

The Journal of Historical Review

Incorporating the **IHR Newsletter**

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David Irving

Life Under Fire

Greg Raven

*Irving's Most Un-Excellent
Adventure in Canada*

Wolf R. Hess

*The Life and Death of
My Father Rudolf Hess*

Mark Weber

*The Legacy
of Rudolf Hess*

Martin A. Larson

*Thomas Jefferson's
Place in History*

Doug Collins

*Canadian Reflections on the
Zündel and Irving Cases*

—Historical News and Comment—



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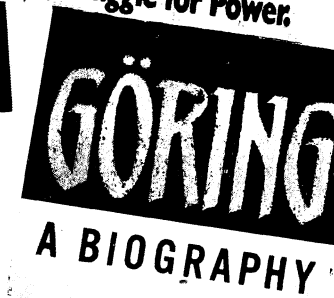
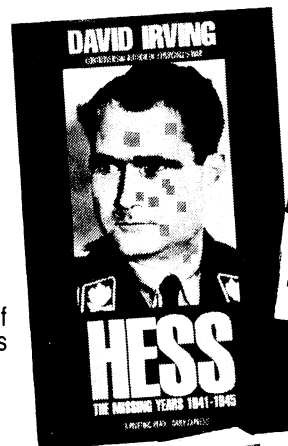
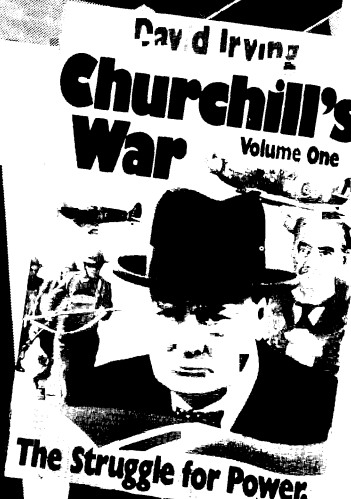
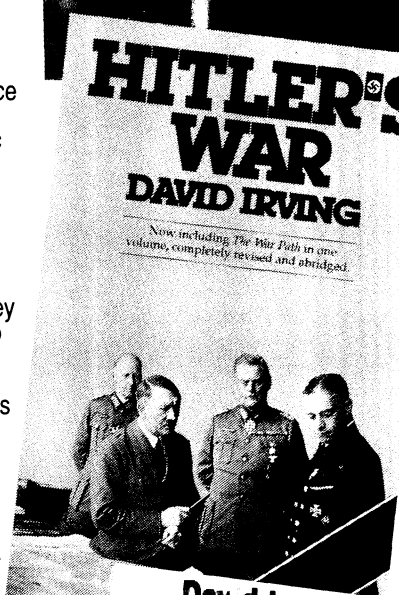
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IN THIS ISSUE

From the Editor	2
A New Journal and a New Era <i>Mark Weber</i>	
David Irving: Intrepid Battler <i>Mark Weber</i>	4
Life Under Fire <i>David Irving</i>	8
Irving's Most Un-Excellent Adventure In Canada <i>Greg Raven</i>	12
The Legacy of Rudolf Hess <i>Mark Weber</i>	20
The Life and Death of My Father <i>Wolf R. Hess</i>	24
Thomas Jefferson's Place in History <i>Martin A. Larson</i>	40
Canadian Reflections on the Zündel and Irving Cases <i>Doug Collins</i>	42
Holocaust Survivor Finds "Exterminated Brother"	45
Official US Holocaust Museum To Open in April	46

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From the Editor

A New Journal and a New Era

Between the beginning of 1980 and the end of 1992 (with a one year suspension in 1987), twelve annual volumes of the familiar quarterly *Journal* were published. In the 5,800 pages of these 46 issues, we have been proud to present hundreds of articles and essays, including first-ever publication of articles of major importance by the world's foremost Revisionist historians and researchers and no fewer than 221 reviews. Consequently (and in spite of its modest circulation), the *Journal* has won the respect of intelligent and grateful readers around the world, as well as the bitter hatred of the traditional enemies of truth in history.

With this January-February 1993 issue of the *Journal*, we take on a new format and publishing schedule. From now on, it will appear six times yearly in this larger (8 1/2 by 11 inch) size, and will make more generous use of photographs. And because it incorporates the now-discontinued *IHR Newsletter*, the *Journal* will include more topical material, including news about Revisionist activism around the world, as well as informed commentary about events here and abroad.

Since its founding in 1978, the Institute for Historical Review has been dedicated to helping thoughtful and open-minded men and women of good will more realistically to anticipate the future by better understanding the past. Our new *Journal* represents a renewed commitment to our traditional goal of shedding light on relevant but suppressed chapters of history.

Building upon the foundation of solid scholarship and careful writing laid in the "old" *Journal*, we will continue to feature scholarly historical articles and reviews. At the same time, though, we will seek to more fully embrace historical issues in the widest sense.

We are confident that the new *Journal* will not only be welcomed by you, our most faithful subscribers, but will also prove effective in reaching many new readers as well.

We launch the "new" *Journal* at a time of sweeping change around the world.

In recent years we have witnessed the collapse of Communist rule in Russia and eastern and central Europe (symbolized by the fall of the Berlin Wall), the emergence of a united Germany and newly independent states in eastern and central Europe, and the breakup of the artificial multi-ethnic states of the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia and

Czecho-Slovakia.

Another world-historical development with the most profound implications for the coming century has been the rise in recent decades of Japan and other countries in East Asia, which present an ever more formidable economic challenge to Europe and the United States.

During this final decade of the twentieth century, it is ironic that so much of the world's attention should once again turn to Bosnia-Herzegovina—precisely the troubled region where the spark that ignited the First World War which proved so devastating for Europe and Western civilization was set off in 1914.

In short, a new and uncertain international order (or disorder) is emerging from the wreckage of the global hegemony established by the United States and the Soviet Union at the end of the Second World War.

No less significant have been the recent—and still ongoing—changes here at home.

According to a nationwide Gallup survey made public in mid-September, two of three Americans believe that the United States is in serious long-term decline. Nearly 80 percent believe that the United States is in economic decline, and 65 percent see America in a state of moral decline. This deep-seated concern is also reflected in the historically unprecedented support for non-politician H. Ross Perot in last year's presidential campaign.

Keen observers of the American scene—regardless of their ideological perspective—are increasingly gloomy about America's future. Historian David Halberstam, for example, believes that it may already be too late. "I have the feeling that something is slipping away from us," he recently commented. "Maybe it will take an apocalyptic event [to turn things around] . . . If it does, a lot of people are going to get hurt. We are in a crisis now, maybe it's an amorphous crisis, but it is a crisis. For the first time in my grown-up life, I'm worried about the future of this country."

Wilmot Robertson, author of *The Dispossessed Majority*, a shrewd analysis of America's social, ethnic, racial and political state, is even less optimistic. Events during the last several decades, he writes in the foreword to a newly published book, *The Ethnostate*, are proving "that America, as we have known it, is beyond saving. The Majority, that is, the Northern and Western European elements of the population, has lost whatever chance it had to recapture the country it ruled for

more than two centuries.”

This sense of foreboding—which is all the more remarkable because the United States is still relatively prosperous and stable—has been fueled by a general breakdown of order and civility in recent decades, the seemingly unstoppable deterioration and “Third Worldization” of our major cities, and apparently uncontrollable violence, particularly among the country’s racial minorities.

A striking feature of this mood of apprehension is the absence of consensus about just how this crisis came about, much less what should be done about it.

Throughout the centuries, wise individuals have understood that the most reliable guide to the future is an informed awareness of the past. For those willing to learn, history teaches important but often stern lessons.

While an understanding of history has probably never been more urgently needed than today, the sorry lack of historical awareness—especially on the part of our political, educational and cultural leaders—is all the more culpable and dangerous. For it is only with a clear and honest appreciation of the past that we can hope to face the future responsibly and realistically.

Fortunately, it is precisely during times of dramatic and confusing change such as ours that the craving for truthful history tends to be greatest.

Given all this, we believe that this era of challenge and apprehension about the future presents new and important opportunities for the educational work of our Institute and its *Journal of Historical Review*.

In recent years, no historian has provoked greater controversy, or has stimulated more people into reassessing stereotypical notions about contemporary history, than David Irving. The best-selling British historian is also a good friend of the Institute who has delighted attendees at four IHR Conferences.

We are accordingly pleased to begin this premiere issue of the “new” *Journal* with an essay summarizing Irving’s remarkable career and impact. The British historian himself then provides a fascinating and humorous report on the increasingly desperate and sometimes criminal international campaign to silence him and to suppress openness in history.

Next, Associate Editor Greg Raven provides a day-by-day account of Irving’s recent travails in Canada from where, at the behest of the international Holocaust lobby, he was deported on November 13.

But as Raven shows, this victory may well prove to be Pyrrhic. The Holocaust lobby may win battles, but it is plainly losing the war. In spite of

their increasingly frantic efforts, the enemies of historical truth and free speech are finding it harder and harder to stuff the Revisionist genie back into the bottle of enforced ignorance.

Later in this issue, veteran Canadian journalist Doug Collins deftly sums up the larger importance of the Irving and Zündel affairs, two controversies that raise the most fundamental questions about freedom of speech and the role of illicit power in a democratic society. (Unfortunately, neither of these affairs has received anything like the media attention it deserves in the United States.)

Few men of our century have lived lives as dramatic as that of Rudolf Hess. In his front-line combat service during the First World War, his close association with Hitler and position as the Third Reich’s Deputy Führer, his unjust treatment at Nuremberg, and his 46 years of cruel imprisonment, Hess personifies—as IHR founder Willis Carto pointed out at the Eleventh IHR Conference—the triumph and tragedy of not only his own nation, but of the West.

We devote much of this issue to a detailed review of the remarkable life and legacy of Rudolf Hess. Following an article that briefly sketches his life and place in history, Wolf Rüdiger Hess provides a fascinating look at the dramatic course of his father’s life from a uniquely well-informed perspective. Wolf Hess concludes his presentation with persuasive evidence to show that his father’s death in August 1987 was not suicide, as officially reported at the time, but murder.

IHR editorial advisor Martin Larson takes a critical look at the growing campaign to disparage the reputation of Thomas Jefferson. Larson, an expert on Jefferson’s life and work, shows that this pseudo-revisionist effort is based not on new historical research or insight, but is instead merely a manifestation of the intellectual biases of our “politically correct” age.

Nothing better symbolizes the misguided priorities of our society today, as well as the venal corruption of our political leaders, than the costly Holocaust Memorial Museum now being completed in Washington, DC. As we report here, plans are now being laid to protest this pseudo-religious monument of foolishness when it formally opens in April.

Finally, on a lighter note, we are happy to provide an account of the role played by Revisionist activists on the nationally broadcast Montel Williams Show in bringing together brothers who, for half a century, were thought to have perished as “victims of the Holocaust.”

Politicians are the same all over. They promise to build a bridge even where there is no river.

—Nikita Khrushchev

David Irving: Intrepid Battler for Historical Truth

MARK WEBER

(Based on introduction of Irving at the Eleventh IHR Conference, 1992.)

Soviet premier Nikita Krushchev might have had David Irving in mind when he once warned that historians are dangerous because they have the power to upset everything. German Chancellor Otto von Bismarck once said that the main thing is not to write history, but to make it. Irving is a man who has been able to do some of both.

He is also living proof that the life of a historian need not be dull. The leftist British daily *The Guardian* once commented, "If one can overlook his outrageously odious views, Irving—like Hitler—can be a funny man. The humor comes from a hint of self-mockery and an obvious delight in making liberal flesh creep."

At the Eleventh IHR Conference in October 1992—as he had in his presentations at the IHR Conferences of 1983, 1989 and 1990—this good friend of the Institute for Historical Review not only shed new light on important chapters of twentieth-century history, he delighted attendees with humorous updates on some of the new ways he had found to make liberal flesh creep.

In the three decades since he published his first book, Irving has firmly established himself as not only one of the most successful and widely-read historians of our time, but also as one of the most courageous.

He has an enviable track record of uncovering startling new facts about even supposedly well-known episodes of history. His effectiveness is due in very large measure to his discovery of original source materials, such as diaries, original documents, and so forth, from both official and private sources. He is tenacious in his ceaseless digging in just about every important historical archive in the western world.

A professional historian, Irving has little respect for taxpayer-financed scholars who are guilty of what he calls "inter-historian incest,"

and who thereby help to keep alive dangerous myths and legends left over from wartime propaganda.

His first work, *The Destruction of Dresden*, was published in 1963 when he was 25 years old. Since then, he has published more than two dozen books, many of them best-sellers, including biographies of Hermann Göring, Winston Churchill, and Erwin Rommel. He is currently at work on a biography of Joseph Goebbels.

Several of Irving's books have appeared in various languages, and several have been serialized in prominent periodicals, including the *Sunday Express*, the *Sunday Telegraph* and *Der Spiegel*.

Over the years, he has also contributed articles to some 60 British and foreign periodicals, including the *Daily Telegraph* and the *Sunday Express* in London, the *Mainichi Shimbun* in Tokyo, and *Stern* and *Der Spiegel* in Hamburg.

Irving's reputation first came under vicious attack following the publication in 1977 of *Hitler's War*, a monumental work that was hysterically criticized for its contention that Hitler did not order the extermination of Europe's Jews. The mass killings must have been carried out by Himmler and his cohorts behind Hitler's back, Irving concluded at that time.

As a journalist for *Time* magazine once told him, "Until *Hitler's War* you couldn't put a foot wrong, you were the darling of the media. After it, they heaped slime on you."

So enraged was the Zionist Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith by this book that the shadowy organization promptly added his name to its ever-growing list of enemies. As it turned out, the ADL's troubles with Irving were only just beginning.

The international campaign against him became even more vicious following the publi-

cation in 1981 of *Uprising*, a history of the 1956 anti-Communist revolt in Hungary. This book enraged the ADL crowd because it does not whitewash the significant Jewish role in the Hungarian Communist regime. [Softcover edition available from the IHR for \$16.95 plus \$2.00 shipping.]

Irving has made several highly successful speaking and promotion tours in Germany, Canada, Australia, South Africa, the United States, and other countries. German listeners in particular delight in hearing an Englishman say out loud what many in that country believe in their souls but have been intimidated into keeping to themselves. In Germany, Irving has become a kind of conscience for a people who have been largely robbed of their own.

A startling climax in the second "Holocaust Trial" of Ernst Zündel in 1988 was the testimony of Irving, who was the last of 23 defense witnesses. He stunned the completely packed Toronto courtroom by announcing that he had changed his mind about the Holocaust story. During his three days on the stand, he explained in detail why he now endorses the Revisionist view of the extermination story.

In June 1989, Irving published the British edition of *The Leuchter Report*. This handsome, illustrated edition, for which he wrote a foreword, was launched by him at a press conference in London. He told the journalists there that the infamous extermination gas chambers of Auschwitz and Majdanek did not exist, except, perhaps, as the brainchild invention of Britain's wartime propaganda bureau, the Political Warfare Executive (PWE).

A magnificent 860-page Focal Point edition of *Hitler's War* was published last year. Taking account of his most recent research and insights, references to so-called "extermination camps" have been removed from this revised edition. And in his introduction, Irving deftly tears apart one historical legend after another.

This work—the product of decades of patient research and writing—has proven particularly enraging to the enemies of truth in history.

In addition to the usual lies, his adversaries have even turned to criminal burglary and arson in their fitful and frantic efforts to silence him.

Not long ago, an official of the American Jewish Committee, a certain Kenneth S.

Stern, declared that Irving "never has been considered a serious historian." (*The Oregonian*, Portland, Oct. 7, 1992.)

That is simply a baldfaced lie.



Irving refers to a document during his presentation at the 1990 IHR Conference in Washington, DC.

In fact, Irving's remarkable abilities have been acknowledged by some of the most prominent names in the field. British historian Hugh Trevor-Roper, writing in the *Sunday Times* of London, once declared, "No praise can be too high for Irving's indefatigable scholarly industry." Trevor-Roper also called Irving one of the "few guides I would entirely trust . . . indefatigable in pursuit of evidence, fearless in face of it, sound in judgment . . ."

Another prominent British historian, A. J. P. Taylor, once wrote of him: "David Irving is a patient researcher of unrivalled industry and success."

David John Cawdell Irving was born in Hutton, Essex, England, on March 24, 1938, the son of an illustrator and Royal Navy commander. His father and mother were both well-known writers. After a liberal arts education at the four-century-old Sir Anthony Browne's school in Brentwood, Essex, young Irving won a scholarship to study physics at the Imperial College of Science and Technology

in London.

It did not take long, though, for him to realize that his life's calling would not be in the hard sciences.

In 1959 he moved to Germany's industrial Ruhr region to spend a year working in a steel mill to perfect his fluency in German. Then, after a stint working as a clerk-stenographer with the US Strategic Air Command at an airbase near Madrid, he returned to England to study political economy at London's University College.

Irving speaks fluent German, very good Spanish, and quite passable French, and reads several other languages.

On a personal note, he is the father of four daughters. His hobbies are oil painting, travel, and cinematography, and his favorite song is the English naval hymn, "For Those in Peril on the Sea."

He lives in the Mayfair district of London's West End, although in recent years has spent quite a lot of time at a south Florida retreat, where he now prefers to do his serious writing.

You'd need a pickup truck to carry away all the newspaper and magazine clippings that have appeared over the years about Irving.

In January 1992, for example, a flurry of reports appeared in newspapers and television broadcasts around the world suggesting that he had abandoned his highly skeptical view of the Holocaust extermination story because of what he had found in the postwar "memoir" of Adolf Eichmann, the German SS officer who coordinated the wartime deportations of Jews.

Had Irving defected from the Revisionist camp? In the wake of this uproar, he told the IHR: "My position remains unchanged." There were "certain My-Lai-type atrocities" by German troops in the occupied Soviet territories, but the "gas chambers and factories of death are legend," and there is no wartime evidence of an order by Hitler to exterminate the Jews. In an interview at the time with the London *Jewish Chronicle* (January 17, 1992), Irving said, "The Jews are very foolish not to abandon the gas chamber theory while they still have time."

Last May, a German court fined Irving 10,000 marks—about \$6,000—for public statements he had made challenging the Holocaust story. His crime? At a meeting in Munich in 1990, Irving had said that the building in the Auschwitz main camp that has been portrayed for years as an extermination gas chamber is

a phony reconstruction (or, in German, "At-trappen").

The Munich district court refused to permit the defense to present even a single witness or exhibit. For example, it would not permit Irving's attorneys to call as a witness the director of the Auschwitz State Museum, Dr. Franciszek Piper, who has privately confirmed on several occasions that what Irving had told the meeting in 1990 is, in fact, the truth. After his attorneys dramatically walked out of courtroom to protest the judge's outrageous rulings, Irving delivered a stirring plea for truth and justice that has since been widely circulated in Germany on audio cassette and as a leaflet. (For more on this trial, see the July-August 1992 *IHR Newsletter*.)

Also last year, Irving played the key and highly publicized role in bringing to light the long-suppressed diaries of Third Reich propaganda chief Dr. Joseph Goebbels. Last July, the London *Sunday Times*, one of the world's most influential papers, published extensive translated excerpts from the diary, which Irving found and transcribed. (See report in the October 1992 *IHR Newsletter*.)

International and British Jewish organizations lost no time in attacking the paper for employing Irving, and the resulting furor made headlines in newspapers and magazines around the world. A report in the London *Jewish Chronicle* headlined "Sunday Times comes under pressure" (July 17, 1992), described the extent of the campaign to punish the paper for its collaboration with Irving. Officials of the American Jewish Committee added their voices to the worldwide pressure campaign, expressing particular anger because the historian has addressed several IHR conferences. The *Sunday Times* capitulated, and in breach of contract, refused to pay Irving the agreed-upon fee of 83,000 pounds. He is suing.

On July 3, more than 300 Jewish demonstrators gathered outside Irving's London residence to denounce him. The next day, July fourth (by the way, the ninth anniversary of the devastating 1984 arson attack against the IHR office-warehouse), a larger crowd of several hundred met at the same place to shout more insults. Among the banners carried by the crowd of Marxists, Jews, homosexuals and Rastafarians were placards reading "Return to the Road of Lenin and Trotsky!," and "Build a Bolshevik Party, Tribune of All the Op-

pressed!"

That same day, though, about 250 persons defied intimidation and threats to hear and cheer Irving and other speakers at a Revisionist seminar in London. Besides Irving, the audience heard addresses by Kirk Lyons, Leuchter's US attorney, and Georgia attorney Sam Dickson (who addressed the 1986 IHR conference).

In all this, it is gratifying to note that it is a *Revisionist* historian who was—once again—at the forefront of historical discovery. In spite of the well-organized international campaign to boycott and silence him, David Irving remains at the vanguard of his profession—and, by the way, *solely* on the basis of his indisputable knowledge, skill and industry.

It is also gratifying to realize that, as a result of each of these recent controversies, hundreds of thousands—if not millions—of newspaper and magazine readers around the world are now aware that a historian of recognized international stature rejects critical aspects of the orthodox Holocaust extermination story.

California Court Rejects Mermelstein's Appeal

In the latest round in the long-standing effort by Holocaust personality Mel Mermelstein to shut down the Institute for Historical Review, the California Court of Appeal (Second Appellate District, Division Two) ruled on October 28, 1992, decisively in favor of the IHR and co-defendants.

The three judges—Nott, Gates and Fukuto—unanimously rejected Mermelstein's appeal of the dismissal, on September 19, 1991, by Los Angeles Superior Court Judge Steven Lachs, of Mermelstein's complaint of malicious prosecution against IHR and its fellow defendants. (For more on the IHR's 1991 legal victory, see the *IHR Newsletter*, October 1991.)

Five days before its recent ruling, Mermelstein's lawyer had argued before the appeal court that Judge Lachs had erred in finding that the IHR and co-defendant Willis Carto had probable cause to sue Mermelstein for libel.

However, IHR attorney William Hulsy's persuasive brief and oral arguments, as well as Judge Lachs' careful attention to the facts

and the law in his decision to grant Hulsy's motions of non-suit and to dismiss Mermelstein's complaint, proved decisive. The ruling of the three appeals court judges was both unanimous and categorical.

As this issue of the *Journal* goes to press, Mermelstein still has an option or two remaining, including petitioning the California Supreme Court to review the appeals court's decision. But the weakness of Mermelstein's factual and legal arguments against Judge Lachs's 1991 ruling, and the clear disfavor in which malicious prosecution complaints are held by the judiciary, make any successful attempt by Mermelstein to salvage his case extremely unlikely.

So, while we have very reasonable grounds for optimism that the long, costly, and potentially ruinous legal struggle will end in complete and final victory for the Institute, we'll wait to uncork the champagne until we receive the final word in the case.

(Ted O'Keefe's book on the Mermelstein case, *Best Witness*, should be available later this year.)

Free Speech Appeal

GET IRVING BACK INTO CANADA!

DAVID IRVING's two-week November battle to stay in Canada ran up \$8,000 in legal costs. Also, halls were hired and fees were lost. He needs your help to carry on the fight against the forgers and perjurers in Ottawa.

He has now begun lawsuits in Vancouver and Toronto to get back into Canada. This fight must not fail.

Checks for the **DAVID IRVING LEGAL FIGHTING FUND** can be sent to P.O. Box 1707, Key West, FL 33041 or to P.O. Box 214, 36 Adelaide Street East, Toronto, Ont., M5C 2J1 Canada.

Mr. Irving will personally acknowledge all contributions.

The Fight Goes on —to Final Victory!

Life Under Fire

DAVID IRVING

(Presented at the Eleventh IHR Conference, October 1992)

Thank you, United States, for letting me come and speak. I mean that seriously because the fight is now getting quite creepy. For two years now, in country after country, I have been conducting this international Campaign for Real History. During this period, in country after country, I've come up against an international campaign *against* real history—an international campaign full of lies, an international campaign to suppress the truth. The truth of this campaign is quite clearly something that I had previously not wanted to believe: there is, in fact, an international force out there with an influence that transcends frontiers. Day after day, country after country, month after month, I come up against this international force.

In my apartment in London, I've accordingly opened a file titled "Jewish Harassment." This should not be taken to mean, in the slightest, that I am anti-Jewish, because I'm not. The fact that many Jews are anti-Irving does not mean to say that I am anti-Jewish. There's no paradox in that statement. Week after week, month after month, they are causing me immense harassment, embarrassment and distress. But journalists come to me, again and again, and ask me: "Mr. Irving, are you anti-Semitic?" And I reply, "Not yet."

For two years now, I have been the target of this worldwide campaign—in Germany, France, Spain, South Africa, the United States, Canada, Argentina, Brazil, and England. Let me tell you a little about what has been happening in some of these countries.

In Germany, I'm now technically a prohibited person. I can't go there because the German authorities have ordained that David Irving shall no longer cross their frontier. A free democracy, and yet that's the only way they can fight against me: by forbidding me to come

in. That edict was issued in March 1990. But since then, I've been in and out of Germany 60 times. I'm not going to tell you how I've done it—but there are ways of doing it.

In Austria, there's an arrest warrant out against me, but no entry prohibition (whereas in Germany there's the entry prohibition but no arrest warrant). So between the two of them you can find a way of getting in. As I said to the Germans the last time I spoke to a mass meeting of 7,000 people in Passau: there are enough people here in plain clothes taking notes for the Ministry of the Interior, and tonight they'll be asked: how did he get in again? To this I can only say: "Go ask your colleagues in Austria how David Irving got in this time."

Banned in South Africa

Besides Germany and Austria, officially I am not permitted to get into Italy or South Africa. Last January and February, I spoke for two months in South Africa, this time visiting 15 towns and cities. Two weeks after I returned to England, a letter arrived from the South African government in Pretoria. It told me: "Mr. Irving, as an Englishman you normally do not require a visa to enter South African territories. For you we are going to make an exception." I reported this ban to the South African newspapers, which discovered in a matter of days that this unique embargo was being placed on me by the South African government at the request of South African Jewish organizations. This was followed by an outcry by other South Africans who wanted to hear me on radio and television, and in person. It was another encroachment on freedom of speech.

Of course, I am able to come and speak here in the United States because you have some-

thing very important, your First Amendment guaranteeing freedom of speech. It is very unlikely, I think, that the United States government would actually stoop to trying to prevent me from coming here to speak. It would be a very, very serious day indeed if that should happen.

In Canada, I have a big speaking tour lined up that is due to start on October the 26th. Yesterday, here in this very hotel [in Irvine, California], I was handed an express letter from the Canadian government informing me that I would not be allowed to enter Canada. Once again, pressure has been exerted by these international groups to keep me from speaking. In this case it was the Simon Wiesenthal Center in Los Angeles, but the reason given me was this: "Mr. Irving, under the immigration act, a person is not permitted to enter if he has committed a criminal offense in another country, or if he is likely to commit a criminal offense in Canada. We may consider you likely to commit a criminal offense."

After receiving this, I straight away instructed my attorney in Canada to point out that I've been to Canada some 30 times since 1965, and not once have I committed a criminal offense. So, *prima facie*, I am unlikely to commit a criminal offense on the 31st occasion. [On October 26, Irving legally entered Canada. He was illegally arrested—after lecturing on freedom of speech—at Victoria, B.C., and deported on November 13 after a three week court battle. He is appealing.]

Detention in Rome

In June of this year, I went to Italy. I arrived in Rome, after a stop in Munich, from Moscow, where I had been working for two weeks in the former Soviet government's secret state archives. As I got off the plane in Rome, six Carabinieri police cars were waiting for me at the airfield, and as I got into the airport bus, the police stormed the bus, rifles drawn, and called out my name, "Mr. Irving." Ladies and gentlemen, now that's *embarrassing*! Under the circumstances, I tried to make it look as if this was my VIP escort!

They held me there in the police station at Rome's airport for four hours until the plane turned round and flew back to Munich. And half way through, they let in the Italian student who had arrived to meet me there. (I had been invited by a university professor.)

During the police interrogation, I "hadn't

understood" a word of Italian, and I made them speak English to me. But when the students came in, I spoke with them in Italian, explaining how sorry I was. Seeing this, the police colonel became very indignant and said: "*Silenzio*, Don't Speak." So I said, "Where does it say that I can't speak?" He repeated, "*Silenzio*, Don't-a speaka." And I repeated: "Excuse me, but nowhere do I see a sign that says *Silenzio*." At that, he seized a thick felt-tip pen, and in a blind, Italian temper he went to the magnificently painted wall inside this beautiful, brand new police station, saying "You can't-a see-a? Here!", and wrote the letters S I L E N Z I O on the wall, and then shouted: "*Silenzio*!"

Last October [1991], I spoke in Argentina. On the morning of the first day, I took part in a two-hour television program. (I also speak Spanish.) I was on with a man named Maurizio Maro, but whose real name turned out to be Goldfarb. If only they had told me beforehand! But too late.

Goldfarb asked me questions like: "But Adolf Hitler, he was crazy wasn't he?" And I said: "No, he wasn't." "But of course he was crazy," he retorted. I responded by saying:

There's no evidence for that at all. The evidence is that we—the British and Americans—captured seven of Hitler's doctors. We interrogated all seven of them on that specific point: Hitler's own physicians were asked if they considered him clinically sane or out of his mind. All of them came to the conclusion that, even until the very last moments of his life, he was totally sane. And not only that, I have personally found Hitler's medical diaries—the diaries kept by his doctor, Theodor Morrell, which I found in the archives in Washington, DC. After transcribing them, I published them. These diaries also confirm, without a doubt at all, that Hitler was perfectly sane and physically normal.

Now considerably agitated, Goldfarb responded: "But the man must be totally crazy because he killed forty million human beings." The first time he threw out this figure, I let it pass, but the second time round, I stopped him, saying: "Forty million? Excuse me, where does *this* figure come from then?" Goldfarb then said: "A person who kills even one man is a criminal." In this case, then, I said, President Bush is a major criminal because of the damage he did in the Gulf War this very February.

At this point, the interview was dramatical-

ly cut short. And the very next day, all the other interviews that had been lined up by my publisher in Argentina were cancelled. Newspaper and television interviews, and a Belgrano University appearance—all were cancelled. It was an object lesson on the influence that certain people have. The day after that (October 18, 1991), a major daily newspaper, *La Nación*, published a communique issued by Argentina's Jewish governing agency, with a headline calling me an "International Agitator." Well, I'm sorry that the Jews get so easily agitated. But it's not my fault. My job is to go there and lecture on the historical truth as I see it.

The Right to be Wrong

I admit that we may be wrong. Each of us in this room may be wrong on this or that matter. But I demand the Right to be Wrong! That is the essence of freedom of speech in any country.

No one is going to define for us what the received version of history is or should be. But that is what they are trying to do now in Germany, and all around the world.

Every other aspect of world history is open to debate and dispute—except one. Anyone who challenges this one aspect of history is automatically, *ipso facto*, described as an anti-Semite. Jewish leaders are now saying that anyone who questions any aspect of the Holocaust is an anti-Semite. Of course, that's not true. We are just lovers of the truth, and determined to get to the bottom of what actually did and did not happen.

I do not insist that what I tell you here today is necessarily the only version of the truth, and that thou shalt have no other truth than this. I'm not as arrogant as that. I do say that this is the best that I can do, given limited resources, and against the harassment that I've come up against in the last few years.

That harassment has gotten worse and worse, particularly with the recent Focal Point publication of the new edition of *Hitler's War*. This new edition contains material never seen before. If you want to see a photograph showing what it looks like when 17,500 people are killed in 30 minutes, here it is. Everyone's heard about Hiroshima and Dresden, but no one knows about what happened in Pforzheim, a small German town in Baden-Württemberg, where one person in four was killed in the most horrible manner in mid-February 1945.

We have photos of that crime. I've shown this photograph to audience after audience.

On the previous page of *Hitler's War* are the well-known photographs of Dresden, where a hundred thousand people were killed in a period of twelve hours by the British and Americans. So many were killed so quickly that there weren't enough living left to bury the dead. So the corpses had to be burned on these huge funeral pyres in the Dresden Altmarkt. I published the photographs in 1963 in my first book, *The Destruction of Dresden* and, now, in *Hitler's War*, I publish them for the first time in color.

Window Smashing

There are 60 color photographs in this book, a work that no other publisher could have published so lavishly. Of course, our traditional enemies are absolutely livid because of this book, which is very sought-after in Britain. We published it ourselves, and personally delivered 5,000 copies to 800 book shops up and down the country and around the world.

Our traditional enemies have been fighting back. Their local cells, branches and agents have been visiting—patiently and methodically, one by one—every book shop that stocked this book, demanding that it be "unstocked." Because most book shop managers are not open to intimidation in the way newspapers are, they get their windows smashed. As result, there's been a campaign of window smashing throughout Britain during the last three or four months.

During the night, the big plate-glass windows of the book stores are smashed, and the next morning the stores receive a letter on letterhead of the local synagogue, or the local Jewish Board of Deputies. The letters say "we are very sorry that your windows were smashed, but what can you expect? We promise that if you stop stocking David Irving's books, you will find that this kind of problem ceases."

This campaign—smashing the windows of book stores, big and small, including chain book stores in Britain such as Waterstone's and Dillon's—has been reported in all the local newspapers. I subscribe to a press clipping service, so I get all these clippings. But there's been nothing in the British national newspapers.

And why not? Well, the answer is that these are a different caliber of journalists. I've often

wondered where these journalists come from, these spineless, nasty little creeps such as Bernard Levin of *The Times* of London.

I am philosophical about newspapers. I remember one Monday morning ten years ago when my secretary came to me, saying: "David, how can you stand for it? Have you read what they've written about you yesterday in the *Sunday Times*? It's only a short thing, but you now might as well pack up. You're finished." He read from the article: "David Irving, who appears substantially to have over-estimated his mental stability this time . . ." "They're calling you mad!"

Recycled Lies

I responded by saying, "Okay, so what? Are they going to assign me to some kind of psychiatric gulag archipelago? That's from the *Sunday Times*, and this is Monday." That's the difference between being an author and being a journalist. When I write a book it goes into a library and stays there—especially if it's on acid-free paper. What a journalist writes for the *Sunday Times* appears on Sunday, but by Monday it's wrapping fish 'n chips! So who cares? Or if it's not wrapping fish 'n chips, the paper's being recycled to be made into new newsprint for new lies.

