenyon College, Ohio, Oct. 5, 1946. *Vital Speeches of the Day*, Nov. 1, 1946, p. 47. Text also published in: Jay W. Baird, ed., *From Nuremberg to My Lai* (Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath, 1972), pp. 107-113. See also: William Bosch, *Judgment on Nuremberg* (1970), pp. 73-81. Taft's devotion to principle during a time of widespread anti-German hysteria impressed John F. Kennedy, who praised the Ohio senator's stand in his award-winning best seller, *Profiles in Courage*.
17. M. R. Konvitz, "Will Nuremberg Serve Justice?," *Commentary*, January 1946 (Vol. I, No. 3), p. 11.
18. H. K. Thompson and H. Strutz, eds., *Doenitz at Nuremberg: A Reappraisal* (IHR, 1983), p. 196.
19. H. K. Thompson and H. Strutz, eds., *Doenitz at Nuremberg* (1983), pp. 194-195. Similarly, British Admiral Sir Barry Domville, former Director of British Naval Intelligence and President of the Royal Naval College, stated: "Anybody who was a victim of the iniquitous Nuremberg Trials has my deep sympathy. I am only surprised that so many reputable men in both our countries were found willing to take part in such a travesty of justice . . . The Nuremberg Trials leave an indelible blot upon the reputations of all countries which took part in them." (H. K. Thompson and H. Strutz, eds., *Doenitz at Nuremberg*, p. 164.)
20. Henry Fairlie, "How the Good War Went Bad," *The New Republic*, May 20, 1985, pp. 18 ff.
21. Henry L. Stimson, who had served as US Secretary of War, 1940-1945, wrote in 1947: ". . . In the judgment of Nuremberg there is

affirmed the central principle of peace . . . A standard has been raised to which Americans, at least, must repair; for it is only as this standard is accepted, supported and enforced that we can move onward to a world of law and peace." Quoted in: Jay W. Baird, ed., *From Nuremberg to My Lai* (Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath, 1972), p. 125. Nuremberg Tribunal defendant Alfred Rosenberg declared: "I frankly welcome the idea that a crime of genocide is to be outlawed by international agreement and placed under the severest penalties . . ." International Military Tribunal, *Trial of the Major War Criminals* . . . ("blue series"), IMT, vol. 22, p. 382.

22. W. Bosch, *Judgment on Nuremberg* (1970), p. 189.
23. Werner Maser, *Nuremberg: A Nation on Trial* (1979), pp. 69, 302 (n. 23). See also: James McMillan, *Five Men at Nuremberg* (London: 1985), pp. 412-413.
24. See: Ulrich Stern, ed., *Die wahren Schuldigen am zweiten Weltkrieg* (Munich: 1990).
25. Jackson letter to Truman, Oct. 12, 1945. State Department files. Quoted in: R. Conot, *Justice at Nuremberg* (1983), p. 68.
26. Constantine FitzGibbon, *Denazification* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1969), pp. 71-72.
27. "Behind the scenes at Nuremberg," *Daily Telegraph* (London), Jan. 27, 1977, p. 19.; J. McMillan, *Five Men at Nuremberg* (1985), pp. 245, 414.
28. See: Richard H. Minear, *Victor's Justice: The Tokyo War Crimes Trial* (Tokyo: C. Tuttle, 1984), p. 57.
29. M. Vozlenski, *Der Spiegel*, Oct. 6, 1986 (No. 41), pp. 55 ff.
30. George F. Kennan, *Memoirs 1925-1950* (Boston: Little Brown, 1967), pp. 175, 261.
31. "The Nuremberg Judgment," editorial, *The Economist* (London), Oct. 5, 1946, p. 532.; See also: J. McMillan, *Five Men at Nuremberg*, pp. 67, 173-174, 380, 414 f.
32. Marguerite Higgins, "Russian Quotes Allied Sanction of Deportations," *New York Herald Tribune*, Nov. 14, 1946.
33. James Bacque, *Other Losses* (Toronto: Stoddart, 1989). See especially pp. 26-28.
34. Quoted in: Wolf R. Hess, *My Father Rudolf Hess* (London: 1986), pp. 392 f.

35. *Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression* ("red series"), NC&A, vol. 1, p. vi (preface).; William L. Shirer, *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich* (New York: 1960), pp. ix, x.
36. Lucy Dawidowicz, *A Holocaust Reader* (New York: Behrman, 1976), pp. 2-3.; *Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression* ("red series"), NC&A, vol. 1, p. vi. See also: C. Mattogno, "Myth," *Journal of Historical Review*, Summer 1988, pp. 133-134.; John Mendelsohn, "The Holocaust: Records in the National Archives . . .," *Prologue* (Washington, DC: National Archives), Spring 1984, pp. 23 ff. Raul Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews* (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1985), pp. 1224-27.
37. Alfred M. de Zayas, *The Wehrmacht War Crimes Bureau* (Lincoln: 1990), p. 238 f.
38. Leon Poliakov, *Harvest of Hate* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1979), p. 108.; Princeton University history professor Arno Mayer wrote that "authentic documents about the making, transmission, and implementation of the extermination policy" are "rare." Arno J. Mayer, *Why Did the Heavens Not Darken?* (New York: 1989), p. 363.
39. W. Maser, *Nuremberg: A Nation on Trial* (1979), pp. 97, 98, 99, 272, 273-274, 331 (n. 50).; Plea by attorney Dr. Alfred Seidl in: Udo Walendy, ed., *Auschwitz im IG-Farben Prozess* (Vlotho: 1981), pp. 380, 383.; Hildegard Springer (Hans Fritzsche), *Das Schwert auf der Waage* (Heidelberg: K. Vowinkel, 1953), p. 112.; John Mendelsohn, "Trial by Document," *Prologue* (Washington, DC: National Archives), Winter 1975, esp. pp. 230-231.; Richard Pemsel, *Hitler* (Tübingen: 1986), pp. 87-89, 104.; IMT defense attorney Dr. H. Pelckmann protested against the "disappearance" of important defense documents: International Military Tribunal "blue series," vol. 21 (pp. 383-409 of German-language IMG edition). Quoted in: U. Walendy, ed., "Lügen um Heinrich Himmler," II. Teil, *Historische Tatsachen* Nr. 47 (Vlotho: 1991), p. 32.; On the protests of defense attorneys about some of these difficulties, see: Carlos Porter, *Made in Russia: The Holocaust* (1988), pp. 242-244, 248, 249, 252-256.
40. Karl Hoeffkes, ed., *Deutsch-sowjetische Geheimverbindungen* (1988), pp. 28-30.; R. Pemsel, *Hitler* (Tübingen: 1986), p. 104.
41. W. Maser, *Nuremberg* (1979), p. 199.
42. *Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression* ("red series"), NC&A, Vol. 1, p. 9.; Jay W. Baird, ed., *From Nuremberg to My Lai* (Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath, 1972), pp. 16-17.
43. Documents 159-L (USA-222) and PS-3311 (USA-293). Published in: IMT ("blue series"), vol. 37, p. 621, and, IMT, vol. 32, pp. 153-158.

44. IMT ("blue series"), vol. 1, p. 54.; IMT, vol. 7, pp. 425-427.; A. de Zayas, *Wehrmacht War Crimes Bureau* (1990), pp. 228-239.; J. McMillan, *Five Men at Nuremberg*, pp. 51, 67, 222.; R. Conot, *Justice at Nuremberg*, pp. 66-67, 452-455.; Document USSR-54 is published in IMT ("blue series"), vol. 39, pp. 290-332.; See also: C. Porter, *Made in Russia: The Holocaust* (1988), pp. 100-120, 229, 230, 234-235.; R. Faurisson, "Katyn a Nuremberg," *Revue d'Histoire Révisionniste*, No. 2, Aug.-Oct. 1990, pp. 138 ff.
45. *New York Times*, April 13 and 14, 1990.
46. Dorothy Rabinowitz, *About the Holocaust* (New York: 1979), p. 6.; A. Suzman and D. Diamond, *Six Million Did Die* (Johannesburg: 1978), pp. 33, 34, 35.
47. Internationally respected historian Werner Maser has noted "the existence of forged documents" at Nuremberg. W. Maser, *Nuremberg*, p. 98.; See also: Ingrid Weckert, *Feuerzeichen* (Tübingen: 1981), pp. 151, 155, 171.; After the war, Eichmann also expressed the view that some purported documents are fraudulent. See: Rudolf Aschenauer, ed., *Ich, Adolf Eichmann* (1980), p. 153.
48. IMT ("blue series"), vol. 22, pp. 148 f.; See: C. Porter, *Made in Russia* (1988), pp. 269-270, 410-411.; Defendant Baldur von Schirach, wartime *Gauleiter* of Vienna, complained that another prosecution document was fraudulent: IMT ("blue series"), vol. 14, p. 451.; Defendant Göring and attorney Stahmer objected to another document: IMT, vol. 9, pp. 610 f.
49. M. Weber, "Simon Wiesenthal," *Journal of Historical Review*, Winter 1989-1990, p. 443.
50. Cited or quoted in: IMT ("blue series"), vol. 7, pp. 442-443; vol. 14, pp. 518-519; vol. 19, pp. 256-259, 437-438, 494-495, 498; vol. 24, p. 182.
51. W. Malanowski, *Der Spiegel*, Sept. 7, 1985, pp. 92 ff.; M. Weber, "Swiss Historian Exposes . . .," *Journal of Historical Review*, Fall 1983 (Vol. 4, No. 3), pp. 378-380.; H. W. Koch, ed., *Aspects of the Third Reich* (New York: St. Martin's, 1985), pp. 13 f.; "Antideutscher Schwindel-Verleger gestorben," *D. National-Zeitung* (Munich), Jan. 24, 1992, p. 9.
52. Dankwart Kluge, *Das Hossbach - 'Protokoll'* (1980); M. Weber, *Journal of Historical Review*, Fall 1983 (Vol. 4, No. 3), pp. 372 ff.; A.J.P. Taylor, *An Old Man's Diary* (London: 1984), p. 154. (Taylor added: "No evidence that Hitler planned aggressive war has ever been produced . . . [This] revision upsets the entire verdict of the Nuremberg Tribunal, which is still solemnly quoted as justification of the Allied war against Germany.").

53. Heath W. Lowry, "The U.S. Congress and Adolf Hitler on the Armenians," *Political Communication and Persuasion*, Vol. 3, No. 2, 1985. Reprinted in: *Armenian Allegations: Myth and Reality* (Washington, DC: 1986), pp. 119-132.; See also the letters by Dr. Robert John in the *New York Times*, June 8 and July 6, 1985.
54. L. Dawidowicz, *A Holocaust Reader* (1976), p. 10.; In her 1981 book, *The Holocaust and the Historians* (pp. 100-101), Dawidowicz wrote of the case of Polish-Jewish historian Ber(nard) Mark, Director of the Jewish Historical Institute of Warsaw and author of several Holocaust books. She charged that he had falsified Holocaust sources. Another Jewish historian, Michel Borwicz, similarly charged in 1962 that Ber Mark was a falsifier ("transformer") of documents. See: M. Borwicz, *Revue d'Histoire de la Deuxieme Guerre Mondiale* (Paris), No. 45, Jan. 1962, p. 93.
55. Raul Hilberg has noted that Martin Gilbert's 1985 book, *The Holocaust*, relies heavily on such questionable testimony. See interview with Hilberg in: "Recording the Holocaust," *Jerusalem Post International Edition*, week ending June 28, 1986, pp. 8, 9.; On the general unreliability of "witness testimony," see *Witness for the Defense* (by E. Loftus & K. Ketcham), reviewed by John Cobden in *The Journal of Historical Review*, Summer 1991 (Vol. 11, No. 2), pp. 238-249.
56. Gerald Reitlinger, *The Final Solution* (London: Sphere books, pb., 1971), p. 581.
57. Jean-Claude Pressac, *Auschwitz : Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers* (1989), p. 23.
58. H. Arendt, *Eichmann in Jerusalem* (New York: Compass/Viking, 1965), p. 224.
59. L. Dawidowicz, *A Holocaust Reader* (1976), p. 11.; Jewish Holocaust historian Gitta Sereny has complained about those who have simply "invented Holocaust events." See: G. Sereny, *New Statesman* (London), July 17, 1981, p. 17.
60. G. Tillion, "Le Systeme concentrationnaire allemand," *Revue de l'histoire de la Deuxieme Guerre mondiale*, July 1954. (Quoted in: *IHR Newsletter*, No. 59, July 1988, pp. 5, 6.)
61. *Jewish Social Studies* (New York: Conference on Jewish Relations), Jan. 1950, Vol. 12, pp. 65-66.
62. B. Amouyal, "Doubts over evidence of camp survivors," *Jerusalem Post* (Israel), August 17, 1986, p. 1.; Similarly, many American imposters have falsely but convincingly claimed heroic participation in pitched battles or involvement in horrific atrocities during the Vietnam war. See: "Fighting Lies for Vietnam: Phony Soldiers," *The*

Washington Times, June 4, 1990, pp. D1, D5.; "Imitation Vietnam Syndrome," *Baltimore Sun*, March 20, 1988, pp. 1E, 5E.

63. R. Conot, *Justice at Nuremberg*, p. 454.; A. de Zayas, *Wehrmacht War Crimes Bureau* (1990), pp. 230-235.
64. Sworn and notarized statement by Pinter, Feb. 9, 1960. Facsimile in: Erich Kern, ed., *Verheimlichte Dokumente* (Munich: 1988), p. 429.; Note also Pinter report in *Der Weg*, No. 8, 1954, reprinted in: U. Walendy, ed., "Politkriminologie," *Historische Tatsachen* Nr. 43 (Vlotho: 1990), pp. 20 ff.
65. Freda Uteley, *The High Cost of Vengeance* (Chicago: Regnery, 1949), p. 195.
66. Written declaration of A. Gross, in: Erich Kern, *Meineid gegen Deutschland* (1971), p. 264.
67. J. Halow, "Innocent at Dachau," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Winter 1989-1990, pp. 459-483. ; Halow deals with this entire issue in greater detail in his book, *Innocent at Dachau*, to be published by the IHR.
 In 1948 German bishop Dr. Johannes Neuhausler, who been interned for several years in the Sachsenhausen and Dachau camps during the war, condemned the use of such "professional witnesses" in American run trials, and cited a particularly blatant example. *Münchener Katholische Kirchenzeitung*, Nov. 7, 1948. Quoted in: *D. National-Zeitung* (Munich), Dec. 13, 1985, p. 6.
68. "Major Poullada's Final Defense Plea in the Nordhausen-Dora Concentration Camp Case," *Journal of Historical Review*, Spring 1991 (Vol. 11, No. 1), pp. 81-119.
69. Letter by former OSI director Walter J. Rockler, *National Law Journal*, Dec. 8, 1980, p. 14.; See also: B. Amouyal, "Treblinka witnesses were discredited," *Jerusalem Post - International Edition*, Week ending April 5, 1986.
70. "Nazi Hunter Looks for Witnesses, Finds Hucksters," *Jewish Press* (Brooklyn, NY), Dec. 4, 1981, p. 2.
71. "The Nazi Who Never Was," *The Washington Post*, May 10, 1981, pp. B5, B8.; Michael Arndt, "The Wrong Man," *Sunday, The Chicago Tribune Magazine*, Dec. 2, 1984, pp. 15- 35.; Kirk Makin, "Media distorted . . .," *The Globe and Mail* (Toronto), Feb. 15, 1985, pp. M1, M3.
72. Emil Lachout, an Austrian officer who served with the postwar Allied War Crimes Commission, testified under oath in a 1988 court case that German officials had been tortured to produce fraudulent statements about alleged killings of Jews in German camp gas

chambers. He also provided what he said was a copy of a 1948 document confirming this. See: Robert Lenski, *Holocaust on Trial* (1990), pp. 274, 278.; Müller circular notice, Oct. 1, 1948, published in: *Journal of Historical Review*, Spring 1988, pp. 117-124.

73. Rupert Butler, *Legions of Death* (England: 1983), pp. 235-239.; R. Faurisson, "How the British Obtained the Confessions of Rudolf Höss," *Journal of Historical Review*, Winter 1986-1987, pp. 389-403.
74. Höss statement, April 5, 1946. Document 3868-PS (USA-819).; Höss statement, May 20, 1946. Document NI-034.; Höss testimony at the Nuremberg Tribunal, published in: IMT ("blue series"), vol. vol. 33, pp. 275-279 ; NC&A ("red series"), vol. 6, pp. 787-790.
75. Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, *The Gulag Archipelago* I-II (New York: Harper & Row, 1974), p. 112 (n. 15).
76. IMT ("blue series"), vol. 15, pp. 64-68.
77. IMT ("blue series"), vol. 17, p. 214.; K. Heiden, "Why They Confess," *Life* magazine, June 20, 1949, pp. 92 ff. (During the trial Fritzsche recanted his forced statement.)
78. W. Maser, *Nuremberg: A Nation on Trial* (1979), pp. 51-52, 47, 60.; K. Stimely, "The Torture of Julius Streicher," *Journal of Historical Review*, Spring 1984, pp. 106-119.; "Streicher Case Opens," *The Times* (London), April 27, 1946, p. 3.; Rupert Butler, *Legions of Death* (England: 1983), pp. 238-239.; Montgomery Belgium, *Victor's Justice* (Regnery, 1949), p. 90.
79. Montgomery Belgium, *Victor's Justice* (1949), pp. 80-81. Cited in: A. Butz, *Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, p. 189.
80. Nuremberg "Case 8" presiding judge Wyatt took note of the charges of torture. "During the course of the trial," the American jurist declared, "several witnesses, including some defendants, who made affidavits that were offered as evidence by the prosecution, testified that they were threatened, and that duress of a very improper nature was practiced by an interrogator." Nuremberg Military Tribunals, *Trials of the War Criminals* . . . ("green series,"/ Washington, DC: 1949-1953), NMT, vol. 15, p. 879.
81. Letter by Lutz Schwerin von Krosigk written in Essen, April 15, 1975, shortly before his death. Published in: *Die Bauernschaft* (Mohrkirch), April 1981, pp. 34-35.; Freda Uitley, *The High Cost of Vengeance* (Chicago: Regnery, 1949), p. 172.; T. Bower, *Blind Eye to Murder* (1983), p. 314.; "US Ankläger Kempner schwer belastet," *Deutsche Wochen-Zeitung*, Feb. 23, 1973. Cited in: Austin App, *No Time for Silence* (IHR, 1987), p. 17.

82. John Toland, *Adolf Hitler* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1976), p. 774.; Karlheinz Pintsch, an adjutant of Hitler's deputy Rudolf Hess, was tortured for months by the Soviet secret police in Moscow in an effort to force him to sign a statement designed to incriminate Hess. In spite of his cruel treatment, Pintsch never gave in. Wolf R. Hess, *My Father Rudolf Hess* (London: 1986), p. 62.
83. Milch sworn statement, April 9, 1947. Quoted in: E. Kern, ed., *Verheimlichte Dokumente* (1988), p. 400.
84. R. Wistrich, *Who's Who in Nazi Germany* (New York: Bonanza, 1984), p. 210.
85. On Dachau trial abuses see: Freda Utley, *The High Cost of Vengeance* (Chicago: Regnery, 1949), pp. 185-200.; Judge Edward L. van Roden, "American Atrocities in Germany," *The Progressive*, Feb. 1949, pp. 21-22. Reprinted in: *The Congressional Record* - Appendix, Vol. 95, Sec. 12, (March 10, 1949), pp. A1365-66.; Dachau trial defense attorney Lt. Col. Willis M. Everett, Jr., reviewed prosecution methods in a petition submitted to the Supreme Court. Complete text in: *The Congressional Record* - Senate, Vol. 95, Sec. 2, (March 10, 1949), pp. 2159-2165. Important excerpts were published in: *The Congressional Record* - Appendix, Vol. 95, Sec. 13, (April 5, 1949), pp. A-2065-67. Also useful are: Montgomery Beligion, *Victor's Justice* (Regnery, 1949).; Reginald T. Paget, *Manstein: His Campaigns and His Trial* (London: 1951).
86. J. Halow, "Innocent at Dachau," *Journal of Historical Review*, Winter 1989-90, p. 459.; See also: T. Bower, *Blind Eye to Murder*, pp. 304, 310, 313.
87. J. Halow, "Innocent at Dachau," *Journal of Historical Review*, Winter 1989-90 (Vol. 9, No. 4), pp. 452-483. Note especially pp. 478-482 (G. Petrat statement of Sept. 10, 1948).
88. "Korean War," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 1973 edition, Vol. 13, p. 474.; Phillip Knightley, *The First Casualty* (1975), p. 355.
89. Legal brief for Oswald Pohl ("Grundzüge des Systems der Deutschen Konzentrationslager und Bemerkungen zum Urteil des Militärtribunals II gegen Oswald Pohl"), pp. 23-27. Compiled (in 1948?) by defense attorney Dr. Alfred Seidl. Copy provided to the author in 1990 by the defendant's grandson, Fritjof Pohl.; W. Maser, *Nuremberg* (1979), p. 100.; See also Oswald Pohl's written statement of June 1, 1948, cited below.
90. Written statement by Pohl, June 1, 1948. *Deutsche Hochschullehrerzeitung* (Tübingen), Nr. 1/2, 1963, pp. 21-26. Reprinted in: U. Walendy, ed., "Lügen um Heinrich Himmler, II. Teil," *Historische Tatsachen* Nr. 47 (Vloth: 1991), pp. 35-40.; Although I have not been able to obtain a copy of the original text of Pohl's 1948 statement, its

essential accuracy can be confirmed by comparing it with the text of the legal brief (cited above) compiled by his attorney, Dr. Siedl. Fritjof Pohl (Oswald Pohl's grandson) and Wigbert Grabert (son of the editor-publisher of the *Deutsche Hochschullehrerzeitung*) have also confirmed the authenticity of Pohl's 1948 statement.

91. W. Maser, *Nuremberg* (New York: 1979), p. 100.
92. W. Maser, *Nuremberg*, p. 175.
93. Nuremberg Military Tribunal, NMT ("green series"), Vol. 5, p. 934.
94. R. Hilberg, *Destruction of the European Jews* (1985), p. 1067.; R. Faurisson, "Response," *Journal of Historical Review*, Spring 1986, p. 40.; J. Heydecker and J. Leeb, *Der Nürnberger Prozess* (Cologne: 1958), pp. 489 ff. Cited in: W. Stäglich, *Der Auschwitz-Mythos* (1979), p. 104.; See also: R. Conot, *Justice at Nuremberg*, p. 514.
According to a recent editorial in the *San Francisco Examiner* ("Holocaust disbelievers," March 30, 1992), "Not a single war criminal tried at Nuremberg offered as a defense, 'It didn't happen', they said they were "only following orders."
95. IMT ("blue series"), vol. 9, pp. 611, 612, 619.; Wm. L. Shirer, *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich* (New York: 1960), p. 964, footnote.; During a conversation in early 1946 with his defense attorney, Göring said: "I really knew nothing about the mass murder of Jews." Quoted by a young lawyer who was an assistant to Göring's defense attorney, Dr. Stahmer, in: *Gespräche mit Hermann Göring während des Nürnberger Prozesses*, Teil I (W. Germany: 1950 and reprint. no date, no place), p. 15. (Conversation on Jan. 12, 1946).; See also: David Irving, *Göring* (New York: 1989), p. 469.
96. Hans Fritzsche (H. Springer), *The Sword in the Scales* (London: A. Wingate, 1953), pp. 144-145. German edition: *Das Schwert auf der Waage* (Heidelberg: K. Vowinkel, 1953), p. 118.
97. IMT ("blue series"), vol. 15, pp. 332-333. Also quoted in: J. McMillan, *Five Men at Nuremberg*, pp. 239-240.;
See also the similar testimonies of: Radio commentator and propaganda ministry official Hans Fritzsche: A. de Zayas, *Wehrmacht War Crimes Bureau* (1990), p. 111.; Economics minister Walter Funk: IMT ("blue series"), vol. 22, pp. 387 f.; Minister for the occupied Soviet territories Alfred Rosenberg: IMT, vol. 22, p. 382.; Foreign Minister von Ribbentrop: R. Conot, *Justice at Nuremberg*, p. 54.; Foreign Office State Secretary Ernst von Weizsäcker: NMT, vol. 13, pp. 437, 443, 445.; Note also statements by officials Stuckart, Klopfer, Leibbrandt, and Kritzinger, in: Robert Kempner, *Eichmann und Komplizen* (Zurich: 1961), pp. 151-160.; Documents PL-54 and PL-64 in: IMT ("blue series"), vol. 42, pp. 348, 385.

98. IMT ("blue series"), vol. 12, pp. 17-19.; See also the testimony of Joseph Bühler, who worked closely with Frank for many years: IMT, vol. 12, pp. 64, 69, 70.; Note also: R. Faurisson, "Challenge," *Journal of Historical Review*, Winter 1984, pp. 298 f.
99. IMT ("blue series"), vol. 12, p. 13. German text quoted in: Richard Pemsel, *Hitler* (Tübingen: 1986), p. 317.
100. Final sentence quoted by British prosecutor Shawcross at Nuremberg: IMT ("blue series"), vol. 19, p. 433, and in: W. Shirer, *Rise and Fall of the Third Reich* (1960), p. vii.; Entire passage quoted in: R. Hilberg, *Destruction of the European Jews* (1985), p. 1055.; R. Conot, *Justice at Nuremberg*, p. 380.
101. IMT ("blue series"), vol. 22, p. 385. German text quoted in: R. Pemsel, *Hitler* (1986), p. 129.; Postwar criminal mistreatment of the Germans by the Allies is dealt with in *Gruesome Harvest* by Ralph F. Keeling, and in *Nemesis at Potsdam* by Alfred de Zayas.
102. *Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression* ("red series"), Suppl. vol. B, pp. 1306-1307, 1299. See also: IMT, vol. 22, pp. 378-379.; Hans Fritzsche (H. Springer), *The Sword in the Scales* (London: Wingate, 1953), pp. 182-187.
103. Matthias Schmidt, *Albert Speer: The End of a Myth* (New York: 1985), pp. 194-195. See also: M. Weber, "Albert Speer and the Holocaust," *Journal of Historical Review*, Winter 1984, p. 439.; M. Weber, "Legal Declaration," *Journal of Historical Review*, Spring 1982, pp. 42-43.; A. Butz, *Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, pp. 179-180.; Henry A. Turner, Jr., "The Nazi Who Made a Comeback," *The New York Times Book Review*, March 3, 1985, pp. 9-10.
104. NMT ("green series"), vol. 13, pp. 421, 430.; See also Lammers' testimony in IMT ("blue series"), vol. 11, pp. 53, 115-116.; Lammers' career and the history of the Reich Chancellery during the Third Reich is dealt with in: Georg Franz-Willing, *Der Reichskanzlei: 1933-1945* (Tübingen: 1984).
105. On the Moscow show trials, see: Robert Conquest, *The Great Terror* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1990), pp. 83-132, 468.; Joseph E. Davies, *Mission To Moscow* (New York: Pocket Books, 1943), pp. 38-39.; Edward Crankshaw, ed., *Khrushchev Remembers* (Boston: 1970), pp. 352-353.
106. H. Fritzsche, *Es sprach Hans Fritzsche*, p. 144. Quoted in: R. Pemsel, *Hitler* (1986), p. 167.
107. See Wilhelm Staeglich's useful analysis of the trial, *Auschwitz: A Judge Looks at the Evidence* (IHR, 1990), especially chapter four. (German-language edition: *Der Auschwitz-Mythos*, 1979).; See also: Konnilyn Feig, *Hitler's Death Camps* (New York: 1981), p. 365.

108. Bernd Naumann, *Auschwitz* (New York: Praeger, 1966), pp. 8-26, 416-417. Quoted in: A. Butz, *Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, pp. 187-188.
109. "Belastende Aussage angeblich unter Alkohol," *Frankfurter Rundschau*, July 7, 1964, p. 7.; "Der Auschwitz-Prozess," *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, July 7, 1964, p. 6.; "Lied About Auschwitz," *Miami Herald* (UPI dispatch), July 7, 1964, p. 15-A or 4-D, depending on edition.
110. Cited by A. Butz in: "Perspective in the 'Holocaust' Controversy," *Journal of Historical Review*, Winter 1982, p. 374, and in the 1983 US edition of *Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, p. 338.; K. Feig reports in *Hitler's Death Camps* (1981), p. 365, that *all* of the defendants were set free on appeal.

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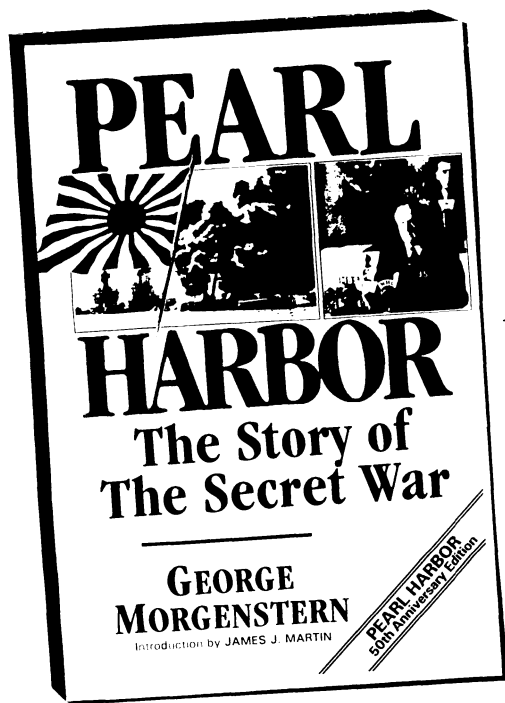
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REVIEW

Jewish Writer Grapples With Ethical Dilemma of the Holocaust and Zionism

BEYOND INNOCENCE AND REDEMPTION: Confronting the Holocaust and Israeli Power, by Marc H. Ellis. New York: Harper & Row (Harper Collins), 1990. Softcover. 205 pages. Bibliography. Endnotes. Index. \$13.00. ISBN: 0 06 062215 6.

Reviewed by Robert Countess

Many years before the recent, dramatic collapse of the Soviet Union, the Communist ideology on which it was based had already proven itself to be an obvious failure. Even after the Marxist-Leninist ideology had clearly shown itself unable to live up to its lofty promises, the Soviet regime was still able to hobble along for several decades.

Something very similar appears to be happening in the case of Israel and its operating ideology, Zionism.

Theodor Herzl, the founder of modern Zionism, and other prominent Zionist thinkers believed that Jewish nationalism (Zionism) would transform the Jews into a “normal” people. For centuries, Herzl argued, Jews had lived as a minority people among non-Jewish host populations. This situation inevitably gave rise to and encouraged anti-Jewish sentiment (“anti-Semitism”). Zionism would change all that, Herzl insisted. When Jews live as “normal” people in a country of their own, the basis for anti-Semitism would finally disappear.

It hasn’t worked out that way. The great majority of Jews around the world continue to live outside Israel as a highly self-conscious minority among non-Jews. Even in Israel itself, many Jews—perhaps a majority—would prefer to live elsewhere.

Far from being the “normal” country envisioned by Zionist visionaries like Herzl, Israel depends for its very existence on massive transfusions of hard cash from American taxpayers. To insure that the generous flow of money never stops, Jews outside of Israel are obliged to lobby and agitate tirelessly on behalf of “their” country. Not surprisingly, this process

provides a basis (or pretext) for the ancient charge of “dual loyalty.”

For many centuries, the “glue” that has held together the widely dispersed Jewish people has been traditional religious Judaism. During this past century, though—and especially in the wake of the traumatic Holocaust cataclysm of the Second World War and the founding of the State of Israel in 1948—all that has changed.

As Marc Ellis, a bright young Jewish scholar, persuasively argues in this insightful and provocative book, a pseudo-religious mythos centered upon the Holocaust and an increasingly brutal and suppressive Israel state have now firmly replaced the Jewish religion as the binding force that unites Jews everywhere.

This new situation, Ellis goes on to emphasize, has had the most profound consequences for the Jewish people, and for the perpetually difficult relationship between Jews and non-Jews.

Ellis, who is Director of the Justice and Peace Program at the Catholic Maryknoll College in New York, unflinchingly tries to come to terms with the implications of the grim reality of Israel, and with the Holocaust religion that is used to justify the Zionist state and excuse its increasingly inhumane policies.

In this revisionist, and even iconoclastic, work, Ellis also criticizes some of the most important religious presuppositions that “Holocaust theologians” bring with them when they weave historical events into their religious dogmas.

While readers not well-grounded in religion and philosophy may find this book somewhat difficult, thoughtful readers will appreciate its incisive critique and irenic spirit.

Not long ago, British historian David Irving boldly predicted that Israel would not survive another ten years, and that the world would witness a mass emigration of Jews back to Europe. To the casual observer, such a prediction may seem fantastic, if not absurd. After all, Israel is one of the most important military powers in the world today, armed even with devastating nuclear weapons. Support from diaspora Jews (that is, outside of Israel), particularly in the United States, remains powerful. Prodded by the mighty Israel-first lobby, the American government continues to give billions of taxpayer dollars annually to the Jewish state. These are hardly the traits of a country with less than ten years to live.

And yet, major cracks in the Israeli edifice can no longer be covered up. In spite of the loud and ceaseless expressions of verbal support for Zionism and Israel, few Jews around the world are willing to actually move to Israel and live there. Instead, they prefer to encourage others to do so. Even many Israeli Jews—perhaps even a majority—would, if given the opportunity, promptly leave the country and move to United States or Europe. Envisioned as a bastion of security, Jews in Israel are actually less secure than Jews living almost anywhere else.

Like Irving, the author of this book is pessimistic about Israel's future. Its days are numbered, Ellis believes, unless Israelis and Jews make radical changes very soon (something that he does not regard as likely).

Ellis focuses here on what he regards as the fatal moral bankruptcy of present-day Israel and Zionism. Committed to the heritage of humanistic Judaism, Professor Ellis feels obliged to condemn Israeli violations of universal principles of justice, particularly in its often brutal treatment of the native Palestinian people. In his view, the massive injustice of Israel's seemingly endless maltreatment of Palestinians is squandering the moral authority that is essential for the long-term survival of the Jewish state.

Last February 29th, this reviewer participated with Ellis at a discussion in Birmingham, Alabama, that included Jews, Muslims and Christians (among them Palestinians). I was impressed, even spellbound, as Ellis thoughtfully and persuasively presented his views. Authoritatively citing Jewish religious and historical sources, he argued that Israel's very existence is inextricably bound up with its treatment of the Palestinians.

As he puts it in *Beyond Innocence and Redemption* (p. 157):

The Palestinians have been done a great historical wrong by the Jewish people. The only way forward, it seems, is a solidarity with the Palestinian people that is at the same time confessional and political. Could we say that the task of Jewish theology is to lay the groundwork for solidarity with the Palestinian people and that any theology that does not pose that as the central question is a theology that legitimates torture and murder? To carry out this task means first of all that Jewish self-perception needs to be radically altered and the framework of discussion drastically reoriented . . . A new Jewish self-understanding needs to be created.

This is not likely to take place, Ellis argues, because [Jewish] "mainstream theologians" and "Holocaust theologians . . . pretend the Palestinians do not exist." He is therefore pessimistic about the future of the Zionist state. "Israel is a dream that cannot last," he concludes, a verdict that could almost serve as a subtitle for this book. (pp. 158, 162)

Defining the Problem

As Ellis explains in the introduction, this book is above all "a call to Jewish moral and religious thinkers" to "speak before it is too late." As he points out, not a single major Jewish theologian has come to grips with the foreboding realities of Israel and Zionism that are now obvious to most of the rest of the world. And unless Jews quickly come to grips with these realities, which have the most profound moral implications, Ellis believes that the Zionist state is doomed. These realities are (p. xv):

What Jews have done to the Palestinians since the establishment of the state of Israel in 1948 is wrong.

In the process of conquering and displacing the Palestinian people, Jews have done what has been done to us over two millennia.

In this process Jews have become almost everything we loathe about our oppressors.

It is only in the confrontation with state power in Israel that Jews can move beyond being victim or oppressor.

The movement beyond victimization and oppression can only come through a solidarity with those whom we as Jews have displaced—the Palestinian people.

Implicit in this call, Ellis goes on, is a deeper metaphysical-religious question: "What is the essential mission of the Jewish people?" Is it simply to "build Israel as an exclusive Jewish state"?

Because of the well-documented record of mistreatment—including torture and murder—of the Palestinian people, Ellis argues, Jews can no longer "pretend to an innocence," and warns that "the day of reckoning will come." The only way to minimize, delay, "or better" avoid that day, he argues, is through a soul-searching, confessional act of Israeli redemption.

Ellis takes his iconoclastic examination even further by forthrightly questioning "still another almost sacred assumption, that of the relationship of the Holocaust to the state of Israel." Since Zionism predated the Nazi era by some four decades, the grand assumption on the part of many historical persons that Israel's existence was conditional on the catastrophe of the Holocaust must be called into question. (p. 42)

Ellis cites several thoughtful Jews who clearly foresaw the very serious problems inherent in narrow Zionist nationalism and a Zionist-Jewish takeover of Palestine.

Hannah Arendt, for one, opposed the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine (although she supported a "Jewish homeland" there, in the spirit of the Balfour Declaration). A Jewish state, she believed, would be a degeneration into a warlike state led by political terrorists. For Arendt, the building of a Jewish homeland "must never be sacrificed to the pseudo-sovereignty of a Jewish state." (pp. 52 f.)

Jewish writers like Arendt, Ellis maintains, were "committed and generous" in their analysis. Their fear that an Israeli state would become another Jewish ghetto—rather than a final renunciation of the ghetto—has been borne out by events. Jewish spokesmen like Fackenheim, Wiesel, and Greenberg have lost, at least publicly, the ability to enunciate dissenting ideas about the State of Israel.

"A Tradition of Dissent"

Ellis echoes the concerns voiced over the years by other perceptive Jewish thinkers who have warned—so far with very little success—about the portent of disaster inherent in Zionist-Israeli policies. Jewish philosopher Martin Buber, for example, warned in 1961 that Israel's racist policies were suicidal: "Only an internal revolution can have the power to heal our people of their murderous sickness of causeless hatred."

Jewish author Roberta Strauss Feuerlicht wrote that "Judaism survived centuries of persecution without a state; it must now learn to survive despite a state." (p. 56.) Howard Greenstein praised liberal Reform Judaism for its ecumenical stance wherein Jews could be at home anywhere in the world. He viewed Zionism as the antithesis of this movement. Rabbi Elmer Berger and a handful of others diligently

carried on in this same spirit. By the 1950s, though, this current of anti-Zionist dissent in Reform Judaism had been all but drowned out in the almost universal Jewish enthusiasm for Zionism.

Ellis devotes considerable attention to the shameful record of Zionist treatment of the Palestinians, who were dispossessed to make way for Israel. This grim record must be acknowledged and confronted, Ellis warns. If it is ignored, Jews stand to lose their moral bearings.

Ellis cites the words of the courageous William Zuckerman, who condemned the Israeli transfer of Palestinians after 1948. He wrote: "In what way does an 'Arab-rein' [Zionist] state differ from a 'Juden-rein' [German] state?" In April 1948, when Zionist terrorists massacred more than 200 Palestinians in the village of Deir Yassin, the Jewish government-to-be condemned the slaughter. Five years later, when the Israeli army committed a similar atrocity, the government muted the crime. (p. 63)

After the 1967 war, Noam Chomsky became a much vilified critic of Israeli aggression and atrocities. He argued that a plausible case could be made by both Jews and Palestinians for a valid claim to the disputed land. Chomsky envisioned a democratic socialist Palestine, in which both Jews and Palestinians would each benefit from a "law of return." (pp. 65 f.)

In Ellis' view, the zenith of Israeli power and the impact of Holocaust theology was the 1967-1982 period. The situation has changed quite a lot since then. Particularly in the aftermath of Israel's aggressive invasion of Lebanon in 1982, the Jewish state has lost its "innocence."

"Holocaust theology carries within itself the seeds of its own demise," Ellis argues, because it is unable to come to grips with an powerful Israel that is judged by the same moral standards we apply to every other state. (p. 73).

Albert Vorspan, senior vice president of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, wrote (p. 74):

Beyond any issue in recent years, American Jews are traumatized by events in Israel. This is the downside of the euphoric mood after the Six-Day War, when we felt ten feet tall. Now, suffering under the shame and stress of pictures of Israeli brutality televised nightly, we want to crawl into a

hole. This is the price we pay for having made of Israel an icon—a surrogate faith, surrogate synagogue, surrogate God.

Ellis castigates Elie Wiesel for his silence about Israeli atrocities during the 1982 Lebanon war. When he did finally speak out, months later, he saw fit to condemn only those “vicious minds who dare to compare the state of Israel to Nazi Germany.” When Wiesel later met with some Palestinians, he seemed to be only slightly moved with compassion for their persecution. “A realistic solution—Israeli security and Palestinian self-determination—escapes him,” writes Ellis.

Ellis cites the extraordinary work of Israel Shahak, a courageous and outspoken critic of Israeli treatment of the Palestinians. After surviving internment during the war in the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp, Shahak made his way to Israel, where he worked for many years as a professor of chemistry at the Hebrew University, and served as chairman of the Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights.

Referring to his published collection of eyewitness testimony and articles in Israel’s Hebrew-language press on the brutality of the Zionist occupation (p. 85), Shahak comments:

It should be clear to everybody who reads this collection of testimonies, that the systematic use of the atrocities, which in their intensity and the special intention to humiliate *are* Nazi-like and *should* be compared to the analogous German Nazi methods, is intentional and in fact constitutes the Israeli method for ruling the Palestinians. There cannot be any doubt in my opinion that those Nazi-like methods, in whose effectiveness the stupid Israeli Army top command reposes a blind faith, have been devised by “experts,” in this case by the Israeli “Arabists”. . . together with the military psychologists. There should be also no doubt that those Nazi-like horrors can and probably will become worse, if not stopped from outside, and their use can lead to actual genocide, whether by a “transfer” [forcible mass expulsion] or by an extermination. Indeed, this is one of my reasons for assembling this collection: to show that the actual genocide of the Palestinians in the territories is now possible . . .

As Ellis notes, Israeli treatment of Palestinians includes bringing naked prisoners to open fields for “death parades,” tying suspects to electricity poles for hours and harassing

them with guard dogs, and the "almost standard" practice of beating fathers in the presence of their children. (p. 85)

"Toward an Inclusive Liturgy of Destruction"

Over the centuries, a divine Jewish liturgy has developed, one that governs the mindset of the Jewish cults. It is comprised of: 1) the sacred center (the burned Temple in 70 A.D.), 2) the sacred person (the death of martyrs), and, 3) the destruction of the holy community (the pogrom). To this has more recently been added: 4) Yom Hashoah (the Day of Holocaust). (pp. 94 f.)

Palestinians are now calling "the Jewish community to account," Ellis reports. A "Palestinian theology of Liberation" has developed among some Palestinian Christian theologians. It challenges Christians in the USA and Europe—who always seem to have bottomless compassion for Jewish persecution—to show a consistent comparable compassion for their fellow Christian Palestinians (as well as with a critical reflection of their enormous power and its consequences).

For their part, Ellis goes on, Jews must admit that they have wronged the Palestinians and that this mistreatment stems from Jewish arrogance and moral superiority. "Jews are becoming everything they protested against." (pp. 125, 129, 131, 132)

"Holocaust, Israel, and Christian Renewal"

In recent decades, Christians have joined Jews in an ecumenical partnership. At the same time, Ellis warns, Christians have thereby become "silent partners to Israeli policy and formed a barrier to an honest critique of the Middle East situation." (p. 134)

Robert McAfee Brown, a prominent American Christian theologian well-known for his marked sensitivity to Jewish concerns, focuses on the problem of Israel as seeming to be special but also to be criticized when its behavior is like that of other nations. Noting that the Torah requires hospitality to the stranger "within the gates," Brown rhetorically asks why Jews cannot show such concern for the Palestinians. (p. 145)

In their book *Wrath of Jonah* (1989), Christian writers Rosemary and Herman Ruether take on the difficult task of

commenting forthrightly about Jewish power while simultaneously trying to avoid being labeled anti-Jewish.

Ellis praises the Ruethers for their "honesty shorn of religious and political mystification." They call "us" [Jews] to an intriguing and dangerous path, writes Ellis, because Jews and Israel need to move "beyond innocence and redemption." He asks: "Can there be mutual conversions of Jew, Christian, and Palestinian toward one another?" (p. 155)

"Beyond Innocence and Redemption"

In the view of Jewish writer Roberta Feuerlicht, "Zionists executed the psychological coup of the century by taking Palestine from the Arabs and then pretending [that] Jews were Arab victims." (p. 158)

Not long after the outbreak of the Palestinian uprising known as the Intifada, Israeli Army Chief of Staff Dan Shomron reportedly declared that the only ways to successfully bring an end to the uprising were "transfer, starvation or physical extermination." (p. 156)

Ellis asks if there is a path for Jewish people that is not so self-involved as to become idolatrous: "One of the major problems that both Holocaust and neo-orthodox theology share in different ways is a self-defeating self-involvement—a preoccupation, as it were—with being authentically Jewish." (p. 163).

Elie Wiesel may very well hold the title as the most fanatically obsessed Jewish writer. In his essay, "To Be a Jew," Wiesel declares that "Whatever he chooses to do, the Jew becomes a spokesman for all Jews, dead and yet to be born, for all beings who live through him and inside him." (p. 163).

Ellis writes of "the strained arguments, the twisted logic, the shrill voices" of Jews struggling with the fact that "the Holocaust is of course finished and waiting to be interpreted."

Conclusion

Ellis concludes his book with some challenging remarks. Jews today, he writes, are "confused" about the essential issues, most of all because they accept "the myth of Israel's weakness." Jews must now "choose a new direction"—one that leads away from Jewish pride and power, and which

leads to confession and humility. A new "solidarity with the Palestinian people," declares Ellis, must be at the starting point of a redemptive Jewish transformation. (p. 190)

Israel's empowerment threatens the very foundations of Judaism, argues Ellis. (This recalls the immortal words of Proverbs 16:18: "Pride goes before destruction, and a haughty spirit before a fall.")

Ellis calls for open debate, strong dissent, and the relativizing of dogmatics. He anticipates the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of Israel in 1998 as "a forbidding challenge." Will it see a furthering of expansion of Jewish settlements at the expense of the basic humanity of the Palestinians? Will it see further military adventurism? He insists upon confrontation with Zionism and Holocaust theology as the only way to faithfulness in the Jewish tradition.

In the final pages of his book, Ellis writes:

The task before us to confront that which threatens the foundations of Jewishness, drawing strength from the tradition of dissent and raising up the liturgy of destruction to include both those who persecuted us and those whom Jews persecute today. This is the avenue to critical thought and activity that moves beyond innocence and redemption to recover the ethical tradition at the heart of Judaism.

"What is at stake," he concludes, "is everything Jews have stood for, struggled for, and suffered for."

Well and good. But in spite of pretensions to moral consistency, Ellis' analysis is far from perfect.

While he concludes his book with a forthright and admirable call for "a confrontation with state power and the legitimizing force of that power—Zionism and Holocaust theology," Ellis stops short of fully confronting the ideology of Zionism itself, or of asking skeptical questions about the reality of "the Holocaust."

Ellis seems to suggest that Jews were first faced with an acute moral dilemma about Israel and Zionism in the aftermath of the 1967 war—in which Israel's military forces quickly vanquished larger Arab armies and seized large tracts of Arab land—or perhaps in the wake of the 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon.

But as Jewish historian Alfred Lilienthal has convincingly established (particularly in *The Zionist Connection*), the

Zionist "original sin" predates these pivotal events by many years. Long before the establishment of the Israeli state in 1948, Zionist leaders were insisting that the supranational "Jewish people" had a special destiny and mission. This dubious notion has always been fraught with great peril because it implies that Jews will not and must not be accepted as equal citizens anywhere except in a Zionist state of their own.

Moreover, Zionist contempt for the legitimate rights and concerns of native Palestinians predated the 1967 war, and even the founding of the Israeli state.

Zionism is based on the arrogant notion that people whose ancestors had not lived in the Middle East for centuries (if ever) somehow have a greater right to Palestine than the native people whose forefathers had been living there without interruption for centuries. On the face of it, this view is morally bankrupt.

By what right do Jews have to live in the Middle East at all? Does Ellis accept the notion that the Bible gives Jews the right to disposes the native Palestinians? If not, is he willing to accept that Zionist immigration to Palestine in the years between the two world wars (which the British rulers encouraged, or at least tolerated) was wrong? And just how realistic is Ellis' proposed "democratic" Palestinian state, in which Jews and Arabs would live together as equals? In light of the failure of arguably more promising multi-ethnic experiments—such as Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union—Ellis' vision seems far-fetched and even naive.

And just how real and significant is the Jewish "ethical tradition" that Ellis and other dissident Jewish writers like to cite? Clearly it has not been important enough to stop or even measurably slow down the full-throttle effort of world Jewry on behalf of Israel, or the campaign that Jewish historian Alfred Lilienthal has rightly called "Holocaustomania."

All in all, though, this is a important and valuable work. Marc Ellis deserves praise for courageously raising highly important questions, for challenging sacred taboos, and for offering some very helpful—if perhaps unrealistic—solutions.

or anti-Semitic, he said that he had been told that it treats the Holocaust in a way that Jews find offensive. Managers of individual branches of the Whitcoulls chain are, however, still free to order Ellis' book for persistent customers, the store official added.

At a branch of another bookstore chain, Philip King Books, the manager said that although he knew nothing about the book, he considered the title far too provocative and therefore would not fill orders for it. The manager of yet another local area bookstore, Target Books, told our visitor that he had "read somewhere" that Ellis' book is "redactionist" (apparently meaning "revisionist"), and would not take orders for it.

The influence and power of the enemies of truth are truly amazing.

A reliable indication of the growing impact and acceptance of Revisionism—and specifically of the work of the Institute for Historical Review—are the respectful reviews of IHR books that have been appearing in reputable periodicals. In the lead item in this issue's "Historical News and Comment" section, we summarize a good selection of these reviews. Although by no means always favorable, they are nevertheless a gratifying reflection of real progress.

A skeptical view of the Holocaust story may be taboo or even illegal in some countries, but in the newly-free countries of Central and Eastern Europe a "revisionist" view of twentieth century history is virtually taken for granted. As the next item explains, the historian-president of Croatia publicly supports the revisionist view of the Six Million story.

We conclude the "Historical News and Comment" section with a short item that debunks a lurid story of Iraqi cruelty that played such an important role in solidifying political and

Reviews of IHR Books Show Greater Acceptance of Revisionism

Books published by the Institute for Historical Review are gaining increasing acceptance, as indicated by reviews that have appeared in reputable journals and newspapers during the last several years. These respectful and often laudatory reviews show that the IHR is increasingly regarded as a legitimate publisher of serious works of history. Some highlights:

How I Survived the A-Bomb, Akira Kohchi's moving memoir, has received critical acclaim both in this country and in the author's homeland. In Japan, where the taboos against historical revisionism are not as stringent as in the United States, that country's leading English-language daily, *The Japan Times*, praised Kohchi's book as a "noteworthy" and "authentic" personal account in a lengthy review published December 11, 1990.

The Bookwatch, a monthly newsletter published by the Midwest Book Review—and distributed to about 600 community libraries in California and about 400 in Wisconsin—similarly praised Kohchi's memoir in its June 1990 issue as "a moving, gripping account." The complete text of the review:

U.N. finance officer Kohchi offers a personal, political and economic review of the atom bombing of Hiroshima as he recounts his survival of the nuclear attack, his observations of the radioactive city's recovery process, and the experiences of being a survivor and handling world reactions and explanations. A moving, gripping account.

Kohchi (Kawachi), a former United Nations finance officer, addressed the October 1990 IHR conference. His memoir was published by the IHR in 1989, and was reviewed in the Spring 1990 issue of the *IHR Journal*.

Leon Degrelle's memoir, *Campaign in Russia: The Waffen SS on the Eastern Front*, was hailed in *Our Town*, a paper serving readers in northern New Jersey (Jan. 9, 1991). Reviewer Wilfred Isepig began by empathizing with readers who might "find repugnant the idea of reading a book written by a man who voluntarily led his countrymen from Belgium into service with Hitler's 'deaths head' SS against the Communist allies of the United States and Britain during World War II." The reviewer then went on to comment:

In years of reading and writing history, this reviewer has never seen a more apt or truthful description of the horror of battle and its harvest of death than Degrelle.

As the focus of the world now turns to the Middle East and the possibilities of war there, it is well to read Degrelle so that we do not grow too fond of the possibility of war, and remember truly its horrors.

Veterans of World War II, Korea and Vietnam will—on reading Degrelle's lines—remember their own experiences and acknowledge how truthfully Degrelle has rendered the horror, panic, brutality and heroism of battle. Politicians should read this book so they realize what they commit the young men and women of their country to when they decide for war.

The message of this "sobering book," the reviewer concluded, "should be learned by heart by everyone. . . For the truth it tells about war, read it."

Campaign in Russia received conditional praise from Matthew Gore of Western Kentucky University's history department in a review published in the *Daily News* of Bowling Green, Nov. 26, 1989. Describing the work as a "valuable first-person narrative of World War II's largest campaign," Gore added that Degrelle's "prose is quite readable." "Factually accurate in most respects," Gore went on, *Campaign In Russia* is "with reservations, [a] useful addition" to the existing literature.

US Army Brigadier General John C. Bahnsen had high praise for Degrelle's *Campaign in Russia* in a review published in the November-December 1986 issue of *Armor: The Magazine of Mobile Warfare* (published by the U.S. government's Department of the Army). Bahnsen first sets the stage with a few words about the author and the Wallonian SS combat formation:

Leon Degrelle rose from private to colonel in the Waffen SS based on his combat exploits and his brave survival on the Eastern front during World War II. This is a soldier's story with all the color and gore of the battlefield mixed extremely well . . .

Politics aside, this story tells about a legion of Belgian volunteers who fought bravely with Germany to the bitter end . . . The Wallonian Legion of volunteers, from all writings, had a sense of duty and a sense of humor in equal amounts. Based on the extraordinary losses suffered in combat, you cannot doubt their idealism.

This story covers 76 months of combat on the Eastern front by Belgian volunteers. Thousands of Belgians enlisted in the German army according to their languages: in a Flemish legion and a Wallonian legion. At first, two battalions; then, in 1943, two brigades; lastly, in 1944, two divisions, the Wallonian Division and the Flemish Langemarck Division.

Concluding his review, Bahnsen writes:

The pace of the writing is fast; the action is graphic, and a warrior can learn things from reading this book. I recommend its reading by students of the art of war. It is well worth the price.

By contrast, a review in the January-February 1987 issue of *Infantry* magazine, "a professional journal for the combined arms team," dismissed *Campaign in Russia* as a book that "leaves much to be desired." Reviewer William J. Fanning, Jr., is put off, for example, by the author's "incessant praise for a good 'lost cause'."

Degrelle's sweeping work, *Hitler: Born at Versailles* (published by the IHR in 1987), was given a respectful if not entirely laudatory appraisal in a review by Ludwig Schaefer of Carnegie Mellon University that appeared in the October 1988 *German Studies Review*, a prominent scholarly journal.

After noting that "sole German guilt [for the First World War] has long been discredited as has the purity of the shapers of the Treaty [of Versailles]," Schaefer expresses the view that "Degrelle's case, which has some basic merit, would have been better served by a more judicious balancing of the evidence."

The reviewer goes on: "This said, Degrelle's style has verve and at times a certain acid humor, notably in the first section of the book on the steps leading to the war. His comments on his childhood in German-occupied Belgium ring true, as do many of his reminiscences of people and events. . . . This general account often makes for exciting reading."

Hitler: Born at Versailles was acclaimed in the February 1988 issue of *The Bookwatch*, monthly newsletter of The Midwest Book Review for librarians and other bibliophiles:

A weighty, studious and essential (for Hitler researchers) undertaking [that] utilizes neglected documents and the author's personal relationship with Hitler to reveal facts and viewpoints not covered in previous ([and] more superficial) Hitler studies. Popular modern myths are refuted, little-known postwar atrocities by the West are exposed, and economic and political maneuvering revealed.

A critical and rather snide review of *Hitler: Born at Versailles* appeared in the Sunday Book Review section of the *Los Angeles Times*, March 13, 1988. In spite of its derisive and inaccurate disparagement of Degrelle's work as a "fascist interpretation of the history of the 20th Century," this serious critique by one of the most influential and widely read daily newspapers in the United States is itself a noteworthy indication of growing influence.

Matthew Gore, the university history teacher mentioned earlier, told readers of the Bowling Green *Daily News* (Sunday, January 27, 1991) that "*Hitler: Born at Versailles* is, perhaps, as interesting for its author as it is for its content." Leon Degrelle is "a romantic figure in a twisted right-wing sort of way. No doubt he would have been held up as a great hero had Germany been victorious in World War II."

Gore acknowledges that "Degrelle is correct to place a great deal of the blame for the Second [World] War on the First. World War I was a cataclysmic event that left the fabric of Europe tattered, with Germany absent from the great powers. The fault of the war could not be assigned just to the vanquished, yet it was."

Dr. Arthur Butz' book, *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, came under criticism from Matthew Gore in a review in the Bowling Green *Daily News*, October 28, 1990.

According to Gore, Butz argues that "the entire Holocaust was an elaborate propaganda tool of the Allies and Zionists." For example, he explains, "the astonishing photographs of mass bodies resulted, Butz claims, from the typhus epidemic that swept the camps in 1945." Without actually saying so, Gore suggests that Butz is wrong on this point. In fact, as any serious researcher can rather easily determine, the Northwestern University associate professor is absolutely correct.

Butz' book, concludes Gore, is "a most dangerous volume because it appears respectable on the surface." While it "seems well documented in both primary and secondary source material," it should be regarded merely as "an interesting study and a valuable document of a bizarre point of view."

Wilhelm Stäglich's analysis, *Auschwitz: A Judge Looks at the Evidence*, was respectfully reviewed October 17, 1990, on the weekly "Book Shelf" television program, which is produced by *The Midwest Book Review*. Reviewer Diane C. Donovan commented:

So many other titles have appeared on this subject that yet another examination might tend to get lost in the shuffle. But Stäglich offers a focus which is unique and startling, and this consideration should not be neglected merely because of a surface likeness to other similarly titled treatises.

Stäglich was a young German officer whose eyewitness experiences and memories challenged postwar revelations about Auschwitz atrocities.

This title is Stäglich's attempt to reconcile his memories of a clean, orderly facility with the horror portrait which emerged at war's end: it gathers documents, testimonies and confessions, and source materials in an effort to support a different view of both Auschwitz experiences and the camp's reputation as a systematic extermination center.

Any who are concerned with World War II experiences and atrocities will want to read this with an open mind: it gathers more than personal opinion and creates a startlingly different view of Auschwitz which should, at the least, be considered.

The Forced War, Dr. David Hoggan's monumental examination of the origins of the Second World War, was given a

respectful review by Diane C. Donovan, West coast representative of *The Midwest Book Review*:

Diplomatic historian Hoggan presents a weighty Revisionist study of the origins of World War II which defines the climate and influences upon Germany's role in the war.

Failures in international cooperation, European nations' internal power policies and attitudes towards Germany, and Hitler's peaceful intentions, as well as influences on other European nations' internal affairs are documented.

Hoggan reveals that Hitler sought peaceful revisionism of the borders imposed on Germany at Versailles, presenting extensive documented research to support his claims.