One South African journalist wrote to me during the height of my South African tour in March 1992. I was speaking at meeting after meeting, addressing packed halls. In Pretoria, as usual, 2,000 people came to hear me. In Cape Town, another huge audience turned out to hear me at the Goodwood Civic Centre. The next day, I received a fax letter from a *Cape Times* journalist named Claire Bissek who earlier had bombarded me with questions about what I thought about President de Klerk, the prospects for South Africa, the ANC, and all the rest of it. This time her letter was quite brief:

Mr. Irving, the *Cape Times* would like to have your response to the following allegations made by a Capetonian who attended your meeting at Goodwood [Centre] on March 8. The source said that the meeting was of a neo-Nazi nature. Complete with Nazi banners and Nazi salutes. We would appreciate it very much if you could fax back to us your response as soon as you are able.

So I turned this matter over in my mind. "Remember," I told myself, "you're dealing

with a journalist—a journalist who will twist whatever you say. If I say that I have no comment, they will print the lies and say that Mr. Irving had no comment. If I deny it, they will print the lies and say that Irving denied it. They will print lies whatever you do." So after some thought, I sent this brief letter to Claire Bissek:

Dear Clair,

Thank you for your fax, and I appreciate your inquiry. Yes, you do have excellent sources. Neo-Nazi nature, Nazi banners, and Nazi salutes—the lot. As I marched in, an orchestra struck up the Slaves' Chorus from Verdi's opera, "Aida." Later, the orchestra played the first bars of Franz Liszt's "Les Préludes," and it concluded with Liszt's Opus 63 String Quartet. Meanwhile, searchlight batteries stationed around the Goodwood Civic Centre lit up, their crystal beams joining in a cathedral of ice ten thousand feet above the site; a thousand hands were once more flung aloft in the holy salute, and a thousand throats roared the Horst Wessel anthem. A video is available, directed by Leni Riefenstahl.

I hope the above material suffices for what you have in mind.

That's the way to deal with journalists! I have developed my own techniques in dealing with them.

"Historically Inaccurate"

Too many books are written on the Holocaust. There are too many films and television plays that exploit the subject . . .

There is a fascination with the Holocaust and with Nazism. There may, in fact, be "no business like Shoah business." The problem is that many of these productions, if not most, are historically inaccurate, sentimental, romantic, exotic and hyperbolic, and so they ultimately distort and cheapen the Holocaust.

The popularization and commercialization of the Holocaust is not only unhistorical but it is anti-historical. Over time, it will inevitably subvert the historical sense and strip it of any moral implications it may carry.

—Dr. Michael M. Dobkowski, Professor of Religious Studies at Hobart and William Smith Colleges, writing in *Martyrdom and Resistance* (published by the International Society for Yad Vashem, New York City), Sept.-Oct. 1990, p. 4.

Irving's Most Un-Excellent Adventure

British Historian Deported From Canada for Skeptical Views on Holocaust Story

Zionist Groups Demand Irving's Ouster

GREG RAVEN

As best-selling British historian and author David Irving approached the US-Canadian border at Niagara Falls after a speaking tour in the western United States, he knew that this particular visit to the "Great White North" would be different than previous visits.

Two things had changed since Irving's last visit.

First, in May a German court fined Irving \$6,000 for public statements denouncing stories of mass exterminations of Jews in gas chambers at Auschwitz as a myth. (See the report in the July-August 1992 *IHR Newsletter*.)

Second, the Canadian branch of the Los Angeles-based Simon Wiesenthal Center had demanded that the Canadian government ban Irving on account of his Revisionist views on the Holocaust. In other words, the Holocaust lobby sought to ban the historian on the basis of "thought crimes" that are not illegal in either Canada or the United States.

The legal basis given for prohibiting Irving's entry was Section 19 of the Immigration Act, which allows officials to ban someone if it is reasonable to believe that he will commit an indictable offense. In this case, the pretext was nonsense because Irving had visited Canada some 30 times during the last several years, and had never caused a legal problem of any kind.

Irving first learned of the ban on October 10th, when he received a special-delivery letter from the Canadian consulate in Los Angeles sent to him in care of the Institute for Historical Review. It arrived on the first day of the IHR's Eleventh Conference, which was being held in Irvine, California. The letter sent to Irving showed that Canadian authorities—in coordination with Holocaust groups—were closely tracking his itinerary in the United

States.

That same day, an editorial condemning Irving appeared in the *Kitchener-Waterloo Record*, further evidence of coordination between official and private Canadian organizations. This coordination was anything but accidental, as indicated by a rally in Kitchener several weeks earlier (on August 31) where speakers called for banning Irving. A more pressing problem for Irving was the fact that Monday, October 13, was a holiday for US government offices, which meant he had one fewer day to get matters straightened out before he was scheduled to reach Canada.

From the IHR Conference in southern California, Irving traveled north to speak in Berkeley, and then on to Portland, Oregon.

His speech there to an audience of about 200 received intense, sensationalized and largely one-sided coverage in the local media, including lead stories on local television. Phil Stanford, a widely-read columnist for the *Portland Oregonian*, the state's largest circulation daily paper, had enraged the city's politically correct crowd when he defended Irving's right to speak, and suggested that the historian might even have something worthwhile to say about the Six Million story.

Before crossing into Canada, Irving discussed the situation by phone with attorney Doug Christie, the "battling barrister from British Columbia" (who spoke at the 1986 IHR Conference). According to Canadian immigration law, Irving would be entitled to a hearing before an immigration adjudicator, and would have the right to stay in the country until a final decision was reached. As a result, Irving decided to proceed with his scheduled tour of Canada, which had as its theme "Freedom of Speech."

Canadian newspapers were now covering

the story. Rejecting the demands of the Wiesenthal Centre and other Holocaust groups, the *Ottawa Citizen* (October 19), for one, took a clear editorial stand for free speech:

Barring Irving's entry amounts to backdoor censorship, which violates the spirit of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms . . .

If we bar Irving because we're afraid of what he might say, what are we to do with a Salman Rushdie, the author who inflamed the Islamic world, a member of the Ku Klux Klan, or the likes of, say, Andrew Dice Clay, the comedian who regularly offends millions of women? Once on a slippery slope, it's difficult to find your footing again.

Monday, October 26

Irving crosses the border into Canada from Niagara Falls (New York). In spite of the supposed order barring him, Canadian authorities do not impede his entry. His passport is stamped to confirm his legal crossing.

Tuesday, October 27

Irving flies from Toronto to Vancouver (British Columbia), in preparation for his first Canadian speaking engagement in nearby Victoria. After arriving, he meets with Christie, who has some bad news.

Christie has spent the day in court attempting to set aside the ban, but in vain: the Federal Court upheld the ban, citing Irving's conviction in Germany (for an action that is not illegal in Canada). The court further ruled that this was a matter for immigration authorities to handle. In light of this, Irving fears that he has a 50-50 chance of arrest at the speech tomorrow, although he is encouraged by his legal crossing into Canada and because the police had so far not molested him.

Wednesday, October 28

Irving addresses an enthusiastic audience of about a hundred at a Chinese restaurant in Victoria. Some journalists are also present to hear him speak, not about the Holocaust, but about the struggle for freedom of speech and its meaning for truthful historiography.

At the conclusion of a question-and-answer session that follows the presentation, eight policemen enter. After announcing that the building is surrounded and all exits are blocked, they arrest Irving, slap him in handcuffs, and haul him off to jail, preventing even reporters from following. Although Christie de-

mands to see an arrest warrant, none is produced. Several dozen of those attending the meeting go to the police station to protest the arrest.

**"They put me in handcuffs.
What did they think I was
going to do, type?"**

October 28-30

Over the next two days, Irving is moved from jail to jail—five in all. As a result, he is not able to meet with his attorney, Doug Christie.

Friday, October 30

After a fruitless attempt to get some sleep amid the noise of his fellow prisoners, Irving is fetched from his cell and forced to run a gauntlet of screaming and punching television crews and reporters. Without Christie there, Irving must represent himself at the hearing.

The official at the hearing who makes the government's case for deporting the historian cites, first, Irving's "criminal record" in Germany, and, second, an alleged likelihood that he will commit offenses in Canada. The official is not required to prove the truth of these allegations.

The adjudicator informs Irving that the hearing will determine whether he will be released, deported, or served with a "Voluntary Departure Notice." Ominously, the adjudicator also says that he expects the hearing to last three to four weeks.

Without access to or benefit of his attorney, Irving is faced with a decision. Even though he might be exonerated in a full hearing, by the time it is over he will have missed all his speaking dates. Conceding the possibility that he might not be exonerated, he recognizes that there is little point in staying.

Thus Irving comes to a compromise agreement with the government: he agrees not to contest a "Voluntary Departure Notice," and to leave the country within 48 hours—that is, before midnight, November 1.

In agreeing to this, Irving at the same time emphasizes that he will be free to return later to Canada.



David Irving is surrounded by journalists as he is led into his deportation hearing in Vancouver, October 30. Because of his views on the Holocaust story, the best-selling British historian was deported from Canada November 13. Reuters/Bettmann photo.

Irving also specifically asks the hearing adjudicator what conditions, if any, there are on his activities in Canada during the 48 hours he can still remain in the country. The adjudicator replies that there are “no conditions whatsoever,” Irving rather understandably takes this to mean that he is free to grant interviews and otherwise speak in public.

After his handcuffs are taken off, Irving is finally set free.

With nearly two dozen news teams crowding around, Irving then gives a 20-minute press conference. He not only answers questions about his hearing, but also makes a lengthy statement about the Holocaust.

That evening, Irving’s impromptu press conference is featured as a major news story on national television, no doubt to the chagrin

of those who had been trying so hard to silence the historian and keep him out the country.

Following the news conference, US citizen Brian Fisher approaches Irving and offers to drive him around to pick up his belongings. But what appears to be a simple offer of help turns into a request that Irving authenticate a collection of lithographs, which necessitates a trip to Blaine (Washington), just across the border in the United States. Tired, but thinking this might be a good opportunity to see if he will have any other problems crossing the border, Irving agrees.

They cross the border without any trouble at about ten o’clock that evening. After authenticating and signing the lithographs as requested, Irving and Fisher return to Canada before midnight.

Sunday, November 1

In the morning, Irving packs his things to check out of the Toronto hotel, preparing to leave the country by midnight (as agreed). A strange incident takes place as he checks out. The clerk at the front desk is not able to gain access to Irving's hotel computer file because someone else is looking at it—possibly Canadian police or immigration officials, or perhaps even the Mossad.

That afternoon, he delivers a one-hour speech to massive applause and two standing ovations. Afterwards, he is approached by undercover officers who announce that they will stay with him until he crosses the border.

Giving them the slip, Irving hails a cab and whisks off for a short meeting with Ernst Zündel at his house. Just seconds after Irving leaves, *Zündelhaus* is surrounded by police cars that skid into position front and back.

After dinner and a round-about journey to Niagara Falls using secondary roads to avoid further problems with undercover police, Irving arrives at the border at 11:00 p.m.

Then disaster strikes. Irving inadvertently drives past the inconspicuous building where he was supposed to have his "Voluntary Departure Notice" stamped before leaving the country. By the time he realizes that something must be amiss, he has crossed over the bridge and into the US side of the border.

He asks the US border official for permission to return to have his document stamped. The guard asks to see it, then takes it away and instructs Irving to park his car and follow him.

With time quickly draining away, the official makes a few calls. He then informs Irving that he will not be admitted into the United States, citing regulation "212.A.7a.i.1." He tells Irving to try again in the morning.

But after returning to the Canadian side at 11:30 p.m., a guard who was clearly aware of the situation tells Irving to step from the car and unload his belongings. The official presents him an arrest warrant, and Irving is denied bail because of the danger that he "would not appear" and because he is a "danger to the public." Handcuffed once again, Irving is driven to the immigration detention center at Niagara Falls.

Monday, November 2

Awakened in jail at 6:30 a.m. after only three hours sleep, Irving is able to place a call

to alert Christie of the new situation.

Transported in handcuffs to the courtroom, Irving learns that the grounds on which he had earlier been denied admittance to Canada have all been dropped, replaced instead by the single charge of failure to comply with the Voluntary Departure Notice. It now seems obvious that Canadian immigration officials knew from the start that they had no chance of excluding Irving on the flimsy original charges.

At the hearing, an undercover police officer lies under oath about his conversations with Irving, and another officer lies about Irving's status in Germany and Austria, recommending that bail not be offered because "Mr. Irving might not reappear." The adjudicator agrees, and Irving is returned to jail pending a resumption of the hearing on Wednesday.

Tuesday, November 3

Irving's position seems deceptively simple. If he can establish that he made his impromptu trip with Brian Fisher across the border to Blaine, he can prove technical compliance with the Voluntary Departure Notice. Unfortunately, Fisher lives on the other side of the continent, and Doug Christie has not been able to locate him.

Wednesday, November 4

Hearing day. Fisher has been found, but hesitates for personal reasons to back up Irving's story. In the meantime, however, local resident Louis Martens, who had met Irving only a few days before, offers Irving up to \$20,000 cash for bail. Christie asks for bail and the adjudicator agrees—in spite of strident protest by the case presenting officer. Irving again asks if there are any restrictions on his behavior while out on bail. The adjudicator stipulates only that Irving must stay in Niagara Falls. However, he also insists that Irving must produce Fisher's testimony.

Thursday, November 5

Now out on bail, Irving focuses on preparing his legal case for the next hearing session. Fisher changes his mind about validating Irving's claim of leaving the country, and sends a notarized affidavit.

Friday, November 6

Irving arrives early at the Immigration Hearing Centre, but not early enough to avoid

the Jewish mob demonstrating outside. To accommodate the many journalists and reporters who are there to cover the story, a special media room is set aside in the building.

Once the hearing gets underway, the case presenting officer retracts a statement he made two days earlier that license numbers of vehicles crossing the border are not recorded. Instead, he now introduces into evidence a US Immigration and Naturalization Service print-out that purports to be a log of border crossing activity. Christie immediately challenges the document, noting that the official who swore to its authenticity had not sworn that it is a complete record. The adjudicator denies Christie's motion to subpoena the official for further testimony.

Now it is imperative that Brian Fisher testify in person. During the lunch break, Christie succeeds in convincing Fisher that he must appear. Fisher can also supply copies of his phone bill, showing long-distance phone calls made by Irving during his brief stay in Blaine. Irving already has affidavits from the recipients of those calls. All this would seem to be enough to prove conclusively that Irving had indeed left Canada, and thus has technically complied with the terms of the Voluntary Departure Notice. Even the adjudicator is forced to agree that Fisher's testimony is "a pivotal one which may make or break this case." The hearing is adjourned until Thursday, the 12th.

November 7-11

Irving divides his time between making personal appearances (which now include fund-raising to offset his rapidly escalating legal costs), and ensuring that he has everything needed for his case at the next hearing session.

On Saturday, the 7th, Irving appears in Kitchener. Two days later, the case presenting officer calls to warn Irving that the Canadian Jewish Congress is blaming him for an arson fire at the office of an anti-Irving demonstrator in Kitchener, which was started the same night Irving was in town.

Thursday, November 12

Writing in today's *Toronto Sun*, columnist Bill Dunphy puts his finger on the key issue in the legal battle. "Who's lying?" he asks. Against a computer print-out, which in all probability is either incomplete or has been

expertly doctored by unknown persons, Irving can present sworn testimony, telephone records, and affidavits.

Irving's arrival at the Immigration Hearing Centre is greeted by an even larger crowd of media crews and demonstrators, who await him in a pouring rain. The case presenting officer ruthlessly cross-examines Brian Fisher (sometimes even wandering away from the matters at hand), but Fisher sticks to his story. In the end, the case presenting officer has little to do but lamely invent a scenario in which Irving plotted to confuse the border guards and create a misleading print-out report. Christie points out that for this tale to be credible, Irving would have to be a fortune-teller. He would have to have known on October 30—two days in advance of his failed border crossing on November 1—that he would need such an elaborate alibi.

To everyone's dismay, the adjudicator puts off announcing his decision until the following day.

Friday, November 13

Upon his arrival at the Immigration Hearing Centre, Irving is approached by the case presenting officer, who wants the historian to know that he is not acting on his own, but under orders from "on high." He also warns Irving against fulfilling a planned personal appearance at Carleton University in Ottawa in the event of his release, as there are orders from "on high" to re-arrest him for misrepresentation, this time regarding his border crossing at Blaine, Washington. With this new information, Irving promptly walks down the hallway and announces it to a room full of waiting reporters and journalists.

When the adjudicator reads his verdict, however, it makes all these machinations moot. Irving's version of events, he declares, is

... a total fabrication and never took place. I can only speculate that you and your supporters concocted your story to garner further publicity and prolong your stay in Canada, both of which you have done with some success.

According to the adjudicator, Irving never traveled to Blaine, Brian Fisher did not accompany him, the phone calls from Fisher's house were not made by Irving, and the sworn testimony of six persons was all perjured. (The adjudicator simply ignores the question of

how Irving could have known he would need an alibi two days in advance of an unexpected occurrence.) He orders Irving deported.

Irving then steps forward with a writ of habeas corpus, while the case presenting officer is simultaneously served a similar writ.

Instead of heeding the writs, the adjudicator orders Irving taken into custody. After a brief stay in a holding cell, Irving is allowed to make a statement to waiting reporters and journalists.

After being allowed to collect his belongings, Irving is driven to Toronto airport for a six-hour wait until his plane is to depart. During the ride to the airport, immigration officers question Irving about the Kitchener arson. At 8:10 p.m., with David Irving on board, Air Canada flight 856 lifts off from Toronto airport on its way to London.

The next day, Bill Dunphy of the Toronto *Sun* reported that "spokesmen for the Canadian Jewish Congress and B'nai B'rith lauded the decision." And no one else.

Media Treatment and Public Opinion

Canadian press treatment of the Irving affair—like popular opinion—was mixed. While expressing little, if any, support for Irving's Revisionist views on the Holocaust, as time went on a consensus developed in the Canadian press that the British historian should be allowed to speak in Canada.

Predictably, of course, Holocaust lobby groups such as the Simon Wiesenthal Centre and the Canadian Jewish Congress did everything in their power to poison the atmosphere against the historian, and to portray him as a grave threat to social stability.

Reflecting the dangerous but carefully articulated views of the organized Jewish community—and its vigorous behind-the-scenes efforts to keep Irving out of Canada—B'nai B'rith Canada official Ian Kagedan insisted that "Holocaust denial poses a real danger to our social fabric."

In a lengthy op-ed opinion piece in the *Ottawa Citizen* (Nov. 6), the Zionist official told readers that Irving's "presence is an insult to Holocaust survivors and Canadian veterans." Remarkably, he conceded that "Immigration's decision to bar Irving and its subsequent efforts to expel him may be of special interest to only a few in our country . . ." Contrary to reason and common sense, Kagedan went on to assert that ". . . it is folly to claim that

there is a free speech issue here."

Writing in another newspaper (*Globe and Mail*, Nov. 9), Kagedan stressed that Irving is a danger because he is a "Holocaust denier," and that his "hate propaganda undermines democracy." The B'nai B'rith official even perversely maintained that "deporting Mr. Irving would affirm our commitment to democracy."

To their credit, most Canadians rejected such convoluted and self-serving arguments. Indeed, as the Irving affair unfolded, the words and actions of the Holocaust lobby become so frantic that it was obvious, even to the most uninformed, that the only section of society seriously pushing to keep the historian out of Canada was the small but well organized international Zionist-Jewish lobby.

Echoing the Holocaust-lobby line, a number of Canadian newspapers referred to Irving as a "Holocaust denier." The Vancouver *Sun* of October 15 told readers that "Irving has repeatedly given speeches and written books denying the Holocaust." Elsewhere in this same issue, writer Pete McMartin added to the disinformation campaign:

[Irving] bills himself as a "historian" and has claimed to have attended the University of London, but files collected on Irving by the Canadian Jewish Congress show he only attended outside lectures at the university and was never enrolled as a student. They also say he has no academic qualifications as a historian.

Toronto *Sun* columnist Bill Dunphy called Irving an "amateur historian, Holocaust revisionist, and darling of the international neo-Nazi movement." This is, of course, a favorite smear tactic: attacking the person when it is impossible to attack the person's work.

A few Canadian newspapers shamefully embraced the entire Holocaust-lobby line. The *Ottawa Sun*, a sensational tabloid, attacked Irving in a hateful editorial (Nov. 3), calling him a "reptile," a "creature," a "racist," and "repulsive." These words appeared along with a vicious editorial cartoon depicting the historian as a demented, swastika-wearing lunatic.

Fortunately, such ravings were rare. Indeed, with the passage of time, coverage of the Irving affair become noticeably more fair and even-handed.

While almost never acknowledging that Irving's views about the Holocaust story might

have some validity, more and more Canadian newspapers defied the Holocaust lobby and their own government by expressing support—sometimes in strong terms—of Irving's right to speak in Canada.

As the affair reached its climax, a kind of consensus emerged: regardless of how offensive his views may be to a small but vociferous minority, Irving should not be barred from the country.

An opinion piece in the *Kitchener-Waterloo Record* (Nov. 3) was typical. Staff writer Barry Ries forthrightly pointed out:

The Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms says "everyone" has the right to "freedom of thought, belief, opinion, and expression, including freedom of the press and other media of communication, freedom of peaceful assembly, and freedom of association . . ."

The Charter does not say that this right only applies to people we agree with or to people who don't upset us . . .

This freedom does not go down well with some people . . . These people are perfectly within their rights to protest and demonstrate and picket and present the facts we all know so well.

But rights don't end with one segment of the population. Immigration officials have been pressured—by the Simon Wiesenthal Center for Holocaust Studies and by B'nai B'rith Canada—to gag Irving, and that's what's been done.

Vancouver *Province* columnist Shane McCune, in a piece entitled "Let's leave fascism to the fascists" (Oct. 30), similarly affirmed Irving's right to speak:

I'm tired of everyone—left, right, feminist, Bible-thumper—who says, "I support free speech, but . . ."

No buts about it. It's easy to support freedom of speech when you agree with the speaker. The real test comes when you are asked to defend the unpopular. I'm afraid Canadians fail that test more often than not.

The Victoria (B.C.) *Times-Colonist* suggested in an editorial (Oct. 30) that even accounts of the treatment of Europe's Jews during the Second World War should be critically scrutinized like any other chapter of history. The paper also argued against restrictions on Irving's right to speak:

There is, of course, no single, definitive version of historical events. Individuals are rewriting them all the time, offering interpretations and analyses that offend, infuriate, and disgust thousands of other people . . . should [the Holocaust] be exempt from that never-ending process?

Each new restriction makes [Irving] more of a martyr. It is also . . . a denial of one of the cherished tenets of democracy, freedom of expression.

Affirming the cause of reason and common sense, Canada's most influential daily paper mocked the Zionist-orchestrated campaign to ban Irving. In a forthright editorial (Nov. 5), the prestigious *Toronto Globe and Mail* declared:

If the Canadian government devoted half the time and energy to ordinary law enforcement that it has to pursuing and incarcerating David Irving, crime would be unknown. Yet Mr. Irving is guilty of no crime in Canadian law, and poses no threat to life, property, or public order.

The only crime the government can suggest Mr. Irving is even likely to commit is that of willfully promoting hatred: a law of such surpassing vagueness as to be unworthy of a liberal society.

This is not the first time Mr. Irving has visited Canada. He has been here often, including speaking tours . . . The Dominion did not perish.

We can't imagine anything he might say could do half as much harm to Canada's reputation for tolerance as the picture, printed in the newspapers, of a writer in handcuffs—for fear, we suppose, that he might type something. We have not as yet put a price on his head, in the style of Iran. But our horror of the word looks much the same.

Reflecting the views of the country's liberal intellectual community, the Canadian branch of PEN, the influential "world association of poets, playwrights, publishers, editors, essayists, novelists, translators, and journalists," expressed grave concern at the campaign to bar Irving. In a news release issued November 5, the writer's group declared:

The Canadian Centre of International PEN is deeply concerned about the detention of author David Irving. Canada has often been in the forefront of human rights and civil liberties issues abroad, but Mr. Irving's detention raises extremely serious questions

about our commitment to freedom of expression at home.

While Mr. Irving's present position in Canada appears to involve specific breaches of Canadian immigration law, the issue as a whole raises the larger question of freedom of expression . . .

PEN Canada unequivocally maintains that freedom of expression, in all its variety, is fundamental to a democratic society and must therefore be supported in full and without any form of censorship . . . We maintain that Canadians do not need to be "protected" against the free flow of ideas, and are capable of determining for themselves what is valid and what is nonsensical. If Canadians want to hear foreign speakers, it is their right to do so . . .

Censorship has never been an appropriate way of dealing with the problem of conflicting, insensitive, evil, or fallacious opinion...

As already indicated, even Canadian papers that supported Irving's right to speak carefully suppressed intelligent expressions of the Revisionist view of the Holocaust story. Many Canadians—albeit probably a minority—were dismayed by the strongly anti-Revisionist bias of almost the entire Canadian media.

In a reader's letter published in the *Toronto Star* (Nov. 16), Joyce Medley of Willowdale (Ont.) echoed the legitimate concerns of many intelligent and informed fellow Canadians:

The media has suppressed, cut, taped, pasted, edited, filtered, shortened, fabricated and otherwise disguised every unchallengeable, albeit controversial statement that comes from David Irving or from any of the revisionist historians.

When the editor's shears finally come to rest, where is there a person who can find the truth among all the jagged remains commonly called the free press?

If you were the least bit interested in true journalism, you would print one of the many revisionist historians' repeated invitations to the academic community to debate this Holocaust controversy . . .

What sort of truth is it that needs protection?

Once and for all, reach deep inside and grasp hold of that last vestige of honor, be honest with yourself and be honest with the public, and let the blasted cow chips fall where they may!

Conclusion

Thoughtful criticisms of the ban against

Irving were ultimately not enough to keep Irving from being deported. His expulsion on November 13 set a very dangerous precedent, because it may be used as a pretext by officials in other countries—particularly other Commonwealth countries such as Australia—to bar the British historian.

If Canada—a country noted for its tradition of (relative) tolerance—can bar Irving, where can he count on a welcome?

For a professional historian like Irving, such bans not only represent a severe financial setback, they keep him from important archives and other historical sources, and thus strike at the heart of his work and career. For Irving, for whom working in archives around the world is an essential part of his livelihood, such bans represent a condemnation to slow professional death.

There is another crucial issue at stake here: the role of a powerful international lobby in subverting traditional guarantees of freedom of speech. Not all speech, of course, just speech that offends a tiny segment of the world's population.

Although this small minority group was able to eject David Irving from Canada, its victory came at a price. From the beginning of September to the middle of November—nearly two and one-half months—the Holocaust controversy was a major news story in Canada.

What began as an effort to silence opposition to the politically correct line on the Holocaust issue turned into a three-ring circus, in which the star performer was none other than David Irving. The fact that he did not slink obediently back to his assigned perch at the first crack of the ringmaster's whip served to be a major embarrassment to those hoping to have the entertainment serve their own ends.

In going after David Irving in Canada, the Holocaust establishment once again bit off more than it could chew—and the struggle is far from over.

From his home in London, Irving vows to press the fight until he is once again free to travel to Canada. And as he fights, he has not only truth and the best traditions of Western civilization on his side, he can also count as allies those who, through the publicity that attended this most recent violation against Western values, now realize that the enemies of Holocaust revisionism will stop at nothing to defend their sacred legend.

The Legacy of Rudolf Hess

MARK WEBER

On the evening of May 10, 1941, the Deputy Führer of the Third Reich set out on a secret mission that was to be his last and most important. Under cover of darkness, Rudolf Hess took off in an unarmed Messerschmidt 110 fighter-bomber from an Augsburg airfield and headed across the North Sea toward Britain. His plan was to negotiate peace between Germany and Britain.

Four hours later, after successfully evading British anti-aircraft fire and a pursuing Spitfire, Hess parachuted, for the first time in his life, and sprained his ankle landing in a Scottish farm field. An astonished farmer found the injured pilot and turned him over to the local Home Guard unit.¹

Winston Churchill promptly rejected Hess' peace offer and jailed him as a prisoner of war, even though he had arrived unarmed and of his own free will. Rudolf Hess, ambassador of peace, was to remain a prisoner until his death in August 1987 at the age of 93.

For many, the passing of the one-time Deputy Führer and last surviving member of Hitler's inner circle simply marked the welcome end of a terrible era. But his true legacy is something far different. He spent 46 years—half his life—behind bars, a victim of a cruel victor's justice. More than any other man, Rudolf Hess symbolizes the vindictiveness and hypocrisy of the Nuremberg Tribunal.

The Mission

Hess was deeply shaken by Britain's declaration of war against Germany in September 1939. With Hitler's approval, he began a secret effort a few months later to negotiate a peace agreement between the two "fraternal Germanic nations" through British officials in neutral Portugal and Switzerland.² When the endeavor failed, Hess began preparations for his flight to Britain, an unquestionably sincere if perhaps naive effort to end war between his beloved homeland and a nation he greatly

admired.

"My coming to England in this way is, as I realize, so unusual that nobody will easily understand it," Hess told a British official a few weeks after the flight. "I was confronted by a very hard decision. I do not think I could have arrived at my final choice [to fly to Britain] unless I had continually kept before my eyes the vision of an endless line of children's coffins with weeping mothers behind them, both English and German, and another line of coffins of mothers with mourning children."³

Though there was little chance that Hess' mission could have succeeded, some aspects of his flight and its aftermath remain unclear. The British government took the extraordinary step of sealing dozens of Hess documents for release only in the year 2017. Sefton Delmer, the wartime head of Britain's propaganda broadcasts to Germany, has speculated that the British government might have had good reasons for the secrecy:⁴

At the time, Churchill published nothing about the Hess case; he was passed over in silence. There was a large peace party in Britain, and Churchill probably feared that this party would throw him from his Ministerial seat because he had not agreed to Hess' peace proposals.

Victor's Justice

At the end of the war, Hess was taken to Nuremberg to be tried, along with other German leaders, by the United States, Britain, the Soviet Union and France as one of the "major war criminals."

Although Hess was perhaps treated more unjustly than any other man on trial at Nuremberg, the Tribunal itself was of doubtful legal and moral standing. Many prominent men in America and Europe pointed out that the process violated two cardinal principles.

First, it was a trial of the victors against the vanquished. The former were their own law maker, prosecutor, judge, alleged victim

and, in part, accomplice (in the case of the Soviets, in the division of Poland).

Second, the charges were invented for the occasion and defined after the fact (*"ex post facto"*).

US Supreme Court Chief Justice Harlan Fiske Stone called the trials a fraud. "[Chief US prosecutor] Jackson is away conducting his high-grade lynching party in Nuremberg," he wrote. "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."⁵

Associate Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas charged that the Allies were guilty of "substituting power for principle" at Nuremberg.⁶ He later also 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."⁷

Soviet participation in the "International Military Tribunal" lent it the aura of a political show trial. Judge I. T. Nikitchenko, who presided at the solemn opening session, had been a judge at the infamous Moscow show trial of Zinoviev and Kamenev in 1936. Before the Tribunal convened, Nikitchenko explained the Soviet view of the enterprise:⁸

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.

Besides the Tribunal's dubious legal standing, it held Hess and the other German leaders to a standard to which the Allies were never held. In sharp contrast to his public utterances, the chief US prosecutor at Nuremberg, Robert Jackson, privately acknowledged in a letter to President Truman that the Allies⁹

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.

Nothing better points up the essential injustice of the Nuremberg process than the court's treatment of Rudolf Hess.

He was in the dock primarily because of his important-sounding but somewhat hollow title of Deputy Führer. His duties as Hitler's stand-in were almost entirely ceremonial: He delivered the annual Christmas address to the nation, welcomed delegations of ethnic Germans from abroad, appeared at charitable functions, and presented the Führer at the annual Nuremberg party congress. It is this image of the wide-eyed and ecstatic Hess that much of the world remembers best, most of all from a brief clip of him from the Leni Riefenstahl film of the 1934 Congress, "Triumph of the Will."

Known as the "conscience of the party," he often used what power and influence he had to intervene on behalf of victims of persecution by extremists in the National Socialist party. In his detailed study, *Justice at Nuremberg*, which is generally very critical of the German defendants, historian Robert E. Conot called Hess a "decent and honest" man and "a pacifist at heart."¹⁰

In their Nuremberg indictment of the Deputy Führer, the four Allied powers predictably portrayed him in the most sinister way possible.¹¹ "Hess began his conspiratorial activities immediately upon termination of World War I by joining militaristic and nationalistic organizations," it charged. It went on to absurdly claim that "Hess was one of the members of the [Nazi] conspiracy who professed as early as 1933 the aim of complete world domination." The joint Allied indictment concluded with the almost ludicrous words:

All through the years from 1920 to 1941 Hess remained the most faithful and relentless executor of Hitler's aims and designs. This complete devotion to the success of the conspiracy was climaxed by his flight in Scotland in an attempt to end the war with England [!] and to receive English support for Germany's demands against Russia, which he had helped to prepare.

The share of Hess' participation in the Nazi conspiracy is as great as that of the Party which he directed. The Party's crimes are his.

In fact, the Allied case against Hess was weak. The Führer had kept his deputy in the dark about his foreign policy and military decisions. It was clearly established at Nuremberg that Hess had not been present at any of the meetings at which Hitler discussed his military plans.¹² And, of course, he could not be held responsible for German actions that took place after his flight to Britain, including those carried out during the campaign against the Soviet Union.

Nevertheless, the Tribunal declared Hess guilty of “crimes against peace” (“planning and preparation of aggressive war”) and of “conspiracy” with other German leaders to commit the alleged crimes, but innocent of “war crimes” and “crimes against humanity.”

No reputable historian today believes the Nuremberg charge that Hess was guilty of “crimes against peace.” Almost all of the criticism of Hess in recent years has focused instead on his signature on the 1935 Nuremberg laws that stripped German Jews of their rights as full citizens and banned marriage and sexual relations between Jews and non-Jews. These laws allegedly “paved the way” for the extermination of the Jews several years later.¹³ Whatever the merits of this argument, Hess had nothing to do with the drafting or promulgation of these laws, and his signature on them was completely pro forma. And even so, the laws were domestic statutes that have had counterparts in numerous other countries, including the United States.

Unlike fellow defendant Albert Speer, the wartime armaments minister who did far more than the Deputy Führer to keep Germany’s war machine going but who received only a 20 year sentence, Hess refused to ingratiate himself with the Tribunal. He expressed no remorse for his loyal support of Hitler and the National Socialist regime.

In his final statement to the court on August 31, 1946, he declared:

I had the privilege of working for many years of my life under the greatest son my nation has brought forth in its thousand-year history. Even if I could, I would not wish to expunge this time from my life.

I am happy to know that I have done my duty towards my people, my duty as a German, as a National Socialist, as a loyal follower of my Führer. I regret nothing.

No matter what people may do, one day I shall stand before the judgment seat of God

Eternal. I will answer to Him, and I know that He will absolve me.

When it came time to decide his sentence, the judges were not inclined to deal leniently with such an unrepentant defendant. The Soviet judge and his alternate thought he should be executed. The British and American judges and the American and French alternates voted for life imprisonment, while the French judge suggested a sentence of twenty years. The British alternate abstained. They settled on life imprisonment.¹⁴

The eminent British historian Professor A. J. P. Taylor summed up the injustice of the Hess case in a 1969 statement:¹⁵

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 could have released him.

No crime has ever been proven 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.

He was of course a leading member of the Nazi Party. But he was no more guilty than any other Nazi or, if you wish, any other German. All the Nazis, all the Germans, were carrying on the war. But they were not all condemned because of this.

That Rudolf Hess—the only one at Nuremberg who had risked his life for peace—was found guilty of “crimes against peace” was certainly the Tribunal’s most ironic perversion of justice.

Spandau

From 1947 until his death, Hess was held in West Berlin’s Spandau prison, which was run by the four Allied powers. Regulations stipulated that “imprisonment will be in the form of solitary confinement” and forbade prison officials to ever call Hess by name. He was addressed only as “prisoner No. 7.”

Conditions were so bad that French chaplain Pastor Casalis protested to the prison Directorate in 1950: “It can safely be said that Spandau has become a place of mental torture to an extent that does not permit the Christian conscience to remain silent . . .”¹⁶

For 20 years, Hess at least had the limited company of a few other Nuremberg defen-

dants, but from October 1966 until his death 21 years later, he was the only inmate in the fortress-like prison originally built for 600. He was, in the words of Spandau's American Director, Lt. Col. Eugene Bird, "the loneliest man in the world."

Keeping this one man in Spandau cost the West German government about 850,000 marks a year. In addition, each of the four Allied powers had to provide an officer and 37 soldiers during their respective shifts, as well as a director and team of warders throughout the entire year. The permanent maintenance staff of 22 included cooks, waitresses and cleaners.

In the final years of his life, Hess was a weak and frail old man, blind in one eye, who walked stooped forward with a cane. He lived in virtually total isolation according to a strictly regulated daily routine. During his rare meetings with his wife and son, he was not allowed to embrace or even touch them.¹⁷

Long before his death, Hess' imprisonment had become a grotesque and absurd spectacle.

Even Winston Churchill expressed regret over his treatment. In 1950 he wrote:¹⁸

Reflecting upon the whole of the story, I am glad not to be responsible for the way in which Hess has been and is being treated. Whatever may be the moral guilt of a German who stood near to Hitler, Hess had, in my view, atoned for this by his completely devoted and frantic deed of lunatic benevolence. He came to us of his own free will, and, though without authority, had something of the quality of an envoy. He was a medical and not a criminal case, and should be so regarded.

In a 1977 interview, Sir Hartley Shawcross, who was Britain's chief prosecutor at Nuremberg, called the continued imprisonment of Hess a "scandal."¹⁹

The injustice against Hess was not something that happened once and was quickly over. It was, rather, a wrong that went on, day after day, for 46 years. Rudolf Hess was a prisoner of peace and a victim of a vindictive age.

Notes

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- Rudolf Hess*, (New York: Viking Press, 1974), pp. 184, 200, 209-210.
2. W. R. Hess, *My Father Rudolf Hess*, pp. 50, 66-67; Ilse Hess, *Rudolf Hess: Prisoner of Peace*, pp. 15, 24.
3. Hess statement to Sir John Simon, June 10, 1941. Quoted in: Ilse Hess, *Rudolf Hess: Prisoner of Peace*, p. 14.
4. Quoted in: W. R. Hess, *My Father Rudolf Hess*, pp. 391-392.
5. Alpheus T. Mason, *Harlan Fiske Stone: Pillar of the Law* (New York: Viking, 1956), p. 716.
6. William O. Douglas, *An Almanac of Liberty* (1954), p. 96. Quoted in: William J. Bosch, *Judgment on Nuremberg* (Chapel Hill, NC: Univ. of North Carolina, 1970), pp. 132-133.
7. Quoted in: H. K. Thompson, Jr. and Henry Strutz, eds., *Doenitz at Nuremberg: A Reappraisal*, (Torrance, Calif.: 1983), p. 196.
8. *Report of Robert 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.
9. Jackson letter to Truman, Oct. 12, 1945. Quoted in: Robert E. Conot, *Justice at Nuremberg* (New York: Harper & Row, 1983), p. 68.
10. R. Conot, *Justice at Nuremberg* (New York: Harper & Row, 1983), p. 44.
11. Office of the United States Chief of Counsel for the Prosecution of Axis Criminality, *Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression* (11 vols.), Washington, DC: US Gov't., 1946-1948. (The "red series."), Volume 2, pp. 466, 469, 477-478.
12. R. Conot, *Justice at Nuremberg*, pp. 347-348, 501; W. R. Hess, *My Father Rudolf Hess*, p. 229.
13. See, for example: "Rudolf Hess," *Washington Post* (editorial), August 19, 1987; Letter by Marvin Hier and Abraham Cooper, *The New York Times*, May 1, 1984.
14. R. Conot, *Justice at Nuremberg*, p. 487; W. R. Hess, *My Father Rudolf Hess*, pp. 235-236.
15. *Sunday Express*, London, April 27, 1969. Quoted in: W. R. Hess, *My Father Rudolf Hess*, pp. 392-393.
16. W. R. Hess, *My Father Rudolf Hess*, pp. 265-266.
17. Eugene K. Bird, *Prisoner # 7: Rudolf Hess*, p. 152 and passim.
18. Winston S. Churchill, *The Grand Alliance* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1950), p. 55.
19. Interview with *Bild am Sonntag*, April 10, 1977. Quoted in: Wolf R. Hess, *My Father Rudolf Hess*, p. 402.

The Life and Death of My Father, Rudolf Hess

WOLF RÜDIGER HESS

(Presented by videotape at the Eleventh IHR Conference, 1992)

When my father flew to Scotland on May 10, 1941, I was three-and-a-half years old. As a result, I have only very few personal memories of him in freedom. One of them is a memory of him pulling me out of the garden pond. On another occasion, when I was screaming because a bat had somehow gotten into the house, I can still recall his comforting voice as he carried it to the window and released it into the night.

In the years that followed, I learned who my father was, and about his role in history, only bit by bit. Slowly, I came to understand the martyrdom he endured as a prisoner in the Allied Military Prison in Berlin-Spandau for 40 long years—half a life-time.

Growing Up in Egypt and Germany

My father was born in Alexandria, Egypt, on April 26, 1894, the first son of Fritz Hess, a respected and well-to-do merchant. The Hess family personified the prosperity, standing and self-assurance of the German Reich of that period. They also personified all those things that aroused envy, fear and a combative spirit on the part of Britain and other great powers.

Fritz Hess owned an imposing house with a beautiful garden on the Mediterranean coast. His family, which came from Wunsiedel in the Fichtelgebirge region of Germany, owned another house in Reicholdsgrün, in Bavaria, where they regularly spent their

summer holidays. The source of this wealth was a trading firm, Hess & Co., that Fritz Hess had inherited from his father, and which he managed with considerable success.

His eldest son, Rudolf, was a pupil at the German Protestant School in Alexandria. His future appeared to be determined by both family tradition and his father's strong hand: he would inherit the property and the firm, and would, accordingly, become a merchant. Young Rudolf, though, was not very inclined toward this kind of life.

Instead, he felt drawn toward the sciences, above all physics and mathematics. His abilities in these fields became obvious as a student at the Bad Godesberg Educational Institute, a boarding school for boys in Germany that he attended between September 15, 1908, and Easter, 1911. In spite of this, his father insisted that he complete his secondary school education by passing an examination that would permit him to enter the École Supérieure de Commerce at Neuchâtel in Switzerland, after which he became an apprentice in a Hamburg trading company.

Front Line Combat Service

These well-laid plans were soon to change. The start of the First World War in 1914 found the family at its vacation home in Bavaria. Rudolf Hess, then 20 years of age, did not hesitate for a moment before reporting as a volunteer with the Bavarian Field Artillery. A short time later, he was transferred to the infantry, and by November 4, 1914, he was serving as a poorly trained recruit at the front, where he took part in the trench warfare of the first battle of the Somme.

Along with most young Germans of that time, Rudolf Hess went to the front as a fer-

Wolf R. Hess studied at the Technical University in Munich, from where he graduated as a government-certified engineer in 1964. He is chairman of the Rudolf Hess Society (Postfach 1122, 8033 Planegg, Germany). He and his wife live in Bavaria.

vent patriot acutely conscious of Germany's cause, which he regarded as entirely just, and determined to defeat the British-French arch-enemy. After six months of front-line service, my father was promoted to lance corporal. To his men he was an exemplary comrade, always the first to volunteer for raids and reconnaissance patrols. In bloody battles among the barbed wire, trenches and shell craters, he distinguished himself by his cheerful composure, courage and bravery.

By 1917 he had been promoted to the rank of Lieutenant. But he also paid the price of this "career" advancement: He was gravely wounded in 1916, and again in 1917 when a rifle bullet pierced his left lung.

A Humiliating and Vengeful Peace

Scarred by the hardships and wounds of front line duty, on December 12, 1918—that is, after the humiliating armistice of Compiègne—Rudolf Hess was "discharged from active military service to Reicholdsgrün without maintenance," as the official army record rather baldly puts it. That is, without pay, pension or disability allowance.

Already during the war, the family had lost its considerable holdings in Egypt as a result of British expropriation. Now the defeat of the German Empire in the First World War brought wrenching, even catastrophic changes in the life of the Hess family.

For Rudolf Hess, though, the grim fate suffered by his fatherland in defeat and revolution weighed more heavily than this private misfortune. In spite of the military armistice, the victorious powers maintained a starvation blockade against Germany until the imposition of the Treaty of Versailles in June 1919. The Treaty itself was little more than a vengeful "peace of annihilation" dictated by the victorious powers and accepted by the German National Assembly only under protest and the threat of further force.

On May 12, 1919, in a moving address that has since become famous, Reich Chancellor Philipp Scheidemann, a Social Democrat, declared:

... Allow me to speak entirely without tactical considerations. What our discussions are concerned with, this thick book in which a hundred paragraphs begin with "Germany renounces, renounces," this most atrocious and murderous hammer of evil by which a great people is extorted and black



Young Wolf Hess with his parents in happier days, before the May 1941 "peace flight" to Britain.

mailed into acknowledging its own unworthiness, accepting its merciless dismemberment, consenting to enslavement and serfdom, this book must not become the statute book of the future . . . I ask you: Who, as an honest man—I will not even say as a German, only as an honest man loyal to the terms of a treaty—can submit to such conditions? What hand that submits itself and us to such shackles would not wither? Moreover, we must exert ourselves, we must toil, work as slaves for international capitalism, work unpaid for the entire world!

... If this treaty is actually signed, it will not be just Germany's corpse that remains on the battlefield of Versailles. Beside it will lie equally noble corpses: the right of self-determination of peoples, the independence of free nations, belief in all the fine ideals under whose banner the Allies claimed to fight, and, above all, belief in loyalty to the terms of a treaty.

Scheidemann's words leave scarcely any doubt that as a result of the "vae victis" of the governments of the Allied and Associated powers, Germany's very existence as a prosperous and unified nation was brought into question. As far-sighted men of the time correctly observed, the Constitution of the "Weimar Republic" (1919-1933) was, in a real sense, not the one that the German parliament formally adopted on August 11, 1919. It was rather, imposed by the dictated Treaty of Versailles on June 28, 1919. As a result of the

Treaty, each of the numerous governments of the "Weimar Republic" was inevitably faced with the same insurmountable problem. Each administration was obliged to carry out the Treaty's countless oppressive and devastating conditions, and thus act as an "agent" of the victorious powers. Each new government thus unavoidably discredited itself in the eyes of the people it represented, and therefore committed a kind of political suicide.

Meeting With Hitler

One political leader, though, defiantly vowed from the outset never to permit himself or his party to be blackmailed. This man was Adolf Hitler, and his party was the National Socialist German Workers' Party. Like many of his fellow citizens, my father was appalled and deeply shocked by the conditions that had developed in Germany, and he resolved to fight against the "Diktat" of Versailles. The catastrophic state of affairs he found in Munich after his return from the front defied his ability to describe them. Like most of his comrades, Hess was drawn into the war in 1914 to fight for a free, strong and proud Germany. Now, in 1919, the 26-year-old had to witness the establishment in Bavaria of a "Soviet republic" headed by communists and Jews. In his eyes, military defeat had given way to national catastrophe.

In a letter written to a cousin some time later, he graphically described his feelings at the time:

You know how I suffer under the situation to which our once proud nation has been brought. I have fought for the honor of our flag where a man of my age had of course to fight, where conditions were at their worst, in dirt and mud, in the hell of Verdun, Artois and elsewhere. I have witnessed the horror of death in all its forms, been hammered for days under heavy bombardment, slept in a dugout in which lay half of a Frenchman's dead body. I have hungered and suffered, as indeed have all frontline soldiers. And is all this to be in vain, the suffering of the good people at home all for nothing? I have learned from you what you women have had to live through! No, if all this has been in vain, I would still today regret that I did not put a bullet through my brain on the day the monstrous armistice conditions and their acceptance were published. I did not do it at the time solely in the hope that in one

way or another I might still be able to do something to reverse fate.

From then on, he was consumed by the conviction that he could "reverse fate," and by the determination to act on this conviction. During the winter of 1918-19, in a humiliated Germany shaken by communist riots, tormented by *ad hoc* governments of "workers' and soldiers' soviets," he still recognized—in spite of his discouragement—the possibility of renewal for the people for whom he had been ready to lay down his life.

Now determined to fight against the obvious efforts to subjugate Germany, his feelings of despair turned into burning indignation and motivating rage.

As a result, he was almost inevitably drawn to the one political force that, as he had correctly sensed from the outset, was in a position to break the shackles imposed upon the German people at Versailles. Like millions of other Germans, he followed this movement's leader—but he did so earlier and with greater dedication than most of the others. Along with his fellow citizens, he was convinced of the justice of the cause for which he fought—restoration of Germany's national rights and standing by breaking the chains of Versailles.

The National Socialist German Workers' Party was founded in Munich in January 1919. Hitler joined a few months later, and quickly became its most prominent speaker. It was sometime in May 1920, at an evening meeting of this small group in a room adjoining the Sternecker brewery in Munich, when Hess first heard Hitler speak. When he returned home that evening to the small guest house where he was living, he enthusiastically told the girl who lived in the adjacent room, Ilse Pröh—whom he was later to marry:

The day after tomorrow you must come with me to a meeting of the National Socialist Workers' Party. Someone unknown will be speaking; I can't remember his name. But if anyone can free us from Versailles, he is the man. This unknown man will restore our honor.

My father became member number sixteen of the group on July 1, 1920. From that time on he was slowly but steadily drawn to its leader. There were several reasons for his enthusiasm for Hitler. First, there were rea-

sons of practical policy, which Hess formulated in these words in a letter written in 1921:

The core of the matter is that Hitler is convinced that [national] resurrection is possible only if we can succeed in leading the great mass of people, in particular the workers, back to national awareness. But this is possible only in the context of reasonable, honest socialism.

Second, Hess had a personal reason, which was Hitler's eloquence. In a letter to a friend written in 1924, my father described the effect of this gift:

You won't find more than once a man who at a mass meeting can enrapture the most left-wing lathe operator just as much as the right-wing senior executive. This man, within two hours, made the thousand communists who had come to break up [the meeting] stand and join in the national anthem at the end [as in Munich in 1921], and this man, within three hours, in a special address to a few hundred industrialists and the Minister President [or provincial governor], who had come more or less to oppose him, secured their full approval or speechless astonishment.

Rudolf Hess was convinced that Hitler could not fail to break the chains of Versailles and then carry out a political change of direction that promised a better future.

In the years before it gained large-scale support from voters, the National Socialist party was a small Bavarian phenomenon, and Hitler's place in national politics was insignificant. Not even Hitler's recognized ability as a speaker was at first able to change this. During the period from 1924 until 1929, when normal conditions seemed to return in Germany, despite Versailles, Hitler was not well known. The only exception was in 1923, when he gained brief notoriety for his role in the November 9th "March on the Feldherrnhalle" in Munich, and the ill-fated attempt to overthrow the government there. In the course of this unsuccessful putsch, my father arrested three ministers of the Bavarian state government. For his role in the coup attempt, Hitler was punished with imprisonment in the Landsberg fortress, where my father later joined him.

Victory in Political Struggle

It was during that time of incarceration that Hitler and my father established the special relationship of trust and mutual confidence that stamped the image of the party's leadership in later years. It was also in Landsberg that Hitler wrote his well-known, seminal work, *Mein Kampf*. My father edited the pages of the manuscript and checked them for errors. Hitler was released early on December 20, 1924. Four months later, in April 1925 my father became Adolf Hitler's private secretary, at a monthly salary of 500 marks.

In the first years of the 1930s, the impact of the Great Depression and the political disintegration of the Weimar Republic set the stage for Hitler's seizure of power in January 1933. As a result of its well-organized propaganda campaigns, which were in turn due to its quasi-military cohesion and discipline, the National Socialist party gained greater and greater electoral support from ever broader segments of the population. And as employment increased, more and more jobless workers also turned to the National Socialists, many of them defecting directly from Germany's large Communist Party.

During the hectic days of January 1933, my father never left Hitler's side. In a handwritten letter to his wife, dated January 31, 1933—that is, the day after Hitler became Chancellor—the 38-year-old Rudolf Hess recorded his feelings during this moment of triumph:

Am I dreaming or am I awake—that is the question of the moment! I am sitting in the Chancellor's office in the Wilhelmsplatz. Senior civil servants approach noiselessly on soft carpets to submit documents "for the Reich Chancellor," who is at the moment chairing a Cabinet meeting and preparing the government's initial measures. Outside, the public stands patiently, packed together and waiting for 'him' to drive away—they start to sing the national anthem and shout "Heil" to the "Führer" or to the "Reich Chancellor." And then I start to shake and I have to clench my teeth—just as I did yesterday when the "Führer" returned from [his meeting with] the Reich President as "Reich Chancellor," and summoned me to his bedroom in the Kaiserhof hotel from among the mass of leaders waiting in the reception room—when what I had considered impossible right up to the last moment became reality.

I was firmly convinced that everything would, of course, go wrong at the last moment. And the Chief also admitted to me that a few times things were on a knife-edge because of the intransigence of the old weasel in the Cabinet [a reference to Alfred Hugenberg, coalition partner and chairman of the German National People's Party].

The evening torchlight procession marched before the delighted old gentleman [President von Hindenburg], who bore it until the last SA man [stormtrooper] had passed at about midnight . . . Then came the jubilation directed to the Führer, mixing with that directed to the Reich President. The hours of men and women pushing past, holding up their children facing the Führer, young girls and boys, their faces radiant when they recognized "him" at the window of the Reich Chancellery—how sorry I was that you were not there!

The Chief behaves with incredible assurance. And the punctuality!!!! Always a few minutes ahead of time!!! I have even had to make up my mind to buy a watch. A new era and a new time schedule has dawned!



Deputy Führer Hess signs autographs for German soldiers in France.

All this was written on a sheet of paper with a letterhead reading "The Reich Chancellor." Hess had, however, crossed out the Gothic lettering with his pen. The next day, in a follow up letter dated February 1, he concluded with the words: "One stage towards victory is now, I hope, finally behind us. The second difficult period of the struggle has begun!"

On April 21, 1933, Hitler appointed Hess as Deputy Führer of the National Socialist party. His job was to lead the governing party as Hitler's representative, and to uphold its national and social principles. Eight months later, on December 1, 1933, Reich President Hindenburg—acting on Hitler's proposal—appointed Hess as Reich Minister without Portfolio. At the outbreak of war in September 1939, Hitler named Reich Marshal Hermann Göring as deputy head of state. But this does not alter the fact that Hess remained Hitler's close confidant, and a man he could trust without reservation.

Gathering Clouds of War

The most important result of the European political developments of 1937 and 1938, which reached a climax in the "Sudeten crisis" of 1938, was that Britain continued to strengthen its ties with the United States. As a condition of US assistance in the event of war, President Roosevelt demanded from British premier Chamberlain certain commitments in the field of political stability. It was under this pressure that Britain and France then concluded a military agreement in February 1939. In addition, the two western European democracies, bowing to Roosevelt's claim to lead world policy, gave guarantees to Holland, Switzerland, Poland, Romania, Greece and Turkey—in other words, to all of Germany's neighbors in the West and East—which Hitler considered Germany's rightful domain.

From this point on, Britain, France and Poland—with America behind them—decided which of Hitler's revisions of the conditions imposed by Versailles they would regard as reason for, or even merely a pretext for, war against the German Reich. Even if Hitler refrained from further revisionist policies, from now on the question of war or peace was no longer solely in his own hands.

At the time of Britain's "blank check" guarantee to Poland in March 1939, Hitler had not yet finally resolved to attack Poland. But every western political leader was aware that this fateful guarantee was an significant step closer to war. Indeed, important figures in western circles and among the anti-Hitler opposition in Germany calculated that Hitler would react to this new Polish dependence on Britain, France and the USA with military action. It was hoped that this would mean not

only war, but Hitler's own downfall. This was confirmed by Chamberlain in his diary entry of September 10, 1939: "My hope is not a military victory—I doubt very much whether that is possible—but a collapse on the German home front."

On September 1, 1939, the German armed forces commenced the attack against Poland. Two days later, Britain and France declared war against the German Reich. The fact that these governments did not also declare war against Soviet Russia, which invaded Poland on September 17, 1939 (in accord with the provisions of the German-Soviet pact of August 23, 1939), clearly shows that the British guarantee to Poland—like the British-French declaration of war against Germany—was motivated not by concern for Poland but rather was directed against Germany.

Four weeks later, Poland was shattered and the country was divided between Germany and Russia—without a single shot being fired in the West. Britain and France had done nothing for their Polish ally, and now Hitler began to plan an attack against France. At the same time, he hoped that Britain would make peace with him, while accepting the hegemony of a now-powerful Germany in eastern Europe. He believed that Britain would agree to this now that Poland was prostrate, or at the latest after a German victory over France.

After Germany's lightning victory over Poland, and before the German attack on France in May 1940, Hitler made the first of his numerous attempts to end the war in the West. His peace offer of September 12, 1939, accompanied by the assurance that under his leadership Germany would never capitulate, was a feeler. It was supported by Stalin, but rejected by Chamberlain and French premier Daladier.

Only after all hopes of peace with France and Britain were dashed did Hitler order an attack against France. It commenced on May 10, 1940, and France collapsed on June 21, 1940. The Franco-German armistice was signed on June 22 in the same railway dining car in Compiègne in which the Germans had signed the humiliating armistice of November 1918.

No one had foreseen such a swift German victory over France. As a result of this stunning achievement, Hitler had made himself ruler of the continent of Europe, from the Atlantic to the Bug river [in Poland], and from

the North Cape to Sicily. But Britain still stood in the way of his goal of a free hand on the continent. Accordingly, during his visit in June 1940 to the sites of Germany's successful military campaigns, Hitler once again expressed his desire to reach a comprehensive peace agreement with Britain. It was at that time that his Deputy, Rudolf Hess, decided that—if it became necessary—he would make a personal effort to achieve a vital peace with Britain.

Flight for Peace

What really happened between June 1940 and May 10, 1941, the day my father took off in a Messerschmitt 110 to Scotland, is known only in outline because the relevant British documents still remain classified. The Hess papers that were released in Britain with great fanfare in June 1992 proved to be disappointing. Among these approximately two thousand pages was absolutely nothing of real substance about the secret contacts that existed between Britain and Germany, about the British peace group (which included members of the royal family) and its peace feelers to Germany, or about the role played by the British secret service prior to the flight. In short, these papers contained nothing that would show why my father seriously hoped that his mission might well turn out successfully.

In any case, it can be said with certainty that the still-classified British documents contain nothing that will reflect badly on Rudolf Hess or the policies of the German government of that time. Moreover, it can be stated with certainty that the documents that the British government continues to keep secret will reflect badly on the wartime British government of Winston Churchill. I will go further to say that these suppressed documents confirm that Churchill sought to prolong the war, with all the suffering, destruction and death that implies.

Some may dismiss this statement as unjustified and self-serving. In this regard, I would therefore like to cite the words of a British historian who has carried out extensive research on precisely this aspect of that dreadful conflict. In *Ten Days To Destiny: The Secret Story of the Hess Peace Initiative and British Efforts to Strike a Deal with Hitler* (New York: W. Morrow, 1991) [available from the IHR], John Costello concludes that it would have

been quite possible to bring the European war to an end before it turned into a world war, if only the British government had made even the slightest move to do so.

In *Ten Days To Destiny* [on pages 17 to 19], Costello writes the following revealing sentences:

Until the British government reverses current policy and releases the relevant section of its historic intelligence service archives, it may be impossible to determine whether the clandestine contacts with Germany that evidently played a part in bringing Hess to Scotland on the night of May 10 were a secret service triumph or part of a sinister peace plot that ran out of control. What is now indisputable is that the Hess mission was very far from being the "brainstorm" of Hitler's deluded deputy that it is still being portrayed as by distinguished British historians. The documentary evidence that has now come to light [which, I might add parenthetically, is only the tip of the iceberg] shows that it was the outcome of an interlocking sequence of secret British and German peace manoeuvres that can be tracked right back to the summer of 1940. The pieces of this jigsaw puzzle are now falling into place to show that: [...]

— Hitler's order halting the Panzer advance on Dunkirk was a carefully timed stratagem to persuade the British and French governments to seek a compromise peace.

— A majority of the [Churchill] War Cabinet had decided to trade off Gibraltar and Malta in return for keeping control of the Empire.

— An alarmed President Roosevelt secretly sought Canadian help to stop the British accepting a "soft peace" deal with Hitler.

— French leaders believed on May 24, 1940, that Britain would not fight on but accept a joint peace deal brokered by Mussolini at the end of May 1940.

— Churchill—and Britain—survived only because the Prime Minister resorted to ruthless Machiavellian intrigue and a high-stakes bluff to stop a wobbly Foreign Secretary talking the War Cabinet into a peace deal engineered by R.A. Butler. When France fell, Lord Halifax's Under Secretary actually passed a message to Berlin that "common sense and not bravado" dictated that Britain should negotiate, not fight Hitler. [...]

— Two days after Churchill had prom-

ised "we shall never surrender," Lord Halifax and R.A. Butler signalled to Berlin via Sweden that a British peace proposal would be made after the French armistice on June 18, 1940.

— Ambassador Kennedy had been in clandestine contact with Hitler's emissaries trying to stop the war while the British government suspected him of illegally profiting from Treasury information to make a killing in international stock and securities dealings. [...]

— The Duke of Windsor and other members of the Royal Family encouraged German expectations that peace would eventually be negotiable.

— Hess' plan to fly to Scotland took shape in the final days of the battle for France and was encouraged in September 1940 by his discovery that Britain continued putting out peace feelers via Switzerland and Spain.

— MI5 [the British secret service] intercepted Hess' first peace initiative and then turned it into a "double-cross" operation to snare Hess into a trap baited by the Duke of Hamilton and the British Ambassadors in Switzerland and Madrid.

— Hess' dramatic arrival left Churchill with no choice but to bury the affair in distortion and official silence in order to protect not only the Duke of Hamilton but senior Tory colleagues who even in 1941 remained convinced that an honorable peace could be struck with Hitler.

For more than fifty years the cloak of British secrecy has clouded and distorted the record. The official histories carefully masked the roles played by the key players in the year-long effort to strike a deal with Hitler behind Churchill's back. Just how close this peace plotting came to succeeding has been concealed to protect the reputations of the British politicians and diplomats who had believed that Hitler was less of a menace to the Empire than Stalin . . .

Churchill also had his own reasons for burying his wartime quarrels with other leading members of the Conservative Party. He did not want any scandal to sully the glory of his leadership during the Battle of Britain and the "white glow, overpowering and sublime, which ran through our Island from end to end."

Britain's "Finest Hour" and Churchill's own role in forging it were enshrined as one of the most illustrious chapters in British history. His visionary courage had created, by words rather than military

substance, the British people's belief that, against the overwhelming odds, they could defy Hitler in 1940.

No one knows for sure whether my father undertook his flight with the knowledge and blessing of Adolf Hitler. Both men are now dead. All the available evidence, though, suggests that Hitler knew in advance of the flight:

First: Just a few days before his flight, my father had a private meeting with Hitler that lasted four hours. It is known that the two men raised their voices during portions of their talk, and that when they were finished, Hitler accompanied his Deputy to the ante-room, put his arm soothingly around his shoulder, and said: "Hess, you really are stubborn."

Second: The relationship between Hitler and Hess was so close and intimate that one can logically assume that Hess would not have undertaken such an important step in the middle of a war without first informing Hitler.

Third: Although Hess' adjutants and secretaries were imprisoned after the flight, Hitler intervened to protect Hess' family. He saw to it that a pension was paid to Hess' wife, and he sent a personal telegram of condolence to Hess' mother when her husband died in October 1941.

Fourth: Among the papers released in June 1992 by the British authorities are two farewell letters my father wrote on June 14, 1941, the day before he tried to commit suicide in Mytchett Place, in England. The letters were written after he realized that his peace mission had definitely failed. One was addressed to Hitler and the other to his family. Both clearly confirm that his close relationship with Hitler still existed. If he had undertaken his now-obviously failed mission without Hitler's prior knowledge, his relationship with Hitler clearly would no longer still have been one of trust.

And, fifth: Gauleiter Ernst Bohle, the Hess confidant and high-ranking official who had helped my father to translate some papers into English, remained convinced until his death that all this was done with Hitler's knowledge and approval.

Suppressing Historical Evidence

A general comment on the information available about my father's peace proposals is in order: During the entire forty-year period of

his imprisonment in Spandau, he was prohibited from speaking openly about his mission. This "gag order" was obviously imposed because he knew things that, if publicly known, would be highly embarrassing to the British government, and possibly to the US and Soviet governments as well.

As a result, contemporary historical research remains entirely dependent on the British documents. British authorities have announced that many important documents from the Hess files will remain under lock and key until the year 2017. The entire matter was handled so secretly that no more than a handful of individuals around Churchill were really in the know. The proposals, plans or offers brought by Hess have remained secret in the archives right up to the present. As long as these documents remain secret, the world will not know the precise nature of the peace proposals that my father brought with him to present to the British government in May 1941. All this must, of course, be taken into consideration in any serious assessment of my father's historic flight.

One indication that Hess said more than is now known is contained in a note prepared on June 3, 1941, by Ralph Murray of the "Political Warfare Executive"—a top secret British government agency—for Sir Reginald Leeper, head of the secret service section of the Foreign Office. This document suggests that Secretary of State Cadogan also had a conversation with Rudolf Hess.

The purpose and context of this conversation still cannot be determined: The available information is still not complete. Nevertheless, it appears that during the course of this conversation the Deputy Führer was even more specific and detailed about his proposals than he was in some later conversations.

These were Hess' proposals:

One: Germany and Britain would reach a compromise on world-wide policy based on the status quo. That is, Germany would not attack Russia to secure German *Lebensraum* ["living space"].

Two: Germany would drop its claims to its former colonies, and would acknowledge British hegemony at sea. In return, Britain would acknowledge continental Europe as a German sphere of interest.

Three: The then-current relationship of military strength between Germany and Britain in the air and on the sea would be

maintained. That is, Britain would not receive any reinforcements from the United States. Although there was no mention of land forces, it can be assumed that this balance of forces would be maintained in this regard as well.

Four: Germany would withdraw from "Metropolitan France" [European France] after the total disarmament of the French army and navy. German commissioners would remain in French North Africa, and German troops would remain in Libya for five years after the conclusion of peace.

Five: Within two years after the conclusion of peace, Germany would establish satellite states in Poland, Denmark, the Netherlands, Belgium and Serbia. However, Germany would withdraw from Norway, Romania, Bulgaria and Greece (except for Crete, which German parachutists had taken at the end of May, 1941). After some rounding-off in the East, North, West and South (Austria and Bohemia-Moravia were apparently to remain within the Reich), Germany would thus concede Britain's position in the eastern Mediterranean and the Middle East.

Six: Germany would recognize Ethiopia and the Red Sea as a British sphere of influence.

Seven: The person to whom the Deputy Führer was speaking was somewhat confused about whether Italy had approved Hess' peace proposals. Hess himself said nothing about this, although points four and six would have considerably affected Italian interests.

Eight: Rudolf Hess admitted that Hitler had agreed in advance to the official "cover story" put out in Germany that he was of "unsound mind."

This peace proposal would indeed have brought peace to the world in 1941. If Britain had negotiated with Germany on this basis, the German attack against Russia—which began less than three weeks later, on June 22, 1941—would not have taken place, because Hitler would have obtained what he needed for survival: control of the continent. The war would have withered away on all fronts.