Hoggan's *Forced War* was the subject of a thoughtful and generally laudatory review by Stephen J. Sniegowski in the Summer 1991 issue of *Reflections*, a Roman Catholic periodical. Sniegowski, who holds a Ph.D. in history from the University of Maryland, has contributed articles and reviews to *Chronicles*, *The World and I*, and other scholarly journals.

The Forced War, writes Sniegowski, "is the most comprehensive and audacious revisionist account of the origins of World War II. It rejects the near-universal assumption that the aggressive policy of Hitlerian Germany was the sole cause of the Second World War in Europe."

Sniegowski goes on:

Originally published in 1961 in West Germany as *Der Erzwungene Krieg*, this book gained instant notoriety in that country although it was lambasted by the German political and academic establishments. No English-language press dared to publish this taboo-shattering history for over two decades. The book's American publisher, the Institute for Historical Review, specializes in promoting controversial books on World War II.

Sniegowski is fair in summarizing the book's argument:

Hoggan claims that Hitler's ambitions were limited to making Germany the preeminent power in Central Europe. Hitler did not seek world conquest, according to Hoggan, and his policies did not threaten Britain, the British empire, or Western Europe.

Leading British policymakers, however, opposed German hegemony in Central Europe on the basis of Britain's tradi-

tional balance of power policy . . . To achieve the goal [a pretext for war], Britain, in March 1939, gave Poland an unconditional guarantee of its border with Germany, and later promised that it would support Poland in any conflict with Germany. Britain, however, had neither the intent nor the capability of actually defending Poland militarily . . .

Hitler's demands on Poland, Hoggan emphasizes, were quite moderate. Hitler sought the return of the Free City of Danzig (detached from Germany by the Versailles Treaty) to the Reich, and German transit rights across the Polish Corridor . . . In return, Hitler pledged to allow the continuation of Polish economic privileges in Danzig and to guarantee the Polish boundary with Germany . . .

Emboldened by British promises, Polish Foreign Minister Jozef Beck was unwilling to make an effort to reach an understanding with Germany. Having an exaggerated view of Polish military capabilities, Beck even thought that a war with Germany would allow for Polish territorial gains.

It was Poland's aggressive intransigence, which included the persecution of the German minority in Poland, that ultimately led to war. Without the British pledge of support, however, Poland would not have been so bold, nor would a local conflict have escalated into a major war.

In Sniegoski's view:

Much can be said for Hoggan's thesis, and he backs it up with a massive amount of material, but it is not completely convincing . . . Had Hitler truly sought peace, he should have avoided even the appearance of aggressiveness.

In conclusion, Hoggan goes too far in exonerating Germany of guilt for the onset of World War II. But he does provide a needed antidote to the usual portrayal of exclusive German responsibility for the war. Responsibility for the outbreak of World War II is not a simple black-and-white matter, but should be pictured in shades of gray.

In a scathingly hostile review of *The Dissolution of Eastern European Jewry*, Prof. Henry Huttenbach of the City College of New York expressed alarm at what he regards as the great danger of Holocaust Revisionism for the Jewish people. His review appeared in the September-October 1984 issue of *Martyrdom and Resistance*, mouthpiece of the New York-based International Society of Yad Vashem. *The Dissolution of Eastern European Jewry*, Walter N. Sanning's carefully

researched statistical analysis of the "six million" question, was first published by the IHR in 1983.

"The danger of this book (and of those that will doubtlessly follow)," Huttenbach warns, "is its clever veneer of scholarship. The bibliography is international in scope and the text has the panache of objectivity." Furthermore, he goes on,

It does not read like a shrill polemic, but has all the superficial attributes of a factual analysis. Not one in a thousand undergraduate students could find fault with it; only a few more graduates would be competent to identify its flaws and to convincingly question its credibility. The ultimate danger lies in the lack of a serious response to this continuing wave of attacks on history itself.

Huttenbach then seems to suggest that illegal and perhaps even violent measures should be taken against this "danger to the Jewish people":

If this campaign to defame the Holocaust, to disprove and deny it, is to be fought at all, it must be done off campus and handled by those who understand that propaganda, vicious but well organized and generally financed propaganda, can best be fought by other than academic means. What these must be is not the subject of this review. It can only raise the topic and stress its urgency in the hopes that others will accept the challenge as they recognize the danger to the Jewish people as a whole.

Under the headline "Historia Pogromu—pogrom historii" ("History of a pogrom—a pogrom against history"), a highly critical review of the IHR book, *Flashpoint: Kristallnacht 1938* by Ingrid Weckert appeared in the November 16, 1991, issue of *Nowy Dziennik*, the leading Polish-language daily newspaper in the United States.

The new IHR edition of George Morgenstern's classic study, *Pearl Harbor: The Story of the Secret War* was given a laudatory review in the Summer 1992 issue of the *Journal of Civil Defense* (published by the American Civil Defense Association of Starke, Florida).

"When the book was [first] published at the end of 1946," notes reviewer Stephen Sharro, "it prompted a firestorm of controversy. The central issue was the extent to which the

Roosevelt administration allowed the attack on Pearl Harbor to happen in order to overcome public resistance to becoming involved in another world war." Sharro goes on:

The popular history of America's role in World War II naturally emphasizes the struggle and the ultimate success the Allies achieved. What is frequently forgotten is the great opposition that many Americans felt in 1941 to becoming involved in another European war that did not seem likely to directly affect the United States.

Morgenstern's book has now been reprinted in conjunction with the 50th anniversary of Pearl Harbor. In light of Watergate, Irangate, and perhaps the October surprise, we are more jaded today, more cynical, and more willing to accept the possibility that a politician of Roosevelt's stature might do what Morgenstern implies.

For those who are still excited by this controversy, the book will be fascinating. It is well written, even scholarly. For the most part the facts contained in the book have never been refuted.

While these reviews suggest that the IHR's influence is growing, they do not reflect the actual impact of the IHR and Revisionism. As readers of the *IHR Newsletter* and *Journal* know, Revisionist books are often subject to boycott, media blackout, and blacklist. In some cases, bigoted reviewers, distributors and librarians categorically refuse to handle Revisionist works.

And yet, as the reviews cited here indicate, IHR books are like seeds that, in some cases at least, are taking root in fertile minds.

All of the books cited in this article are available from the IHR:

Why I Survived the A-Bomb
Hardcover, 230 pp., \$19.95

Campaign in Russia
Hardcover, 350 pp., \$17.95

Hitler: Born at Versailles
Hardcover, 535 pp., \$24.95

The Hoax of the Twentieth Century
Softcover, 369 pp., \$9.95

Auschwitz: A Judge Looks at the Evidence

Hardcover, 386 pp., \$19.95. Softcover, \$11.95

The Forced War

Hardcover, 900 pp., \$35.00

The Dissolution of Eastern European Jewry

Softcover, 239 pp., \$12.95

Flashpoint

Softcover, 180 pp., \$15.95

Pearl Harbor: The Story of the Secret War

Softcover, 425 pp., \$14.95

(Please add 10 percent for packing and shipping costs. California residents: please also add 7.75 percent sales tax.)

Revisionism in Croatia

Croatia's President Rejects "Six Million" Story

While Holocaust Revisionism is suppressed in some countries, in Croatia it has official support from the highest level. Croatian President Franjo Tudjman publicly rejects the "Six Million" Holocaust story.

In a 500-page book entitled *Bespuca—Povjesne Zbiljnosti* ("Wastelands—Historical Truth"), which was published in 1988, and republished in 1989 and again in 1990, Tudjman comments in some detail on Second World War history. About the familiar Holocaust story he writes:

The estimated loss of up to six million [Jewish] dead is founded too much on both emotional, biased testimonies and on exaggerated data in the postwar reckonings of war crimes and squaring of accounts with the defeated . . . In the mid-'80s, world Jewry still has the need to recall its "holocaust" by trying to prevent the election of the former U.N. Secretary General Kurt Waldheim as president of Austria!

Tudjman, who worked for many years as a university history professor, also suggests that many wartime Jewish deaths would not have occurred if German armed forces had prevailed over the Soviet Union, allowing for a "territorial solution" to the Jewish question such as a "reservation" in eastern Poland or in Madagascar. (*The New Republic*, Nov. 25, 1991, pp. 16, 18.; *Die Presse*, Vienna, Jan. 28, 1992.)

Tudjman reaffirmed his Revisionist outlook in a recent interview with Canadian television: "With regard to Jews, I'm inclined to agree with those scholars in the world who say that the figure of six million is exaggerated." (*The New Republic*, Jan. 20, 1992, p. 5.)

Tudjman's views are all the more noteworthy because they are by someone who cannot be regarded as a "Nazi" or "fascist." During the Second World War he fought against Croatia's pro-German Ustashe regime as a general in Tito's partisan army.

Tudjman readily acknowledges that Jews suffered "terrible hardships" during the war years. But, he adds, "the Jewish people soon afterward became so brutal and conducted a genocidal policy towards the Palestinians that they can rightly be defined as Judeo-Nazis."

In light of the harsh anti-Jewish policies of the wartime Croatian state, it is hardly surprising that Israel and Jews around the world have not been particularly friendly toward the new Croatia. In an effort to offset this bitter legacy, Tudjman sent a conciliatory letter to World Jewish Congress president Edgar Bronfman. "We deeply regret the tragic burden of the Holocaust that was endured by the Jewish people on Croatian territory," Tudjman wrote. (*Die Presse*, Vienna, Jan. 28, 1992.)

He has also sought to relieve the fears of Croatia's Jewish community. Indeed, the country's Jewish leaders have applauded Tudjman and his government for its unequivocal condemnation of neo-fascism.

In spite of such gestures, Tudjman's Revisionist statements may ultimately prove to be politically too costly. In that case, he may be obliged to "recognize reality" and repudiate them.

Tudjman also writes in his book about Jasenovac, a concentration camp run by the wartime Croatian government. Orthodox historians have insisted for decades that "at

least 700,000" people were killed there. According to an estimate cited by American Holocaust historian Nora Levin, for example, 770,000 Serbs, 40,000 Gypsies and 20,000 Jews were put to death in Jasenovac. (N. Levin, *The Holocaust*, 1973, p. 515.)

Croats have long maintained that about 60,000 perished in the camp, but Tudjman reckons that even this figure is too high. The most probable figure, he maintains, is between 30,000 and 40,000. Moreover, he goes on, Jewish inmates were largely responsible for the killings there. (*The New Republic*, Nov. 25, 1991, pp. 16, 18.; *Die Presse*, Vienna, Jan. 28, 1992.)

The anti-Croatian guerrillas—whether Tito's Communist "partisans" or Drazha Mihailovic's Royalist "Chetniks"—had no "death camps" before the war's end, because they normally murdered their captives. (The lucky ones were shot out of hand.) Tito's Communist forces—which were backed by the United States and Britain—carried out mass killings of German prisoners of war and native "collaborators" (most of them Croatian "Ustashe" soldiers and Slovenes) both during the war and in the period just afterwards.

Historians have estimated that Tito's forces shot between 70,000 and 100,000 people without trial within weeks of the war's end. (A few scholars have estimated that there may have been as many as 500,000 victims.) Most of these were people who had been trying to flee from Tito's grasp. Instead of finding freedom, though, they were forcibly returned by British troops from detention camps in Austria, or were turned back at the border by British occupation forces in southern Austrian and northern Italy.

One of the Tito execution sites was Sosice, located about 40 miles west of the Croatian capital of Zagreb. An estimated 40,000 people—many of them sick and wounded—were put to death there. It wasn't until 1990 that the grisly details of the Sosice killings finally emerged from 45 years of suppression. ("Pile of Bones in Yugoslavia," *New York Times*, July 9, 1990.; "Yugoslav Killing Fields," *Los Angeles Times*, Nov. 4, 1990.)

In recent articles about Croatia, American newspapers and magazines frequently refer to the Second World War Croatian government of Ante Pavelic as a dictatorial regime that was a "puppet" of Hitler's Third Reich. This is not accurate. The vast majority of Croats welcomed and strongly

supported Pavelic's wartime "Independent State of Croatia." If any regime in the region might properly be called a German "puppet," it would be the wartime Serbian government of Milan Nedic.

Meanwhile, Croatian television has reportedly decided that it will no longer broadcast motion pictures that depict Germans as evil Nazis or aggressors. In light of wartime Germany's staunch support for Croatian freedom, the television announced, showing such films would be in "poor taste." (*Der Standard*, Vienna, Jan. 4, 1992)

War Atrocity Propaganda Exposed

A tearful account of Iraqi barbarism, which stunned millions of Americans and fueled popular enthusiasm for war against Saddam Hussein's regime, has now been definitively exposed as a propaganda hoax.

In testimony before a US congressional committee, October 10, 1990, a young Kuwaiti woman, publicly identified only as "Nayirah," tearfully claimed to have personally seen Iraqi soldiers storm into a Kuwait hospital and brutally remove 15 babies from incubators, leaving them "on the cold floor to die." Her moving testimony enraged millions of Americans, who saw it broadcast and re-broadcast on television, and was cited later by seven US Senators in speeches they gave in support of their decision to authorize American military action against Iraq in the "desert storm" Gulf War.

As it turns out, the emotionally powerful testimony was a sham. The young woman never witnessed the alleged atrocity, and "Nayirah" is actually the daughter of Kuwait's ambassador in Washington, Sheik Saud al Nasir al Sabah, a member of Kuwait's ruling clan. Her testimony was part of an extensive public relations blitz organized by the large Washington-based public relations firm of Hill and Knowlton. The PR campaign was financed with millions of dollars from Kuwait's government in exile.

Independent human rights investigators were later unable to confirm the widely circulated atrocity story. After an investigation in April 1991, an Amnesty International

spokesman said: "We became convinced . . . that the story about babies dying in this way did not happen on the scale that was initially reported, if, indeed, it happened at all."

More reprehensible than the young woman's testimony was the deceit of US Congressman Tom Lantos (D-Calif.), who chaired the committee hearing. Although he knew that the young woman was actually the ambassador's daughter when he encouraged her fraudulent testimony, Lantos said nothing. (His deception has been confirmed by the *Los Angeles Times*, January 7, 1992, and in a CBS "60 Minutes" television broadcast, January 19.) It is no coincidence that Lantos also happens to be one of Capitol Hill's most vehement Zionists and vociferous Holocaust campaigners.

Of course, this particular Kuwaiti propaganda story has obvious parallels with atrocity tales from earlier wars, including Holocaust propaganda accounts of millions of Jews gassed to death, soap bars made from human corpses, "steam chamber" extermination, mass electrocutions, and so forth.

One of the most compelling works ever written about war propaganda is *Falsehood in Wartime*, a short but very readable work in which British MP Arthur Ponsonby dissects the most important First World War propaganda myths. A new IHR paperback edition of this classic work, with a foreword especially written for this edition, is available from the IHR for \$6.95, plus \$2.00 shipping. A more detailed overview of the sordid but fascinating history of war propaganda is Phillip Knightley's 468-page work, *The First Casualty*, which is available in paperback from the IHR for \$17.95, plus \$2.00 shipping.

Letters

“PAPPY” BOYINGTON AND THE “FLYING TIGERS” EPISODE

To the Editor:

With regard to your item in the Spring *Journal*, “Roosevelt’s Secret Pre-War Plan to Bomb Japan,” it is worth mentioning the experiences related by Gregory “Pappy” Boyington in his memoir, *Baa, Baa Black Sheep*. The Marine fighter pilot, who was a notorious womanizer and drinker, relates how amused he was when, during the sea journey to Asia to join the “Flying Tigers” squadron, he masqueraded, at the government’s demand, as a minister. He also relates that while ostensibly flying for the Chinese, he was on the US military payroll.

While Dr. Wesslerle has written a very provocative sketch, “The New World Order,” I believe he has touched too many bases. With his knowledge and writing ability, it might have been better if he had written a more narrowly focused account that dealt, for example, with American carnage in the Gulf war.

I hope all of you keep up your good work.

John R. McLaren, M.D.
Atlanta, Ga.

NEW THREAT AGAINST FREE SPEECH IN AUSTRALIA

To the Editor:

Jim Kennan, Attorney General of Victoria (Australia), announced in March his intention to work for a new “racial vilification” act. We have good reason to believe that, if enacted, this law would be used to try to suppress Historical Revisionism, with the usual pretext that anyone who

questions the "official" Holocaust story must be punished as "racist" and "anti-Semitic."

We encourage interested persons to write to Kennan to urge that freedom of discussion and inquiry be upheld with regard to all aspects of Second World War history, including the Holocaust issue. (Kennan's address: The Attorney-General's Dept., ACI House, 200 Queen Street, Melbourne, Vic. 3000, Australia.)

Geoff. Muirden, Secretary
Australian Civil Liberties Union
P.O. Box 1137
Carlton, Vic. 3053, Australia

THE HOLOCAUST ISSUE IN CHANGING SOUTH AFRICA

To the Editor:

[With regard to the] political situation in South Africa and the Holocaust and the New World Order: I have recently for the first time openly referred to the above matters in important circles.

The fact that two prestigious US newspapers [in recent editorials in the *Washington Post* and the *New York Times*] have taken the stand that students at universities should investigate these matters for themselves is a breakthrough after many years of toil, trouble and sweat on your part, and the way is now open for us to freely draw the attention of people in ever widening circles to the "hoax of the 20th century."

South Africa is entering a time of troubles, and those of us who understand the forces that are ranged against us require only the facts and the proof, and the rest is then up to us.

It is very gratifying indeed to note how the truth of revisionism is breaking through.

Please accept our deepest appreciation for the great job you and your associates are doing.

Louis F. Stofberg
Member of Parliament for Sasolburg,
House of Assembly, Cape Town, South Africa

REMEMBERING AUSCHWITZ

To the Editor:

I was born in Czechoslovakia. Before I moved from Norway to Canada in the summer of 1968, I met several Czech refugees who had been inmates at Auschwitz. They were quite familiar with conditions in the camp, and they emphatically denied that "abuses" of any kind had been carried out against the inmates by the German camp personnel. Insofar as there were abuses, they said, these were carried out by inmates who acted when the German camp personnel were not able to intervene to prevent them.

Some of these former inmates were familiar with Rudolf Vrba and his "memoir" about Auschwitz, *I Cannot Forgive*. They agreed that Vrba had given in to pressures and had lied about the "extermination gas chambers" and similar stories.

In particular I should mention Mrs. Anna Kvapilova, who knew Vrba personally during the time they were both interned in Auschwitz. She was especially bitter about his lies. In Auschwitz Mrs. Kvapilova had been a sort of "Capo," a prisoner overseer. She had distinguished herself by helping and aiding Norwegian women who were interned there. She returned to Czechoslovakia after the end of the war, but after the Communist putsch in 1948, she was warned by Western intelligence that she was on a list of persons to be arrested by the Communists in Prague. They therefore provided a guide to help her escape across the border into West Germany, from where she made her way to Norway. That's where I got to know her.

A truly remarkable person of the highest caliber, she was regarded with affection and admiration by all who knew her. She held important and influential official positions in several organizations in Norway, including a post with the High Commissioner for Refugees, a United Nations agency.

Over the years I have met numerous former inmates of German wartime camps, but never a single one who believed that extermination "gassings" ever took place. Many former inmates have told me of the high standards of the German

camp personnel, and attested to the good organization, procedures and orderliness in all of the camps.

Jaromir J. Dan
P. O. Box 948
Helena, Mont. 59624

THE FATE OF AN AUSCHWITZ RESISTANT

To the Editor:

Thank you for publishing the informative essay by Enrique Aynat, "Auschwitz and the Exile Government of Poland," in the Fall 1991 *Journal*. The essay mentions Witold Pilecki, the Polish officer who organized an underground Resistance network in Auschwitz while he was a prisoner there. Readers may perhaps be interested to know about Pilecki's tragic fate after he escaped from the camp in 1943.

After taking part as an officer in the Warsaw Uprising of 1944, he was captured by the Germans and thus once again came into German custody. After the end of the war he lived for a few months in Italy, where he wrote a memoir.

In late 1945 he returned to his Polish homeland where he was arrested as an officer of the Polish resistance movement by the Soviet-controlled government. Pilecki was tried by a Communist court in 1948, sentenced to death, and executed in a Warsaw prison. His family was not permitted to bury his corpse.

My source for this information is an article in the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (Jan. 28, 1980) and two follow-up letters by Polish readers (Feb. 20 and March 21, 1980). I am enclosing photocopies.

Hans Wahls
Cologne, Germany

A DOUBLE STANDARD

To the Editor:

The campaign by Bradley Smith, media representative of the IHR and director of the Committee for Open Debate on

the Holocaust, to place advertisements in student newspapers calling for open debate on the Holocaust issue points up a double standard that seems to prevail in much of the American media.

Consider this:

Rabbi Avahram Toledano, head of the Jewish-supremacist "Kach" movement founded by the late Meir Kahane, recently conducted a lecture tour in the US and Canada. Toledano advocates the forcible mass expulsion of Arabs from "greater Israel." He told a Heights Jewish Center meeting on November 14, 1991, that Arabs would be forced out of Israel. In response to the question, "What would the nations of the world say to Israel's expulsion of Arabs?," Toledano said: "I don't know and I don't care. We are proud to be Jews and to have a Jewish State." (*Cleveland Jewish News*, Nov. 22, 1991.)

In spite of his intolerant views, Toledano was given a respectful public forum in prominent Jewish synagogues throughout North America. In Cleveland, for example, his lecture was announced beforehand in the city's main Jewish community paper. (*Cleveland Jewish News*, Nov. 8, 1991, p. 12).

(This is nothing new. While he was still alive, this same paper also routinely announced the lecture appearances of Kahane, who was sentenced in 1975 to one year imprisonment as a result of his terrorist activities.)

The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, which is so alert to every expression of real and imagined anti-Semitism, has never protested against the advertisements in the *Cleveland Jewish News* announcing the appearances of Toledano and Kahane. Nor does the Zionist group condemn Rabbi Toledano's message of hate.

At the same time, though, "the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith is urging college newspapers to reject ads by individuals or groups denying the reality of the Holocaust" (RNS dispatch of Nov. 27, 1991, in *Christian News*, Dec. 9, 1991, p. 16). To show that it means business, an ADL official was sent to the University of Texas to make sure that the student paper there did not publish Smith's ad. (*Houston Chronicle*, Dec. 19, 1991.)

While the ADL insists that the Holocaust issue is "not debatable" (*Christian News*, Dec. 9, 1991, p. 16), and works to deny Revisionists a public forum, this same organization

seemingly has no problem with advertisements in Jewish community papers by militant Zionists who demand brutal forcible expulsion of Arabs.

While it is true that the ADL has occasionally condemned the Kach movement and its views, neither the ADL nor any of the other prominent Jewish (and non-Jewish) groups that want to silence Smith have ever tried to deny a forum to arrogant supremacists like Toledano.

In Toronto, Toledano told an enthusiastic crowd of more than 300 at the Shaarii Tefilah synagogue: "The Jewish state, the Jewish land, belongs only to the Jewish people. There is no room for a people that doesn't recognize Jewish sovereignty." (*The Washington Report on Middle East Affairs*, July 1991, p. 58.) That's in the same city where German-Canadian publisher Ernst Zündel was put on trial and sentenced to imprisonment for publishing a booklet that questions the Holocaust extermination story.

Consider the utter hypocrisy here. It is legal in Canada for a militant Rabbi to openly put call for the expulsion of Arabs from Israel, an action that would cause horrible hardship and suffering for millions of people. Yet, it is a crime for a Gentile to present valid evidence showing that the "Holocaust" is not all it's cracked up to be.

Given this hypocritical double standard, it's hard to believe that even a single student newspaper in Canada would dare publish Smith's call for open debate on the Holocaust.

In a January 15, 1992, editorial, *The New York Times* castigated Smith's Revisionist views as "trash" and "ugliness." (The *Times* did not permit readers to judge Smith's words for themselves by publishing his advertisement.)

But in its issue of February 12, 1991, the *Times* published a letter that seriously argued that St. Paul, the Christian apostle who wrote much of the New Testament, was a deluded epileptic. Similarly, in the issue of March 9, 1991, *Times* editors published a letter insinuating that St. Paul was a homosexual. On another page of that same issue appeared an article that reported sympathetically on the "Jesus Seminar," a group of intellectuals that claims that much of the New Testament is grossly inaccurate or a patchwork of fabrications. The *Times* made no editorial condemnation of these views.

While simplistically dismissing the views of Holocaust Revisionists as "trash" and "ugliness," this highly influential

pro-Zionist paper has no qualms about providing a forum, and thus a measure of support, for views that are patently offensive to millions of Christians.

Paul Grubach
Lyndhurst, Ohio

REFLECTIONS ON A DEATH

To the Editor:

On the morning of May 12, I was called to inform me of the demise the previous day (night) of Pete Kuetzing. I am having a lot of trouble with that, and still can hardly believe it.

I had talked with Pete at some length a week earlier, and he had expressed great confidence in the progress of his medical treatment. As part of my regular routine, I read thousands of obituaries every year, but I must admit that an occasional one, especially of someone I consider young, vastly disturbs me.

I think it safe to observe that Pete did extremely valuable editing work on the first Noontide edition of the Rassinier work [currently available as an IHR book under the title *The Holocaust Story and the Lies of Ulysses*], and was a most sturdy supporter of revisionism for a considerable time—but unofficially as a consideration of his occupation. (I have been told that my review of Rassinier's book in the Oct. 9, 1978, issue of *The Spotlight* is still the only real review the book ever received.)

Profound disbelievers such as Paul Rassinier and Harry Elmer Barnes might have smiled a bit to see [a new edition of] Rassinier's book come out with an introduction by a theologian [Dr. Robert Countess]. One does not have to tread the sawdust trail to be a Holocaust revisionist, though a disbelieving temperament surely helps, as the Holocaustians have turned the whole thing into a new religion anyway.

To me there is a close relation between a racket like this one and spiritualism, for example. Holocaust zealots trap their revisionist critics in much the same way that the spiritualists treated their scoffers during their heyday

(roughly 1890-1930). When Sir Oliver Lodge and Sir Arthur Conan Doyle were busy spreading the spiritualist message far and wide, they encountered the razzberry from doubters. Instead of proving that the levitating tables, the moaning voices and the wavering auras of the deceased were genuine, the spiritualists simply demanded that their skeptics prove otherwise.

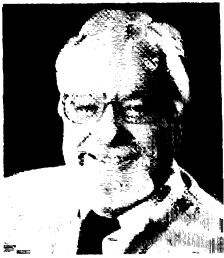
The "Hoaxers" do much the same thing: the more outrageous of the Holocaust atrocities they endlessly circulate don't have to be proven. Instead, it is up to those who deny they happened to prove that they did not. When we write about the October 1871 fire that burned down Chicago, I am glad that we don't have to prove at the same time that Pittsburgh and Baltimore were not also consumed in flames. One of these days I should try to get a foundation to underwrite a trip to central Africa. After returning I would announce that I had encountered a tribe of talking monkeys, and then challenge anyone who does not believe me to prove otherwise.

It's absorbing to watch two more Versailles mistakes—Yugoslavia and Czecho-Slovakia—coming apart, while contemporary journalists are apparently in total ignorance of the antecedents of the current situation. Or perhaps they believe that modern imbecility cannot handle that whole burden of history.

Henry David Thoreau used to be quoted as saying that it took two to tell the truth: one to speak it and one to hear it. But I am afraid that things have reached the point where this is almost unattainable.

James J. Martin
Colorado Springs, Col.

The Editor welcomes letters from readers. Ideally, letters should be no more than about 500 words in length. We reserve the right to edit for style and space.



Bradley R. Smith

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Confessions of a Holocaust Revisionist

Bradley Smith is writing autobiography, not history. He would probably point out, however, that such a work is history, and that with this book he is reporting on how his own history crossed paths with the most controversial historical event of the century, the alleged genocide of the European Jews.

Bradley R. Smith—Korean war combat vet, author, playwright, director of Committee for Open Debate on the Holocaust, and media project director and spokesman for the Institute for Historical Review—has appeared on some 300 radio and TV talk shows across the U.S. and Canada since 1986 telling millions about the rampant fraud and falsehood in the "Holocaust" story.

In 1991 Smith launched a brilliant campaign to take his message to major college and university campuses through full-page advertisements in campus newspapers calling for open debate on the "Holocaust." Igniting a firestorm of controversy and national media coverage including lengthy treatment by the *Washington Post*, *New York Times*, *Los Angeles Times*, CBS's *48 Hours* and PBS's *Frontline*, Smith's "Campus Project" continues to generate unprecedented attention for Revisionism. Every reasonably educated American now knows that there is an organization of scholars vigorously critiquing the very Holocaust that "everybody knows" happened.

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public support for President Bush's "Desert Storm" war against Iraq.

Although we have always welcomed thoughtful letters from readers, from now on we hope to be more conscientious about publishing them. We want the *Journal* to be a more lively forum for thoughtful commentary on pertinent historical and contemporary social-political issues. (Ideally, readers' letters should be no more than about 500 words in length. We reserve the right to edit for style and space.)

This is the first issue of our *Journal* produced entirely by computer "desktop" layout and publishing. While it greatly simplifies our work, we still have some exasperating glitches to work out.

With this issue we are pleased to welcome Professor Hideo Miki as a member of the *Journal's* Editorial Advisory Committee. Miki is a professor of history at Musashino Junior College, Sayamashi, a former professor of history at Japan's National Defense Academy, and a retired Lieutenant General of his nation's Ground Self-Defense Force. He lives in Tokyo.

He made a particularly striking impression as a speaker at the Ninth IHR conference. (His warmly received presentation was published in the Summer 1989 issue of the *Journal*.)

As we go to press, we are working hard to get ready for the Eleventh IHR conference in October. It promises to be a landmark Revisionist gathering that will underscore the remarkable progress that has been made in recent years to increase historical awareness and understanding. We also look forward to meeting again with some of our many good friends and faithful supporters, who make our work and progress possible.

About the Contributors

ANDREW ALLEN is an attorney who lives and practices law in the San Francisco bay area. He holds a bachelor's degree in history from the University of California at Berkeley. In 1988-1989, he represented the family of Martin Bartesch, an accused "Nazi war criminal," in a suit against the US Justice Department's "Office of Special Investigations" to clear Bartesch's name. In another case that recently came before the US Supreme Court, Allen successfully defended the right of Holocaust Revisionists to publicly present their views in spite of intimidation and threats by groups like the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. As part of his extensive study of the Holocaust issue, Allen has visited Auschwitz, Belzec, Majdanek, Sobibor and Treblinka.

ROBERT COUNTESS holds master's and doctoral degrees in Religion, as well as a Master of Liberal Studies degree from Georgetown University (1978) for study in the Philosophy of History. His post-doctoral work has included study at the University of Georgia, Vanderbilt-Peabody University, and the University of Alabama in Huntsville. Among his numerous academic posts, he has served as chairman of the foreign languages department of Covenant College, and as Assistant Professor of Philosophy at Tennessee State University. He has taught history at the University of Alabama in Huntsville. Dr. Countess is the author more than fifty published articles and book reviews. His book, *The Jehovah's Witnesses' New Testament*, is now in its second edition. He is a member of the IHR's Editorial Advisory Committee.

SAMUEL TAYLOR, a writer and business consultant, holds a bachelor's degree from Yale and a master's degree in international economics from the *Institut d'Etudes Politiques de Paris*. His writings include a critically acclaimed book about Japan, *Shadows of the Rising Sun* (William Morrow, 1983), and essays that have appeared in the *Wall Street Journal*, the *Boston Globe*, the *Baltimore Sun*, the *San Francisco Chronicle*, and other periodicals. A former contributing editor and west coast editor of *PC Magazine*, Taylor now lives in South Carolina. His essay on "multiculturalism" in this issue of the *Journal* is reprinted with permission from the February 1992 issue of *American Renaissance*, a monthly newsletter that he edits. (\$20/year. Write: P.O. Box 31964, Charleston, SC 29417.).

MARK WEBER studied history at the University of Illinois (Chicago), the University of Munich, and Portland State Universi-

ty, from where he received a bachelor's degree in history. He then did graduate work in history at Indiana University (Bloomington), where he served as a history instructor and received a master's degree in European history in 1977. In March 1988, he testified for five days in Toronto District Court as a recognized expert witness on Germany's wartime Jewish policy and the Holocaust issue. He moved to southern California in early 1991 to work for the IHR. He is now editor of the *Journal* and the *IHR Newsletter*.

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*How Hitler
Consolidated Power
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The Journal of Historical Review (ISSN: 0195-6752) began publication in 1980. It upholds and continues the tradition of Historical Revisionism of scholars such as Harry Elmer Barnes, A.J.P. Taylor, William H. Chamberlin, Paul Rassinier and Charles Tansill.

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Single issues—Spring 1986 (Volume 7) to the present—are available for sale for \$7.50 each, plus \$1.05 shipping. Back issues of the *Journal* are also available for purchase in hardbound annual volumes for the years 1984, 1985, 1986, 1988, 1989, 1990 and 1991. Please write for our booklist and prices. Quantity subscription and bulk issue rates are available upon request.

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Table of Contents

Volume Twelve, No. 3

Fall, 1992

Articles

- Pages from the Auschwitz Death Registry Volumes 265
Mark Weber
- How Hitler Consolidated Power in Germany 299
and Launched a Social Revolution
Leon Degrelle
- History's Greatest Naval Disasters 371
John Ries
- About the Contributors** 383

From the Editor

We begin this issue with another IHR exclusive. Published here for the first time anywhere are copies of inmate death certificates from the long-hidden Auschwitz camp death registry volumes.

These documents, which remained inaccessible in Soviet archives for more than 40 years, disprove the widely repeated myth that all Jewish inmates in Auschwitz who were too old or otherwise not able to work were promptly put to death, and that their deaths were not recorded.

We introduce a selection of facsimile reproductions of a number of these certificates with an essay that explains their significance.

We are grateful for the support of Revisionist researchers and activists in foreign countries, without whose help these documents—which strike yet another powerful blow against the Holocaust extermination story—could not have been published.

Today, nearly almost half a century after his death in embattled Berlin, the extraordinary personality and dramatic career of Adolf Hitler continues to fascinate millions around the world.

“Ever since V-E day, the swastika has worked like an underwriter’s lab seal of approval in Hollywood; Hitler makes anything high concept,” a writer for the leftist New York weekly *Village Voice* recently commented. “In fact,” he went on:

cable [television] already has an ad hoc Hitler Channel. Between them, the Arts & Entertainment Network and The Discovery Channel program at least six hours of military programming in prime time every week (more if you count reruns, specials, movies and late-night miscellany), much of it World War II-themed . . . The immense and cost-effective pool of war documentaries has made Adolf Hitler one of the most recognizable personalities on A&E and TDC.

"Hitler," the *Voice* writer sums up, "remains the epic figure of evil in the national psyche, and World War II the certification of America's world dominance." (Mark Schone, "The Hitler Parade," *Village Voice*, May 5, 1992.)

In spite of all that has been published over the years, "How was Hitler possible?" remains one of the most endlessly intriguing questions of our age. Was his power based on ruthless terror and tyranny, or did he enjoy genuine popular support? And, if the latter was true, what was the basis of his support? Did he, as some historians argue, seduce or "hypnotize" the Germans with emotional but empty propaganda and base appeals to prejudice?

How could the German people support a man who—if one accepts the portrayals in the American mass media—was so obviously evil and maniacal? Or are the Germans themselves demented?

In our next article, Leon Degrelle provides answers to the riddle of Hitler's success in neutralizing his political opposition and in consolidating power in one of the world's most cultured and politically sophisticated countries.

Citing an impressive array of figures and facts, Degrelle argues persuasively that the secret of Hitler's success lay in his astonishing ability to provide real solutions to the massive and seemingly insurmountable economic, social and political problems that plagued Germany when he took power in January 1933.

Degrelle's article constitutes the first six chapters of *Hitler and the Germans*, which will be volume three of a projected multi-volume series that is being published by the IHR. *Hitler: Born at Versailles* (available in hardback for \$24.95, plus \$2.00 shipping) is the first book of this series of major historical works.

Although Degrelle is an unapologetic admirer of Hitler, the Belgian historian's explanation of how Hitler was able to consolidate his power in Germany is an informed and intelligent interpretation that deserves thoughtful consideration.

Degrelle's writing is also a useful antidote to the readily available books about Hitler and the Third Reich that, in spite of their length and apparent erudition, lack balance and contain numerous errors of both interpretation and fact.

Consider three of the most prominent:

— *Hitler*, an 844-page biography by German historian Joachim C. Fest,

— *Hitler: A Study in Tyranny*, a much-lauded 848-page biography by British historian Alan Bullock that is assigned reading in numerous American college and university history courses, and

— *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*, a 1245-page work by American journalist William L. Shirer that can be found in just about every US public library.

Although widely regarded as an accurate account, few readers realize just how littered with historical duds Shirer's very one-sided book really is. For example, *Rise and Fall* upholds the now thoroughly discredited historical lie that Hitler's stormtroopers set fire to the Reichstag building in February 1933. (See: Fritz Tobias, *The Reichstag Fire*, New York: 1964.)

Shirer, Bullock and Fest quote extensively from the "revelations" of Herman Rauschning. Supposedly based on private conversations, the numerous "revealing" quotations attributed to Hitler by Rauschning apparently prove the German leader's dishonesty, duplicity and brutality. In fact, the often-cited quotations are entirely invented. Rauschning never had even a single private conversation with Hitler. (See: *IHR Journal*, Fall 1983, pp. 378 ff.; H. W. Koch, *Aspects of the Third Reich*, pp. 13 f.)

Similarly, Shirer, Bullock and Fest confidently cite the "Hossbach protocol" account of a high-level conference of German officials held in Berlin on November 5, 1937. During this meeting, Hitler supposedly revealed his plans for aggression against his neighbors. At the great Nuremberg trial of 1945-1946, Allied prosecutors repeatedly cited the

Hossbach account as a key piece of evidence proving the bellicose nature of Hitler's foreign policy.

Neither Fest, Shirer nor Bullock lets his reader know that the Hossbach account is a fraud, as Revisionist scholars like British historian A.J.P. Taylor established years ago. (See: Dankwart Kluge, *Das Hossbach-Protokoll*, 1980.; IHR *Journal*, Fall 1983, p. 372 ff.; A.J.P. Taylor, *An Old Man's Diary*, London: 1984, p. 154.)

Both Bullock and Shirer quote at length from the April 5, 1946 "affidavit" of former Auschwitz commandant Rudolf Höss (Nuremberg document 3868-PS), citing it as crucial evidence for the alleged German program to exterminate Europe's Jews. That this "affidavit" contains blatant and easily demonstrable falsehoods is hardly surprising in light of the fact that it was obtained by torture. (See: Rupert Butler, *Legions of Death*, England: 1983, pp. 235 ff.; IHR *Journal*, Winter 1986-1987, pp. 389 ff.)

Fest, Bullock and Shirer—in contrast to Degrelle—minimize or ignore the reality of Hitler's impressive social achievements. Shirer argues—contrary to fact—that these social accomplishments were merely an incidental byproduct of militarization and economic preparations for war.

We conclude this *Journal* issue with an eye-opening article by American historian John Ries that tells the little-known story of the sinkings in 1945 of three vessels: the *Wilhelm Gustloff*, the *General Steuben* and the *Goya*. Although not as well known as maritime disasters like the sinkings of the *Lusitania* or the *Titanic*, the sinkings of each of these German vessels was a much greater naval catastrophe. As Ries' definitive article establishes, the sinkings of the *Gustloff* and the *Goya* are—in terms of lives lost—the greatest naval catastrophes in history.

Setting straight the record about this relatively minor aspect of history points up the magnitude of the challenge we face in establishing the truth about larger historical issues.

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These books—the most important works of Revisionist scholarship—remain as vital and as powerful as ever. That's why they are considered so dangerous by the enemies of free inquiry and historical truth, and have been banned in several countries. If you've read them already, why not make a gift of one or more of them to someone who hasn't?

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Pages From The Auschwitz Death Registry Volumes

Long-Hidden Death Certificates Discredit Extermination Claims

MARK WEBER

Over the years, Holocaust historians and standard Holocaust studies have consistently maintained that Jewish prisoners who arrived at Auschwitz between the spring of 1942 and the fall of 1944, and who were not able to work, were immediately put to death. Consistent with the alleged German program to exterminate Europe's Jews, only able-bodied Jews who could be "worked to death" were temporarily spared from the gas chambers. Holocaust historians also agree that no records were kept of the deaths of the Jews who were summarily killed in the camp's gas chambers because they were too old, too young or otherwise unable to work.¹

However, Auschwitz camp death records—which were hidden away for more than 40 years in the Soviet Union—cast grave doubt on these widely accepted claims.

Inmate deaths at Auschwitz were carefully recorded by the camp authorities on certificates that were bound in dozens of death registry volumes. Each "death book" (*Sterbebuch*) contains hundreds of death certificates. Each certificate meticulously records numerous revealing details, including the deceased person's full name, profession and religion, date and place of birth, pre-Auschwitz residence, parents' names, time of death, and cause of death as determined by a camp physician.

These death registry volumes are designated as "secondary books" (*Zweitbücher*), suggesting the existence of a still-inaccessible set of "primary books."

The death registry volumes fell into Soviet hands in January 1945 when Red Army forces captured Auschwitz.

They remained inaccessible in Soviet archives until 1989, when officials in Moscow announced that they held 46 of the volumes, recording the deaths of 69,000 Auschwitz inmates.

These 46 volumes partially cover the years 1941, 1942 and 1943. There are just two or three volumes for the year 1941, and none at all for the years 1944 or 1945.² It is not clear why so many volumes are still missing. According to informed International Red Cross officials, the most likely explanation is that they were misplaced by the Soviets, and might therefore turn up later. (There is no indication that Auschwitz camp authorities made any effort to destroy any of the volumes.)³

"No one seems to know yet what become of the numerous missing volumes," the journal *Red Cross, Red Crescent* has reported. "Are they still gathering dust in one of the numerous archives throughout the [former] USSR? Anything is possible, but this last hypothesis seems most likely. The mere thought that there are more than 3,250 archival centres in the USSR is enough make anyone's head spin."⁴

Russian officials have permitted an agency of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC)—the International Tracing Service in Arolsen, Germany—to make copies of the 69,000 death certificates. Microfilm copies of the documents have reportedly also been given to the American Red Cross, and the original volumes have been turned over to the Auschwitz State Museum in Poland.

Although archive officials have not permitted independent researchers to freely examine and evaluate the death registry volumes, the IHR recently obtained copies of 127 of the death certificates from German journalist and researcher Wolfgang Kempkens, who obtained copies of more than 800 of them from sources in Poland and Russia.

Published here—to our knowledge for the first time anywhere—are facsimile reproductions of 30 of these certificates. (Because of the *Journal's* page size, the documents reproduced here are reduced to 55 percent of original size.)

In selecting which certificates to reproduce here, preference has been given to those recording the deaths of Jewish prisoners who were indisputably too old to have been able to work.

Consistent with the *Sterbebuch* records, other German wartime documents show that a very high percentage of the Jewish inmates at Auschwitz were not able to work, and were nevertheless not killed.⁵

For example, an internal German telex message dated September 4, 1943, from the chief of the Labor Allocation department of the SS Economic and Administrative Main Office (WVHA), reported that of 25,000 Jewish inmates in Auschwitz, only 3,581 were able to work. All of the remaining Jewish inmates—some 21,500, or about 86 percent—were unable to work.⁶

This is also confirmed in a secret report dated April 5, 1944, on “security measures in Auschwitz” by Oswald Pohl, head of the WVHA agency responsible for the concentration camp system, to SS chief Heinrich Himmler. Pohl reported that there was a total of 67,000 inmates in the Auschwitz camp complex, of whom 18,000 were hospitalized or disabled. In the Auschwitz II camp (Birkenau), supposedly the main extermination center, there were 36,000 inmates, mostly female, of whom “approximately 15,000 are unable to work.”⁷

The evidence shows that Auschwitz-Birkenau was, in fact, established primarily as a camp for Jews who were *not* able to work, including the sick and elderly, as well as for others temporarily awaiting assignment to other camps.⁸

Along with the two documents above, the long-hidden certificates reproduced on the following pages discredit a central pillar of the Holocaust extermination story. As revealing as these documents are, though, there is little doubt that a careful examination of *all* of the many thousands of documents in the Auschwitz death books—as well as other, still-inaccessible wartime records—would bring us much closer to finding definitive answers to the central questions of Germany’s wartime Jewish policy. It is high time for archival officials in Poland, Germany, Russia and Israel to open all their records to independent scholars.

Notes

1. Probably the most often cited "evidence" for extermination at Auschwitz are the "confessions" and "affidavits" of former camp commandant Rudolf Höss. See, for example, Höss affidavit of April 5, 1946 (Nuremberg document 3868-PS), and: Rudolf Höss, *Death Dealer: The Memoirs of the SS Kommandant at Auschwitz*, Steven Paskuly, ed. (Buffalo: Prometheus, 1992), pp. 27, 31, 32, 34, 157, 159.; As Prof. Robert Faurisson has explained, the Höss "confessions" are error-ridden statements obtained by torture. See: R. Faurisson, "How the British Obtained the Confessions of Rudolf Höss," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Winter 1986-87, pp. 389-403;
 Other often-cited "eyewitness accounts" confirming the alleged Auschwitz extermination program include: Miklos Nyiszli, *Auschwitz: A Doctor's Eyewitness Account* (Fawcett Crest pb. edition, 1985?), pp. 23-24.; Olga Lengyel, *Five Chimneys* (Granada, pb., 1981), pp. 83.
2. Jean-Louis Amar, "Death Camps: The Archives Open," *Red Cross, Red Crescent*, January-April 1990, pp. 24-26. This journal is apparently an official publication of the Swiss-based International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC).
3. E. Schulten, "Endlich Glasnost . . .," *Waldeckische Landeszeitung*, Nov. 2, 1989.
4. J.-L. Amar, "Death Camps: The Archives Open," *Red Cross, Red Crescent*, January-April 1990, p. 26.
5. This has recently been obliquely confirmed by Auschwitz State Museum official Franciszek Piper. See: F. Piper, "Estimating the Number of Deportees to and Victims of the Auschwitz-Birkenau Camp," *Yad Vashem Studies* (Jerusalem: 1991), Vol. 21, pp. 70-71.
6. Helmut Eschwege, ed., *Kennzeichen J* (Berlin: 1966), p. 264. Source cited: Archives of the Jewish Historical Institute of Warsaw. German document No. 128.
7. Nuremberg document NO-021. Published in: *Trials of War Criminals Before the Nuernberg Military Tribunals* (Washington, DC: 1949-1953), Vol. 5, pp. 384-385. (This is also known as the NMT "green series.")
8. This is also the considered view of Dr. Arthur Butz. See: A. Butz, *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* (IHR, 1983), p. 124.



The cover (slightly reduced) of an Auschwitz death registry volume (*Sterbebuch*) containing 1,500 certificates from July and August 1943.

14/1941		4. August		c. 41.	
Nr.	er Lehrer Josef Israel Buck, mosaisch				
D.	Kattowitz, Karbowastraße 35				
wohnhaft	1. August 1941	7	25		
ist am	Auschwitz, Kasernenstraße	Uhr	Minuten		
in	er	1. Dezember 1875	verstorben.		
Zazulince war geboren am					
in					
(Standesamt)	Hendel Buck	Nr. ()			
Vater:					
Mutter:	Rosa Buck geborene Rose				
B.	Verstorbene war nicht verheiratet				
des Arztes Doktor Blase					
keine Anzeigende					
Vorgelesen, genehmigt und unterschrieben					
Die Übereinstimmung mit dem Erstbuch wird beglaubigt.					
Auschwitz, das	4.8.	19 41.	In Vertretung Der Standesbeamte		
Der Standesbeamte in Vertretung		Grabner			
Altersschwäche					
Todesursache:					
Eheschließung de... Verstorbenen am in					
(Standesamt Nr. ().)					

This Auschwitz camp death certificate (reduced) reports that prisoner Josef Buck, a Jewish teacher from Kattowitz, was 65 years old when he died on August 1, 1941. "Weakness of old age" is given as the cause of death.

396/1941

1941

14. August

41.

Auschwitz, den

der Arbeiter Josek Israel Nisenkorn, mesaiach

Radzyn-Podlaski Nr. 1

inhalt

11. August 1941

um 15 Uhr 30

Minuten

Auschwitz, Kasernenstraße

verstorben.

er Verstorbene war geboren am 20. März 1870

D Verstorbene war geboren am

Lukow

ndesamt

Nr.

Itzik Nisenkorn

Vater:

Hanna Nisenkorn geborene Lendeberg

Mutter:

er Verstorbene war mit Laja Nisenkorn

borene Garbass

des Arztes Doktor Schwela

Ertragter auf schriftliche Anzeige

n Auschwitz vom 11. August 1941

D Anzeigende

Vorgelesen, genehmigt und unterschrieben

Die Übereinstimmung mit dem
Erstbuch wird beglaubigt.

schwits, den 14.8. 1941.

Der Standesbeamte

In Vertretung

Der Standesbeamte

In Vertretung

Grabner

Altersschwäche

ursache:

Josek [sic] Nisenkorn, a Jewish laborer, was 71 years old when he died in Auschwitz on August 11, 1941. "Weakness of old age" is given as the cause of death by camp physician Dr. Siegfried Schwela, who himself later died of typhus.

Nr. 1317/1342

C¹

Auschwitz, den 5. März 1942

Der Kaufmann Chaim Richter

, wohnhaft in

Krenau O/S, Ringplatz Nr. 24

ist am 1. März 1942 um 03 Uhr 20 Minuten

in Auschwitz, Wissernenstraße verstorben.

Der Verstorbene war geboren am 13. August 1860

in Krenau O/S

(Standesamt. Nr.)

Vater: Jozef Richter, zuletzt wohnhaft in Krakau

Mutter: Leja Richter geborene Kirschner, zuletzt

wohnhaft in Krenau O/S

Der Verstorbene war — nicht — verheiratet — Witwer von Szajndla

Richter geborene Bohner

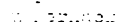
Eingetragen auf mündliche — schriftliche Anzeige des Arztes Doktor der
Medizin Entress in Auschwitz vom 1. März 1942

B — Anzeigende

Vorgelesen, genehmigt und unterschrieben

Die Übereinstimmung mit dem
Erstbuch wird beglaubigt.

Auschwitz, den 5. 3. 1942

Der Standesbeamte
in VertretungDer Standesbeamte
in Vertretung

Todesursache: Altersschwäche

Eheschließung des Verstorbenen am In

(Standesamt

Nr.)

Chaim Richter, a Jewish salesman, was 81 years old when he died in Auschwitz on March 1, 1942, of "weakness of old age."

C1

Nr. 5718/1942

Auschwitz, den 31. März 1942

Der Schneider Herz Samuel Mandel

Hebraisch

wohnhaft Sanok, Adolf Hitlerstraße Nr. 45

ist am 26. März 1942 um 17 Uhr 05 Minuten

in Auschwitz, Kasernenstraße verstorben.

Der Verstorbene war geboren am 15. November 1867

in Sanok

(Standesamt Nr.)

Vater: Sisik Mandel

Mutter: Lea Mandel geborene Mandel

Der Verstorbene war nicht verheiratet mit Reisel Mandel

geborene Ruzer

Eingetragen auf mündliche schriftliche Anzeige des Arztes Doktor der

Medizin Entress in Auschwitz vom 26. März 1942

Bezeugende

.....

.....

Vorgelesen, genehmigt und unterschrieben

Die Übereinstimmung mit dem
Erstbeob. wird beglaubigt.

Auschwitz, den 31. 3. 19 42

Der Standesbeamte
in Vertretung

Der Standesbeamte
in Vertretung

Quakernack

Todesursache: Grippe bei Herzschwäche

Eheschließung des Verstorbenen am in

(Standesamt Nr.).

Samuel Mandel, a Jewish tailor, was 74 years old when he died in Auschwitz on March 26, 1942. Physician Dr. Entress reported the cause of death as "influenza with heart failure."

C¹

Nr. 9944/1942

Auschwitz, den 9. Juni 1942

Die Ernestine Hochfelder geborene Lippner

mosaisch

wohnhaft Visoka Nr. 340, Kreis Cadca, Slowakei

Ist am 4. Juni 1942 um 11 Uhr 00 Minuten

in Auschwitz, Kasernenstraße verstorben.

Die Verstorbene war geboren am 11. Februar 1872

in Tursovka, Kreis Cadca

(Standesamt _____ Nr. _____)

Vater: Emanuel Lippner, zuletzt wohnhaft in Tursovka

Mutter: Anna Lippner geborene Schimek, zuletzt wohnhaft in Tursovka

Die Verstorbene war nicht verheiratet mit Heinrich Hochfelder


Eingelesen auf mündliche schriftliche Anzeige des Arztes Doktor der Medizin von Bodman in Auschwitz vom 4. Juni 1942

— Die — Anzeigende —

Vorgelesen, genehmigt und unterschrieben

Die Übereinstimmung mit dem Erstbuch wird beglaubigt.

Auschwitz, den 9. 6. 1942

Der Standesbeamte
in Vertretung


Der Standesbeamte
in Vertretung
Quakernack

Todesursache: Alters- und Körperschwäche

Ernestine Hochfelder, a Jewish inmate who had been deported to the camp from Slovakia, was 70 years old when she died in Auschwitz on June 4, 1942. "Physical weakness and old age" is cited as the cause of death.

12134/1942 C1

Nr. _____

Auschwitz, den 27. Juni 1942

er Fleischer Josef Hoffmann

D mosaisch

Wohnhaft: Vrutky, Klinkova Nr. 10, Kreis Tarcansky Sv. Martin

ist am 22. Juni 1942 um 15 Uhr 25 Minuten

Auschwitz, Kasernenstraße

in _____ verstorben.

er 12. August 1852

D Verstorbene war geboren am

in Vrutky

(Standesamt) _____ Nr. _____

Vater: Samuel Hoffmann, zuletzt wohnhaft in Vrutky

Mutter: Marie Hoffmann geborene Lang, zuletzt wohnhaft in Vrutky

er mit Fanny Hoffmann

D Verstorbene war — nicht — verheiratet

geborene Ringwald

des Ar tes Doktor der

Eingetragen auf ~~mündliche~~ — schriftliche Anzeige

Medizin Entress in Auschwitz vom 22. Juni 1942

D Anzeigende _____

Vorgelesen, genehmigt und unterschrieben

Die Übereinstimmung mit dem Erstbuch wird beglaubigt.

Auschwitz, den 27. 6. 1942

Der Standesbeamte
In Vertretung

Der Standesbeamte
In Vertretung
Wahrmann

Todesursache: Altersschwäche

Eheschliessung de Verstorbenen am _____ in _____

Josef Hoffmann, a Jewish butcher, was 89 years old when he died of "old age" on June 22, 1942.

Nr. 13533/1942

Auschwitz, den 7. Juli

1942

Der Kaufmann Abraham Stieber

mosaisch

wohaft Presov, Hlinkova Nr. 126, Slowakei

ist am 2. Juli 1942

um 19

Uhr

55

Minuten

in Auschwitz, Kasernenstrasse

verstorben.

Der Verstorbene war geboren am 5. April 1863

in Brzozow, Kreis Sanok

(Standesamt)

Nr.

Vater: Hersz Stieber, zuletzt wohnhaft in Brzozow

Mutter: Fajga Stieber geborene Hausner, zuletzt

wohaft in Jedlicze

Der Verstorbene war nicht verheiratet

Mitw. von Luzanna Stieber

geborene Lustig

Eingetragen auf mündliche schriftliche Anzeige des Arztes Doktor der

Medizin Kreibich in Auschwitz vom 2. Juli 1942

Anzeigende

Vorgelesen, genehmigt und

unterschrieben

Die Obereinstimmung mit dem
Erstbuch wird beglaubigt.

Auschwitz, den 7. 7. 1942

Der Standesbeamte

Der Standesbeamte

in Vertretung
Quakernack

Todesursache: Alterschwäche

Eheschließung des Verstorbenen am in

(Standesamt)

Nr.

Abraham Stieber, a Jewish salesman from Slovakia, was 79 years old when he died on July 2, 1942, of "old age."

Nr. 6087/1942

C¹

Auschwitz, den 25. Juli 1942

Der Landwirt David Reichman

mosaisch

wohnhaft Hunkova Nr. 16, Kreis Dobšina, Slowakei

ist am 22. Juli 1942 um 08 Uhr 25 Minuten

in Auschwitz, Kasernestrasse verstorben.

Der Verstorbene war geboren am 26. Dezember 1871

in Madaska, Ungarn

(Standesamt Nr.)

Vater: Finasz Reichman, zuletzt wohnhaft in Bodvalenke,

Ungarn

Mutter: Marie Reichman geborene Feldman, zuletzt
wohnhaft in BodvalenkeDer Verstorbene war nicht verheiratet mit Anna Reichman geborene
SteinbergerEingetragen auf amtliches Ansuchen des Arztes Doktor der
Medizin Meyer in Auschwitz vom 22. Juli 1942

Anzeigende

Vorgelesen, genehmigt und unterschrieben

Die Übereinstimmung mit dem
Erstbuch wird beglaubigt.

Auschwitz, den 25. 7. 1942

Der Standesbeamte
In VertretungDer Standesbeamte
In Vertretung
Quakernack

Todesursache: Altersschwäche

Einschließung des Verstorbenen am

David Reichman, a Jewish farmer, was 70 years old when he died
on July 22, 1942, of "old age."

Nr. 10753, 134.

129 C

Auschwitz, den 26. Juli 1942

Der Verstorbene Tibor Pollak

männlich

wohnhaft Trenčín, Bratislava Str. 6, Slowakei

Ist am 26. Juli 1942 um 13 Uhr 55 Minuten

in Auschwitz, Kasernenstrasse verstorben.

Der Verstorbene war geboren am 21. März 1928

in Trenčín

(Standesamt Nr.)

Vater: Franz Pollak

Mutter: Hela Pollak geborene Masbrun

Der Verstorbene war nicht verheiratet

Eintragen auf mündliche — schriftliche Anzeige des Arztes Doktor der

Medizin Meyer in Auschwitz vom 26. Juli 1942

B. Anzeigende

Vorgetragen, genehmigt und unterschrieben

Die Übereinstimmung mit dem
Erstbuch wird beglaubigt.

Auschwitz, den 30. 7. 1942

Der Standesbeamte

In Vertretung

Der Standesbeamte

In Vertretung

Quakernack

Todesursache: Versagen des Herzens und Kreislaufes

Einschleusen des Verstorbenen am

(Standesamt Nr.)

Tibor Pollak, a Jewish secondary school student from Slovakia, was 14 years old when he died on July 26, 1942. Camp physician Dr. Meyer recorded "heart and circulatory failure" as the cause of death.

C

D er Koch Albert Janos

wohnhaft Bordeaux, 2 Rue Desfourriel

Ist am 10. August 1942 am 11 Uhr 35 Minuten

in Auschwitz, Kasernenstraße _____ verstorben.

D...er Verstorbene war geboren am 8. Januar 1894.

10 Ananieff, Russland

(Standesamt _____ Nr. _____)

Vater: Aron Janos, zuletzt wohnhaft in Ananijeff

Mutter: Eitel, James geborens: Blattlön, zuletzt wohnhaft

in Ananieff

D. BT Verstorbene war - nicht - verheiratet mit Susana Jandz geborene

Schein

Eingefragen auf ~~mündliche~~ — schriftliche Anzeige des Arztes Doktor der —

~~Medizin-Entressé in Auschwitz vom 10. August 1942~~

D **Inesigando**

~~Vorgelesen, genehmigt und unterschrieben~~

Die Obereinstimmung mit dem
Erstbuch wird beglaubigt.