Instead, as we know, the war continued—bringing destruction, suffering and death on an almost unimaginable scale—because the outstretched hand of peace was rejected by Churchill and Roosevelt. The peace they sought was a Carthaginian one. Their sole war aim was the destruction of Germany.

After initial interviews with Rudolf Hess

conducted by the Duke of Hamilton and Sir Ivone Kirkpatrick in Glasgow, my father was interviewed on June 9, 1941, by Lord Simon, the Lord Chancellor, and on September 9, 1941, by Lord Beaverbrook, Minister for Aircraft Production. A few days later, Beaverbrook flew to Moscow to arrange for military aid to the Soviet Union. These two interviews were motivated not by any desire for peace, but were instead merely to pry out any possible military secrets from Hess.

Nuremberg

After September 1941 my father was completely isolated. On June 25, 1942, he was transferred to Abergavenny in south Wales, where he was kept prisoner until he was flown to Nuremberg on October 8, 1945, to stand trial as a "major war criminal" and as the second-ranking defendant in the so-called "International Military Tribunal."

I will not go into detail here about this shameful "victors' trial of the vanquished," except to note that even the Tribunal's Allied judges had to exonerate my father of the charges of "war crimes" and "crimes against humanity," but ruled that he—the one man who had risked his life to secure peace—was guilty of "crimes against peace," and, on that basis, sentenced him to life imprisonment! The court's treatment of Hess is alone more than enough to dismiss the Nuremberg Tribunal as a vengeful victors' kangaroo court that merely pretended to be a genuine forum of justice.

Spandau Prison

Along with six Nuremberg co-defendants, my father was transferred on July 18, 1947, to the grim fortress in the Spandau district of Berlin that was designated the Allied Military Prison.

The regulations under which the seven prisoners were held were so severe that even the French prison chaplain, Casalis, protested (in 1948) against their outrageous treatment. He went on to describe Spandau as a place of mental torture. In October 1952, after two years of protracted discussion between the custodial powers, the Soviets agreed to following so-called "special privileges": One visit of thirty minutes a month. One letter a week of no more than 1,300 words. Medical attention in the prison. And, in the event of death, interment of the ashes in the prison instead of scattering in the wind.

After the release of Albert Speer and Baldur von Schirach on October 1, 1966, Rudolf Hess was the only remaining inmate. For more than twenty years, my father was the sole prisoner in a prison designed for about six hundred.

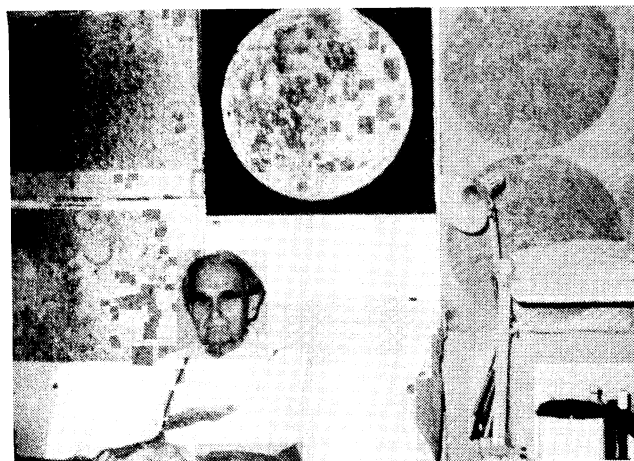
After a further revision of regulations in the early 1970s, one member of the family was permitted to visit the prisoner for one hour once a month. The prisoner was now also permitted to receive four books each month. As before, visits, letters and books were strictly censored. No reference to the events of the 1933 to 1945 period was permitted. No mention of the Tribunal's sentence, or matters related to it, was permitted. Family visits were monitored by authorities of each of the four powers, as well as by at least two guards. No physical contact—not even a handshake—was permitted. The visits took place in a special "Visitor's Room," which had a partition with an open "window."

My father was allowed to receive four daily newspapers, and after the mid-1970s, he was allowed to watch television. However, newspapers and television were censored along the lines mentioned above. My father was not permitted to watch any television news reports.

For many years my father refused visits from members of his family on the grounds that because of the conditions under which such visits were permitted, they were an offense to his honor and dignity, and were more aggravating than pleasurable. He changed his mind in November 1969, when he became severely ill and had to struggle to stay alive. Under these circumstances, and because of new conditions for visits, he agreed to a visit by my mother, Ilse Hess, and myself in the British Military Hospital in Berlin. Thus, on December 24, 1969, my mother and I visited him for the first time since my childhood. This was the only occasion when two persons were permitted to visit him at the same time.

After being returned to the Allied Military Prison in Spandau, he agreed to further visits. In the years that followed, members of the family visited Rudolf Hess 232 times altogether. Only the closest members of his family were allowed to meet with him: that is, his wife, his sister, his niece, his nephew, my wife and myself. It was forbidden to shake hands or embrace. Presents were also forbidden, even on birthdays or at Christmas.

My father's attorney, retired Bavarian state minister Dr. Alfred Seidl, was permitted to meet with his client only six times in all during the forty year period from July 1947 to August 1987. Dr. Seidl was also subjected to the strict censorship regulations: That is, he was warned before each visit that he was not allowed to discuss with his client the trial, the reasons for his imprisonment or the efforts that were being made to secure his release. The custodial Allied Governments had always refused to bear the costs for the prison. After October 1, 1966, when my father became the prison's sole prisoner, the German federal government spent around 40 million marks to run the prison. This included salaries for a staff of more than a hundred persons employed to guard and run this prison for a single elderly man.



Rudolf Hess in his Spandau prison cell. On the wall hang maps of the moon, reflecting his keen interest in astronomy.

Soviet Inklings

In 1986, Soviet policy toward the West showed obvious signs of rapprochement and détente. In spite of so many earlier failures, I decided to act on a hint received in December 1986 from the East to directly approach the Soviets to discuss with them my father's release.

In January 1987, I wrote a letter to the Soviet embassy in Bonn. For the first time in 20 years, I received a reply. Officials there suggested that I visit the Soviet embassy in East Berlin for a detailed discussion with Soviet representatives about my father's situation. We finally agreed to a meeting at the Soviet consulate in West Berlin on March 31, 1987, at 2:00 p.m. As the embassy officials

were certainly aware, this would be on the same day as my next visit with my father.

That morning, I visited my father in Spandau prison for the very last time. I found him to be mentally alert, quite up to par, but physically very weak. He could walk only when supporting himself with a cane on one side, and with help from a guard on the other. Sitting down with his feet propped on a chair had become a tedious procedure which he could not manage without help. Even though I found the temperature in the visitor's room to be quite normal, he felt cold and asked for his coat and an additional blanket.

My father opened our conversation with an interesting piece of news, the details of which he asked me to set down in writing: He had sent a new application to the heads of state of the four occupation powers, requesting release from his 46 years imprisonment. I was particularly struck by one point. He told me that he had appealed especially to the Soviet head of state to support his request with the other three custodial powers. "Did I get that right?" I asked. My father nodded. So he knew—obviously from the Russians themselves—that they were considering approving his release.

After our meeting, I drove from Spandau prison directly to the Soviet consulate. Embassy Counselor Grinin, the official I spoke with there, began by explaining that it was not the Soviet embassy in Bonn, but rather the embassy in East Berlin that was responsible for all Soviet rights and responsibilities in West Berlin. One of these responsibilities, he said—and his words deserve to be repeated verbatim—was "the unpleasant legacy of Spandau." Anyone who had inherited a legacy like the "Allied Military Prison" on German soil, as the Soviet Union had at the end of the war, Grinin said, should certainly want to get rid of it.

I had not expected any sensational outcome from this meeting. It had been a mutual sounding-out, and I believe that it came off positively for each side. It also became clear to me during the course of this meeting that there were conflicting views in Moscow about how to deal with the "Hess case." Those who were sympathetic to us, led by Secretary General Gorbachev, were clearly gaining the upper hand.

This evaluation was confirmed a short time later in a report published in the German news magazine *Der Spiegel* (April 13, 1987). The article, which appeared under the head-

line "Will Gorbachev release Hess?," reported on a fundamental change in the attitude of the Soviet party leader toward the "Hess case." Gorbachev, it went on, took the view that the release of Spandau's last prisoner would be an action "that would be accepted worldwide as a gesture of humanity," and which "could also be justified to the Soviet people." In this regard, the news weekly also mentioned the forthcoming visit to Moscow by federal German President Weizsäcker, which was planned to take place in mid-May.

Also on April 13, 1987, a private German citizen wrote a letter about the Hess case to the German-language service of Radio Moscow. The letter of reply, dated June 21, 1987, declared: "As can be hoped from the most recent statements of our head of government, M. Gorbachev, your long years of efforts for the release of the war criminal R. Hess will soon be crowned with success." It can be assumed with certainty that such a letter from Radio Moscow was not written without approval from above.

These three events—my reception in the Soviet consulate in West Berlin on March 31, 1987, the *Spiegel* magazine report of April 13, 1987, and the reply from Radio Moscow of June 21, 1987—show unequivocally that the Soviet Union, under the leadership of Secretary General Gorbachev, intended to release Rudolf Hess. This release would not only be entirely consistent with Gorbachev's policy of reconciliation, it would also be essential feature of a settlement of the remaining unresolved consequences of the Second World War, without which the reunification of Germany and Berlin would not be possible.

Death by Suicide?

If the western custodial powers had not already been aware of Gorbachev's intention, they certainly were after the publication of the *Spiegel* article in April. This undoubtedly set off alarm bells in Britain and the United States, since this new Soviet move would remove the last remaining legal obstacle to my father's release. For many years the British, American and French governments had said that they were ready to agree to Hess' release, but that it was only the Soviet veto that prevented it. Gorbachev's new initiative threatened to call the British and American bluff.

The authorities in London and Washington would have to find some new and more perma-

nent way to deny Hess his freedom and keep him from speaking freely.

On Monday, August 17, 1987, a journalist informed me in my office that my father was dying. Later, at home, I received a telephone call at 6:35 p.m. from Mr. Darold W. Keane, the American director of the Spandau Prison, who informed me officially that my father had died. The official notification, which was in English, read as follows: "I am authorized to inform you that your father expired today at 4:10 p.m. I am not authorized to give you any further details."

The next morning I was on a plane to Berlin, accompanied by Dr. Seidl. When I arrived at the prison, a fairly large crowd had gathered in front. Berlin police were blocking the entrance, and we were obliged to show identification papers before we were allowed to approach the green-painted iron gate. After ringing the bell, I asked to speak with the American prison director, Mr. Keane. After quite a while, Mr. Keane finally appeared, looking extraordinarily nervous and unsure of himself. He told us that we would not be allowed inside the prison complex, and that I would not be permitted to see my dead father. He also told us that he was not able to provide any further information about details of the death. A new report with details of my father's death was allegedly being prepared, and would be made available at about 4:00 p.m. Then, after we gave him the address and telephone number of a Berlin hotel where we would be waiting for further news, he left us standing in front of the gate.

The long-expected telephone call to the hotel finally came at about 5:30 p.m. Keane said:

I will now read to you the report that we will release immediately afterwards to the press. It reads:

"Initial examination indicated that Rudolf Hess attempted to take his own life. In the afternoon of August 17, 1987, under the customary supervision of a prison guard, Hess went to a summerhouse in the prison garden, where he always used to sit. When the guard looked into the summerhouse a few minutes later, he discovered Hess with an electric cord around his neck. Attempts were made at resuscitation and Hess was taken to the British Military Hospital. After further attempts to revive Hess, he was declared dead at 4:10 p.m. The question of whether this suicide at-

tempt was the cause of his death is the object of an investigation, including a thorough autopsy, which is still in progress."

Hess was a frail 93-year-old man with no strength left in his hands, who could just barely drag himself from his cell into the garden. How was he supposed to have killed himself in this way? Did he hang himself with the cord from a hook or a window latch? Or did he throttle himself? Those responsible would not immediately provide a detailed explanation about this point. We had to wait a full month for the final official statement about the circumstances of the death. It was published by the Allies on September 17, 1987, and reads as follows:

1. The Four Powers are now in a position to make the final statement on the death of Rudolf Hess.

2. Investigations have confirmed that on August 17 Rudolf Hess hanged himself from a window latch in a small summerhouse in the prison garden, using an electric extension cord which had for some time been kept in the summerhouse for use in connection with a reading lamp. Attempts were made to revive him and he was then rushed to the British Military Hospital where, after further unsuccessful attempts to revive him, he was pronounced dead at 4:10 p.m.

3. A note addressed to Hess' family was found in his pocket. This note was written on the reverse side of a letter from his daughter-in-law dated July 20, 1987. It began with the words "Please would the governors send this home. Written a few minutes before my death." The senior document examiner from the laboratory of the British government chemist, Mr. Beard, has examined this note, and concluded that he can see no reason to doubt that it was written by Rudolf Hess.

4. A full autopsy was performed on Hess' body on August 19 in the British Military Hospital by Dr. Malcolm Cameron. The autopsy was conducted in the presence of medical representatives of the four powers. The report noted a linear mark on the left side of the neck consistent with a ligature. Dr. Cameron stated that in his opinion death resulted from asphyxia, caused by compression of the neck due to suspension.

5. The investigations confirmed that the routine followed by staff on the day of Hess' suicide was consistent with normal practice. Hess had tried to cut his wrists with a table knife in 1977. Immediately after this incident, warders were placed in his room and he was watched 24 hours a day. This was discontinued after several months as impracticable, unnecessary and an inappropriate invasion of Hess' privacy.

The report of the autopsy carried out by the British pathologist Dr. Cameron on August 19 was later made available to the family. Concluding that my father's death was not due to natural causes, it was consistent with point five of the Allied final official statement.

Autopsy and Burial

On the basis of an 1982 agreement between the family and the Allies, the body of Rudolf Hess would not be burned, but instead would be turned over to the family for burial "in Bavaria quietly in the presence of his immediate family."

The Allies kept this agreement—something they have most probably since regretted emphatically. Accordingly, my father's body was turned over to the family on the morning of August 20, 1987, at the American military training grounds of Grafenwöhr, where it had arrived earlier that same morning from Berlin in a British military airplane.

The coffin was accompanied by the three Western governors and two Russians, whom I didn't know, as well as a certain Major Gallagher, chief of the so-called "Special Investigation Branch, Royal Military Police." The turnover was brief and to the point. We then immediately brought the body to the Institute for Forensic Medicine in Munich, where Prof. Dr. Wolfgang Spann was waiting at our family's request to conduct a second autopsy. Throughout the entire journey from the military training grounds in Grafenwöhr to the Institute for Forensic Medicine in Munich, the transport was guarded by a contingent of Bavarian police.

In the conclusion of his report of December 21, 1988, on the second autopsy, the renowned Munich pathologist Professor Spann pointed out the difficulties he encountered because he did not have any information about details of the alleged hanging. In particular, he had no information about details of the condition of

my father after the supposed discovery of his body. In spite of these limitations, Dr. Spann nevertheless was able to arrive at the following remarkable conclusions:

Dr. Cameron's further conclusion that this compression was caused by suspension is not necessarily compatible with our findings . . .

In forensic medicine, the course which the ligature mark takes on the neck is considered a classic indicator for differentiating between forms of hanging and throttling . . . If Prof. Cameron, in his assessment of the cause of death, comes to the conclusion that the cause of death was asphyxiation caused by compression of the neck due to hanging, he neglects to consider the other method of strangulation, that is, throttling . . . Making this distinction would have required an examination of the course of the ligature mark. The precise course of the mark is not given in Prof. Cameron's autopsy report . . .

Here, neither the course of the strangulation mark on the neck, as we have described it, nor its course on the throat, nor its position relative to the prominence of the larynx has been described and assessed . . . Since on the uninjured skin of the neck, where the possibility of distortion through the suture of the dissection incision is ruled out, an almost horizontal course of the strangulation mark could be identified, this finding, as well as the fact that the mark on the throat obviously was not located above the larynx, is more indicative of a case of throttling than of hanging. Under no circumstances can the findings be readily explained by a so-called typical hanging. The burst blood vessels which were observed in the face, caused by blood congestion, are also not compatible with typical hanging.

A Tunisian medical orderly, Abdallah Melaouhi, was a civilian employee of the Spandau prison administration at the time of my father's death. He is not a citizen of one of the four Allied occupation powers, nor, even more to the point, a member of their armed forces. As a result, he could not be silenced or transferred to some remote corner of the world like the others who were present at the scene of the crime.

After the death of my father, Melaouhi got in touch with our family. From a note that my father wrote to him, it is clear that there was a relationship of personal trust between the

two men. The core of Melaouhi's account, which he set down in an affidavit, is as follows:

When I arrived at the garden summerhouse, I found the scene looking as though a wrestling match had taken place. The ground was churned up and the chair on which Hess had usually sat lay on the ground a considerable distance from its usual location. Hess himself lay lifeless on the ground: He reacted to nothing, his respiration, pulse and heartbeat were no longer measurable. Jordan [an American guard] stood near Hess' feet and was obviously quite beside himself.

Melaouhi noticed to his surprise that besides Anthony Jordan, the Black American guard, two strangers in US military uniform were present. This was unusual, since no soldier was normally permitted access to this part of the prison, and above all, because any contact with Rudolf Hess was most strictly forbidden. In Melaouhi's opinion, the two strangers seemed reserved and calm, in sharp contrast to Jordan.

Affidavit from South Africa

In addition to the Tunisian orderly's account, there is a further affidavit regarding the events in Spandau on August 17, 1987. My wife brought it back from South Africa, where she had met with a South African lawyer with contacts to Western secret services. I was able to persuade this man to phrase his testimony in the form of an affidavit prepared for a judge. Dated February 22, 1988, this affidavit reads as follows:

I have been questioned about the details of the death of the former German Reich Minister Rudolf Hess.

Reich Minister Rudolf Hess was killed on the orders of the British Home Office. The murder was committed by two members of the British SAS (22nd SAS Regiment, SAS Depot Bradbury Lines, Hereford, England). The military unit of the SAS [Special Air Service] is subordinated to the British Home Office—not to the Ministry of Defense. The planning of the murder as well as its direction was carried out by MI-5. The secret service action whose aim was the murder of Reich Minister Rudolf Hess was so hastily planned that it was not even given a code name, which is absolutely not customary.

Other secret services which had been privy to the plan were the American, the French and the Israeli. Neither the [Soviet] KGB nor the GRU, nor the German secret services had been informed.

The murder of Reich Minister Rudolf Hess had become necessary because the government of the USSR intended to release the prisoner in July 1987 [in connection with German President von Weizsäcker's forthcoming visit to Moscow], but President von Weizsäcker was able to negotiate an extension with the head of the Soviet government, Gorbachev, until November 1987, the next Soviet period in the guard cycle.

The two SAS men had been in Spandau prison since the night of Saturday-Sunday (August 15-16, 1987). The American CIA gave its consent to the murder on Monday (August 17, 1987).

During Reich Minister Rudolf Hess' afternoon walk, the two SAS men lay in waiting for the prisoner in the prison garden summerhouse and tried to strangle him with a 4 1/2-foot long cable. Afterwards, a "suicide by hanging" was to be faked. But as Reich Minister Rudolf Hess put up a fight and cried for help, which alerted at least one American guard soldier to the attack, the attempt on the prisoner's life was broken off, and an ambulance of the British Military Hospital was summoned. The unconscious Reich Minister Rudolf Hess was taken to the British Hospital in the ambulance.

I was given the above information personally and verbally by an officer of the Israeli service on Tuesday, August 18, 1987, at around 8.00 a.m., South African time. I have known this member of the Israeli service both officially and personally for four years. I am completely satisfied that he was sincere and honest and I have no doubt whatsoever as to the truth of his information. The absolutely confidential nature of his conversation with me is also beyond doubt.

Next to Cameron's misleading autopsy report, the British themselves provided the most decisive clue in solving the mysterious death in the garden summerhouse of Spandau prison.

Suicide Note?

As already mentioned, I was told on August 17, 1987, only that my father had died. It wasn't until the next day that I learned that

he had supposedly committed suicide. In response to doubts I quickly expressed publicly about this supposed suicide, the Allies were prompted to discover, on August 19, 1987, a supposedly incontrovertible "proof" of suicide. This is the so-called "suicide note." It is an undated hand-written letter on the back of the family's next-to-the-last letter to Rudolf Hess, dated July 20, 1987. The text of this supposed "suicide note" is as follows:

Please would the Governors send this home. Written a few minutes before my death.

I thank you all, my beloved, for all the dear things you have done for me. Tell Freiburg I am extremely sorry that since the Nuremberg trial I had to act as though I didn't know her. I had no choice, because otherwise all attempts to gain freedom would have been in vain. I had so looked forward to seeing her again. I did get pictures of her, as of you all. Your Eldest.



Wolf R. Hess alone with his father for the first time since 1941.

This letter was handed to the family more than a month after the death. We were told that it first had to be examined in a British laboratory.

While it did seem to be my father's handwriting (although considerably distorted, as it was whenever he was suffering as a result of

emotional upheaval, health problems or even medication), this "note" did not reflect the thinking of Rudolf Hess in 1987. Rather, it reflected thoughts of his some twenty years earlier. The content mainly concerns "Freiburg," his one-time private secretary, about whom he had been concerned in 1969 when he had a perforated ulcer in the duodenum and was near death. Moreover, it was signed with an expression, "Your Eldest," that he not used for about 20 years.

There is another clue in the letter's text that indicates its date. The phrase, "I did get pictures of her, as of you all," would have made sense only during the period before Christmas 1969, because until that Christmas he received nothing but photographs of "Freiburg" and us. As of Christmas 1969, he was visited by members of his family, and received more pictures from "Freiburg," who was not allowed to visit him. Considering the precise way my father expressed himself, this sentence can only have been written before December 24, 1969. Written in August 1987, this sentence makes no sense at all.

Finally, the brief letter's opening words, "Written a few minutes before my death," cannot be reconciled with his precise manner of expressing himself. If he had really written this letter before a planned suicide, he would most certainly have chosen a phrase specifying suicide, such as "shortly before my voluntary withdrawal from life" or something similar, but not the ambiguous word "death," which leaves open any possible method of death.

We, the members of his family who knew not only my father's handwriting but the writer himself, and who were intimately familiar with his concerns during his final years, know that this supposed "suicide note" is a hoax as crude as it is malicious.

It can now be concluded that a "farewell letter" written by my father almost twenty years earlier in expectation of his death, and which was not handed over to the family at that time, was used to produce this 1987 forgery. For this purpose, the text was transformed by some modern means onto the back of a letter my father had received recently from us. The censorship stamp "Allied Prison Spandau," which normally appeared, without exception, on every piece of incoming paper he received for more than 40 years, was conspicuously absent from our letter to him of July 20, 1987. Finally, the supposed suicide note bore

no date, which was contrary to my father's routine practice of always prefacing whatever he wrote with the date. The original date had obviously been omitted.

Murder, Not Suicide

On the basis of Prof. Spann's autopsy report, the affidavits of the Tunisian medical orderly and the South African attorney, as well as the supposed "suicide letter," I can only conclude that the death of Rudolf Hess on the afternoon of August 17, 1987, was not suicide. It was murder.

Although US authorities were officially in charge of the Allied Military Prison in Berlin-Spandau in August 1987, it is noteworthy that British citizens played such a major role in the final act of the Hess drama. The American director, Mr. Keane, was permitted by the British merely to call me and inform me of my father's death. After that his only duty was to keep his mouth shut.

To sum up here:

— The two men the Tunisian orderly Mel-aouhi saw in American uniform, who were most probably Rudolf Hess' murderers, were from a British SAS regiment.

— The death was established in the British Military Hospital, to where my father was brought in a British ambulance.

— The death certificate is signed only by British military personnel.

— The autopsy was carried out by a British Pathologist.

— The British prison director, Mr. Antony Le Tissier, supervised the prompt destruction of all tell-tale evidence, such as the electric cable, the garden house, and so forth.

— The officials of the Special Investigation Branch (SIB) that investigated the death were all British citizens, and were headed by a British major.

— The alleged "suicide note" was supposedly found two days later in the pocket of Hess' jacket by a British officer, and was examined by a British laboratory.

— Mr. Allan Green, the British Director of Public Prosecution, halted an investigation into my father's death begun by Scotland Yard, which had recommended a "full scale murder investigation" after officials there had found many inconsistencies.

Rudolf Hess did not commit suicide on August 17, 1987, as the British government claims. The weight of evidence shows instead that British officials, acting on high-level orders, murdered my father.

A Crime Against Truth

The same government, which tried to make him a scapegoat for its crimes, and which for almost half a century resolutely sought to suppress the truth of the Hess affair, finally did not shrink from murder to silence him. My father's murder was not only a crime against a frail and elderly man, but a crime against historical truth. It was a logical final act of an official British conspiracy that began in 1941, at the outset of the Hess affair.

But I can assure them, and you, that this conspiracy will not succeed. The murder of my father will not, as they hope, forever close the book on the Hess file.

I am convinced that history and justice will absolve my father. His courage in risking his life for peace, the long injustice he endured, and his martyrdom, will not be forgotten. He will be vindicated, and his final words at the Nuremberg trial, "I regret nothing!," will stand forever.

Rudolf Hess Prisoner of Peace

THE FLIGHT TO BRITAIN and ITS AFTERMATH

The late martyr's moving prison letters to his beloved wife, spanning the years of his imprisonment in England, Nuremberg and Spandau 1941-1951. These letters, along with other letters and commentary on Hess's peace mission to England, present an eloquent case for the solitary prisoner of Spandau Fortress—the 20th century's *Man in the Iron Mask*—whose only crime was his desire for peace between England and Germany.

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Thomas Jefferson's Place in History

MARTIN A. LARSON

In a recent *Washington Post* article, "Thomas Jefferson, Tarnished Icon?" (Oct. 17, 1992), staff writer Joel Achenbach subtly and snidely sought to dethrone Thomas Jefferson from the pinnacle on which he is so rightly enshrined.

"Among professional historians, Jefferson's stock has sunk in the last generation, and it has a lot to do with race and slavery," said historian Peter Onuf at a recent conference at the University of Virginia. In the harsh view of Paul Finkelman, another historian who is quoted here with apparent approval, Jefferson was a "pathetic" racist, and "a profligate, undisciplined spender" who "could not live without slaves. Too self-indulgent to manage carefully his own lands and his life, he relied upon slaves, as a source of ready capital, selling scores of them to support his habits and pleasures." In Finkelman's opinion, Jefferson was "the arch traitor" against "the hopes of the world."

Jefferson authored the Declaration of Independence, and then served as US minister to France, governor of Virginia, secretary of state, vice president, and president of the United States. During his decades of public service, he received no compensation above actual expenses. His duties required him to be away from his home so much that he fell into debt, and was able to save his home only with the generous help of friends. When he retired from the presidency in 1809, the legislature of Virginia, his native state, paid tribute to him in a resolution that declared:

We have to thank you for the model of an administration conducted on the purest principles of republicanism; for . . . patronage discarded; internal taxes abolished; a host of superfluous officers disbanded; . . . more than thirty-three millions of debt discharged; . . . and, without the guilt or calamities of conquest, [for] a vast and fertile region added to our country . . . These are points in your administration which the historian will not fail to seize, to expand, and teach posterity to dwell upon with delight.



It would take a small book merely to list and describe the blessings he conferred upon America and its people. For example, as president he abolished the internal revenue tax system established by Alexander Hamilton, reduced taxes by fifty percent, and paid off nearly half of the national debt in eight years. Contrast this with what has been and still is being done in Washington!

Jefferson's interests were always for the welfare of the country and its citizens. Even today, though, there are dishonest individuals and various special interests who hate anyone who shares his ideals. Jefferson once said that he was assailed by so many enemies that if he were to answer them all, he would not have time for anything else. Instead, he declared, he would let judgment of him and his record be made by the people—who responded by electing him to a second term in a landslide. Later generations have similarly shown their appreciation by erecting in his honor one of the most magnificent memorials to be found in our capital.

Concerning the thorny issue of slavery, Jefferson wrote: "Nothing is more certainly written in the book of fate than that these [black] people are to be free; nor is it less certain that the two races, equally free, cannot live under the same government." He did not mean that the two races could not somehow co-exist, but rather that they could not live together in peace and harmony.

History has born out the truth of his observation. Since the abolition of slavery, the two races have co-existed in an uneasy state of mutual suspicion and animosity, in spite of the enormous efforts and vast sums spent by white America on behalf of blacks. Black urban areas have degenerated into crime-ridden slums, periodically torn apart by riots. Jefferson proposed that all young blacks, with their children, should be transported from the United States and set up in comfort in a faraway land, probably in Africa. If his proposal had been implemented, this country would have been spared the terrible Civil War, and perhaps other calamities.

Jefferson regarded slavery as an unparalleled iniquity. For this he strongly criticized Britain's rulers, who fostered the slave trade in large part to discourage emigration to America of their own starving unemployed.

Washington Post writer Achenbach could not deny himself the pleasure of bringing up the tired old accusation that Jefferson took a black slave, Sally Hemings, as a mistress. In fact, there is not the slightest shred of evidence of such a liaison, or that Jefferson was the father of any of her children.

Commenting on lies and calumnies about him that were being published in newspapers at the time, he wrote in 1807: "As for myself, conscious that there was not a truth on earth which I feared, should it be known, I have lent myself willingly as a subject of a great experiment, which was to prove" that the calumnies of a licentious press could not batter down one who had led a blameless life and had nothing to hide.

Martin A. Larson received his Ph.D. in English literature from the University of Michigan. He is the author of more than 20 books, including the 414-page work, *Jefferson: Magnificent Populist* (available from the IHR). Since 1980 Larson has been a member of the *Journal's* Editorial Advisory Committee, and has spoken at several IHR conferences. He makes his home in Arizona with his wife.

The Sally Hemings Myth

Probably the most notorious accusation against Thomas Jefferson is the persistent allegation that he secretly took a mulatto slave named Sally Hemings (or Hemmings) as a mistress, and fathered several children by her.

The charge was first made in September 1802 (during Jefferson's first term as president) by a Scottish immigrant named James T. Callender, an embittered alcoholic and hypochondriac. Writing in a Richmond newspaper, Callender cited no evidence for his accusation, merely claiming that it was "well known." On later occasions he changed details about how the affair allegedly began and the number of children supposedly produced by it.

To those who knew Jefferson, his high moral standards and his deep devotion to his dead wife's memory, the entire story was absurd and contemptible. Nevertheless, it soon gained widespread circulation and many believers. Today it is occasionally given credence by black or leftist academics.

Jefferson never replied publicly to the charge. In a letter to a friend in June 1816, he wrote, "I should have fancied myself half guilty had I condescended to put pen to paper in refutation of their falsehoods, or drawn to them respect by any notice from myself." Years later his grandson, Thomas Jefferson Randolph, maintained that Sally's children were fathered by a nephew of Thomas Jefferson named Peter Carr, thus suggesting an additional reason for his silence.

Serious scholars of Jefferson's life reject the Hemings story. University of Virginia professor Merrill D. Peterson, a prominent Jefferson specialist, commented in his comprehensive biography of the third president: "... It is difficult to imagine him caught up in a miscegenous relationship. Such a mixture of the races, such a ruthless exploitation of the master-slave relationship, revolted his whole being." (*Thomas Jefferson and the New Nation*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1970, p. 707.)

—M. W.

Since a politician never believes what he says, he is surprised when others believe him.

—Charles De Gaulle

Canadian Reflections on the Zündel and Irving Cases

DOUG COLLINS

On August 27, Canada's Supreme Court struck down as unconstitutional the law under which German-Canadian publisher Ernst Zündel was convicted for publishing a Revisionist booklet about the Holocaust. In a four-three decision, the judges ruled that the "false news" law under which he was convicted violates the freedom-of-speech provisions of Canada's Charter of Rights, and is thus unconstitutional. (For more on this, see the October 1992 IHR Newsletter.)

The following columns appeared in the September 2 and November 11 issues of the North Shore News of North Vancouver, British Columbia, and are reprinted here with permission.

—The Editor

The Zündel Affair: A National Legal Disgrace

"What sort of truth is it that needs protection?"

—Auberon Waugh

Pardon me if I glow a little, but it's nice to have been right in the Ernst Zündel affair. I refer to the Supreme Court of Canada decision that ditched a stupid and dangerous law.

The court cast a blow for freedom and delivered a bang in the snout to the Jewish groups that set this "false news" nonsense going; also to the politicians who bowed to their demands in laying charges.

Few come out of this miserable affair with credit. Not a single MP questioned the matter in Parliament, and I saw only two token editorials that took issue with the wisdom of prosecuting the man. One was in the *Toronto Star*, the other in the [Toronto] *Globe and Mail*. And as I told you in 1988, Jewish pressure achieved a virtual news blackout on what was being said in court in the second trial.

The whole affair bordered on farce, Zündel's "crime" having been that he distributed a pamphlet called *Did Six Million Really Die?* He didn't even write the thing. But in jumped complainant Sabina Citron of the Holocaust Remembrance Society, and we were off on the false news farrago.

That was in 1984, an appropriate year, and Zündel was to go through seven courts. His lawyer, Doug Christie, estimated that the cost to the public purse has been at least \$5 million. In 1985, I gave evidence for the defense because to me it seemed absurd that anyone could be hauled into court for such ridiculous reasons.

The "spreading false news" law should never have been dragged out of the historical gunnysack. It was pure politics. False news? Santa Claus speaks false news, I told the court. So does the weatherman. Today and every day, politicians spread false news. So do the media and academe. Heck, I have even spread some false news myself. Nobody's perfect.

Still, I am proud to have spoken for common sense in one of the most disgraceful prosecutions in Canadian legal history. But where were all those yackety-yack members of the freedom-loving media gang when they were needed? I shouldn't ask. These days it is much easier to bash the Pope than to oppose the most powerful pressure group in the country.

The man who comes out of this with the greatest credit is Mr. Christie, who never gave up even in the face of vilification. It takes guts to keep going for years in an unpopular issue of this sort. Most lawyers would have withdrawn. He mounted effective challenges and even dared to tell the Ontario Court of Appeal that the judge in the first trial was biased. As I wrote at the time, Judge Hugh Locke's attitude to Christie remind me of Capt. Bligh bawling at Fletcher Christian in the "Mutiny on the Bounty" movie.

But the lawyer had the last laugh when the appeal court accepted his submission that the judge had been wrong on 16 points of law. Hence the second trial.

Political correctness having saturated so much of our society, I doubted that the Supreme Court would rule in Zündel's favor, and in fact the decision turned on one vote.

However, a speech given by Mr. Justice John Sopinka last April provided a straw in the wind. "Certain segments of society who are justifiably seeking equality for their particular interests have extended their demands so far that they threaten the freedom of others," he said. "They not only criticize the expression of views that do not accord with their own, but demand that contrary views be suppressed."

If freedom of speech has received a bit of a fillip we owe it not to Canadian liberals but to a German who salutes the late Adolf Hitler. A pox on Hitler. But supporting tyrants, fools and saints—and spreading false news—is what freedom of speech is all about.

Let us remember, too, that there are plenty of people who made a profession of spreading false news on Joe Stalin's behalf. Did anyone chase them into court for denying there was a holocaust in the Ukraine?

Jewish organizations are now demanding the Zündel be charged under the hate laws. But the reason he was charged for "false news" was that he couldn't be got under the hate laws. And what about the Anglo-Saxon rule of double jeopardy under which a person must not be tried twice for the same crime?

Eight years of prosecution-persecution aren't enough for some people. Hatred is not confined.

Something to Remember

This being Remembrance Day [in Canada], let's remember that whereas Nazi Germany was a fully fledged police state, Canada is in danger of becoming a partly fledged police state. What else can be said when a "controversial author" to whom Jewish groups object is barred from the country?

What else can be said when eight armed policemen descend on a private meeting, slap handcuffs on the speaker and haul him off to jail, informing the audience that the place is surrounded and that they should stay where they are? Were the cops after Jesse James?

Had Clifford Olson escaped from prison?

No, the target was a writer who says that something didn't happen. Or that if it did happen, it has been grossly exaggerated. Like the Holocaust.

And what else can be said when most of the media not only accept all this but join in the witch hunt?

I refer to the David Irving affair.

Typical was the reaction of a blockhead editorialist on the Vancouver *Province* who wrote that the incident was nothing more than an immigration matter. And good riddance, Mr. Irving. He also wrote that no country in the world has more freedom of speech than Canada.

Somebody must have been smoking something. From start to finish, the Irving affair was politics in which the theme was set by Jewish organizations who insist that their version of history is the only one, and you question it at your peril.

It started with a demand that Irving be barred from the country. Then, when he attempts to obey an immigration department order to leave the country, he is denied entry to the United States. Why? My guess is that the Canadian Jewish Congress asked the ever more powerful American Jewish Congress for a spot of help.

Doug Collins was born in the United Kingdom. In 1939 he volunteered for the British army, and while serving as an infantry sergeant was captured at Dunkirk in 1940. He escaped from German and Hungarian prisoner of war camps. After release from Romania in 1944, he served again with British forces in Europe until the end of the war. He served as a political intelligence officer with the British control commission in Germany, 1946-1950. He migrated to Canada in 1952.

Collins' career in journalism has included work in newspaper, television and radio, both as a reporter and commentator. He was worked for several Canadian daily newspapers, including the *Calgary Herald*, the *Vancouver Province* and the *Vancouver Sun*.

For a time he hosted an open-line radio talk show. Since 1983, he has written a popular and controversial column for the *North Shore News* (North Vancouver, British Columbia). Collins has been honored with Canada's National Newspaper Award (1953), and the MacMillan Bloedel Award (1975).

He is the author of several books, including the memoir, *POW: A Soldier's Story of His Ten Escapes from Nazi Prison Camps* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1968), *Immigration: Parliament versus the People* (1986) and *The Best and Words of Doug Collins* (1988).

Collins spoke on freedom of speech and the Zündel case at the Tenth IHR Conference (1990). His presentation was published in the Fall 1991 *Journal*.

For Irving had been in the US dozens of times without giving any trouble or getting any. But this time it was claimed he didn't have the right kind of visa. So thanks to a little hands-across-the-border work, Irving could not leave Canada and was in the slammer again. That way, he was liable to being officially deported, which would mean that he could never return.

Consider now what has happened elsewhere on the Canadian immigration front where undesirables are concerned—if indeed there are any undesirables apart from controversial authors.

Remember Menachem Begin, the Jewish terrorist? He must have been a *desirable* undesirable because he often visited Canada on fundraising tours. Wanna visa, Menachem? No problem. Yet Begin had been leader of the murderous Irgun Zvai Leumi gang. Among his more notable exploits was the 1948 Deir Yassin massacre of 254 Arab women, children and old men. Plus the blowing up of the King David Hotel in Jerusalem, complete with occupants.

Remember Nelson Mandela? In the 1960s his plan was to blow up half of Johannesburg. Released from jail, he gets to Ottawa, is cheered by Parliament and is given \$5 million (US) for his splendid cause by a groveling Mulroney. Your money of course.

Liars, crooks, thugs and killers pour into this country by the planeload, and have been doing so for years. Only a couple of weeks ago the CBC [television] program, *The Fifth Estate*, did a copper-bottomed hour on the murderers and thugs from Somalia who are now enjoying Canadian hospitality.

What came through with depressing clarity was that the immigration department just wasn't interested in tossing those people out. You think we are racists or something? No eight-armed policemen descending on supper tables for them!

Confronted with the facts, Minister of Immigration Bernard Valcourt looked like a complete idiot.

Against all that, we see Dangerous David ordered out of the country double-quick. Great stuff, Bernard. And by the way, did you find a load of dynamite in his suitcase?

Irving's views should be a matter for discussion, not Keystone cops chases. For the record, I too do not believe in the six million story (which is not to say that dreadful things

did not happen). And I disagree with Irving on quite a lot, especially his hostile view of Churchill and his less-than-hostile view of Hitler.

But what cannot be denied is that he is an outstanding writer and researcher. When the "Hitler diaries" were produced, he denounced them as fakes even though they had been pronounced genuine by Nazi-period expert Hugh Trevor-Roper, Regius Professor of History at Oxford University. And Irving was right.



Doug Collins addresses the Tenth IHR Conference (1990), in Washington, DC.

More recently, the *Sunday Times* hired him to decipher and translate the Goebbels' Diaries. Before that he had discovered the Eichmann papers. And his books on the Nazi leaders are masterpieces of digging. So isn't there just a teeny-weeny possibility that he's right about the six million?

Whether he's right or wrong, Canada is engaging in the equivalent of book-burning. In Hades, Dr. Goebbels must be having quite a laugh. Something to remember on Remembrance Day.

"In Fashion"

Historical revisionism is very much in fashion in books about presidents, prime ministers and generals.

—Herbert Mitgang, *New York Times*, Feb. 5, 1992, p. B2.

Holocaust Survivor Finds "Exterminated" Brother Through Appearance With Revisionists on the Montel Williams Show

For fifty years, Holocaust survivors Ernest Hollander and his brother Alex thought that their older brother, Zoltan, had been executed by the Germans in 1944. And for half a century, Zoltan thought that both his two brothers had been killed by the Germans during the war. But thanks to Ernest Hollander's appearance with Revisionists Mark Weber and David Cole last April on the Montel Williams Show, the long-lost brothers were reunited in San Francisco in late October.

Along with Weber and Cole, Ernest Hollander, 67, appeared with his wife, Anna (a survivor of Auschwitz), and another Jewish Holocaust survivor, Dr. Michael Thaler, on the nationally syndicated Montel Williams Show, which was broadcast April 30 on about 60 television stations around the country. (For more on this broadcast, see the *IHR Newsletter*, May 1992, p. 3, and October 1992, p. 4.)

A few years after the war, Ernest had been told by a friend that he had personally witnessed Zoltan's execution in 1944 by German soldiers, who supposedly hanged him from a tree. But a migrant from Serbia who lives in Brooklyn, and who happened to be watching the broadcast, instantly recognized Ernest on the screen as the "spitting image" of a friend he had known in Serbia, Zoltan "Hershe" Hollander.

According to Ernest, his brother fought against the Germans until the end of the war, but the Soviets thought he was a pro-German spy and sent him to Siberia for ten years, where he worked on roads and in factories. "You can use the worst word in the dictionary to describe what the Russians did to him," says Ernest.

After he was finally released by the Soviets and returned home, Yugoslav authorities—Ernest says—accused Zoltan of having been a Soviet spy, and mistreated him.

While Ernest Hollander and his relatives living here in the United States believed for fifty years that Zoltan had perished as yet another "victim of the Holocaust," Zoltan, for

his part, believed for half a century that his entire family had perished in the war. He did not know that his two brothers—Ernest and Alex—were living in northern California, or that he had scores of relatives in the United States, Canada and Britain, including ten living in the United States whom he believed had perished in the Holocaust.



"This man has come back from the dead. We thought he had been dead for fifty years," Ernest says of his brother. "I found a brother, but he found two brothers, uncles and aunts, nieces and nephews—a city of people," adds Ernest, who calls their reunion "the greatest miracle since Moses crossed the sea."

Williams appropriately called the session with Weber and Cole "a celebration of truth."

In a front-page report on this happy reunion, the *Northern California Jewish Bulletin* (Oct. 16) commented that the Hollander family "will in a sense get to rewrite their history—a painful irony given that the topic of the show on which Ernest appeared was Holocaust revisionism."

A special session of the Montel Williams Show featuring the reunited Hollander brothers was broadcast on November 17. On that occasion, host Williams reported that he had been deluged with complaints about the April broadcast with Weber and Cole, including threats of law suits by Jewish organizations for daring to permit the two Revisionists to appear.

Although Ernest ungratefully refers to Weber and Cole as "bums," it is ironic that if it had not been for the willingness of these Revisionists to re-examine supposedly undebatable "truth," this "miraculous" reunion would not have taken place. As we go to press, Weber and Cole have received no expression of appreciation from any Hollander family member for their role in bringing together the long-lost brothers.

Official US Holocaust Museum To Open in April in Washington, DC

After several delays, the largest and costliest Holocaust Museum anywhere is finally scheduled to open in Washington, DC, in April 1992. The "United States Holocaust Memorial Museum" will be formally dedicated on April 22, and will open to the public on April 26.

Major political figures will attend the formal dedication ceremony. President Bill Clinton has been invited to speak. (As we go to press, he has not yet responded to the invitation.) Newspaper and television journalists from across the United States and many foreign countries will also be present.

The Museum is being built on federal government land by the United States Holocaust Memorial Council, a taxpayer-funded federal government agency created by Congress in 1980.

Museum construction costs are being covered by donations. So far more than \$130 million has been pledged—almost all of it from wealthy Jewish donors.

The US Holocaust Memorial Council and its friends in the media have been unable to generate widespread support for the Museum project.

In 1980, the Congress limited the budget of the Holocaust Council to \$2.5 million. But ever generous with the people's money, the Congress later went far beyond this figure, and has since appropriated \$33 million above the originally authorized amount.

Last June, the Congress voted an additional \$18.3 million in taxpayer money to fund the US Holocaust Memorial Council for fiscal year 1993. The Congressional Budget Office estimates that for the fiscal years 1994 to 2000, the Council will receive \$15.4 million tax dollars annually (adjusted for inflation). The taxpayer bill for the Holocaust Museum between 1993 and 2000 will easily amount to at least \$110 million. (*Congressional Record - House*, June 16, 1992, pp. H 4742-4744.)

Remarkably, the Holocaust Museum's operating budget is expected to exceed that of the nearby Air and Space Museum, the most visited museum in the world, and will be seven times the operating cost of the Lincoln, Jefferson and Washington memorials com-

bined.

As numerous public opinion polls reflect, most Americans deeply resent having tens of millions of their tax dollars spent on such special-interest projects, particularly at a time of astronomical federal budget deficits.

The US Holocaust Museum will "memorialize" non-Americans persecuted by other non-Americans. If any new Memorial is really appropriate in the nation's capital, though, it should be dedicated to the memory of dead Americans.

Over the years, Zionist groups, the US government and the major media have applauded the ritual atonement by Germany (and Germany's wartime allies) for the mistreatment, both real and imagined, of European Jews. The Holocaust lobby has insisted that Germany (and other European countries) must atone forever for wartime persecution of Jews.

If this expression of collective guilt is right and proper, then it should be no less appropriate for Americans to collectively atone for the mistreatment of American Indians, or Black slavery.

It is likewise noteworthy that there is no comparable memorial museum in the United States for the victims of Communism even though, as historians acknowledge, the victims of Soviet dictator Stalin alone vastly outnumber those of Hitler.

The US Holocaust Memorial Museum is a pseudo-religious monument to the enormous power and influence of a small minority, and to the venal corruption of the politicians who appropriated the people's money to finance it.

Revisionist activists around the country are expressing interest in making sure that the occasion of the April 22 dedication ceremony is used to express the outrage of America's "silent majority" at this outrageous misuse of their money.

"Most Patriotic"

Every Jew alive today is a Holocaust survivor, and I feel that also will be true for every Jew in the future . . . The Holocaust survivors are the most patriotic, most loyal American citizens we could have.

—Neil Sher, director of the US government's "Office of Special Investigations," speaking at a "Yom HaShoah" meeting in Long Island, New York. Quoted in *Jewish World* (Long Island), May 8-14, 1992.

Jewish Concern with Holocaust "Obsession" Means New Holocaust, Says Rabbi

"There is almost nothing more sacred or more sensitive for Jews living in the generation after the Holocaust than the memory of the six million martyrs of Nazi genocide . . . Now that 'revisionists,' who seek to deny the Holocaust, have become even

more brazen, sensitive Jews are reacting with even greater obsession.

"But obsession with the Holocaust is exacting a great price. It is killing America's Jews. . . . Jews as a group are drifting away from their religion . . . Unless there will be, within the very near future, a dramatic turnaround in the patterns of Jewish assimilation and intermarriage, we are probably witnessing the last generation of Jewish life in America as we now know it.

" . . . Right now the priority seems to be building Holocaust memorials. More than \$500 million has already been pledged or spent to build 19 Holocaust memorials and 36 research centers or libraries in America. Some cities, like Los Angeles, have two or three competing Holocaust memorials . . .

"There is a Holocaust taking place in America right now. We can't hear it, because there are no barking dogs . . . We can't smell it because there are no gas chambers. But the net result is exactly the same."

—Rabbi Ephraim Buchwald,
"The Holocaust is Killing
American Jews," *Los Angeles
Times*, April 28, 1992.

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TOM MARCELLUS, MARK WEBER: Opening and keynote of the Eleventh Conference. Director Marcellus greets the two hundred attendees and speakers, then *Journal of Historical Review* editor and conference emcee Weber weaves a spellbinding tapestry of recent IHR triumphs and future challenges, expertly (and entertainingly) setting the Revisionist agenda in today's world-wide political and intellectual context. Learn how, and why, IHR's enemies are atremble, from Beverly Hills to Jerusalem! Audiotape **A109** / Video **V083**.

JAMES J. MARTIN: The Dean of Historical Revisionism returns after a nine-year absence to dedicate the Eleventh to George Morgenstern, the *Chicago Tribune* editor and historian who wrote the first, and in many ways the best, book on FDR's "day of infamy" at Pearl Harbor. Dr. Martin gives his listeners not a lecture, but a seminar in the history of the rise of America's ill-starred interventionism in East Asia, 1898-1941, sparkling with dry wit, humane insight, and scholarly precision. Audiotape **A110** / Video **V084**.

WILLIS CARTO, ERNST ZÜNDEL: IHR's founder introduces the video Ernst Zündel sent "just in case," (yes, once again our State Department and OSI were able to deny us our right to hear him), then the German-Canadian battler exults in his hard-won triumph (which saw Canada's highest tribunal strike down the obscure and obscurantist "false news" statute under which he was twice convicted for publishing a Revisionist book). Then Ernst thanks the many who supported him in so many ways, reaffirms his devotion to rehabilitating his German fatherland, looks ahead to the continuing struggle, and hails the coming, final victory. Includes Willis Carto presenting Ernst with the IHR's 1992 George Orwell Free Speech Award. Audiotape **A117** / Video **V091**.

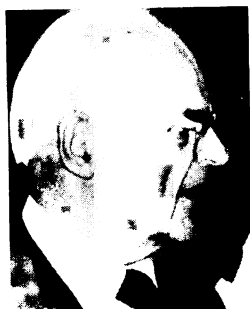
FRED LEUCHTER: America's leading expert in the design and operation of execution gas chambers, and the author of the earth-shaking technical study that smashed the Auschwitz gassing lie, describes his own "botched execution" at the hands of Zionist terrorists and their cat's-paws in America: how he licked their efforts to rob him of his freedom, how he's fighting their campaign to steal his livelihood, and the inside story of his unlawful arrest and expulsion from Great Britain.

KIRK LYONS: The U.S.A.'s counterpart to Ernst Zündel's battling barrister, Doug Christie, attorney Lyons describes his defense of Fred Leuchter, then outlines what's needed to organize a great legal counteroffensive against the enemies of freedom and truth. A truly rousing call to arms from America's foremost legal defender of the politically "incorrect"! Leuchter and Lyons on one tape. Audiotape **A118** / Video **V092**.

TED O'KEEFE: IHR editor O'Keefe tells how "Holocaust survivor" Mel Mermelstein, self-proclaimed "best witness" to the Auschwitz gas chambers, was licked on the law and the facts in Los Angeles Superior Court in September 1991, effectively ending his ten-year campaign to bankrupt the IHR. O'Keefe tells how he gathered and evaluated the crucial evidence under the direction of defense attorneys Mark Lane and Bill Hulsey, then supplies the hilarious details of how "eyewitness" Mermelstein's libel and conspiracy suit collapsed before the horrified eyes of his high-priced Jewish lawyers as his credibility crumbled on the witness stand. Audiotape **A119** / Video **V093**.

BRADLEY SMITH: Longtime director of IHR's media outreach campaign, and organizer of last year's immensely successful project to alert campuses across America to the case against the "Holocaust," Bradley Smith has never been in better form as he tells what *really* prompted him to go with full-page ads in college newspapers, and what it takes to be a full-time Holocaust Revisionist, at home and over the airwaves. You'll laugh and learn as Brad recalls Robert Faurisson's frank assessment of him as an American intellectual, and advances his own proposals for artistic tributes to Holocausters Marvin Hier and Simon Wiesenthal. Great fun! **DAVID COLE:** A 23-year-old American Jewish Revisionist tells how he came, first to doubt and then to challenge, the gas-chamber stories. The young

movie-maker who filmed and produced Brad Smith's video interview with Mark Lane and appeared with Mark Weber on the nationally televised Montel Williams Show) recounts his recent trip to gather material for a film documentary on Auschwitz (where Ernst Zündel was his guide), above all his extraordinarily revealing, filmed interview with the research director of the Auschwitz State Museum, Franciszek Piper. Moving, informative, sensational! Smith and Cole on one tape. Audiotape **A120** / Video **V094**.



JAMES J. MARTIN



KIRK LYONS



TED O'KEEFE



BRADLEY SMITH



DAVID COLE

*At Last—the Heart-warming, Infuriating, Informative,
and Revisionist Memoir that Dares to Tell the Truth
About the Postwar Trials of the Germans*

INNOCENT AT DACHAU

AMERICAN TEENAGER JOE HALOW was still a boy when he sailed to war-ravaged Germany in late 1946. The year he spent there, taking part in some of the most sensational of the war-crimes trials of the defeated Nazis, turned him into a man.

Innocent at Dachau is Joe Halow's account of his year in postwar Germany, above all his work as a court reporter during the U.S. Army courts-martial at Dachau. There Halow witnessed, recorded and transcribed some of the most gripping testimony from some of the most sensational trials of the postwar years: of SS guards from Buchenwald, Mauthausen, and Dora/Nordhausen; of the inmates who carried out their orders as kapos (prisoner trustees); and of German villagers who attacked and murdered downed American fliers in the last phase of the Allies' terrifying air war.

Armed with an ironclad faith in American righteousness when he arrived, young Halow soon saw the flaws and the abuses in the Dachau trials: reliance on *ex post facto* law and broad conspiracy theories; abuse of prisoners during interrogation; and the shocking tolerance, even encouragement, of perjured testimony by concentration camp survivors. The teenaged American court reporter came to sympathize with the plight of the accused, particularly those convicted, sentenced or executed unjustly.

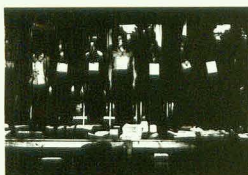
Innocent at Dachau is Joe Halow's story of his coming of age, his loss of innocence, in the Dachau courts. And it's the human drama of how he came to terms with his own anti-German feelings as he lived and worked in a Germany still heaped with rubble and ruled by the black market, in the shadow of the looming Iron Curtain and the approaching Cold War.

Innocent at Dachau is also the story of how, four decades later, Joe Halow went back—back to the long-classified records of the Army's trials at Dachau where he found astounding confirmation from official sources of

his own misgivings about the trials; and back to Germany for a moving visit with one of the German SS men Halow watched testify about his role at the Nordhausen concentration camp.

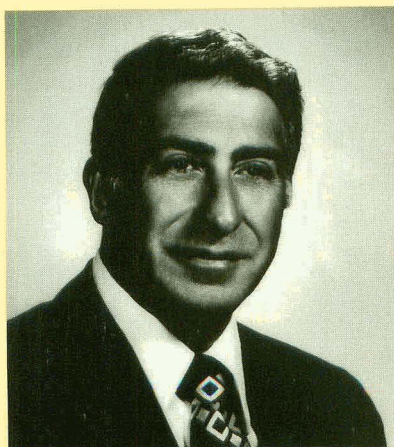
Outspoken, informative, moving, *Innocent at Dachau* is a unique testimony to one American's quest for understanding, truth, and honor in a realm ruled even today by shibboleth and taboo, a book that deserves to be read, studied, and read again.

INNOCENT AT DACHAU



Joseph Halow

Court Reporter at the
Dachau War Crimes Trial



Joseph Halow was born and raised in Altoona, Pennsylvania. After a brief stint in the U.S. Army immediately after World War II, during which he served in Peking, China, Mr. Halow served as a court reporter at the U.S. Army war crimes trials at Dachau. Mr. Halow has had a long career in the export-import business, during which he headed an association that promoted the exportation of American grain. A Phi Beta Kappa graduate of The George Washington University, Halow is the author of numerous articles on agricultural affairs, as well as a book, *U.S. Grain: The Political Commodity*. He lives near Washington, D.C.

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JEROME BRENTAR: Jerry Brentar, the most valiant and persistent defender of John Demjanjuk, discusses, for the first time before an IHR audience, his *own* role in fighting and exposing the OSI-Israeli-Soviet frame-up of the Ukrainian-American falsely convicted in Jerusalem as "Ivan the Terrible" of Treblinka. Jerry tells of his search for evidence on three continents; his personal experience with the skullduggery and treachery of the OSI; his 1988 "expulsion" from George Bush's presidential campaign; and his key part in educating Demjanjuk defenders like Congressman Jim Traficant (D-OH), and journalist and presidential candidate Pat Buchanan. Audiotape **A111** / Video **V085**.

AHMED RAMI: The gallant Moroccan officer in exile who has become a radio apostle of Revisionism in Sweden greets the conference in French, then Robert Faurisson reads (and comments) on Rami's lecture in English. Rami tells of his trial, conviction, and jail sentence for "lack of respect" for Jews in Sweden, and how he turned his time in prison into a Revisionist seminar for guards and inmates alike. He and Dr. Faurisson give a witty rendering of Faurisson's adventure in Sweden, then Rami offers an Arab and Islamic perspective on the Holocaust, as well as experienced advice on using mass media in the battle of ideas. Audiotape **A112** \ Video **V086**.

WOLF RÜDIGER HESS: The son of Rudolf Hess, the twentieth century's Prisoner of Peace, talks about the life and death of his father, Adolf Hitler's deputy, whose bold flight to Scotland to seek an end to World War II resulted in 46 years of imprisonment, and, Wolf Hess argues convincingly, his father's murder at the hands of his captors. In this video presentation, filmed in Germany just days before the conference, Wolf Hess offers dramatic new evidence and incomparable personal insight into his father's witness and martyrdom for Germany and world peace. Audiotape **A113** / Video **V087**.

ARTHUR R. BUTZ: The author of *Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, the seminal work of modern Holocaust Revisionism, prefaces his formal lecture with a background on the origins of Brad Smith's Campus Project at Northwestern University, where he is a professor. Then Butz uses the most complete collection of German documents on the Auschwitz crematoria ever published, Pressac's *Auschwitz*, to propound a brilliant and devastating (for the Exterminationists) new hypothesis on the planning and construction of the crematoria at Auschwitz. A vital update to *The Hoax* that every Holocaust Revisionist will want to own. Audiotape **A114** / Video **V088**.

ROBERT FAURISSON: The peerless Revisionist from France first delivers a funeral oration over the cadaver of the-Holocaust-as-history, then proclaims the bad tidings: that the hoax is being resurrected, this time as a religion impervious to historical analysis, by its High Priests around the world. Professor Faurisson brings news of intensified persecution of Revisionists across Europe, and, while praising our First Amendment, warns Americans to beware the implacable fanaticism of the Holocaust cultists. An indispensable summary of how far Revisionists have come, and what we still face. Audiotape **A115** / Video **V089**.

DAVID IRVING: The brilliant, controversial English historian and international bestselling author provides a sobering (but hilarious) account of his harassment and embarrassment at the behest of Jewish-Zionist groups and individuals around the world, from window-smashing campaigns in Britain to obstruction by police and immigration authorities in Germany, Austria, Italy, South Africa, Canada, and Argentina. Irving then tells the *inside* story of how his contact in Moscow discovered the missing portions of the Goebbels diaries, and how Irving himself deciphered and translated them for the (London) *Sunday Times*. Finally, Irving discusses the Eichmann "memoir," offers a controversial assessment of their value for the history of World War II German Jewish policy, and crosses swords with Robert Faurisson in a dramatic and memorable question-and-answer exchange. A superb tape! Audiotape **A116** / Video **V090**.



JEROME BRENTAR



AHMED RAMI



WOLF R. HESS



DAVID IRVING



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New Churchill Biography Sparks Furor

Greg Raven
Video Documentary Takes Aim at Holocaust Claims

David Cole
A Jewish Revisionist's Visit to Auschwitz
Legal Assault in France Against Faurisson

David Irving
The Suppressed Eichmann and Goebbels Papers

Martin A. Larson
Essene Origins of Christianity

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Powerful Revisionism on Video

Highlights From the Eleventh IHR Conference

Here are the thrilling highlights, the most memorable moments from the Eleventh International Revisionist Conference held in Irvine, California, in October 1992, with extended excerpts from all the speakers. This two-hour tape does not include the complete lectures, but highlights selected to bring you the most noteworthy comments by some of the world's foremost Revisionist scholars—and showmen!

MARK WEBER cites evidence of the Holocaust lobby's recognition of the serious threat and ultimate impact of the IHR and Revisionism, and the desperate measures it is implementing to stem the growing worldwide tidal wave of Holocaust skepticism.

JAMES J. MARTIN describes the time-honored methods warmongers use to drive nations into a war fever frenzy where no clear and present danger exists, and how the Pacific War, right down to the strategies used by both sides, was anticipated in a book that appeared 13 years before the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor.

JEROME BRENTAR talks about the campaign that saw the OSI, the Soviets, the Holocaust lobby and the State of Israel join forces to railroad John Demjanjuk, and how this travesty of justice was just one element in a larger campaign to batter the public with more "Holocaust" indoctrination.

WOLF RUDIGER HESS reveals the evidence that convinced him that his father, Rudolf Hess, was murdered by the British as the Soviets and Americans were showing a willingness to release him after half a lifetime in Spandau. Hess knows that history will ultimately acknowledge his father's mission as one of courage and peace.

AHMED RAMI discusses the Arab perspective on World War II and the Holocaust, and his efforts in Sweden to promote Revisionism, including his recent incarceration there for "disrespect toward Jews." Rami's remarks are translated by Prof. Robert Faurisson.

ARTHUR R. BUTZ describes the impact of Bradley Smith's campus newspaper ads at Northwestern University (where Butz is a professor) and the opposition's fierce but failed campaign to oust Butz from his tenured teaching position.

ROBERT FAURISSON pokes fun at *Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers*, the vaunted Pressac book which describes neither any technique nor operation of a single "gas chamber." He then explains what he calls "The New Masada"—how the Holocaust is being withdrawn from the domain of the historians into a kind of religion with its own dogma, rituals, icons, high priests, and heretics.

DAVID IRVING describes the Holocaust lobby's international campaign to suppress him, his books, and his Real History tour in seven countries. He details Zionist tactics in canceling his radio interviews, intimidating bookstores into un-stocking his books, and banning him from Italy, Germany, Austria, South Africa and, most recently, Canada.

FRED A. LEUCHTER discusses the international Holocaust lobby's four-year campaign to discredit him and destroy his career following the publication of his iconoclastic engineering report on the "gas chambers."

THEODORE J. O'KEEFE entertains you with a few of the juicy contradictions, absurdities, and impossibilities in Hollywood Holocaust survivor and longtime IHR nemesis Mel Mermelstein's book and sworn testimonies.

BRADLEY SMITH treats you to hilarious anecdotes about the origins of his sensational campus newspaper advertising campaign that attracted nationwide media attention and threw the Holocaust lobby into high gear in an effort to contain it.

DAVID COLE discusses his thrilling fact-finding trip to Auschwitz in September, 1992, what he uncovered during his investigation there, and the astounding admissions he recorded during interviews with Auschwitz Museum officials.

Also available:

HIGHLIGHTS of the TENTH INTERNATIONAL REVISIONIST CONFERENCE, October 1990: Robert Faurisson on Revisionism in Europe, David Irving on "Battle-ship Auschwitz," Ivor Benson on the Bolshevik Revolution, Joseph Hallow on the Dachau war crimes trial, John Toland on Living History, Fred Leuchter on his *Second Leuchter Report*, Mark Weber on Revisionism today, and more. VHS Color, 2 hrs. \$39.00 NOW ONLY \$29!

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IN THIS ISSUE

From the Editor <i>Mark Weber</i>	2
New Biography of Churchill Sets off Intense Debate	4
New Video Takes Aim at Holocaust Claims <i>Greg Raven</i>	8
A Jewish Revisionist's Visit To Auschwitz <i>David Cole</i>	11
Final Victory in the Mermelstein Case	13
The Suppressed Eichmann and Goebbels Papers <i>David Irving</i>	14
Legal Assault in France Against Faurisson and other Revisionists	26
Remer Sentenced to Prison	29
Official US Holocaust Museum	31
Essene Origins of Christianity <i>Martin A. Larson</i>	33
Alexander the Great and Darius	36
Paved With Good Intentions <i>Review by Charles Stanwood</i>	37
Encyclopedia of the Palestine Problem <i>Review by Robert John</i>	41
Letters	46

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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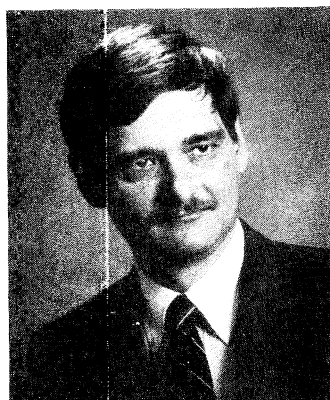
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From the Editor



My goal in this war, thundered Winston Churchill in his widely-quoted speech of May 13, 1940, "is victory, victory at all costs." As history records, the cost was very high indeed.

As a consequence of his policies, Britain did not win the Second

World War. It merely ended up on the same side as the powers that did: the Soviet Union and the United States. Worse, British "victory" helped insure the survival of the most loathsome tyranny of our century, Stalin's Soviet Russia, and the extension of its odious power over half of Europe.

We begin this issue with a report on the storm of controversy unleashed by a recently-published biography of Churchill. Adding to the work of Francis Neilson, David Irving and other revisionist historians, this book by a British scholar of the postwar generation represents yet another powerful blow to the durable Churchill legend.

For those who have been looking for a well-done videotape that clearly and persuasively presents the Revisionist view of the Holocaust story, the search is now over.

In our next feature, Associate Editor Greg Raven tells about the stunning new video by David Cole, a brave and talented young Revisionist activist and film-maker. Particularly eye-opening is Cole's interview with Dr. Piper, Senior Curator of the Polish government's Auschwitz State Museum. On camera, he readily acknowledges that claims made to hundreds of thousands of tourists annually about the camp's "gas chamber" are false. (If Piper has not yet begun to feel the fury of the Holocaust lobby for permitting this interview, he certainly will soon. He'd be well advised to update his résumé.)

We next present Cole's address at last October's IHR Conference, in which he wittily tells about his visit to Auschwitz and his interview with Dr. Piper, and expresses the confident hope that Revisionist truth can defeat Holocaust lies during the forthcoming decade, if each of us resolves to do our part.

For eleven years, Holocaust personality Mel Mermelstein waged a determined campaign to shut

down the Institute for Historical Review and this *Journal*. In this mission, he enjoyed enthusiastic support from a good part of the media. A motion picture tribute to his campaign, "Never Forget," was broadcast nationwide in April 1991 over the TNT cable television network.

Few of the many people who viewed "Never Forget," or who read any of the many newspaper and magazine articles in praise of Mermelstein, will ever learn that the Holocaust personality's campaign has now — at long last — ended in humiliating defeat for Mermelstein, and unequivocal victory for the IHR.

In this issue, we are pleased to report (briefly) on the gratifying outcome of this costly ordeal, which came close to ruining the IHR. Theodore J. O'Keefe will provide a full account of the Mermelstein case — sprinkled with his usual piquant humor — in a future issue.

In our next feature, best-selling British historian David Irving tells — in his typically engaging way — the story of the diaries of Hitler's propaganda minister, Dr. Goebbels, and the little-known postwar memoir of Adolf Eichmann, the SS officer in charge of the wartime deportations of European Jews. As we have reported, Irving's role in bringing to light the long-suppressed Goebbels diaries from the Moscow archives generated enormous international attention last summer.