Auschwitz, den. ... **14.8.** 19**42**

Der Ständesbeamte
In Vertretung

Der Standesbeamte
In Vertretung
Quackernack

Todesursache: Sepsis bei Phlegmone

Eheschliessung de Verstorbenen am 18.08.1911 in St. Gallen

(Standesamt) Nr. 1

Albert Janos, a Jewish cook born in Russia, was deported to Auschwitz from Bordeaux, France. He was 48 years old when he died on August 10, 1942. Camp physician Dr. Entress recorded the cause of death as sepsis with inflammation of tissues.

C¹

Nr. 19235/1942

Auschwitz, den 15. August 1942

Der Händler Gerszon Wajsborn

mosaisch

wohnhaft Paris XX, Rue Pirerescoint 64

Ist am 10. August 1942 um 19 Uhr 00 Minuten

in Auschwitz, Kasernenstraße verstorben.

Der Verstorbene war geboren am 7. November 1901

in Bialobrzeg

(Standesamt) Nr.

Vater: Chajm Wajsborn

Mutter: Laja Wajsborn geborene Wajsborn, wohnhaft

in Radom

Der Verstorbene war nicht verheiratet mit Jochweta Wajsborn

geborene Albaum

Eingetragen auf mündliche schriftliche Anzeige des Arztes Doktor der

Medizin Meyer in Auschwitz vom 10. August 1942

Bezeugende

Vorgelesen, genehmigt und unterschrieben

Die Übereinstimmung mit dem
Erstbuch wird beglaubigt.

Auschwitz, den 15. 8. 1942

Der Standesbeamte
in Vertretung

Der Standesbeamte
in Vertretung
Quakernack

Todesursache: Lungenödem bei Herzschwäche

Eheschließung des Verstorbenen am in

(Standesamt) Nr.

Gerszon Wajsborn [sic], a Jewish merchant deported to Auschwitz from Paris, was 40 years old when he died on August 10, 1942. Camp physician Dr. Meyer recorded the cause of death as accumulation of fluid in the lungs and heart failure.

Nr. 22482/1942

C1

Auschwitz, den 28. August 1942

Der Leichnam von Armin Horn

— mosaisch —

wohnhaft in Dolny Almas, Kreis Banská Stavnica, Slowakei

ist am 13. August 1942 um 10 Uhr 45 Minuten

in Auschwitz, Lagerstrasse 20 verstorben.

Der Verstorbene war geboren am 20. November 1871

in Pecenice, Kreis Banská Stavnica

(Standesamt — Nr. —)

Vater: Salomon Horn, zuletzt wohnhaft in Dolny Almas

Mutter: Rozalia Horn geborene Soliner, zuletzt wohnhaft in Dolny Almas

Der Verstorbene war — nicht — verheiratet mit Gizela Horn geborene Gross

Eingetragen auf ~~mündliche~~ schriftliche Anzeige des Arztes Doktor der Medizin Thilo in Auschwitz vom 19. August 1942

— Anzeigende —

Vorgelesen, genehmigt und — unterschrieben

Die Übereinstimmung mit dem Erstbuch wird beglaubigt.

Auschwitz, den 28. 8. 1942

Der Standesbeamte
in Vertretung

Der Standesbeamte
in Vertretung
Quakernaßk

Todesursache: Darmkatarth bei Altersschwäche

Einschliessung des Verstorbenen am — in —

(Standesamt — Nr. —)

Armin Horn, a Jewish salesman deported to the camp from Slovakia, died on August 19, 1942, at the age of 70. Camp physician Dr. Thilo recorded the cause of death as "accumulation of fluid in the intestine and weakness of old age."

14. September 1942

Abraham Trijtel, geboren am 7. September 1927 in Rotterdam, Kasernenstraße 11, verstorben am 4. September 1942 um 05 Uhr 35 Minuten in Auschwitz, Kasernenstraße.

Der Verstorbene war geboren am 7. September 1927 in Rotterdam.

(Standesamt) Nr. ()

Vater: Jacob Trijtel

Mutter: Johanna Trijtel geborene Rivlis

Der Verstorbene war nicht verheiratet.

Eingetragen auf Grundlage der ärztlichen Anzeige des Arztes Doktor der Medizin Kremer in Auschwitz vom 4. September 1942.

Die Übereinstimmung mit dem Erstbuch wird beglaubigt.

Abschwitz, den 14.9.1942

Der Standesbeamte in Vertretung

Der Standesbeamte in Vertretung Quakernack

Todesursache: Akuter Magendarmkatarrh

Eheschließung des Verstorbenen am in

(Standesamt) Nr. l.

Abraham Trijtel, a Jewish student from the Netherlands, was 14 years old when he died on September 4, 1942, of "acute inflammation of the stomach intestine."

C. 10

Auschein, den 18. Oktober 1942

Personenname Jettchen Fuld geborene Gross

geb. 22. Oktober 1874 in Fischbach

wohnhaft Westerburg, Kirchgasse 11

ist am 10. Oktober 1942 um 48 Uhr 00 Minuten

in Auschwitz, Ansernenstrasse verstorben.

Die Verstorbene war geboren am 22. Oktober 1874

in Fischbach

(Standesamt _____ Nr. _____)

Vater Abraham Lewi

Mutter Matilde Lewi geborene Gross

Die Verstorbene war ledig verheiratet Witwe von Jakob Fuld

Eintragung auf Veranlassung der schriftlichen Anzeige des Arztes Doktor der Medizin Meyer in Auschwitz vom 10. Oktober 1942

Die Überstimmung mit dem Erstatung wird beglaubigt.

Auschein, den 18. 10. 1942

Der Standesbeamte in Vertretung

Der Standesbeamte in Vertretung Lankersack

Todesursache: Alters und Körperschwäche

Beschliessung des Verstorbenen am _____ in _____

(Standesamt _____ Nr. _____)

Jettchen Fuld, a Jewish inmate, was 67 when she died on October 10, 1942. Old age and physical weakness is given as the cause of death.

Nr. 36241/1942

C

Ausschluß, den 24. Oktober 1942

D ~~er Arbeiter Salomon Serlui~~

mosaisch

wohnhaft : Amsterdam, Nieuwe Kerkstraat 50

Ist am 16. Oktober 1942 um 11 Uhr 30 Minuten

In Anschwitz, Kasernenstraße verstorben.

D 6r Verstorbene war geboren am 5. April 1875

in Amsterdam

(Standesamt) _____ Nr. _____

Vater: Levi Serlvi, zuletzt wohnhaft in Amsterdam

Mutter: Branka Serlui geborene de Frise, zuletzt

Wohnhaft in Amsterdam

D~~er~~ Verstorbene war ~~nicht~~ verheiratet ~~mit Helene Serlin~~

geborene Daalmeier

Eingelesen auf mündliche - schriftliche Anzeige des Arztes Doktor Dr.
Medizin Kremer in Anschwitz vom 16. Oktober 1942

D Anzeigende

~~Vorgelesen, genehmigt und _____ unterschrieben~~

Die Übereinstimmung mit dem
Erstbuch wird beglaubigt.

Auschwitz, den 24. 10. 1942

Der Standsbeamte
~~In Vertretung~~

**Der Standesbeamte
In Vertretung
Quakernack**

Todesursache: **Hagengeschwist**

Eheschliessung de _____ Verstorbenen am _____

(Standesamt)

Nr. 38825/1942

C¹

Auschwitz, den 11. November 1942

Der Schneider René Israel Hirschfeld

mosaisch

wohnhaft Halle an der Saale, Talantstraße Nr. 6

ist am 2. November 1942 um 12 Uhr 20 Minuten

in Auschwitz, Kasernenstraße verstorben.

Der Verstorbene war geboren am 29. Oktober 1878

in Berlin

(Standesamt) Nr.

Vater: Ludwig Hirschfeld, zuletzt wohnhaft in Berlin

Mutter: Martha Hirschfeld geborene Heese, zuletzt

wohnhaft in Halle an der Saale

Der Verstorbene war nicht verheiratet mit Hermine Hirschfeld

geborene Rose

Eingetragen auf mündliche — schriftliche Anzeige des Arztes Doktor der
Medizin Kitt in Auschwitz vom 2. November 1942

D. Angehörige

Vorgelesen, genehmigt und unterschrieben.

Die Obereinstimmung mit dem
Erstbuch wird beglaubigt.

Auschwitz, den 11. 11. 1942

Der Standesbeamte
In Vertretung

Der Standesbeamte
In Vertretung
Quakernack

Todesursache Altersschwäche

Eheschließung des Verstorbenen am in

(Standesamt) Nr.

René Hirschfeld, a Jewish tailor born in Berlin in 1878, was 64 when he died on November 2, 1942. Camp physician Dr. Kitt reported "weakness of old age" as the cause of death.

1790/1943 C1

Nr. 11. Januar 1943

in Freide, Littmann, zuletzt wohnhaft in Leipzig

D. 11. Januar 1943 am 12 Uhr 10 Minuten

Anschwitz, Kasernenstraße

in 1. Januar 1873

D. 1. Januar 1873

Leipzig

(Standesamt) David Gerson, zuletzt wohnhaft in Leipzig

Vater: Reisel Gerson, zuletzt wohnhaft in Leipzig

Mutter: Witwe von Karl Littmann

D. 1. Januar 1943

Eingetragen auf schriftliche Anzeige

Medizin Vetter in Anschwitz vom 11. Januar 1943

D. 1. Januar 1943

Die Übereinstimmung mit dem
Erstbuch wird beglaubigt

Anschwitz, den 14. 1. 1943

In-Vorstellung

Der Standesbeamte
in Vertretung
Quakernack

Unterschwache

Todesursache:

Eheschließung des Verstorbenen am

(Standesamt) Nr.

Freide [sic] Littmann, a Jewish inmate from Leipzig, Germany, was 70 when she died of "old age" on January 11, 1943.

C¹

Nr. 1807/1943

Auschwitz, den 18. Januar 1943

Der Schüler Wolf Israel Eisenhändler

mossaisch

wohnhaft Berlin N. 64, Linienstrasse Nr. 216

ist am 12. Januar 1943 um 19 Uhr 25 Minuten

in Auschwitz, Kasernenstrasse verstorben.

Der Verstorbene war geboren am 22. Juli 1928

in Berlin

(Standesamt Nr.)

Vater: Isak Eisenhändler

Mutter: Nische Eisenhändler geborene Brill

Der Verstorbene war nicht verheiratet

Eingetragen auf mündliche schriftliche Anzeige des Arztes Doktor der
Medizin Vetter in Auschwitz vom 12. Januar 1943

D. Anzeigende

Vorgelesen, geprüft und unterschrieben

Die Übereinstimmung mit dem
Erstbuch wird beglaubigt.

Auschwitz, den 18. 1. 1943

Der Standsbeamte
In Vertretung

Der Standsbeamte

In Vertretung

Quakernack

Todesursache: Sepsis bei Pneumonie

Eheschließung des Verstorbenen am in

(Standesamt

Nr.

Wolf Eisenhändler, a Jewish student from Berlin, was 14 when he died on January 13, 1943. "Sepsis with pneumonia" is reported as the cause of death.

Josephine Kohn, a Jewish inmate born in Hungary who had been living in Leipzig, was 69 years old when she died on February 10, 1943. Auschwitz camp physician Dr. Kitt reported “weakness of old age” as the cause of death.

Nr. 7607/1943

C

Auschwitz, den 24. Februar 1943

Der Rechtsanwalt Emil Israel Kaufmann

evangelisch früher mosaisch

wohnhaft Halberstadt, Westendorfsstrasse Nr. 15, Am Harz

ist am 16. Februar 1943 um 14 Uhr 55 Minuten

in Auschwitz, Kasernenstrasse verstorben.

Der Verstorbene war geboren am 29. Juni 1864

in Deutsch-Krone, Westpreussen

(Standesamt Nr.)

Vater: Markus Kaufmann, zuletzt wohnhaft in Deutsch-Krone

Mutter: Lina Kaufmann geborene David, zuletzt wohnhaft
in BrombergDer Verstorbene war nicht verheiratet mit Eli Kaufmann
geborene LüdersEingetragen auf Veranlassung schriftliche Anzeige des ersten Doktor der
Medizin Röhde in Auschwitz vom 15. Februar 1943

U. Auszugs

Vorgelesen, genehmigt und unterschrieben

Die Obereinstimmung mit dem
Erstbuch wird beglaubigt.

Auschwitz, den 24. 2. 1943

Der Standesbeamte
in VertretungDer Standesbeamte
in Vertretung
Quakernack

Todesursache: Altersschwäche

Eheschließung des Verstorbenen am

in

(Standesamt)

Nr.

Emil Kaufmann, a Jewish attorney deported from Germany, was 78 years old when he died of "old age" on February 15, 1943. "Weakness of old age" is given as the cause of death.

Nr. 11413/1943

C¹

Auschwitz, den 11. März 1943

Der Leutnant Julius Israel Sonnenberg

glaubenslos früher jüdisch

wohnhaft Mainz, Kastel, Leonorastrasse Nr. 36

ist am 27. Februar 1943 um 07 Uhr 20 Minuten

in Auschwitz, Kasernenstrasse verstorben.

Der Verstorbene war geboren am 19. Februar 1878

in Mainz

(Standesamt Nr.)

Vater: Josef Sonnenberg

Mutter: Amalie Sonnenberg geborene Fuchs

Der Verstorbene war nicht verheiratet mit Johanna Sonnenberg

geborene Eulenburch

Eingetragen auf schriftliche Anzeige des Arztes Doktor der

Medizin heute in Auschwitz von 27. Februar 1943

D. Angehende

Vorgelesen, genehmigt und unterschrieben.

Die Übereinstimmung mit dem
Erstbuch wird beglaubigt.

Auschwitz, den 11. 1943

Der Standesbeamte

Der Standesbeamte

In Vertretung

In Vertretung

Hakernack

Todesursache: Angina pectoris

Eheschließung des Verstorbenen am in

(Standesamt Nr.)

Julius Sonnenberg, a salesman from Germany, was 65 when he died on February 27, 1943, of "angina pectoris." His religion is cited as "non-believing, formerly Jewish."

Nr. 13593/1943

(C)

Auschwitz, den 18. März 19 43

Der Fleischer Abraham Blok

mosaisch

wohnhaft Den Haag, Wagenstraat 179, Holland

ist am 6. März 1943 um 17 Uhr 15 Minuten

in Auschwitz, Kasernenstraße verstorben.

Der Verstorbene war geboren am 2. Juli 1872

in Den Haag

(Standesamt

Nr.

Vater: Manasse Blok, zuletzt wohnhaft in Den Haag

Mutter: Marianna Blok geborene Ereira, zuletzt
wohnhaft in Den HaagDer Verstorbene war nicht verheiratet mit Rosette Blok
geborene FrescoEingetragen auf ~~Verstorbene~~ — schriftliche Anzeige des Arztes Doktor der
Medizin Kitt in Auschwitz vom 6. März 1943

D. Anzeigende

Vorgelesen, gezeichnet und unterschrieben.

Die Übereinstimmung mit dem
Erstbuch wird beglaubigt.

Auschwitz, den 18.3. 19 43

Der Standesbeamte
In VertretungDer Standesbeamte
In Vertretung
Quakernack

Todesursache: Altersschwäche

Einschließung des Verstorbenen am

(Standesamt

Nr.

Abraham Blok, a Jewish butcher from the Netherlands, was 70 years old when he died of "old age" on March 6, 1943.

Franz Waitz, a Catholic laborer, was 67 years old when he succumbed to typhus on June 21, 1943. His death was certified by Dr. Josef Mengele, the Auschwitz camp physician who was sensationally stigmatized after the war as the “angel of death.”

Nr. 23779/1943

C1

Auschwitz, den 29. Juni 1943

Der Arbeiter Josef Daniel

katholisch

wohnhaft Tharogochna Lhota Br. 241, Kreis Gding, Mähren

ist am 21. Juni 1943 um 01 Uhr 00 Minuten

in Auschwitz, Besondere Sondere verstorben.

Der Verstorbene war geboren am 6. März 1925

in Myjava, Slowakei

(Standesamt: Nr.)

Vater: Jan Daniel

Mutter: Katerina Daniel geborene Dycha

Der Verstorbene war nicht verheiratet

Eingetragen auf mündliche schriftliche Anzeige des Arztes Doktor der
Medizin Thilo in Auschwitz vom 21. Juni 1943

Ausfertigung

Vorgelesen, genehmigt und unterschrieben

Die Obereinstimmung mit dem
Erstbuch wird beglaubigt.

Auschwitz, den 29. 6. 1943

Der Standesbeamte
in Vertretung

Der Standesbeamte
in Vertretung
Quackernack

Todesursache: Freitod durch Starkstrom

Erscheinung d. Verstorbenen am in

(Standesamt: Nr.)

Josef Daniel, a Catholic laborer from rural Moravia, was 18 years old when he ended his life on June 21, 1943, by "suicide by high-voltage electrical current."

25623/1943

Auschwitz, den 1. August 1943

Der Kaufmann Max Israel Lichtenstaedt

mosaisch

wohnhaft Berlin W-15, Luisenallee Nr. 20

ist am 21. Juli 1943 um 21 Uhr 00 Minuten

in Auschwitz, Kasernenstrasse verstorben.

Der Verstorbene war geboren am 27. Februar 1870

in Bromberg

(Standesamt) Nr.)

Vater: Jakob Lichtenstaedt, zuletzt wohnhaft in Berlin

Mutter: Franziska Lichtenstaedt geborene Kirstein,

zuletzt wohnhaft in Berlin

Der Verstorbene war — nicht — verheiratet mit Hanka Lichtenstaedt

geborene Griesche

Eingetragen auf mündliche — schriftliche Anzeige des arztes Doktor der

Medizin Thilo in Auschwitz vom 21. Juli 1943

Der Anzeigende

Vorgelesen, genehmigt und unterschrieben

Die Obereinstimmung mit dem Erstbuch wird beglaubigt.

Auschwitz, den 1. 8. 1943

Der Standesbeamte in Vertretung

Der Standesbeamte in Vertretung Grabner

Todesursache: Uraemia

Eheschliessung d. Verstorbenen am in

(Standesamt) Nr.)

Max Lichtenstaedt, a Jewish salesman from Berlin, was 73 years old when he died in Auschwitz on July 21, 1943. "Uraemia" is given as the cause of death.

C¹

Nr 36199, 1943

Auschwitz, 27. Dezemoor 1943

Der Peter Diessenberg

evangelisch

wohnhaft Braunschweig-Veltenhof

ist am 27. Dezember 1942 um 16 Uhr 05 Minuten

in Auschwitz, Masernstrasse verstorben.

Der Verstorbene war geboren am 26. März 1942

in Braunschweig

(Standesamt Nr.)

Vater:

Mutter: Rosa Diessenberg

Der Verstorbene war nicht verheiratet

Eingetragen auf mündliche - schriftliche - Anzeige des Arztes Doktor der Medizin aus in Auschwitz vom 27. Dezember 1942

Anzeigende

Vorgelesen, genehmigt und unterschrieben

Die Übereinstimmung mit dem Erdbuch wird beglaubigt.

Auschwitz den 27.12.1942

Der Standesbeamte in Vertretung

Der Standesbeamte in Vertretung

Todesursache: Knochexie bei Bronchitis

Eheschließung des Verstorbenen am in

(Standesamt Nr.)

Peter Diessenberg, a baby, was just one year old when he died in Auschwitz on December 27, 1943.

C¹

Nr. 36299/1943

Auschwitz den 31. Dezember 1943

Die Johanna Sara Seiner geborene Popper

mosaisch

wohnhaft Theresienstadt, Seestraße Nr. 12

ist am 27. Dezember 1943 um 08 Uhr 10 Minuten

in Auschwitz, Kasernenstraße verstorben.

Die Verstorbene war geboren am 26. Januar 1871

in Rejscht, Kreis Pardubitz

(Standesamt Nr.)

Vater: Josef Popper

Mutter: Therese Popper geborene Kohn

Die Verstorbene war - nicht verheiratet Witwe von Adolf Seiner

Eingetragen auf mündliche - schriftliche - Anzeige des Arztes Doktor der Medizin Weber in Auschwitz vom 27. Dezember 1943

Die Anzeigende

Vorgelesen, genehmigt und unterschrieben

Die Übereinstimmung mit dem Erstbuch wird beglaubigt.

Auschwitz, 31.12.1943

Der Standesbeamte In Vertretung

Der Standesbeamte In Vertretung

Todesursache: Altersschwäche

Eheschließung der Verstorbenen am in

(Standesamt Nr.)

Johanna Seiner, a Jewish inmate who had been deported to Auschwitz from the Theresienstadt ghetto-camp in Bohemia, was 72 years old when she died of "old age" on December 27, 1943.

C¹

Nr. 36991/1943

Auschwitz, den 31. Dezember 1943

Der Schneider Zeli Gieolik

mosaisch

wohnhaft Koczniow, Kreis Turek, Warthegau

ist am 16. Dezember 1943 um 24 Uhr 00 Minuten

in Auschwitz, Gaskammer Nr. 100 verstorben.

Der Verstorbene war geboren am 25. Mai 1909

in Koczniow, Kreis Turek

(Standesamt) Nr.

Vater: Samuel Gieolik

Mutter: Hajl. Gieolik geborene Glowinski

Der Verstorbene war - nicht - verheiratet mit Liba Gieolik

geborene Stal

Eingetragen auf mündliche - schriftliche - Anzeige
 des Arztes Doktor der
 Medizin Fischer in Auschwitz vom 21. Dezember 1943

Anzeigende

Vorgelesen, genehmigt und unterschrieben

Die Übereinstimmung mit dem
Erstbuch wird beglaubigt.

Auschwitz den 1. 12. 1943

Der Standesbeamte
in VertretungDer Standesbeamte
in Vertretung
Krisen

Todesursache: plötzlicher Herzstod



Verstorbenen am in

(Standesamt) Nr.

Dieser 25. und
 letzte Band des
 Sterberegisters für
 1943, der die
 Eintragungen
 36001 bis 36991
 enthält, wird
 abgeschlossen.
 Auschwitz, den
 31. Dezember 1943
 Der
 Standesbeamte
 in Vertretung

C 1421

Zeli Gieolik, a Jewish tailor, was 34 when he died on December 12, 1943. Camp physician Dr. Fischer reported "sudden heart failure" as the cause of death. This is the last certificate in death registry volume 25, which is the final volume for the year 1943.

How Hitler Consolidated Power in Germany and Launched A Social Revolution

The First Years of the Third Reich

LEON DEGRELLE

I. Who Would End the Bankruptcy?

"We have the power. Now our gigantic work begins."

Those were Hitler's words on the night of January 30, 1933, as cheering crowds surged past him, for five long hours, beneath the windows of the Chancellery in Berlin.

His political struggle had lasted 14 years. He himself was 43, that is, physically and intellectually at the peak of his powers. He had won over millions of Germans and organized them into Germany's largest and most dynamic political party, a party girded by a human rampart of hundreds of thousands of storm troopers, three fourths of them members of the working class. He had been extremely shrewd. All but toying with his adversaries, Hitler had, one after another, vanquished them all.

Standing there at the window, his arm raised to the delirious throng, he must have known a feeling of triumph. But he seemed almost torpid, absorbed, as if lost in another world.

It was a world far removed from the delirium in the street, a world of 65 million citizens who loved him or hated him, but all of whom, from that night on, had become his responsibility. And as he knew—as almost all Germans knew at the end of January 1933—that this was a crushing, an almost desperate responsibility.

Half a century later, few people understand the crisis Germany faced at that time. Today, it's easy to assume that

Germans have always been well-fed and even plump. But the Germans Hitler inherited were virtual skeletons.

During the preceding years, a score of "democratic" governments had come and gone, often in utter confusion. Instead of alleviating the people's misery, they had increased it, due to their own instability: it was impossible for them to pursue any given plan for more than a year or two. Germany had arrived at a dead end. In just a few years there had been 224,000 suicides—a horrifying figure, bespeaking a state of misery even more horrifying.

By the beginning of 1933, the misery of the German people was virtually universal. At least six million unemployed and hungry workers roamed aimlessly through the streets, receiving a pitiful unemployment benefit of less than 42 marks per month. Many of those out of work had families to feed, so that altogether some 20 million Germans, a third of the country's population, were reduced to trying to survive on about 40 pfennigs per person per day.

Unemployment benefits, moreover, were limited to a period of six months. After that came only the meager misery allowance dispensed by the welfare offices.

Notwithstanding the gross inadequacy of this assistance, by trying to save the six million unemployed from total destruction, even for just six months, both the state and local branches of the German government saw themselves brought to ruin: in 1932 alone such aid had swallowed up four billion marks, 57 percent of the total tax revenues of the federal government and the regional states. A good many German municipalities were bankrupt.

Those still lucky enough to have some kind of job were not much better off. Workers and employees had taken a cut of 25 percent in their wages and salaries. Twenty-one percent of them were earning between 100 and 250 marks per month; 69.2 percent of them, in January of 1933, were being paid less than 1,200 marks annually. No more than about 100,000 Germans, it was estimated, were able to live without financial worries.

During the three years before Hitler came to power, total earnings had fallen by more than half, from 23 billion marks

to 11 billion. The average per capita income had dropped from 1,187 marks in 1929 to 627 marks, a scarcely tolerable level, in 1932. By January 1933, when Hitler took office, 90 percent of the German people were destitute.

No one escaped the strangling effects of the unemployment. The intellectuals were hit as hard as the working class. Of the 135,000 university graduates, 60 percent were without jobs. Only a tiny minority was receiving unemployment benefits.

"The others," wrote one foreign observer, Marcel Laloire (in his book *New Germany*), "are dependent on their parents or are sleeping in flophouses. In the daytime they can be seen on the boulevards of Berlin wearing signs on their backs to the effect that they will accept any kind of work."

But there was no longer any kind of work.

The same drastic fall-off had hit Germany's cottage industry, which comprised some four million workers. Its turnover had declined 55 percent, with total sales plunging from 22 billion to 10 billion marks.

Hardest hit of all were construction workers; 90 percent of them were unemployed.

Farmers, too, had been ruined, crushed by losses amounting to 12 billion marks. Many had been forced to mortgage their homes and their land. In 1932 just the interest on the loans they had incurred due to the crash was equivalent to 20 percent of the value of the agricultural production of the entire country. Those who were no longer able to meet the interest payments saw their farms auctioned off in legal proceedings: in the years 1931-1932, 17,157 farms—with a combined total area of 462,485 hectares—were liquidated in this way.

The "democracy" of Germany's "Weimar Republic" (1918-1933) had proven utterly ineffective in addressing such flagrant wrongs as this impoverishment of millions of farm workers, even though they were the nation's most stable and hardest working citizens. Plundered, dispossessed, abandoned: small wonder they heeded Hitler's call.

Their situation on January 30, 1933, was tragic. Like the rest of Germany's working class, they had been betrayed by

their political leaders, reduced to the alternatives of miserable wages, paltry and uncertain benefit payments, or the outright humiliation of begging.

Germany's industries, once renowned everywhere in the world, were no longer prosperous, despite the millions of marks in gratuities that the financial magnates felt obliged to pour into the coffers of the parties in power before each election in order to secure their cooperation. For 14 years the well-blinkered conservatives and Christian democrats of the political center had been feeding at the trough just as greedily as their adversaries of the left.

Thus, prior to 1933, the Social Democrats had been generously bribed by Friedrich Flick, a supercapitalist businessman. With him, as with all his like, it was a matter of carefully studied tactics. After 1945, his son, true to tradition, would continue to offer largess to the Bundestag Socialists who had their hands out, and, in a roundabout way, to similarly minded and equally greedy political parties abroad as well. The benefactors, to be sure, made certain that their gifts bore fruit in lucrative contracts and in cancelled fiscal obligations.

Nothing is given for nothing. In politics, manacles are imposed in the form of money.

Even though they had thus assured themselves of the willing cooperation of the politicians of the Weimar system's parties, the titans of German capitalism had experienced only a succession of catastrophes. The patchwork governments they backed, formed in the political scramble by claim and compromise, were totally ineffective. They lurched from one failure to another, with neither time for long-range planning nor the will to confine themselves somehow to their proper function.

Time is required for the accomplishment of anything important. It is only with time that great plans may be brought to maturity and the competent men be found who are capable of carrying them out. Not surprisingly, therefore, any economic plans drawn up amid all this shifting for short-term political advantage were bound to fail.

Nor did the bribing of the political parties make them any more capable of coping with the exactions ordered by the Treaty of Versailles. France, in 1923, had effectively seized Germany by the throat with her occupation of the Ruhr industrial region, and in six months had brought the Weimar government to pitiable capitulation. But then, disunited, dispising one another, how could these political birds of passage have offered resistance? In just a few months in 1923, seven German governments came and went in swift succession. They had no choice but to submit to the humiliation of Allied control, as well as to the separatist intrigues fomented by Poincaré's paid agents.

The substantial tariffs imposed on the sale of German goods abroad had sharply curtailed the nation's ability to export her products. Under obligation to pay gigantic sums to their conquerors, the Germans had paid out billions upon billions. Then, bled dry, they were forced to seek recourse to enormous loans from abroad, from the United States in particular.

This indebtedness had completed their destruction and, in 1929, precipitated Germany into a terrifying financial crisis.

The big industrialists, for all their fat bribes to the politicians, now found themselves impotent: their factories empty, their workers now living as virtual vagrants, haggard of face, in the dismal nearby working-class districts.

Thousands of German factories lay silent, their smokestacks like a forest of dead trees. Many had gone under. Those which survived were operating on a limited basis. Germany's gross industrial production had fallen by half: from seven billion marks in 1920 to three and a half billion in 1932.

The automobile industry provides a perfect example. Germany's production in 1932 was proportionately only one twelfth that of the United States, and only one fourth that of France: 682,376 cars in Germany (one for each 100 inhabitants) as against 1,855,174 cars in France, even though the latter's population was 20 million less than Germany's.

Germany had experienced a similar collapse in exports. Her trade surplus had fallen from 2.872 billion marks in 1931 to only 667 millions in 1932—nearly a 75 percent drop.

Overwhelmed by the cessation of payments and the number of current accounts in the red, even Germany's central bank was disintegrating. Harried by demands for repayment of the foreign loans, on the day of Hitler's accession to power the Reichsbank had in all only 83 million marks in foreign currency, 64 million of which had already been committed for disbursement on the following day.

The astronomical foreign debt, an amount exceeding that of the country's total exports for three years, was like a lead weight on the back of every German. And there was no possibility of turning to Germany's domestic financial resources for a solution: banking activities had come virtually to a standstill. That left only taxes.

Unfortunately, tax revenues had also fallen sharply. From nine billion marks in 1930, total revenue from taxes had fallen to 7.8 billion in 1931, and then to 6.65 billion in 1932 (with unemployment payments alone taking four billion of that amount).

The financial debt burden of regional and local authorities, amounting to billions, had likewise accumulated at a fearful pace. Beset as they were by millions of citizens in need, the municipalities alone owed 6.542 billion in 1928, an amount that had increased to 11.295 billion by 1932. Of this total, 1.668 billion was owed in short-term loans.

Any hope of paying off these deficits with new taxes was no longer even imaginable. Taxes had already been increased 45 percent from 1925 to 1931. During the years 1931-1932, under Chancellor Brüning, a Germany of unemployed workers and industrialists with half-dead factories had been hit with 23 "emergency" decrees. This multiple overtaxing, moreover, had proven to be completely useless, as the "International Bank of Payments" had clearly foreseen. The agency confirmed in a statement that the tax burden in Germany was already so enormous that it could not be further increased.

And so, in one pan of the financial scales: 19 billion in foreign debt plus the same amount in domestic debt. In the other, the Reichsbank's 83 million marks in foreign currency. It was as if the average German, owing his banker a debt of 6,000 marks, had less than 14 marks in his pocket to pay it.

One inevitable consequence of this ever-increasing misery and uncertainty about the future was an abrupt decline in the birthrate. When your household savings are wiped out, and when you fear even greater calamities in the days ahead, you do not risk adding to the number of your dependents.

In those days the birth rate was a reliable barometer of a country's prosperity. A child is a joy, unless you have nothing but a crust of bread to put in its little hand. And that's just the way it was with hundreds of thousands of German families in 1932.

In 1905, during the reign of Kaiser Wilhelm II, the birth-rate had been 33.4 per one thousand. In 1921 it was only 25.9, and in 1924 it was down to 15.1. By the end of 1932, it had fallen to just 14.7 per one thousand.

It reached that figure, moreover, thanks only to the higher birth rate in rural areas. In the fifty largest cities of the Reich, there were more deaths than births. In 45 percent of working-class families, there were no births at all in the latter years. The fall in the birthrate was most pronounced in Berlin, which had less than one child per family and only 9.1 births per one thousand. Deaths exceeded the number of new births by 60 percent.

In contrast to the birthrate, politicians were flourishing as never before—about the only thing in Germany that was in those disastrous times. From 1919 to 1932, Germany had seen no less than 23 governments come and go, averaging a new one about every seven months. As any sensible person realizes, such constant upheaval in a country's political leadership negates its power and authority. No one would imagine that any effective work could be carried out in a typical industrial enterprise if the board of directors, the management, management methods, and key personnel were all replaced every eight months. Failure would be certain.

Yet the Reich wasn't a factory of 100 or 200 workers, but a nation of 65 million citizens crushed under the imposed burdens of the Treaty of Versailles, by industrial stagnation, by frightful unemployment, and by a gut-wrenching misery shared by the entire people.

The many cabinet ministers who followed each other in swift succession for thirteen years—due to petty parliamentary squabbles, partisan demands, and personal ambitions—were unable to achieve anything other than the certain collapse of their chaotic regime of rival parties.

Germany's situation was further aggravated by the unrestrained competition of the 25 regional states, which split up governmental authority into units often in direct opposition to Berlin, thereby incessantly sabotaging what limited power the central Reich government had at that time.

The regional remnants of several centuries of particularism were all fiercely jealous of their privileges. The Treaty of Westphalia of 1648 had divided Germany into hundreds of Lilliputian states, most of them musical comedy kingdoms whose petty monarchs tried to act like King Louis XIV in courts complete with frills and reverential bows.

Even at the beginning of the First World War (1914-1918), the German Reich included four distinct kingdoms (Prussia, Bavaria, Württemberg and Saxony), each with its own sovereign, army, flag, titles of nobility, and Great Cross in particolored enamel. In addition, there were six grand duchies, five duchies, seven principalities, and three free cities.

The Bavarian clung fiercely to his lederhosen, his steins of beer and his pipe. He took part in the war to preserve them. The Saxon would gladly have had a go-around with the haughty Prussian. Each was intent on his rights. And for all of them, faraway Berlin was a thorn in the side.

Each regional state had its own separate government with parliament, prime minister and cabinet. Altogether they presented a lineup of 59 ministers who, added to the eleven Reich ministers and the 42 senators of the Free Cities, gave the Germans a collection of 112 ministers, each of whom viewed the other with a jaundiced eye at best.

In addition, there were between two and three thousand deputies—representing dozens of rival political parties—in the legislatures of the Reich, the 22 states and the three Free Cities.

In the Reichstag elections of November 1932—held just months before Hitler become Chancellor—there were no less than 37 different political parties competing, with a total of 7,000 candidates (14 of them by proxy), all of them frantically seeking a piece of the parliamentary pie. It was most strange: the more discredited the party system became, the more democratic champions there were to be seen gesturing and jostling in their eagerness to climb aboard the gravy train.

To all appearances, the incumbents who had been elected were there forever. They received fat salaries (a Reichstag deputy got ten times what the average worker earned), and permitted themselves generous supplementary incomes in the form of favors provided by interested clients. A number of Socialist Reichstag deputies representing Berlin, for example, had arranged for their wives to receive sumptuous fur coats from certain Jewish financiers.

In a parliamentary democracy, mandates are often very brief, and ministerial appointments even more so. The temptation is strong to get it while you can.

Honest, dishonest, or piratical, these 112 cabinet ministers and thousands of legislative deputies had converted Germany into a country that was ungovernable. It is incontestable that, by January of 1933, the “system” politicians had become completely discredited. Their successors would inherit a country in economic, social and political ruins.

Today, more than half a century later, in an era when so many are living in abundance, it is hard to believe that the Germany of January 1933 had fallen so low. But for anyone who studies the archives and the relevant documents of that time, there can be no doubt. Not a single figure cited here is invented. By January 1933, Germany was down and bleeding to death.

All the previous chancellors who had undertaken to get Germany back on her feet—including Brüning, Papen and

Schleicher—had failed. Only a genius or, as some believed, a madman, could revive a nation that had fallen into such a state of complete disarray.

When President Franklin Roosevelt was called upon at that same time to resolve a similar crisis in the United States, he had at his disposal immense reserves of gold. Hitler, standing silently at the chancellery window on that evening of January 30, 1933, knew that, on the contrary, his nation's treasury was empty. No great benefactor would appear to help him out. The elderly Reich President, Paul von Hindenburg, had given him a work sheet of appalling figures of indebtedness.

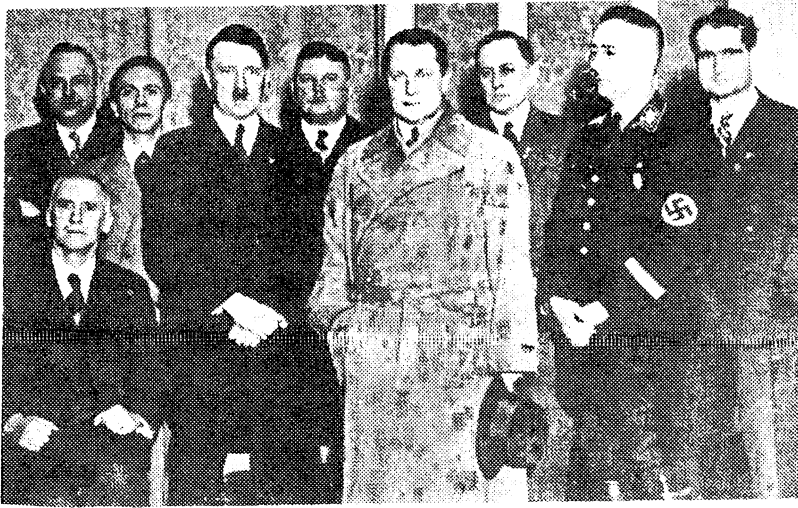
Hitler knew that he would be starting from zero. From less than zero. But he was also confident of his strength of will to create Germany anew—politically, socially, financially, and economically. Now legally and officially in power, he was sure that he could quickly convert that cipher into a Germany more powerful than ever before.

What support did he have?

For one thing, he could count on the absolute support of millions of fanatical disciples. And on that January evening, they joyfully shared in the great thrill of victory. Some thirteen million Germans, many of them former Socialists and Communists, had voted for his party.

But millions of Germans were still his adversaries, disconcerted adversaries, to be sure, whom their own political parties had betrayed, but who had still not been won over to National Socialism.

The two sides—those for and those against Hitler—were very nearly equal in numbers. But whereas those on the left were divided among themselves, Hitler's disciples were strongly united. And in one thing above all, the National Socialists had an incomparable advantage: in their convictions and in their total faith in a leader. Their highly organized and well-disciplined party had contended with the worst kind of obstacles, and had overcome them.



Hitler poses with close comrades shortly after being named Chancellor on January 30, 1933.

While it enjoyed extraordinarily popular support, the National Socialist movement had grown too fast, and problems deriving from that lay in wait ahead. Thousands of visionaries with nebulous dreams of domination, not to mention hotheads dreaming only of brawls and revolution in perpetuity, had found their way into the National Socialist ranks. The ambitious ones intended to rise to the top at any cost—and as quickly as possible. Many of them were ill-prepared; some simply lacked morals. Many bitter disappointments were in store for Hitler because of them.

Hitler sensed as much. He had ordered his party to halt recruitment of new members, and even directed that the SA—the huge civilian paramilitary force that had carried him to power—be reduced in size. Indeed, by 1933 SA stormtroop membership had grown to the incredible figure of 2,500,000 men, 25 times the size of the regular army, the Reichswehr.

It was due to such pressures that Hitler was sometimes driven to rash action, contrary to his real desire or intent. Sometimes this meant expulsions, the use of force or cases of intransigence, even though his larger goal was to reunite the

nation in peace, and accomplish his political and social programs without useless clashes.

Hitler knew that he was playing with dynamite. Still, it was his conviction that he was being driven not just by his National Socialist movement, but by an inner, almost supernatural force. Whether one called it Providence or Destiny, it was this force, he felt, that had carried him to victory. His own force of character was such that it would yield to nothing. For Hitler, it was a foregone conclusion that he would forge a new Reich, a new world.

Hitler knew that the task he had set himself would be immense and difficult to accomplish, that he would have to transform Germany in practically every respect: the structure of the state, social law, the constitution of society, the economy, civic spirit, culture, the very nature of men's thinking. To accomplish his great goal, he would need to reestablish the equilibrium of the social classes within the context of a regenerated community, free his nation from foreign hegemony, and restructure its geographic unity.

Task number one: he would have to restore work and honor to the lives of six million unemployed. This was his immediate goal, a task that everyone else thought impossible to achieve.

After he had once again closed the windows of the chancellery, Hitler, with clenched fists and resolute mien, said simply: "The great venture begins. The day of the Third Reich has come."

In just one year this "great venture" would be in full swing, effecting a transformation from top to bottom in political, social and economic life—indeed, in the German way of life itself.

II. The Unification of the State

"It will be the pride of my life," Hitler said upon becoming Chancellor, "if I can say at the end of my days that I won back the German worker and restored him to his rightful place in the Reich." He meant that he intended not merely to

put men back to work, but to make sure that the worker acquired not just rights, but prestige as well, within the national community.

The national community had long been the proverbial wicked stepmother in its relationship with the German working man. Class struggle had not been the exclusive initiative of the Marxists. It had also been a fact of life for a privileged class, the capitalists, that sought to dominate the working class. Thus the German worker, feeling himself treated like a pariah, had often turned away from a fatherland that often seemed to consider him merely an instrument of production.

In the eyes of the capitalists, money was the sole active element in the flourishing of a country's economy. To Hitler's way of thinking, that conception was radically wrong: capital, on the contrary, was only an instrument. Work was the essential element: man's endeavor, man's honor, blood, muscles and soul.

Hitler wanted not just to put an end to the class struggle, but to reestablish the priority of the human being, in justice and respect, as the principal factor in production.

One could dispense with gold, and Hitler would do just that. A dozen other things could be substituted for gold as a means of stimulating industry, and Hitler would invent them. But as for work, it was the indispensable foundation.

For the worker's trust in the fatherland to be restored, he had to feel that from now on he was to be (and to be treated) as an equal, instead of remaining a social inferior. Under the governments of the so-called democratic parties of both the left and the right, he had remained an inferior; for none of them had understood that in the hierarchy of national values, work is the very essence of life; and matter, be it steel or gold, but a tool.

The objective, then, was far greater than merely sending six million unemployed back to work. It was to achieve a total revolution.

"The people," Hitler declared, "were not put here on earth for the sake of the economy, and the economy doesn't exist

for the sake of capital. On the contrary, capital is meant to serve the economy, and the economy in turn to serve the people."

It would not be enough merely to reopen the thousands of closed factories and fill them with workers. If the old concepts still ruled, the workers would once again be nothing more than living machines, faceless and interchangeable.

What was required was to reestablish that moral equilibrium between the workers, human beings who shape raw materials, and a useful and controlled capitalism, returned to its proper function as a tool. This would mean changing an entire world, and it would take time.

As Hitler knew full well, such a revolution could not be achieved while the central and regional governments continued in a state of anarchy, seldom accomplishing anything solid, and sometimes running amok. Nor could there be a revolution in society while dozens of parties and thousands of deputies of every conceivable stripe pursued their selfish interests under a political system that had thrashed about incoherently since 1919.

Restoring the effectiveness of Germany's institutions on a nationwide basis was therefore an indispensable prerequisite to any social rebirth.

"A fish rots from the head down," says a Russian proverb. And it was at the head that political Germany, prior to Hitler, was going bad. In the end, the "democratic" parties abdicated without even defending themselves. In 1930, the aged President Marshall von Hindenburg used his emergency powers under Article 48 of the Weimar constitution to enable a succession of semi-dictators to rule by decree. But even they could accomplish little.

These last chancellors—Herr Brüning, Herr von Papen, and General Schleicher—were able to maintain rule only by executive decree. Their authority, artificially sustained by misuse of Article 48, was dependent on von Hindenburg and the camarilla advising him. Just how slim was their level of popular support was shown in a particularly humiliating 1932 Reichstag "vote of confidence," in which more than 90

percent of the deputies voted against him and his government.

Hitler's accession to power abruptly brought an end to government impotence. As a condition of appointing him, however, Hindenburg had demanded that the new chancellor be hemmed in like a prisoner in his own government. In his first government, Hitler was obliged name four times as many conservative—or better, reactionary—ministers as his own men. Just two members of his first cabinet were National Socialists.

Hindenburg's representatives were given the mission of keeping Hitler on a leash. At the Reichstag session of March 24, however, Hitler broke that leash, not with yet another executive decree (like his immediate predecessors), but by obtaining a two-thirds parliamentary majority for the "Enabling Act" that legally amended the constitution and gave him sweeping plenary powers for a period of four years.

Four years in power to plan, create and make decisions. Politically, it was a revolution: Hitler's first revolution. And completely democratic, as had been every stage of his rise. His initial triumph had come through the support of the electorate. Similarly, sweeping authority to govern was granted him through a vote of more than two-thirds of the Reichstag's deputies, elected by universal suffrage.

This was in accord with a basic principle of Hitler's: no power without the freely given approval of the people. He used to say: "If you can win mastery over the people only by imposing the power of the state, you'd better figure on a nine o'clock curfew."

Nowhere in twentieth-century Europe had the authority of a head of state ever been based on such overwhelming and freely given national consent. Prior to Hitler, from 1919 to 1932, those governments piously styling themselves democratic had usually come to power by meager majorities, sometimes as low as 51 or 52 percent.

"I am not a dictator," Hitler had often affirmed, "and I never will be. Democracy will be rigorously enforced by National Socialism."

Authority does not mean tyranny. A tyrant is someone who puts himself in power without the will of the people or against the will of the people. A democrat is placed in power by the people. But democracy is not limited to a single formula. It may be partisan or parliamentary. Or it may be authoritarian. The important thing is that the people have wished it, chosen it, established it in its given form.

That was the case with Hitler. He came to power in an essentially democratic way. Whether one likes it or not, this fact is undeniable. And after coming to power, his popular support measurably increased from year to year. The more intelligent and honest of his enemies have been obliged to admit this, men such as the declared anti-Nazi historian and professor Joachim Fest, who wrote:

For Hitler was never interested in establishing a mere tyranny. Sheer greed for power will not suffice as explanation for his personality and energy . . . He was not born to be a mere tyrant. He was fixated upon his mission of defending Europe and the Aryan race . . . Never had he felt so dependent upon the masses as he did at this time, and he watched their reactions with anxious concern.

These lines weren't written by Dr. Goebbels, but by a stern critic of Hitler and his career. (J. Fest, *Hitler*, New York: 1974, p. 417.)

By February 28, 1933, less than a month after his appointment as chancellor, Hitler had already managed to free himself of the conservative ballast by which Hindenburg had thought to weigh him down. The Reichstag fire of the previous evening prompted the elderly President to approve a new emergency law "For the Protection of the People and the State," which considerably increased the powers of the executive.

Hitler meant, however, to obtain more than just concessions ruefully granted by a pliable old man: he sought plenary powers legally accorded him by the nation's supreme democratic institution, the Reichstag. Hitler prepared his coup with the skill, the patience, and the astuteness for which he



Hitler, von Hindenburg, and von Papen, in the Garrison church at the solemn "Day of Potsdam" ceremony.

is legendary. "He possessed," historian Fest later wrote, "an intelligence that included above all a sure sense of the rhythm to be observed in the making of decisions."

At first, Hitler carefully cultivated Hindenburg, the elderly First World War *Feldmarschall* who was fond of tradition. Accordingly, Hitler arranged a solemn ceremony in Hindenburg's honor in Potsdam, historic residence of the Prussian kings. This masterpiece of majesty, beauty, tradition and piety took place in Potsdam's Garrison Church on March 21, 1933, just days before the Reichstag was to reconvene.

Hindenburg had served as an army officer for half a century. So that the old soldier might be reunited with his comrades, Hitler had arranged for veterans from all the wars in which Hindenburg had served to be present on this solemn

occasion. From all around the country they came: veterans from the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-1871 (62 years before), from the war of 1866 against the Austrian empire (67 years before), and even from the war of 1864 against Denmark (69 years before!). For someone on the retirement list of 1911, it must have been a heartwarming occasion to be reunited again with comrades from so long ago.

With deference and apparent humility, and attired in formal dress for the occasion, Hitler bowed his head before the old man. In the stately church where the ceremony took place, Hitler had arranged that the chair of the former Kaiser, Wilhelm II, which had been unoccupied for 14 years, remained empty, so that Hindenburg could halt before it and make his salute, his marshal's baton raised, as if the monarch were still there.

Hitler also quietly led Hindenburg down into the church crypt, to place wreaths on the tombs of his old master, Kaiser Wilhelm I, and of Frederick the Great. The President's old eyes were rimmed with tears.

On that 21st day of March at Potsdam, the octogenarian President relived the glorious past of the German monarchy. This somber homage was his hour supreme. Hindenburg had always been a loyal servant of the Emperor, and this reminder of his former sovereign, and of the great days of his own long career, deeply moved him. Hitler was the first chancellor since the defeat of 1918 to so honor the tradition of Prussia and Germany. The young revolutionary chancellor had touched his heart.

A month and a half earlier, Hindenburg had commissioned Papen, Hugenberg, and Neurath and other conservative ministers to pinch in Hitler "until he hollered." Now that was over. Hitler had won him over: in front of an empty armchair and before the tombs of Prussia's greatest kings.

A year and a half later, as he lay dying, the old *Feldmarschall* would believe that he was back in the time of Hohenzollern dynasty, and in his delirium would address Hitler as "Majesty."

This "Day of Potsdam" ceremony also won Hitler new support from among the country's many monarchists, giving

them the impression that he has not altogether insensitive to the idea of restoring the monarchy. But the new chancellor's temporary prudence was calculated with precision.

"There is no need to destroy the existing institutions," Hitler assured, "until there is something better to put in their place."

He still had need of men like von Papen and other ruling-class troglodytes. He kept them at his side as he drove them around Potsdam on that historic day, the festive city bedecked not only with swastika banners but equally with the black-white-and-red flags of the Second Reich, resurrected for the occasion. Brass bands paraded around, blaring heroic marches calculated to make their old chests swell. Here too, the scarcely camouflaged aversion to the parvenu was softened. Hitler had tamed the aristocrats, both born and moneyed. They would no longer stand in his way.

But it was above all Germany's army—the Reichswehr—that was the object of Hitler's most ardent courtship. In 1933, he desperately needed the army's support. The generals had tolerated his rise to power with reluctance. A corporal in the chancellory seemed intolerable to the haughty, monocled generals. Some ambitiously sought to supervise the nation's political machinery.

They had not been consulted when Hitler was named Chancellor on January 30. The old *Feldmarschall* had even sternly sent away General von Hammerstein-Equord, who had come to tell Hindenburg of the General Staff's vote of disapproval. In the weeks since, the generals had barely tolerated the young outsider.

Keenly aware that a coup d'état by this proud military caste could instantly sweep him and his party away, along with all his plans for the future, Hitler knew that he must proceed cleverly against the imperious generals. The Reichswehr was therefore accorded a position of honor at Potsdam. At the entry walkway to the royal palace, Reichswehr troops presented arms on one side, while a line of SA stormtroopers faced them on the other side. Unifying conservative military traditions of duty and honor with a revolutionary new force,



The young Chancellor greets the aging President at the “Day of Potsdam” ceremony, March 21, 1933.

together they formed the honor guard that symbolized a Germany restored to harmony.

As for the generals, their tunics gleaming with decorations and their chests thrown out, they once again marched behind their old commander, a heroic retinue worthy of a great Germanic chieftain. At last, after fourteen years of disregard

under the democratic Weimar Republic, they once again bathed in the golden light of martial glory. Corporal Hitler was perhaps not as contemptible as they had thought.

The ex-corporal, standing at attention in top hat and formal dress suit, let them have their day of glory at Potsdam. He knew enough to let them bask in the limelight.

Hitler had won his armistice.

To reach the people, Hitler and Dr. Goebbels had quickly taken control of the nation's radio, from which they had for so long been barred (and which their adversaries had put to only mediocre use). Within a few weeks, they had succeeded in making radio their most effective tool. Each of Hitler's major speeches was broadcast to the nation with a hitherto unknown power.

Radio also brought the spectacle of Potsdam to the people. Goebbels set up his microphones everywhere: in front of Hindenburg, behind Hindenburg, in the royal crypt, close to the military bands, and even on the rooftops of houses (where the announcers risked their necks to cover the pageantry). One of them was a young National Socialist Reichstag deputy named Baldur von Schirach, who in 1946 would find himself in the dock before the vengeful Allied judges of the Nuremberg Tribunal.

All of Germany was on the edge of its seat as it listened for hours to the exciting coverage of the event. Millions of Germans thrilled to once again hear the stirring old melodies, and to closely follow Hindenburg's every move, almost as if they were there.

During the dark days of the recent past, the venerated old warrior had represented tradition and hope. Now, thanks to Hitler's careful planning and management of this occasion, the ancient soldier embodied the promise of great national renewal. It was, as historian Fest has observed, "the feast of reconciliation gorgeously presented . . . That day at Potsdam truly proved to be a turning point in history . . . Many government officials, army officers, lawyers and judges, many members of the nationalistic bourgeoisie who had distrusted

Hitler on rational grounds, abandoned their stand . . ." (J. Fest, *Hitler*, New York: 1974, p. 405.)

Potsdam was a grandiose theatrical stage on which all had played their parts, even—by their very absence—the lukewarm and Hitler's enemies on the left.

Glued to their radio sets, all Germany had participated in the spectacle, at first fascinated, and then caught up in the emotion of the event. The next day, Berlin newspapers declared: "National enthusiasm swept over Germany yesterday like a great storm."

"A strange mixture of tactician and visionary," Joachim Fest would later write, sizing up this extraordinary stage manager. For Hitler had led field marshals, generals, and other dignitaries, none of them fools, through his drill paces as though they had been so many animated tin soldiers. But Hitler's plans extended far beyond winning over the Old Guard.

In order to establish his new state in definitive form, Hitler now proposed to obtain the official ratification of the Reichstag, which would establish his authority to govern as a virtual dictator for a period of several years.

To gain such plenary powers lawfully, the German constitution had to be amended, and this would require approval by two thirds of the parliament's members.

Hitler's party, having won 17,300,000 votes in the elections of March 5, 1933, for the new Reichstag, held a total of 288 seats—making it by far the largest single party. His conservative ally in the temporary partnership, Hugenberg's German National People's Party (DNVP), had captured 4,750,000 votes and held another 52 seats, giving the coalition a total of 340 deputies.

After deducting the 81 "empty" Communist seats, the opposition now mustered just 226 members: 120 Social Democrats, 92 (Catholic) Center and BVP deputies, and 14 others.

Although his coalition held a majority of seats, to alter the constitution Hitler needed a two thirds majority—which meant 36 additional votes.

At first sight, this goal seemed almost impossible. For more than a decade, the Catholic Center and Bavarian People's parties had been outspoken critics of Hitler and his National Socialist movement, unhesitatingly using religion as a partisan political weapon, and even denying religious burial to Catholic National Socialists murdered by Communist killers.

Hitler, with the assistance of Göring (who was now president of the new Reichstag), would now have to win over that clerical flock. Center party leader Monsignor Kaas, a squat and pudgy prelate who found the collecting of votes to be more satisfying than the guidance of souls, was flattered and courted by Hitler, who dangled before him the promise of a rapprochement between the state and the Catholic Church, an earnest promise that Hitler would make good on the following summer. The beguiled prelate may have believed that he was going to lead errant sheep back to the fold. In any case, Hitler succeeded in persuading and seducing the Center party. Some deputies of the smaller opposition parties also yielded.

When it came time to vote, Hitler was granted plenary powers with a sweeping majority of 441 votes to 94: he had won not just two thirds, but 82.44 percent of the assembly's votes. This "Enabling Act" granted Hitler for four years virtually absolute authority over the legislative as well as the executive affairs of the government.

The five paragraphs of this "Law for the Alleviation of the Misery of the People and the Nation" were brief and to the point:

1. Laws may be promulgated by the Reich government apart from the procedures provided for by the Constitution
- ...
2. Laws promulgated by the Reich government may deviate from the Constitution provided they do not change the position of the Reichstag or of the Reichsrat. The powers of the Reich President are not changed.
3. Laws promulgated by the Reich government will be prepared by the Chancellor and published in the "Official

Journal." Unless otherwise specified, they become effective on the day following publication . . .

4. Treaties concluded by the Reich with foreign states that concern matters of national legislation do not require ratification by the legislative bodies. The Reich government is empowered to issue the regulations necessary for their execution.

5. This law becomes effective on the day of publication, and remains valid until April 1, 1937. It also becomes invalid if the present government is replaced by another.

Berlin, March 24, 1933

Von Hindenburg, Hitler, Frick, von Neurath, Krosigk

Thus, a parliamentary democracy, exercising its constitutional powers, had legally established an authoritarian national state. Next, a solution was needed to problem of the horde of the competing regional, state and local parliaments, jurisdictions and authorities. For the most part, these authorities were virtual nullities, and there was no love lost between them. For fourteen years, though, they had acted together whenever a opportunity presented itself to thwart the central government in Berlin.

It was inconceivable that a strong government such as the one Hitler had just established could function effectively with thousands of second-level politicians carping and questioning his every move. Anyway, Germans had in fact become sick and tired of the squandering of authority, the perpetual squabbling, the pettiness, discord, and the anarchy for which, in the final analysis, it was the people who paid.

"It is a fact," French historian B  noist-M  chin later observed, "that the unification of the states and the Reich answered one of the most profound aspirations of the German people. They had enough of being torn apart by the constant threats of secession of the provincial governments. For centuries they had dreamed of being part of a single community." (*Histoire de l'Arm  e Allemande*, vol. III, p. 117.)

It seemed a simple enough task, because public opinion demanded the abolition of the administrative mess. But such a reform would necessarily bruise the vanity of thousands and collide head-on with many local special interests.

A man who is a council president or a minister, even if only of a small state, does not easily resign himself to being no more than a private citizen, to once again becoming, let us say, a provincial lawyer scampering to the court house with coattails flying. The 2,400 legislative deputies would also be bitter about losing the good life they had come to know and expect. Gone the prestige, the deference, the awards, the vacation trips at public expense, the discreet gratuities! Who among us does not make a wry face when swallowing bitter medicine? But it had to be, for Hitler had his eyes fixed on the national goal: a unified nation.

That did not mean, of course, that in eliminating the regional administrations Hitler had any desire to do away with the distinctive identities of the nation's various provinces. On the contrary, he believed that a nation's life ought never to be monopolized by its capital city, but should rather be nourished and constantly renewed by the blooming of dozens of centers of culture in regions rich in varied manners, mores and legacies of their past.

He believed that the nation was the harmonious conjunction of these profound and original variations, and that a state conscious of its real powers ought to promote such variety, not smother it.