It's perhaps worth mentioning here that Germany's harsh wartime treatment of Jews in the occupied Soviet territories — a matter that Irving touches on in his address — can be fully understood only within the context of the extraordinarily barbarous war that was being fought on the Eastern front, a conflict all the more brutal because it pitted two regimes with the most diametrically opposed ideologies.

For one thing, immediately after the German attack against the Soviet Union in June 1941, Stalin ordered all Soviet citizens to engage in a ruthless partisan war against the occupiers. In practice this meant outright murder, not only of German and other Axis soldiers and officials, but of local people who worked with the occupation authorities. Moreover (and as a number of Jewish Holocaust historians proudly relate), Soviet Jews were particularly active in the ruthless campaign.

This entire subject — and particularly the role of the *Einsatzgruppen* special security police units — deserves more detailed treatment. While we intend to do just that in a future issue, for now readers are referred to a portion of an essay by me in the Winter 1989-90 *Journal* (pp. 398-403), and a part of an essay by Dr. Faurisson in the Spring 1986 *Journal* (pp. 28-29).

In a number of European countries today, anyone who openly expresses doubt about the

Holocaust extermination story runs the risk of trial and punishment, including heavy fines and imprisonment. As we report in this issue, nowhere is the situation worse than in France, where Dr. Robert Faurisson — a good friend of the IHR since its founding — and other Revisionists are victims of a legal assault against freedom of speech.

In Germany as well, expressions of doubt about the official Holocaust story are treated as crimes. One of the most prominent recent victims of this campaign is the highly decorated retired army general (and 1987 IHR Conference speaker) Otto-Ernst Remer. As we report here, in October a German court sentenced the 80-year-old Remer to 22 months imprisonment for publishing articles critical of the “official” Holocaust extermination story.

As we report elsewhere in this issue, another German court recently ordered David Irving to pay \$18,000 for telling a German audience in 1990 that the “gas chamber” shown to tourists in Auschwitz is phony.

Once again, it is worth stressing the hypocritical, even shameful, silence on the part of the American media — and this country’s normally so vociferous guardians of free speech — to all this. For our part, we regard it as our duty to continue to provide the most detailed coverage anywhere in the United States on this modern day inquisition.

As we reported in our last issue, the US Holocaust Memorial Museum will be formally dedicated and opened in Washington, DC, in late April. In this issue, we tell more about this official US government memorial, and explain why even Americans who may entirely accept the Holocaust extermination story are justified in opposing the Museum.

We encourage readers who object to this pseudo-religious monument to misguided priorities and self-serving power to join other Americans who will voice their opposition at a public demonstration in Washington, DC, on April 22. (For further information, contact: Mr. Kirk Lyons, P. O. Box 1237, Black Mountain, NC 28711.)

Our next feature is by Dr. Martin Larson, a charter member of our Editorial Advisory Committee and an acknowledged expert on the history of religion. Referring to his own years of research and writing on this issue, and taking account of the Dead Sea Scrolls, he presents his view that Christianity has important roots in a dissident Jewish religious sect known as the Essenes.

Since the founding of the United States, the most perplexing issue and daunting social dilemma facing our nation has always been race. In an acclaimed new book, *Paved With Good Intentions*,

American writer Jared (Samuel) Taylor takes a refreshingly straightforward look at this difficult and emotion-charged issue. Our detailed review of his carefully researched critique of the failure of America’s racial policy reflects the broader focus of the “new” *Journal*. (See also Taylor’s provocative essay on “multiculturalism” in the Summer 1992 *Journal*.)

Few Americans — including many who consider themselves well-informed — fully realize just how slanted US news coverage of the seemingly endless and apparently intractable Israel-Palestine problem really is. A remarkable new reference work by Palestinian diplomat-historian Issa Nakhleh, *Encyclopedia of the Palestine Problem*, provides a valuable antidote to the institutionalized bias of the media on this often perplexing issue.

We are pleased to present a fascinating introduction of Nakhleh’s admirable reference work by historian Robert John, a seasoned observer of the Middle East scene. (Incidentally, both Dr. John and Mr. Nakhleh have addressed IHR conferences.)

Finally, we wrap up this issue with a selection of readers’ letters. While we have always encouraged thoughtful commentary and criticism, we intend to make sure that the *Journal*’s letters section is a regular forum for comment and critique, and for a lively exchange of views.

Errata:

Please note these corrections of errors in the January-February issue of the *Journal*:

On page 26, column 2, line 13 from the bottom: Ilse Pröh should be Ilse Pröhl.

On page 45, column 2, the photo caption “Montel Williams” is missing.

On page 46, column 1, first paragraph, April 1992, should be April 1993.

“For just as a living creature, if it is deprived of its eyesight, is rendered completely helpless, so if history is deprived of the truth, we are left with nothing but an idle, unprofitable tale. We must therefore not shrink from accusing our friends or praising our enemies . . .”

—Polybius. Quoted in:
The Rise of the Roman Empire
(London: Penguin, 1979), p. 55.

New Biography Assails Churchill's War Record Revisionist Work Sets Off Heated Debate

A new revisionist biography of Winston Churchill, which contends that Britain would be better off today if the wartime prime minister had made peace with Hitler, has touched off a furious debate about the legacy of Britain's most revered 20th-century personality and other fundamental questions of the Second World War.

In *Churchill: The End of Glory*, British historian John Charmley argues that Churchill was so blindly bent on battlefield glory that he ignored realistic opportunities to make peace with Hitler, and by doing so bankrupted his country, lost the British empire, and insured his nation's inexorable decline.

The 37-year-old Charmley, who calls himself “the first historian to come to Churchill without the baggage of memories,” says:

We are the first generation to view him only as an historical figure. I wanted to clean the varnish off the portrait, so to speak, to look in closer detail at the man, warts and all.

He remains a great man by definition, but great men always leave a fertile heritage. Oliver Cromwell apart, I believe no other great Englishman has bequeathed so sterile a legacy.

Dr. Charmley, currently on leave from the University of East Anglia, is serving at Westminster College in Fulton, Missouri, where, ironically, he holds the professorial chair dedicated to Churchill's memory.

“Only One Purpose”

Charmley maintains that Churchill, whose belligerence and lapses of judgment were already well known before he became Prime Minister in May 1940, displayed these same faults as a wartime leader. Contrary to his image as a farsighted statesman, Churchill was actually preoccupied with “short- and medium-term considerations,” writes Charmley.

“I have only one purpose,” Churchill himself explained during the 1940-41 period, “the destruction of Hitler, and my life is much simplified thereby.” In blindly pursuing this “one purpose,” writes Charmley, the simplistic British leader

condemned hundreds of thousands — if not millions — to death and suffering, financially ruined Britain, and ensured the survival of the Soviet tyranny. Churchill's fanatic determination to continue a war that Britain had no possible chance of winning alone inevitably bankrupted the country, shattered its social order, and reduced it to a second-rate power.

Stopping just short of saying that Churchill should have concluded peace with Hitler, Charmley maintains that the British leader missed his best opportunity to change the course of history for the better in June 1941, when Hitler invaded Soviet Russia. This was a golden opportunity, Charmley contends, “to rethink priorities and foreign policy” and to quietly disengage British troops from the hopeless battle with Hitler, leaving Russia and Germany to fight to the death. In Charmley's words:

...The world's two nastiest dictators would have faced each other like two great overweight heavyweight boxers. The “victor” would have been either Russia or Germany, and they would have been so shattered by the effort that they would not have been in a position to threaten anyone.

In this scenario, Charmley argues, the United States would not have intervened in the European conflict, and Britain's power would have continued only slightly abated.

Instead, Churchill immediately threw in with Stalin and committed Britain to a military alliance with the Soviet Communist regime.

Summing up, Charmley writes:

That Churchill was a great man cannot be doubted, but his flaws, too, were on the same heroic scale as the rest of the man... At the end of the war he was, once again, faced with what looked like an attempt by one power to dominate the Continent, an odd result for so much expenditure of treasure and manpower... His thinking on foreign and domestic policy was stuck firmly in the past.

Surveying the situation in 1945 it was hard to argue that Britain had won in any sense save that of avoiding defeat... Churchill stood

for the British Empire, for British independence and for an "anti-socialist" vision. By July 1945 the first of these was on the skids, the second dependent upon America, and the third had vanished in a Labour [party] election victory.

Consensus Shattered

Although it sells for the equivalent of \$45, all copies of Charmley's thick, scholarly book sold out on the first day it was available for sale. Publisher Hodder & Stoughton was forced to triple the original press run, and quickly scheduled a second printing. Several American publishers are said to be interested in the book, which is not yet available in the US.



Churchill during an inspection of troops in northern England, 1940.

In early January, many pages of London newspapers and entire television shows were devoted to the raging exchange set off by the provocative work. A report on the controversy in the prestigious *London Times* (January 5) — which also published two lengthy extracts of the book — began:

Never has a work of historical revisionism upset so many in so short a time. In the space of three days, John Charmley's radical reappraisal of the life of Churchill and Alan Clark's article in *The Times* on Saturday

have turned the history of the Second World War into a battlefield and shattered the scholarly consensus on the war leader's achievements.

A *Washington Post* report on the furor called Charmley's book "a slaughterhouse for sacred cows," while an article in the *New York Times* informed readers that Charmley's book "has struck an especially sensitive nerve, not only because of the Churchill mythology, but also because there are those who reject out of hand the notion that any kind of compromise could be justified, morally or intellectually, with the Nazis."

In an editorial about the book, the *London Times* (January 6) cautiously affirmed the propriety of historical revisionism. After declaring that "nothing in history is inevitable, except that history shall be rewritten," it noted that Charmley's book "has broken a 40-year-old taboo and unsettled a complacent historical orthodoxy."

"...The net result of the revisionist impulse is usually positive," the editorial continued. "In the United States, the bizarre cult of political correctness has threatened the very academic freedoms which allowed it to prosper." Charmley's book "has introduced doubt to a field of history hitherto dominated by certainty and clubability. In this sense, revisionism is the friend of skepticism, the enemy of cant."

"Important Revisionist Text"

This book might easily have slipped into obscurity if it had not been for a highly favorable review in the *London Times* (January 2) by Alan Clark, a former British Defense Minister, a Conservative Party Member of Parliament, and the author of several works of military history.

Praising Charmley's work as "probably the most important revisionist text to be published since the war," Clark went beyond the young historian's thesis to forthrightly argue that Britain *should* have made peace with Germany in 1940 or 1941. In Clark's view, Churchill was a warmonger who turned down opportunities to get "first reasonable, then excellent, terms from Germany."

"Anyone in the Tory [Conservative] party who realized what was happening [in 1940-41] was horrified," Clark went on. There was a clear alternative to the disastrous course being pursued by Churchill: make peace with Hitler, preferably in the spring of 1941, when Germany was about to invade the Soviet Union in a life-and-death struggle. Instead, Clark laments, Churchill pursued a war that abased Britain before the United States, bankrupted the country, overturned the social order and ruined the empire.

Sharp Criticism

Several of Britain's most prominent historians lost no time in denouncing the views of Charmley and Clark. The main theme of these hostile responses is that popular feeling in Britain was such that if Churchill had negotiated peace with Hitler, he would have been thrown out of office, and that Hitler was so insatiable and untrustworthy that eventually he would have reneged on any peace agreement and turned against Britain. "Hitler never made a treaty he did not break," commented Hugh Trevor-Roper (Lord Dacre), perhaps the courtliest of Britain's court historians (and who, in 1983, "authenticated" the phony Hitler diaries).

Official Churchill biographer Martin Gilbert conceded that Charmley's biography is impressively researched, but dismissed out of hand the view that Churchill should have made peace with Hitler. "You can't argue that the Nazis were not as bad as was thought at the time," said Gilbert. "If anything, they were worse."

"The Hitler Thesis"

In his criticism of Charmley's book, British historian and author of *Hitler: A Study in Tyranny*, Alan Bullock, remarked:

There is nothing fresh in this. It is what Hitler said. The Hitler thesis is that he never wanted war with Britain and it was all [due to] that terrible warmonger Churchill. If you want to explore the Hitler thesis and go on and say, yes, we won the war and destroyed the British empire in doing so, that is what Hitler said would happen.

Hitler wanted to attack Russia, and he wanted Britain to be his ally, as he said in *Mein Kampf*. Anyone who has studied Hitler knows that was in his mind.

On this point, Bullock is right. No love-struck suitor was more ardent in his pursuit of a woman's hand than was Hitler in his effort to win the friendship, if not the close collaboration, of a nation he deeply admired.

Far from seeking conflict with Britain, Hitler was aghast when that nation's leadership used the pretext of an attack against Poland to declare war against Germany on September 3, 1939. "Even if the British win," he remarked a few weeks later, "the real victors would be the United States, Japan and Russia."

In his speeches of October 6, 1939 (following the successful conclusion of the Polish campaign) and July 19, 1940 (in the wake of the stunning defeat of France), Hitler dramatically appealed for a reasonable end to a conflict that, if continued, could bring only catastrophe for Germany and Britain, and indeed for all Europe.

General Franz Halder, chief of the Army General Staff, noted in his diary in 1940 that Hitler "accepts that he may have to force Britain to make peace; but he is reluctant to do so, because if we do defeat the British in the field, the British empire will fall apart. Germany will not profit therefrom. We should be paying with German blood for something from which only Japan, America and others would draw benefit."

In an extemporaneous speech delivered in Berlin on October 3, 1941, when his power seemed all but unassailable, Hitler took note of his nation's cordial relations with Italy, Hungary, Finland, Japan and other countries, and then went on to declare:

Unhappily, however, not the nation I have courted all my life: the British. Not that the British people as a whole alone bear the responsibility for this, no, but there are some people who in their pigheaded hatred and lunacy have sabotaged every such attempt at understanding between us... As in all the years I strove to achieve understanding whatever the cost, there was Mr. Churchill, who kept on shouting, "I want a war!" Now he has it.

"Evil Genius" Myth

As remarkable as Charmley's book may be, it has been the voices of support for its thesis by Clark and others that most strongly suggest that the Churchill legend — one of the most towering and durable of the Second World War — may at last be giving way to a more sober and clear-sighted view of the era. "The Clark thesis is broadly right," commented Bristol University history professor John Vincent. "Churchill presided over a country whose blood was up, and it nearly ended in disaster."

Peter Millar, a youngish writer for the widely-distributed liberal weekly paper *The European*, presented a remarkably revisionist view of the Second World War in a recent (Jan. 7-10) column devoted to Charmley's book:

...The accepted view that his [Churchill's] "bulldog breed" stubbornness led Britain through its "finest hour" to a glorious victory is sadly superficial... In no sense, other than the moral one, can Britain be said to have won. She merely survived.

Britain went to war ostensibly to honor an alliance with Poland. Yet the war ended with Poland redesigned at a dictator's whim, albeit Stalin's rather than Hitler's, and occupied, albeit by Russians rather than Germans. In reality Britain went to war to maintain the balance of power. But the European continent in 1945 was dominated by a single overbearing power hostile to everything Britain stood

for. Britain, hopelessly in hock to the United States, had neither the power nor the face to hold on to her empire.

Churchill, in the critical months before and after the fall of France, opposed any sort of peace not only because he recognized the nature of Hitler's evil, but also because he thought Germany would demand humiliating terms. Yet it is by no means clear that this would have been the case. The "evil genius bent on world conquest" that most Americans believe Hitler to have been, is a myth. The evil genius had more precise aims in eastern Europe. A Britain that would have withdrawn from the fray and from all influence in Europe to concentrate on her far-flung empire would have suited him admirably.

An Anglo-German peace might have been possible, and could have preserved the empire and not bled Britain as dry as the war did. It would not have been a glorious deal. But it is arguable that the greatest atrocities of Nazism were not much curtailed by the prosecution of the war over a further five years.

Revisionist Pioneers

Charmley's thesis is not at all new, of course. His reportedly very well-researched biography vindicates the work in earlier decades of a handful of far-sighted Revisionist historians. Fellow English historian Francis Neilson, for one, already had Churchill — and his place in history — accurately pegged in a literate and devastating critique published in 1954, *The Churchill Legend*.

On this side of the Atlantic, Harry Elmer Barnes was equally unimpressed with the Churchill legend. In a 1962 essay, for example, the American historian commented:

...The damage he [Churchill] did to the British Empire was far greater and more permanent, in the long-range perspective, than what Hitler brought to Germany... The British Empire has been liquidated and the situation in the British homeland become more precarious each year. Yet Churchill could find millions of benighted persons in Britain and the United States willing to spend their money lightheartedly to buy the books in which he boasted of his achievements as Prime Minister. He still totters around, smirkingly giving his "V" sign, to the plaudits of his countrymen, despite the fact that today it more accurately implies "vanquished" than "victorious," in terms of the Britain of 1939.

[Quoted in: *Barnes Against the Blackout*, p. 115. Published by and available from the IHR.]

More recently has been David Irving's monumental study, *Churchill's War*, the first volume of which was published in 1987. [Available from the IHR.] The British historian's 680-page work documents Churchill's cynicism, deceit and brutality, and supplies a wealth of evidence to show how he put venal personal interests ahead of those of his country.

Charmley's *Churchill: The End of Glory* will be reviewed in a forthcoming issue of the *Journal*.

— M. W. and G. R.

Irving Conviction in Germany Upheld, Fine Tripled Historian Ordered to Pay \$18,000 for "Gas Chamber" Remarks

David Irving has been ordered by a German court to pay 30,000 marks (about \$18,000) for telling an audience that the "gas chamber" at Auschwitz shown to hundreds of thousands of tourists annually is a phony postwar reconstruction ("Attrappen").

On January 13 a Munich court rejected Irving's appeal of a 1992 conviction, and then tripled the original fine. Last May the best-selling British historian was ordered to pay 10,000 marks (about \$6,000) after a lower court convicted him of remarks made at a Munich meeting in 1990. (See the *IHR Newsletter*, July-August 1992, pp. 3-4.)

The appeals court judge in the January case — like his counterpart in the May trial — rejected a bid by Irving's attorneys to introduce documents, witnesses (including Auschwitz State Museum Curator Dr. Piper) and other evidence showing that what the historian had said in the 1990 meeting is, in fact, the truth. The judge justified his refusal to permit the defense to present its case by declaring that the wartime extermination of the Jews has been sufficiently proved by historians.

Irving attorney Dr. Schaller said that he would appeal this "outrageous" verdict to the highest possible level, even though he sees little prospect for success. In spite of the new ruling, Irving defiantly repeated his view outside the court building: "There were no gas chambers at Auschwitz. I will not change my opinion."

Dramatic New Videotape Presentation Takes Aim at Key Holocaust Claims

Auschwitz Museum Official Admits “Gas Chamber” is Postwar Reconstruction

GREG RAVEN

The patch-work quilt that passes for establishment Holocaust history has grown so tattered that the tailors and seamstresses responsible for its condition are finding it ever more difficult to keep it in good repair. Now, a stunning new video written, produced and narrated by a young Jewish-American Revisionist named David Cole tears yet another gaping hole in the increasingly threadbare legend.

The main value of this production — which promises to be a Revisionist “best-seller” — is Cole’s interview with a senior Auschwitz State Museum official, who admits on camera that the Auschwitz “gas chamber” shown to hundreds of thousands of tourists annually is a postwar reconstruction, and thus confirms an important point that Revisionists have been making for years.

Cole, a Jew by birth but an atheist by choice, visited Europe in September 1992 to inspect the sites of the wartime German concentration camps of Auschwitz, Birkenau, Majdanek, Mauthausen, and Dachau, and to record his findings on videotape. Knowing that Revisionists had sometimes been rebuffed in earlier attempts to gather information at such sites, Cole presented himself as a concerned Jewish researcher determined to collect unassailable proof for the Holocaust extermination story that he could use back home in the United States to refute the claims of Revisionists.

At Auschwitz he got more than he bargained for. Wearing a traditional Jewish yarmulke, which seemed to ensure friendly cooperation by authorities, Cole hired an official Museum guide named Alicia to personally show him around the camp site. She first took Cole through the obligatory tourist inspection of the exhibits, a ritual designed to encourage a properly reverential and uncritical attitude on the part of visitors. Cole remained unimpressed, though, in large part because Alicia was unable to provide satisfactory answers to his questions. “At this point,” Cole comments, “it was looking pretty bad for someone looking for objective proofs of the gas chamber, and some of the proofs they present actually work against the concept.”

Alicia then took Cole to the high point of the tour, the supposed extermination “gas chamber” in the Auschwitz I main camp. Inside the “gas chamber” itself, Cole’s questions became more specific: Were there ever interior walls in this room? Were those pipes and drains ever operational and connected to plumbing facilities? Do the obvious scars on the walls and floor mean that the chamber was once sub-divided into smaller rooms?

Cole’s pointed questions soon thoroughly frustrated his guide. As he explains in his video, “Feeling somewhat exasperated at the fact that nothing she could say would shut me up, Alicia went to get a woman who was introduced to me as the supervisor of tour guides for the Auschwitz State Museum.”

The supervisor only further confused things. As a perplexed Alicia looked on, the supervisor casually discredited a long-standing “exterminationist” claim about the Auschwitz I “gas chamber.” Flatly disagreeing with what Alicia had told Cole (and doubtless many other visitors), the supervisor explained that the vents in the roof, through which deadly Zyklon B was supposedly introduced, were put in after the war.

With the contradictions adding up, the supervisor then suggested that Cole meet with the Museum’s “head scientist,” Dr. Piper, to obtain really authoritative answers to his persistent questions. Cole readily accepted the offer, and the next day he met with Piper in his office.

Dr. Franciszek Piper (pronounced “peeper”) is archives director and Senior Curator of the Polish government’s Auschwitz State Museum. Cole was indeed fortunate to be able to put pointed questions to a man who is internationally recognized as a foremost Holocaust authority, and to record the entire interview on videotape.

Until just a few years ago Piper fully endorsed the official view that *four million* people — most of them Jews — had been killed at Auschwitz. This was still the figure given in an official Auschwitz State Museum guide book distributed to visitors as late as 1988.¹ In July 1990, though, Piper (along

with Israeli officials) abruptly abandoned the long-standing figure, announcing that the estimated number of Auschwitz victims was actually about 1.1 million.² As Cole stresses, this drastic 75 percent reduction in the "official" estimate is no small revision. (In a lengthy article on this subject published in 1991, Piper suggested that further revision might be forthcoming.)³

Cole's most important question to Piper is probably this: Is the "gas chamber" in the Auschwitz I main camp in its original state, or is it a reconstruction? Piper's response:

The first and the oldest gas chamber, which existed in Auschwitz I [main camp], this camp where we are now here, operated from autumn 1941 to December 1942, approximately one year. The crematorium near by this gas chamber worked longer, to the middle of 1943.

In July 1943 the crematorium was stopped and the bodies of prisoners [who] died at Auschwitz at the time were transferred to Birkenau.

In 1944, in connection with bombardment of Auschwitz by the Allied air forces, [the] empty crematorium number one and gas chamber at Auschwitz I were adapted as air [raid] shelters.

At this time, additional walls were built inside the former gas chamber. An additional entrance was made from the east side of the gas chamber, and openings in the ceiling, [through which] the gas Zyklon B was discharged [to the] inside, were at the time liquidated.

So after the liberation of the camp, the former gas chamber presented a view of [an] air [raid] shelter. In order to gain an earlier view... [or] earlier sight... of this object, the inside walls built in 1944 were removed and openings in the ceiling were made anew.



David Cole inside the Auschwitz "gas chamber" that is shown to hundreds of thousands of tourists yearly.

So now this gas chamber is very similar to this one which existed in 1941-1942, but not all details were made there, so there is no gas-tight door, for instance, and the additional entrance from east side rested [remained] as it was made in 1944. Such changes were made after the war to gain [the] earlier view of this object.

Piper's startling acknowledgment to Cole has special legal significance for David Irving. In May 1992 a Munich court fined the British historian \$6,000 for having told a German audience that the room in Auschwitz that has been portrayed to tourists as an extermination gas chamber is a phony reconstruction ("Attrappen"). The judge in the case rejected the defense request to call Piper as a witness to confirm that what Irving had said was, in fact, the truth. (More than that, the German judge refused to permit Irving to present *any* evidence whatsoever in its own defense. Irving's conviction was upheld by another German court in January 1993.)⁴



Dr. Piper, Auschwitz State Museum Senior Curator, explains that the room displayed to tourists as an extermination "gas chamber" in its "original state" is actually a postwar reconstruction.

Although Piper maintains that the "gas chamber" was restored to its "original" state as a killing facility, this postwar reconstruction is in fact worthless as proof of anything because there is not a single wartime document or photograph to confirm just what the alleged homicidal "gas chamber" looked like.

Elsewhere during his interview, Cole raises another important issue. Why is it, he asks Piper, that whereas there are obvious and abundant blue stains (caused by contact with Zyklon B gas) on the walls of the non-homicidal chambers used to disinfect clothes, there are no such stains or traces on the walls of the alleged homicidal "gas cham-

bers"? Piper responds:

In the gas chambers, the Zyklon B was operated a very short time, about 20 [or] 30 minutes during 24 hours, and in the [non-homicidal] disinfection rooms it operated day and night.

This remarkable explanation creates yet another problem. According to the most authoritative Holocaust historians, a single "gassing" operation took at least 20 or 30 minutes. If, as Piper maintains, the alleged gas chambers were operated for only 20 or 30 minutes a day, no more than a single gassing per day could have been carried out. This is hardly consistent with an alleged German program of mass extermination.

As "expert" as he is about the Auschwitz gas chamber, it is fitting that Piper still believes that the Germans made soap from the bodies of their wartime victims — a once widely-accepted story that has since been utterly discredited.⁵

In its own way, "David Cole Interviews Dr. Franciszek Piper," may well prove to be as powerful a blow to the Holocaust extermination story, and the formidable lobby that defends it, as was Fred Leuchter's famous 1988 forensic report.

By dramatically pointing up glaring contradictions between what a senior official of the Auschwitz State Museum believes and what the gullible public is told, Cole exposes the bad faith on the part of the Holocaust establishment, and underscores its fear of open discussion and free inquiry.

Cole's interview with Piper gives the lie to the claim that Holocaust historians agree on all the main points of the extermination story, and refutes



Alicia, an Auschwitz tour guide, responds to a question by David Cole.

the insistent assertion that there is no place for Revisionist input into the still continuing debate.

While this is almost certainly the best video presentation of the Revisionist view of the Holo-

caust story produced so far, its technical quality is unfortunately not ideal. Cole's narration is often obtrusive and less than adroit. For example, the screen occasionally goes black as Cole finishes making this or that point, a poor use of the medium and one that disrupts the pace of the presentation. One also has the impression that the text was hastily scripted and hurriedly edited.

Still, these are relatively minor flaws in an otherwise well-made video. With a good grasp of the subtleties of Holocaust claims and the Revisionist responses, and the ability to discern the critical nub of an issue, Cole deserves praise for this effective and persuasive production. (Happily, he is working on further videos based on visits to other camp sites.)

While this video is ideal for those who have no previous familiarity with the Revisionist perspective on this issue, veteran skeptics of the Holocaust story will also appreciate it. Slightly less than an hour in length, it is also suited for broadcast on local public access television stations. (Revisionist activists, please take note!)

This video is part of a still-continuing process of prying truth from those who are reluctant to acknowledge it. Ultimately, the entire Holocaust story will be discredited as Piper and others like him are obliged to respond to further Revisionist questioning.

Notes

1. K. Smolen, *Auschwitz 1940-1945: Guide-Book Through the Museum* (1978), pp. 19, 124. This guide book is cited not only by Cole in this videotape, but also in: F. Piper, "Estimating the Number of Deportees to and Victims of the Auschwitz-Birkenau Camp," *Yad Vashem Studies* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem), 1991, Vol. XXI, pp. 60-61 (n.).
2. "Auschwitz deaths reduced to a million," *The Daily Telegraph* (London), July 17, 1990.
3. F. Piper, "Estimating...", *Yad Vashem Studies*, 1991, Vol. XXI, p. 92 (n. 149).
4. "Irving Fined \$6,000 in German 'Gas Chamber' Trial," *IHR Newsletter*, July-August 1992, pp. 3-5. (A portion of this *Newsletter* report is shown in Cole's videotape.)
5. See: M. Weber, "Jewish Soap," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Vol. 11, No. 2 (Summer 1991), pp. 217 ff.

The VHS videotape, "David Cole Interviews Dr. Franciszek Piper," is available from the IHR for \$49, plus \$2.50 shipping. Please see the ad on page 30.

“We’re Loud, We’re Proud, and Best of All, We’re Right!”

A Jewish Revisionist’s Visit to Auschwitz

DAVID COLE

(Presented at the Eleventh IHR Conference, October 1992)

When I decided last September to take a well-deserved vacation, I thought, what better destination than Europe. After all, as a Revisionist I’d always felt it my duty to see the concentration camps in person. My girl-friend, though, said that she’d like to go to Europe to visit Euro-Disney, the new Disneyland theme park in France. So I thought for a while about where to go: Auschwitz or Euro-Disney. And as I looked around, and saw the miserable state of the world and this country, the political and social malaise and depression, I realized that if I did take a vacation, I wanted to go to a place as far away from reality as possible: a fantasy land of wondrous fairy tales. So, of course, I chose Auschwitz.

Now that I’ve gone through the Auschwitz main camp, Auschwitz-Birkenau, Majdanek, Mauthausen, and Dachau, I feel even more secure in my position as a Revisionist that there exists no convincing evidence that Jews or anyone else were taken *en masse* into gas chambers and killed by the Nazis at these camps. In fact, the remains that I inspected at the camp sites seem, in many different ways, to directly contradict these claims.

I returned to the United States with more than 25 hours of video footage from the camps. At Majdanek I uncovered obvious tampering with the buildings exhibited as gas chambers. This evidence was discovered when my attractive camerawoman busted a lock and got us into a room that is not open to tourists. There we were able to view several items in their original state, most notably the doors, which were clearly constructed to latch from both the outside *and* the inside.

David Cole was raised and educated in Los Angeles, where he lives and works. Because of his support for Holocaust Revisionism, he was assaulted during a meeting at the University of California at Los Angeles on January 22, 1992, by thugs of the Jewish Defense League, who hit him in the face and bloodied his nose. JDL leader Irv Rubin also tried to push Cole down a flight of stairs. In April 1992 he appeared — along with *Journal* editor Mark Weber — as a guest on the Montel Williams Show, a nationally syndicated television program, to present the Revisionist view of the Holocaust story.

The high point of my visit, though, was my interview with Dr. Franciszek Piper, Senior Curator of the Polish government’s Auschwitz State Museum. He has worked there for more than 26 years. On tape, he admits that the so-called gas chamber in Crematory Building (Krema) I, which is shown to half a million visitors a year as a genuine homicidal gas chamber, is in fact a reconstruction — even down to the holes cut into the ceiling. Piper also admits that walls were knocked down and bathroom facilities removed. He went on to tell us that the remains of the “white cottage,” supposed site of the first preliminary gassings at Birkenau, are also reconstructed. This was hardly news to me. Even a quick examination of the remains of the “white cottage” shows that the bricks are not connected in any way, but are simply laid on top of each other like children’s building blocks.

Piper has no problems with the *Leuchter Report*. He told me that he agrees with Leuchter’s findings regarding traces of ferro-ferric-cyanide in the walls of Crematory Buildings (Kremas) I, II and III. So what is his explanation for this lack of traces in the supposed homicidal gas chambers when, by contrast, there are significant traces in the non-homicidal delousing gas chambers? He told me that the amount of hydrogen cyanide (from Zyklon) supposedly used by the Germans to kill people — unlike the amount needed to kill lice in delousing chambers — was not enough to leave blue (ferro-ferric-cyanide) staining, or appreciable traces.

This argument has problems, though. For one thing, the supposed homicidal gas chambers at Majdanek (which in reality were non-homicidal delousing chambers) have abundant blue staining. So according to Piper’s “Holocaust logic,” gassing people in Auschwitz did not leave blue stains, but gassing people at Majdanek did. Talk about a Magic Kingdom! As we spoke, I half expected to see Piper’s nose grow as long as Pinocchio’s!

The importance of Piper’s revelations is obvious. The burden of proof has now shifted decisively to the Exterminationist side. For example, Piper’s admission that the four holes in the ceiling of Crematory Building (Krema) I were put in after the war makes ludicrous the oft-repeated claim of

Auschwitz tourists that “Now I’ve seen the gas chambers with my own two eyes.” Now that the often-made claims about Krema I in its present state are no longer valid, can the Exterminationists produce *any* evidence — a photograph, document, plan, or order — showing that the supposed gas chamber there was *ever* used to kill people as alleged? Most likely not, but what else is new? We’ve never been asked to accept the Holocaust story on anything but faith, and for me, that’s not good enough.



David Cole at Auschwitz speaking with tour guide Alicia. Empty cans of Zyklon B are in the background.

On the issue of the Holocaust — and perhaps uniquely on this issue — we are told: “Close the books, there will be no more learning, no more discussion, no more questions. Not only will no questions be tolerated, but anyone who dares to ask such questions will be slandered and viciously attacked.”

Now, as someone who believes that part of being human is to learn something new every day, I respond: “How dare you tell me there will be no more learning?” The establishment that maintains the Holocaust story on life support admits that there is no direct proof of homicidal gassings. No order, no document, no pictures, only “eyewitnesses.”

And what of these eyewitnesses? The Holocaust lobby insists that this is convincing evidence. But what kind of evidence is this? In some European countries, a person who denies the gas chambers can be jailed, fined, or physically attacked. He might lose his job, his standing in the community, maybe even his life. Something similar has happened in Canada. In the United States, he might be attacked and vilified. And if he says that he comes by his knowledge from first-hand experience — in other words from helping to run the camps during the war years — then he might easily find

himself deported to Israel or eastern Europe, where he might be sentenced to death or at least stripped of his US citizenship and denied due process.

In other words, we only hear of eyewitnesses from one side because witnesses from the other side have been strong-armed into silence. This is governmental coercion of the worst kind, and on a worldwide scale no less. One kind of eyewitness is encouraged, the other kind is warned that his words might lead to deportation, imprisonment, loss of livelihood, property, and even life. Some great victory for the Holocaust lobby: The game has been fixed!

Let people speak! If for no one else, I demand this for my own sake. I want to know what happened during World War Two, and yet how can I if those who might have firsthand knowledge are told: “Speak only the official line, or suffer the consequences.” I insist on my human right to learn.

There are those who say, “Okay, so maybe the Holocaust is a bit exaggerated, but do we really want to destabilize society by openly talking about all this, possibly encouraging hostility against Jews?” This raises an important philosophical question: Do you believe mankind to be so inherently cruel and stupid that people must be lied to in order to make them behave? If so, then the lies you tell them are only a small bandage to cover up a much greater evil: Lack of confidence in mankind’s ability to handle the truth. And if you truly believe that people cannot handle the truth, but instead need a “Big Brother” to handle it for them, then surely democracy is the most dangerous thing on earth.

Of course, I understand that people can be cruel and stupid, but I also believe in the human ability to learn, and to grow with each new piece of knowledge. Rather than censor information that we subjectively perceive to be “dangerous,” we should teach our children to think critically, to remain open-minded, and to look for truth rather than cling to emotionally appealing falsehoods.

And that is just about all we can do: teach our children and hope for the best, realizing that people cannot be programmed like robots. Eighty years of failed Communism should have taught us that. To use the power of the state to force men to be what the state defines as “good” creates a world far more hellish than the one that is supposedly being prevented. I would rather live in a world where people are free to be cruel and stupid than one in which “goodness” is enforced at gun point.

Keep in mind also that truth, objective truth, does not need threats and intimidation to prevail. We Holocaust Revisionists are often likened to those who said that the earth was flat. But just the reverse is true: It is the other side that acts like a Holy Inquisition, institutionalizing one viewpoint and punishing heretics. Remember: We only accepted that the earth is round after the debate was

opened. And since then, the round-earth adherents have not needed false news laws, hate crimes laws, and libel or slander laws to protect the truthfulness of their view. Likewise, all we ask is that the Holocaust story either stand or fall according to the evidence — or lack of it.

While we Holocaust Revisionists sit on a wealth of wonderfully heretical information, can we get it out to the general public? Can we “mainstream” Holocaust Revisionism before it’s too late, that is to say, before all those who have firsthand information of what really happened die off entirely?

As a Jew, it would be wrong for me not to mention the issue of Jewish influence. Influence is a very strange thing. People spend so much time and energy to acquire it, and then an equal amount of time and energy denying they have it. Jewish influence does exist. If it didn’t, why would billions of dollars be spent annually by Jewish lobbying groups? That money isn’t to pay for dance lessons for Senators and Congressmen, of course, it’s for influence. Jews must come to terms with the fact that they are not only a powerful and influential group, but have responsibilities that come with that — particularly the responsibility not to abuse power, or, more specifically, to avoid abusing people with that power.

It is a testament to the strength of Revisionist research and scholarship, and to Revisionist tenacity, that all the Jewish influence in the world has not erased this movement. Despite the best efforts of our most clever and determined adversaries, Revisionist books are still read, and the Institute for Historical Review continues to function.

But how much progress are we really making in getting our message to the public? Unfortunately, we’ve been making only tiny, pussycat steps. I am not a patient man. Every day, I fool myself into thinking that I can be patient — I can’t. I don’t want to be a guerrilla fighter of the political underground for the rest of my life. The time has come, indeed has never been better, to take Revisionist scholarship to the rest of the world, and if the powers that be try to stop us, we either go around them or, if necessary, we go right through them.

Two more years! That’s my new motto. In two years’ time, Holocaust Revisionism should be in the mainstream, squarely in the public eye.

I am sure that we will eventually succeed in getting out our message. Information can be suppressed for just so long. But that’s not enough for me. It’s not enough that fellow Revisionists recognize Professor Faurisson’s scholarship for the brilliant work it is. I want it to be *widely* recognized as such, and in his lifetime!

So let’s make a concerted effort. Mindful of the recent Jewish New Year, I hereby make a Jewish New Year’s resolution: Two more years! No more sitting in the back of the ideological bus. We’re loud, we’re proud, and best of all, we’re right!

Nunc est bibendum . . .

Final Victory in the Mermelstein Case IHR Prevails in Eleven-Year-Old Legal Battle

At long last, the costly and potentially devastating eleven-year effort by Holocaust personality Mel Mermelstein to destroy the Institute for Historical Review has ended in complete, definitive victory for the IHR and its co-defendants.

Plaintiff Mermelstein let elapse the 30-day deadline for acting on the decisive rejection of his appeal on October 28, 1992, by the California Court of Appeal, thus precluding any further legal steps on his part in the case.

As reported in the previous issue of the *Journal* (Jan.-Feb., p. 7), Mermelstein’s appeal challenged the dismissal on September 19, 1991, by Los Angeles Superior Court Judge Steven Lachs of the plaintiff’s complaint of malicious prosecution. The other components of his suit — complaints for libel, conspiracy, and intentional infliction of emotional distress — were dismissed by Mermelstein himself at that time.

In his suit against the IHR and its co-defendants — the Washington, DC-based populist advocacy group Liberty Lobby and IHR founder Willis Carto — plaintiff Mermelstein had sought \$11 million in damages. (For more on the IHR’s 1991 legal victory, see the *IHR Newsletter*, October 1991.)

The victorious conclusion of the second Mermelstein case finishes, we at the IHR hope, the time-consuming legal struggle that began in 1981. (Theodore O’Keefe’s book on the Mermelstein affair, *Best Witness*, should be available later this year.)

Our triumph, which is a victory for the worldwide revisionist movement, preserves the IHR as the world leader in Revisionist research and publishing, and as a citadel of support for Revisionists in lands not blessed with our constitutional right of freedom of speech.

To you, our loyal supporters through the most desperate and dispiriting days of the Mermelstein affair, without whose help in the form of contributions, research help, advice, encouragement, and prayers the second Mermelstein case could never have been won, our most sincere thanks.

“To do injustice is more disgraceful than to suffer it.”

—Plato

The Suppressed Eichmann and Goebbels Papers

DAVID IRVING

(Presented at the Eleventh IHR Conference, October 1992)

Twice this year I've come under the scrutiny of journalists, entirely through no doing of my own. The first occasion was my acquisition of the Eichmann papers, about which I'll be speaking shortly. The second occasion was in regard to the papers of Dr. Joseph Goebbels. I'll show you the Goebbels papers first because these have aroused enormous interest. It came about like this:

The Goebbels Diaries

On May 6th, 1992, while I was researching at the archives of the Institute of Contemporary History in Munich — once again, “illegally” on German soil — a good friend whom I've known for thirty years lunched with me and said, “David, I've been working in the Moscow state secret archives, and I've found the glass plates on which are micro-filmed the *entire* diaries of Dr. Joseph Goebbels.”

At this, of course, my ears pricked up because any historian worth his salt will tell you that the published Goebbels diaries are complete except for everything that matters. Few of the most important portions have been published so far: the November 1938 *Kristallnacht* (“Night of broken glass”), the 1934 Röhm purge (“Night of the long knives”), the outbreak of the war in 1939, the Pearl Harbor attack, you name it — it is not in the published volumes that came out in the 1950s, the 1970s or the 1980s. They hadn't got everything that mattered. We thought this was because the Soviets were holding onto the good stuff, to sell it for really top dollar later on. But that was not the case. It was just the typical Communist, Marxist-Leninist chaos. They didn't know themselves what they had.

The diaries were recorded on Agfa glass plates stored in boxes: here are my color photographs of one of the original boxes. You can see the handwriting on it of Dr. Richard Otte, Goebbels' own secretary, which my source immediately recognized. Historians of the period all knew that during

the final weeks of the war, Goebbels feared that his priceless diaries might be burned to a frizzle in some thoughtless British air raid. So he took the precaution of having them microfilmed on these glass plates, which at that time was a totally new system. We knew that these glass plates existed somewhere, and we've been looking for them. Actually, we couldn't just look for them because no one knew where to look. But if you stumbled across them, you'd know what they are, rather like the diaries of Admiral Canaris.

So in March 1992 my source stumbled across these boxes in the Moscow archives, and recognized them for what they were. (You'll notice that I don't mention this person's name, because I don't want to get him or her into any trouble.)

My source's own institute, the Institute of Contemporary History (Institut für Zeitgeschichte) in Munich — my deadliest enemies now — refused to finance a further expedition for my source to go back to Moscow to purchase these 1,600 glass plates.

There are 92 boxes of these glass plates. Ninety-two boxes, just loosely bundled up with string. The glass plates are not in very good condition. They've got fragments of glass splinters between them and they're often badly scratched. But they are entirely legible.

My source suggested that I raise the money to visit Moscow to get hold of these glass plates. I contacted my American publisher, Avon Books, and for ten days they acted very enthusiastic. I estimated that I'd need about \$20,000 in order to buy the glass plates outright from the Russian archivists. They need money so badly just to keep the archives running, they have to sell off the family silver bit by bit, so to speak. I thought that \$20,000 was a very reasonable price.

Suddenly, though, the bubble popped. Word came down from the upper levels at Avon books that they wouldn't finance my trip to Moscow to get these plates. They feared that it involved “bribing” Russian officials, or something unethical. So next I approached my British publishers, Macmillan London, Ltd., and within two hours received the same answer. Perhaps it was decided that they wouldn't help provide David Irving with this scoop.

So I approached the *Sunday Times*, which is Britain's biggest, most serious, and most respected newspaper. They immediately agreed to finance an

David Irving, acknowledged by *The Times* of London as “one of Britain's foremost historians,” is the author of more than two dozen published works on 20th-century history, including *Hess: The Missing Years*, *Uprising: Hungary 1956*, *Hitler's War*, *Churchill's War* and *Göring: A Biography* (all available from the IHR). Irving has addressed four IHR conferences.

initial expedition to Moscow for me to have a look at these glass plates. A week later, I returned to London having not only looked at the plates, but having copied hundreds of pages from them — everything that mattered except for a few gaps.

When I then reached an agreement with the *Sunday Times*, they insisted that I not breathe a word to anyone about this arrangement. As *Sunday Times* editor Andrew Neil told me, “Irving, my staff are not happy that we are doing this deal with you.” I replied, “Well, you’ve got no choice, have you? Because it’s my project.”

If you read the newspaper accounts afterwards, you get the impression that this was the *Sunday Times*’ project, and that they had picked me for it because I’m the only person who can read Goebbels’ handwriting. Well, later, when the big fight started, they were hoist by their own petard because the fight in Britain became horrendous and hairy. [See the *IHR Newsletter*, Oct. 1992, p. 5.]

The Controversy Begins

If, perversely, you wanted to upset the Jewish community in Britain, what would you do? The first thing I would do is go out to all the Jewish ghettos in London, like Stamford Hill or Golders Green, and I would put up 60-foot-long posters in the Nazi colors with 15-foot swastikas, a photograph of Dr. Goebbels, and the slogan running right across in gothic script: WHEN WE DEPART, LET THE EARTH TREMBLE. This is precisely what the *Sunday Times* did to advertise their David Irving series!

The Jewish community frantically organized ten-man-strong gangs to go out and deface these posters. But as fast as they desecrated, the *Sunday Times* went ’round renewing them. This went on for a week until finally the community concerned, our traditional enemies, brought their traditional pressures to bear on the *Sunday Times*. As Mark Weber mentioned, they themselves admitted this pressure, not only from the English community, but the American Jewish community as well, because the *Sunday Times* is particularly vulnerable. Much of their finance comes from their American banking system, and much of the advertising in Britain is dependent on this particular community. The community left Andrew Neil, the editor, with no doubt at all of their displeasure. He told me at the height of this crisis that he had never been through such a nightmare in his life.

In consequence of this pressure the *Sunday Times* had to turn the entire campaign around against me, their own contributor, and try to pretend that it was *their* material, and that they were obliged to call me in because I was the only person who could read the handwriting. Let me just show you what the glass pages produce. Dr. Goebbels’ diaries were recorded in miniature on glass plates; this is the contact print of one of the

glass plates. As you see, it’s fifty pages of the diaries in handwriting, very, very small. The first week I was there I had no easy means of reading them because there was no microfilm reader in Moscow. But by chance I had a tiny little 12x magnifying glass with me, as large as my fingernail, and with that I could read those glass plates for the first week.

Some of them we borrowed, with the permission of the archivist, and had them blown up to produce these photographs. You can see later on, those of you who read German, that Dr. Goebbels’ handwriting is truly illegible. It took me two years to learn to read it. When the *Sunday Times* said, “Irving is one of the three people in the world who can read Goebbels’ handwriting,” our rivals scoffed and said, “That’s utter baloney, any German of that generation can read his handwriting.” So I sent pages of the diary to these rival journalists, and I said, “I’ll pay you a thousand pounds if, within two weeks, you can supply me with a transcript of one page with fewer than 50 percent errors.” Not one of them took me up on it. The *Daily Mail*, a rival of the *Sunday Times*, thought they’d scooped us by paying 20,000 pounds to purchase a few pages of the diary from the Institute of Contemporary History in Munich, who were determined to spite me. The *Daily Mail* took their precious pages and hurried off back to London to get to work on them, only to find to their horror that their people could not read the pages they’d paid 20,000 pounds for! I had some happy moments during that July of 1992, as you can believe.



Joseph Goebbels (right) with armaments minister Albert Speer (left) and labor leader Robert Ley at a mass meeting in Berlin in 1943 to honor outstanding workers.

Mark [Weber] mentioned the publicity that surrounded this affair, and it’s true: during those two weeks alone, I collected two thousand press clippings from around the world. It was exactly the

same back in January when the Eichmann papers scandal broke. You see, when I was in Argentina in October [1991] delivering lectures in English and Spanish to audiences down there, one of those odd strokes of luck happened. When you're an internationally known historian, or when you're notorious, people come up to you and ask, "Are you interested in this?"

Thus, an American autograph collector wrote to me a few weeks ago saying, "I've got Heinrich Himmler's 1939 diary. Would you like to have a look at it?" This kind of thing happens.

The Eichmann Memoirs

If you go to London at present, around the West End where I live you'll find every parking meter, every lamppost, every traffic standard, every traffic light have got stickers on them saying "Smash David Irving," "Stop Irving," or "Irving Speaks, Rostock Burns." Behind this is a group that calls itself CAFE, the Committee Against Fascism in Europe, which the *Daily Express* tells me is in fact a front for the Mossad. They've gone 'round putting up these stickers all over the West End of London advertising mass-meetings outside my home, and very kindly giving my address.

I'm grateful to them because recently I got a letter from a Greek publisher saying, "Mr. Irving, I've been trying for a year to contact you through your publishers so that I can make an offer for the rights to your Adolf Hitler biography, and your publishers were unwilling to let us have your address. As I was in London shopping a few days ago, I happened to notice a sticker on which your opponents put your address, so I am happy now to make an offer for your book." This is what happens.

So, being notorious has its advantages. When I was in Argentina, in October [1991], a man who had written me vaguely a couple of years before, mentioning papers that he thought I ought to see, came up to me at the end of one meeting. The next day he came back and gave me two bulky brown-paper parcels which turned out to contain the writings of Adolf Eichmann when he was in hiding in Argentina in the late 1950s. Adolf Eichmann, of course, is now the man with whom the public most associates what they call the "Holocaust."

I hate that word. It's a word I don't like using. People say to me, "Mr. Irving, do you believe in the Holocaust? Do you deny the Holocaust?" I say that I mistrust words with a capital letter. They look like a trademark, don't they? Like Tylenol or something. We don't trust them; no matter how much advertising they put into Tylenol. And so it is with that word "Holocaust." You get the impression that it is a neatly packaged, highly promoted operation, and you don't trust it.

Eichmann was born on the 19th of March, 1906. As an SS Lieutenant Colonel (*Obersturmbann-*

führer), he was a specialist of the Jewish question. He looked upon the Jews with that same mixture of admiration and fear shared by most of the non-Jewish population around the world.

He went to Palestine in 1937 after he was made an officer in the SS, and he actually (we have his own record of this) entered into negotiations with leading Zionist underground fighters in Palestine, some of whom went on after the war to become members of the cabinet of Israeli leader David Ben-Gurion. None of this was admitted by them at the time, but of course the records are there in the files of the SS in the National Archives in Washington.

Eichmann was head of department IV B 4 of the Reich Security Main Office (*Reichssicherheits-hauptamt* or RSHA). This was the desk of the Gestapo assigned to deal with Jewish matters. Eichmann came under Heinrich Müller (head of the Gestapo), who came under Reinhard Heydrich (the chief of the RSHA) [and after January 1943, Ernst Kaltenbrunner], who came under Heinrich Himmler (the *Reichsführer SS*), who came under Hitler.

Actually, Himmler was much farther under Hitler than you would imagine from subsequent historical propaganda. Relations between Himmler and Hitler were not close. They seldom saw each other; Himmler was a bit of a loose cannon who operated very much at arm's length from Hitler. He took his own decisions and acted as he wanted. Hitler couldn't be bothered with much that Himmler was up to. I think there was a certain lack of affinity between the two, and this became increasingly evident as the war went on. This is also indicated by Eichmann's own writings.

To the governments of the foreign countries from where Jews were being deported, Eichmann denied that the Jews were being killed. But from his papers we can surmise that he knew or suspected different.

These Eichmann papers — the 600 pages which were handed to me in Argentina — are all typescript on very, very, flimsy paper — what you Americans call onion skin paper — legal size. I am guessing that many, many carbon copies had been made. We know that they originated with the collaboration of a Flemish journalist named Willem Sassens von Hildewor who was also in hiding in Argentina. Sassens was a very dubious character. I think he's still alive in Argentina, but he's gone into hiding because he fears for his life, and probably with some justification because there's good reason to suspect that he turned over the bulk of these papers — which he dressed up for the purpose — to *Life* magazine, in 1959 or 1960, and when *Life* magazine published them they were the direct cause of Eichmann's capture and kidnapping by the Israelis in the following year.

So Sassens is a very dubious character. As we know from von Woltersdorf, an eyewitness who

lives in Germany now and wrote me a very long letter after the scandal broke (he was present during a lot of these taping sessions with Eichmann), Sassens persuaded Eichmann to talk at very great length on tape recordings. Altogether there were either 67 or 72 tape recordings. Because they were recorded in the 1950s, the tape recorder was a primitive reel-to-reel model. The tapes, once used, would then be erased and reused, so unfortunately, very few of the original tapes survive.

The surviving original tapes are now in the custody of Dieter Eichmann, a son of Eichmann, who lives near Lake Constance [in southern Germany]. As a result of the scandal that arose over my discovery of these Eichmann papers, I tried to protect Dieter Eichmann from embarrassment by the newspapers: I told journalists I wasn't going to reveal where they could find him because I didn't feel that it was right for his family to be molested by newspapermen. Eventually, though, I did put one journalist in contact with Dieter Eichmann, a journalist with the Swiss weekly *Die Weltwoche*. In the space of a few days *Die Weltwoche*, a wealthy Swiss weekly newspaper, did a deal with Dieter Eichmann where they purchased all these surviving tape recordings and all the surviving papers, and *Die Weltwoche* now has all the rights. I next received a letter from *Die Weltwoche's* lawyers warning me not to make use of any of the material I had.

Sassens had taped the conversations with Eichmann in the 1950s. They are verbatim transcripts, which makes them very useful, and as such they differ greatly from the books that were published by Eichmann in 1985 — *Ich, Adolf Eichmann* (the German edition), or *Yo, Adolfo Eichmann* (the Spanish-language version) — because those books contain no transcripts of conversations. They contain just a mildly edited text of what Sassens himself put together.

The transcripts themselves are very interesting because Eichmann got very irritated with Sassens, and constantly interrupted him: "I can't see what you're getting at," and "You're very thick," and "why do you keep asking me about who was giving me the orders? How was I supposed to know?" And this kind of thing. It's the "back-chat" which was interesting in the dialogues.

In January 1992 I donated all these original papers to the Federal Archives [Bundesarchiv] in Koblenz. In fact, I turned them over even before I read them myself, because obviously they are a historical source of very substantial importance to anybody investigating the "Holocaust." Since 1965, I've made a practice of turning over my private papers and my research papers to the German Federal Archives, both because they are such a huge volume of paper, and so that other historians can use them. For a time I turned over papers to the Institute of Contemporary History in Munich,

where they have a collection called "The Irving Collection." But I changed that three years ago, after a professor with the Institute, Helmut Auerbach, decided to write a letter behind my back, on Institute letterhead, denouncing me to the German public prosecutor! I decided no longer to deposit papers in their archives, and until they apologize and retract that libelous letter, they can say goodbye to receiving any of the rest of my collection. Consequently, all my subsequent papers have gone to the German Federal Archives.

I didn't have time to open those brown packages until Christmas-time. Christmas in London is an endlessly boring, tedious, and desolate festival, so I decided to enliven my festival by reading Adolf Eichmann's papers.

I started reading on Christmas eve, and I carried on through Christmas day. I decided very rapidly that I couldn't continue reading the originals because they are so flimsy that I might damage them. So I decided to copy them, which I had to do page by page because they are so flimsy. It took me all Christmas day, but I ended up with a much better set than the originals I eventually donated to the archives.

Thus I began reading them in earnest about January 2nd or 3rd. Each evening, at the end of the rest of my day's work, I would read 30 or 40 pages of these transcripts.

"David Irving Recants"

Entirely by chance on Friday, January 10, a journalist with *The Observer* (one of the other serious British Sunday papers, and a great rival of the *Sunday Times*) telephoned me to ask me for a quotation about an event coming up the following week in London. On January 20 there was going to be a big Jewish Holocaust seminar at the Wiener Library in London. The Wiener Library had issued a press release dealing with certain casualty figures, and a statement had been issued by Yehuda Bauer of Israel's Yad Vashem institute, who was going to take part in the meeting. Had I any comments? It was just a routine journalist's call. I make this point because I'm not a publicity seeker, and I don't go out of my way to seek publicity. Publicity's a nuisance, and believe me, I long ago ceased to believe that journalists are going to do me any favors at all. They're not.

When this journalist telephoned me, I said, "I can't tell you my own impression about these figures, but what I will tell you is that Adolf Eichmann himself said that [Auschwitz commandant] Rudolf Höss' figures were grossly inflated, and that Eichmann thought that Höss was an outrageous liar."

"How do you know this?" he responded.

"Well," I said, "nobody else knows this, but as of two months ago I've gotten ahold of all of Adolf Eichmann's private papers. They were donated to

me by a mutual friend in Argentina who didn't know what to do with them, and he thought they were safest in my hands. I've donated the originals to the German archives, and I'm busy researching through them now." By that time I'd read three quarters of them, I think.

Well, the journalist flipped. "You mean to say that you've had Adolf Eichmann's diaries?" he asked.

"No," I replied, "not his diaries, just his memoirs and everything he dictated and his conversations, and it's all pure gold."

Then he asked, "Have you reached any new conclusions?"

I responded: "There's one sentence that has given me cause for thought." (I'll speak about this later on.) And the journalist then wrote an article that appeared the following day in *The Observer*, and which was picked up that same day by the *Sunday Telegraph* under the headline, "Historian Recants." [See the *IHR Newsletter*, Feb. 1992, pp. 3-4.]

Okay, that's the kind of harmless thing newspapers do, and the following morning they're wrapping fish and chips. But in this case, the following morning it was wrapping fish and chips all the way around the world. As the globe spun, as the sun rose in the east and sank in the west, so my fax machine churned out press clippings from all my agents and sources and friends, in New Zealand, in Australia, in South Africa, in Europe, then on the east coast of the United States, then across Canada, then finally to the west coast, then down in Hawaii, in China, in Hong Kong — right around the world. That one *Observer* article had instantaneously been spread: "David Irving Recants."

It was interesting to see that my original statement, whatever I was supposed to have recanted, had not gone around the world with the speed of light, had not been splashed [on newspaper front pages], and yet my "recanting" was sufficiently newsworthy to have gone around the world, and been given this tremendous publicity splash.

Too late, the Jewish community realized that they had scored an immense "own goal" (what Americans call a "fumble"), because the phone then began ringing with calls from television and radio stations around the world, wanting live interviews and telephone interviews. Would I go to the studios to do a satellite interview with Sydney? And of course, every time I did I said, "Well, Eichmann says he witnessed mass shootings in Russia, but Eichmann's papers are quite plain: there's no mention at all of gas chambers." So I was able to get the message across.

At this, our traditional enemies went berserk. In a very impressive example of damage control, they then called out the fire brigades to spread the following message: "What David Irving has published is not new. David Irving has found nothing

that the accepted, academic, reliable, decent, serious professional historians haven't always known all along. The Eichmann papers are not new. We have always known about these papers. There is nothing in David Irving's find that merits serious consideration."

To which I said, "How do you know? The papers that I have donated to the federal archives in Germany are subject to an embargo by me which prevents anybody else from seeing them, and nobody *has* seen them, except me and the archives [officials] in Germany. So how do you know that what I have is what you lot have known all along?" An interesting point!

"Oh, well, it's quite obvious, isn't it?" they said, and then went into a kind of damage control on the damage control. But it was too late, because the point was very obvious: I had the papers, and they hadn't.

The Institute of Contemporary History of Munich also announced that what I had was nothing new, that it was well known, and that didn't David Irving realize that Adolf Eichmann's book had been published in 1985?

I said that not only did I know that Eichmann's book was published in 1985, I was the person who engineered it. After no other publisher in the world would touch Eichmann's book, I personally organized contacts between Eichmann's son, who had those manuscripts, and Druffel Verlag [a publisher in Germany], so that at least the manuscripts got some kind of airing.

So of course I knew about the book, but what I had was totally different: I had the transcripts of the conversations, which had never been published.

The line of defense of the Jewish community was that what I had was not all that serious; and, please, no further publicity. This made me begin to wonder. What was it they didn't want published? Why was it, I asked myself, that when the Eichmann memoirs came out in 1985, first of all, nobody was willing to publish them except Druffel Verlag in Germany, and Planeta in Argentina, but no mainstream publisher in Europe or the United States? Here, after all, are the memoirs of "the biggest mass-murderer of all time," apparently, and yet for some reason they're being swept under the carpet.

And why was it that our traditional enemies had gone into this frantic damage control exercise when, of all people, David Irving had got control of the original transcripts and had put them in the archives?

Martin Gilbert, my deadly rival and enemy, the Churchill biographer in Britain, said, "For many years Mr. Irving has denied these facts about the Holocaust and now he makes a virtue of finding them."

But I didn't say the first, I didn't say the second. What I do say now is: can we analyze these

papers, these transcripts, which are disorganized and not indexed, and in rather an untidy mess — can we analyze them in some way, and ask ourselves why it is that they were swept under the carpet in 1985, and why people were so anxious that the press should pay no attention to the papers that had been given to me in Argentina in 1991?

Eichmann on the Holocaust

Well, here are some of the contents. First of all, Adolf Eichmann is quite plain throughout these papers that the word *Endlösung*, or “final solution,” meant only one thing to him, and that was Madagascar. When he addressed his mind to the “final solution of the Jewish problem” in the late 1930s and early 1940s, it was quite plain to him that it was only a plan to sweep all the Jews of Europe aboard boats and transport them lock, stock, and barrel down to Madagascar, where they would be on an island where they couldn’t bother any of their neighbors and where none of their neighbors could bother them. I’ve always said and I say it here again — even though I risk making a few enemies — that I think that would have been an ideal solution to a perennial world tragedy.

The second interesting thing that emerges from Eichmann’s own papers is that he’s chewing over in his mind— he’s frightfully repetitive — he keeps on coming back, again and again, in his manuscripts and in these conversations to who was behind it, and what was behind it. What was behind the “Holocaust” (if we can use that word loosely here now)? He keeps coming back to the appalling thought: Did *they* manage to use *us*? Did the Zionists use the Nazis to further their own ends? Was the Holocaust something that they themselves inflicted on their own body, in order to bring about their Zionist cause in the long run?

This was Eichmann’s theory, at the end of his life (effectively, because a year or two later he was kidnapped and a year after that he was at the end of a rope in Israel). “Did *they* manage to use *us*?” He keeps on coming back to it, and every time he comes back to it becomes more and more plausible to him. And perhaps this is the reason why the Eichmann papers were not supposed to see the light of day.

Thirdly, when he’s justifying the cruelty of what he himself has seen — and in a minute I’ll go into some of the detail about what he saw — he says, “But compared to what they were doing to us at that time, this was nothing. Compared to what they were planning to do with us, this was nothing.” He said, “I remember in Berlin an air raid... [and] afterwards going through the streets past a house that had collapsed, and hearing the screams of an elderly couple who had been trapped by falling debris, and the woman pleading to be put out of her misery by anybody with a gun.” He said,

“When you hear screams like that, you never forget them for the rest of your life.” He describes that two or three times in his memoirs.



SS officer Adolf Eichmann

Now, that’s not justification. One crime doesn’t justify another crime, that’s plain. But this is in the memoirs. He also says, “Besides, we had by this time already learned of the Jews’ plans for Germany.” He mentions explicitly the book by Theodore Kaufman, *Germany Must Perish*. This is most interesting, because in the Goebbels diaries of August 1941 (which have also not yet been published), Goebbels also mentions Kaufman’s book as justification.

This book, published in the United States by a deranged American Jew, presents a crazy plan for liquidating millions of Germans after the war. It was published in August 1941, and is referred to by Goebbels a few weeks before he introduced the plan for Jews to wear a yellow star. You can see a logical sequence of events, and Eichmann refers to this book as being one reason why, in his own mind, he can justify to himself the crimes that he was seeing committed.

He even mentions as mitigation the Morgenthau plan; but of course here you’ve got to be careful, because the Morgenthau plan wasn’t initiated by Churchill and Roosevelt until mid-September 1944, only a few weeks before Himmler ordered Auschwitz closed down. So, that’s an anachronism. Eichmann’s mind is rather confused and muddled by the time he’s writing or dictating all this in the

mid-1950s. (We know it's the mid-1950s, because he mentions things like, "Why was it a crime for us to invade Poland, when it isn't a crime for them to do what they're doing now in Suez?" So it must have been around 1956 that he's dictating these passages.)

Round about 1958, he gets hold of the "memoirs" of Rudolf Höss, which were published by the Institute of Contemporary History in Munich in that year. Höss wrote these "memoirs" while he was in Krakow, in Polish captivity. They've always been a problem — let's be frank about this — they've been a problem to Revisionists.

Eichmann's comments on the Höss memoirs are annihilating. Reading where Rudolf Höss is saying that two and a half million Jews have been liquidated at Auschwitz, the camp where he was commandant, Eichmann comments, "Where does Höss believe that he got these two and a half million Jews? Not from me. Because to have liquidated two and a half million decrepit, elderly, unworkable Jews, I must have had to feed to him three, four, five, six or seven million Jews in that space of time, and from the transport point of view alone this would have been totally impossible."

You see, the memoirs of Eichmann are very useful in this respect. He was the transport specialist whose job it was to round up the Jews in Hungary and Slovakia, and ship them off to Germany for forced labor and for dissipation to the other labor camps. He knew that shipping off millions of Jews wasn't something you do at the snap of your fingers: you had to have conferences with the railway officials and with the road officials, and with the guards and with everybody else who was going to be involved in all this. You had to provide the food for the transports which were going to be on the rails for four or five or six days. All this had to be prepared and planned with typical German bureaucracy and method, and that took meetings and conferences. And Eichmann said, "If you're going to ship five or six million Jews across Europe to Auschwitz at that time, let me tell you how many trains that would have taken," and he worked out how many trains it would have taken, because he knew.

"You're not only going to have trains going that way full of Jews, you're going to have empty trains coming back. And you're going to have to have a circulation time, a time where they're unloading at one end, a time where they're loading at the other end... You're going to need so many thousands of wagons" of rolling stock. He worked out exactly how much rolling stock would have been needed, in these memoirs, and he said, "This alone proves that Rudolf Höss was talking through his hat. These figures are totally fantastic, and what the hell is Höss up to?" That is a brief, lurid summary of what Eichmann writes as he's sitting in what he believes to be safety in the underground in Argenti-

na, reading these memoirs of Höss, published in 1958.

Two years later, of course, Eichmann is kidnapped, so it's during those two years that Eichmann is writing this. He mentions also in these memoirs how he received an indirect approach from Nahum Goldmann. Nahum Goldmann was one of the great Zionist leaders of the postwar era. Born in Lithuania and living for many years in Germany, he was the person who negotiated with Konrad Adenauer the billions of German marks which subsequently went to Israel. Eichmann mentions in these memoirs what purported to be an indirect approach from Goldmann, pleading with him to back up the six million figure. Anything he could do to support the six million figure, because the Zionists needed it. You are beginning to suspect, now, why these Eichmann memoirs should not be published.

Eichmann inspected Auschwitz. He went to Auschwitz several times, as he recounts in his memoirs. He describes being met by Rudolf Höss, the commandant, and he describes several grisly scenes. He describes going past an open pit where bodies were being burned, and he says it was an infernal sight, the likes of which he would never forget. He describes how the commandant, Höss, tells him that they are doing these things on Himmler's orders and that it is a sacred task that has been imposed on the SS.

Eichmann describes many things, but what he does not once mention during this vivid description of his visit to Auschwitz is "gas chambers." He doesn't mention gas chambers, he just mentions the disposal of bodies in open pits by fire, and the comments to him by Commandant Höss.

I find that a very significant omission because, let's face it, in these papers Eichmann is not exactly being modest about what he's seen. He describes how in July 1941 (if you piece together the actual months and the dates) he is summoned to Berlin to visit Reinhard Heydrich, the chief of the Reich Security Main Office (RSHA). Heydrich utters to him the fateful words, "Ich komme vom Reichsführer SS. Der Führer hat den Befehl zur physischen Vernichtung der Juden gegeben." ("I've come from the Reichsführer SS [Himmler]. The Führer has given the order for the physical destruction of the Jews.")