The dispersion of political power had not favored such a variety, but had, on the contrary, diminished it, depriving it of the cohesion a large community brings. The Reich's 25 separate administrative entities, rivals of the central government and often of each other, were a source of disorder. A nation must consist of regions that know and esteem each other, and which gain mutual enrichment from their interlinking, rather than each withdrawing into a culture that is strangled by an exclusive and restrictive provincialism. And only a strong central authority could insure the flowering of all the various regions within a single collective entity. In sum, what Hitler intended was that each region should bring its share of original culture to the totality of a German Reich that had put an end to so many fractious administrations.

From 1871 to 1933, Germany's various national governments had come up against this obstacle of political particularism. Even so gifted a leader as Bismarck had not been

able to overcome this persistent problem. And now, where the leaders of both the Second Reich and the Weimar Republic had failed, or had not dared to take the risk, Hitler, in a few months, was going to convert this long-standing division and discord into potent and effective unity.

Hitler had scarcely moved into his office overlooking the chancellery garden, where squirrels cracked nuts in the trees and at times even leaped into the building itself, when he drew up a law to unify the Reich's many lands.

The first of the states that would be made to toe the line was Bavaria, which up to that point had been a bulwark of belligerent separatism and hidebound monarchists.

Hitler's intentions were no sooner known than several Bavarian ministers devised a plan to resurrect from retirement that old foggy, the ex-Prince Ruprecht, heir to Bavaria's Wittelsbach throne, who in November 1923, then as an ordinary private citizen, had, with a good deal of boasting, helped block Hitler's ill-fated putsch. Now the new chancellor responded to their little plot with sudden and crushing force, bringing the Bavarian state administration to heel in a single night. The next morning, Lieutenant General von Epp was named Reich Commissioner in Munich.

Thereafter, almost all the other regional states rapidly collapsed, like a house of cards.

The most difficult state to master was Prussia, an enormous bastion (a third of Germany) stretching across the heart of the country. Prussia truly constituted a state within the state, a special government. In 1931 its Socialist government had held Reich Chancellor Brüning completely in check. His humiliating defeat came notwithstanding their party's crushing defeat in the Prussian elections a short time earlier at the hands of Hitler's candidates. Chancellor von Papen found that he, too, had to come to grips with Prussia, which was nearly as strong as the central government.

After he became Chancellor, Hitler was obliged for a time—because Hindenburg demanded it—to let von Papen remain as Reich Commissioner of Prussia; and it was only with great effort on his part that Hitler managed to have

Göring named as von Papen's Minister of the Interior in Prussia. The autonomy of the Prussian government, more than any other, had to be liquidated: otherwise, the central government would remain subject at any moment to embarrassment and hindrance in the city that was the capital of both Prussia and the Reich. The matter was particularly delicate because von Papen, the aristocrat, had to remain as Reich Commissioner of Prussia. To remove him would risk disapproval and even countermeasures by President von Hindenburg.

Hitler at that point surpassed himself in versatility and guile. By dint of flattery and persuasion, within a month von Papen let himself be gently shoved out the door. Hitler all but dictated for him the text of his letter of resignation of April 7, 1933, in which the Vice Chancellor acknowledged that the Law on the Unification of the Lands of the Reich "was a legal edifice destined to be of great historic importance in the development of the German Reich." He further recognized that "the dualism existing between the Reich and Prussia" had to come to an end. In his letter he even compared Hitler to Prince Otto von Bismarck.

Although von Papen was being nudged out, Hitler soothed his wounded pride by publicly declaring that he never would have been able to carry out the political reunification of the Reich alone; that the great architect of the achievement had been von Papen.

Without turning a hair, Hitler also wrote to Feldmarschall von Hindenburg:

In assuming the functions of Reich Commissioner in Prussia during the difficult period following the 30th of January, Herr von Papen has deserved very great credit for contributing so strongly to the working out of a strict coordination between the policies of the Reich and those of the regional states. His collaboration with the cabinet of the Reich, to which he will henceforth be able to devote himself completely, will be of priceless assistance to me. The feelings I have for him are such that I rejoice in having the benefit of his cooperation, which will be of inestimable value to me.

For his part the aged field marshal responded to this small masterpiece of hypocrisy with one of his own, this one addressed to von Papen:

Dear Herr von Papen,

I have just accepted your request that you be relieved of your duties as Reich commissioner of Prussia. I take this opportunity to thank you, in the name of the Reich and in my own name, for the eminent service you have rendered the nation by eliminating the dualism existing between the Reich and Prussia, and by imposing the idea of a common political direction of the Reich and the regional states. I have learned with satisfaction that you will henceforth be able to devote all your energies to the government of the Reich.

With feelings of sincere comradeship, I remain your devoted

von Hindenburg, President of the Reich

Ex-Chancellor von Papen thus lost the only effective power he still held. Although he remained a member of the inner circle of Hitler's government (but for how long?), he was now really little more than a willing stooge.

Hitler immediately named himself *Statthalter* of Prussia, and Göring as Minister President, thus bringing the greatest German state under firm control.

One after another, the regional states were shorn of their sovereignty. The process was staged like a ballet.

Act One: Regional parliamentary power is transferred smoothly to men who had Hitler's confidence.

Act Two: Each man announces acceptance of the "Law of Unification."

Act Three: Each regional parliament proclaims the end of its own state autonomy and sovereignty.

Act Four: In each region, Hitler appoints Reich Commissioner (or *Statthalter*), who is charged with carrying out the Chancellor's political directives.

In the Grand Duchies of Baden and Saxony there were a few verbal skirmishes, but these were quickly squelched. In

the Free City of Hamburg (population a million and a half), its leaders grumbled a bit for form's sake, but only a few hours of negotiations were required to make them see the light. In just a few weeks, the entire process was accomplished.

Making use of the sweeping powers granted him by the Reichstag's overwhelming vote of approval on March 23, 1933, within a few months Hitler succeeded in transforming the faltering Reich government into a formidable instrument of action. Thanks to that mandate, and several special decrees signed by the President, he was thus able constitutionally to eliminate the rival authorities of numerous state governments and parliaments.

"It all went much faster than we had dared hope," Goebbels commented with delight, and a shade of sarcasm.

Precisely one year after Hitler had become Chancellor, a "Law for the Rebuilding of the Reich" spelled out the full extent of the change:

1. Representation of the regional states is abolished.
2. (a) The sovereign rights of the regional states are transferred to the government of the Reich.
(b) The governments of the regional states are subject to the government of the Reich.
3. The governors [*Statthalter*] are subject to the authority of the Reich Minister of the Interior.
4. The government of the Reich may modify the constitutional rights of the regional states.
5. The Minister of the Interior will issue the legal and administrative decrees necessary for the implementation of this law.
6. This law will become effective on the day of its official publication.

Berlin, January 30, 1934

Von Hindenburg, Hitler, Frick

Bismarck, the "Iron Chancellor," could never have dreamed of political reunification on such an authoritarian and hierarchical basis. But Hitler had tried, and succeeded.

Germany had now attained a level of concentrated power and authority more profound than any ever achieved in her history. And it had all been accomplished, moreover, by democratic means.

After 1945 the explanation that was routinely offered for all this was that the Germans had lost their heads. Whatever the case, it is a historical fact that they acted of their own free will. Far from being resigned, they were enthusiastic. "For the first time since the last days of the monarchy," historian Joachim Fest has conceded, "the majority of the Germans now had the feeling that they could identify with the state."

But what of the political parties?

Although Hitler had succeeded in transforming the tens of millions of Bavarians, Saxons, Prussians and residents of Hamburg into citizens of one and the same Reich, under a single national administration, and even though the anthill of petty and more or less separatist states had been leveled, there still remained in Germany the contentious and divisive political parties. They had been discredited, to be sure, but the hearty ambitions of impenitent politicians could reawaken to erode the foundations of the new state.

The party leaders were scarcely in a position to protest. On the preceding 23rd of March they themselves had overwhelmingly approved the fateful "Enabling Act." Now, with their wings clipped and their prerogatives taken away, they no longer served any useful purpose. They were not merely superfluous, they had become an encumbrance.

How would Hitler get rid of them?

III. Liquidation of the Parties

On the day in March when the deputies of the Weimar Republic voted to relinquish their power, Hitler, standing before them in their own parliamentary bailiwick, utterly poised in his brown shirt, did not spare them. "It is for you,

gentlemen of the Reichstag," he declared, "to decide between war and peace."

But how, one might ask, could they take up the fight now, when they had in fact already given up the fight years earlier?

At this point, Hitler was no longer even willing to let the last recalcitrant Reichstag deputies, the Social Democrats—by now reduced to representing a mere 17.55 percent of the nation's voters—assume the martyred pose of a persecuted fringe group.

"You talk about persecution!" he thundered in an impromptu response to an address by the Social Democratic speaker. "I think that there are only a few of us [in our party] here who did not have to suffer persecutions in prison from your side . . . You seem to have totally forgotten that for years our shirts were ripped off our backs because you did not like the color . . . We have outgrown your persecutions!"

"In those days," he scathingly continued, "our newspapers were banned and banned and again banned, our meetings were forbidden, and we were forbidden to speak, I was forbidden to speak, for years on end. And now you say that criticism is salutary!"

The shoe was now on the other foot.

"From now on we National Socialists will make it possible for the German worker to attain what he is able to demand and insist on. We National Socialists will be his intercessors. You, gentlemen, are no longer needed . . . And don't confound us with the bourgeois world. You think that your star may rise again. Gentlemen, Germany's star will rise and yours will sink . . . In the life of nations, that which is rotten, old and feeble passes and does not return."

Finally, Hitler dismissed these bankrupt Socialists with the words: "I can only tell you: I do not want your votes! Germany shall be free, but not through you!"

(Quoted in: J. Fest, *Hitler*, New York: 1974, p. 408 f.)

Within just half a year, Hitler would succeed in liquidating all these now passé and essentially irrelevant political parties. Not just the Socialist Party, already rejected by the people themselves, but all the other conniving party politi-

cians as well: the conservatives, a century behind the times, the myopic nationalists, and the boastful Catholic centrists—all of them agents and collaborators in Germany's road to ruin between 1919 to 1933.

All of these parties had clearly lost their drive. That some voters still supported them in early 1933, even after Hitler had become Chancellor, was largely out of habit. Their impetus was gone. The parties of the Weimar system had botched everything and let the nation go to ruin. Germany's collapse, her six million unemployed, the widespread hunger, the demoralization of an entire people: all this was their doing. Now that a strong leader with broad national support had taken their place, what could they do? As Joachim Fest would later write, they were "like a spider web with which one hoped to catch eagles."

Hitler's millions of followers had rediscovered the primal strength of rough, uncitified man, of a time when men still had backbone. Theirs was a Dionysian power, one that they would conserve for the great challenges to come: it wouldn't be needed against the political parties. A mere shrug of the shoulders, and those would fall apart.

It was fitting that the first to crumble was the Social Democratic party (SPD). It went out with a whimper.

It had still shown some guts on March 23, when its Reichstag deputies refused to vote Hitler plenary powers. After 1945 the Socialist party would glory in that deed, while at the same time taking care not to add that less than two months later, on May 17, the Social Democratic deputies decided to approve Hitler's major address to the Reichstag on foreign policy. It was as if they felt themselves swept along by the surge of popular support for Hitler, even within the ranks of their own party. Along with the National Socialist deputies, they voiced their approval for Hitler's policy.

From his perch as Reichstag president, Göring turned to glance at the turncoats, and commented: "The world has seen that the German people are united where their destiny is at stake."

Now that the Social Democratic leadership, which for so long had railed against Hitler, decided to back him in the Reichstag, the party's rank and file could hardly be expected

to oppose him. That day marked the end of the Social Democratic party's credibility. Following the example of their own party leadership, the large SPD electorate would, understandably, now also vote for Hitler.

After this act of capitulation, it was now child's play for Hitler to liquidate the Social Democratic party. Four weeks later, on June 22, it was officially dissolved. "No one," Fest has observed, "expected any show of resistance on the part of the SPD." The party's initials could more fittingly have been RIP: *resquiescat in pace*.

The peace would be total. Apart from a few leftist members of the Reichstag who went into exile and led isolated and unproductive lives abroad, the now former Socialist deputies continued, each month, to pocket the pensions that Hitler had allowed them. They walked about unmolested on the streets of Berlin. A number of them, some with great success, even threw in their lot with the National Socialists.

Gustav Noske, the lumberjack who became defense minister—and the most valiant defender of the embattled republic in the tumultuous months immediately following the collapse of 1918—acknowledged honestly in 1944, when the Third Reich was already rapidly breaking down, that the great majority of the German people still remained true to Hitler because of the social renewal he had brought to the working class.

After the "Reds," the "Whites" had their turn. Of the two dozen or so political parties that existed in Germany in 1932-1933, a number of the smaller ones quietly dissolved themselves without anyone even noticing their demise. They had been created for no reason other than to aid the political ambitions of their founders. But now, with no more Reichstag seats in sight, there was no further point in trying to recruit voters.

The parties of the right, formerly important but now abandoned by their voters, were conscious of the futility of expending any further effort or money to subsist artificially. Now lacking any popular support, one after another they, too, voluntarily disbanded. The "German National People's

Party," abandoned by its bourgeois supporters, was the first to give up the ghost. A few days later, on June 28, the State Party" did the same. The "Bavarian People's Party" and the "German People's Party" took the same step on July 4.

Of all the conservative mossbacks, the most difficult to get rid of was Alfred Hugenberg, the media titan who was still a minister in Hitler's cabinet. Nazis rather disrespectfully called him "the old porker in the beet patch." Hugenberg ultimately lost his cabinet post because he overplayed the role of zealous nationalist at a conference in London in June 1933, making a claim, premature to say the least, for the return to Germany of her colonies, and calling for German economic expansion into the Ukraine! Hitler regarded this as totally inopportune, particularly at a time when he was making every effort to reassure his skeptics and critics abroad. After this diplomatic blunder, Hugenberg had no choice but to resign. Thus departed the once powerful capitalist who had vowed, on January 30, to politically muzzle the newly named Chancellor.

His dismissal was a double success for Hitler: by disavowing an international troublemaker, he reassured those outside the Germany who had been alarmed by Hugenberg's ill-chosen statements; and he rid himself of a political liability whose diplomatic gaffe had cost him whatever standing he had in von Hindenburg's esteem.

The last political factor to go was the clerico-bourgeois "Center" party. Following its vote on March 23 to give Hitler plenary powers, the Center had forfeited all credibility as an opposition party. Its following dwindled away in indifference. After all, if Center leader Monsignor Kaas decided to side with the Führer in the Reichstag, why shouldn't the party's rank and file do likewise?

Meanwhile, diplomatic negotiations with the Vatican on a concordat to regulate relations between the German state and the Catholic church were close to a favorable conclusion. In this effort, perhaps more than any other, Hitler manifested patience, cunning, and tact. He needed political peace with the Church, at least until, with the help of the hierar-

chy, he could count completely on the support of Germany's many Catholics.

By voting for Hitler in the Reichstag, Center leader Kaas and his pious clerics had unsuspectingly fallen into a trap. On July 5, 1933, they declared themselves politically neutral and dissolved themselves as a party.

As a contemporary observer noted: "All the things being abolished no longer concerned people very much." With regard to the rapid demise of the political parties and the other political forces of both the right and left, Joachim Fest aptly commented: "If anything could have demonstrated the sapped vitality of the Weimar Republic, it was the ease with which the institutions that had sustained it let themselves be overwhelmed." (Quoted in: J. Fest, *Hitler*, New York: 1974, p. 415.)

To abolish the political parties and swallow up their once vast networks of voters took only a scant half year, and with little damage to life or limb. Hitler had succeeded in winning over or at least neutralizing those who had so recently reviled and jeered him. No one was more astonished at the rapidity with which the political parties had succumbed than Hitler himself. "One would never have thought so miserable a collapse possible," he remarked in July 1933, after having thrown the last shovelful of dirt on the graves of the Weimar Republic's once mighty parties. (J. Fest, *Hitler*, p. 415.)

IV. Unification of the Labor Unions

Only one significant political factor still remained: the Marxist trade unions. For many years they had represented one of the country's most potent forces. Although nominally only an economic factor, they had also been a major political factor, furnishing the Communists with their militants and the Social Democrats with the bulk of their voters.

For fifteen years they had been a constant and fanatical pressure group, stirring up turmoil in the streets and

formulating ever greater demands. The unions had long provided the Left with large amounts of money, funds that were continually replenished by the contributions of millions of union members.

Here again, well before the collapse of party-ridden Weimar Republic, disillusion with the unions had become widespread among the working masses. They were starving. The hundreds of Socialist and Communist deputies stood idly by, impotent to provide any meaningful help to the desperate proletariat.

Their leaders had no proposals to remedy, even partially, the great distress of the people; no plans for large-scale public works, no industrial restructuring, no search for markets abroad.

Moreover, they offered no energetic resistance to the pillaging by foreign countries of the Reich's last financial resources: this a consequence of the Treaty of Versailles that the German Socialists had voted to ratify in June of 1919, and which they had never since had the courage effectively to oppose.

The few palliative modifications that had been won, wrested with great difficulty from the rapacious Allies, had been achieved by Gustav Stresemann, the conservative foreign affairs minister. Although he enjoyed little or no support, even from the politicians, Stresemann fought stubbornly, in spite of faltering health, to liberate the Reich. Enduring fainting fits, and with a goiter, growing ever more enormous, knotted around his neck like a boa constrictor, Stresemann, even as he was dying, was the only Weimar leader who had seriously attempted to pry away the foreign talons from the flesh of the German people.

In 1930, 1931 and 1932, German workers had watched the disaster grow: the number of unemployed rose from two million to three, to four, to five, then to six million. At the same time, unemployment benefits fell lower and lower, finally to disappear completely. Everywhere one saw dejection and privation: emaciated mothers, children wasting away in sordid lodgings, and thousands of beggars in long sad lines.

The failure, or incapacity, of the leftist leaders to act, not to mention their insensitivity, had stupefied the working class. Of what use were such leaders with their empty heads and empty hearts—and, often enough, full pockets?

Well before January 30, thousands of workers had already joined up with Hitler's dynamic formations, which were always hard at it where they were most needed. Many joined the National Socialists when they went on strike. Hitler, himself a former worker and a plain man like themselves, was determined to eliminate unemployment root and branch. He wanted not merely to defend the laborer's right to work, but to make his calling one of honor, to insure him respect and to integrate him fully into a living community of all the Germans, who had been divided class against class.

In January 1933, Hitler's victorious troops were already largely proletarian in character, including numerous hard-fisted street brawlers, many unemployed, who no longer counted economically or socially.

Meanwhile, membership in the Marxist labor unions had fallen off enormously: among thirteen million socialist and Communist voters in 1932, no more than five million were union members. Indifference and discouragement had reached such levels that many members no longer paid their union dues. Many increasingly dispirited Marxist leaders began to wonder if perhaps the millions of deserters were the ones who saw things clearly. Soon they wouldn't wonder any longer.

Even before Hitler won Reichstag backing for his "Enabling Act," Germany's giant labor union federation, the ADGB, had begun to rally to the National Socialist cause. As historian Joachim Fest acknowledged: "On March 20, the labor federation's executive committee addressed a kind of declaration of loyalty to Hitler." (J. Fest, *Hitler*, p. 413.)

Hitler than took a bold and clever step. The unions had always clamored to have the First of May recognized as a worker's holiday, but the Weimar Republic had never acceded to their request. Hitler, never missing an opportunity, grasped this one with both hands. He did more than grant

this reasonable demand: he proclaimed the First of May a national holiday.

Just as the Socialist party had gone from a vote in the Reichstag against Hitler (March 23, 1933) to a vote of support (May 17, 1933), so did the union leaders make a 180-degree turn within weeks. At one stroke, Hitler granted to the union what they had vainly asked of every previous government: a holiday celebrated by the entire nation. He announced that in order to honor Labor, he would organize the biggest meeting in Germany's history on the First of May at Tempelhof airfield in Berlin. Caught unprepared, but on the whole very pleased to take advantage of the situation by throwing in their lot with National Socialism and, what is more, to take part in a mass demonstration the like of which even Marxist workers could scarcely imagine, the union leadership called upon their leftist rank and file to join, with banners flying, the mass meetings held that May Day across Germany, and to acclaim Hitler.

I myself attended the memorable meeting at the Tempelhof field in 1933. By nine o'clock that morning, giant columns, some of workers, others of youth groups, marching in cadence down the pavement of Berlin's great avenues, had started off towards the airfield to which Hitler had called together all Germans. All Germany would follow the rally as it was transmitted nationwide by radio.

By noon hundreds of thousands of workers—Hitlerites and non-Hitlerites—were massed on the vast field. The demonstrators observed impeccable order. Hundreds of tables, quickly set up by the Party, provided the ever-increasing throngs with sandwiches, sausages, and mugs of beer at cost, to refresh the new arrivals after their march.

Everyone, of course, was standing, and would remain so for up to fourteen hours.

A fabulous speaker's platform stood out against the sky, three stories high, flamboyant with huge flags, as impressive as a naval shipyard. As the hours went by, thousands of prominent figures took their seats, including many members of the foreign diplomatic corps. By the close of the day, a

million and a half spectators stretched to the outermost edges of the immense plain. Soldiers and civilians mingled together. Fanfares sounded repeatedly. A political meeting no longer, it had become a festival, a sort of fantastic Bruegelian kermess, where middle-class burghers, generals and workers all met and fraternized as Germans and as equals.

Night fell and Hitler appeared. His speaker's rostrum was indeed like the prow of a giant ship. The hundreds of beacons which had illuminated the great sea of humanity were now extinguished. Suddenly, Hitler burst forth from the dark, a solitary figure, high in the air, lit by the dazzling glare of spotlights.

In the dark, a group of determined opponents could easily have heckled Hitler or otherwise sabotaged the meeting. Perhaps a third of the onlookers had been Socialists or Communists only three months previously. But not a single hostile voice was raised during the entire ceremony. There was only universal acclamation.

Ceremony is the right word for it. It was an almost magical rite. Hitler and Goebbels had no equals in the arranging of dedicatory ceremonies of this sort. First there were popular songs, then great Wagnerian hymns to grip the audience. Germany has a passion for orchestral music, and Wagner taps the deepest and most secret vein of the German soul, its romanticism, its inborn sense of the powerful and the grand.

Meanwhile the hundreds of flags floated above the rostrum, redeemed from the darkness by arrows of light.

Now Hitler strode to the rostrum. For those standing at the end of the field, his face must have appeared vanishingly small, but his words flooded instantaneously across the acres of people in his audience.

A Latin audience would have preferred a voice less harsh, more delicately expressive. But there was no doubt that Hitler spoke to the psyche of the German people.

Germans have rarely had the good fortune to experience the enchantment of the spoken word. In Germany, the tone has always been set by ponderous speakers, more fond of elephantine pedantry than oratorical passion. Hitler, as a speaker, was a prodigy, the greatest orator of his century. He

possessed, above all, what the ordinary speaker lacks: a mysterious ability to project power.

A bit like a medium or sorcerer, he was seized, even transfixed, as he addressed a crowd. It responded to Hitler's projection of power, radiating it back, establishing, in the course of myriad exchanges, a current that both orator and audience gave to and drew from equally. One had to personally experience him speaking to understand this phenomenon.

This special gift is what lay at the basis of Hitler's ability to win over the masses. His high-voltage, lightning-like projection transported and transformed all who experienced it. Tens of millions were enlightened, riveted and inflamed by the fire of his anger, irony, and passion.

By the time the cheering died away that May first evening, hundreds of thousands of previously indifferent or even hostile workers who had come to Tempelhof at the urging of their labor federation leaders were now won over. They had become followers, like the SA stormtroopers whom so many there that evening had brawled with in recent years.

The great human sea surged back from Tempelhof to Berlin. A million and a half people had arrived in perfect order, and their departure was just as orderly. No bottlenecks halted the cars and busses. For those of us who witnessed it, this rigorous, yet joyful, discipline of a contented people was in itself a source of wonder. Everything about the May Day mass meeting had come off as smoothly clockwork.

The memory of that fabulous crowd thronging back to the center of Berlin will never leave me. A great many were on foot. Their faces were now different faces, as though they had been imbued with a strange and totally new spirit. The non-Germans in the crowd were as if stunned, and no less impressed than Hitler's fellow countrymen.

The French ambassador, André François-Poncet, noted:

The foreigners on the speaker's platform as guests of honor were not alone in carrying away the impression of a truly beautiful and wonderful public festival, an impression that was

created by the regime's genius for organization, by the night-time display of uniforms, by the play of lights, the rhythm of the music, by the flags and the colorful fireworks; and they were not alone in thinking that a breath of reconciliation and unity was passing over the Third Reich.

"It is our wish," Hitler had exclaimed, as though taking heaven as his witness, "to get along together and to struggle together as brothers, so that at the hour when we shall come before God, we might say to him: 'See, Lord, we have changed. The German people are no longer a people ashamed, a people mean and cowardly and divided. No, Lord! The German people have become strong in their spirit, in their will, in their perseverance, in their acceptance of any sacrifice. Lord, we remain faithful to Thee! Bless our struggle!'" (A. François-Poncet, *Souvenirs d'une ambassade à Berlin*, p. 128.)

Who else could have made such an incantatory appeal without making himself look ridiculous?

No politician had ever spoken of the rights of workers with such faith and such force, or had laid out in such clear terms the social plan he pledged to carry out on behalf of the common people.

The next day, the newspaper of the proletarian left, the "Union Journal," reported on this mass meeting at which at least two thirds—a million—of those attending were workers. "This May First was victory day," the paper summed up.

With the workers thus won over, what further need was there for the thousands of labor union locals that for so long had poisoned the social life of the Reich and which, in any case, had accomplished nothing of a lasting, positive nature?

Within hours of the conclusion of that "victory" meeting at the Tempelhof field, the National Socialists were able to peacefully take complete control of Germany's entire labor union organization, including all its buildings, enterprises and banks. An era of Marxist obstruction abruptly came to an end: from now on, a single national organization would embody the collective will and interests of all of Germany's workers.

Although he was now well on his way to creating what he pledged would be a true "government of the people," Hitler also realized that great obstacles remained. For one thing, the Communist rulers in Moscow had not dropped their guard—or their guns. Restoring the nation would take more than words and promises, it would take solid achievements. Only then would the enthusiasm shown by the working class at the May First mass meeting be an expression of lasting victory.

How could Hitler solve the great problem that had defied solution by everyone else (both in Germany and abroad): putting millions of unemployed back to work?

What would Hitler do about wages? Working hours? Leisure time? Housing? How would he succeed in winning, at long last, respect for the rights and dignity of the worker?

How could men's lives be improved—materially, morally, and, one might even say, spiritually? How would he proceed to build a new society fit for human beings, free of the inertia, injustices and prejudices of the past?

"National Socialism," Hitler had declared at the outset, "has its mission and its hour; it is not just a passing movement but a phase of history."

The instruments of real power now in his hands—an authoritarian state, its provinces subordinate but nonetheless organic parts of the national whole—Hitler had acted quickly to shake himself free of the last constraints of the impotent sectarian political parties. Moreover, he was now able to direct a cohesive labor force that was no longer split into a thousand rivulets but flowed as a single, mighty current.

Hitler was self-confident, sure of the power of his own conviction. He had no intention, or need, to resort to the use of physical force. Instead, he intended to win over, one by one, the millions of Germans who were still his adversaries, and even those who still hated him.

His conquest of Germany had taken years of careful planning and hard work. Similarly, he would now realize his carefully worked out plans for transforming the state and society. This meant not merely changes in administrative or governmental structures, but far-reaching social programs.

He had once vowed: "The hour will come when the 15 million people who now hate us will be solidly behind us and will acclaim with us the new revival we shall create together." Eventually he would succeed in winning over even many of his most refractory skeptics and adversaries.

His army of converts was already forming ranks. In a remarkable tribute, historian Joachim Fest felt obliged to acknowledge unequivocally:

Hitler had moved rapidly from the status of a demagogue to that of a respected statesman. The craving to join the ranks of the victors was spreading like an epidemic, and the shrunken minority of those who resisted the urge were being visibly pushed into isolation... The past was dead. The future, it seemed, belonged to the regime, which had more and more followers, which was being hailed everywhere and suddenly had sound reasons on its side.

And even the prominent leftist writer Kurt Tucholsky, sensing the direction of the inexorable tide that was sweeping Germany, vividly commented: "You don't go railing against the ocean." (J. Fest, *Hitler*, pp. 415 f.)

"Our power," Hitler was now able to declare, "no longer belongs to any territorial fraction of the Reich, nor to any single class of the nation, but to the people in its totality."

Much still remained to be done, however. So far, Hitler had succeeded in clearing the way of obstacles to his program. Now the time to build had arrived.

So many others had failed to tackle the many daunting problems that were now his responsibility. Above all, the nation demanded a solution to the great problem of unemployment. Could Hitler now succeed where others had so dismally failed?

V. Where To Find The Billions?

As he stood, silent and preoccupied, at his chancellery window on that January evening, receiving the acclaim of the

crowd, Hitler was seized with anxiety—and not without reason.

In his memoirs, Dr. Hjalmar Schacht recalled: "I had the impression that he was a man fairly crushed by the weight of the responsibility he was taking on . . . That profound emotional upheaval of which I was a witness could not possibly have been mere playacting: it betrayed true feelings." (H. Schacht, *Mémoires d'un magicien*, vol. II, p. 52.)

Hitler, however, was a man capable of overcoming such anxieties. Although he faced an agonizing national tragedy—immense unemployment, general misery, almost total industrial stagnation—which no other politician had been able even to ameliorate, this youthful leader would take on this challenge with an extraordinary sense of purpose and will.

Hitler had no sooner been voted plenary powers than he rolled up his shirt-sleeves, and begun to carry out his well-laid plans.

Unlike the other responsible—or irresponsible—politicians of twentieth-century Europe, Hitler did not believe that fighting for his country's economic health meant having to impassively accept one setback after another, stand idly by while industries died, or look on as millions of unemployed workers tramped the streets.

In those days, the only solution to these problems that was accepted by politicians and economists in the democracies was to drastically cut spending, both governmental and private. Belt-tightening was the agreed-upon remedy.

Thus, Germany's leaders prior to Hitler had cut salaries by 25 percent, limited payment of unemployment benefits to six months, and reduced total private investment by five sixths. The country's standard of living had collapsed like a deflated balloon. At the end of six months the unemployed obviously had not found new jobs. To the contrary, they were joined by long lines of new unemployed. Deprived of all means of subsistence, they gravitated to the welfare offices.

People spent less and less, with the inevitable consequence that industries producing consumer goods closed their doors, one after another, for lack of orders, thereby sending thou-

sands more unemployed into the streets. In 1932, Germany's industries were languishing, their production reduced by half.

Yearly private investment had fallen from three billion marks to barely 500 million. No new blood had been injected into the industrial system, no workplaces modernized. The economy stagnated.

The government not only lacked any new initiatives, it was almost bankrupt. Fiscal receipts had fallen to ten billion marks, of which the meager and short-term unemployment benefits alone absorbed two thirds.

Germany couldn't wait for a business upswing to get the economy moving again. As Hitler had long understood, the government had to bring economic renewal by bold action and imaginative enterprise.

Unemployment could be combated and eliminated only by giving industry the financial means to start up anew, to modernize, thus creating millions of new jobs.

The normal rate of consumption would not be restored, let alone increased, unless one first raised the starvation-level allowances that were making purchases of any kind a virtual impossibility. On the contrary, production and sales would have to be restored before the six million unemployed could once again become purchasers.

The great economic depression could be overcome only by restimulating industry, by bringing industry into step with the times, and by promoting the development of new products.

Because Germany had no petroleum, for example, the production of synthetic gasoline (from coal) should be encouraged as much as possible. The technique was already known, but it needed to be applied. Similarly, Germany was able to produce an artificial substitute for rubber, "Buna." But the plans for its development and production were still stored away in file cabinets. Only a small percentage of practical new inventions ever left the records files.

Great public works projects were another way to create new jobs, stimulate industrial activity, and revive the economy. For one thing, Germany's mediocre roads needed vast

improvement. Moreover, the demands of the time called for the construction of a national network of modern highways. Radiating thousands of kilometers, these great concrete lifelines would encourage increased commerce and communication among the Reich's many regions.

New highways would also encourage increased automobile production. Considering the potential, Germany was still quite backward in automobile production. It manufactured only one-fifth as many cars as France.

Nearly ten years earlier, while in his prison cell, Hitler had already envisioned a formidable system of national highways. He had also conceived of a small, easily affordable automobile (later known as the "Volkswagen"), and had even suggested its outline. It should have the shape of a June bug, he proposed. Nature itself suggested the car's aerodynamic line.

Until Hitler came to power, a car was the privilege of the rich. It was not financially within the reach of the middle class, much less of the worker. The "Volkswagen," costing one-tenth as much as the standard automobile of earlier years, would eventually become a popular work vehicle and a source of pleasure after work: a way to unwind and get some fresh air, and of discovering, thanks to the new Autobahn highway network, a magnificent country that then, in its totality, was virtually unknown to the German worker.

From the beginning, Hitler wanted this economical new car to be built for the millions. The production works would also become one of Germany's most important industrial centers and employers.

During his imprisonment, Hitler had also drawn up plans for the construction of popular housing developments and majestic public buildings.

Some of Hitler's rough sketches still survive. They include groups of individual worker's houses with their own gardens (which were to be built in the hundreds of thousands), a plan for a covered stadium in Berlin, and a vast congress hall, unlike any other in the world, that would symbolize the grandeur of the National Socialist revolution.

"A building with a monumental dome," historian Werner Maser has explained, "the plan of which he drew while he was writing *Mein Kampf*, would have a span of 46 meters, a height of 220 meters, a diameter of 250 meters, and a capacity of 150 to 190 thousand people standing. The interior of the building would have been 17 times larger than Saint Peter's Cathedral in Rome." (W. Maser, *Hitler, Adolf*, p. 100.)

"That hall," architect Albert Speer has pointed out, "was not just an idle dream impossible of achievement."

Hitler's imagination, therefore, had long been teeming with a number of ambitious projects, many of which would eventually be realized.

Fortunately, the needed entrepreneurs, managers and technicians were on hand. Hitler would not have to improvise.

Historian Werner Maser, although quite anti-Hitler—like nearly all of his colleagues (how else would they have found publishers?)—has acknowledged: "From the beginning of his political career, he [Hitler] took great pains systematically to arrange for whatever he was going to need in order to carry out his plans."

"Hitler was distinguished," Maser has also noted, "by an exceptional intelligence in technical matters." Hitler had acquired his knowledge by devoting many thousands of hours to technical studies from the time of his youth.

"Hitler read an endless number of books," explained Dr. Schacht. "He acquired a very considerable amount of knowledge and made masterful use of it in discussions and speeches. In certain respects he was a man endowed with genius. He had ideas that no one else would ever have thought of, ideas that resulted in the ending of great difficulties, sometimes by measures of an astonishing simplicity or brutality."

Many billions of marks would be needed to begin the great socioeconomic revolution that was destined, as Hitler had always intended, to make Germany once again the European leader in industry and commerce and, most urgently, to rapidly wipe out unemployment in Germany. Where would the money be found? And, once obtained, how would these

funds be allotted to ensure maximum effectiveness in their investment?

Hitler was by no means a dictator in matters of the economy. He was, rather, a stimulator. His government would undertake to do only that which private initiative could not.

Hitler believed in the importance of individual creative imagination and dynamism, in the need for every person of superior ability and skill to assume responsibility.

He also recognized the importance of the profit motive. Deprived of the prospect of having his efforts rewarded, the person of ability often refrains from running risks. The economic failure of Communism has demonstrated this. In the absence of personal incentives and the opportunity for real individual initiative, the Soviet "command economy" lagged in all but a few fields, its industry years behind its competitors.

State monopoly tolls the death of all initiative, and hence of all progress.

For all men selflessly to pool their wealth might be marvelous, but it is also contrary to human nature. Nearly every man desires that his labor shall improve his own condition and that of his family, and feels that his brain, creative imagination, and persistence well deserve their reward.

Because it disregarded these basic psychological truths, Soviet Communism, right to the end, wallowed in economic mediocrity, in spite of its immense reservoir of manpower, its technical expertise, and its abundant natural resources, all of which ought to have made it an industrial and technological giant.

Hitler was always adverse to the idea of state management of the economy. He believed in elites. "A single idea of genius," he used to say, "has more value than a lifetime of conscientious labor in an office."

Just as there are political or intellectual elites, so also is there an industrial elite. A manufacturer of great ability should not be restrained, hunted down by the internal revenue services like a criminal, or be unappreciated by the public. On the contrary, it is important for economic develop-

ment that the industrialist be encouraged morally and materially, as much as possible.

The most fruitful initiatives Hitler would take from 1933 on would be on behalf of private enterprise. He would keep an eye on the quality of their directors, to be sure, and would shunt aside incompetents, quite a few of them at times, but he also supported the best ones, those with the keenest minds, the most imaginative and bold, even if their political opinions did not always agree with his own.

"There is no question," he stated very firmly, "of dismissing a factory owner or director under the pretext that he is not a National Socialist."

Hitler would exercise the same moderation, the same pragmatism, in the administrative as well as in the industrial sphere.

What he demanded of his co-workers, above all, was competence and effectiveness. The great majority of Third Reich functionaries—some 80 percent—were never enrolled in the National Socialist party. Several of Hitler's ministers, like Konstantin von Neurath and Schwerin von Krosigk, and ambassadors to such key posts as Prague, Vienna and Ankara, were not members of the party. But they were capable.

While Hitler kept a close eye on opportunists (such as Franz von Papen, who was both intelligent and clever) he knew how to make the best use of such men, and to honor them and recognize their achievements.

Similarly, he did not hesitate to keep on competent bureaucrats chosen by his predecessors. A good example was Dr. Otto Meissner, who had headed the presidential chancellery under the socialist Ebert and the conservative von Hindenburg, and who had done everything in his power, up to the last minute, to torpedo Hitler's accession to power. But Meissner knew his work, and Hitler wisely kept him on the job. Hitler treated him with respect and confidence, and Meissner served the the Führer faithfully and efficiently for twelve years.

Perhaps the most remarkable such case is that of Dr. Hjalmar Schacht, the most discerning and competent of Germany's financiers in 1933. A Hitler supporter? By no means! Schacht never was and never would be a supporter of anyone but himself. But he was the best in the business: for getting the Reich's economy moving again, he had no equal.

Ten years earlier, at the end of 1923, Schacht had financially rescued the Weimar Republic by helping to invent the "Rentenmark." He was shrewd and imaginative, and thus capable of understanding and implementing the boldest of Hitler's plans.

Schacht's personal ambition was immense, but this was yet another reason for Hitler to give him every possibility to rise as high as he could. Within weeks of taking power, Hitler appointed him President of the Reichsbank, and then, a year later, as Economics Minister as well. Schacht couldn't be happier.

Dangerous? Of course! Doubly so, inasmuch as Schacht was a capitalist to the core, with close ties to major foreign banking interests, not excluding Jewish financiers in London and New York. Moreover, Schacht cared little for Hitler's revolutionary program, which regarded labor as the true source of national wealth.

Hitler called on the brilliant Dr. Schacht to devise new ways of acquiring the funds necessary for what he intended to accomplish. That was a great deal, but it was all. The collaboration went no further: Schacht was never permitted to intervene in political matters. When Schacht's financial formulas had served their purpose, the collaboration would end. Until he was dismissed as Reichsbank president in 1939, Hitler made good use of his extraordinary talents. But Schacht never forgave his dismissal, and would nurse a seething resentment.

Determined to conjure up billions of marks as quickly as possible, and by any means available, in early February 1933 Hitler summoned Schacht's predecessor as Reichsbank president, Dr. Hans Luther, to his office. Luther, who had

been appointed to his post in 1930 by a previous administration, had old-fashioned views of extreme prudence in the management of state funds. Since the state's coffers were nearly empty, he was all the more prudent. His detachable collar, stiff as a calling card, proclaimed the rigidity of his principles. He belonged to the old school of accountants who spend a dollar only when they have a dollar.

Hitler was well aware that this capable man was not happy to be presiding over a central bank that lacked funds. It was not, however, to have Luther empty the state treasury that Hitler had summoned him, but to ask him to devise new means of financing Germany's recovery.

It was a question of imagination, but Luther's brain was not a volcano of new ideas; it was a calculator.

"How much money," Hitler asked him, "can you put at my disposal for creating jobs?" Luther hesitated to respond immediately; his mental calculator began functioning. After working out the calculations in his mind, he responded as though speaking to the director of a large financial firm: "One hundred and fifty million."

An eloquent answer, it showed just how completely Hitler's predecessors and their colleagues were lacking in their understanding of the scope of the resources that would be needed to save the Reich. One hundred and fifty million, at a time when the German government was pouring a billion marks every three months into unemployment benefits alone!

With a budget of 150 million marks, the German treasury would have been hard put to spare even three or four marks a day to the five or six or seven million unemployed over one short week.

Clearly, this question had never been put to Dr. Luther, and no Reich leader before Hitler had ever troubled to learn how to go about raising the funds that would be indispensable for carrying out a serious program to put Germany back to work.

Obviously, then, Dr. Luther was not the person to put Hitler's program into effect. The new Chancellor then thought of Schacht, the sly old fox. He was always good for a trick, and now Hitler needed some of his magic.

"Herr Schacht," he said, "we are assuredly in agreement on one point: no other single task facing the government at the moment can be so truly urgent as conquering unemployment. That will take a lot of money. Do you see any possibility of finding it apart from the Reichsbank?" And after a moment, he added: "How much would it take? Do you have any idea?"

Wishing to win Schacht over by appealing to his ambition, Hitler smiled and then asked: "Would you be willing to once again assume presidency of the Reichsbank?" Schacht let on that he had a sentimental concern for Dr. Luther, and did not want to hurt the incumbent's feelings. Playing along, Hitler reassured Schacht that he would find an appropriate new job elsewhere for Luther.

Schacht then pricked up his ears, drew himself up, and focused his big round eyes on Hitler: "Well, if that's the way it is," he said, "then I am ready to assume the presidency of the Reichsbank again."

His great dream was being realized. Schacht had been president of the Reichsbank between 1923 and 1930, but had been dismissed. Now he would return in triumph. He felt vindicated. Within weeks, the ingenious solution to Germany's pressing financial woes would burst forth from his inventive brain.

"It was necessary," Schacht later explained, "to discover a method that would avoid inflating the investment holdings of the Reichsbank immoderately and consequently increasing the circulation of money excessively."

"Therefore," he went on, "I had to find some means of getting the sums that were lying idle in pockets and banks, without meaning for it to be long term and without having it undergo the risk of depreciation. That was the reasoning behind the Mefo bonds."

What were these "Mefo" bonds? Mefo was a contraction of the *Metallurgische Forschungs-GmbH* (Metallurgic Research Company). With a startup capitalization of one billion marks—which Hitler and Schacht arranged to be provided by the four giant firms of Krupp, Siemens, Deutsche Werke and Rheinmetall—this company would eventually promote many billions of marks worth of investment.

Enterprises, old and new, that filled government orders had only to draw drafts on Mefo for the amounts due. These drafts, when presented to the Reichsbank, were immediately convertible into cash. The success of the Mefo program depended entirely on public acceptance of the Mefo bonds. But the wily Schacht had planned well. Since Mefo bonds were short-term bonds that could be cashed in at any time, there was no real risk in buying, accepting or holding them. They bore an interest of four percent—a quite acceptable figure in those days—whereas banknotes hidden under the mattress earned nothing. The public quickly took all this into consideration and eagerly accepted the bonds.

While the Reichsbank was able to offer from its own treasury a relatively insignificant 150 million marks for Hitler's war on unemployment, in just four years the German public subscribed more than 12 billion marks worth of Mefo bonds!

These billions, the fruit of the combined imagination, ingenuity and astuteness of Hitler and Schacht, swept away the temporizing and fearful conservatism of the bankers. Over the next four years, this enormous credit reserve would make miracles possible.

Soon after the initial billion-mark credit, Schacht added another credit of 600 million in order to finance the start of Hitler's grand program for highway construction. This Autobahn program provided immediate work for 100,000 of the unemployed, and eventually assured wages for some 500,000 workers.

As large as this outlay was, it was immediately offset by a corresponding cutback in government unemployment benefits, and by the additional tax revenue generated as a result of the increase in living standard (spending) of the newly employed.

Within a few months, thanks to the credit created by the Mefo bonds, private industry once again dared to assume risks and expand. Germans returned to work by the hundreds of thousands.

Was Schacht solely responsible for this extraordinary turnaround? After the war, he answered for himself as a

Nuremberg Tribunal defendant, where he was charged with having made possible the Reich's economic revival:

I don't think Hitler was reduced to begging for my help. If I had not served him, he would have found other methods, other means. He was not a man to give up. It's easy enough for you to say, Mr. Prosecutor, that I should have watched Hitler die and not lifted a finger. But the entire working class would have died with him!

Even Marxists recognized Hitler's success, and their own failure. In the June 1934 issue of the *Zeitschrift für Sozialismus*, the journal of the German Social Democrats in exile, this acknowledgement appears:

Faced with the despair of proletarians reduced to joblessness, of young people with diplomas and no future, of the middle classes of merchants and artisans condemned to bankruptcy, and of farmers terribly threatened by the collapse in agricultural prices, we all failed. We weren't capable of offering the masses anything but speeches about the glory of socialism.

VI. The Social Revolution

Hitler's tremendous social achievement in putting Germany's six million unemployed back to work is seldom acknowledged today. Although it was much more than a transitory achievement, "democratic" historians routinely dismiss it in just a few lines. Since 1945, not a single objective scholarly study has been devoted to this highly significant, indeed unprecedented, historical phenomenon.

Similarly neglected is the body of sweeping reforms that dramatically changed the condition of the worker in Germany. Factories were transformed from gloomy caverns to spacious and healthy work centers, with natural lighting, surrounded by gardens and playing fields. Hundreds of thousands of attractive houses were built for working class families. A policy of several weeks of paid vacation was introduced, along with weekend and holiday trips by land and sea. A wide-ranging program of physical and cultural

education for young workers was established, with the world's best system of technical training. The Third Reich's social security and workers' health insurance system was the world's most modern and complete.

This remarkable record of social achievement is routinely hushed up today because it embarrasses those who uphold the orthodox view of the Third Reich. Otherwise, readers might begin to think that perhaps Hitler was the greatest social builder of the twentieth century.

Because Hitler's program of social reform was a crucially important—indeed, essential—part of his life work, a realization of this fact might induce people to view Hitler with new eyes. Not surprisingly, therefore, all this is passed over in silence. Most historians insist on treating Hitler and the Third Reich simplistically, as part of a Manichaeian morality play of good versus evil.

Nevertheless, restoring work and bread to millions of unemployed who had been living in misery for years; restructuring industrial life; conceiving and establishing an organization for the effective defense and betterment of the nation's millions of wage earners; creating a new bureaucracy and judicial system that guaranteed the civic rights of each member of the national community, while simultaneously holding each person to his or her responsibilities as a German citizen: this organic body of reforms was part of a single, comprehensive plan, which Hitler had conceived and worked out years earlier.

Without this plan, the nation would have collapsed into anarchy. All-encompassing, this program included broad industrial recovery as well as detailed attention to even construction of comfortable inns along the new highway network.

It took several years for a stable social structure to emerge from the French Revolution. The Soviets needed even more time: five years after the Bolshevik revolution of 1917, hundreds of thousands of Russians were still dying of hunger and disease. In Germany, by contrast, the great machinery was in motion within months, with organization and accomplishment quickly meshing together.

The single task of constructing a national highway system that was without parallel in the world might have occupied a government for years. First, the problem had to be studied and assessed. Then, with due consideration for the needs of the population and the economy, the highway system had to be carefully planned in all its particulars.

As usual, Hitler had been remarkably farsighted. The concrete highways would be 24 meters in width. They would be spanned by hundreds of bridges and overpasses. To make sure that the entire Autobahn network would be in harmony with the landscape, a great deal of natural rock would be utilized. The artistically planned roadways would come together and diverge as if they were large-scale works of art. The necessary service stations and motor inns would be thoughtfully integrated into the overall scheme, each facility built in harmony with the local landscape and architectural style.

The original plan called for 7,000 kilometers of roadway. This projection would later be increased to 10,000, and then, after Austria was reunited with Germany, to 11,000 kilometers.

The financial boldness equalled the technical vision. These expressways were toll free, which seemed foolhardy to conservative financiers. But the savings in time and labor, and the dramatic increase in traffic, brought increased tax revenues, notably from gasoline.

Germany was thus building for herself not only a vast highway network, but an avenue to economic prosperity.

These greatly expanded transport facilities encouraged the development of hundreds of new business enterprises along the new expressways. By eliminating congestion on secondary roads, the new highways stimulated travel by hundreds of thousands of tourists, and with it increased tourism commerce.

Even the wages paid out to the men who built the *Reichsautobahn* network brought considerable indirect benefits. First, they allowed a drastic cut in payments of unemployment benefits, or 25 percent of the total paid in wages.

Second, the many workers employed in constructing the expressways—100,000, and later 150,000—spent much of the additional 75 percent, which in turn generated increased tax revenues.

Imagine the problems, even before the first road was opened for traffic, posed by the mobilization of so many tens of thousands set to work in often uninhabited regions, in marshy areas, or in the shadows of Alpine peaks! It's hard enough for 150,000 men to leave their homes and camp out in often rough terrain. But in addition, it was necessary, from the outset, to insure tolerable living conditions for the columns of men who had agreed to work by the sweat of their brows under the open sky.

In France, it was all but unthinkable in those days for a man out of work to move even 20 kilometers away to search for a new job. He was practically glued to his native village, his garden, and the corner cafe. The Germans were fundamentally no different, but by 1933 they were fed up with their enforced idleness. By pouring concrete, using a pick, or whatever it took, this hard-pressed people would bring dignity back in their lives.

No one balked at the inconvenience, the absence from home, or the long journey. The will to live a productive and meaningful life outweighed all other considerations.

To keep up the worker's morale and spirit, lest he feel isolated or that he was merely being exploited, no effort was spared to provide material comfort, entertainment and instruction. The world had never before seen its like in any great construction project. At last, workers felt they were being treated like respected human beings who had bodies to be satisfied, hearts to be comforted, and brains to be enlightened.

Camp sites, supply bases, and recreation facilities were systematically set up, with everything moving forward methodically as the construction advanced. Fourteen mobile crews that provided motion picture entertainment traveled along, moving from one construction site to the next. And always and everywhere, labor was honored and celebrated.

Hitler personally dug the first spadeful of earth for the first Autobahn highway, linking Frankfurt-am-Main with Darmstadt. For the occasion, he brought along Dr. Schacht, the man whose visionary credit wizardry had made the project possible. The official procession moved ahead, three cars abreast in front, then six across, spanning the entire width of the autobahn.

The Second World War would abruptly halt work on this great construction undertaking. But what was envisioned and created remains as a deathless testimony to a man and an era.

Hitler's plan to build thousands of low-cost homes also demanded a vast mobilization of manpower. He had envisioned housing that would be attractive, cozy, and affordable for millions of ordinary German working-class families. He had no intention of continuing to tolerate, as his predecessors had, cramped, ugly "rabbit warren" housing for the German people. The great barracks-like housing projects on the outskirts of factory towns, packed with cramped families, disgusted him.

The greater part of the houses he would build were single-story, detached dwellings, with small yards where children could romp, wives could grow vegetable and flower gardens, while the bread-winners could read their newspapers in peace after the day's work. These single-family homes were built to conform to the architectural styles of the various German regions, retaining as much as possible the charming local variants.

Wherever there was no practical alternative to building large apartment complexes, Hitler saw to it that the individual apartments were spacious, airy and enhanced by surrounding lawns and gardens where the children could play safely.

The new housing was, of course, built in conformity with the highest standards of public health, a consideration notoriously neglected in previous working-class projects.

Generous loans, amortizable in ten years, were granted to newly married couples so they could buy their own homes. At the birth of each child, a fourth of the debt was cancelled.

Four children, at the normal rate of a new arrival every two and a half years, sufficed to cancel the entire loan debt.

Once, during a conversation with Hitler, I expressed my astonishment at this policy. "But then, you never get back the total amount of your loans?," I asked. "How so?" he replied, smiling. "Over a period of ten years, a family with four children brings in much more than our loans, through the taxes levied on a hundred different items of consumption."

As it happened, tax revenues increased every year, in proportion to the rise in expenditures for Hitler's social programs. In just a few years, revenue from taxes tripled. Hitler's Germany never experienced a financial crisis.

To stimulate the moribund economy demanded the nerve, which Hitler had, to invest money that the government didn't yet have, rather than passively waiting—in accordance with "sound" financial principles—for the economy to revive by itself.

Today, our whole era is dying economically because we have succumbed to fearful hesitation. Enrichment follows investment, not the other way around.

Since Hitler, only Ronald Reagan has seemed to understand this. As President, he realized that to restore prosperity in the United States meant boldly stimulating the economy with credits and a drastic reduction in taxes, instead of waiting for the country to emerge from economic stagnation on its own.

Even before the year 1933 had ended, Hitler had succeeded in building 202,119 housing units. Within four years he would provide the German people with nearly a million and a half (1,458,128) new dwellings!

Moreover, workers would no longer be exploited as they had been. A month's rent for a worker could not exceed 26 marks, or about an eighth of the average wage then. Employees with more substantial salaries paid monthly rents of up to 45 marks maximum.

Equally effective social measures were taken in behalf of farmers, who had the lowest incomes. In 1933 alone 17,611 new farm houses were built, each of them surrounded by a

parcel of land one thousand square meters in size. Within three years, Hitler would build 91,000 such farmhouses. The rental for such dwellings could not legally exceed a modest share of the farmer's income. This unprecedented endowment of land and housing was only one feature of a revolution that soon dramatically improved the living standards of the Reich's rural population.

The great work of national construction rolled along. An additional 100,000 workers quickly found employment in repairing the nation's secondary roads. Many more were hired to work on canals, dams, drainage and irrigation projects, helping to make fertile some of nation's most barren regions.

Everywhere industry was hiring again, with some firms—like Krupp, IG Farben and the large automobile manufacturers—taking on new workers on a very large scale. As the country became more prosperous, car sales increased by more than 80,000 units in 1933 alone. Employment in the auto industry doubled. Germany was gearing up for full production, with private industry leading the way.

The new government lavished every assistance on the private sector, the chief factor in employment as well as production. Hitler almost immediately made available 500 million marks in credits to private business.

This start-up assistance given to German industry would repay itself many times over. Soon enough, another two billion marks would be loaned to the most enterprising companies. Nearly half would go into new wages and salaries, saving the treasury an estimated three hundred million marks in unemployment benefits. Added to the hundreds of millions in tax receipts spurred by the business recovery, the state quickly recovered its investment, and more.

Hitler's entire economic policy would be based on the following equation: risk large sums to undertake great public works and to spur the renewal and modernization of industry, then later recover the billions invested through invisible and painless tax revenues. It didn't take long for Germany to see the results of Hitler's recovery formula.

Economic recovery, as important as it was, nevertheless wasn't Hitler's only objective. As he strived to restore full employment, Hitler never lost sight of his goal of creating a organization powerful enough to stand up to capitalist owners and managers, who had shown little concern for the health and welfare of the entire national community.

Hitler would impose on everyone—powerful boss and lowly wage earner alike—his own concept of the organic social community. Only the loyal collaboration of everyone could assure the prosperity of all classes and social groups.

Consistent with their doctrine, Germany's Marxist leaders had set class against class, helping to bring the country to the brink of economic collapse. Deserting their Marxist unions and political parties in droves, most workers had come to realize that the endless strikes and grievances their leaders incited only crippled production, and thus the workers as well.

By the end of 1932, in any case, the discredited labor unions were drowning in massive debt that realistically could never be repaid. Some of the less scrupulous union officials, sensing the oncoming catastrophe, had begun stealing hundreds of thousands of marks from the workers they represented. The Marxist leaders had failed: socially, financially and morally.

Every joint human activity requires a leader. The head of a factory or business is also the person naturally responsible for it. He oversees every aspect of production and work. In Hitler's Germany, the head of a business had to be both a capable director and a person concerned for the social justice and welfare of his employees. Under Hitler, many owners and managers who had proven to be unjust, incompetent or recalcitrant lost their jobs, or their businesses.

A considerable number of legal guarantees protected the worker against any abuse of authority at the workplace. Their purpose was to insure that the rights of workers were respected, and that workers were treated as worthy collaborators, not just as animated tools. Each industrialist was legally obliged to collaborate with worker delegates in drafting shop regulations that were not imposed from above

but instead adapted to each business enterprise and its particular working conditions. These regulations had to specify "the length of the working day, the time and method of paying wages, and the safety rules, and to be posted throughout the factory," within easy access of both the worker whose interests might be endangered and the owner or manager whose orders might be subverted.

The thousands of different, individual versions of such regulations served to create a healthy rivalry, with every factory group vying to outdo the others in efficiency and justice.

One of the first reforms to benefit German workers was the establishment of paid vacations. In France, the leftist Popular Front government would noisily claim, in 1936, to have originated legally mandated paid vacations—and stingy ones at that, only one week per year. But it was actually Hitler who first established them, in 1933—and they were two or three times more generous.

Under Hitler, every factory employee had the legal right to paid vacation. Previously, paid vacations had not normally exceed four or five days, and nearly half of the younger workers had no vacation time at all. If anything, Hitler favored younger workers; the youngest workers received more generous vacations. This was humane and made sense: a young person has more need of rest and fresh air to develop his maturing strength and vigor. Thus, they enjoyed a full 18 days of paid vacation per year.

Today, more than half a century later, these figures have been surpassed, but in 1933 they far exceeded European norms.

The standard vacation was twelve days. Then, from the age of 25 on, it went up to 18 days. After ten years with the company, workers got a still longer vacation: 21 days, or three times what the French socialists would grant the workers of their country in 1936.

Hitler introduced the standard forty-hour work week in Europe. As for overtime work, it was now compensated, as nowhere else in the continent at the time, at an increased

pay rate. And with the eight-hour work day now the norm, overtime work became more readily available.

In another innovation, work breaks were made longer: two hours each day, allowing greater opportunity for workers to relax, and to make use of the playing fields that large industries were now required to provide.

Whereas a worker's right to job security had been virtually non-existent, now an employee could no longer be dismissed at the sole discretion of the employer. Hitler saw to it that workers' rights were spelled out and enforced. Henceforth, an employer had to give four weeks notice before firing an employee, who then had up to two months to appeal the dismissal. Dismissals could also be annulled by the "Courts of Social Honor" (*Ehrengerichte*).

This Court was one of three great institutions that were established to protect German workers. The others were the "Labor Commissions" and the "Council of Trust."

The "Council of Trust" (*Vertrauensrat*) was responsible for establishing and developing a real spirit of community between management and labor. "In every business enterprise," the 1934 "Labor Charter" law stipulated, "the employer and head of the enterprise (*Führer*), the employees and workers, personnel of the enterprise, shall work jointly toward the goal of the enterprise and the common good of the nation."

No longer would either be exploited by the other—neither the worker by arbitrary whim of the employer, nor the employer through the blackmail of strikes for political ends.

Article 35 of the "Labor Charter" law stated: "Every member of an enterprise community shall assume the responsibility required by his position in said common enterprise." In short, each enterprise would be headed by a dynamic executive, charged with a sense of the greater community—no longer a selfish capitalist with unconditional, arbitrary power.

"The interest of the community may require that an incapable or unworthy employer be relieved of his duties," the "Labor Charter" stipulated. The employer was no longer

unassailable, an all-powerful boss with the last word on hiring and firing his staff. He, too, would be subject to the workplace regulations, which he was now obliged to respect no less than the least of his employees. The law conferred the honor and responsibility of authority on the employer only insofar as he merited it.

Every business enterprise of twenty or more persons now acquired a "Council of Trust" (*Vertrauensrat*), two to ten members of which were chosen from among the staff by the chief executive. The law's implementation ordinance of March 10, 1934, further stated:

The staff shall be called upon to decide for or against the proposed list in a secret vote, and all salaried employees, including apprentices of twenty-one years of age or older, will take part in the vote. Voting is done by putting a number before the names of the candidates in order of preference, or by striking out certain names.

Unlike the enterprise councils (*Betriebsräte*) of pre-Hitler Germany, the Council of Trust was no longer a tool of one class. Comprising members from all levels of the enterprise, it was now an instrument of teamwork between classes. Obligated to coordinate their interests, former adversaries in the workplace now cooperated in establishing, by mutual consent, the regulations which determined working conditions.

The Council has the duty to develop mutual trust within the enterprise. It will advise on all measures serving to improve carrying out the work of the enterprise, and on standards relating to general work conditions, in particular those that concern measures tending to reinforce feelings of solidarity between the members themselves and between the members and the enterprise, or tending to improve the personal situation of the members of the enterprise community. The Council also has the obligation to intervene to settle disputes. It must be heard before the imposition of fines based on workshop regulations.

The law further required that, before assuming their duties, members of the Work Council had to take an oath before all their fellow workers to "carry out their duties only for the good of the enterprise and of all citizens, setting aside any personal interest, and in their behavior and manner of living to serve as model representatives of the enterprise."

Every 30th of April, on the eve of the great national holiday of labor, Council terms ended and new elections were held. This helped to weed out incompetence, overcome stagnation, and prevent arrogance or careerism on the part of Council members.

The business enterprise paid a salary to each Council member, just as if he were employed in the office or on the shop floor, and had to "assume all costs resulting from the regular fulfillment of the duties of the Council."

The second institution established to insure the orderly development of the new German social system was the "Labor Commission" (*Reichstreuhänder der Arbeit*), the members of which were essentially conciliators and arbitrators. They were charged with dealing with and overcoming the inevitable frictions of the workplace. It was their function to see to it that the Councils of Trust functioned harmoniously and efficiently, and to ensure that a given business enterprise's regulations were carried out to the letter.

Each of the thirteen Labor Commissions operated in its own district of the Reich. As arbitrators, they were independent of owners and employees. Appointed by the state, they represented rather the interests of everyone in the enterprise, and the interests of the national community. To minimize arbitrary or unfounded rulings, the Labor Commissions relied on the advice of a "Consultative Council of Experts," consisting of 18 members selected from a cross section of the economy in each territorial district. As a further safeguard of impartiality, a third agency was superimposed on the Councils of Trust and the thirteen Commissions: the Tribunals of Social Honor.

Through these institutions, the German worker, from 1933 on, could count on a system of justice created especially for

him, empowered to "adjudicate all grave infractions of the social duties based on the enterprise community." Examples of such "violations of social honor" were cases in which an employer, abusing his power, mistreated his staff, or impugned the honor of his subordinates; in which a staff member threatened the harmony of the workplace by spiteful agitation; or in which a Council member misused or published confidential business information discovered in the course of his work.

Thirteen "Courts of Social Honor," corresponding to the 13 Commissions, were established. The presiding judge was not a party hack or ideologue; he was a career jurist, above narrow interest. The enterprise concerned played a role in the Tribunal's proceedings: two assistant judges, one representing management, the other a member of the Council of Trust, assisted the presiding judge.

Each Court of Social Honor (*Ehrengericht*), like any other court of law, had the means to enforce its decisions. There were nuances, though. In mild cases, decisions might be limited to a reprimand. In more serious cases, the guilty party could be fined up to 10,000 marks. Special sanctions, precisely adapted to the circumstances, were provided for. These included mandatory change of employment and dismissal of a chief executive, or his agent, who was found delinquent in his duty. In the event of a contested decision, the finding could be appealed to a Supreme Court in Berlin—yet another level of protection.

In the Third Reich, the worker knew that "exploitation of his physical strength in bad faith or in violation of his honor" was no longer tolerated. He had obligations to the community, but he shared these obligations with every other member of the enterprise, from the chief executive to the messenger boy. Finally, the German worker had clearly defined social rights, which were arbitrated and enforced by independent agencies. And while all this had been achieved in an atmosphere of justice and moderation, it nevertheless constituted a genuine social revolution.

By the end of 1933, the first effects of Hitler's revolution in the workplace were being felt. Germany had already come a long way from the time when grimy bathrooms and squalid courtyards were the sole sanitary and recreational facilities available to workers.

Factories and shops, large and small, were altered or transformed to conform to the strictest standards of cleanliness and hygiene: interiors, so often dark and stifling, were opened up to light; playing fields were constructed; rest areas where workers could unbend during break, were set aside; employee cafeterias and respectable locker rooms were opened. The larger industrial establishments, in addition to providing the normally required conventional sports facilities, were obliged to put in swimming pools!

In just three years, these achievements would reach unimaginable heights: more than two thousand factories refitted and beautified; 23,000 work premises modernized; 800 buildings designed exclusively for meetings; 1,200 playing fields; 13,000 sanitary facilities; 17,000 cafeterias.

To assure the healthy development of the working class, physical education courses were instituted for younger workers. Some 8,000 were eventually organized. Technical training was equally emphasized. Hundreds of work schools, and thousands of technical courses were created. There were examinations for professional competence, and competitions in which generous prizes were awarded to outstanding masters of their craft.

Eight hundred departmental inspectors and 17,300 local inspectors were employed to conscientiously monitor and promote these improvements.

To provide affordable vacations for German workers on a hitherto unprecedented scale, Hitler established the "Strength through Joy" program. As a result, hundreds of thousands of workers were now able to make relaxing vacation trips on land and sea each summer. Magnificent cruise ships were built, and special trains brought vacationers to the mountains and the seashore. In just a few years, Germany's working-class tourists would log a distance equivalent to 54 times the circumference of the earth! And

thanks to generous state subsidies, the cost to workers of these popular vacation excursions was nearly insignificant.

Were Hitler's reforms perfect? Doubtless there were flaws, blunders and drawbacks. But what were a few inevitable mistakes beside the immense achievements?

Was Hitler's transformation of the lot of the working class authoritarian? Without a doubt. And yet, for a people that had grown sick and tired of anarchy, this new authoritarianism wasn't regarded as an imposition. In fact, people have always accepted a strong man's leadership.

In any case, there is no doubt that the attitude of the German working class, which was still two-thirds non-Nazi at the start of 1933, soon changed completely. As Belgian author Marcel Laloire noted at the time:

When you make your way through the cities of Germany and go into the working-class districts, go through the factories, the construction yards, you are astonished to find so many workers on the job sporting the Hitler insignia, to see so many flags with the swastika, black on a bright red background, in the most densely populated districts.

Hitler's "German Labor Front" (*Deutsche Arbeitsfront*), which incorporated all workers and employers, was for the most part eagerly accepted. The steel spades of the sturdy young lads of the "National Labor Service" (*Reichsarbeitsdienst*) could also be seen gleaming along the highways.

Hitler created the National Labor Service not only to alleviate unemployment, but to bring together, in absolute equality, and in the same uniform, both the sons of millionaires and the sons of the poorest families for several months' common labor and living.

All performed the same work, all were subject to the same discipline; they enjoyed the same pleasures and benefited from the same physical and moral development. At the same construction sites and in the same barracks, Germans became conscious of what they had in common, grew to understand one another, and discarded their old prejudices of class and caste.

After a hitch in the National Labor Service, a young worker knew that the rich man's son was not a pampered monster, while the young lad of wealthy family knew that the worker's son had no less honor than a nobleman or an heir to riches; they had lived and worked together as comrades. Social hatred was vanishing, and a socially united people was being born.

Hitler could go into factories—something few men of the so-called Right would have risked in the past—and hold forth to crowds of workers, at times in the thousands, as at the huge Siemens works. "In contrast to the von Papens and other country gentlemen," he might tell them, "in my youth I was a worker like you. And in my heart of hearts, I have remained what I was then."

During his twelve years in power, no untoward incident ever occurred at any factory he visited. Hitler was at home when he went among the people, and he was received like a member of the family returning home after making a success of himself.

But the Chancellor of the Third Reich wanted more than popular approval. He wanted that approval to be freely, widely, and repeatedly expressed by popular vote. No people was ever before more frequently asked for their electoral opinion than the German people of that era—five times in five years.

For Hitler, it was not enough that the people voted from time to time, as in the previous democratic system. In those days, voters were rarely appealed to, and when they expressed an opinion, they were often ill-informed and apathetic. After an election, years might go by, during which the politicians were heedless and inaccessible, the electorate powerless to vote on their actions.

To enable the German public to express its opinion on the occasion of important events of social, national, or international significance, Hitler provided the people a new means of approving or rejecting his own actions as Chancellor: the plebiscite.

Hitler recognized the right of all the people, men and women alike, to vote by secret ballot: to voice their opinion of his policies, or to make a well-grounded judgment on this

or that great decision in domestic or foreign affairs. Rather than a formalistic routine, democracy became a vital, active program of supervision that was renewed annually.

The articles of the "Plebiscite Law" were brief and clear:

1. The Reich government may ask the people whether or not it approves of a measure planned by or taken by the government. This may also apply to a law.

2. A measure submitted to plebiscite will be considered as established when it receives a simple majority of the votes. This will apply as well to a law modifying the Constitution.

3. If the people approves the measure in question, it will be applied in conformity with article III of the Law for Overcoming the Distress of the People and the Reich.

The Reich Interior Ministry is authorized to take all legal and administrative measures necessary to carry out this law.

Berlin, July 14, 1933.

Hitler, Frick

The electoral pledge given by Hitler that day was not vain rhetoric. One national referendum followed another: in 1933, in 1934, in 1936, and in 1938, not to mention the Saar plebiscite of 1935, which was held under international supervision.

The ballot was secret, and the voter was not constrained. No one could have prevented a German from voting no if he wished. And, in fact, a certain number did vote no in every plebiscite. Millions of others could just as easily have done the same. However, the percentage of "No" votes remained remarkably low—usually under ten percent. In the Saar region, where the plebiscite of January 1935 was supervised from start to finish by the Allies, the result was the same as in the rest of the Reich: more than 90 percent voted "Yes" to unification with Hitler's Germany! Hitler had no fear of such secret ballot plebiscites because the German people invariably supported him.

From the first months of 1933, his accomplishments were public fact, for all to see. Before end of the year, unemploy-

ment in Germany had fallen from more than 6,000,000 to 3,374,000. Thus, 2,627,000 jobs had been created since the previous February, when Hitler began his "gigantic task!" A simple question: Who in Europe ever achieved similar results in so short a time?

More than two and a half million working-class homes once again knew bread and joy; more than ten million men, women and children of the working class, after years of want, had regained their vigor, and had been returned to the national community.

Hitler's popularity took on some astonishing, indeed comical, aspects. "A brand of canned herring," Joachim Fest relates, "was called 'Good Adolf.' Coin banks were made in the form of SA caps. Bicarbonate of soda was recommended with the advertising slogan 'My Struggle (*Mein Kampf*) against flatulence!' Pictures of Hitler appeared on neckties, handkerchiefs, pocket mirrors, and the swastika decorated ash trays and beer mugs, or served as an advertisement for a brand of margarine." Annoyed by such fawning (and exploitative) use of his name, and the emblem of his party, Hitler ordered that it be discontinued immediately.

The economic and social transformation of the Reich impressed observers no less than the political transformation wrought by the leader of National Socialism. Gottfried Benn, Germany's greatest poet of that era—and a man of the Left—wrote to an expatriate friend, Klaus Mann:

I personally declare myself in favor of the new State, because it is my people that is making its way now. Who am I to exclude myself; do I know anything better? No! Within the limits of my powers I can try to guide the people to where I would like to see it . . . My intellectual and economic existence, my language, my life, my human relationships, the entire sum of my brain, I owe primarily to this nation. My ancestors came from it; my children return to it . . . There are moments in which this whole tormented life falls away and nothing exists but the plains, expanses, seasons, soil, simple words: my people. (See: J. Fest, *Hitler*, New York: 1974, p. 428.)

In his detailed and critical biography of Hitler, Joachim Fest limited his treatment of Hitler's extraordinary social achievements in 1933 to a few paragraphs. All the same, Fest did not refrain from acknowledging:

The regime insisted that it was not the rule of one social class above all others, and by granting everyone opportunities to rise, it in fact demonstrated class neutrality . . . These measures did indeed break through the old, petrified social structures. They tangibly improved the material condition of much of the population. (J. Fest, *Hitler*, pp. 434-435.)

Not without reason were the swastika banners waving proudly throughout the working-class districts where, just a year ago, they had been unceremoniously torn down.

History's Greatest Naval Disasters

The Little-Known Story of the *Wilhelm Gustloff*, the *General Steuben* and the *Goya*

JOHN RIES

For many people, the image of a great maritime disaster calls to mind the well-known sinking of the *Titanic*, which went down in April 1912 after striking an iceberg, taking the lives of 1,503 men, women and children. Others may think of the *Lusitania*, which sank on May 7, 1915, after being hit by a German submarine torpedo, taking 1,198 lives.¹

Less well known is the fate of the American packet steamer *Sultana*, which suddenly exploded and sank in the Mississippi River near Memphis on April 27, 1865. Estimates of the loss of life range from 1,450 to 2,200. Almost all of the victims were exchanged federal prisoners of war on their way home from Confederate camps. A recent article in *The Washington Times* called the *Sultana* sinking "the most staggering and appalling marine disaster in history."²

But the scale of even the *Sultana* disaster is dwarfed by the little-known sinkings of the *Wilhelm Gustloff*, the *General Steuben* and the *Goya*—converted German liners crowded with refugees and wounded soldiers that were sunk by Soviet submarines during the final months of the Second World War. In each case, more lives were lost than in the sinkings of either the *Sultana*, the *Lusitania* or the *Titanic*.

Ignorance and even suppression of the facts of these marine disasters is part of the general ignorance in the United States about the great loss of life and terrible suffering endured by the German people during the Second World

context of the general situation during the final months of the war, when the advancing Soviet forces, eager to take terrible vengeance against the Germans, set in motion one of the greatest mass migrations in history.

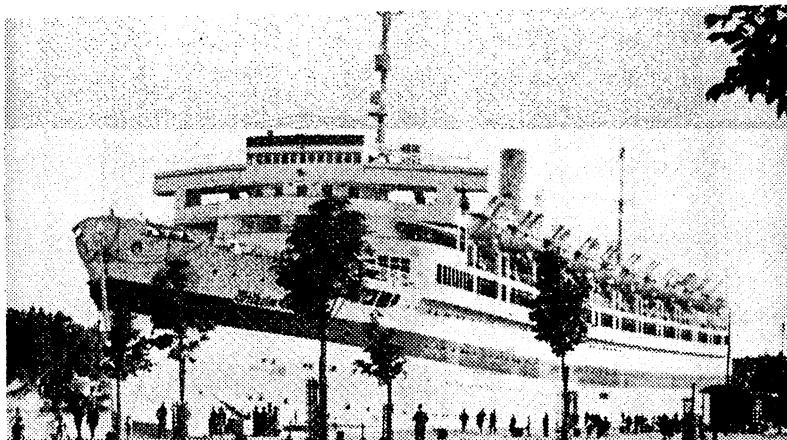
It began in mid-October 1944, when Red Army forces first broke into German East Prussia. Spurred on by the hate-filled calls to violence against Germans by Soviet Jewish propagandist Ilya Ehrenburg, Red Army troops systematically plundered and murdered Germans unfortunate enough to fall into their hands.³

One of the first towns taken by the Soviets was Nemmersdorf, in the Gumbinnen district of East Prussia. It was only because German forces succeeded in recapturing this town a short time later that the world was able to learn how Soviet troops had set about brutally raping females of all ages, and slaughtering the old men, women and children there. The fortunate ones were shot out of hand. Many were clubbed or hacked to death. After being raped, naked women were nailed to doors in crucifix positions. In one case, a group of refugees was crushed under Soviet tanks.⁴

German authorities lost no time in publicizing the horrifying results of the brief Soviet occupation. Journalists, including some from neutral Sweden, Switzerland and Spain, were quickly brought in to report on what had happened. Shocking newsreel footage from Nemmersdorf was shown in German motion picture theaters.

Panic-stricken civilians now desperately sought to escape falling into the hands of the advancing Soviets. As a result, during the final months of 1944 and early 1945, long columns of terrified refugees streamed into the towns and villages along the Bay of Danzig, all frantically waiting for boats that would take them to at least temporary refuge further to the west.

In light of all this, it was quickly decided in Berlin to organize a mass evacuation of civilians. As a result, between January 1945 and the capitulation on May 8, 1945, more than two million people—the great majority of them German civilians—were safely transported to the West. This second “Dunkirk,” which dwarfed many times over the British



The *Wilhelm Gustloff*, shown here before the war when it served as a luxury liner, was overloaded with desperate civilian refugees when it was sunk on January 30, 1945, with the loss of at least 5,700 and possibly 7,000 lives.

evacuation in 1940, was organized by Rear Admiral Konrad Engelhardt under the direction of Admiral Karl Dönitz, Commander-in-Chief of the German Navy. Astonishingly, only about 25,000 lives were lost in what one historian has called “the greatest evacuation operation in history,” a figure that is all the more remarkable in light of the fact that by this time the remnants of the German air force were almost powerless to fend off attacks by enemy fighter planes and submarines.⁵

This record of success masks human catastrophes of almost inutterable horror—including the three most terrible ship sinkings, in terms of lives lost, in history. The first of the great German evacuation ships to go down, the *Wilhelm Gustloff*, was hit by three torpedoes from Soviet submarine S-13 on the night of January 30th. It sank after 70 minutes, taking with it at least 5,700 lives, and perhaps as many as 7,000. Only about 900 could be rescued from the sub-freezing waters of the Baltic by convoy vessels.⁶

In many ways the fate of the *Wilhelm Gustloff* was symbolic of the fortunes of the Third Reich. Named by Hitler himself in honor of the National Socialist party leader in Switzerland who had been murdered by Jewish assassin David Frankfurter in 1936, the 25,484-ton liner was christened by the slain man’s widow in an elaborate ceremony the following year. It served as the proud flagship of the

"Strength through Joy" (*Kraft durch Freude*) movement, a well publicized and highly successful program that provided inexpensive luxury vacations for German workers. Over the next two years, the *Wilhelm Gustloff* routinely brought German tourists to the fjords of Norway and the seaside resorts of Portugal and Italy. Many of the grateful working-class passengers who strolled the ship's decks had never before ventured outside of their own towns and villages.⁷

Soon after the outbreak of the war, the great liner was repainted for use as a hospital ship. But in early 1940 it was instead sent to Gdynia (Gotenhafen) where it served as the floating headquarters of the elite 2nd Submarine Training Division, the pride of the German U-boat fleet. By late January 1945, with the safety of Dönitz' submariners threatened by the Soviet advance, the *Wilhelm Gustloff* was quickly reactivated after almost five years of idleness. Originally designed to comfortably accommodate 1,465 passengers and a crew of 417, it set out for Mecklenburg on January 30th crammed with as many as 8,000 crew and passengers—most of them refugees.⁸

The much-traveled convoy route on which the *Wilhelm Gustloff* (and its sister ship, the 23,000 ton *Hansa*, with 3,000 refugees on board) had set out skirted the Stolpe Bank off the coast of Pomerania. Although this area was known to be a favorite haunt of Soviet submarines lying in wait to attack crowded convoys as they slowly steamed to safer havens in the West, so far there had been relatively few successful attacks. Indeed, the Soviet "Red Banner" fleet had failed to make much of an impact on the war, having spent most of the time trapped in the Gulf of Finland by a very effective German blockade. Although the Soviet submarine fleet was the world's largest, the German blockade had resulted in Soviet naval forces sinking far fewer German ships than those of any of the major Allied powers. The German naval command considered Britain's Royal Air Force, which had sunk as many as 18 German ships in the Baltic during the month of January 1945 alone, to be a greater threat to the success of the mass evacuation.⁹

The Germans had little esteem for the Soviet submarine fleet. As Admiral Engelhardt commented after the war, the

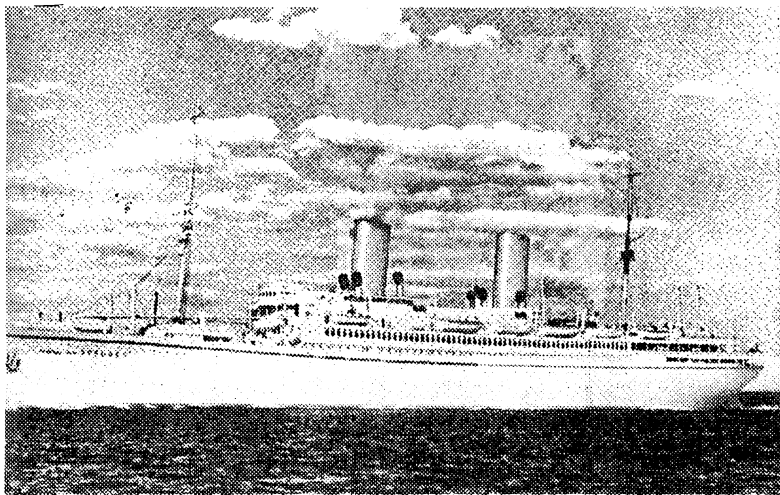
Germans were grateful that the Soviets utilized only speed boats and submarines in the Baltic during the final months of the war. "Except for the *Goya*, *Steuben* and *Wilhelm Gustloff*, their submarines scarcely had any effect, despite the fact that they as many as 15 operating in the Baltic at the same time," he recalled. "If they had as few as three modern destroyers and one cruiser of the *Gorki* class between Pillau and Hela, our entire transport operation would have come to a standstill."¹⁰

The German submarine command based in Gdynia not only had a low regard for the capabilities of the Soviet submarines, it underestimated the potential danger they posed. The submarine command was so confident of German security measures that it failed to inform the 9th Escort Division in Gdynia—which was responsible for providing security for departing convoys in the area—of the *Gustloff's* imminent departure.¹¹

Among German submariners a feeling of confidence bordering on arrogance prevailed. They regarded the Baltic theater as little more than a "training field" where skills could be perfected for the "real" war in the North Atlantic against heavily defended Allied convoys. Thus, when the passenger-crammed *Wilhelm Gustloff* set out for the open sea on January 30th—its first voyage in almost four years—only a single poorly equipped torpedo boat provided escort protection. (Two other escort vessels had been obliged to stay behind because of engine problems.)

Poor escort protection was not the only problem that beset the *Gustloff* as it set out into enemy-infested waters. Now crammed with as many as 8,000 people, the ship had emergency lifeboats and rafts sufficient for only 5,060. Moreover, the machinery that lowered the life boats into the water had frozen solid in the bitter cold, rendering the life boats virtually useless. And although each passenger had a life jacket, the temperature of the Baltic had fallen to well below freezing. No one could survive long in the frigid waters.¹²

As if these ingredients for disaster were not enough, when Soviet torpedoes finally struck the ill-fated liner, the ship's command somehow sent out the customary "SOS" emergency



The *General Steuben* was overloaded with wounded soldiers and refugees when it was sunk on February 10, 1945, with a loss of 3,500 lives.

signal not on the frequency of the nearby 9th Escort Division, but on a different wavelength. Precious time was lost, resulting in the deaths of many who might otherwise have been rescued.¹³

* * * * *

Eleven days later, shortly after midnight on February 10th, the *General Steuben* sank with a loss of 3,500 lives, making this the third worst maritime disaster in history. The same Soviet submarine that had attacked the *Gustloff*, and in almost the same location, sank the *Steuben* with two torpedoes. Crammed with as many as 5,000 wounded soldiers and refugees, the converted passenger liner sank in just seven minutes.¹⁴

Built in 1922, and owned and operated by North German Lloyd, the 17,500-ton luxury liner was named after the Prussian general who rendered invaluable assistance in training the army of the insurgent American colonists during their struggle for independence. When it sank, the *Steuben* was serving as a transport ship for wounded soldiers.¹⁵

Although hospital ships are internationally considered to be off limits from military attack during wartime, the Soviet

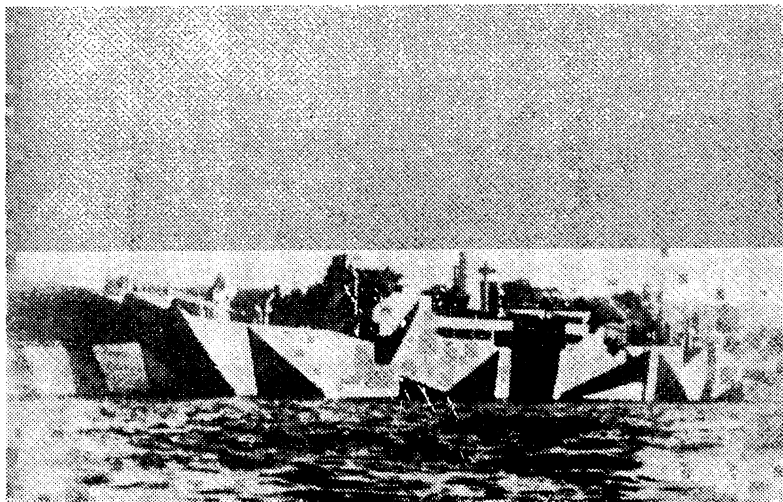
government categorically regarded German hospital ships as legitimate military targets. In an official note delivered in July 1941, the Soviet government brusquely rejected a German request to abide by international law regarding the immunity of hospital ships: "... The Soviet government gives notice that it will not recognize and respect German hospital ships according to the Hague Convention." Accordingly, Soviet planes and submarines sank four of the 13 German hospital ships employed in the Baltic evacuation operation, and eight of 21 German transport ships used to carry wounded soldiers.¹⁶

* * * * *

The sinking of the *Goya* on April 16, 1945, just three weeks before the end of the war in Europe, is acknowledged as almost certainly the greatest maritime disaster, in terms of lives lost, of all time.¹⁷

Indeed, when the 5,230-ton transport ship set out from Hela near Danzig (Gdansk) with its human cargo of some 7,000 refugees and wounded soldiers, the Soviets were pressing into Berlin itself, and the Bay of Danzig, with the exception of the narrow Hela peninsula, had become virtually a Soviet lake. In spite of the merciless blows that were bringing Germany to its knees, what was left of its once mighty military continued to evacuate civilian refugees to the west. Under almost constant fire from Soviet artillery, ships, and planes, German authorities were still able to evacuate 264,887 people to relative safety during the month of April 1945.¹⁸

German ports in the western Baltic were by now so overcrowded with shipping and refugees that when the already badly mauled *Goya* weighed anchor on its final voyage, it set out with five other ships for the Danish capital of Copenhagen. As the convoy made its way along the treacherous Stolpe Bank, it was spotted by Captain Konovalov, commander of the minelayer submarine L-3. Considered to be the most successful submarine in the entire Soviet fleet, the L-3 was credited with sinking four ships in 1941, six in 1942, and three in 1943, including U-boat U-416, by mining.¹⁹



The Goya, shown here with camouflage paint, was attacked by Soviet submarine L-3 on April 16, 1945, taking almost 7,000 lives. This little-known sinking is the greatest naval disaster in history.

At precisely four minutes to midnight, the L-3 fired two torpedoes at the *Goya*, which found their marks amidship and stern. Almost immediately the ship broke in half, her masts crashing down upon the passengers crowding the decks. Before anyone could escape from the holds, the onrushing sea quickly drowned out the anguished screams of the refugees below. The vessel sank in just four minutes, resulting in the loss of almost 7,000 lives. There were only 183 survivors.²⁰

"The special tragedy of the *Goya*," American historian Alfred de Zayas has commented, "was that it happened so close to the end of the war, at a time when the German surrender was within grasp." These deaths failed to hasten the end of the war in any way. At a time when the Soviets had already begun the actual expulsion of Germans from the entire Baltic region, he asked rhetorically, "Why then send so many thousands of refugees to the bottom of the sea?"²¹

At the time, the loss of the *Goya* was hardly noticed in Germany, which had grown accustomed to similar catastrophes on a daily basis. All the same, it was cited in the report

of the Führer Naval Conference of April 18, the last conference of which there is any archival record. It is written in language that characterized the cool professionalism that the German Naval High Command had shown throughout the entire period of the evacuation:²²

In connection with the loss of several hundred persons in the sinking of the steamship *Goya*, the Commander-in-Chief of the Navy points out that personnel losses in the transports in the Eastern areas up to this time have been extremely small, that is, 0.49 percent. These unfortunate losses seem very large every time a ship is sunk, and it is easy to forget that at the time a large number of ships with numerous wounded and refugees reach port safely.

Although the estimate of losses given here is understated, the mass evacuation operation did, indeed, prove to be an overall success. Under terrible conditions, the German navy and merchant marine succeeded in saving many hundreds of thousands of civilians from horrible mistreatment and almost certain death at Soviet hands.

* * * * *

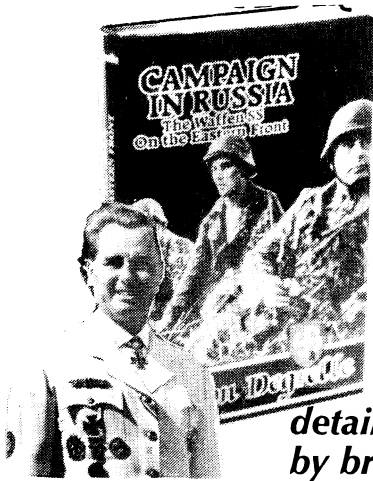
Although little known, the sinkings of the *Wilhelm Gustloff* and the *Goya*—with a combined loss of more than 12,000 lives—remain the greatest maritime catastrophes of all time. Moreover, the deliberate and unnecessary killing of thousands of innocent civilian refugees and helpless wounded men aboard the *Gustloff*, the *Steuben* and the *Goya*—as well as many other smaller and lesser-known vessels—is unquestionably one of the great atrocities of the Second World War.

Notes

1. These figures are taken from *The World Almanac and Book of Facts*, 1987 edition (New York: 1986), p. 754.; In May 1941, the battleship *Bismarck* went down with nearly 3,000 men. See: Alfred de Zayas, *Nemesis at Potsdam* (University of Nebraska Press, 1989), p. 75.

2. *The World Almanac and Book of Facts*, 1987 edition, p. 754.; "Union Survivor Recalls Loss of Sultana with 2,200 Aboard," *The Washington Times*, May 16, 1992.
3. Alfred de Zayas, *Nemesis at Potsdam* (University of Nebraska Press, 1989), pp. 61-66, 201.
4. A. de Zayas, *Nemesis*, pp. 61-65.
5. Karl Dönitz, *Memoirs: Ten Years and Twenty Days*, (Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1990), p. 465.; C. Dobson, et al., *The Cruellest Night* (Boston: 1979), pp. 67-71, 187-188.; A. de Zayas, *Nemesis*, p. 74.
6. Estimates vary of the number of persons aboard the *Wilhelm Gustloff* on the night of January 30, 1945, and of the number of those who perished. According to one German reference work, there were 4,974 refugees and 1,626 military service personnel on board. Of this total of 6,600, only 900 could be rescued, and 5,700 perished. Source: W. Schütz, ed., *Lexikon: Deutsche Geschichte im 20. Jahrhundert* (Rosenheim: DVG, 1990), p. 497.
 A 223-page English-language work on the sinking of the *Gustloff* reports that in addition to the 6,050 people (including 4,424 refugees) officially recorded as being on board, another 2,000 desperate refugees were hastily let on from small boats as the ship was leaving the harbor. This would have meant that about 8,000 people were aboard the *Gustloff* when it sank. Of this number, 964 were rescued from the icy sea, some of whom died later. "It is likely, therefore, that at least 7,000 people perished." Source: Christopher Dobson, John Miller and Thomas Payne, *The Cruellest Night: Germany's Dunkirk and the Sinking of the Wilhelm Gustloff* (Boston: Little Brown, 1979), pp. 83-84, 140-141.
7. C. Dobson, et al., *The Cruellest Night* (1979), pp. 29-32.; W. Schütz, ed., *Lexikon* (1990), p. 497.
8. C. Dobson, et al., *The Cruellest Night* (1979), pp. 32-33, 50-57.; W. Schütz, ed., *Lexikon* (1990), p. 497.
9. C. Dobson, et al., *Cruellest Night*, pp. 34, 35, 52, 65, 68.
10. Fritz Brustat-Naval, *Unternehmen Rettung* (Herford: Koehlers Verlagsgesellschaft, 1970), p. 147.
11. Cajus Bekker, *La Ultima Odisea: Danzig 1945* (Barcelona: Bruguera, pb., 1976), pp. 243-247. This is a Spanish-language edition of *Flucht übers Meer* (Oldenburg: G. Stalling, 1976).; C. Dobson, et al., *Cruellest Night*, pp. 75-77.

12. C. Dobson, et al., *Cruellest Night*, pp. 83-85.; C. Bekker, *La Ultima Odisea* (Barcelona: 1976), pp. 246-250.
13. C. Bekker, *La Ultima Odisea (Flucht übers Meer)*, p. 249.
14. C. Dobson, et al., *Cruellest Night*, pp. 153-156.; F. Brustat-Naval, *Unternehmen Rettung*, pp. 48-49.; A. de Zayas, *Nemesis*, p. 75-76.
15. C. Dobson, *Cruellest Night*, pp. 150-151.
16. Alfred de Zayas, *The Wehrmacht War Crimes Bureau, 1939-1945* (University of Nebraska Press, 1990), p. 261.; A. de Zayas, *Nemesis*, p. 76.
17. A. de Zayas, *Nemesis at Potsdam*, p. 75.; W. Schütz, ed., *Lexikon* (1990), p. 154.
18. C. Dobson, *Cruellest Night*, pp. 163, 165-169.
19. C. Dobson, *Cruellest Night*, pp. 166-167.
20. C. Dobson, et al., *Cruellest Night*, pp. 167-168; W. Schütz, ed., *Lexikon*, p. 154.; F. Brustat-Naval, *Unternehmen Rettung*, p. 146.
21. A. de Zayas, *Nemesis at Potsdam*, p. 75.
22. C. Dobson, et al., *Cruellest Night*, pp. 168-169.



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About the Contributors

LEON DEGRELLE was born in 1906 in Bouillon, Belgium. After study of philosophy, literature and law at the University of Louvain, he turned to journalism and politics. At the age of 29, his populist-nationalist "Rex" political movement captured 11.5 percent of the vote in Belgium's 1936 elections.

In the wake of Germany's 1941 attack against the Soviet Union, Degrelle enthusiastically joined what he regarded as a pan-European crusade to crush Communism. His proposal to raise a volunteer battalion of fellow French-speaking Walloons to ensure a place of honor for Belgium in Hitler's new Europe was quickly accepted by the Germans.

Turning down an offer to begin as an officer, he instead chose to start as a private in the newly formed combat unit, sharing all the burdens of his comrades. When he departed for the front in 1941 at the age of 35, he had never fired a gun. Nevertheless, he rose through the ranks to become commander of the unit that finally came to be known as the 28th SS Division "Wallonia."

As a result of the extraordinary courage and leadership he showed on the Narva front in Estonia, he became the first non-German to be awarded the coveted Oak Leaves to the Knight's Cross. He was personally decorated by Hitler.

Of the first 800 Walloons who left for the Eastern Front, only three survived the war, one of them Degrelle, who was wounded seven times during the course of his three and a half years of combat. All told, some 2,500 Walloons fell against the Soviets.

Degrelle's gripping account of duty, death and fierce combat on the eastern Front against numerically superior Soviet forces has been published in English by the IHR under the title *Campaign in Russia*.

Degrelle is also the author of *Hitler: Born at Versailles*, a 535-page work on the origins, course and impact of the First World War.

To escape death at the hands of the victorious Allies at the end of the war, he made a daring 1500-mile flight in a small plane from Norway across Europe to Spain, crash landing on the beach of San Sebastian. Critically wounded, he somehow survived, and then built a new and successful life in Spain, which granted him refuge.

This almost legendary European's memoir was recently published in Germany.

JOHN RIES is a graduate of the University of Notre Dame (B.A., history, 1971), and the University of Tulsa (M.A., history, 1976). He now teaches history in southern California.

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The Allies'
Postwar War Against
The German People



Ralph Franklin Keeling

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Table of Contents

Volume Twelve, No. 4

Winter, 1992-93

Articles

The Lüftl Report <i>Walter Lüftl</i>	391
Fred Leuchter: Courageous Defender of Historical Truth <i>Mark Weber</i>	421
Is There Life After Persecution? <i>Fred A. Leuchter, Jr</i>	429
The Leuchter Report Vindicated <i>Paul Grubach</i>	445
Growing Impact of Leuchter Report in Germany	475

Reviews

Shelly Shapiro, <i>Truth Prevails</i> <i>Reviewed by Mark Weber</i>	485
Georg Franz-Willing, <i>Umerziehung</i> <i>Reviewed by Russ Granata and Ted O'Keefe</i>	493
Letters	501
About the Contributors	512

From the Editor

In 1988, when Fred Leuchter carried out the first forensic examination of the alleged wartime extermination gas chambers at Auschwitz, Birkenau and Majdanek, and then testified on his findings in a Toronto court, the American execution hardware specialist did not realize that by doing so he was condemning himself to years of insults, threats and severe financial hardship.

For the crime of daring to question the Holocaust idol, the powerful international Holocaust lobby resolved to punish this dangerous heretic. Charging that he is a pretentious and incompetent fraud, and that his 1988 forensic report is a mendacious affront to truth, his hateful adversaries have sought to discredit Leuchter and destroy his livelihood.

Sadly, this malicious campaign has been effective. For the time being, anyway, they have destroyed Fred Leuchter's ability to make a living at his chosen career.

In this Leuchter "theme" issue of the *Journal*, we respond to this campaign with a detailed defense of Leuchter's character, and of his history-making forensic report.

We begin this special issue with the publication—for the first time in English—of a report by a leading Austrian engineer that authoritatively discredits a central pillar of the Holocaust extermination story. Citing critical technical and organizational data, and the inviolable laws of nature, Vienna engineer Walter Lüftl persuasively establishes that the familiar stories of mass killings of Jews in gas chambers cannot have taken place as described. The "Lüftl Report" also provides expert confirmation of the essential validity of Leuchter's findings.

Next, in an essay entitled "Fred Leuchter: Courageous Defender of Historical Truth," we provide a summary overview of the entire case, including the little-known but impressive record of Leuchter's expertise.

Then, in an essay presented at the recent Eleventh IHR Conference, Leuchter himself reports on developments during the last two years in the still-continuing campaign against him.

Since it was first published in 1988, many tens of thousands of copies of the *Leuchter Report* have been distributed

in numerous countries and all major languages. Predictably, several efforts to refute the *Report's* specific points and arguments have also been published. Probably the most serious has been the critique of French pharmacist Jean-Claude Pressac, which appeared in *Truth Prevails*, a book published in 1990 jointly by the Paris-based Klarsfeld Foundation and the US-based "Holocaust Survivors & Friends in Pursuit of Justice."

In our next article, Paul Grubach carefully marshals fact after well-established fact in a devastating point-by-point refutation of Pressac's critique of Leuchter and his findings.

Next we present, for the first time in English, an official statement on "The So-Called Leuchter Report" issued by Germany's prestigious Institute of Contemporary History, the Munich archive and research center that is a main bastion of the official German version of twentieth-century history. In an introductory commentary, we report on the impact of the *Leuchter Report* in Germany, where the Holocaust story plays a particularly important role in cultural and political life. Following the text, we point out specific errors of fact and lapses in logic in the Munich Institute's statement.

Next, we take a close and critical look at *Truth Prevails*, the book-length attack against Leuchter mentioned above. Then, concluding this issue's review section, Russ Granata and IHR editor Ted O'Keefe examine *Umerziehung* ("Reeducation") the latest work of IHR editorial advisor Dr. Georg Franz-Willing.

We round out this issue with readers' letters, including several critical responses to recent *Journal* contributions.

This Winter 1992-93 issue of *The Journal of Historical Review* is the final one to appear in the familiar book-size "academic" quarterly format. Beginning with the January-February 1993 issue, the *Journal* will appear six times yearly (every other month) in a larger, magazine-size format (8 1/2 by 11 inches). Incorporating the *IHR Newsletter*—which has provided up-to-date reports and commentary on the latest in the world of Revisionism—the new *Journal* will be more topical, and will make more generous use of photographs.

This issue concludes the twelfth annual volume of the quarterly *Journal*. Since it began publication in 1980 (with a one-year suspension of publication in 1987), no less than 5,800 pages have been published. In this familiar format, we have been proud to provide a forum for the writings of the world's leading Revisionist historians and researchers, including first-ever publication of many articles of major historical importance.

In the new *Journal*, we will, of course, continue to feature scholarly historical articles and reviews. Even as our scholars and researchers carry on the essential work of shoveling under historical corpses, including the Holocaust story, we will seek to embrace more fully traditional Revisionist historical themes, as well as contemporary political and intellectual currents important for Revisionism.

We hope and trust that our many faithful readers and supporters will share our excitement about the prospect of even more effectively educating, inspiring and motivating more new readers, both here in the United States and abroad.

With some sadness at the passing of the familiar quarterly, and fully aware of the great challenges still ahead, we make this transition with a real sense of confidence about the ultimate victory of historical revisionism.

The Lüftl Report

An Austrian Engineer's Report on the "Gas Chambers" of Auschwitz and Mauthausen

WALTER LÜFTL

In March 1992, a prominent Austrian engineer made headlines when a report he had written about alleged German wartime gas chambers was made public. Walter Lüftl concluded in his controversial report, "Holocaust: Belief and Facts," that the well-known stories of mass extermination of Jews in gas chambers at the wartime camps of Auschwitz and Mauthausen are impossible for technical reasons and because they are incompatible with observable laws of nature. Lüftl further characterized the often-repeated stories of Jews being gassed with diesel engine exhaust (at Treblinka, for example) as a sheer impossibility. (See the IHR Newsletter, April 1992, p. 6.)

Lüftl, 59, is a court-recognized expert engineer and heads a large engineering firm in Vienna. On the basis of a well-established reputation as a particularly precise and exact specialist, he was chosen to serve as president of the Austrian Engineers Chamber (Bundes-Ingenieurkammer), a professional association of 4,000 members.

In spite of his reputation, he was obliged to resign as president of the engineers' association in the uproar that followed news reports about his iconoclastic report. A leading official of the governing People's Party expressed fear that Lüftl's report could harm Austria's image abroad.

A few days later, Austrian police raided Lüftl's residence, turning it inside out in a "Stasi"-like search for possibly "incriminating material" that might show that he had violated a recently enacted law that makes it a crime in Austria to deny the "National Socialist crimes against humanity."

To insure that Lüftl is not brought into any further legal jeopardy, it should be stressed that his report is published



Walter Lüftl

here (for the first time in English) without the author's authorization or cooperation. The text has been slightly edited, and the editor has added some clarifying words in brackets.

*Lüftl's report is further authoritative confirmation of the findings of American gas chamber expert Fred Leuchter, who testified about his on-site investigation of the supposed "gas chambers" of Auschwitz, Birkenau and Majdanek in the 1988 trial of German-Canadian publicist Ernst Zündel. (A deluxe illustrated edition of *The Leuchter Report*, with a foreword by Robert Faurisson, and an introduction by David Irving, is available from the IHR for \$20.00, plus \$ 2.00 for shipping.)*

Lüftl's report also corroborates Leuchter's findings from his 1989 investigation of the supposed extermination "gas chamber" at the Mauthausen camp. (This "Second Leuchter Report" was published in the Fall 1990 IHR Journal.)

—The Editor

Holocaust: Belief and Facts

Introductory statement by the author:

The following remarks are intended neither to threaten the democratic order that has prevailed in the Republic of Austria since 1945, nor to advocate or promote the reintroduction of National Socialism. These remarks are intended solely to correct one-sided presentations of historical events, and to do so taking into consideration the laws of nature and technical limits, which are of course beyond dispute both politically and historically.

These remarks are not intended to "quibble over the number of victims" or to "defame the victims." Rather, they are intended to serve as a scientific clarification of the number of possible victims on basis of technical and organizational considerations. These remarks are also intended to

encourage further investigation into the actual events and the search for truth.

Because "Holocaust literature" tends to be so one-sided, it is unfortunately not possible to provide a "balanced presentation" here. A critical examination of the limited area of the overall topic under discussion has shown that the accounts of "eyewitnesses" in particular have been immensely exaggerated and unbelievable; so much so that a balancing of the discussion appeared indispensable. The impossible does not become any "truer" when it is claimed by many people. In cases of contradiction between witness testimony and objective proof, the latter takes precedence in every modern constitutional state. In the case of the "Holocaust," though, this has obviously been otherwise.

1. FOREWORD

The author would like to anticipate the proposed introduction of Section 283a of the Criminal Code [of Austria], according to which "the offense . . . [has been] committed whenever a person denies the *fact* that millions of human beings, especially Jews, were systematically exterminated in a genocidal way in the concentration camps of the National Socialist regime." Such a legal provision could have the effect of rendering the following remarks punishable, in spite of the fact that they are based on scientific considerations treated in a manner subject to experimental duplication.

What is the Holocaust?

In the view of those who believe—or cause others to believe—in the [Holocaust], mass gassings, especially of Jews, were carried out in the concentration camps of the Third Reich. Above all in Auschwitz (hence the term "Auschwitz Myth"), four million Jews were gassed. [The Nuremberg Tribunal "established" that four million *people* (Jews and non-Jews) had been *killed* (by all means) at Auschwitz.] Currently, though, unimpeachable sources are seeking to reduce this [sic] figure to 1.5 million. On mathematical grounds alone, the "symbolic figure of Six Million" should be reduced by 3.5 million. Of course, such a reduction does not

lessen the [gravity of the] crime in any way, because even one victim is one too many.

All the same, the question remains whether mass gassings took place at all, or could possibly have taken place.

Insofar as possible, the author has carefully examined many reports of “eyewitnesses,” as well as “confessions” of SS men. If one examines the “eyewitness” testimony, doubts still persist, even if one believes everything that appears in the Holocaust literature. These doubts become even greater when one studies the “confessions” of those who were later found guilty [of crimes].

The author does not “deny” anything. (In proper legal terminology, this should really mean “to dispute.”) He does not wish to minimize or glorify anything. To use a currently fashionable phrase, he wishes only to “inquire into” [the truth of] the “Auschwitz myth.”

The author wishes to focus on the critical core of the “Auschwitz myth”: the technical possibilities of industrial mass killing with Zyklon B.

Zyklon B is the Cornerstone of the Auschwitz Myth

If Zyklon B is unsuitable for use in “deliberate genocidal extermination,” then the entire Auschwitz extermination story [“Auschwitz-Mythos”] falls apart. A chain is only as strong as its weakest link.

The War of Belief

Because the Auschwitz extermination story [“Auschwitz-Mythos”] has so far not been subjected to scientific analysis, the discussion has been dominated by belief. Even intelligent, well-educated people believe in the “atrocities confirmed by many eyewitnesses.” In doing so, they forget that in any modern constitutional state, forensic evidence and documentary proof carry more weight than witness testimony.

Witnesses may err; their memories may deceive; witnesses may exaggerate their own importance and repeat hearsay. Witnesses have also been known to lie. Even the “confessions” of allegedly guilty individuals (which may be extorted through torture or obtained through promises of lesser

punishment) are worthless without the support of objective proof. Anyone who doubts this should check Solzhenitsyn... [In *The Gulag Archipelago*, Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn cites the case of the Bavarian Jupp Aschenbrenner, who “confessed” to serving in a German wartime murder commando. Only later, in a camp in 1954, was he able to prove that at the time of the alleged crimes, he was in Munich learning to be a welder.]

All the arguments against the Holocaust [story] will be meaningless if people are not willing to accept the truth. In the words of Schopenhauer:

Nothing is more galling
Than to fight with facts and arguments
Against an adversary
In the belief
That one is dealing with his understanding,
When in reality
One is dealing with the will,
Which obdurately closes its mind to the truth.
One must understand that reason
Applied against the will
Is like seed sown on bare rock
Like light arrows against armor,
Like the stormwind against a beam of light.

Nothing can be done for those who do not want to face the truth. But perhaps, after reading the following, some will be ready to *want* to comprehend.

The Gas Chambers

According to the Holocaust literature, the victims were “packed” into the gas chambers and then poisoned with hydrogen cyanide (Prussian Blue) vapors from Zyklon B. The bodies were burned in crematory ovens, and the ashes were strewn on hillsides or in water.

Organizational Problems

Because certain organizational problems arise even in mass extermination—for example, varying killing capacities of the gas chambers or varying crematory capacities in

disposing of the bodies—it should be obvious even at this point that events cannot have transpired as described in the Holocaust literature. We shall nevertheless limit our discussion to the essentials.

The Handling of Zyklon B

What is Zyklon B? Zyklon B is a pest control agent, the active ingredient of which is **Prussian Blue** (hydrocyanic acid, HCN).

Hydrocyanic acid is a highly toxic, highly flammable liquid that vaporizes at 25.7 degrees Celsius. The vapors released upon evaporation are lighter than air (density: 0.95). The ignition point of hydrocyanic acid is 535 degrees Celsius, but the acid can be ignited at temperatures as low as -17.8 degrees Celsius. The explosion point in air at 20 degrees Celsius ranges from 5.4 to 46.6 percent by volume percent, or between 60 and 520 grams per cubic meter (m3).

Among other uses, gaseous hydrogen cyanide is used as a fumigant gas.

What is the effect of hydrogen cyanide gas on human beings?

- 10 ml/m3 is harmless over an eight-hour exposure;
- 90 ml/m3 is dangerous or fatal upon protracted exposure;
- 80-270 ml/m3 is rapidly fatal. Alcohol, even if consumed in only small quantities prior to exposure, dangerously enhances the effects of cyanide gas.

For safe handling, hydrocyanic acid is absorbed in diatomite (following the admixture of an irritant for safety purposes), and is stored and transported in air-tight metal cans. The product is generally used within three months. Because the Zyklon B manufacturing facilities were totally destroyed in bombing attacks in early 1944, gassings with Zyklon B could not have taken place after the summer of 1944.

The trade weight of the cans was 100, 200, 500, 1000, and 1500 grams HCN content. The total weight of a can corresponds to approximately three times the HCN content.

Hydrocyanic acid vapors are not released immediately after the cans are opened. The evaporation of Zyklon B requires as many as 32 hours or as few as six hours, depending on whether the ambient temperature ranges from five to 30 degrees Celsius. The evaporation rate is not exactly proportional to time.

The Gassing Procedure According to the Holocaust Literature

The victims were led to gas chambers, which were disguised as shower baths, and were deceived by being handed soap and a towel. But what for? Who takes a shower holding a towel in his hands? But let's not detain ourselves with such trivia.

It is said, for example, that a hundred victims were packed into a chamber of 20 square meters, that is, five persons per square meter. (Witnesses sometimes even speak of as many as 25 victims per square meter.) At five persons per square meter, the victims wouldn't even be able even to soap themselves, due to lack of space. So what would they need the soap for? Soap was a commodity in short supply, but was permitted to fall on the floor unused, and become unusable. But let's move along.

The doors of the 2.5 meter-high chamber were hermetically sealed. An SS man wearing a gas mask threw Zyklon B, a mixture of hydrocyanic acid and irritant (added as a warning substance, since some people cannot smell hydrocyanic acid, the odor of which peculiarly resembles that of bitter almonds) absorbed in a carrier substance, from a can containing 200 grams of HCN in each case, from above. (This is the usual procedure described in the Holocaust literature. According to some sources, it was done differently only at Mauthausen.) The mixture fell to the floor, and the hydrocyanic acid began to escape. The gassing procedure normally lasted 15 to 20 minutes. (According to some sources, it lasted from five to as long as 30 minutes.)

Assuming that the floor temperature was 25 degrees Celsius (which is quite warm, since the gas chambers were mostly cold, damp cellars), let us also conservatively assume a gassing time of one half hour. After one half hour, there would have been at most 16 grams of HCN in the air of the chamber. The volume of air would be 44 cubic meters. (That

is, 50 cubic meters, minus the volume of the victims, estimated at six cubic meters, assuming an estimated average body weight of 60 kilograms per person, which would mean a volume of 6 cubic meters for the victims.) The hydrocyanic acid content in the air of the chamber would thus have been 363.6 mg/m³. (That is, 16,000 mg/44 m³ = 363.6 mg/m³.) That certainly would have been enough to kill them. (That is, 270 ml/m³ x 1.23 = approximately 330 mg/m³.)

The one hundred victims would now therefore be dead, if we assume that the hydrocyanic acid did not condense on the cold ambient surfaces inside the room—perhaps the room was pre-heated to a comfortable temperature.

At this point, the “chief of the gassing operation” looked through a peephole in the door to see whether any of the victims showed signs of life. But just how he could have done that at Mauthausen, looking through a peephole 1.20 meters above the ground in a door that is only 1.68 m high, is a matter that merits further study.

How could he see anything when the victims were “packed together,” and therefore could not fall down even in the remotest corners of the room? Nevertheless, after a brief look, the SS executioners turned on the ventilators to air out the gas chamber. And here we hit the first snag. The ventilators must, of course, have been exhausters. For them to work (that is, to exchange the air in the chamber), the gas chambers would have to have been equipped with air intake channels and chimneys equipped with blowers. Nothing of the sort has ever been found in any [alleged homicidal] gas chamber!

Are the Nazis supposed to have caused all of this equipment to disappear without a trace in the confusion of defeat? Apart from that, some concentration camps were liberated intact by the Allies.

The ventilation lasted 30 minutes, and, finally, the door was opened (!) to determine whether the room was gas-free. “The gassing chiefs, wearing gas masks” carefully held up a strip of [chemically sensitized] paper inside [the chamber]. When the room was free of gas, the doors were opened and the *blue* [skin-colored] corpses were taken by prisoner members of the crematory work team to the morgue, or straight to the crematory. (However, any textbook on toxicology will confirm that the skin color of victims of hydrocyanic acid poisoning is *red*.) Then the gas cham-

bers—heavily soiled with blood, excrement, and vomit—were cleaned.

What is the evidence against such a procedure? Zyklon B!

Holocaust writers have overlooked the fact that, during the ventilation process, Zyklon B would still have retained 92 percent of its hydrocyanic acid content, and would thus continue merrily on its way, releasing hydrocyanic acid gas. At 25 degrees Celsius, it would continue to do so for fully 15 1/2 hours, and even longer yet at lower temperatures.

Of course, one could have sent work team members into the gas chamber wearing gas masks and protective clothing to remove the Zyklon B [carrier material], which would at that point still be only partially gas-free. But just how they could remove this [carrier material] from the midst of the tightly packed piles of corpses covered with excrement, vomit and blood, defies explanation.

The bodies could have been removed, and the gas chamber then cleaned, only by men wearing gas masks and protective clothing. But this would mean a huge pile of excrement, vomit, and similar material, thoroughly contaminated with 184 grams of hydrocyanic acid (which would still continue to evaporate, although slowly). But the remaining 184 grams of hydrocyanic acid would still be enough to kill approximately 3,000 persons (at 0.001 gram per kilogram, assuming an average body weight of 60 kg per person).

This is the flaw in the Holocaust literature!

How did they get rid of the remaining Zyklon B from the midst of the one hundred corpses, without lengthy ventilation periods, and without causing mass deaths outside the gas chamber?

The procedure described above might have worked at Mauthausen, if people were really gassed at intervals of weeks or months. If we are to believe Hans Marsalek, the Mauthausen “historian,” an interval of 17 months elapsed between the fourth and fifth gassings at Mauthausen (April 17, 1943, and September 25, 1944). But at Auschwitz, people are said to have been gassed [continuously] on an industrial basis.

In fact, Zyklon B is utterly unsuited for purposes of systematic mass murder. It can be used to *fumigate*, and it could be used to gas a group of persons occasionally. But for time considerations alone, quasi-industrial killing would simply be impossible.

Although the Prussic (hydrocyanic) acid contained in Zyklon B can, of course, kill quickly and certainly, the handling requirements for Zyklon B and the circumstances involved rule out any significant use for the mass killing of people. This eliminates Zyklon B as a direct instrument of the Holocaust. The “eyewitness accounts” in this regard are false. The witnesses could never have seen an actual gassing. The events described never took place.

There remains the possibility of Zyklon B being used as a carrier material for hydrocyanic acid in gas generators.

The description of the [gassing] procedure given during a trial before the German district court [Landesgericht] at Hagen suggests the existence of a gas generator of almost ingenious simplicity of design. (The evidence for gassing in the Mauthausen camp was provided by the document archives of the Austrian Resistance Center [DOeW].)

In this case, Zyklon B was not thrown in from above. (Even though this is what a commemorative plaque tells us, Marsalek reports differently.) Why this brilliant procedure was never used in other concentration camps remains a mystery. At Mauthausen, the gas generator consisted of a sheet metal box with a lid, in which a hot brick (that had been heated in the open fire of the crematorium) was laid. This means that the SS could have gassed people only when bodies were already being burned. Zyklon B was then strewn onto this hot brick. But because of the temperature, this would mean an explosively rapid vaporization of the gas, resulting in an explosion of the HCN itself.

This version of gas generation may clearly be relegated to the realm of fairy tales. But it was believed by the Hagen district court, just like the fairy tale of *blue* (actually, *red*) victims of hydrogen cyanide poisoning. [The red coloring is confirmed, for example, in: *Allgemeine und spezielle Pharmakologie und Toxikologie* (Dr. W. Forth, et al., eds.), Mannheim, 4th ed., p. 645.]

Nothing is known of any other gas generators.

Summary

An absolutely unbiased study of the problem must conclude that, by and large, the views of the so-called “Revisionists”—the so-called “deniers”—are far more in line with the laws of nature, logic, and technical realities than the accounts in the

Holocaust literature (in which, moreover, scientifically verifiable data is generally lacking). When, as an exception, verifiable data is given in the Holocaust literature, a critical examination of such data leads to absurd results (25 persons per square meter, and so forth).

The decisive error in the Holocaust literature is the belief that the hydrocyanic acid contained in Zyklon B could be fully released in the alleged time span of 15-30 minutes required for the gassing, and that the carrier material would simultaneously and completely vaporize like a moth ball. The [fact of the] residue of Zyklon B makes the Auschwitz extermination story ["Auschwitz-Mythos"] obsolete.

2. THE GERSTEIN REPORT: AN "EYEWITNESS REPORT" OF MASS GASSINGS

Preliminary note: The "Gerstein Report" discussed here is the "confession" of an "informed" SS man, and is a cornerstone of the Holocaust literature. [For a detailed analysis, see *The 'Confessions' of Kurt Gerstein*, by Henri Roques. Available from the IHR.] It should therefore be critically examined for its technical correctness with regard to the reported mass gassing.

Note: The quotations [from the "Gerstein Report" given] here are from the book *Der Nationalsozialismus: Dokumente, 1933-1945* (W. Hofer, ed.), Fischer, 1957, pp. 307-311.

First of all, this writer has made a remarkable observation: the terms "Zyklon B" and "mass gassings with hydrocyanic acid" appear nowhere in the entire chapter [about persecution and extermination of Jews]. Didn't Hofer think that they were worth mentioning in 1957?

According to the book *Judenfeindschaft: Darstellung und Analysen* ["Hostility to Jews: Description and Analysis"], (K. Thieme, ed.), Fischer, 1963 (p. 277), Gerstein was assigned "...to pick up 100 kilograms of hydrocyanic acid. Gerstein carried out the order, and became an eyewitness to the extermination of Jews in the concentration camp at Belzec..." Apparently he must have left the hydrocyanic acid in his luggage once he got there, because [according to Gerstein] he witnessed a gassing [there] with carbon monoxide.

Was the Zyklon B story invented between 1957 and 1963? This is a possible subject of research for contemporary historians! But back to the “eyewitness.”

Gerstein relates:

. . . The rooms are five by five meters, and 1.90 meters high
 . . . The SS forced 700-900 people into 25 square meters, 45 cubic meters. [Actually: 47.5 cubic meters.] The doors close . . . The people are to be put to death with diesel exhaust gas. But the diesel doesn't work! . . . Yes, I see everything! And I wait. My stop watch has recorded everything perfectly. Fifty minutes, 70 minutes, the diesel still won't start! The people wait in their gas chambers. In vain. We hear them cry, sob . . . After two hours and 49 minutes—the stop watch has registered everything—the diesel starts . . . Another 25 minutes go by . . . After 28 minutes, only a few of them are still alive. Finally after 32 minutes, all are dead . . .

“Eyewitness” Gerstein never saw a gassing. He produced an absurd confession, perhaps to alert others that this atrocity story was extorted out of him. This writer wonders why the people who have used this confession never examined it in its physical and physiological aspects. They overlooked that any confession requires technical examination. A confession can become a liability if used without examination. The Gerstein Report is a particularly important indication of the incorrectness of the Holocaust literature. Nothing reveals the absurdity of this “eyewitness report” more than an examination of the verifiable facts described.

There were [according to Gerstein] 700-800 persons—that is, an average of 750 persons—in the chamber, weighing an average of 60 kilograms, and with a density of approximately one [sic], a volume of 45 cubic meters (m³).

How the people could be “packed” into a room measuring 47.5 cubic meters is a mystery. Such an attempt would be absurd and unthinkable. At the most, ten persons can fit into one square meter. (Using rather slender persons, experimentation has usually yielded a result of eight persons.)

Two hundred and fifty persons displace 15 cubic meters, which means an air volume of 32.5 cubic meters (47.5 - 15 = 32.5). The breathing time volume (BTV) of those people will amount, on the average, to 7.5 liters per minute. Therefore, 250 people will require $250 \times 60 \times 7.5 / 1000 = 112.5$ cubic meters of air to breathe in one hour. In 32.5 cubic meters of

room space, this air, therefore, will pass through the lungs of the people shut up in that room 3.45 times in one hour. It will therefore take 17 minutes and 20 seconds for the air to pass through their lungs once.

Dry air contains approximately 21 percent oxygen and only traces of carbon dioxide. Exhaled air contains approximately 15 percent oxygen and 4.4 percent carbon dioxide, as well as six percent water vapor. After 34 minutes and 40 seconds, the air will have passed through their lungs a second time, and will now contain approximately ten percent oxygen, but already eight percent carbon dioxide. After a (hypothetical) third passage through the lungs, the air in the chamber would contain approximately five percent oxygen, but at least eleven percent carbon dioxide, after only 52 minutes.

But unconsciousness and anoxia would have appeared after 30 to 45 minutes. And five minutes of anoxia means brain death.

Therefore, the people in the “gas chamber” could not, first of all, have waited two hours and 49 minutes for the diesel engine to start. Nor could they have cried and sobbed after 50 minutes of hopeless waiting. They would certainly have been dead by that time. And how could 700-800 people—assuming they could be packed or forced into the chamber at all—have breathed at all if they were “packed together”? They would have been unconscious soon after the doors closed, and in another five minutes they would have been dead.

The Gerstein Report is no report, but a whopping lie. This “eyewitness” (or rather, those who told him what to write, or who made it up themselves) was lying! As shown by the calculations given above, this “eyewitness” is quite obviously lying.

3. MASS GASSINGS WITH DIESEL ENGINE EXHAUST GAS

In addition to the “Gerstein Report,” there are a number of reports that describe the “genocidal extermination of millions of people, particularly Jews” in gas chambers in the

concentration camps of the National Socialist regime, as well as reports of so-called “gas vans.” In addition to Prussic acid [HCN] gas, which came from the pest control agent Zyklon B, carbon monoxide from diesel exhaust gas was [reportedly] also used.

It is true that carbon monoxide is a dangerous poison. The many unemployed people in Vienna who, during the 1930s, used illumination [coal] gas (which contained carbon monoxide) to commit suicide were very well aware of that. [On the toxicity of carbon monoxide, see, for example: *Allgemeine und spezielle Pharmakologie und Toxikologie* (Dr. W. Forth, et al., eds.), Mannheim, 4th ed., pp. 643-645.]

The toxicity of carbon monoxide is undisputed. As always, though, the question remains: How could this dangerous poison have been applied to the victims in a quasi-industrial manner?

First, permit me to digress: According to the Holocaust literature, submarine motors and tank diesel engines are supposed to have been used. These details are intended to enhance the credibility of the claims. It is nevertheless worth noting that submarine motors, or any other kind of ship's diesel engines, were not readily available, and that German tanks—incomprehensibly, due to the greater fuel consumption and considerably greater danger of fire in the event of a direct hit—were exclusively equipped with spark-ignition (gasoline) engines. The only diesel motors available would have been those from captured tanks after the beginning of the Russian campaign. However, their use would hardly have been advisable due to the difficulty of obtaining spare parts. But that is beside the point, only a noteworthy detail.

What the Holocaust writers have obviously overlooked is the fact that diesel motors are particularly unsuited for the efficient production of carbon monoxide (CO). The SS would have gone over to spark-ignition [gasoline] engines immediately after the first alleged attempts to kill the victims with diesel exhaust gases. Spark-ignition engines can certainly produce eight-percent carbon monoxide by volume with poor idle adjustment, but diesels are practically CO free.

Table of exhaust components in percent by volume

	carbon dioxide CO ₂	water H ₂ O	oxygen O ₂	hydrogen H ₂	nitrogen N ₂	carbon monoxide CO
Spark-ignition engines						
idle	6.5-8	7-10	1-1.5	0.5-4	71	4-6
full throttle	7-13	9-11	0.1-2	0.1-1	74-76	1-4
Diesel engines						
idle	3.5	3.5	16	—	77	0.05!
full throttle	5.5-7	7	10-12	0-0.1	77	0.1-0.3!
air inhaled	0		21		79	
air exhaled	4	6	15		75	

As this table clearly shows (it is the “idle” column that is important here), spark-ignition [gasoline] engines deliver up to 120 times as much carbon monoxide (CO) [as diesel engines], and diesel exhaust gases cannot produce enough CO.

And something else is interesting here: This table includes information about the content of air inhaled and exhaled during ordinary breathing. If the reader compares these figures with those of diesel exhaust gases, he will quickly notice that this [diesel exhaust] is less toxic. The amount of carbon dioxide (CO₂), which is also poisonous gas, is less, the amount of carbon monoxide (CO) is negligible, and the amounts of oxygen and nitrogen are nearly the same. Just what does this mean in plain language?

It means that nobody can be gassed with diesel exhaust. Instead, victims would more readily suffocate from using up the oxygen in the “gas tight” chambers. In fact, if diesel exhaust gas is introduced into the chamber, the people inside would actually receive more oxygen than they would from breathing the air in the closed chamber after it passed twice through their lungs!

This [twice-breathed] air would have only ten percent oxygen left in it, but would already contain eight percent carbon dioxide. The oxygen content would continue to drop as

the people [in the chamber] continue breathing, and the carbon dioxide (CO₂) content would continue to rise. Anoxia (oxygen deprivation) would occur very quickly, and five minutes after that, the end will come quickly through brain death.

The victims—who would otherwise die quickly—would easily live longer as a result of “gassing” with diesel exhaust, because of its high oxygen content. This means that the diesel engine is not suited for quick killing, assuming this could be done at all. On the other hand, if the victims were gassed with exhaust from spark-ignition engines, death would come much more quickly as a result of oxygen deprivation and the high carbon dioxide (CO₂) content than death by carbon monoxide (CO) poisoning.

Any executioner would have chosen spark-ignition [gasoline] engines to suffocate victims in the gas chamber: the first time he tried a diesel motor, it would quickly become obvious that he had chosen the wrong method of execution.

Furthermore, a diesel motor with a five liter displacement running at 1000 revolutions per minute would create an overpressure of one (1) atmosphere after ten minutes in a 50-cubic meter (m³) large air-tight chamber, and two (2) atmospheres after 20 minutes. That's more than the air pressure inside an automobile tire. This means that after ten minutes, there would be twelve tons of pressure against the “gas chamber door,” and 24 tons after 20 minutes. (The measurements of the door at Mauthausen are 72 x 166 cm.) How long would it take to blow open the door?

This proves that the testimonies about mass killings with diesel exhaust gas (such as given in the Gerstein Report) are objectively untrue. They do not stand up to scientific examination.

4. THE FLAMES FROM THE CHIMNEYS

In the Holocaust literature one can often read reports of eyewitnesses who saw dense smoke coming from the chimneys of the crematories in German concentration camps. Inmates also often saw flames “many meters long” shooting out of the chimneys. People with especially good eyesight

even saw such phenomena from as far away as 20 kilometers from Auschwitz.

Mauthausen “historian” and state official [Hofrat] Hans Marsalek writes (in the book *Das war Mauthausen*, p. 14, point 18, “Bunker”):

. . . Below the bunker was the first crematorium. Its fire burned day and night, and the glare of the flame shooting out of the chimney could be seen far away in the Danube valley . . .

All these “eyewitnesses” (who are now commonly referred to as “contemporary witnesses”) are telling conscious untruths when they report such things, unless they are the victims of an optical illusion. Only they themselves know if they are lying.

The origin of such tales is obvious, even if those who speak loosely without any technical knowledge achieve exactly the opposite effect by it: they are thinking of an open fire, which burns higher as more wood is put on it. This is supposed to make the story of mass cremations—of more and more people—appear more credible. These people confuse a midsummer bonfire with a crematory oven.

First, we will make two demands upon the reader’s knowledge of geometry and sense of logic:

1. Geometry: From a distance of 20 kilometers, even over the Neusiedlersee [Neusiedl Lake] (which is quite flat), the influence of the curvature of the earth is enough to cut off any possible visual contact between the eye of the observer and any high chimney or high flame, even from a high vantage point (such as the roof of a railroad car, since the “eyewitnesses” were railroad workers). In the vicinity of Auschwitz, furthermore, there were gently rolling hills, which were nevertheless sufficient to shield the installations from view.

2. Logic: Why did the Germans lay a smoke screen over the “Hermann Göring Works” in Linz, and order strict blackouts if, at the same time, (according to Marsalek) “. . . the glare of the flame shooting out of the chimney could be seen far away in the Danube valley . . .”? This would have been a beacon for US bombers. (I can just hear the co-pilot reporting to the pilot: “John. I see the lights of Mauthausen

straight ahead! Now five degrees [to the] west for Hermann!"). Nobody can believe this.

Turning now to technology, because objective proof is always far more conclusive than witness testimony.

In the book *Bauentwurfslehre* ["Textbook on Construction Design"] by Ernst Neufert (Ullstein Fachverlag, 1962), p. 423, one can read:

Cremation takes place in special ovens which are coke-fired, electrically-fired (cremation of a body requires about 45 Kw of energy), or gas-fired . . . [and is] entirely free of smoke [Staub] or odor.

(This puts an end to the fairy tales of noticeable odor of the cremated corpses!)

[The cremation] takes place in dry air heated to 900-1,000 degrees [Celsius], that is without the flame coming into contact with the dead [body]. The oven is heated beforehand for two to three hours, and the cremation process itself requires between an hour and a quarter and an hour and a half.

(See also the *Meyer* and *Brockhaus* standard reference works.)

Thus, technology also establishes that the crematory capacity could never have kept pace with the number of bodies in the "genocidal mass gassings of millions of people," and that therefore the bodies could *not* have been disposed of in sufficient quantity by burning.

That no "flame many meters high" could shoot out of the chimney should be clear to anyone who has ever watched the burning of wood in an open fireplace, or who watched the grilling of pieces of meat (a preliminary stage of cremation) on a charcoal fire.

Contrary to popular belief, corpses are not combustible materials. Cremation of bodies requires large quantities of fuel. (With a wooden coffin of 40 kilograms, and assuming 50 percent total efficiency of combustion, 45 kilowatts [of electrical energy] corresponds to about 15 kilograms of coke, or eight cubic meters of natural gas.)

The cremation of four million people using coke would alone require at least 50 kilograms [per body], which would mean about 200,000 tons of coke!

It is also senseless (and technically impossible) to speak of cremating several corpses at the same time in the same oven (witnesses have claimed as many as ten bodies at a time!), because this would exceed the capacity of the oven.

And what about the flames? Coke is a short-flamed fuel. The flame could not even exceed the confines of the burning chamber. In addition, there is a short exhaust channel, the flue, between the oven and the chimney. The chimney only comes after that. So, using [such] short-flamed solid fuels, there wouldn't be any "flame." At most, there would be exhaust fumes at a temperature of 180 degrees Celsius. Otherwise, the chimney would soon be ruined. Therefore, after traversing eight or ten meters of chimney, no flame could be visible outside. (The chimney length is determined by the required draw, not the length of the flame.) Not even a reflection would be visible because it would be lost in the flue. I always wonder why the judges who believed such testimony never at least asked a chimney sweep about this, even if they didn't consult an expert. Only "contemporary historians" and a series of courts have ever accepted these tales of "contemporary witnesses" about "flames many meters high" shooting out of the crematoria chimneys.

On this subject as well, it might be noted that the objections of "Revisionists" are far more in harmony with the laws of nature and technology than the tales of the Holocaust writers.

5. MASS GASSINGS IN MAUTHAUSEN

Before dealing with the question of whether a [homicidal] gas chamber existed at Mauthausen at all, a few facts—based on unimpeachable sources—should first be noted. The following sources have been used:

A) Hans Marsalek, *Die Geschichte der Konzentrationslager Mauthausen* ["The History of the Mauthausen Concentration Camp"] (Vienna: 1974 and 1980)

B) Hans Marsalek, *Giftgas in Mauthausen* ["Poison Gas in Mauthausen"] (Vienna: 1988)

C) Hans Marsalek, *Mauthausen: Führer durch die Gedenkstätte* ["Mauthausen: Guide to the Memorial Site"] (Vienna)

D) Martin Gilbert, *Auschwitz und die Alliierten* (Munich: 1982) [English-language edition: *Auschwitz and the Allies*]

The following statements are taken from the above sources:

According to H. Marsalek, *Giftgas in Mauthausen*, p. 15:

On August 17, 1942, 56 Soviet citizens and five Poles were *gassed*.

According to H. Marsalek, *Die Geschichte der Konzentrationslager Mauthausen*, p. 227:

On August 17, 1942, 56 Soviet citizens and five Poles were *shot*.

According to H. Marsalek, *Giftgas in Mauthausen*, p. 15:

On November 19, 1943, 38 Soviet citizens were *gassed*.

According to H. Marsalek, *Die Geschichte der Konzentrationslager Mauthausen*, p. 227:

On November 19, 1943, 38 Soviet citizens were *shot*.

If those aren't contradictions, what is?

According to H. Marsalek, *Giftgas in Mauthausen* (1988), p. 15:

1. Gassing on May 9, 1942: 231 Soviet prisoners of war. But according to H. Marsalek, *Die Geschichte* (1974/1980), it was only 208.

2. Gassing on October 24, 1942: 261 Czechs.

But according to H. Marsalek, *Die Geschichte* (1974/1980), it was only 128.

3. Gassing on January 26, 1943: 31 Czechs.

But according to H. Marsalek, *Die Geschichte* (1974/1980), it was only 15.

4. Gassing on April 17, 1943: 59 Soviet citizens and five Poles.

5. Gassing on September 25, 1944: 138 Soviet citizens and one Pole.

But according to H. Marsalek, *Die Geschichte* (1974/1980), it was only 110 Soviet citizens.

And so forth.

To sum up here:

According to H. Marsalek, *Giftgas in Mauthausen* (1988), the sum total, up to September 9, 1944, is 726 persons.

But, according to H. Marsalek, *Die Geschichte der Konzentrationslager Mauthausen* (1974 and 1980), the sum total, up to September 9, 1944, is 526 persons.

It is worth noting here that more than 17 months elapsed between the fourth and fifth gassings.

We are further given to understand—from H. Marsalek, *Die Geschichte der Konzentrationslager Mauthausen*—that Zyklon B was already delivered on September 22, 1942, and was again delivered on July 7, 1942, on April 28, 1943, July 1, 1943, and November 5, 1943, in the amount of 240 kg of cyanide content for each delivery.

Zyklon B was therefore already being delivered long before the [homicidal] “gas chamber” was [supposedly] put into operation, and was thereafter delivered in quantities exceeding the requirements for executions in a “gas chamber” by many thousands of percent. This may be proven by the following calculations:

The fatal dose would amount to 180-270 ml/m³, or 220-330 mg/m³. (Source: Supplement [Beilage] /D, Merkblatt M 002 der Berufgenossenschaft der chemischen Industrie, p. 9.)

The volume of the “gas chamber” was approximately 35 cubic meters (3.70 x 3.90 x 2.46). Subtracting a volume of approximately two cubic meters for the people to be gassed, the chamber therefore contains a volume of 33 cubic meters of air. Assuming a *certain* fatal dose of one gram per cubic meter (or about 3 to 4.5 times as much as would really be required to kill), per gassing 33 grams are required, or 1.1 grams of hydrocyanic acid per person. Assuming five grams per person—conservatively assuming a 22 percent degree of efficiency of the cyanide content in Zyklon B for purposes of yielding cyanide gas—the 2,481 persons (according to H. Marsalek, *Giftgas*) could have been killed 10 to 20 times over with 12 kilograms. So why did they deliver more than one

ton between September 22, 1941, and November 11, 1943, even though only 526 persons could have been gassed up to September 25, 1944, according to H. Marsalek, *Die Geschichte der Konzentrationslager Mauthausen*? Or was the Zyklon B used only for delousing and pest control? The actual requirement for the certain killing of 526 persons is about one half kilogram.

According to H. Marsalek, *Giftgas in Mauthausen*, p. 233:

On August 19, 1944, 457 (or 456) Jewish prisoners were sent to Auschwitz. On August 28, 1944, 419 arrived [at the camp].

And according to M. Gilbert, *Auschwitz und die Allierten*, p. 362 [or, *Auschwitz and the Allies*, p. 308]:

A train with 417 [or 429] persons arrived at Auschwitz from Mauthausen on August 22, 1944. Of this number, 93 were transferred to the work camp, and 326 were gassed.

A close look at the above reveals something remarkable. The question arises: Why did the Nazis, who possessed a properly functioning gas chamber at Mauthausen (but one which, at this point in time, apparently had not been used for 17 months), first transport the 326 Jews for three (or nine) days to Auschwitz, and then immediately gas them? Why didn't they gas them right away in Mauthausen?

According to H. Marsalek, *Giftgas in Mauthausen*, p. 15: The gassing operations in Mauthausen first really began in earnest on March 23 (or 27), 1945. Up until April 28, 1945, there were nine gassings, and up to the period between May 9, 1942, and February 19, 1945, also only nine.

According to H. Marsalek, *Die Geschichte der Konzentrationslager Mauthausen*, gassings took place on just 18 days, with 1,980 victims. But according to H. Marsalek (the same author), in *Giftgas in Mauthausen*, there were 2,481 victims!

In H. Marsalek, *Mauthausen: Führer durch die Gedenkstätte*, p. 12, a document is cited. This is a communication from the SS Economic and Administrative Main Office (WVHA), dated Nov. 10, 1943, to the commandants of the concentration camps. Among other things, it reads:

The bordello and the crematories are not to be shown during camp visits. These installations are not to be mentioned to persons visiting the camp . . .

Apparently, then, *everything else* could be shown and mentioned to visitors. Logically, then, a *gas chamber*, if one existed, could be shown and talked about; otherwise, it would have been included in the prohibition.

Since we cannot assume that the SS ever showed a [homicidal] gas chamber to the inspectors of the International Red Cross, it is permissible to conclude that none existed.

Conclusions

Why was Zyklon B delivered for a year prior to the [alleged homicidal] gassings? Obviously, for pest control and delousing! Delousing chambers are in Mauthausen even today, but there is no structure capable of being used as a [homicidal] gas chamber.

Why was nobody gassed for 17 months even though there [supposedly] was a working gas chamber? Why did they send hundreds of people during this period to Auschwitz for gassing? Obviously, in fact, because nobody was ever gassed in Mauthausen as part of any “systematic genocide.”

Why would a gas chamber be built if, during a period of more than three and a half years, it was used on only 18 days, and if the adjacent installation—where people were shot in the back of the neck (according to H. Marsalek in *Giftgas in Mauthausen*)—worked three times as efficiently?

The answer is that the room shown today as a gas chamber was never used for that purpose, and—for technical and physical reasons—never could have been used for that purpose. It was very probably the shower room for the crematory personnel, although its use as a morgue cannot be excluded.

Anyone familiar with the danger involved in handling hydrocyanic acid gas (which is explosive and extremely toxic) must wonder why the SS executioners didn't use carbon dioxide gas—which is easy to handle and completely harmless to the executioner—to kill the prisoners who were allegedly poisoned with Zyklon.

Any textbook on physiology confirms that in the event of anoxia (oxygen deprivation), disturbances of brain functioning appear after five seconds, followed by unconsciousness after 15 seconds, and brain death after five minutes. This is how animals are put to sleep, painlessly and surely. It also works with people.

But according to Marsalek (in *Giftgas in Mauthausen*, p. 10), instead of blowing carbon dioxide (CO₂) into the “gas chamber,” the Nazis sprinkled Zyklon B onto a brick heated on a shovel in the crematory oven to generate cyanide gas!

6. CARBON MONOXIDE GAS IN FLASKS

The allegation is also found in Holocaust literature that gas chamber victims were suffocated using carbon monoxide (CO).

In Hans Marsalek's work, *Vergasungsaktionen im Konzentrationslager Mauthausen: Die Gaskammer im Schloss Hartheim* [“Gassings Actions in the Mauthausen Concentration Camp: The Gas Chamber in the Hartheim Castle”], pp. 21 ff., we read:

... People were apparently first gassed in Hartheim with carbon monoxide gas on June 6, 1940 ... New supplies of steel flasks with poison gas ... were provided ... Poison gas streamed through this pipe, which was always blown in from a steel flask located in the next room ...

This allegation can also be found in the indictment of the Prosecuting Attorney of Linz, dated July 20, 1947 (3 St 466/46).

In Simon Wiesenthal's book, *Doch die Mörder Leben* (Droemer Knaur), 1967 [US edition: *The Murderers Among Us*], p. 385, on the photo of the site diagram of Hartheim Castle, the gas flask storage area [Gasflaschenlager] is marked, right next to the “gassing area” [Vergasungsraum].

(Interestingly, Wiesenthal refers in this book to eleven million people supposedly gassed [sic] by the Nazis. As part of the downward trend, this figure has been reduced to six million. The figure continues to fall, and because of the recent subtraction of three recent million from the Auschwitz figure, the grand total must now be three million.)

That this diagram is actually a forgery fits, of course, with the general pattern. ([Specifically:] Captions and, therefore, room designations, were not made with a typewriter. Instead, the diagram designations were made with standard script or with block letters. And a “gas chamber” with a window is technical nonsense. The handwritten word “crematory” has been added to the words “oven room,”

apparently to criminalize the heating system. Given the lack of space, the question of precisely how the bodies were [supposedly] brought into the ovens is a matter worthy of some consideration. And the word “Sektierkammer” [dissection chamber] was obviously added by someone who is not entirely familiar with the German language.)

Gassing by means of carbon monoxide from flasks is technical nonsense. Carbon monoxide (CO) could only have been filled and stored in high pressure steel flasks, which would have been extremely expensive to fill, and even more expensive to transport. Anyone engaged in quasi-industrial mass killing could generate carbon monoxide in large quantities by simply using a spark-ignition (gasoline) engine, with a suitably “bad” (but for this purposes quite logical) carburetor adjustment. With just one liter of gasoline, and set at idle, such an engine can deliver many cubic meters of [deadly] exhaust in a very short time. This exhaust would not have any oxygen content, but would have eight, ten, 15 or even 20 percent carbon monoxide content. It would also be produced cheaply and on the spot, and at a fraction of the cost of the fuel required for the transport of any “gas flasks.”

Once again, it must be stated that the Nazis may have been criminals, but they certainly were not stupid enough to use approximately one hundred liters of gasoline to produce a quantity of carbon monoxide that they could easily have manufactured on the spot using a couple of liters of gasoline.

In addition, carbon monoxide was produced in chemical plants and was a basic element for [the production of] synthetic gasoline. If for no other reason, the story of “carbon monoxide in flasks” for mass killing appears improbable because of the energy required to compress it, transport it in filled high pressure flasks, and then release it later at atmospheric pressure during use.

Thus, the last remaining cornerstone of the mass gassing story is relegated to the class of technical fairy tales rather than scientifically proven fact. This applies to gassings whether by:

- hydrocyanic acid used in the manner described above (that is, by throwing in Zyklon B from above),
 - exhaust gas from diesel engines, or
 - carbon monoxide in flasks,
- whether in stationary “gas chambers” or in so-called “gas vans.”

The mass gassing story is certainly not a "fact of common knowledge"!

Had the Nazis really wished to "gas" (or, more accurately, to "suffocate") people on a quasi-industrial basis ("systematic genocide"), they certainly would have turned to carbon dioxide gas (CO_2), which would have been absolutely harmless to the executioners and cheap to produce, instead of hydrocyanic acid (HCN) in Zyklon B or carbon monoxide (CO).

Anyone who does not believe this should take care to read the newspaper accounts of frequent accidents with fermentation gas which occur every year in the springtime in Austrian wine cellars.

Carbon dioxide kills quickly, painlessly and surely.

7. THE ATTEMPTED REFUTATION OF THE *LEUCHTER* REPORT

Leuchter states that "the gas chambers at Auschwitz were not used to kill human beings with Zyklon B, because they could not be heated and had insufficient ventilation installations."

In this regard, the author H. Auerbach, writing in a statement on "The So-Called Leuchter Report," issued in November 1989 by the [semi-official German] Institut für Zeitgeschichte ["Institute of Contemporary History"] in Munich, stated:

Leuchter fails to consider that even in a much larger room (Note: compared to a US execution gas chamber), this temperature (of evaporation of hydrogen cyanide) would be reached very quickly if it were packed full of people, and that therefore no heating at all is required.

Like so many Holocaust writers, Auerbach is mistaken.

An experiment was carried out by this writer to simulate the heating of a chamber by human beings.

The dimensions of the chamber were as follows: Floor area: 5.43 square meters. Height: 2.45 meters. Volume: 13.30 cubic meters. Surface area: 33.70 square meters. The chamber floor was tiled, as were the walls up to a height of 1.50 meters. Above that height, the walls were of wood section covering, with a wood section ceiling. Because of the

large wood surface, the chamber is far easier to heat than the “gas chambers” shown as tourist attractions at Auschwitz. The chamber took an hour to heat using an 1.8 Kw electric convection heater, after which the room was “ventilated” for 30 minutes.

The nearly square chamber had one outside wall (outdoor air temperature: 20 degrees Celsius), and three inside walls (inside air temperature: 22 degrees Celsius).

The rise in temperature (Celsius) is shown in the following table (with figures rounded off):

Time	Air	Floor	Wall 1.35 m	Wall 1.75 m
Beginning	22	22	22	22
30 min.	38.5	24	28	31
60 min.	42.5	25	30	32
Heating stopped				
30 min. [later]	22	22	22	22

Ventilation stopped

Since according to the laws of nature, warmth flows from areas of higher temperature to cooler areas, and the standard “average body temperature” is approximately 33-34 degrees Celsius (*Physiologie des Menschen*, Schmidt/Thews, Springer, 1987, p. 655), the figures measured in the simulation (at summer temperatures) are well above those that could be attained in the middle of the year in an unheated “gas chamber.” Even [in a room] with people “tightly packed crushed together,” an air temperature in excess of 30-32 degrees Celsius would not be attained. In addition, the gassings are supposed to have taken place quickly and on a quasi-industrial basis.

Consequently, the wall temperatures would rise only slightly (hence the possibility that the hydrocyanic acid would condense on the walls), and the floor temperature would hardly rise at all. Nor would the bare feet of the victims warm the floor to any appreciable extent, because the temperature of the arch of the foot is only 27-28 degrees Celsius, and the temperature of the soles is practically identical to the floor temperature. Therefore, rather than

warming the floor to any measurable extent, the victims would suffer from cold feet.

According to the Holocaust literature, Zyklon B was normally thrown in from above. This means, naturally, that it would land on the floor (which even in summer was colder than 26 degrees Celsius). As a result, the hydrocyanic acid contained in the Zyklon B would not vaporize quickly, but would instead evaporate more or less slowly (from six to 32 hours, at five to 30 degrees Celsius). This is precisely the secret of the success of Zyklon B as a pest control agent: a nearly even yield of the active ingredient over longer periods of time depending on the temperature.

To achieve the rapid killing described in the Holocaust literature, the SS therefore would have had to incorporate floor heating installations into the "gas chambers" in order to be able to use them as [homicidal] gas chambers.

And there is another detail: rapid and effective ventilation would have required not just mechanical ventilation, but suitable air intake channels. Without an air intake, using ventilators alone, the deadly air-gas mixture could never have been exhausted from the gas chamber. If this were attempted, the ventilator would reach a "suction limit" and run empty. That is, it would deliver nothing, but would instead simply maintain a certain partial vacuum [Unterdruck] in the chamber. Deadly hydrogen cyanide (HCN) would continue to evaporate for many hours, and the concentration in the air of the chamber would thereby become more and more rapidly fatal. How the room [removal] work team could work without heavy breathing equipment and protective clothing, only a "witness" can explain. Science can provide no answer.

Rather, science shows that:

- a) Leuchter is correct, even though he provided no detailed scientific proof in his report, and
- b) Holocaust writers are telling stories which cannot withstand scientific scrutiny.

8. EPILOGUE

Holocaust writers now face a dilemma.

The weapon for the “systematic genocidal extermination of millions of people, especially Jews” must now be abandoned if one looks at the facts instead of concentrating on belief.

No weapon, no crime. What now?

Mass murder with diesel exhaust gases (in 32 minutes, according to Gerstein) is a sheer impossibility for reasons of time alone. This can be proven experimentally, even today, with a couple of brave men. Therefore, the [stories of] “gas chambers with diesel engines” and “gas vans” [“gaswagen”] can only be disinformation. The “witnesses” make objectively false statements, and the “confessions” are clearly false. The laws of nature apply both to Nazis and anti-fascists. Nobody can be killed with diesel exhaust gas in the manner described.

Mass murder in the manner described, with Zyklon B and with carbon monoxide, cannot have taken place, either, because it too would violate the laws of nature, and because the necessary technical and organizational prerequisites were lacking.

Experimental killings with Zyklon B may have taken place. After fifty years, this cannot be ruled out with certainty. But such experiments would have resulted in deaths among the executioners, and the recognition that something like the [supposed] Mauthausen shooting installation would be more logical and safer.

A similar recognition would have come very quickly in any experiment using diesel exhaust gases (“get rid of that diesel and get us a spark-ignition engine”), if there had ever been any “gas chambers with diesel engines” or “gas vans” (“generator gas” from “wood gas” trucks would have been more logical). The Nazis may have been criminals, but they certainly were not stupid enough to use diesel motors and Zyklon B in the manner described.

The crematories could never have disposed of the number of victims: this may be considered proven by engineering science. Bodies are not a combustible material. Their cremation requires a great deal of time and energy.

In light of what is now known, there are no “facts of common knowledge” [or “judicially noted” facts] with regard to the Holocaust. The facts given above should be elaborated to a higher degree of proof by specialists, and preferably by court-recognized experts. Such a study will certainly produce amazing results, which will radically alter the basic views of many people.

Objective proof will refute the testimony of perjured “witnesses” and the “confessions” of “criminals.”

Judges and historians must draw the appropriate conclusions, and a whole generation of “contemporary historians” will sit on the ruins of their worldview, much as the Marxists today sit on the ruins of their Marxist ideology.

In court trials of “Revisionists,” therefore, “contemporary historians” should never be the only ones permitted to determine the “facts” of the Holocaust. There must be interdisciplinary cooperation with scientists and technicians.

Any legal provision that seeks to hinder or even penalize scientific investigation of the Holocaust (such as section 283a of the Austrian criminal code) would amount to a state-ordered reign of terror against the human spirit.

Should actual investigation of the Holocaust prove the “deliberate genocide” to be a fact, the discussion will then be at an end, among the “Revisionists” as well. Who could wish to oppose discussion of the Holocaust, on any grounds, let alone attempt to choke discussion using criminal law?

Who is there who could abolish freedom of thought and the rule of law, without opening himself to the suspicion of trying to exert improper influence by suppressing discussion?

Is “1984” coming after all—through the back door?

Fred Leuchter: Courageous Defender of Historical Truth

MARK WEBER

*(Based on the introduction of Leuchter at the
Eleventh IHR Conference, October 1992)*

Until early 1988, Fred A. Leuchter, Jr.—like most Americans—basically accepted the Holocaust extermination story. In itself that is not at all remarkable, except that this man also just happened to be the foremost American expert on gassing and gas chamber technology.

As readers of this *Journal* know, Fred Leuchter was commissioned in early 1988 by German-Canadian publisher Ernst Zündel to conduct a thorough forensic investigation of the alleged wartime gassing facilities in Poland for his defense case in the Toronto “Holocaust Trial.”

Zündel was so sure that the Holocaust gassing story would not stand up to expert examination that he sent Leuchter to Europe at considerable expense, completely confident that an independent investigation would confirm the Revisionist view.

In early 1988, Leuchter and his team carefully investigated the so-called gas chambers at, first, the Auschwitz main camp, second, the Auschwitz-Birkenau camp, which is supposed to have been the most terrible Nazi extermination center, and, third, the Majdanek camp near Lublin, where the Allies claimed at Nuremberg that a million and a half people were killed. As an expert witness testifying under oath in April 1988 in the second Zündel trial, and in his published report of his on-site investigation, Fred Leuchter explained in detail that the supposed gas chambers at Auschwitz, Birkenau and Majdanek could not possibly have been used to gas people as alleged.

Leuchter’s findings demolish the core of the Holocaust legend—the Auschwitz gassing story. British historian David Irving found Leuchter’s forensic investigation so compelling that, as he has publicly acknowledged, it was a major factor



Leuchter examining remains of the alleged extermination gas chamber in the crematory building (Krema) II in the Auschwitz-Birkenau camp. (Photo: Samisdat Publishers)

in persuading him finally to reject the Holocaust extermination story.

Many tens of thousands of copies of what has become known simply as the Leuchter Report are now in circulation around the world. It has been published in numerous countries and languages. Earlier this year, for example, it appeared for the first time in Russian in a collection of Revisionist writings published in Moscow. More recently, it was published in Hungarian in the August 25 issue of the Budapest intellectual journal *Hunnia*.

In April 1989, Leuchter returned to Europe to carry out an expert forensic investigation of other alleged extermination gas chambers, this time at Dachau in Bavaria, and at Mauthausen and Hartheim, near Linz in Austria. Accompanying him on this visit, as she had during their 1988 visit to Poland, was his wife Carolyn. The results of this investigation have been published as the Second Leuchter Report, which appeared in the Fall 1990 IHR *Journal*.

The Institute for Historical Review is proud of its cordial and productive association with Fred Leuchter, who spoke at the IHR Conferences in 1989, 1990 and 1992. In his presentations at the last two conferences, he reported on the relentless international campaign against him.

During the last two years, unfortunately, there has been no let up in the bigoted campaign to discredit Leuchter's work and reputation, and to destroy his career—all because of his courageous refusal to lie about his professional findings. What his enemies want, apparently, is for Leuchter to violate his conscience, betray his profession, and to lie under oath in a court of law, all for the sake of upholding what has become, in essence, an article of religious belief. It is fair to say that no American has suffered more for his defiance of the Holocaust lobby than Fred Leuchter.

The most insidious (and effective) effort has been a behind-the-scenes campaign to destroy his livelihood by pressuring state governments to stop employing him as their execution hardware engineer. To allow Leuchter to continue working for the state, declared Illinois Representative Ellis Levin (D-Chicago), "would be an affront to the Jewish community." (*Chicago Daily Law Bulletin*, August 17, 1990.) Sadly, these underhanded efforts have been successful. The *Chicago Sun-Times* newspaper, for example, confirmed (in August 1990) that "the state [of Illinois] cut its ties with him over statements that Nazi gas chambers, including those at Auschwitz, could not have been used for executing Jews."

In spite of the clearly unfair and bigoted nature of the campaign against him, the normally vociferous champions of civil liberty and freedom of speech in America have, so far, anyway, been noticeably silent about this case.

An important propaganda weapon in this campaign has been a book published jointly by the Klarsfeld Foundation and a group that calls itself "Holocaust Survivors and Friends in Pursuit of Justice." This book bears the pretentious title: *Truth Prevails: Demolishing Holocaust Denial: The End of 'The Leuchter Report'*.

The most important charges made against Leuchter, which are also included in this widely distributed book, are:



Fred A. Leuchter, Jr.

(Photo: Samisdat Publishers)

First, that Leuchter's motive in concluding that the alleged gas chambers were never used to kill anybody was the professional fee he received from Zündel for his work.

Second, that Fred Leuchter has no qualifications as an execution equipment specialist, and

Third, that he lied under oath in the 1988 Zündel trial.

What are the facts? Let's take a close look at each of these charges.

First, Leuchter's motives in conducting his forensic investigation of the alleged wartime gas chambers in Poland were entirely professional. While it is true that he was paid a standard fee by Zündel for his work, it cannot be stressed enough that Leuchter was chosen to

carry out this investigation not because of any pre-existing views on this subject, but solely because he was the acknowledged expert in this field. His political views or social attitudes were never a consideration. (Just imagine what Leuchter's critics would be saying if he had conducted his forensic examination of the Polish camps on his own initiative, without charge.)

Before he flew to Poland to begin his investigation, Leuchter warned Zündel that if he concluded that the alleged extermination gas chambers were, in fact, used to kill people, or could have been so used, he would so testify in court. Zündel agreed to this condition. Regardless of his findings, Zündel would still have been obliged to pay Leuchter his fee.

In fact, if money and comfort had been primary considerations, and if he is as dishonorable as those who now attack him insinuate, Leuchter would simply have pocketed his fee from Zündel, and then told the court what the prosecution and the media wanted to hear.

Second, Leuchter's qualifications as a technical expert and inventor are actually quite impressive. His adversaries never tire of repeating that his only academic credential is a bachelor's degree in history, which he earned at Boston University in 1964. This has never been a secret. What is not so well known, though, is the full story of his expertise.

For one thing, Leuchter did post-graduate study in celestial navigation mechanics at the Harvard-Smithsonian Astrophysical Observatory in Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Since 1965, he has worked as an engineer on projects having to do with electrical, optical, mechanical, navigational and surveying problems. He holds patents in the fields of optics, navigation, encoding, geodetic surveying and surveying instrumentation, including patents on sextants, surveying instruments and optical instrument encoders.

From 1965 through 1970 he was the technical director for a firm in Boston, where he specialized in airborne, opto-electronic, and photographic surveillance equipment. He designed the first low-level, color, stereo-mapping system for use in a helicopter, which has become an airborne standard.

In 1970, he formed an independent consulting firm. During his period with this firm, he designed and built the first electronic sextant and developed a unique, light-weight, compact and inexpensive optical drum sector encoder for use with surveying and measuring instruments. He also built the first electronic sextant for the US Navy. He has worked on and designed astro trackers utilized in the on-board guidance systems of ICBM missiles.

Because of his work in navigational devices he has had hands-on experience with surveying and geodetic measuring equipment and a thorough knowledge of map-reading and cartography. He is trained in reading and interpreting aerial photographs. He designed a computerized transit for surveying use, and several years ago he developed the first low-cost personal telephone monitor.

During the past 14 years, Leuchter has been a consultant to several state governments on equipment used to execute convicted criminals, including hardware for execution by lethal injection, electrocution, gassing and hanging. In the course of this work, he designed a new gas chamber for the state of Missouri, and he designed and constructed the first lethal injection machine for New Jersey. Leuchter has also been a consultant on execution procedures. He has held a

research medical license from both state and federal governments, and has supplied the necessary drugs for use in execution support programs.

In 1987, he formed Fred A. Leuchter Associates, a consulting engineering firm specializing in general consulting and the design and construction of prototype hardware. He has been a forensic engineer consultant, and has testified as an expert in courts in the United States and Canada.

(On a more personal note, Fred Leuchter is an accomplished pianist and musician, as well as a certified small arms instructor and NRA expert marksman.)

More to the point, Leuchter's expertise in precisely the field of execution hardware is a matter of public record, and has been authoritatively and publicly confirmed. Indeed, no one was better qualified to carry out his investigation. At that time, Leuchter was recognized as the foremost American expert on the design and fabrication of gas chambers and other hardware used to execute criminals in the United States. He has worked on and designed facilities used to kill condemned criminals with hydrogen cyanide gas, the same gas supposedly used to kill many hundreds of thousands of Jews at Auschwitz.

Leuchter's expertise as the nation's foremost specialist of execution hardware, including gas chambers, has been abundantly confirmed. William Armontrout, warden of the Missouri State Penitentiary, testified on this matter during the 1988 "Holocaust Trial" of Ernst Zündel. As warden, Armontrout supervised the state's execution gas chamber. He testified under oath that he had consulted with Leuchter on the design, maintenance and operation of the Missouri gas chamber, and confirmed that, to the best of his knowledge, Leuchter is the only such consultant in the United States.

Leuchter's expertise has also been recognized by prominent periodicals, including *The Atlantic* in a four-page article in its February 1990 issue. An article in the weekly national news magazine *Insight* of July 2, 1990, called Leuchter, "the nation's leading expert in the mechanics of execution." Finally, Leuchter's expertise was acknowledged on the ABC television news program "Prime Time Live," broadcast on May 10th, 1990, and by *The New York Times* in a prominently featured article in its issue of October 13, 1990, which was accompanied by a front-page photo of Leuchter.

No matter what the long-term outcome of the still unfolding Leuchter affair may be, the indisputable fact will remain, that on the basis of a careful on-site inspection, the man who is America's acknowledged foremost expert on gas chamber technology has categorically declared under oath that the alleged mass extermination gas chambers were never used, and never could have been used, as execution devices.

With regard to the third charge—that Leuchter lied under oath in the 1988 Zündel trial—it might first be pointed out that the laws of physics have not been suspended for the sake of the Holocaust story. To repeat: If Leuchter is wrong, it should not be difficult to prove it. And if he is right, his work and his findings will stand the test of time, and his courage will be vindicated.

At the 1989 IHR Conference, Leuchter dramatically called for a neutral, international commission of engineers, historians and scholars to go to Auschwitz and the other camps, and to either confirm or repudiate his findings. Not surprisingly, those who have been trying so hard to silence and discredit Leuchter have ignored his challenge. Indeed, the very nature of this insidious campaign, including the unwillingness of his adversaries to seriously come to grips with his work, implicitly confirms the soundness of Leuchter's findings.

In this regard, it is highly significant that Leuchter's findings have recently been authoritatively corroborated and confirmed:

First, the Institute of Forensic Research in Krakow, Poland, corroborated Leuchter's findings in a confidential September 1990 forensic report. Although it was not meant to be made public, Revisionists were able to obtain a copy. An English-language translation of the complete text was published in the Summer 1991 issue of the *IHR Journal*.

Second, Austrian engineer Walter Lüftl explicitly endorsed Leuchter's findings in a March 1992 report, which appears elsewhere in this issue of the *Journal*.

Third, German engineer Germar Rudolf, a highly qualified professional, has thoroughly supported Leuchter's findings in an exhaustive report that will probably be published in 1993.

Another German engineer, Wolfgang Schuster (Dipl.Ing.), pointedly defended the validity of Leuchter's findings against the criticisms of French pharmacist Jean-Claude Pressac in

a five-page essay published in the German quarterly journal *Deutschland in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Tübingen, June 1991).

Finally, it is worth noting that Dr. William B. Lindsey, an American research chemist (now retired) who was employed for 33 years by the Dupont Corporation, anticipated Leuchter's findings during testimony given in the first Zündel trial in 1985. Based on his own careful on-site examination of the alleged extermination gas chambers at Auschwitz, Birkenau and Majdanek, and on his years of experience as a chemist, Lindsey declared under oath: "I have come to the conclusion that no one was willfully or purposefully killed with Zyklon B [hydrogen cyanide gas] in this manner. I consider it absolutely impossible." (*The Globe and Mail*, Toronto, Feb. 12, 1985, p. M3.)

In spite of the vicious campaign against him, Leuchter has remained defiant and confident of ultimate vindication. As he has put it:

I have been vilified by the caretakers of the Holocaust dogma whose desperate tactics prove the failure of their arguments. My livelihood has been destroyed, my character has been impugned and my life turned upside down. But I will not bend the knee: Not now, not tomorrow, not ever. Time and reason will vindicate the Leuchter Report.

One day, after the dogmatic passions of our era have given way to open-mindedness on this most emotion-charged of issues, Fred Leuchter will be admired as a most remarkable man of integrity and courage who defied powerful forces of bigotry and close-mindedness. He will be remembered as a man who, in striking a mighty blow for historical truth and understanding, has himself made history.

Is There Life After Persecution?

The Botched Execution of Fred Leuchter

(Presented at the Eleventh IHR Conference, October 1992)

FRED A. LEUCHTER, Jr.

Many of you, I am sure, know who I am, where I've been, and what I've done. Today I'm here to tell you what has happened to me since I addressed the Tenth International Revisionist Conference in Washington, DC, in October 1990.

One of my jobs as an engineer of execution technology has been to "post mortem" executions from a technical standpoint, that is, to determine if anything went wrong and, if so, to determine just how the execution was botched. This normally entails reviewing eyewitness accounts of how the executees were tortured, mutilated, or otherwise dehumanized in society's name.

I will do that here today, except that, in this case, it is myself that I post mortem—and the cadaver isn't dead! Much to the dismay of my executioners, the execution was so badly botched that I am able to stand here before you to speak the truth, and to tell the world that it is not myself, but the Holocaust story that is dead. I repeat for the record: I was condemned for maintaining that there were no execution gas chambers at Auschwitz, Birkenau, Majdanek, Dachau, Mauthausen, or Hartheim Castle. There's no proof for the charge, only innuendo, lies, and half-truths. Robert Faurisson, Ernst Zündel and others said this first. They, too, live as victims of botched executions, but nevertheless free to speak the truth in a strong and growing voice that repeats: No gas chambers, no gas chambers, no damn gas chambers!

This address, then, is not a post mortem *on* my cadaver but rather a post mortem *by* my cadaver.

As you know, I was sent to Poland in 1988 by and for Mr. Ernst Zündel to investigate the alleged execution gas chamber facilities at the three concentration camps of Auschwitz, Birkenau, and Majdanek. I was chosen for this

task from a field of experts numbering one, and recommended by those states in the USA where lethal gas chambers are used to execute convicted criminals. My forensic analysis and subsequent report prove beyond any shadow of a doubt that there were no gas execution facilities operated by the Nazis at these sites. I also entered these findings (which are also detailed in my published report) into the court record in sworn testimony in Toronto as a court-qualified expert.

Because I was somewhat naive at the time, I was not aware that by so testifying I was offending the organized world Jewish community. By providing final, definitive proof that there were no execution gas chamber utilized for genocidal purposes by the Germans at these wartime camps, I established the simple fact that the Holocaust story is not true. What I did not know was that anyone expressing such beliefs is guilty of a capital crime: that of thinking and telling the unspeakable truth about the greatest lie of the age.

I would have to pay for this crime. While I innocently told the truth in Toronto, plans were made, and subsequently implemented, for a major effort to destroy me. If I could be destroyed and discredited—so the reasoning went—no one would accept my professional findings, no matter how truthful.

Overview

Since April 1988, when I testified in the second Zündel trial in Toronto about my inspection of the alleged gas chambers in Poland, my life has been turned upside down.

I have been vilified both privately and publicly in all forms of the media. My clients have been cajoled and threatened into not dealing with me. High-level law enforcement officials, acting for personal reasons, have lied about me and have prevented clients from dealing with me. My person and reputation have been defiled by lies and innuendo. My family and I have been repeatedly threatened.

Behind this campaign to punish me and suppress the truth about the gas chambers, have been several Jewish organizations, which have publicly vowed to silence me by destroying my ability to make a living.

At the forefront of this effort has been Beate Klarsfeld of the Paris-based Klarsfeld Foundation. In the United States,

the campaign has been orchestrated through the US-based "Holocaust Survivors and Friends in Pursuit of Justice." Associated with these two organizations have been the Anti-Defamation League of the B'nai B'rith and the Jewish Defense League.

At Klarsfeld's initiative, these groups first carried out an extensive one year investigation. After they were unable to turn up any impropriety or wrongdoing on my part, they began to threaten prison wardens with political consequences if they dealt with me. This first came



Fred A. Leuchter, Jr.

to light when the ABC television news program, "Prime Time," decided to do a network television piece on myself and my work. This involved filming at various prisons. Prison wardens advised the "Prime Time" personnel of the threats and problems that resulted from my presence at the prisons for the filming. ABC news was told not to air the program. It refused to succumb to the pressure, and consequently suffered vilification by the organizations involved.

To sum up here, this campaign has consisted of the following:

1. Threats against prison officials who dealt with me.
2. False and slanderous vilification through private channels, as well as publicly in newspapers and magazines.
3. Legislation to prevent me from working at my profession.
4. Criminal prosecution for working at my profession.
5. Lies by public officials spread both officially and privately.
6. Restriction of my personal freedom and right to travel by effecting my illegal arrest and imprisonment in England, from where I was finally deported.

7. Interference with my right as an American citizen to help and protection from the US State Department, which refused to assist me during my illegal imprisonment in England.

As a result of this campaign, my livelihood has been destroyed, and my career has been ruined. All this for telling the truth under oath.

The organizations cited above also interfered with the execution in Illinois of a certain Mr. Walker by threatening to pass legislation to prevent that state from allowing me to complete an ongoing contract. As a result, Director McGinnis ultimately yielded to this pressure and proceeded with the execution using equipment known to be defective. Under pressure from these groups, and through the efforts of Alabama Deputy Attorney General, Ed Carnes, the State of Alabama did not purchase a new electric chair. Carnes wrote a lying memorandum to all Departments of Corrections around the United States claiming that I was dangerous and held unorthodox views on execution. He caused the State to breach its contract. According to his office, this means I support only humane and painless executions. Carnes actually lied to me to get me to testify that a prior execution was humane.

As a direct result of interference by these groups, at least one man was tortured to death in Virginia. Purchasing agents and wardens have been mendaciously told that my equipment failed during an execution, which is not true. It has never failed. Delaware Deputy Attorney General Silverman breached my contract, which was already underway, because I wrote the Zündel trial *Leuchter Report*. This contract was for maintenance on their lethal injection machine and gallows, previously fabricated by me, and for training of their execution personnel. Delaware has refused to pay me for the work I completed, and has instructed me to keep the control module of their lethal injection machine. However, the protocol I wrote for execution by hanging was submitted by them and approved by the court system. In Massachusetts, legislation specifically designed to put me out of business has been filed for four years running.

Finally, and also at the insistence of these same Jewish groups, a spurious criminal complaint was filed against me

in the Massachusetts court system with the intent of destroying my reputation by putting me in prison for three months.

I was charged with practicing as an engineer without a license. In point of fact, a license is not required in Massachusetts, or any other state, unless the engineer is involved in construction of buildings, and is certifying compliance with specifications. There is also a statutory exemption for engineers who do not deal with the general public.

As confirmation of the spurious nature of this charge, it should be pointed out there are more than fifty thousand practicing engineers in Massachusetts, of whom only five thousand are licensed. Although the state's licensing law has been in effect since 1940, there has been no record of any prosecution for this offense.

The charge was improperly brought. Nevertheless, if it had been successful, and I had been convicted, I would have been imprisoned for three months.

The Massachusetts state Engineering Board, under pressure from Klarsfeld and her "Holocaust Survivors and Friends in Pursuit of Justice," filed this criminal complaint in Middlesex County. The name of the complainant was denied me, and was not made available until the matter was brought before the court. Before the complaint was issued, and several times thereafter, I was given the chance to recant in return for non-issuance or dismissal of the complaint. I also would have been obliged to give up my profession, in order to discredit my *Report*. I refused, and responded to the Board's threat with a denial that any law had been violated. The original clerk magistrate who issued the complaint apologized for bowing to Jewish pressure in prosecuting me under a statute that was being mis-applied. A representative of the ADL tried to force her testimony on the hearing, but was denied access because she had no evidence to offer that was pertinent to the matter. The District Court judge, in an excellent imitation of Pontius Pilate, summarily dismissed our motions for dismissal, allowed my court-appointed attorney to withdraw, and instructed Kirk Lyons, Director of the Cause Foundation and my out-of-state attorney, to re-file our motions for dismissal, because they all had merit. After it became clear that there would be no justice for us in the Malden District Court, we moved the case to Superior Court for a jury trial.

With this charge hanging over my head, it was impossible for me to consult, supply equipment, or even act as an expert witness in American courts, as I had often done.

The district attorney's office, under heavy pressure from various Jewish organizations, selected its best prosecuting attorney to handle my case. In the belief that he would be the person most likely to bring about a conviction, he was pulled from a murder trial. In June, just prior to the trial, our motions for dismissal were heard. The judge, also under heavy pressure from Jewish groups, told the district attorney that this case was not properly a criminal matter, and strongly suggested that the case be resolved short of a trial. With the ever-present possibility of conviction and jail (faced by most political prisoners) we negotiated a settlement.

A very special consent agreement was signed [on June 11, 1991] that made legal history in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. The agreement was not a promise by the defendant to the court, as is normally the case, but an agreement between the State Engineering Board and myself. The board which, on two previous occasions, had refused to accept my application for registration because they do not register people who practice my discipline, was required to become a party to the agreement. [For more on this agreement, see the *IHR Newsletter*, July-August 1991, p. 3.]

The consent agreement requires the board to accept my application and process it with "due diligence." Until the application is approved, or until two years are up, I have agreed not to use the title "engineer" or issue an engineering opinion in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. This is, in effect, a temporary gag order imposed to satisfy the interested Jewish groups.

By removing the case from consideration by criminal courts, the possibility of my imprisonment has been eliminated. If the Engineering Board fails to process and issue a license to me within a reasonable period, and in due course, the matter should then move to the civil courts. Attorney Lyons is presently preparing the necessary application. However, a new problem has arisen. All applications must be accompanied by the recommendations of three state-licensed engineers, but none is willing to risk the wrath of the Jews in my behalf.

The *de facto* gag order, imposed by the settlement, applies only within the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, and I am free to pursue my profession anywhere else.

Most of the execution equipment in the United States is either worn out, obsolete, or improperly fabricated, and is in need of repair or replacement. I am the only person who does this work, and states are being denied the right to deal with me. Although wardens and commissioners are afraid to even speak with me, they often do so anyway through intermediaries. One state has a leaking gas chamber, but will use it, endangering the lives of guards and witnesses, rather than risk discovery in dealing with me. How many more inmates will be tortured, or lives lost, through the callous interference of these Jewish groups?

Owing to the successful conspiracy of these Jewish groups, I am completely out of business, unable to find work to feed my family. In spite of everything, though, I am still here, and I am still telling the truth. Furthermore, I intend to *continue* to tell the truth. If the organized Jewish community wants to stop me, it will have to try much harder.

Moreover, attempts to discredit the *Leuchter Report* have failed, most notably with Pressac's inept analysis. Since the release of the *Leuchter Report* [in 1988], independent evidence has shown that the six million death figure has been grossly exaggerated, and an investigation by the Polish state forensic institute [among others] has corroborated that no gas was utilized in the alleged execution chambers at Auschwitz.

England

In the spring of 1991, David Irving asked me if I would consider a speaking engagement in England later that year. I said that I would, and I was advised in mid-summer that this would take place during the second week of November.

Irving apparently announced the speech sometime later. This apparently enraged Jewish groups in London which protested to UK Home Secretary Mr. Kenneth Baker in an effort to prevent me from traveling to London. This is a clear infringement of the rights of British people to hear me speak. This certainly also curtails my right to travel to England as any other American citizen.

As a result of pressure by these Jewish groups, Mr. Baker apparently promised to take action. The *Jewish Chronicle*, a London weekly paper, reported in its issue of October 4, 1991, that Home Secretary Baker had banned my travel to the United Kingdom. This was the only mention of the ban in the British media, and was not a particularly reliable source.

A week or so later, my father, Fred A. Leuchter, Sr., received a letter, ostensibly from the Immigration and Naturalization Department of Her Majesty's government, informing him that, by direction of the Home Secretary, he was not permitted to travel to the United Kingdom. My father communicated this letter to me.

Because my father had no such travel plans, my first assumption was that this letter was meant for me. However, a closer reading of it suggested that it might be a fraud. The signatory, Mr. "G.P.J. Catt," had no title, and part of the date was written by hand. Certainly, the Home Secretary and Her Majesty's Immigration Office would not be so sloppy and unbusinesslike as to send off an amateurishly prepared letter to the wrong person. My address is publicly known, and is easy to ascertain.

I turned the questionable document over to my attorney, Kirk Lyons, to authenticate. He, in turn, formally protested the letter to the UK Consulates in both Houston and Boston. In each case, the Consulate advised him that his protest was unfounded because there was no ban on travel to the UK by me (or my father, for that matter). He was informed that the letter must be fraudulent, and that it did not prohibit my travel to Britain in any way. Lyons was also informed that all Home Office documents must contain a reference number, which this did not. Based on all this, I confirmed my travel plans to London.

Because I also had also arranged to visit Germany, I combined that trip with my visit to London. Accordingly, my wife Carol and I left for Germany on November 2, 1991. We planned to drive to Calais and take the ferry to Dover from there on or about November 11, 1991. We also planned to return to Germany on or about November 15, immediately following my scheduled speech in London. Because our visit in Germany would be very hectic, we intended to arrive in England several days prior to my speech, giving us a few days to relax and see some of that country.

As planned, we arrived in Dover on the ferry from Calais late on November 11, and spent the night in Dover. The next morning we drove to London, where we met with Irving. We then left to see the country, leisurely driving south to Salisbury to see Stonehenge. We returned to London by way of Wimbledon on November 15.

On Friday evening, November 15, we arrived at the Town Hall in Chelsea where I was to give my speech. After Irving opened the program, Dr. Robert Faurisson spoke. I was then called to the podium, and began my presentation. At approximately 9:15 p.m., some five minutes into my speech, I was interrupted by Irving, who told me that a "gentleman" wished to speak to me in the anteroom to the stage. I did not know it then, but I would remain in illegal police custody, without interruption, until I was expelled from England, and would not see my host, Dr. Faurisson, or the audience again.

In the anteroom I was greeted by Chief Inspector Philip Selwood and three metro police officers. I was asked to identify myself, which I did by presenting my passport (which Selwood kept) and my driver's license (which he returned). I was told that two male technicians with the Thames television news team had quietly spoken with him outside, and had insisted (as citizens) that I be arrested as an illegal alien because I had sneaked into the country contrary to a ban by the Home Secretary. I responded by pointing out that my passport was properly stamped, and that, as the two British Consulates in the United States had indicated, there was no such ban.

I further informed Selwood that if it was indeed determined that was in the country illegally, I would leave immediately. I told him that I had no wish to stay where I was not wanted, and that did not want to violate the law. Selwood told me that Thames television was trying to make news instead of reporting it, and that my cooperation would be very much appreciated. He asked me to accompany him to the Chelsea police station, without talking to the media, whilst he made an investigation. If I refused, I would be arrested on suspicion of illegal entry. I agreed. After he spirited me out of the building and into an unmarked van, away we went. Selwood was also afraid of violent Jews, who might attempt to break up the speech, and that was the reason for the presence of himself and his large contingent of men. I asked him to bring my wife, who was at the back of

the hall. He stopped the van, ordered his men to take me to the station, and personally returned to collect my wife. I arrived at the station, and he soon followed with Carol. We were placed in a visitors' room.

Selwood advised me that I was not under arrest, and that if the Home Office determined that I was in the country illegally I would be permitted to leave. I was told that I was free to call the American consul, if I wished. I did not.

At this point I asked to leave. I was informed that I would have to wait for my status to be determined, because it would be necessary to escort me out of the country if I was there illegally. Selwood further told me that persons who were in the country illegally must be permitted to leave, if they so wished, providing they had the means. (In fact, we had ferry tickets.) Chief Inspector Selwood and the other police personnel were cordial and accommodating, providing us with a toilet and refreshment. We advised the police that Carol was diabetic. After first introducing us to his second-in-command, and leaving instructions as to our treatment, Selwood left before midnight.

At approximately 12:05 a.m., early Saturday morning, November 16, the Deputy Chief Inspector received a call, apparently from the Home Office. We could not hear very much, but we did hear him say that we should leave by way of Dover. A few minutes later, shortly before 12:15 a.m., he again received a call, to which he replied "Yes sir." He then came to speak to me. "I'm sorry," he said. "I have been ordered to arrest you." He informed me of my rights, and told me that I could talk with the US Consul, or the Duty Solicitor (Public Defender), or both. When I asked if it had been determined that I was in the country illegally, he said that he did not know for sure. I then asked to leave, and he told me that this was not possible. At this point I asked to speak with the US Consul, and was told that this would be arranged. I was then searched, booked, and locked in a detention room with someone else, also under arrest.

About an hour later I was removed from the detention room, and told that the American Consulate was on the telephone. I spoke with Under Consul Christopher Randall who informed me that the Consular Corps was not there to help US citizens. He totally refused to help. I asked to talk with the Duty Solicitor, and was told he would be called. I was taken to a cell (instead of a detention room) for lock-up.

When I asked why I was being moved to a cell, I was told that the other occupant of the detention room was there for assault, and that I was being moved for my own protection.

I now found myself in an isolation cell with one other occupant who turned out to be there for theft. Because I make execution equipment (and criminals know this), I should never have been put in a cell with others. To do so might put my life in danger.

Moreover, the cell was freezing, and I had no coat. The other inmate had a blanket and mattress. In an effort to keep warm, I wrapped my arms around myself, but this didn't work. I was unable to sleep.

Some time later I was let out to accept a phone call from the Duty solicitor, who told me he was unable to help because I had not committed a crime. He told me that I should call my Consul, who ought to be able to help. When I told him that my consul had refused to help, he urged me to call back and insist, because he was obliged by law to help. I was returned to my cell.

At approximately 3:00 a.m., I was removed from my cell for interrogation by two Immigration Department personnel. I was taken to an interrogation room with recording equipment, and advised that my statement would be taped. I was also advised that I did not have to make a statement if I chose not to. I agreed to speak with them, but they first had to give me time to warm up so that my teeth would stop chattering and I would be able to speak normally. I gave them the same information that I had given hours earlier to Chief Inspector Selwood. I affirmed that I was a legal entrant, and once again requested permission to leave. I was refused. I was told that I should call the American Consul and/or the Duty Solicitor. I was also informed that charges might be brought. At this point I was served with Immigration form IS 151-A. I was also told that I would not be allowed to leave by way of Dover, but would instead be sent out through Heathrow airport (where they were from), and that my wife and our rental car would have to stay behind.

I asked about my wife, concerned that she had not eaten in over twelve hours, which could be a problem because of her diabetes. I was told that they would make a decision later about my legal status, and that in the meantime I would have to remain in the cold cell. I asked to be allowed

to warm up, and to see my wife. They agreed to this. Carol had also asked to see me.

I met with Carol. After talking with her, I once again asked to talk with my Consul. The Consulate official again gave me a hard time, but after I told him of my discussion with the Duty Solicitor he said he would at least inquire into the matter. The guard rushed me to complete my phone conversation. Carol subsequently found out that the Under Consul had inquired late that morning. Carol had been removed while I was on the telephone, and I was rushed back to my cell. I froze again, but at about 4:30 a.m. I was given a blanket.

The day shift personnel who arrived at about seven o'clock proved more difficult to deal with. At 7:00 a.m., the other inmates were awakened to be taken to court. They were given coffee; I was not. My cellmate asked the guard to give me some coffee, which he did. By 7:45 a.m., all the inmates were gone, and new inmates began to arrive.

I repeatedly asked about my wife to make sure that she was well. I inquired at 7:00, 8:00, 9:00, 10:00, 11:00, 12:00, and 1:00 o'clock, but no one would tell me how she was. Later I found out that just one officer had checked on her. She likewise had been asking about me, and was told nothing. At noon I was given a breakfast that consisted of cold eggs, sausage, and toast left over from hours earlier. It was inedible. It certainly would have made my ulcer worse. Carol had been given nothing to eat, even though she had been required to stay there by the Immigration officers who knew of her medical problem.

At about 1:20 p.m., I was again taken from my cell, this time to see Mr. Phillips of the Immigration Department. He met with Carol and me together. Phillips told us that it had been determined that I was in the country illegally, because I had entered in violation of the ban by the Home Secretary. I was told that I would be held until I was deported.

He acknowledged that he could not understand why I had been arrested and imprisoned after I had asked on three occasions to leave. Once again I asked to leave, but Mr. Phillips told me that this was now not possible because I had been formally arrested. This should not have happened, he said, but, because it did, I would now have to be deported. Carol asked how it was possible for me to be in the country illegally if I had entered legally at Dover and had a valid

passport stamp. Phillips replied that I was not actually in the country illegally, but that an official determination had been made that I was, and that was the law. I asked why those immigration officials who had interviewed me had made this determination, and Phillips responded that they had not. He further said that the "decision has been made very high up in the Home Office," higher than he would ever reach in his career. He added that I could legally be held for up to five days after my arrest, even though I wanted (and should have been allowed) to leave earlier.

Phillips also told us that the Immigration Department had contacted French immigration about my possible deportation to France, but that I had been refused entry there. I responded by commenting that this is not surprising, because no country would want a deportee unless it is one of its own citizens. Phillips agreed.

He said that his next step would be to ask Belgium, and, if I was refused there, Germany. He did not expect Belgium to accept, but if Germany did, I would be sent on the Hamburg Ferry that ran only twice a week, the next time being on Tuesday [three days hence]. If I were to go this way, I would have to remain incarcerated until that time.

However, I was asked, in view of my desire to leave, would I consider going to the United States? Phillips informed me that if I officially told him that I wished to return to the United States, he could not stop me, and would put me on a flight that very evening. I then formally asked to be returned to the United States, and Phillips said that he would begin making the necessary arrangements. We would have to leave the rental car in England and make some arrangement for its return to Germany (other than by our driving it). Furthermore, we would have to forego our remaining commitments in Germany because time would not permit our return.

After taking our airline tickets, he contacted Lufthansa to reschedule our flight. The only available flight that day was at 3:30 p.m., which was too soon for us to get to the airport. He returned our tickets, and promised to make arrangements at the UK government's expense. He booked us on a British Airways flight to New York (not Boston) that departed at 6:30 p.m. We were escorted in two cars. Phillips' car went first, and we followed in another police car, under guard. We stopped for our luggage at our car which was parked behind

Selfridge's [in London], at a parking meter, and proceeded to the airport in rush-hour traffic. If we did not make it on time, they would have to return me to my cell.

After a stop at the Immigration office to pick up the necessary forms, we arrived at the airport, passed through security, and reached the gate just as the plane was being loaded. The police officer had left us at the entrance to the terminal. After returning my passport (which noted my detention on form IS 151 A), Mr. Phillips watched us enplane. The people at the ticket counter had been told that I was being deported, as were the gate attendants.

We took our seats, flew to New York, and arrived at about 9:45 p.m. We had to purchase air tickets to Boston at our own expense. After barely making this flight, we arrived in Boston at approximately 11:45 p.m., exhausted and hungry.

In summary, I was detained and held in custody for some twenty one and three-quarters hours, fourteen of them in an unheated cell. I was given a breakfast at noon, and was given one cup of coffee only at my cellmate's insistence. I was given no water, and there was none in the cell. My ulcer did not fare well under these circumstances, particularly because of my anxious concern for Carol.

For her part, Carol fared even less well than I did. After my arrest, she was given no food or water, even though she was not free to leave, and the police knew that she was a diabetic. After my arrest, she was allowed to see me only once. By the time we left, we were both cold and ill. The conduct of both Chief Inspector Selwood and Mr. Phillips, as well as that of the police personnel on the evening shift, was exemplary. By contrast, the conduct of the day shift personnel was poor and careless.

During the time that I was being held, Dr. Robert Faurisson went to the US Embassy in London to see if he could obtain help for me. He was informed that neither I, nor any other American, had been arrested that evening. That the US Embassy would lie about the illegal arrest and imprisonment of an American citizen is inexcusable. Faurisson also went to the police station where I was being held. He was told there I had been arrested and was being held in a cell in the station, but that I was not permitted any visitors. The police later told Faurisson that I had been deported on Saturday at 6:30 p.m.

As shown by the statements of the two British consular officials in the United States, and the fact that my name was not on any list and was legally permitted to enter at Dover, it is clear that no order barring me from entering the UK was ever officially given.

It is likewise clear that the difficulty started only when the Thames television people lied about me to Chief Inspector Selwood, apparently in order to make a “better” news story.

It is also clear that the Home Secretary (or someone acting for him) illegally ordered my arrest, imprisonment and deportation, knowing full well that I had entered the country legally and should have been left alone or, if later determined to be there illegally, at least permitted to leave. This plain violation of international law by the Home Secretary’s Office was undoubtedly done to please the complaining Jewish groups which bear the ultimate responsibility.

By failing to uphold one of the prime responsibilities of the Consular Corps—that is, to protect the rights of Americans abroad—the United States Embassy in London, and Under Consul Christopher Randall in particular, clearly failed in their responsibility to me as an American citizen, as well as their responsibility to the nation as a whole. It is a shameful disgrace that the British duty solicitor and UK Immigration Officer Phillips cared more for my rights than my own embassy.

A formal protest to State Department, and requests for help from our Senators and Representatives, have resulted in nothing but lip service.

Conclusion

Unfortunately, my clients—the state governments—are still intimidated by my Jewish persecutors. This continues to deprive me of my income, and it is not at all clear whether this will ever end.

I have been unable to apply for my state engineering license because no engineers have been willing to sign papers recommending me (which is a requirement), out of fear of retaliation. Without some official change in my status, such as a license, even the friendly state governments are afraid to deal with me. The major lawsuit we had planned against my persecutors is stalled, perhaps permanently, because of a lack of funds.

And, although my findings will ultimately be accepted by all, I still have no contracts, have been unable to find work and have no income. It does not seem that this will improve in the near future.

The Leuchter Report Vindicated: A Response to J.-C. Pressac's Critique

PAUL GRUBACH

In early 1988, American execution hardware expert Fred A. Leuchter, Jr., carried out the first-ever forensic investigation of the alleged extermination gas chambers at Auschwitz, Birkenau and Majdanek. His sensational conclusion—that these structures were never used as gas chambers to kill people—set off an international controversy that is still continuing. In a detailed report, commonly referred to simply as *The Leuchter Report*, the gas chamber specialist summed up the result of his investigation:¹

After a study of the available literature, examination and evaluation of the existing facilities at Auschwitz, Birkenau and Majdanek, with expert knowledge of the design criteria for gas chamber operation, an investigation of crematory technology and an inspection of modern crematories, the author finds no evidence that any of the facilities normally alleged to be execution gas chambers were ever used as such, and finds, further, that because of the design and fabrication of these facilities, they could not have been utilized for execution gas chambers.

Not surprisingly, indignant defenders of the orthodox Holocaust extermination story have tried frantically to discredit Leuchter and refute his findings. Undoubtedly the most ambitious effort to impeach *The Leuchter Report* on scientific and technical grounds consists of two articles by French pharmacist Jean-Claude Pressac in a book sponsored by “Nazi-hunter” Beate Klarsfeld, and grandiloquently titled *Truth Prevails: Demolishing Holocaust Denial: The End of the Leuchter Report*.² [A review of *Truth Prevails*, which deals with more generally with the book’s non-scientific criticisms of Leuchter, is published elsewhere in this issue of the *Journal*. —Editor.]

In *Truth Prevails*, Pressac is described as "one of the world's rare research specialists in gas chamber extermination technique. He is not a Jew and very nearly became a 'revisionist'." (p. 29) At the conclusion of his essay "The Deficiencies and Inconsistencies of 'The Leuchter Report'," Pressac pronounces stern judgement on *The Leuchter Report*:

. . . Leuchter is the victim of his own errors: layout errors, location errors, measurement errors, drawing errors, methodology errors and historical errors. Based on fake knowledge, inducing fake reasoning and leading to false interpretations, "The Leuchter Report" is inadmissible because it was produced in illegal conditions; because it overlooks the most basic historical data; because it is scuttled by gross errors of calculation, drawing and location; and because it is suspect of falsification. "The Leuchter Report" lands in the cesspool of pretentious human folly. (p. 55)

As this article will show, Pressac, by dismissing *The Leuchter Report's* scientific and technical method so intemperately, has cast a verbal boomerang that returns to strike its author.

I

When Leuchter took forensic samples of brick, mortar and sediment from the alleged extermination "gas chambers" in Auschwitz-Birkenau, as well as a control sample from a camp delousing facility, he wore protective gear. Pressac ridicules him for this:

To prevent his "precious" samples from being polluted during their removal, Leuchter and his assistant . . . had agreed to wear protective surgical gloves and masks. Since the analyses to be done on the samples were chemical and not bacteriological in nature, this was a perfectly ludicrous and totally useless precaution. (p. 62)

Pressac is ignorant of the real reason why Leuchter and company wore protective masks and gloves. Potassium cyanide, a highly poisonous solid,³ is found in the walls of some of the facilities under study.⁴ As Du Pont chemists have pointed out: "Wear an approved dust respirator when there is danger of inhaling cyanide dust . . . Wear protective gloves

when handling solid cyanide.”⁵ Thus, Leuchter and his team showed good sense by wearing protective gear when extracting the samples.

Leuchter stored his samples in cool, damp, and sunlight free locations. But Pressac writes: “Since Leuchter placed the samples in transparent plastic bags, it is difficult to accept his ‘sunlight free locations’ claim.” (p. 62) In fact, although Leuchter first placed the samples in transparent bags, he then transported them to America in closed, sunlight-free suitcases.⁶ The gas chamber expert wrote: “We boarded the Polish airline plane after clearing customs—my suitcase containing twenty pounds of forbidden samples, fortunately none of which was found.”⁷

Leuchter is faulted for allegedly making misleading descriptions of the specimens. In Pressac’s words:

Thirty-one samples . . . were identified by laboratory analysis . . . as coming from “brick”—an inexact generalization. If two-thirds really are brick fragments, either pure or mixed with a bit of mortar, the rest are composed of lime mortar or sometimes of pure cement (as in the case of two or three samples). This abusive generalization leads one to have a major reservation about the very nature of the samples Leuchter took. Either Leuchter was mistaken in his assessment of the substratum, or the laboratory made an error. (p. 61)

In one part of his report, Leuchter wrote: “. . . forensic samples of brick, mortar, concrete and sediment were selectively taken from sites in Poland.”⁸ In a letter to Alpha Analytical Laboratories (Ashland, Massachusetts), the laboratory which analyzed the samples, Leuchter wrote: “Samples No. 1 through No. 11; Samples No. 13 through No. 32. Brick, mortar and sediment. Cyanate content.”⁹ Clearly, he did not use the “inexact generalization” of “brick” to characterize the samples.¹⁰

II

Pressac realizes the importance of the samples taken from the “gas chambers” and the delousing facility. Thus, discrediting Leuchter’s method of taking samples and his conclusions regarding their chemical content is really the major purpose of Pressac’s two essays in *Truth Prevails*. He writes:

Since Leuchter's samples were obtained illegally, I will only concur with their cyanide concentration on the express condition that they be verified by official expert chemical evaluation. Admitting their validity with reservations, certain results which may have been surprising at first glance can be logically explained. (p. 40)

A subsequent "expert official chemical evaluation" has in fact strongly corroborated Leuchter's findings. In response to Revisionist claims that Zyklon B was not used at Auschwitz-Birkenau to commit mass murder, the Auschwitz State Museum asked Poland's Institute of Forensic Research (in Krakow) to carry out a scientific investigation of the matter. Its expert report results buttress those of Leuchter: The institute's team found significant potassium cyanide residue in delousing facility samples, while next to none in alleged "gas chamber" samples.¹¹ (As will be discussed below, the Polish institute's conclusion regarding the significance of this finding differs from Leuchter's.)

Throughout both his essays, Pressac strongly implies that Leuchter consciously falsified his findings in order to disprove the existence of the gas chambers. As a case in point—concerning sample 2 from Crematorium II—Pressac insinuates that Leuchter planted a brick with no cyanide residue in the "gas chamber" area in order to "prove" his case. (p.65)

At the 1989 conference of the Institute of Historical Review, Leuchter publicly challenged the international scientific community to investigate his findings—hardly the behavior of a man who is guilty of falsifying his results.¹² A team of scientists could easily expose deliberate deceptions, as well as methodological errors, by Leuchter. All they would have to do is retrace his path, take more samples from the same facilities, and subject them to chemical analysis.

Leuchter's 1988 investigation of the concentration camps, including his inspection and sample taking, was recorded on videotape. A videotape cassette of his visit, which shows Leuchter taking some of his specimens, is available to the public.¹³ Pressac claims throughout his second essay that this video is a "witness to a fraud." (pp. 61-73) He writes, for example: "Manipulation, substitution and trick photography are certainly confirmed in the case of sample No. 6." (p. 68)

With reference to the extraction of this sample, he writes at another point: "The deception seems clearly obvious." (p. 67) Pressac writes further:

Out of seven samples obtained from the Crematorium II gas chamber ruins, not a single one was shown upon analysis to contain cyanide. This amazing result is contrary to everything known about the building's history. Faurisson wanted this gas chamber to yield a perfect (for him) result across the board—that is to say, uniformly negative. Playing his cards close to his vest, he succeeded all too well. The results are too consistent, too perfect. (p. 68)

Whatever defects there may be in the videotape record of Leuchter's investigation, it seems unlikely that they are the result of conscious fraud (let alone a plot orchestrated by his arch-enemy Robert Faurisson). Any possible defects there may be are more likely to have been occasioned by inexperience and the circumstances in which the gathering of evidence and the videotaping was conducted. As British historian David Irving has written:

I myself would, admittedly, have preferred to see more rigorous methods used in identifying and certifying the samples taken for analysis, but I accept without reservation the difficulties that the examining team faced on location in what is now Poland: chiselling out the samples from the hallowed site under the very noses of the new camp guards. The video tapes made simultaneously by the team—which I have studied—provide compelling visual evidence of the scrupulous methods that they used.¹⁴

Furthermore, as already mentioned, Poland's Institute of Forensic Research (Krakow) has provided independent corroboration of Leuchter's findings. The Institute's investigation team found no cyanide residue in the "gas chamber" samples they took, except for one taken from the Crematorium II ruins. It measures 6 micrograms per 100 grams of material. This is equal to .06 milligrams of cyanide per kilogram of material (mg/kg).¹⁵

This is less than the minimum amount that could be detected by the measuring instrument of the Alpha laboratory. The minimum trace level of cyanide that could be detected by Alpha was *one* mg/kg.¹⁶ Anything below this

amount was rightly considered inconsequential. Thus, Leuchter's findings are consistent with those of Poland's Institute of Forensic Research: there was no significant cyanide residue in material taken from Crematorium II's "gas chamber."

III

Pressac asks:

What decisive point of the [Leuchter] report leads the deniers [Holocaust Revisionists] to think they have "won" [the debate about the existence of extermination "gas chambers"]? They compared the quantity of cyanide residue in the Birkenau BW 5a delousing building gas chamber (sample No. 32) yielding 1,050 mg/kg . . . and those varying from 0 to 7.9 mg/kg in samples from the Auschwitz-Birkenau homicidal gas chambers. The result triggers the following line of questioning. How can it be believed that the areas supposedly used to asphyxiate thousands daily by means of hydrocyanic acid over the course of a year or two retain only minute traces of cyanide while other places, used for delousing with the same gas over the same time period, yield traces one hundred and fifty to a thousand times greater? (p. 35)

As Pressac indicates, Leuchter did indeed conclude:

One would have expected higher cyanide detection in the samples taken from the alleged gas chambers (because of the greater amount of gas allegedly utilized there) than that found in the control sample. Since the contrary is true, one must conclude that these facilities were not execution gas chambers, when coupled with all the other evidence gained on inspection.¹⁷

In an effort to discredit this conclusion, three explanations have been offered in response:

Explanation 1. After 45 years, virtually all of the cyanide residue in the alleged extermination gas chambers has "weathered away." Poland's Institute of Forensic Research, for example, expressed the view that

. . . one can hardly assume that traces of cyanic compounds could still be detected in construction materials (plaster,

brick) after 45 years, after being subjected to the weather and the elements (rain, acid oxides, especially sulfuric oxides). More reliable would be the analysis of wall plaster [samples] from closed rooms which were not subject to weather and the elements (including acid rain).¹⁸

Writing in *Truth Prevails*, Pressac expresses a similar opinion: "As a general rule, the more a sample's locale was exposed to the elements, the lower—indeed, nil—the cyanide content." He also wrote: "The ruins of Crematorium II and III and the restored walls of IV and V have been exposed to the elements for over forty years. It's practically a miracle that any measurable hydrocyanic compound traces still remain." (pp. 71, 44)

However, in his 1989 book, *Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers*, Pressac says something rather different. In this detailed work, he published a picture of the *outside* wall of a delousing chamber. Referring to this structure, he wrote: ". . . from ground level to just below the chimney, bluish stains can be seen on the bricks of the wall, showing that hydrocyanic acid was used there (in 1942-1944), for delousing purposes."¹⁹ He thus confirms that even though this wall has been exposed to the elements since the Second World War, a significant amount of Prussian blue is nevertheless still visible. Pressac himself thus discredits the claim that all or even most of the Prussian blue (ferric ferrocyanide) would have "weathered away."

If Pressac's view on this is correct, the *outside* wall of this delousing facility obviously would have a *lower* Prussian blue content than the *inside* walls of the "gas chamber" of Krema I. In fact, though, visible Prussian blue stains can be seen on the *outside* wall of the delousing facility, which has been exposed to the elements since the Second World War. By contrast, there are only invisible and barely detectable amounts of Prussian blue in samples taken from the *inside* wall of the supposed homicidal "gas chamber" of Krema I, which is inside an intact structure and has thus been protected from the elements since the Second World War.²⁰ As Pressac himself notes: "Its [Krema I] morgue/ gas chamber inside walls have never been exposed to sun, rain, or snow (factors which contribute to cyanide content diminishing) as the other crematoriums were and are." (p. 44)

Referring to the absence of cyanide/Prussian blue traces in the samples taken from Birkenau's Krema II, Pressac writes in *Truth Prevails*: "Cyanide's solubility in rain water and the water layer accumulated underground from infiltrating rain accounts for its absence from the samples." (p. 41)

This view is simply not correct. Dr. James Roth, the chemistry expert who analyzed Leuchter's samples, pointed out that Prussian blue cannot be washed out of brick, mortar or cement by water. The ferric ferrocyanide compounds produced by the interaction of hydrogen cyanide with the iron elements in brick (and such) are very stable, and remain in such substances for a very long time. As Roth testified under oath, the compounds can be removed only by sand-blasting or the application of strong acid.²¹ Nobel Prize-winning chemist Linus Pauling similarly confirms that Prussian blue is insoluble in water.²² Finally, the authoritative *Handbook of Chemistry and Physics* notes that ferric ferrocyanide—or iron (III) ferrocyanide—is insoluble in hot or cold water.²³

It should be stressed here that whereas the Institute of Forensic Research (Krakow) measured the amount of *potassium cyanide*,²⁴ Leuchter was mainly concerned with *Prussian blue* (or ferric ferrocyanide).²⁵ As previously noted, while Potassium cyanide is indeed water soluble,²⁶ ferric ferrocyanide is not. Prussian blue is a very stable compound that simply could not have been washed away by rain.

Explanation 2. Pressac suggests that when camp officials dynamited crematory buildings (Kremas) II, III and V, this contributed to the removal of cyanide residue. (pp. 40, 42, 43) This explanation will also not hold up. While it is true that dynamiting breaks up the bricks of a structure, it does not remove chemical stains on or within such bricks. Nor, for the most part, would it abrade Prussian blue on their surfaces. Pressac himself points out that a support pillar in Krema II's "gas chamber" withstood the effects of explosion. (p. 65) Any Prussian blue on the surface of or within the pillar's pores would have remained.

Explanation 3. This is Pressac's principal explanation. Even though the delousing facility was exposed to a lesser amount of HCN than the "gas chambers," the walls of the

delousing facility were impregnated with warm HCN for at least twelve hours a day. He writes:

This cyanide saturation of 12 to 18 hours a day was strengthened by the heat the stoves in the room emitted, providing a temperature of 30 degrees Celsius [86 degrees Fahrenheit]. The walls were impregnated with hot HCN for at least 12 hours a day, which would induce the formation of a stain: Prussian blue, or potassioferric ferrocyanide [*sic*] . . . (p. 37).²⁷

As for the “gas chambers,” Pressac alleges the HCN was in physical contact with their walls “for no more than ten minutes a day,” at a temperature of about 30 degrees Celsius (86 degrees Fahrenheit). Without additional heat, the brief contact of high concentrations of HCN with the walls of the homicidal installations was not able to induce the reaction which led to the formation of significant amounts of cyanide residue. Hence, the amount of ferric ferrocyanide in the “gas chamber” samples is nil or nonexistent. (pp. 36-38)

If Pressac had made an objective study of the chemistry of hydrogen cyanide and Prussian blue, he would have learned how inaccurate this theory is.

The walls of the alleged gas chambers contain a large amount of iron.²⁸ And, as Dr. James Roth pointed out: “If iron is present with hydrogen cyanide around, then you are going to get a reaction between the hydrogen cyanide and iron.”²⁹ Hydrogen cyanide dissolves very readily in water, becoming hydrocyanic acid.³⁰ As Pressac and Leuchter have both noted, the alleged gas chambers were very damp.³¹ Enough moisture would have been on the walls, floors and ceilings to dissolve at least some of the HCN supposed to have been used during an alleged gassing.

In the presence of water, iron in the walls and cyanide from the hydrogen cyanide would readily combine to form an iron cyanide complex. Aqueous solutions of hydrogen cyanide are weak acids.³² As Dr. Pauling notes: “Iron is an active metal, which displaces hydrogen easily from dilute acids.”³³ Consequently, the iron from the walls would easily have displaced the hydrogen (H^+) in the hydrocyanic acid, bonded with the cyanide (CN^-), and formed an iron-cyanide complex, ferrocyanide ion $[Fe(CN_6)]^{4-}$.³⁴ This is what Dr. Pauling meant when he wrote that cyanide ion $[CN^-]$ added to a

solution of ferrous ion [iron (II) ion] forms precipitates which dissolve in excess cyanide to produce complex ions.³⁵

Finally, according to Dr. Pauling, the pigment Prussian blue is made by the addition of ferric [iron (III)] ion to a ferrocyanide solution.³⁶ According to chemist James Brady: "The deep color Prussian blue is formed when a drop of dilute solution containing Fe^{3+} [iron (III) ion] is added to a dilute solution containing ferrocyanide ion, $\text{Fe}(\text{CN})_6^{4-}$. After a few moments, the blue precipitate, $\text{Fe}_4[\text{Fe}(\text{CN})_6]_3 \cdot 16\text{H}_2\text{O}$, settles to the bottom of the test tube."³⁷ In plain language, the iron-cyanide complex, ferrocyanide, combines with more iron to form ferric ferrocyanide (or Prussian blue).

What this whole reaction mechanism shows is that even if the HCN were in contact with the "gas chamber" walls for less than ten minutes every day or two for two years, significant quantities of Prussian blue still would have formed. (By a "significant amount" is meant an amount slightly less or equal to that found in the delousing facility samples.) At least some of the HCN, upon contact with the diffuse wetness, would have dissolved immediately.³⁸ This dissolved HCN, upon contact with the iron, would have formed some ferrocyanide immediately.³⁹ The ferrocyanide, upon contact with more iron, would have formed some Prussian blue almost immediately.⁴⁰

But just as important, the application of heat to the walls and gas is not at all necessary to form significant amounts of Prussian blue. Relevant to this issue is the informative verbal exchange between attorney Douglas Christie and Dr. James Roth during the 1988 trial in Toronto of Ernst Zündel. Referring to the reaction between hydrogen cyanide and the iron in the walls of the alleged gas chambers, Christie asked Roth: "And could you explain any way by which this would not happen or no such reaction would occur?" The chemist replied:

ROTH: Well, one is the lack of water. These reactions to—in a lot of cases have to take place in water or with some vapor around. Now, chances are great [that with] *normal temperatures* and rooms of normal humidity, there would be plenty of moisture present for this type of reaction to take place. [Emphasis added]

CHRISTIE: So in a normal room with normal humidity these quantities of iron in the wall, hydrogen cyanide in quantities of 300 parts per million [$.36 \text{ g/m}^3$] or more, on a daily basis for two years or even two weeks, you would expect to see the formation of Prussian blue. Is that correct?

ROTH: I would expect to see detectable amounts of Prussian blue. [If not visibly detectable, at least chemically detectable.] That type of reaction is an accumulative reaction. In other words, as it reacts it doesn't go away. It stays . . .⁴¹

Pressac's theory that without additional heat the brief contact of high concentrations of HCN with the walls of the gas chambers was not sufficient to form significant amounts of Prussian blue is therefore false.⁴² The whole ensemble of physical and chemical conditions would have ensured that significant amounts of Prussian blue residue would have been detectable in Leuchter's samples if they had been exposed to the amount of gas Pressac claims.

IV

The boiling point of hydrogen cyanide (HCN) is 26 degrees Celsius (or 78 degrees Fahrenheit).⁴³ That is, HCN vaporizes, or changes from liquid to gas, at this temperature. If the temperature is below 78 degrees F, there will thus be condensation: Much of HCN will change from gas to liquid. In addition to being cool year round, the Auschwitz I and II (Birkenau) "gas chambers" were supposedly operated during the cold weather months of fall, winter and spring.⁴⁴ They were allegedly ventilated "naturally" or "mechanically." (p. 72)⁴⁵ In either case, air from the outside environment would have been used to expel poison gas from the chamber. During the fall, winter and spring months, this outside ventilation air would have been considerably cooler than 78 degrees F. In addition, as Pressac admits and Leuchter confirms, the "gas chambers" had no internal heating devices to prevent condensation.⁴⁶ The temperature of the walls, floors and ceilings for much of the year would have been well below 78 degrees F.

During an alleged gassing operation, much of the poisonous HCN gas therefore would have promptly condensed to liquid upon contact with the frigid walls, floors and ceilings, or upon contact with cold air during ventilation.

a “gassing,” impregnating the brick and forming significant quantities of Prussian blue.

Let us summarize Pressac’s thesis with two quotations. In the 1990 work, *Truth Prevails*, he wrote:

Without heat induction of long continuance, the cyanide doses [in the “gas chambers”], as high as they were, were not in contact with the walls of the homicidal installations long enough to provoke the reaction [forming Prussian blue] to an appreciable—that is to say visible—degree. (p. 38)

And in his 1989 work, *Auschwitz*, Pressac wrote:

The “blue wall” phenomenon makes it possible now to distinguish visually, empirically, but with absolute certainty, between delousing gas chambers, where the phenomenon is present, and homicidal gas chambers, where it is not. Without additional heat, the too brief contact of nevertheless high concentrations of hydrocyanic acid with the walls of the homicidal installations was not able to provoke the development of the reaction appreciable enough to be visible.⁵⁵

To sum up here: as a consequence of all these factors, HCN would have been in contact with the walls of the “gas chambers” for much more than just ten or twenty minutes a day, and significant amounts of HCN would have remained after gassing and subsequent ventilation. Therefore—and contrary to what Pressac claims—significant amounts of Prussian blue would have been produced.

Leuchter’s comparison of samples taken from the “gas chamber” with samples taken from the control/delousing facility samples is entirely valid. If the alleged extermination “gas chambers” had actually been used to kill people as alleged, ferric ferrocyanide would have been found in them in amounts comparable to those found in the delousing facility. As the American gas chamber expert has noted, the point is not that the cyanide traces at the alleged gassing sites are “somewhat less” but that they are

negligible or nil. The samples from the alleged gas chamber areas, most of them had totally no traces at all. The few that did have traces were barely above detection level. So, we’re not talking about a situation that there was more or less. We’re talking about nothing and something, and in the area

where there was something [the delousing facility], we had a very high content. We had a thousand and fifty milligrams per kilogram, and the highest that we detected in any of the other areas [the alleged gas chambers] was seven milligrams per kilogram.⁵⁶

V

Pressac claims that only a select few of Leuchter's specimens were taken correctly. The rest are "worthless," allegedly because Leuchter "switched samples" by planting rocks with no cyanide residues in the "gas chamber" area in order to "prove" his case. Pressac also charges that Leuchter confused sample location. (That is, samples designated by Leuchter as coming from one area actually came from another.) And, according to Pressac, the American specialist used "trick photography." (pp. 42-43, 46-48, 61-73)

Let us give Mr. Pressac the benefit of the doubt, and assume that his designation of most of Leuchter's samples as either "worthless" or "valid" is correct. This would mean that remaining "acceptable" specimens include:

Krema III: Sample 9. (p. 69)

Krema V: Sample 24. (p. 71)

Krema I: Samples 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, and 30. (pp. 40, 46, 62)

Fortunately, using just these samples, we can disprove Pressac's theories and show that Leuchter's results are valid.

Consider crematory building (Krema) I in the Auschwitz main camp. The supposed gas chamber there was adjacent to a washroom.⁵⁷ The washroom was never part of the "gas chamber."⁵⁸ They were separated by a gas-tight door.⁵⁹ Both rooms were apparently disinfested with hydrocyanic acid.⁶⁰ Pressac maintains that people were killed in the alleged "gas chamber" there from the end of 1941 until 1942.⁶¹ Prior to this, he believes, it was used as a morgue, and afterwards it was used as an air raid shelter.⁶² Hence, it would have been exposed to significant amounts of HCN not only during the period when it allegedly functioned as a homicidal gas chamber, but also as a result of periodic disinfestation treatment during the time it functioned as a morgue and air raid shelter.

According to Pressac, "probably" no more than ten thousand persons were put to death in the alleged "gas chamber" of Krema I.⁶³ Consequently, this room would have been exposed to significant concentrations of HCN for extended periods of time.⁶⁴

Leuchter found no evidence of any exhaust system, or any other way to expel the gas in a short period.⁶⁵ For this reason, it would have taken many hours after each alleged "gassing" operation to ventilate HCN from the chamber. For reasons already given, much HCN would have remained after the ventilation phase of a "gassing" to permeate the walls, floor and ceiling. By contrast, the washroom would have been exposed to the gas only during periodic disinfestations. Clearly, then, the alleged "gas chamber" was exposed to HCN for much longer periods of time than the washroom.

Pressac's theory predicts that the amount of cyanide residue in a structure would be proportional to the amount of time it was exposed to HCN. He writes:

The considerable difference in hydrocyanic residue between the delousing stations and the homicidal gas chambers is the result of the respective difference in time spent administering Zyklon (at least 12 hours per day in the delousing versus 5 to 10 minutes every day or two in killing humans). (p. 63)

In the view of Revisionist researcher Enrique Aynat, though:

... Leuchter took one of his samples in an area that had been a washroom, which had never been part of the supposed gas chamber, and was separated from it by a gas-tight door. The partition wall that separated the washroom from the supposed gas chamber was eliminated by the Poles after the war. The analysis of this sample reveals a presence of cyanide *comparable* to that of most of the other samples. In short, the amount of cyanide found in a sample taken from a place that had *never* served as a gas chamber was *similar* to that detected in the samples taken from the supposed gas chamber. If the mortuary had really been a gas chamber, cyanide ought to have been detected in the samples taken from there, and by the same token nothing should have been detected in the sample obtained from the former washroom; or rather a minute amount of cyanide should have been found in the former washroom (from contingent disinfestation with

hydrocyanic acid) and a much larger quantity in the gas chamber. What proves to be inexplicable from the Exterminationist point of view is the findings of *similar* amounts of cyanide in both places.⁶⁶

This finding strongly suggests that Pressac's theory is false.

Pressac notes that "...sample 9 (Crematorium III, L-Keller 1), taken from the base of a fifth central support pillar, exposed to every imaginable meteorological turpitude for 45 years, still gives a reading of 6.9 mg/kg." (p. 71) Sample 24 was taken from the ruins of an alleged gas chamber of Krema V. Because the building which housed it was razed to the ground in the 1940s, the foundation and floor were exposed to the elements for decades. (p. 44) Therefore, Pressac cannot contend that any difference between the cyanide levels of samples 9 and 24 is due to the "weathering process."

The time periods during which the extermination "gas chambers" of crematory buildings (Kremas) III and V were in operation are similar. The "gas chamber" in Krema III (Birkenau) allegedly operated during much of 1943 and 1944—almost two full years.⁶⁷ The "gas chamber" in Krema V (also in Birkenau) supposedly operated from April 1943 until the summer of 1944. (p. 43)

According to Pressac, because there was a mechanical ventilation system in Krema III, sample 9 would have been in contact with the HCN for only five to ten minutes during an alleged gassing operation: "Considering the poisoning time required to asphyxiate the victims in conjunction with the ventilation, the time period during which the walls were exposed to the hydrocyanic acid gas did not exceed 5 to 10 minutes every one or two days." (p. 72) By contrast, in the case of the supposed "gas chambers" of Krema V, he writes:

Crematorium V's 3 (then 4) gas chamber bloc [*sic*] was aired out naturally, with all the doors open. It clearly took more time than the mechanical ventilation did. The period during which the walls were exposed to the hydrocyanic acid, with the concentration progressively diminishing during the airing out time, had to be one or two hours. (p. 72)

According to Pressac's theory, then, sample 24 should have a significantly higher cyanide content than sample 9, because

of the former's longer exposure time to HCN. Yet just the opposite is the case. Sample 9 has a measured residue of 6.7 mg/kg, while sample 24 has no measurable residue.⁶⁸

In an attempt to explain away this serious discrepancy, Pressac claims that sample 9 stood one meter from one of the four wire mesh columns through which Zyklon B was supposedly introduced into the chamber. This "privileged position," he speculates, could be the cause of the "unusual" cyanide content. (pp. 71-72)

This explanation will not withstand close scrutiny. As noted above, Pressac alleges that HCN was in contact with sample 9 of Krema III for only five to ten *minutes* during a gassing, while sample 24 of Krema V was in contact with the gas one or two *hours* during a gassing operation. Pressac himself wrote: "The substantial difference between the two exposure periods (that of V being 10 to 30 times longer than that of II/III) shows that V's bricks were saturated with hydrocyanic gas much longer than those of II and III." (p. 72) According to his own theory, the HCN would have had more time to form significant amounts of Prussian blue in sample 24 than in sample 9.

The reader may understandably ask: "If the alleged 'gas chambers' were never used for homicidal purposes, why was any cyanide at all found in the samples taken by Leuchter?" Dr. Robert Faurisson provides an answer: "The extremely low levels of cyanide found in some crematoria was likely, in my opinion, to have resulted from disinfection of the premises during the war."⁶⁹

Pressac rejects this explanation as an "often-used lie":

Hydrocyanic acid is used first and foremost to exterminate such vermin as insect pests [lice] and rodents. Classified as an insecticide and vermin killer, it has no bactericide or germicide properties for use as an antiseptic. Places and things are disinfected with various kinds of antiseptics: solid (lime, lime chloride), liquid (bleach, cresol), gas (formaldehyde, sulfur anhydride). To remove lice from clothing required either an insecticide, or dry steam disinfecting in an autoclave. But a morgue is not disinfected with an insecticide or vermin killer like hydrocyanic acid, as Faurisson foolishly claims . . . Leuchter, who claims to be scientifically trained, whereas Faurisson is not, similarly used this stupidity in his report. (pp. 38-39)

Here Pressac is straining to represent Dr. Faurisson and Leuchter as having ignorantly confused “disinfection” with “disinfestation,” although he knows full well that the word “disinfection,” in line with the German usage (*Desinfektion*), is used for “delousing.”

A standard reference work makes this point about the disease typhus: “The spread of typhus in communities results largely from the fact that infected lice tend to leave persons with high fever, and they evacuate the corpses of those who have died from the disease.”⁷⁰ As both Revisionists and Exterminationists agree, many thousands died in Auschwitz as a consequence of recurrent typhus epidemics, and the supposed homicidal gas chambers were used as morgues. Because deceased victims of the disease are a direct source of the infected lice, any place where the corpses of typhus victims were kept would therefore be a logical place for disinfestation treatment with Zyklon B. Contrary to what Pressac maintains, it would make perfect sense to periodically delouse the morgues (or supposed “gas chambers”). Indeed, a wartime German document on the use of hydrogen cyanide and Zyklon B (Nuremberg document NI-9098) specifically states that Zyklon B should be used for large-scale fumigations of storerooms.⁷¹

VI.

Finally, a few miscellaneous comments are in order.

Pressac misrepresents what Leuchter writes about the danger of locating HCN gas chambers adjacent to crematoria:

Leuchter’s last claim about the homicidal gas chambers in connection with the cremation furnaces is that they are incompatible under the same roof. As soon as the door was opened to the area saturated with hydrocyanic acid, the same being without ventilation according to Leuchter, the gas would be spread throughout the crematorium, reaching the lit ovens, and, combined with the air, would have exploded, destroying the entire building. HCN’s flammability limits in air are from 5.6% (minimum) to 40% (maximum) in volume (6%-41% according to Du Pont). This signifies that upon contact with a flame there is an explosion if the concentration of hydrocyanic acid in air comprises between 67.2g/m³, and 480g/m³. Below 67.2g/m³ there is no risk, nor is there any at greater than 480g/m³ because there is not enough remaining oxygen for burning to begin. The SS used doses of 5g/m³ in delousing and 12-20g/m³ in killing, well under the 67.2g/m³

threshold. Their gas chambers and crematoria were not about to explode. Leuchter's "impartial" opinion is based upon an incorrect calculation. (p. 45)

Leuchter was well aware of the very real explosiveness of HCN. As he has pointed out, no execution gas chamber system in the United States has ever been designed for use with Zyklon B because

. . . a danger of explosion always exists. The overall gas mixture [in a gas chamber] is generally below the lower explosion limit (LEL) of the gas air mixture...but the concentration of the gas at the generator (or as in the case of Zyklon B, at the inert carrier) is much greater and may well be 90% to 99% by volume. This is almost pure HCN and this condition may exist at points of time in pockets in the chamber.⁷²

Du Pont company chemists confirm this point: "Hydrogen cyanide is extremely flammable and can be ignited by an open flame, hot surface, or spark . . . Outside closed containers, the gas is likely to form flammable mixtures because of its high volatility."⁷³ Even if the gas does not explode, it can still burn. Another authoritative source similarly notes: "Small quantities of hydrogen cyanide can be burned in a hood in an open metal vessel. Large-scale burning in outdoor pans can be performed, but special safety precautions must be employed."⁷⁴

Leuchter has also pointed out the alleged extermination gas chambers were not properly sealed.⁷⁵ Gas would have leaked out, and some of the escaping HCN gas would have reached the ovens, ignited, and burned in the air—all the way to the source of the leaks in the "gas chamber." If the burning HCN reached a pocket of the gas within the explosive limits, an explosion would have occurred. Because this scenario is quite plausible, Leuchter stated: ". . . I wouldn't even want to be present within the vicinity of the building [which housed the alleged gas chambers] if someone were using Zyklon B and the crematory was functioning."⁷⁶ Simply put, it would have been extremely dangerous to carry out a homicidal gassing operation near a functioning crematory. A disaster would be likely.

With regard to another issue of contention, Pressac writes:

The nature of the substrata is not sufficiently taken into account, to the extent of evading the issue, and is grouped under the heading of "brick" by the Analysis laboratory. In the case of L-Keller 1 of crematoriums II and III, the German construction documents attest that the "cellar" walls were built with 400 bricks per cubic meter, with mortar mixed at the ratio of 1/1/5, which measures one part cement and one part lime for every five parts of sand. The pillars were poured of 1/5 reinforced concrete, meaning one part cement to every five parts of sand. The interior partitions, pillars and ceiling all received a coat of roughcast (about 1 to 1.5 cm thick), comprising 17 liters of mortar. Its composition was 1/0.5/5, meaning one part cement and one half part lime for every 5 parts sand. The L-Keller 1 wall bricks which are visible today were covered throughout the war with a roughcast which has since fallen off. These bricks were never directly exposed to the gas. Leuchter's samples of the exposed bricks in the "cellar" are not worth very much in view of the feeble impression the hydrocyanic acid made on their surfaces. (p. 73)

An official wartime information sheet on the use of hydrogen cyanide and Zyklon B confirms that HCN has "extraordinarily great penetrative powers." This sheet (Nuremberg document NI-9912) was issued by the public health agency of Bohemia-Moravia.⁷⁷ Even if the roughcast had been present during the alleged homicidal gassings, HCN would have penetrated through to the iron in the bricks beneath it, ultimately producing a significant quantity of Prussian blue.

Also noteworthy in this regard is the observation of Poland's Institute of Forensic Research concerning the Auschwitz delousing facilities: "According to our information, these rooms were whitewashed during the war years. In some spots, a blue or dark blue stain shows through."⁷⁸ As Dr. Roth pointed out, the reaction between HCN and iron will go fairly deep in porous substances (like roughcast) unless perhaps the surface formation of Prussian blue inhibited its further penetration.⁷⁹ Indeed, the *outside* wall of a Birkenau delousing facility had Prussian blue stains.⁸⁰ Apparently, the gas penetrated from the inside of the chamber to the outside surface of the bricks. Any paint or roughcast on the inside surface did not prohibit HCN penetration.

Another criticism of the *Leuchter Report* has been made by Mr. Charles Provan, an American lay theologian and contributor to the weekly *Christian News*. He has alleged that certain "eyewitnesses" have claimed that the chambers were washed down with water after the homicidal gassings. This water supposedly would have washed away the HCN, preventing it from reacting with the iron.⁸¹

Since HCN has great penetrating powers and the "gas chamber" surfaces were porous, at least some hydrogen cyanide would have penetrated far enough into the roughcast and brick to escape being washed away. Furthermore, HCN is water soluble. After the hosing down, numerous water droplets, containing dissolved HCN, would have remained on the walls, floors and ceilings to react with the iron, ultimately forming significant amounts of Prussian blue.

Conclusion

Based on spurious knowledge, inducing specious logic which leads to false conclusions, Pressac's attacks on *The Leuchter Report* stem from faulty scientific and technical understanding, and thus utterly fail to demolish it. As already noted, since the publication of *Truth Prevails*, a study by Poland's leading forensic institute has given strong corroboration to Leuchter's findings, and thus to his methodology.

Pressac's *ad hominem* attacks on Leuchter and Faurisson, who by daring to subject the gas chamber myth to scientific and technical investigation, have risked their livelihoods, their personal freedom, and even their lives, will, one hopes, strike future generations of readers as no less obscurantist than the attacks directed at Galileo, at Darwin, or at the geneticists who dared to defy Lysenko during the Stalin years. May *The Leuchter Report* help to free, not only the Western world, but the entire literate world from the chains of an oppressive illusion—the lie of the Hitler gas chambers.

Notes

The author would like to express special thanks to a retired Standard Oil research chemist who wishes to remain anonymous, and to Dr. William Lindsey. Their knowledge and expertise were very helpful. Any mistakes or errors in this article are, of course, the sole responsibility of the author.

1. *The Leuchter Report: The First Forensic Examination of Auschwitz* (London: Focal Point, 1989). With foreword by David Irving, and introduction by Robert Faurisson. Page 10. Hereafter, this work will be cited as *The Leuchter Report*.
2. Shelly Shapiro, editor, *Truth Prevails: Demolishing Holocaust Denial: The End of "The Leuchter Report"* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation and Holocaust Survivors & Friends, 1990). Distributed by: Holocaust Survivors & Friends in Pursuit of Justice, 800 New Loudon Rd., #400, Latham, NY 12110. Pressac's two articles are "The Deficiencies and Inconsistencies of 'The Leuchter Report'," (pp. 31-60), and "Additional Notes: Leuchter's Videotape: Witness to a Fraud" (pp. 61-73). Hereafter, all page numbers cited in the main text of this article refer to *Truth Prevails*. For a good review of Pressac's contribution to this book, see the May-June 1991 issue of *Remarks*, available for \$3 postpaid from Jack Wikoff, P.O. Box 234, Aurora, N.Y., 13026.
3. Robert C. Weast, ed., *Handbook of Chemistry and Physics: A Ready-Reference Book of Chemical and Physical Data*, 57th edition. (Cleveland: CRC Press, 1976), p. B-144. Hereafter, this book will be cited as *Handbook of Chemistry and Physics*.
4. Institute of Forensic Research (Krakow, Poland), "An Official Polish Report on the Auschwitz 'Gas Chambers,'" *The Journal of Historical Review*, Summer 1991 (Vol. 11, No. 2), pp. 207-216.
5. "Sodium Cyanide: Properties, Uses, Storage and Handling," p. 7. This Du Pont company information sheet is reprinted in facsimile in *The Leuchter Report* (London: 1989), pp. 33-38. See p. 37.
6. Leuchter letter to Alpha Analytical of March 9, 1988. Reprinted in facsimile as an appendix in *The Leuchter Report* (London), p. 31.
7. Fred Leuchter, "The Leuchter Report: The How and Why," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Summer 1989 (Vol. 9, No. 2), p. 137.
8. *The Leuchter Report* (London), p. 15.
9. Leuchter letter of March 9, 1988 to Alpha Analytical. Reprinted as an appendix in *The Leuchter Report*, p. 31.

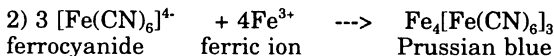
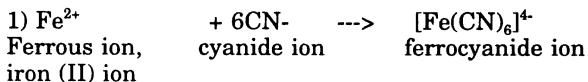
10. The term "cyanate content" is a mistake. Leuchter wanted to know the *cyanide* content, not *cyanate* content. The two are different.
11. Institute of Forensic Research (Krakow, Poland), "An Official Polish Report on the Auschwitz 'Gas Chambers,'" *The Journal of Historical Review*, Summer 1991 (Vol. 11, No. 2), pp. 212-213.
12. See the videotape of Leuchter's lecture in the videotape recording, "Highlights of the 9th IHR conference" (Feb. 1989). Available from the Institute for Historical Review, Videotape V-048.
13. Videotape "Fred Leuchter in Poland" (VT-003). Available from David Clark, P.O. Box 726, Decatur, Ala., 35602. This videotape, produced under the name of Samisdat (Toronto), does not show the entire visit.
14. See David Irving's foreword to the London (Focal Point) edition (1989) of *The Leuchter Report*, p. 6.
15. See footnote 11.
16. F. Leuchter, *The Leuchter Report*, p. 21. See also: Robert Lenski, *The Holocaust on Trial: The Case of Ernst Zündel* (Decatur, Ala.: Reporter Press, 1990), p. 394. Hereafter, this book is cited as *The Holocaust on Trial*.
17. *The Leuchter Report*, p. 15.
18. Institute of Forensic Research (Krakow, Poland), "An Official Polish Report on the Auschwitz 'Gas Chambers,'" *The Journal of Historical Review*, Summer 1991, pp. 213-214.
19. Jean-Claude Pressac, *Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1989), p. 59. Hereafter cited as: Pressac, *Auschwitz* (1989).
20. *The Leuchter Report*, pp. 21-22.
21. Robert Lenski, *The Holocaust on Trial: The Case of Ernst Zündel* (1990), pp. 395-396.
22. Linus Pauling, *General Chemistry* (New York: Dover Publications, 1988), p. 706.
23. *Handbook of Chemistry and Physics*, 57th ed., p. B-120.
24. See footnote 11.
25. Fred Leuchter, "The Leuchter Report: The How and Why," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Summer 1989 (Vol. 9, No. 2), pp. 138-139.

26. *Handbook of Chemistry and Physics*, 57th ed., p. B-144.
27. The scientific name of Prussian blue is ferric ferrocyanide. The elemental potassium which Pressac says is part of the compound is actually an impurity. See: *Encyclopedia of Chemical Technology*, 3rd ed., Vol. 13, p. 769.
28. See the compiled data from Alpha Analytical Laboratories given as an appendix to *The Leuchter Report*, p. 21. See also Dr. Roth's statements in: R. Lenski, *The Holocaust on Trial*, p. 394.
29. R. Lenski, *The Holocaust on Trial*, p. 395.
30. "Zyklon B for Pest Control," Degesch company booklet, p. 5. This entire booklet is reprinted in facsimile as an appendix in *The Leuchter Report* (London, 1989), pp. 49-62. See p. 51.
31. J.-C. Claude Pressac, *Auschwitz* (1989), pp. 208, 215, 284-285. Leuchter also observed that the "gas chambers" were cool and damp. See *The Leuchter Report*, pp. 13, 16, 17. See also R. Lenski, *The Holocaust on Trail*, p. 375. Filip Müller, an alleged "operator of the gas chamber," claimed: "Normally the concrete floors in the gas chamber as well as in the changing room were damp." See: F. Müller, *Eyewitness Auschwitz: Three Years in the Gas Chambers* (New York: Stein and Day, 1979), pp. 82-83.
32. "Hydrogen Cyanide: Storage and Handling," Du Pont company information sheet (1983), p. 2. This sheet is reprinted as an appendix in *The Leuchter Report* (London), pp. 39-44. See p. 41.
33. Linus Pauling, *General Chemistry* (1988), p. 690.
34. P.W. Atkins, *General Chemistry* (New York: Scientific American, 1989), p. 780.
35. Linus Pauling, *General Chemistry* (1988), p. 691.
36. L. Pauling, *General Chemistry* (1988), p. 692.
37. James Brady, *General Chemistry: Principles and Structure*, 5th ed. (New York: John Wily, 1990), p. 704. Dr. Brady also notes: "It is interesting that exactly the same compound is formed if a solution containing Fe^{2+} [iron (II) ion] is added to a solution containing $\text{Fe}(\text{CN})_6^{3-}$ ion [ferricyanide ion]." *The Encyclopedia of Chemical Technology*, 3rd ed., Vol. 13, p. 769, provides clarification. It lists the following reactions.

excess $\text{Fe}^{3+} + \text{K}_2[\text{Fe}(\text{CN})_6] \rightarrow$ insoluble Prussian blue

excess $\text{Fe}^{2+} + \text{K}_3[\text{Fe}(\text{CN})_6] \rightarrow$ insoluble Turnbull's blue

They point out that insoluble Prussian blue and insoluble Turnbull's blue are the same substances. See also James E. Huheey, 3rd ed., *Inorganic Chemistry: Principles of Structure and Reactivity* (New York: Harper and Row, 1983), p. 522. The following are the chemical equations used to describe the formation of ferric ferrocyanide, or Prussian blue.



Sources: Linus Pauling, *General Chemistry* (1988), pp. 673, 691-692; P.W. Atkins, *General Chemistry* (1989), p. 780; James E. Brady, *General Chemistry* (1990), p. 704; James E. Huheey, 3rd ed., *Inorganic Chemistry: Principles of Structure and Reactivity* (New York: Harper and Row, 1983), pp. 521-522; William Nebergall, Frederic Schmidt, Henry Holtzclaw, *College Chemistry with Qualitative Analysis*, 5th ed., (Lexington, Mass: D.C. Heath, 1976), p. 909; William Brown, Elizabeth Rogers, *General, Organic, and Biochemistry*, 3rd ed., (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, 1987), pp. 561A-561B.

38. See footnote 30.
39. See footnotes 33, 34 and 35.
40. See footnote 36 and 37.
41. R. Lenski, *The Holocaust on Trial*, p. 396.
42. Pressac's theory is further undermined by the observation of Degesch company chemists: "Hydrocyanic acid dissolves very readily in water. Compared with liquid hydrocyanic acid, the gas is chemically very indifferent, and even in highly concentrated form under prolonged exposure it does not show a tendency to react with other substances." From: "Zyklon for pest control" Degesch company booklet, p. 5. Published in facsimile as appendix to *The Leuchter Report* (London), p. 51. This statement suggests prolonged exposure of the gas with the walls is not what would cause the formation of large amounts of Prussian blue. The gas becomes reactive when it dissolves in water or condenses to liquid.
43. Information provided by the Dupont and Degesch companies, published as appendices in *The Leuchter Report* (London, 1989), pp. 41, 51.; *Handbook of Chemistry and Physics*, pp. B-117, F-135.
44. J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz* (1989), pp. 131-132, 183, 223, 224, 264, 284-285, 289, 375, 379, 392; Fred Leuchter, *The Leuchter Report*, pp. 13, 16, 17; Robert Lenski, *The Holocaust on Trial*, pp. 367, 375, 377.

45. Note also: J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz* (1989), pp. 16, 183, 223, 224, 284-285, 289, 355-376, 384-386, 489.
46. F. Leuchter, *The Leuchter Report*, pp. 13, 16, 17. Nowhere in *Auschwitz* (1989) does Pressac show the "gas chambers" had any internal heating devices to prevent condensation.
47. Nuremberg document NI-9912. Published in English translation as an appendix to *The Leuchter Report*, (London), pp. 23-25, and in J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz* (1989), pp. 18-20. Original German-language text is published in: Udo Walendy, ed., *Auschwitz im IG-Farben Prozess* (Vlotho: Germany, 1981), pp. 66-72.
 Dr. Robert Faurisson was the first person to publish document NI-9912, and to stress the importance of both NI-9912 and NI-9098. Writing in the Paris daily, *Le Monde* (Jan. 16, 1979, p. 13), he stated: "The industrial documents [NI-9098 and NI-9912] establish that Zyklon B *was not* among those gasses which were described as 'ventilatable'; on the contrary, its manufacturers were obliged to admit that it was 'difficult to ventilate since it adheres to surfaces'." These two documents are referred to by Dr. Faurisson in his interview/ essay, published in *The Journal of Historical Review*, Winter 1981, pp. 324, 356-357. See also Faurisson's essay in *The Journal of Historical Review*, Spring 1991, p. 39.
48. Lenski, *The Holocaust on Trial*, p. 377.
49. L. Pauling, *General Chemistry*, p. 288. HCN is soluble in water in all proportions. See *Handbook of Chemistry and Physics*, 57th ed., p. B-117.
50. See footnote 31.
51. That the humidity in the air would "collect" the HCN and make it react with the iron in the walls is suggested by this statement of Degesch chemists: "In case of high relative humidity of air, it may happen that blank-polished surfaces of metal get tarnished, particularly in case of somewhat higher concentration of gas." See *The Leuchter Report* (London), p. 51.
52. "Zyklon For Pest Control," Degesch company booklet, p. 25. Reprinted as appendix in *The Leuchter Report* (London), p. 61.
53. *The Leuchter Report*, p. 13.
54. J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz* (1989), p. 59.
55. J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz* (1989), p. 53.
56. R. Lenski, *The Holocaust on Trial*, p. 366.
57. J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz* (1989), pp. 131, 159.

58. J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz* (1989), p. 131; R. Lenski, *The Holocaust on Trial*, p. 375. Sample 28 was taken from the washroom. It was never a part of the presumed gas chamber. To confirm this, compare Leuchter's diagram of Krema I (p. 28 of *The Leuchter Report*) with Pressac's diagram of the same in *Auschwitz*, p. 159.
59. J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz* (1989), p. 131.
60. Pressac evidently does not think the washroom or morgue/"gas chamber" was ever deloused with Zyklon B. However, sample 28 (from the washroom) contains a minuscule amount of cyanide residue. What accounts for this? Since Pressac admits the washroom was never used as a "gas chamber," the presence of cyanide in this specimen can only be due to the fact that it was treated at least once with Zyklon B during delousing/disinfestation. See footnote 58. Pressac himself suggests that virtually every building in Auschwitz--Birkenau was deloused with Zyklon B at one time or another. See: J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz* (1989), pp. 188, 201.
61. J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz* (1989), p. 132.
62. J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz* (1989), pp. 131-132.
63. J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz* (1989), p. 132.
64. 12 g/m³ (grams per cubic meter) is the concentration of the HCN allegedly used in a homicidal gassing. 5g/m³ was the concentration used in a disinfestation. See J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz* (1989), p. 16.
65. R. Lenski, *The Holocaust on Trial*, p. 375. Pressac claims that one or two extractor fans may have been installed in the ceiling. Even if this were true, much HCN would have still remained behind after the ventilation phase of an alleged gassing. See J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz*, (1989), p. 132.
66. Enrique Aynat, "Neither Trace Nor Proof," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Summer 1991 (Vol. 11, No. 2), pp. 182-183.
67. J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz*, pp. 183, 264.
68. *The Leuchter Report*, pp. 21-22.
69. Introduction by R. Faurisson to *The Leuchter Report* (London), p. 7.
70. "Typhus," by Herbert Kondo, in: *Grolier Universal Encyclopedia*, 1966 edition.
71. See footnote 47.
72. *The Leuchter Report*, p. 12.

73. "Hydrogen Cyanide: Storage and Handling," Du Pont company information sheet, pp. 1, 8. This sheet is reprinted as an appendix in *The Leuchter Report* (London), pp. 39-44. See pp. 40, 44.
74. Kirk, R.E. and Othmer, D.F., *Encyclopedia of Chemical Technology*, Third Edition, 7, p. 316.
75. *The Leuchter Report*, pp. 16, 17.
76. R. Lenski, *The Holocaust on Trial*, p. 367.
77. See footnote 47. Specifically, see *The Leuchter Report* (London), p. 23.
78. "An Official Polish Report on the Auschwitz 'Gas Chambers'," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Summer 1991 (Vol. 11, No. 2), p. 211.
79. R. Lenski, *The Holocaust on Trial*, pp. 395-397.
80. J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz* (1989), p. 59.
81. Audiotape, "Hoffman Interviews Provan," Summer 1991. Available from Wiswell Ruffin House, P. O. Box 236, Dresden, NY 14441.



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Growing Impact of the Leuchter Report in Germany

Munich's Institute of Contemporary History Seeks to Discredit Leuchter's Findings

Nowhere has the impact of the 1988 Leuchter Report been greater than in Germany, and understandably so. As one young German recently noted, if Holocaust Revisionism wins widespread acceptance there, the impact will be felt not merely in the intellectual world; many people who currently hold positions of influence and power in German politics will be out of work, and those replacing them will have dramatically different views about the most fundamental social-political issues.

With stakes this high, the game is bound to get rough. When the first German-language edition of the Leuchter Report was published in late 1988 by Udo Walendy (as No. 36 in his series of magazine-format "Historical Facts" booklets), German authorities lost no time in suppressing it. Interestingly, though, the reason was not the Report itself, but rather the somewhat provocative commentary that accompanied Leuchter's text. Under German law, "scientific" writings are exempt from the ban that applies generally to otherwise politically incorrect works.

In fact, Germany's Ministry of Justice has in effect declared that the Leuchter Report cannot be prohibited because it is constitutionally protected as a "scholarly" work. In a letter dated March 13, 1990, a Ministry official wrote:

I share your view that the Leuchter Report itself is a scholarly examination [eine wissenschaftliche Untersuchung] . . . With regard to the Leuchter Report, the Federal Minister of Justice is not aware of any reason . . . to forbid circulation of this document in the Federal Republic.

In recent years the Leuchter Report has been circulating widely through every strata of German society. Nearly every German scholar interested in the history of the Third Reich and the Second World War has read it, and recent discussions

of it by thoughtful writers reflect the seriousness with which it is regarded. For example, a detailed and open-minded treatment of the Report appears in *Der Nasenring* ("The Nose ring"), a provocative and engagingly written critique of postwar German historiography by Swiss-born author Armin Mohler, who is probably Germany's leading conservative thinker and writer. Dr. Ernst Nolte, a leading specialist of the Third Reich era who recently retired as a professor of history at the Free University in Berlin, has also commented respectfully but somewhat critically on the Leuchter Report in an essay that appeared in several German periodicals.

Reflecting the Establishment's growing concern over its impact, a lengthy article attempting to discredit the Report appeared September 25, 1992, in the influential liberal German weekly *Die Zeit*. (A detailed and closely argued Revisionist response by four German specialists to this critique is available from Verlag Remer Heipke, 8730 Bad Kissingen, Postfach 1310, Germany.)

This *Die Zeit* article approvingly cited a 25-page critique of the Report by octogenarian amateur historian Werner Wegner that appeared in 1990 as a chapter in a scholarly collection of essays, *Die Schatten der Vergangenheit* ("The Shadows of the Past"). The 650-page book, issued by the respected publishing firm of Propyläen, was edited by three brilliant historians of the postwar generation, Uwe Backes, Eckhard Jesse, and Rainer Zitelmann.

Perhaps the most authoritative German effort to refute has been a statement issued in 1989 by the prestigious Institute of Contemporary History (*Institut für Zeitgeschichte*). This Munich archive and research center, which is funded by German taxpayers, publishes monographs, books and a highly-regarded scholarly journal, *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte* ("Contemporary History Quarterly"). A major responsibility of the Institute has been to validate authoritatively the version of twentieth-century history established by the victorious Allied powers in 1945, confirmed at the Nuremberg Tribunal of 1945-1946, and affirmed by the German Federal Republic (which was established by the victorious western Allies, particularly the United States). Indeed, the pejorative Allied portrayal of Hitler and the Third Reich has been an essential element of legitimacy for the German Federal Republic.

Herewith we present the complete text of the Munich Institute's November 1989 statement about the Leuchter Report, which was written by Institute official Hellmuth Auerbach. Following the text is a commentary on its contents.

—The Editor

INSTITUTE OF CONTEMPORARY HISTORY

Leonrodstr. 46b, 8000 Munich 19, Germany

Subject: The So-Called Leuchter Report

In 1988, the German graphic artist and publisher Ernst Zündel, who lives in Canada, was indicted for distributing an anti-Semitic and Revisionist writing (by Richard Harwood, "Did Six Million Really Die?").

In connection with his second trial in Toronto in early 1988, the French Revisionist Robert Faurisson (former literature specialist at the University of Lyon, but not an expert in contemporary history) arranged for Fred A. Leuchter, the American engineer and specialist in the development and construction of execution equipment by means of gas in American prisons, to visit Poland and to carry out an investigation there of the gas chambers in the former National Socialist extermination camps of Auschwitz and Majdanek.

This journey, which Leuchter undertook with several other persons, his investigation, as well as all his other activities in this regard, were financed by Zündel. Along with Zündel, Faurisson was interested in obtaining an expert opinion showing that, on technical grounds alone, the mass gassing of Jews in the extermination camps could not have been possible. Leuchter sought to prove precisely this with his Report. In doing so, he received the applause of the so-called Revisionists and apologists for National Socialism.

The Canadian court was less impressed with Leuchter's findings, and sentenced Zündel to nine months imprisonment (without suspension). Regardless of this, the so-called Leuchter Report has been distributed ever since by all Revisionists and apologists for National Socialism as supposedly conclusive proof that the mass gassings of Jews in the

extermination camps could not have taken place, and that this claim is, instead, a lie meant to blackmail Germany.

However, if one carefully studies this Leuchter Report, one must conclude that this is actually a rather superficial investigation based on false data, from which false conclusions have been drawn.

For one thing, Leuchter begins by making comparisons with the conditions in an American prison, where executions by gas are carried out in technologically advanced and highly sophisticated gas chambers under very strict safety guidelines. (During every execution, court personnel, physicians and even journalists are present.) By failing to take into account that conditions in the extermination camps were completely different, he reaches false conclusions.

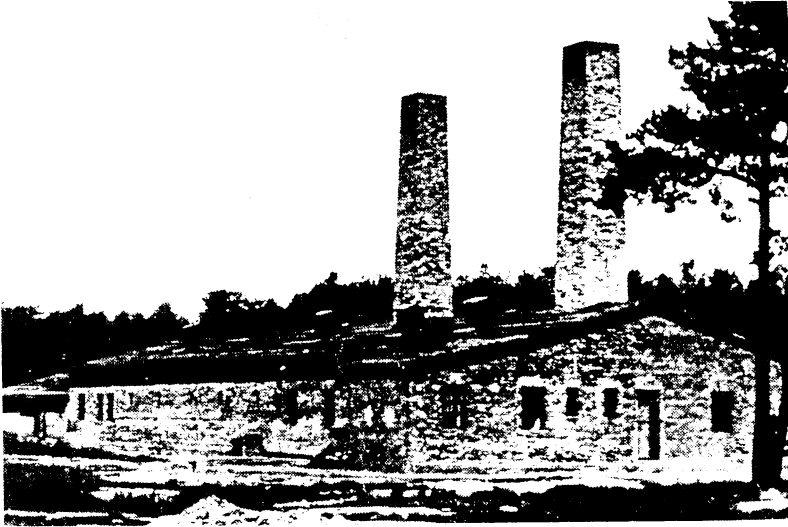
In Leuchter's view, the gas chambers in Auschwitz could not have been used to kill people with Zyklon B because they could not be heated and lacked adequate ventilation facilities. In order to insure the quick death of the condemned person in an American gas chamber, more than ten times the amount of gas that is necessary to kill a person is used. Consequently, the ventilation of the [American execution] gas chamber after an execution is complicated and takes some time.

Zyklon B (Prussic acid) becomes gas only at a temperature of about 26 degrees Celsius. Consequently, a gas chamber in the USA must be heated. Leuchter fails to take into account that even a much larger room, if it is completely packed with people, would reach this temperature very quickly, and therefore does not require any heating.

The many people in the gas chambers of the extermination camps would very quickly take the poison gas into their bodies by breathing it in. As a result, the ventilation and the removal of the corpses could be carried out more quickly.

The [homicidal] gas chambers and the [non-homicidal] disinfestation chambers in Auschwitz were both built according to the same plan. For the most part, blue coloring caused by the presence of hydrogen cyanide can be found only on the walls of the [non-homicidal] disinfestation chambers [Desinfektionskammern]. For this reason, Leuchter, along with Faurisson, concludes that Zyklon B was used only in the [non-homicidal] disinfestation rooms.

However, larger quantities of the poison are needed for delousing. (A human being dies with a dose of just 0.3 g/m^3



Auschwitz-Birkenau crematory building (Krema) IV shortly after its completion in late March 1943. This building, supposedly one of the principal extermination gassing centers, was actually built very hastily in response to the terrible typhus epidemic that raged during the summer of 1942. This facility was so poorly constructed that it could be used only intermittently for a short time, and was shut down for good in May 1943.

of hydrogen cyanide gas, whereas a louse must be subjected to a dose of 5 g/m³ of hydrogen cyanide gas for at least two hours.) For this reason, more hydrogen cyanide was deposited there [in the non-homicidal disinfestation chambers] than in the gas chambers meant for human beings.

Without permission of the [Auschwitz] Museum authorities, Leuchter removed wall samples from all of the buildings in which there were crematories or gas chambers, even in cases where these now exist only as ruins or reconstructed remains of walls. He then arranged for these samples to be analyzed in America. Because the analysis results showed that most of the samples contained no traces of cyanide, Leuchter and Faurisson maintain that the buildings from which these samples came could not have been used as gas chambers.

These buildings, some of which were blown up by the SS before their retreat, have, however, been exposed to the wind

and weather for more than forty years. Because of the marshy ground of Auschwitz, some of them have stood for months in water. Because of the effects of moisture since 1945, the traces of cyanide that might still have been found have disappeared in the meantime.

This is also true of the [building of] Crematory I [in the Auschwitz I main camp], which has been preserved in its entirety. Because it has been visited by countless visitors as a museum site, the floor of this chamber is often cleaned with a lot of water by Museum personnel.

Forty years ago, however, in 1945, the Institute of Forensic Research of the University of Krakow carried out adequate investigations of the buildings as well as of collections of cut hair, hair clasps and other metal objects that the gassing victims had been wearing. Very clear traces of Zyklon B were found, something that Leuchter has not taken into account, or has intentionally ignored.

The crematory buildings housed gas chambers and crematory ovens under the same roof. According to Leuchter, this could not have been possible, because of the danger of explosion. However, he fails to take into account that the amounts of Prussic acid [hydrogen cyanide] used there were not enough to cause an explosion. (These amounts are also much less than used in the USA.)

In his report, Leuchter maintains that he obtained a copy of a diagram of Crematory V [in Birkenau]. In reality, a plan of this crematory does not exist at all. According to information provided by the Auschwitz Museum authorities, Leuchter did not receive any special diagrams of the buildings in Auschwitz whatsoever. He made no effort to obtain any such information, but instead merely purchased brochures and documents that are meant for visitors to the Museum.

Leuchter's superficiality and historical incompetence is also shown clearly in what he writes about Majdanek.

French pharmacist and toxicologist Jean-Claude Pressac recently produced a detailed and very comprehensive investigation of the Auschwitz gas chambers, showing that he is a real specialist of the gassing procedure. (J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers*, New York, 1989, 564 pages.)

In an essay entitled "The deficiencies and discrepancies of the Leuchter Report" ("Les carences et incohérences du Rapport Leuchter"), published in *Jour J*, Dec. 12, 1988,

Pressac subjected the Leuchter Report to a detailed critical analysis, in which Leuchter comes off very poorly. Among other things, Pressac writes:

Based on false knowledge and using false arguments, which lead to false interpretations, the Leuchter Report is unacceptable because it was produced under impermissible circumstances, because it overlooks the most basic historical data, and because it contains gross errors of calculation and measurement.

We can only agree with this assessment. The Leuchter Report is no proof whatsoever that the systematic mass gassings in the National Socialist extermination camps did not take place. It is, rather, a pseudo-scientific and rather clumsy propaganda writing that apologizes for National Socialism.

H. Auerbach
Munich, November 1989

Commentary

As a serious refutation of Leuchter's findings and his Report, this statement by Germany's Institute of Contemporary History falls miserably short, crumbling under even cursory scrutiny.

For one thing, statement author Auerbach reads things into the Leuchter Report that are not there. Auerbach claims, for example, that Leuchter "sought to prove" that "on technical grounds alone, the mass gassing of Jews in the extermination camps could not have been possible."

This assertion is doubly flawed. Contrary to what the Munich Institute asserts, Leuchter did not set out to discredit the Auschwitz gas chamber allegations. He agreed to carry out his forensic investigation only after warning Zündel that he would speak the truth as he determined it, regardless of Zündel's expectations.

More important, and contrary to what Auerbach asserts, the Leuchter Report does not claim that Jews could not have been gassed. What the Report does say is:

After a study of . . . the existing facilities at Auschwitz, Birkenau, and Majdanek . . . the author finds no evidence that any of the facilities normally alleged to be execution gas chambers were ever used as such, and finds, further, that because of the design and fabrication of these facilities, they could not have been utilized for execution gas chambers.

Leuchter simply maintains that the rooms that have been presented for nearly half a century as homicidal gas chambers are nothing of the kind. This does not, of course, mean that Jews could not have been gassed elsewhere.

Auerbach also seems unfamiliar with the technical issues involved here. He castigates Leuchter for comparing US execution gas chambers, with their rigorous safety provisions, and the alleged Auschwitz extermination gas chambers. Auerbach suggests that, if it weren't for bothersome safety regulations, US gas chambers could be run much like the alleged wartime mass-extinction gas chambers. In this, Auerbach completely fails to understand that the American safety provisions are not the result of idle bureaucratic nit-picking, but a reflection of the very real dangers of using hydrogen cyanide gas to kill people.

The strict US gassing regulations ensure the safety of prison personnel, as well as of the "court personnel, physicians, and even journalists" who witness American execution gassings. In much the same way, similar measures would have been necessary to ensure that SS camp personnel and other camp workers would not also be killed during each "gassing" operation at Auschwitz.

Auerbach tries to explain away the absence of any ventilation facilities in the alleged Auschwitz "gas chambers" by asserting that much less hydrogen cyanide was used there than in US execution gas chambers. Not unexpectedly, he fails to explain how the SS personnel could thus have killed hundreds of people in a large room in about the same amount of time required in the United States to kill one convicted prisoner in a small room with a much higher dose of hydrogen cyanide. He likewise does not attempt to explain how allegedly small amounts of hydrogen cyanide gas could immediately dissipate throughout a large room, with no fans or other assistance, and kill hundreds of people, just as readily as the massive overdoses administered in US prison

executions. Auerbach similarly provides no explanation of how the poisonous gas was then removed within moments so that the "gas chamber" doors could be promptly opened to admit the work crews that dragged out the bodies.

Auerbach asserts that the temperature of a partially below-ground room can quickly be raised above 26 degrees C (about 78 degrees F) by filling it with people. He provides no proof of this, but apparently believes that it would be true even during the brutally cold Polish winters.

Auerbach most strikingly displays his ignorance when he tries to explain the absence of stains or traces of hydrogen cyanide (or, rather, of ferro-ferric-cyanide compounds) on the ceiling, walls and floors of the remains of the supposed extermination gas chambers at Birkenau. By arguing that the traces of hundreds of gassings would simply have weathered away during the last 40 years, he shows his ignorance about the difference between the chemical properties of hydrogen cyanide (which is rather transitory) and those of the ferro-ferric-cyanide compounds that are formed when hydrogen cyanide comes into contact with iron ions (such as those found in the concrete and brick at Auschwitz and Birkenau), which are very stable. Although traces of hydrogen cyanide might indeed have weathered away, the ferro-ferric-cyanide compounds that would have been produced are impervious to "weathering" and would have been measurable.

To further explain the absence of ferro-ferric-cyanide stains, Auerbach makes the astonishing assertion that the victims immediately breathed in and absorbed all of the poisonous gas into their mouths and lungs. This fanciful scenario contrasts sharply with the reality of the procedure of US gas chamber executions in which—as Leuchter and Faurisson have pointed out—both the corpse and the inside of the gas chamber must be thoroughly washed down (a process that can take a great deal of time) before the body can be removed.

Auerbach asserts that the low concentrations of hydrogen cyanide gas supposedly used in the Auschwitz "gas chambers" would not have been sufficient to create an explosive mixture. In point of fact, the concentration of hydrogen cyanide gas is nearly 100 percent close to the Zyklon pellets (or discoids), and falls off depending on the distance. As a result, it is not only possible but quite likely that at some point the concentra-

tion would have reached the six percent level at which the mixture is explosive.

Auerbach refers to a report prepared in 1945 by the Krakow Institute of Forensic Research, citing it as proof of extermination gassings at Auschwitz and Birkenau. In fact, the results of the Krakow Institute's 1945 analysis neither refute Leuchter's findings nor do they prove extermination gassings.

It is true that the Krakow Institute found significant traces of hydrogen cyanide in collections of cut hair (including hair clasps) of Auschwitz prisoners. However, as even prominent Holocaust historians acknowledge, when prisoners arrived at the camp, their hair was normally cut very short as part of a routine procedure against the spread of disease. The cut hair was then treated with Zyklon to kill typhus-bearing lice, which is why hydrogen cyanide was found in the samples analyzed in 1945.

For a more detailed and authoritative review of the specific technical criticisms made by Auerbach, the reader should see the essays by Walter Lüftl and Paul Grubach published elsewhere in this issue of the Journal.

To its credit, Auerbach (and the Munich Institute) at least seem to accept Leuchter's qualifications and technical competence. But so desperate is Auerbach for anything that might plausibly discredit Leuchter that he concludes his statement with a polemical comment by a markedly less qualified French pharmacist, a man who lacks any real competence to make any pronouncements about Leuchter's supposed deficiencies.

For anyone familiar with the Leuchter Report, perhaps the most glaring defect of Auerbach statement is its failure to address in any way the many other important arguments and telling points made by Leuchter.

—The Editor

Reviews

Book-Length "Scholarly" Polemic Fails to Discredit Leuchter

TRUTH PREVAILS: Demolishing Holocaust Denial: The End of the Leuchter Report. Edited by Shelly Shapiro. New York, N.Y.: The Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, and Holocaust Survivors & Friends in Pursuit of Justice, 1990. Softcover. 135 pages. Illustrations. Index. \$15.00. ISBN 1-879437-00-7.

Reviewed by Mark Weber

In response to Fred Leuchter's findings about the alleged wartime extermination gas chambers, the Holocaust lobby has mounted a well-orchestrated campaign of slander, distortion, half-truth and falsehood to discredit him and destroy his career as a consultant to state governments on execution technology.

At the forefront of this effort have been the Paris-based Beate Klarsfeld Foundation and a US-based group that calls itself "Holocaust Survivors & Friends in Pursuit of Justice." An important propaganda tool in this international campaign is this angry, awkwardly written and poorly organized 135-page polemic, which is perhaps the most ambitious effort so far to discredit Leuchter and his findings. Published jointly by these two organizations in 1990, it bears the pretentious and rather bombastic title *Truth Prevails: Demolishing Holocaust Denial: The End of the Leuchter Report*.

As *Journal* readers know, this is not the first time that these two groups have sought to discredit Holocaust Revisionism with a book-length publication. In 1989 the Klarsfeld Foundation released *Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers*, an ambitious 564-page work by French researcher Jean-Claude Pressac. (See the reviews of Pressac's book in the *IHR Journal* by Mark Weber, Summer 1990, and Robert Faurisson, Spring and Summer 1991.)

Truth Prevails consists of a preface by editor Shelly Shapiro (who is also director of "Holocaust Survivors &

Friends”), six essays (including two by Jean-Claude Pressac), and a short commentary by Serge Klarsfeld. In spite of its erudite pretension, this is a poorly written, edited and organized work. Its language is often snide and crude.

All the same, *Truth Prevails* has had a measurable impact. Libelous and error-ridden articles based on it have appeared in daily newspapers and weekly Jewish community papers around the country. In addition to the usual and untruthful attacks against the IHR and Holocaust Revisionism in general, these articles viciously attack Leuchter as a man.

Throughout this book, Revisionists are routinely referred to as “Holocaust deniers,” a formulation that suggests a medieval Inquisition against religious heretics who have blasphemed against a sacred dogma. By treating “Holocaust denial” as the most terrible sin that anyone can commit these days, this book serves to underscore the way that the Holocaust has become, for many, a kind of religion.

In the preface, “Holocaust denial” is also compared to denying the existence of slavery in 18th and 19th century America, or denying the atomic bombing of Hiroshima. However, one might reasonably ask, if “Holocaust denial” is really so obviously absurd, why bother about it? No rational person wastes time refuting those who might deny the 1945 bombing of Hiroshima.

The preface also sets the tone of *Truth Prevails*, where the reader is told: “The incomprehensible death factories ‘with their bulging gas chambers and smoke-belching crematoria eclipsed man’s visions of hell.’ The name of Auschwitz means the epitomy [*sic*] of evil.” Overlooking the emotion-charged rhetoric here, it should be pointed out that, as anyone who is even superficially familiar with the reality of Auschwitz knows, there were no “smoke-belching crematoria” there (or anywhere, for that matter). Like similar facilities elsewhere, the crematory facilities at Auschwitz were structurally not able to “belch” smoke. (Accordingly, Allied aerial reconnaissance photos taken of the camp complex in 1944—at the height of the supposed extermination process there—show absolutely no trace of any smoke whatsoever.)

Editor Shapiro also expresses outrage at a reference (in the British edition of the Leuchter Report) to an inmates’ swimming pool at Auschwitz. In point of fact, there was such

a pool. (On this, see: R. Lenski, *The Holocaust on Trial*, pp. 38, 132, 142, 358-359, 385, and, R. Faurisson, *IHR Journal*, Summer 1991, pp. 133-134.)

Truth Prevails seeks to discredit the Leuchter Report by, above all, attacking its author's qualifications. A main purpose of this book is to prove that Leuchter lacks the expertise he claims, and to show, instead, that he is a pretentious fraud. "Our goal," the preface explains, "is to show Leuchter's lack of expertise" as an execution hardware specialist, and "to demonstrate that 'The Leuchter Report' is not a credible scientific analysis..." (p. 1).

Charging that "Leuchter does not have the scientific background or experience despite his claims" (p. 11), *Truth Prevails* insists that Leuchter is simply not qualified to give an expert opinion about the alleged gas chambers at Auschwitz and Majdanek.

In this regard, much is made of the fact that Judge Ron Thomas declined to accept the Leuchter Report as a defense exhibit during the 1988 Zündel trial. Strictly speaking, this is true. But *Truth Prevails* essentially ignores the fact that Judge Thomas did decide to accept Leuchter as an expert of homicidal gas chamber technology, and accordingly permitted him to give opinion evidence. During his testimony, Leuchter was allowed to read extensively from his Report, which became part of the court record.

As detailed in an article published elsewhere in this issue of the *Journal*, Leuchter's impressive expertise in the field of execution hardware is a matter of public record, and has been authoritatively and publicly confirmed. For example, in a letter of January 13, 1988, Missouri state prison director William Armontrout wrote: "Mr. Leuchter is an engineer specializing in gas chambers and executions. He is well versed in all areas and is the only consultant in the United States that I know of." Testifying in the 1988 Zündel trial, Armontrout also declared that he had consulted with Leuchter on the design, maintenance and operation of the Missouri state gas chamber, and reaffirmed that, to the best of his knowledge, Leuchter is the only such consultant in the United States.

As part of its vicious assault against Leuchter's character, this book charges that financial greed was the motive behind his forensic investigation of the alleged extermination gas chambers, and his conclusion that they were never used as

killing facilities. Leuchter's motivation, Pressac writes here, was "to collect the steep fee he asked of Zundel and which the latter paid him." (p. 32)

In another chapter, contributor Arthur Goodman provides a mendacious explanation of how Leuchter was chosen to carry out his forensic investigation (p. 76):

Faurisson quickly applied himself to the task of finding an "engineer" who would testify for Zundel. Very soon thereafter, Faurisson dug up the hitherto unknown Leuchter whom he contacted and who was only too willing to earn the money, gain the notoriety and establish a reputation as the one man whose investigation would sustain the [Revisionist] thesis . . . Leuchter [was] only too eager to be won over . . .

In fact (and as explained in more detail elsewhere in this issue of the *Journal*), Leuchter's motives in conducting his forensic investigation of the alleged wartime gas chambers in Poland were entirely honorable and professional. Prof. Robert Faurisson and Ernst Zündel sought out Leuchter not because of any pre-existing views or prejudices he may have had on this issue, but solely because he was, at that time, the only acknowledged execution gas chamber specialist in the United States.

While it is true that he was paid a standard fee by Zündel, this is not at all remarkable. Any expert witnesses who testifies in a court case under such circumstances is normally paid a fee in keeping with his or her professional standing. Christopher Browning, for example, the star prosecution witness in the 1988 Zündel trial, received 150 (Canadian) dollars an hour for his services.

Shapiro and the Klarsfelds are understandably angry that, in spite of their efforts, the major media continues to acknowledge Leuchter's expertise as America's foremost expert of execution technology. Shapiro expresses outrage that "major news organizations" have given him with "a semblance of respectability and credibility."

The Atlantic monthly, for example, is taken to task for an illustrated article about Leuchter in the February 1990 issue. In this piece, attorney and author Susan Lehman factually described Leuchter as

the nation's only commercial supplier of execution equipment . . . A trained and accomplished engineer, he is versed in all types of execution equipment. He makes lethal-injection machines, gas chambers, and gallows, as well as electrocution systems. [He] . . . probably knows more about electric chair technology than anyone else.

The Zionist Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith responded to this rather flattering profile with an angry letter of protest. In her reply to the ADL, Susan Lehman correctly pointed out that Leuchter's findings about the Holocaust "gas chambers," and his testimony in the Zündel trial, "have no direct bearing...on the subject of my report." In his essay in *Truth Prevails*, Charles R. Allen, Jr., dismisses Lehman's reply as "insolence."

An even greater calamity, in the view of Shapiro and her friends, was a profile of Leuchter broadcast nationwide May 10, 1990, on the widely viewed ABC television news program "Prime Time Live." Co-host Diane Sawyer described Leuchter as "the country's foremost expert at creating, designing and maintaining execution equipment."

Particularly galling to the Shapiro crowd is the fact that ABC news television went ahead with its profile of "Dr. Death" even after it had been "informed" of Leuchter's shocking views on the Holocaust extermination story, and of his links with the infamous Institute for Historical Review. Shelly Shapiro and Beate Klarsfeld had even met with producer Bob Currie to urge him not to air the report.

Finally, *The New York Times* is castigated for prominently featuring an article, October 13, 1990, which included a front-page photograph of Leuchter, that describes him as "the nation's leading adviser to states on capital punishment." Leuchter, the article also reported, has "advised 16 states on every kind of execution equipment. Four states have bought his lethal injection systems..."

This unequivocal acknowledgment of Leuchter's expertise by the nation's most influential daily paper is all the more significant because its author, and the paper's editors, were entirely aware of the Shapiro/Klarsfeld team's criticisms of Leuchter when the article went to press.

And much more recently, Leuchter's standing as the premier expert of execution hardware was affirmed in "The Execution Protocol," a television report broadcast November

1, 1992, on the Discovery cable television network, as well as on the session of the popular Phil Donahue show broadcast nationwide November 13, 1992.

Truth Prevails tries to explain away these embarrassing tributes by contending that Leuchter has somehow been able to trick or fool these savvy periodicals into accepting his bogus claims of expertise. If Leuchter was actually able to somehow "take in" the media as this book suggests, he must be gifted with truly extraordinary powers of persuasion.

Truth Prevails ruefully notes that Leuchter "is still sought by the media as the only available spokesman on the technology of the death penalty in the U.S." (p. 24). One can be certain that if there is anyone (besides Leuchter) in the United States who could plausibly be portrayed as a "real" expert on execution hardware, Shapiro and her diligent colleagues certainly would have found him. Interestingly, though, the Shapiro/Klarsfeld team has not produced any such person: To date, the best they have been able to come up with is a confused and unqualified suburban French pharmacist, Jean-Claude Pressac.

Fittingly, much of this book consists of two essays by Pressac that seek to refute the Leuchter Report on technical grounds. (For a point by point response to Pressac's critique of Leuchter's findings, see the detailed essay by Paul Grubach in this issue of the *Journal*.)

Shapiro and Klarsfeld use a grotesque double standard in deciding just who qualifies as a gas chamber expert. While Leuchter is dismissed as an untrained fraud and crank, Pressac is praised here (by Serge Klarsfeld, on page 29) as "one of the world's rare research specialists in gas chamber extermination technique." This description is almost laughable in light of Pressac's lack of any formal training, credentials or recognized expertise in architecture, engineering, history or document analysis.

Leuchter is not this book's only target. Prof. Faurisson is accused of "intellectual dishonesty" (p. 36), and Ernst Zündel is referred to as Canada's "prime practitioner of Holocaust denial" (p. 22), as if he is the high priest of an evil satanic cult, and historian David Irving is called a "Nazi propagandist" (p. 85).

In a ten-page chapter by H. L. Silets, a specialist of legal history at the University of Cambridge, the 1946 "Zyklon B" trial is cited as irrefutable proof that German officials used

hydrogen cyanide gas from Zyklon to exterminate Jews in wartime concentration camps. Dr. Bruno Tesch, the German businessman who headed the company that supplied Zyklon, and his assistant and business manager Karl Weinbacher were the two main defendants in the 1946 trial in Hamburg. They were found guilty by the British military court, sentenced to death, and hanged.

Revisionist scholars are familiar with this important trial, which was a travesty of justice. (Retired American research chemist Dr. William B. Lindsey provides a thorough examination of it in a carefully researched article in the Fall 1983 *IHR Journal*.) Even Jean-Claude Pressac has rightly castigated this trial as unjust and probably a "masquerade." (J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz*, 1989, p. 17.)

A key witness in the trial was Charles (or Paul) Bendel, a Jewish doctor who had been an inmate physician in Birkenau in 1944. His "eyewitness" testimony about extermination gassings in the camp helped to send Tesch and Weinbacher to the gallows. As even Pressac has confirmed, Bendel's testimony is demonstrably wrong on numerous key points. (J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz*, 1989, pp. 469-472.)

Perhaps most remarkably, this British court determined that, of a grand total of six million people killed in the German camps, no less than four and a half million were "systematically exterminated" with Zyklon B at Auschwitz-Birkenau alone. (United Nations War Crimes Commission, *Law Reports of Trials of War Criminals*, London: HMSO, 1947, Vol. 1, p. 94. See also Nuremberg document NI-12207.)

As further proof of extermination gassings at Auschwitz, *Truth Prevails* contributor Silets cites the postwar "confession" of former Auschwitz commandant Rudolf Höss. However, as even prominent Holocaust historians (including J.-C. Pressac in his 1989 book) now concede, key statements in this "confession" are quite demonstrably untrue. Moreover, it has been indisputably established that Höss' infamous "confession" was extracted by brutal torture. (See: R. Faurisson, *IHR Journal*, Winter 1986-87, pp. 389-403.)

Beate Klarsfeld has announced that Leuchter "has to understand that in denying the Holocaust, he cannot remain unpunished." (JTA dispatch, *Detroit Jewish News*, March 1, 1991.) In this spirit, Ms. Shapiro has boasted about the measures that she and her collaborators have taken to pressure public officials, prison wardens, state correction

departments, politicians and journalists into blacklisting Leuchter.

In August 1990, for example, the Shapiro/Klarsfeld group succeeded in pressuring the Illinois Department of Corrections into canceling its \$8,320 consulting contract with Leuchter to inspect and supervise administration of its lethal injection equipment. (p. 17) Complaints were also made to state prison officials in Alabama, North Carolina, California, Arizona and Maryland. In one state, a lawmaker said that to retain Leuchter as an execution consultant would conflict with the state's requirement of mandatory "Holocaust studies" for every public school pupil. (For more on this campaign, see the *IHR Newsletter*, July-August 1991, p. 3.)

Sadly, this insidious campaign to "punish" Leuchter for his insolent refusal to toe the Holocaust line has been largely successful. As he explains in his essay elsewhere in this issue of the *Journal*, his livelihood has largely been destroyed.

Although it is actually little more than a mean-spirited, bigoted and error-ridden polemic, *Truth Prevails* is not ineffective as a work of Holocaust propaganda. It will undoubtedly continue to have an impact among the ignorant. All the same, its very existence is somewhat gratifying because it is a tangible expression of the growing impact of Holocaust Revisionism.

trials, overriding even the lust for revenge that activated the Jewish interests so prominent in organizing and administering them, was to legitimize and to institutionalize the Allies' wartime propaganda, above all the gas chamber and extermination lies.

Of those offenders who didn't rate a trial, hundreds of thousands were simply arrested—sometimes with their wives and children—and thrown into so-called “detention centers” (often former German-run concentration camps). In the US occupation zone alone, 322,000 were rounded up and held as part of the Allied “Automatic Arrest” policy.

As many as 100,000 may have perished in camps run by the Communists in Germany and Poland, and thousands more in the camps of the Western Allies. These figures, of course, do not include the hundreds of thousands of German prisoners of war who died in Soviet custody years after the surrender, or the tens of thousands who died in American or French custody in camps or at slave labor. (If one accepts the figures of Canadian historian James Bacques, *hundreds* of thousands of Germans perished in these US- and French-run camps. See the review of his controversial best-selling book, *Other Losses*, in the Summer 1990 IHR *Journal*.)

Accompanying these fruits of equality and democracy, Franz-Willing reminds us, was the attempt to purge thoroughly the civil service, the professions, and the intelligentsia, above all professors and teachers—not just of “Nazis,” but of all German nationalists. While never entirely effective, this purge wrecked many thousands of lives and careers, and, together with strenuous Allied attempts to eliminate all nationalist voices from the media and replace them with sycophants from what American military occupiers liked to refer to as the “indigenous population,” paved the way for a commercial and academic media and publishing industry that by and large continues to serve as an instrument of the ideological-cultural war against German national consciousness even today, nearly fifty years after V-E Day.

For, as Georg Franz-Willing demonstrates, the Allies were extraordinarily successful in installing an intelligentsia of educators, opinion-makers, and mediocrats who have internalized the postwar “re-education” and administered it to two generations of Germans come of age since 1945. Made up at first of returned emigrés (of whom the Allies were generally contemptuous) and opportunistic turncoats of the

sort profiled in Gerhard Frey's informative (and amusing) reference work, *Prominente ohne Maske* (roughly, "Big Wigs Unmasked," Munich, 1984), this class effectively replaced, and, if anything, improved on the Allies' censors and propagandists' version of the German past and present.

Even Americans hardened to decades of assault on our own traditions and national heritage will scarcely conceive the national masochism of Germany's new class of re-educated re-educators, who assiduously carry out the process known as *Vergangenheitsbewältigung*, "coming to terms with (or mastering) the past." Relentlessly imposed in all aspects of political, social, educational and even religious life, the ultimate goal of this reeducation process has been (and remains) to obliterate the sense of self-worth of an entire people.

The reeducators are not so much "masters of the past" as past masters at intimidation. For almost half a century, these creatures have waged war against national honor and historical truth, armed with effective tools of censorship such as federal laws against literature that allegedly "endangers youth" (under which, among hundreds of other writings, the German-language edition of Dr. Arthur Butz' book, *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, has been banned), laws against "popular incitement" or "defaming the memory of the dead," and laws against "slander and "hatred," not to mention Germany's more recent law criminalizing the "Auschwitz lie" (we Revisionists are supposed to be the liars).

Faithful readers of the IHR *Journal* and *Newsletter* are familiar with the sordid record of how Germany's "re-educators" have dealt with Revisionists, both domestic and foreign, and their heretical views: smears, blacklisting, censorship, confiscation and destruction of books, dismissals from employment, fines, revocation of academic degrees, reduction of pensions, arrests, trials, and prison sentences. One need only recall the treatment of Wilhelm Stäglich, Udo Walendy, Otto-Ernst Remer and David Irving, to name a few of the Institute's collaborators, or consider the outrages and indignities heaped on German scholars and authors such as Professor Helmut Diwald, to recognize that in the German Federal Republic of today—much as in the Germanies of Jerome Bonaparte, Metternich, Frederick Wilhelm III, and, of course, the mighty ghost whom the thought-controllers

claim to be exorcising—historiography is once more a police matter.

Dr. Georg Franz-Willing has himself been a victim of this state despotism. He was denied a university career because his *Doktorvater* at the University of Munich was the great German (and nationalist) historian Karl Alexander von Müller. Franz-Willing's strict objectivity in dealing with the history of Hitler and his party brought him difficulties during his years as a lecturer at the Federal Republic's naval academy in Flensburg-Mürwick. Happily, none of this seems to have embittered this knowledgeable, humane scholar. While *Umerziehung* has been written with a passion and verve rare among German academics, it never once slips to the mean level of discourse that is the norm for his and his country's adversaries.

Not that Dr. Franz-Willing has pulled his punches. He sternly and courageously details the Jewish role in the postwar occupation, as well as the ongoing exploitation of the German people by the Zionist state through the unending "reparations" racket. Were he not retired, his description of the Federal Republic of Germany as "a society of penitents for Jewry since its foundation" would almost certainly bring his teaching career to a swift end.

Umerziehung is also unsparing in its criticism of American policies, wartime and postwar, in Germany and Japan. Overshadowing its West-European allies among the "Big Four," the United States pursued the most ambitious, the most relentless, and arguably the most hypocritical program of "re-education" of any of the victors. The eloquent American voices raised against our cruel and foolish German policy, including those of political leaders such as Herbert Hoover and Robert Taft, scholars such as Austin App and Harry Elmer Barnes, and journalists such as Dorothy Thompson and Freda Utey, were unavailing against the powerful anti-German tide. Swollen with self-righteousness, bloating with material power even as its moral and political greatness dwindled away, the United States of America cut a sorry figure in postwar Germany.

That much admitted, one may quibble with the author's judgment that the rapprochement between the American and English elites of the second-half of the nineteenth century was as one-sidedly to the American advantage and the British disadvantage as he implies. Franz-Willing portrays

an American ruling caste that deliberately profited from England's woes, and, in the person of President Franklin D. Roosevelt, drove England and France to war over Poland. One might inquire instead about the extent to which the British Establishment used the Americans, drawing them into two world wars. A number of American Revisionist historians (David Hoggan comes quickly to mind) have disagreed with Franz-Willing's view on this issue. Perhaps the answer is to be found in the multifarious linkages and activities of powerful interest groups which, for at least a century now, have effectively succeeded in subordinating nations to supra-national, indeed anti-national, concerns.

It is to be noted, too, that *Umerziehung* contains a number of minor flaws and errors, evident in particular to the present reviewers in its treatment of several nuances in American history and in English orthography.

In any case it is Americans, as much if not more than Germans, who need to read this book, which cries out for translation into English. *Umerziehung* is yet another solemn chronicle of the consequences of failure to heed the wise advice of George Washington, John Quincy Adams, and succeeding generations of American patriots who warned against our nation being embroiled and entangled in the Old World's immemorial and endless feuds and quarrels. Furthermore, as Dr. Franz-Willing's excellent survey of the course and consequences of our and our allies' ultimately short-sighted "re-education" experiment hints, Americans themselves have reaped a bitter harvest from the seeds, not merely of anti-Germanism, but of anti-Americanism, anti-Westernism, and anti-Christianity, which, planted by the most vociferous of Germany's educators, have since the war germinated in Washington, New York, and Hollywood. Today, and tomorrow, it is America they are re-educating.

Letters

ELITE MINDSET

To the Editor:

I am writing to express my appreciation for Charles Lutton's excellent article in the Winter 1991-92 issue about the historical debate on the Pearl Harbor attack. The piece clearly establishes the central role of Franklin Roosevelt and his cronies in maneuvering our nation into World War II on behalf of Britain.

The question of their motivation is, I think, best answered by a social psychologist familiar with the mentality of FDR's elite world. Along with his friends and colleagues, Roosevelt grew up in a privileged world of private schools, fashionable colleges, power, prestige and wealth. Like the other members of the Establishment elite, he firmly believed in his right to rule the rest of us.

An important component of that outlook was what might be called Anglo-Saxon racism, a mindset that helps to explain Roosevelt's attitude toward Britain.

C. W. — Falls Church, Va.

SACCHARINE RACIALIST LONGING

To the Editor:

Samuel Taylor's racist screed ["The Challenge of Multiculturalism," Summer 1992] expresses a saccharine longing for the good old days when White professors taught White history to White students to instill a "national identity in the minds of young citizens."

Taylor believes that scholarship should serve the interests of the State, and he's worried that minority dissidents will weaken the influence of State authority over the lives of the people. What tyrant anywhere in history has not shared his apprehensions?

He sets forth a series of fake multicultural conundrums. Was the “discovery and settlement” of North America by Europeans a “triumphant advance for civilization” or an unending sequence of “defeats and disaster” for Native Americans? Or, “Does a multicultural textbook call this a triumph or a disaster or both or neither?”

Well, what does the record show? Tough question, eh? The answer is apparently beyond the ability of a nominally scholarly article.

Multicultural history asks the primary historical question from a new angle: What really happened? Taylor suggests that Western historians are no longer able to address such a question, but instead need “handling” by politically motivated agents like himself.

Writings such as this evasive, ill-willed (though polite) article by a transparent racial chauvinist can reduce *The Journal of Historical Review* to what its enemies have charged for years that it is. If Taylor is right, one might easily conclude, Hitler was obviously right: The Jews were an alien presence in the Germanic body. Since Jews didn’t see things from a Catholic, Protestant, Atheist, Wagnerian or Volkswagener perspective, they had to go. They went.

How would it have been for us in this century if our despised non-White minorities had gotten a slice of the American history pie? Things just might have worked out a little differently. It wasn’t our Blacks who agitated for war in Europe until we destroyed White Germany. It wasn’t our Latinos and Asians who goaded us into expending our wealth and spilling the blood of our youth in one war after another in Asia.

As a young citizen, I was taught the White history by White teachers that today middle-brow White racialists pine for so ardently. Among the wide range of historical truths I absorbed was the one about how bestial Germans exterminated millions of Jews in gas chambers.

I’ve had enough of State-sponsored White history. I have no interest in State-sponsored “multiculturalist” history. I want to know what happened.

Bradley R. Smith
P. O. Box 3267
Visalia, CA 93278

FRENCH PURGE EXAGGERATIONS

To the Editor:

I was sorry to see two errors in the Spring 1992 issue of the *Journal*.

In his review, Nelson Rosit wrote (on page 114) of "the French school of the *Annales* begun by Georges Dumézil and developed further by Fernand Braudel." This is not true. That school was launched by Marc Bloch and Lucien Febvre in the twenties and thirties. After the last war Fernand Braudel was among the main exponents of the "second generation." Dumézil was never even a member of that school.

The estimates by historian Sisley Huddleston cited in your editorial note (on page 118) of the number of people killed in the "summary executions" as part of the Purge that followed the Liberation of France in 1944-1945 are much too high. As you well know, such estimates are often grossly exaggerated.

The often-repeated estimates of 80,000 to 105,000 victims of the Purge have no basis in historical fact. Even the supposedly "conservative" estimates of 20,000 to 30,000 victims are much too high. These latter figures would include not only all "summary executions," but those during the period of the German occupation, as well as post-occupation judiciary executions.

F. L. — Paris

For what it's worth, even lower figures are given in The Historical Encyclopedia of World War II (New York: Facts on File, 1989), a reference work originally published in 1977 in France under a slightly different title. Contributor M. Baudot writes in an entry (on pages 402-403):

As for those who were purged, or feared that they would be, they raised such a loud cry about the "Red Terror" that many people came to believe that the Resistance had killed at least 100,000 Frenchmen. But carefully conducted official inquiries in 1948 and 1952 fixed the number of executions at about 15,000.

—The Editor

“MORAL AUTHORITY”?

To the Editor:

In the review article of Mark Ellis' *Beyond Innocence and Redemption* [Summer 1992], Robert Countess writes: "In his [Ellis'] view, the massive injustice of Israel's seemingly endless maltreatment of Palestinians is squandering the moral authority that is essential for the long-term survival of the Jewish state."

If moral authority is really essential to the long-term survival of Israel, what of other countries, including our own? In spite of the dark record of American mistreatment of the indigenous (Indian) peoples, the United States of America has not merely survived, but has grown and prospered to become the most powerful country in the world. I would not dispute that in our treatment of the Indians, we have squandered our moral authority. Nevertheless, here we are, two centuries later.

J. V. — Kingman, Arizona

ELOQUENT AND TIMELY

To the Editor:

Let me take this opportunity to commend you on the superb summer issue of the *Journal*. I thought the Nuremberg Trials article was particularly good. Well-organized, eloquent, judicious—this is exactly the sort of writing we need much more of. The Treblinka piece, with its meticulous evaluation of several conflicting folkloric depictions, was particularly timely.

G. W. — Victor, Col.

A REVELATION

To the Editor:

Your article on the Nuremberg Trials [Summer 1992] is by far the most comprehensive presentation I have ever read on this subject. It's a masterpiece. Everyone should read it. What a revelation.

At the same time, I am afraid that its effectiveness and readership will be severely limited because of your mention of Jewish responsibility and participation in the Nuremberg trials. If only you would leave out (or play down) this single aspect, I am sure that it would reach a larger readership, particularly on the university level.

E. A. — Portland, Oreg.

IMPORTANT GOALS

To the Editor:

I trust that things are going well with you and that the Institute is as busy as ever. I never knew a time when its primary goals were more important than right now.

L. Fletcher Prouty
[author of *The Secret Team*]
Alexandria, Va.

POWERFUL WRITING

To the Editor:

I was impressed with Leon Degrelle's positive and non-defensive description of how Hitler and his National Socialist party dealt with the desperate situation in Germany when they came to power. [Fall 1992]

This is powerful writing! Of particular interest to me was Degrelle's description of how Hitler arranged for the financ-

ing needed to begin national reconstruction. I had never understood precisely how this was achieved.

It is interesting to compare Germany's plight in the years following the end of the First World War, with the situation in the United States today. In each case we find back-breaking debt, siphoning-off of capital for taxes and interest as it circulates, and tax funds squandered for non-productive purposes.

It would be wonderful if Degrelle's writings could somehow be widely distributed and studied in American classrooms.

E. F. — Wellington, Nevada

HITLER A DEMOCRAT?

To the Editor:

I could hardly believe my eyes when I read Leon Degrelle's article about the Hitler's revolution in Germany.

Degrelle claims that Hitler's National Socialist revolution was "completely democratic." Just how democratic was it when Nazi and Communist deputies collaborated in obstructing procedures in the Reichstag, thus forcing the appointment of Hitler as Chancellor? How democratic was Hitler's murder of Ernst Röhm and several hundred other erstwhile SA comrades? And let's not forget that the German people rejected Hitler in the elections of 1932.

One can surely sympathize with Germany in the years after 1918. After defeat in a war not of her own making, she was shabbily treated at Versailles in a manner that is a permanent stain upon the honor of the Allied powers. Germany was also plagued by Bolshevik agitation, ruinous inflation and French meddling.

Hitler's seizure of power must be understood within this historical context. National Socialism was Germany's imperfect response to those problems. Conditions were so dreadful when Hitler came to power that Germany had nowhere to go but up. No wonder things looked good by comparison.

None of this means, though, that we should lionize Hitler. No less than any other political leader, he should be judged

by the ultimate consequences of his policies. It should hardly be necessary to remind *Journal* readers that Hitler's policies resulted in devastating defeat, horrible loss of life, terrible suffering, ruin and destruction.

As mentioned in the accompanying editorial note, the familiar historical accounts of Shirer, Fest and Bullock are certainly one-sided and "littered with historical duds." But those writers could take lessons from Degrelle in one-sided history writing.

The IHR is ill-served by publishing writing that departs so sharply from the judicious and meticulous scholarship of historians such as Harry Elmer Barnes, Hamilton Fish and George Morgenstern.

H. P. — Norwalk, Calif.

THE AUSCHWITZ LIE IN GERMANY

To the Editor:

It is always a pleasure to receive a new issue of either the *Newsletter* or the *Journal*. Here in Germany, we are subject to such a severe ban against expressing Revisionist views, especially on the taboo issue of the Holocaust, that I am now convinced that the breakthrough must come from abroad.

In addition to the power and influence of the "Chosen," the German Establishment—including politicians, newspaper editors, university professors, and so forth—are completely committed to the Auschwitz Lie. Revisionism threatens their positions and livelihoods, and they are therefore determined to prevent the ascent of truth.

Although our constitution supposedly guarantees that our courts our independent, on this issue that is far from the case.

I now believe that it would be politically disastrous if our nation were to be the first to discredit the Great Lie. The consequence, I am afraid, would be an international torrent of defamation and hate, including a boycott of German goods. The wind of change must come from the West, and we have to be ready when the avalanche is set off.

I am certain that the work of the IHR is of great importance in this regard. I am enclosing a check for \$500 to help you keep up the heat. If a magical fairy were to grant me just one wish for my remaining years, I would ask that the truth about the Holocaust be known generally throughout the world.

D. O. — Bonn, Germany

GOOD READING

To the Editor:

You've provided me with much of the best reading I've had in years. To read just the irrelevant material put out by the squabbling "liberals" and "conservatives," or the basically like-minded books and magazines that are generally available, one would not realize that there are other valuable perspectives and insights. You must stay in business! The enclosed is not much of a donation, but I'll give a little more with each of my future book orders.

P. N. — Cambridge, Mass.

VALID TESTIMONY?

To the Editor:

I read your enlightening article about Treblinka in the Summer 1992 issue with deep interest. However, I was a bit puzzled by the sentence (on page 143): "In spite of its often inconsistent, contradictory and implausible character, testimony indicating that many Jews lost their lives at Treblinka cannot easily be dismissed." As I recall, David Irving said something similar during an IHR Conference one year, and Professor Robert Faurisson responded by insisting upon confirmation. Just how valid is such "testimony" anyway?

Enclosed is an appeal for money I received today from the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. The cover letter

by Curtis R. Whiteway, a US Army veteran who describes the liberation of the Dachau camp, is interesting for what it does not say.

When American troops captured Dachau in 1945, they rounded up the German camp personnel who had surrendered (unarmed and holding a white flag), lined them up against a wall and machine-gunned them to death. This is documented in the book *Dachau: The Hour of the Avenger* by Howard A. Buechner, which also includes photos of the slaughter. I first learned about this book in the *IHR Newsletter*.

I intend to write to Mr. Whiteway to ask if he was one of the Americans who helped kill the German guards.

G. P. — Pembroke, N.C.

The editor welcomes letters from readers. Ideally, letters should be no more than about 500 words in length. We reserve the right to edit for style and space.

Errata: In the Summer 1992 issue of the *Journal*, the captions on pages 148 and 149 are transposed.

In the Fall 1992 issue of the *Journal*, two lines of text are deleted from the paragraph at the bottom of page 371 and the top of page 372. This paragraph should read:

Ignorance and even suppression of the facts of these marine disasters is part of the general ignorance in the United States about the great loss of life and terrible suffering endured by the German people during the Second World War, above all in the conflict's grim final months. For the story of the unparalleled loss of life in the sinking of these three German ships can be understood only within the context of the general situation during the final months of the war, when the advancing Soviet forces, eager to take terrible vengeance against the Germans, set in motion one of the greatest mass migrations in history.

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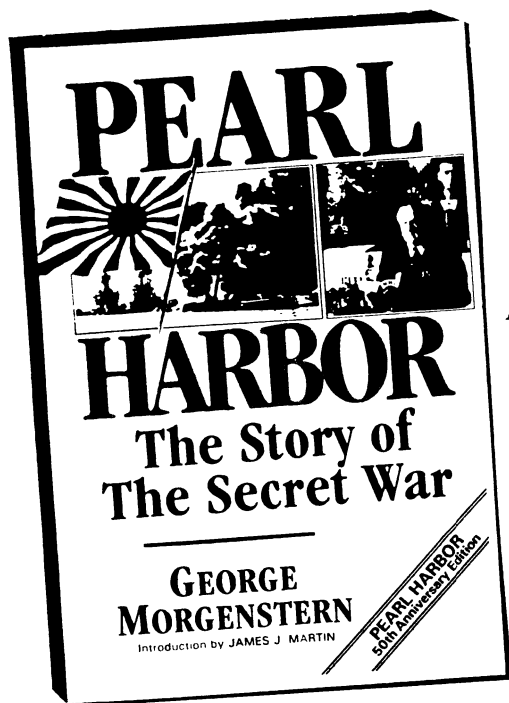
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About the Contributors

RUSS GRANATA taught European history, literature and German for 33 years in southern California public schools. A graduate of the University of California (B.A.) and the University of Southern California (M.A.), he is a specialist of European history and literature. He is a six-times-decorated US Navy veteran of the Second World War.

PAUL GRUBACH holds an Associate Arts degree in liberal arts, and a Bachelor of Science degree in physics, with a concentration in chemistry and minor in history, from John Carroll University (Ohio). He received a scholarship for his work in chemistry, and is a member of the Phi Alpha Theta history honor society.

FRED A. LEUCHTER, Jr., is the foremost expert on the design and fabrication of hardware, including homicidal gas chambers, used to execute convicted criminals in the United States. After receiving a Bachelor's degree (in history) from Boston University in 1964, Leuchter did postgraduate work at the Harvard Smithsonian Astrophysical Observatory. He holds patents on the design of sextants, surveying instruments and optical encoding equipment. He is an accomplished pianist and an NRA-qualified small-arms instructor. Leuchter is perhaps best known as the author of two controversial forensic reports on alleged German wartime extermination gas chambers. He and his wife, Carolyn, live in Malden, Massachusetts, a suburb of Boston.

WALTER LÜFTL is a leading Austrian engineer. He is a court-recognized expert engineer, and heads a major engineering firm in Vienna. Until March 1992, he served as president of Austria's 4,000-member association of professional engineers.

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ERNST ZÜNDEL, prevented (once again) by the U.S. State Department from entering the country, addresses the conference by videotape, telling of his recent spectacular Canadian Supreme Court victory. Introduced by W.A. Carto.

FRED LEUCHTER, author of the earth-shaking technical study that smashed the Auschwitz gassing lie, describes his own "botched execution" at the hands of Zionist terrorists and their cat's-paws in America. Also on this tape Leuchter's attorney, **Kirk Lyons**, describes his defense of Leuchter and then outlines what's needed to organize a legal counteroffensive against the enemies of freedom and truth.

TED O'KEEFE, IHR editor, tells how "Holocaust survivor" Mel Mermelstein was whipped on the law and the facts in L.A. Superior Court in September 1991. O'Keefe describes how he gathered and evaluated the crucial evidence that ended Mermelstein's ten-year campaign to bankrupt the IHR.

BRADLEY SMITH, longtime director of IHR's Media Outreach program, describes his stunningly successful campaign to place full page ads in campus newspapers across the land. Also on this tape, **David Cole**, a 23-year-old Jewish Revisionist, tells how he came to doubt, and then challenge, the gas chamber stories.

JEROME BRENTAR, the most valiant and persistent defender of John Demjanjuk, discusses his own role in fighting and exposing the OSI-Israeli-Soviet frame-up of Demjanjuk, and how the battle for the Ukrainian-American's freedom is proceeding.

AHMED RAMI, the gallant Moroccan officer in exile who has become a radio apostle of Revisionism in Sweden, tells of his trial, conviction, and jail sentence for "lack of respect" for Jews in Sweden.

WOLF R. HESS, the son of Rudolf Hess, the Twentieth Century's Prisoner of Peace, talks about the life and death of his father, who, he argues, was murdered by his captors.

ARTHUR R. BUTZ, author of *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, draws on the most complete collection of German documents on the Auschwitz crematoria to propound a brilliant and devastating hypothesis on their planning and construction.

ROBERT FAURISSON, the peerless Revisionist from France, delivers a funeral oration over the cadaver of the Holocaust-as-history, then describes how the hoax is being resurrected, this time as a religion impervious to historical analysis.

DAVID IRVING, the brilliant, controversial English historian and best-selling author, provides a sobering (but hilarious) account of his harassment at the behest of Jewish-Zionist groups around the world. He also talks about his translation of the missing portions of the Goebbels diaries, and what the Eichmann "memoir" contributes to the record of World War II German Jewish policy.

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