Did Hitler Know?

That, of course — given in quotation marks in the manuscript — is what gave me pause for thought. I've always said, "Hitler wasn't involved, whatever happened — Hitler gave no orders, there's no proof of it." Here we have Eichmann writing something very specific indeed. What is the explanation?

Well, if we look just at that sentence, we can say that you've only got to change one or two words

and you get a completely different meaning. If it wasn't "The Führer has ordered the *physische Vernichtung* [physical destruction], of the Jews," but rather "*die Ausrottung des Judentums*," you've only changed the words by a fraction and yet you've got a totally different meaning. You get something which is much more similar to Adolf Hitler's public utterances and speeches. *Ausrottung des Judentums*, the destruction of Judaism, is something totally different. You don't do that by gas chambers and the machine gun, any more than destroying Christianity or destroying usury can be done by the gas chamber and the bullet. They're different concepts.

So why should Eichmann have written this and not that? By 1958, he is well aware that since Höss' memoirs have been published and Eichmann is mentioned on 20 or 30 pages, the hue and cry are on. They're out looking for him. He knows his days may be numbered. Although I'm sure that — given his German, scrupulous, bureaucratic mind — he's not doing this consciously, the mind has wonderful synthetic and analytical functions; the mind has a habit of suppressing, distorting, and embellishing in a manner which the owner of that mind would wish. And I'm sure that Adolf Eichmann's mind is already lying awake at night, feverishly looking for extenuating circumstances. What more extenuating circumstances would there be for an Adolf Eichmann than that the Führer had "ordered the physical destruction of the Jews"? Eichmann may well have adapted the sentence that Reinhard Heydrich actually uttered to him.

It's immaterial, one way or the other, because we must never overlook one basic fact: this is a *postwar* document, and any historian can now confirm that nowhere in all the archives of the world has yet been found one *wartime* document referring to a Führer's order to destroy the Jews, or for that matter, one wartime document referring to gas chambers or gassings. All the documents that refer to Führer orders and gas chambers are *postwar* documents; statements by people in the dock at Nuremberg, memoirs written by the commandant at Krakow in Poland, and the like. You can't overlook this basic watershed between wartime and postwar documents. If there's no wartime document that says there was a Führer order, if no wartime document talks of gas chambers, then there has to be some explanation for that. That's why I say I think I'm entitled to believe that Adolf Eichmann's mind is synthesizing here. He is looking unconsciously for extenuating circumstances which will perhaps get him off the hook, literally, when the time comes.

Eichmann and Hoffmann

He doesn't try to avoid describing what he's seen. He describes the pits in Auschwitz, he describes the crematoria, just the same as Albert

Hoffmann. Four or five years ago, while going through the records of the National Archives in Suitland, Maryland, I came across the interrogation report of Albert Hoffmann, who was the deputy Gauleiter of Silesia, the Gau where Auschwitz was situated. I thought he was an unimportant man, because I didn't realize he was in Silesia, but the British, interrogating Hoffmann, asked him if he'd ever visited a concentration camp. Hoffmann's reply was, "Yes, I've visited two concentration camps in my life, one at Dachau in 1936, which was organized, clean, decent and disciplined, and the prisoners were well fed. Then again," he said, "in 1941 (or 1942: I think, in fact, in both years), I visited Auschwitz concentration camp with my Gauleiter, Bracht, and with the Reichsführer SS, Heinrich Himmler."

Hoffmann went on, "Auschwitz was totally different from Dachau. The scenes I saw there beggar description. Brutality on the worst possible scale. I saw prisoners being beaten, I saw cadavers being cremated in the crematorium..."

You think, "Well, this is it." You read on, thinking now you've got it, but then Hoffmann adds, "...but what Allied propaganda is now claiming, that is totally untrue."

So again, rather like Eichmann, you've got somebody who is prepared to describe to a degree what he has actually seen, which, God knows, isn't exactly decent, but he will not go the final yard and say "gas chambers." Neither Adolf Eichmann nor Albert Hoffmann — eyewitnesses — describes having seen the gas chambers. So why does Höss describe the gas chambers? I'll come back to Höss and his papers in a minute.

Eichmann Remembers

What else is there in the Eichmann papers? Well, he describes how, after Heydrich called him to Berlin and uttered this fateful sentence about the Führer having given the order, Heydrich said that Himmler has ordered Odilo Globocnik to carry out this task, and that Himmler had actually ordered that the Russian anti-tank ditches were to be used for disposing of the bodies. Heydrich orders Eichmann to go out and check what Globocnik is doing.

Rationalizing, Eichmann says, "From this I assume that the conversation with Heydrich must have been sometime in the late summer of 1941 because that would have to be after the double battle of Minsk and Bialystok," because that's where the anti-tank ditches were. Eichmann then says, "I went out to Minsk, and I saw myself the mass shootings going on."

Now you probably know that I'm a Revisionist to a degree, but I'm not a Revisionist to the extent that I say that there were no murders of Jews. I think we have to accept that there were My Lai-type massacres where SS officers — the Einsatz-

kommandos — did machine-gun hundreds if not thousand of Jews into pits. On the Eastern Front, at Riga, at Minsk, and at other locations, this kind of thing *did* happen.

Eichmann himself — and I wasn't surprised to find it in his papers — actually witnessed this. He went to see one at Minsk, and being a proper SS officer he went right to the front to make sure that everything was being carried out. He got so close, in fact, that he saw with his very own eyes how the victims were being made to go into the pits and stand there waiting to be shot. (We've all heard these descriptions of it, and I've seen some terrible descriptions from sources that *I* find credible.) He says he saw that one woman was holding a little child in her arms, petrified, and she held the child out to him, and he writes in his memoirs: "I was a parent too, and I instinctively stepped forward as though to take the child. But at that very moment the salvo of shots rang out. Both were killed only a few feet away from me. The child's brains were spattered over my leather greatcoat, and my driver had to clean the mess off."

I don't know why he recounted that kind of detail in his memoirs. It's an ugly piece of circumstantial evidence. But it lends credibility and authenticity to the descriptions, what a writer calls verisimilitude. It didn't surprise me. He also describes — and I have to say this being an honest historian — going to another location a few weeks later and being driven around in a bus; then being told by the bus driver to look through a peep hole into the back of the bus where he saw a number of prisoners being gassed by the exhaust fumes. So I accept that this kind of experiment was made on a very limited scale, but that it was rapidly abandoned as being a totally inefficient way of killing people. But, I don't accept that the gas chambers existed, and this is well known. I've seen no evidence at all that gas chambers existed.

In these papers we see Eichmann loyally standing up for his superiors, Himmler and Heydrich. He's constantly wondering where the order came from, if there was an order. On one occasion he goes so far, and in a rather paranoid way, to say if there was such an order then it could only have come from outside Germany, and why. Which is bringing us back on that other track of "were we duped by the Zionists in some way?"

Eichmann constantly ravages the memoirs of Rudolf Höss, as I mentioned. This is again another reason "not to publish" the Eichmann memoirs, and not to grant them any credence, because for our opponents the Höss memoirs are a keystone of the Holocaust legend. Eichmann describes the refusal of the government of Slovakia, and other countries where he operated, to intercede on behalf of their Jewish people. They were glad to get clean of them. And that again is something these people wouldn't have wanted to be published.

He also describes an odd case in Theresienstadt. He describes how one of the girls on a train-load of Jews who were being shipped off to Auschwitz protested loudly and vociferously that she wasn't Jewish. Giving her the benefit of the doubt, she was unloaded at one station and taken to Theresienstadt (which was a *Prominentenlager* for the Jews in Czechoslovakia). But here the Jewish leader of the camp protested noisily about having a non-Jew foisted on them. This again is a rather ugly depiction of the way that man behaves unto man.

Jews for Trucks

But most lethal of all, and I suppose taking up more than 50 percent of the volume of the Eichmann papers, is the description by Eichmann of his negotiations with the Zionists in 1944. After the German invasion of Hungary, Eichmann was sent there to round up the Jews and ship them off. Two Zionist leaders came forward, Joel Brand and Reszö Kasztner [Kästner], and offered to deal with him — to trade with him — to rescue the Jews of Hungary and Slovakia, whereby the Germans could keep the Jewish "mob" (and in fact, they offered, the Jewish community in Hungary would be glad to help round them up) if in return Eichmann would guarantee to spare 20,000 of the fittest, the best, the Jewish elite, the toughest ones who were needed in the new Zionist state of Israel.

Eichmann describes these conferences in great detail. He has almost total recall. His descriptions reveal all the cunning and cynicism of the Zionist leaders at that time, at that stage of the war [1944] in a manner which, I think, the Jewish community today would find deeply distressing. This, I think, is why the Eichmann memoirs had to be suppressed, because of the detail. Kasztner was subsequently assassinated in Israel, years later.

There is no doubt about what happened because, working in the archives, I've come across records relating to the British end of these negotiations, which eventually became the famous "Jews-for-trucks" deal. In this, Brand was sent out to negotiate with the British in Turkey, in Palestine, and Egypt; and the deal being that in return for thousands of Jews the world community was to provide the Germans with trucks and motor equipment for fighting on the Russian front. (Not on the western front, of course: the deal had to be the trucks would only be used on the Russian front.) In return, the SS agreed to release a number of Jews. Eichmann was the person handling this deal in Hungary for Germany, and Brand and Kasztner were handling the deal for the Zionists.

It's a fascinating story; perhaps one day I'll write a book about it. In the British archives I've now located all the records relating to the British end of these deals, as well as all the letters between Brand and Kasztner and the Jewish agency

and the Zionist leaders in Palestine, which were intercepted by British postal censorship. It's a fascinating, but deeply ugly, story. It certainly wouldn't win any friends if I do it.



David Irving makes a point at an IHR conference.

In the introduction to his papers, Eichmann writes that he is not a murderer: He does regard himself, however, rather ruefully, as being an accomplice to murder, because he helped round up the Jews who were then shipped off to a fate that he could only surmise. You would have to accept, of course, that what he is writing in his memoirs by the mid-1950s is no longer just the pure product of his recollection but also, to a certain extent, a symbiosis of his memories with what he has read in Rudolf Höss' memoirs, and in *The Final Solution* by Gerald Reitlinger, which he has also read.

Eichmann on Höss

Eichmann's memoirs are an important element of the refutation of the Holocaust story. I have saved this for the end: Because I'm notorious, and because my name is on stickers around London, ("Irving speaks and Rostock burns"), purely by chance another man came and visited me in London only a few weeks ago, and he unwrapped an envelope, and inside the envelope was a book. I recognized it because it's a well-known book that we all have consulted. It was a copy of the original German edition of the memoirs of Rudolf Höss, *Kommandant in Auschwitz*, published in 1958 by the Institute of Contemporary History in Munich.

He said, "I bought this book in a German flea market only a few months ago and I want to ask you how much is it worth."

I said, "How much did you pay for it?"

He said, "No, no, no, look. It's got handwriting all over it."

Here are some pages of it, and you can see the handwriting — it's got hand-written marginal notes all over it. Says one note here, "That is a lying distortion of the facts." *The handwriting is Eichmann's*. The book is Adolf Eichmann's own copy of the Rudolf Höss memoirs! I don't know how much money this man wanted for it. I'm not a rich man, but I've got his address; one day, perhaps, I'll make him an offer for it.

Everywhere in that book Eichmann has written his own comments. Rudolf Höss writes, "I had a private meeting alone with Adolf Eichmann, and we discussed the Eichmann program." Eichmann crosses this out: "A shameless lie. I was never alone with Höss." So those of us who always doubted the integrity of the Höss memoirs — we wondered why Höss should have written these things — here in Eichmann's own handwriting we've got yet one more piece of proof that the Höss memoirs are untrustworthy as a source.

The Truth Gets Out

I wrote a letter last week to [the weekly] *Die Zeit* in Germany, which has devoted two pages to, first of all, the Auschwitz controversy [September 18] and, a week later [September 25], *The Leuchter Report*. I wrote in that letter, "A swine [*ein Hundsfott*] is the historian who relies only on the Höss memoirs now!" We knew we couldn't rely on them. Bit by bit, you see, the truth does come out.

You can ban historians. You can have them arrested, you can fine them \$10,000, you can make life hell for them. But one thing is quite plain: you can't declare the truth to be a prohibited person. The truth gets out.

Thank you very much.

Questions

Q: What do we know about the people who are responsible for the massacres of Jews by firing squad in Minsk and other areas? How high did the responsibility go?

A: First of all, let me say a little about the source which convinced me on that, and I know that Professor Faurisson disagrees with me on this: A number of German prisoners were held in British captivity in rooms that were bugged; there were hidden microphones in each room. And there are transcripts of those conversations. In one particular case, General Walter Bruns described to his pals in most appalling detail a massacre he himself saw near Riga on November 30, 1941. I'm not going to read that one out here. I'm going to read one out to show you how *unreliable* these people sometimes

are. Here's a prisoner of war in a conversation on December 20, 1944, a man called Obergefreiter Till, who was captured in August 1944. He claimed to have been guarding the railway at Auschwitz in July 1943 when a trainload of Greek Jews arrived.

Till said, "The SS man kicked a Jewish woman who was highly pregnant. He kicked her right in the stomach and knocked her down. And the unborn baby came almost out. He took hold of it and pulled it out, threw it down on the ground, and told the woman to get up. He put that child on the truck that was standing there to take away the dead people to be burned."

The British officer asked, "The child was dead, of course?"

Till said, "Yes, and the woman could not get up. She was hardly dressed, and he grabbed her by her breast — he wanted to pull her up — and he just ripped her skin and everything out of her breasts. There was a captain there from the army, I think his name was Captain Klug. He went after that SS guy, he took him by the shoulder, turned him around, and said, 'Are you crazy to do something like that? Aren't you ashamed of yourself?' " — and so on.

This is the kind of rubbish that these diseased minds invented sometimes. So you've got to be very careful when you use these eyewitnesses. Obviously that's a totally phony account: The man invented the whole story. But disordered, diseased minds invent stories like that, particularly when they are being interrogated.

But other reports, unfortunately, have the ring of authenticity. Most of these SS officers — the gangsters that carried out the mass shootings — were, I think, acting from the meanest of motives. There was a particular SS officer in Riga who was described in the report by Bruns, in which Bruns said, "The difficulty for us was how to decide to draw what we had seen to the Führer's attention." And eventually they sent a lieutenant down the road, and got *him* to write what he saw, and they sent this report (signed by the lieutenant) up to the Führer's headquarters through Canaris. And two days later the order comes back from Hitler, "These mass shootings have got to stop at once." So Hitler intervened to stop it. Which again fits in with my theory that Hitler was in the dark that this kind of mass crime was going on. I suspect that the SS officer concerned [Altemeyer] was only 23 or 24. That was the age of the gangs that were carrying out these kinds of crimes. Rather like [US Army] Lt. Calley in My Lai. I don't know why those people do that kind of thing.

Q: Some years ago in Germany I read an article about Adolf Eichmann, that he was born Adolf Eich, a Jew.

A: Well, I think that this is a pretty far-fetched story, but he certainly had sympathies for the Jews. He was a great admirer of the Jews and in

his own memoirs he describes himself as being more of a Zionist than an SS officer, for what it is worth.

Q: [Professor Robert Faurisson] About Eichmann, may I ask you if you read the transcripts of Avner Less, the instructing magistrate [in fact, 3,564 pages]?

A: No, I haven't.

Q: [Faurisson] And did you read the transcript of the Jerusalem trial [of Adolf Eichmann]?

A: No, I didn't.

Q: [Faurisson] Maybe we have answers to your questions. You said that the Jews didn't want the memoirs to be too well known. Perhaps it is because all you have told us supports what Eichmann said in those transcripts. The memoirs are in fact a confirmation of what Eichmann thought was true.

I have something to add about the personality of Eichmann: he was extremely naive. For example, when Eichmann is asked a question about the gas chambers he doesn't say "gas chambers," he says, "Oh yeah, Höss told me about the murder installations," things like that. And then he says, "Now, wait a minute. I don't remember the circumstances. Maybe I read that, or maybe somebody told me that... this is possible." He was very impressionable, the poor man, even before being taken to Jerusalem. He was impressed by Poliakov and all those stupid people.

A: You're right; the character of Eichmann is very important. He was pliable, he was easily impressed, he was complacent, and anxious to please.

Q: [Faurisson] Absolutely. I agree totally with this. It's very important to understand Eichmann. Now, for Höss we have so many proofs that Höss didn't say those things, didn't write those things. When he said, for example, three million people died in Auschwitz — two million and a half in gas chambers, and 500,000 for other reasons — we know from Moritz von Schirmeister that in the car taking Höss from Minden to Nuremberg, Höss said, "Certainly I signed a statement that I killed two and a half million Jews. But I could just as well have said that it was five million Jews. There are certain methods by which any confession can be obtained, whether it is true or not." [See *The Journal of Historical Review*, Winter 1986-87, p. 399.] To set the record straight, I don't know any Revisionist who says that there were no massacres, because there is no war without massacres, especially on the Russian front where you had Jews, and partisans, women, and children all mixed together.

A: It's important to say this because we are called Holocaust deniers, and the television screens show you the mass graves and all the rest of it, which we don't deny.

Q: [Faurisson] We *certainly don't* deny it. Right

at the beginning of the Toronto trial [of Ernst Zündel] we said, "This is what we assume, and this is what we contest." And we assume that there were massacres and hostages and reprisals and so on.

Now, on to another subject. Do you remember the conversation we had at your home, when I said I realize that General Bruns said that there were massacres and things like that, but at first he doesn't say that he has seen them himself?

Second, you see that two or three pages later in the transcript there is a very interesting document from the British interrogators saying who Bruns was. First he had been punished, in December 1944 or January 1945, by the Germans themselves. Then he said that he was very willing to *collaborate* with the British. Finally, didn't you say to me that, yes, in fact Bruns at a trial had said that he had not seen these massacres?

A: Yes, but I still stand by the validity of these eavesdropping reports. They are, I think, primary sources of the most fundamental quality. Two years after this conversation, which was in April 1945, Bruns went into the dock in Nuremberg and swore on a stack of Bibles that he had seen nothing, he had only heard reports and rumors. But if you read the conversation in which he describes what he has seen, there is one particular passage where he says "I can never forget the appallingly disgusting remarks the men with the guns were making as they were shooting the people — calling out things: 'Look at that Jewish beauty.' I can see her now in my mind's eye, a beautiful girl about 20 with a flame-red dress." When you read things like that you know the man's not making it up.

Q: [Faurisson] Now, Mr. Irving, I have so trained myself in reading testimonies that I can tell you that, in my personal estimation, this story of the dress and so on is quite typical of inventions. Maybe I'm wrong, but don't you think that if you tell us that Bruns said in April 1945, "I attended [witnessed] this," (and he doesn't even say "I attended this"), that you should add that two years later he said that he had not attended? I think we should note both sides of the story.

A: Oh, yes, I think it's important. But this is just proof of how people lie when they get in the witness box.

Q: [Faurisson] It could be that, but we don't know: We need both. Now about the text. It's not a conversation taken on the microphone. As Ernst Zündel said so well, do you know what the microphones were like in 1945, in Germany? They were huge and you had to shout into them. Do you think that the British had microphones in the bushes everywhere?

A: Yes, that's why we won the war. We had the better equipment.

Roy Bullock: ADL Informant IHR Report Confirmed

Veteran subscribers with extraordinary memories may recognize the name of Roy Bullock from a brief item about him in the January 1987 issue of *IHR Newsletter*. It told readers that Bullock was a paid agent of the Zionist Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. Bullock, the item went on, is paid

to gather information for the ADL, to propagate disinformation and to sabotage targeted organizations. Bullock attended the fourth and fifth [IHR] revisionist conferences... He was barred from the sixth and seventh conferences after his affiliation was confirmed.

Now Bullock's relationship with the ADL has been confirmed by San Francisco newspapers and former San Francisco police officer Tom Gerard, who has fled to the Philippines after allegedly stealing confidential police files and selling the information to foreign agents.

Relationship Acknowledged

In an interview with the *San Francisco Examiner* (Jan. 22) Gerard acknowledged that Bullock "was an informant and friend with whom he shared law enforcement information." Gerard added that he

met Bullock during a visit to the local offices of the Anti-Defamation League... Bullock was a paid investigator for the ADL... and the two men shared a professional interest in gathering intelligence on right-wing extremists and Arab American groups... We sat there one morning with everyone in the [ADL] office, shook hands and made friends.

Confidential police files were found in ADL offices in San Francisco and Los Angeles during a December 10 search by district attorney investigators. "How it landed in the ADL's offices is a mystery, investigators say," the *San Francisco Chronicle* reported (Jan. 15.).

Gerard reportedly worked for Israeli intelligence, and "is being portrayed as a 'hero' in the Israeli media." (*San Francisco Examiner*, Jan. 17.)

In a sworn deposition on January 16, 1991, the ADL's "director of research," Alan Schwartz, was asked if the ADL has "secured information from Israeli intelligence or police organizations." Schwartz refused to answer the question, suggesting that the ADL does in fact "secure" such information. (The complete transcript of this deposition is available from the IHR for \$11.95, plus \$2.00 shipping.)

French Court Orders Heavy Penalties Against Faurisson for Holocaust Views

New French Legal Assault Against Revisionists and Freedom of Speech

On December 9, 1992, the Paris Court of Appeal (Eleventh Department) rejected Professor Robert Faurisson's appeal of an April 1991 conviction on a charge of "contesting the crimes against humanity" because of remarks about the Holocaust story he made in a magazine interview.

The appeal court imposed penalties of 187,000 francs (nearly \$40,000 at current exchange rates) on *each* of the two defendants in the case: Dr. Faurisson and magazine publisher Patrice Boizeau. Each was ordered to pay 30,000 francs in fines, and 157,000 francs in "damages" to eleven Jewish-Zionist and other organizations. In addition, each must, of course, bear the legal costs of his defense.

In the interview, published in the September 1990 issue of *Le Choc du Mois* ("The Shock of the Month"), the French professor commented on the extraordinary Fabius-Gayssot law of July 1990 that expressly forbids "contesting the crimes against humanity" as defined by the victors of the Second World War and punished by the International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg. In practice, this law applies only to those who call into question alleged crimes against Jews, and particularly persons who contest the orthodox Holocaust extermination story.

Sometimes referred to as the "Lex Faurissonia," this law was enacted to criminalize, above all, the work of Dr. Faurisson — Europe's leading Revisionist scholar and a good friend of the IHR.

In his 1990 *Le Choc du Mois* interview, Faurisson had stated that he would continue, regardless of the recently-promulgated law, to proclaim the results of his research:

- There was no German order or plan to exterminate the Jews of Europe.
- No homicidal gas chambers ever existed in the concentration camps of the Third Reich. The supposed extermination gas chambers, as described by alleged eyewitnesses and perpetrators, could not have existed for physical, chemical, topographical, and architectural reasons.
- The familiar figure of six million Jewish victims is absurd.

In April 1991, a Paris criminal court ordered Faurisson to pay a penalty of 250,000 francs (of which 100,000 was suspended), and the publisher of *Le Choc du Mois* to pay a penalty of 180,000 francs. (See the *IHR Newsletter*, May 1991, pp. 1-2, and May 1992, pp. 2-3.)

In the December 1992 decision, the three-judge appeal court (Françoise Simon presiding) imposed a total penalty of 374,000 francs on the two defendants, none of which was suspended. Throughout Faurisson's entire testimony, which lasted nearly two hours, Judge Simon ostentatiously averted her gaze from him. She also forbade Faurisson from reading documents, including a portion of the verdict of the Nuremberg Tribunal (the ostensible basis for the law in question).

But that's not the worst of it. In addition to the fines totaling nearly \$80,000 in this single case (not to mention their considerable legal expenses), Faurisson and the magazine face two *new* cases based on the same 1990 interview. As Faurisson has ruefully explained, it's as if someone accused of having stolen a bicycle were to stand trial three times: first for the theft of the bike, then for stealing the wheels, and finally for taking the handlebars. This sort of double and even triple jeopardy is normally rejected by French jurisprudence no less than it is in America: but because it involves the most sacred icon of our age, the legal situation is anything but normal.

Finally, on January 12, Faurisson received a summons for yet another trial. He is being sued because of a fragment of a sentence in a review by him published in the weekly *Rivarol*, April 10, 1992.

Not surprisingly, French newspapers and television have generally ignored or minimized the appeal court's December decision against Faurisson and the magazine.

Faurisson has decided not to appeal the December decision to a higher tribunal, citing the cost of such an appeal and because he believes that even should his conviction be overturned he would likely be re-tried on the same charges (and incur further legal expenses), to obtain a verdict that would probably be no different from the first.

At the same time, though, Faurisson remains

steadfast in his determination to carry on the fight for the historical truth about the alleged gas chambers, and for the freedom to write and speak that truth in France.

An expression of this continued dedication — and of the growth of Holocaust Revisionism — is a rather lengthy and remarkably fair interview with Faurisson published November 11 in the Italian daily *Corriere della Sera*. In his replies to the paper's respectful questions, the French scholar provided a clear and concise summary of the Revisionist view.

"Worse Than Stalinist Law"

The Paris court's December ruling is of historic significance. For the first time a university professor has been *expressly* punished by a judicial body for having made public his research on a subject on which it is *expressly* forbidden by law to contest the official version.

Over the centuries thousands of professors and other scholars have suffered terribly for having affronted the ruling orthodoxy with their findings. It is to be noted, however, that until now such men and women have been punished on indirect and hypocritical legal grounds. They have been accused, for instance, of attacking religious faith, of endangering the national interest or of undermining a political ideology. Sometimes — as has also been the case with Faurisson — they have been condemned for "defaming" this or that person or group, for "inciting to racial hatred," or for causing "personal damage." In the late 1940s, for example, French professor Maurice Bardèche was thrown into prison on the pretext that he "apologized for [Nazi] crimes."

In Germany, which does not have a *specific* law against Revisionism, courts have punished Revisionists on the basis of a law that makes it a crime to "defame the memory of the dead."

France's Fabius-Gayssot law is free of any such hypocrisy. With perfect cynicism, the "Lex Faurissonia" establishes historiographical dogma. Not even Stalin ever proclaimed a comparable law. When, for instance, the Soviet dictator persecuted the opponents of the quack biologist Lysenko (who was also a member of the Soviet commission that "established" that the Germans killed four million people at Auschwitz), it was not in the name of a specific Soviet law declaring Lysenko's theories to be correct, nor was there ever such a Soviet law. The Fabius-Gayssot law is not Stalinist: it is worse.

Other Victims

Professor Faurisson is not the only victim of the legal campaign in France against Holocaust Revisionists. (See also the *IHR Newsletter*, July-August 1992, pp. 5-6.) Among other recent cases involving such dangerous "thought criminals" have been:

— In February 1992, a Paris court of appeal ordered Francois Brigneau and Roland Gaucher to pay a fine of 76,000 francs (\$15,200) for having published in a weekly periodical a 60-word statement by Faurisson in 1980 refuting the Holocaust gas chamber and extermination story.

— In April 1992, the appeals court in Caen (Normandy) upheld convictions against Vincent Reynouard, a 23-year-old chemical engineer, and Remi Pontier, a computer science engineer, for distributing leaflets and stickers that question the existence of extermination gas chambers in Third Reich concentration camps. Reynouard and Pontier thus became the first persons to be convicted under the Fabius-Gayssot law.

— In June 1992, a court in Nice convicted two young men for having put stickers on a secondary school building that read "Faurisson is right: Gas chambers = rubbish." Fabrice Robert, a 20-year-old university history student, was ordered to pay a fine of 10,000 francs (\$2,000), and Pierre Gaüzère, a 26-year-old automobile worker, was fined 20,000 francs (\$4,000). Each defendant was also ordered to pay a total of 10,000 francs to four organizations. Finally, the "civic rights" of the two young men were suspended for five years. (Among other things, this means that neither can hold any government job, including teacher or post office employee, or work in any government-affiliated agency or business.) This case is being appealed.

— In April 1992, Philippe Costa, a 31-year-old engineer, and Laurent Gentel, a 24-year-old law student, appeared in a court in Fontainebleau (near Paris) for having distributed a leaflet advertising audio cassettes of a presentation by Faurisson on the gas chamber issue. The judge in the case declared that no one would be permitted even to mention the words "gas chamber" during the trial, which meant that the defendants could not explain their reasons for distributing the leaflet. They have been ordered to pay penalties of 29,000 francs. The verdict is being appealed.

— In mid-December, a court in Amiens ordered Revisionist publisher and writer Pierre Guillaume, and the periodical *Nationalisme et République*, to pay 103,000 francs for publishing a very cautiously worded article about the Holocaust issue. In addition, Guillaume has been ordered to pay 58,000 francs for having published a translation of an "open letter" by IHR editor Mark Weber (reprinted from the Summer 1988 *Journal*). Guillaume faces a third trial for having published copies of an article by Pierre Marais, a retired auto technician. Marais himself faces two trials: one for this article and another for a technical study he wrote.

— Bernard Notin, a professor of economics at a university in Lyon, has faced numerous difficulties in recent years for mentioning, in passing, in an article that the gas chamber story is not clear. As a result of pressure from Jewish Zionist organizations, and in particular the group headed by Serge Klarsfeld, he was relieved of his teaching duties. Although it was recently decided to permit him to resume teaching, it is not clear if this will actually happen. When he was asked during a television interview if he is a Revisionist, he replied: "I will not answer because I do not want to give vile little magistrates the opportunity to assassinate me."



Dr. Robert Faurisson addresses the Tenth IHR Conference, 1990.

Jewish-Zionist groups are upset that persons charged under the Fabius-Gayssot law have been able to articulately explain in court precisely why they reject the Holocaust extermination story.

Accordingly, an attorney and spokesman for the virulently anti-Revisionist "International League Against Racism and Anti-Semitism" (LICRA) recently proposed a revision of the law that would forbid a defendant in a Fabius-Gayssot case from explaining his Revisionist views in court, or even from repeating in court the "offending" statement.

So goes it for Revisionists in "douce France" ("sweet, gentle France").

In Austria, Switzerland, Belgium, Italy and Sweden laws similar to the Fabius-Gayssot law are in effect: a troubling portent of the "new Europe."

Media Hypocrisy

France's Fabius-Gayssot law, and similar legal measures in other countries, would be universally condemned as intolerable restrictions of free speech and academic expression if they involved any issue other than the Holocaust.

Hardly a word about any of these latest French blows against civil rights and free speech has

appeared in the American media, which is normally so quick to sniff out every real or imagined violation of civil rights in China, Burma or South Africa.

Such laws and measures are not only chilling manifestations of the power and bigotry of the international Holocaust lobby, they also strikingly point up the bad faith and desperate fear of the lobby in the face of steady Revisionist advances. Historical truth does not need laws to defend itself.

Faurisson Needs Our Help

In France — as here in the United States — our traditional enemies have used litigation in their ongoing campaign to destroy Holocaust Revisionism. Nowhere is the legal situation worse for Revisionists than in France, where a special law allows private associations, individuals, and the state to target men and women like our brave colleague, Robert Faurisson.

As Europe's leading Holocaust Revisionist scholar and activist, Dr. Faurisson has been the target of judicial and criminal repression since 1979. He has suffered eight physical attacks, including the beating that nearly killed him on September 16, 1989. Now Faurisson, who must support himself and his wife from a single source of income (his now-reduced salary as a professor), must bear the burden of court-ordered penalties (about \$37,000), as well as the costs of his legal defense in this and other cases stemming from his commitment to finding and publicizing the historical truth about the "gas chambers."

Robert Faurisson's fight is your fight. No less than our American forefathers who signed this country's declaration of independent nationhood in the summer of 1776, Faurisson has pledged his life, his fortune, and his sacred honor so that your children and your children's children will live free from the bane of an imposed pseudo-religion.

Once more, Robert Faurisson needs your support. Help brighten his spring with your generous contributions for his legal expenses so that we American Revisionists can say, in word and in deed, "Faurisson, we are here!" (Note: French law does not permit individuals to assist in paying fines.)

Please address your contributions for Professor Faurisson's legal defense to:

Robert Faurisson
10, Rue de Normandie
03200 Vichy
France

Otto-Ernst Remer Sentenced to 22 Months Imprisonment for Revisionist Publications

A German court has sentenced Otto-Ernst Remer, an 80-year-old retired army general, to 22 months imprisonment for publishing articles disputing wartime mass killings at Auschwitz in gas chambers.

On October 22, 1992, a criminal court in Schweinfurt found Remer guilty of "popular incitement" and "incitement to racial hatred" because of allegedly anti-Jewish statements published in five issues of his widely circulated tabloid paper, *Remer Depesche*.

Comparing the defendant to Mephisto in Goethe's *Faust*, the state prosecuting attorney contended that the purpose of the *Remer Depesche* is to promote Nazi ideology. The prosecutor also spoke of Remer's "crude insult against millions of victims," and insisted that the Holocaust extermination story is an "obvious historical fact" that does not need to be proved in court.

The judges apparently agreed. The incorrigible defendant's previous convictions on this same charge should have been a warning to him, the court declared. Adding to his guilt, the judges said, is the fact that copies of his paper were distributed to many households and schools, and even in foreign countries. (Because of his outspokenness, the Bonn government had already taken away the defendant's pension.)

Defense Evidence Rejected

The tall, slim octogenarian defendant let his two attorneys — Dr. Herbert Schaller and Hajo Herrmann — speak for him during the course of the two-day trial. During the Second World War, Dr. Schaller served as a highly decorated officer on the eastern front. Herrmann was one of Germany's most successful wartime fighter pilots and air force commanders.

Remer's publications are not hateful or anti-Jewish, argued the defense attorneys, but are instead meant to defend the German people against the charge of collective responsibility for mass murder of Jews. In fact, they pointed out, the *Remer Depesche* is published by the J. G. Burg Society, named after a Jewish survivor of wartime persecution who testified on behalf of Ernst Zündel in the 1988 Toronto "Holocaust trial."

The Holocaust extermination story is not at all "obvious," the attorneys said, and cited public opinion polls in several countries to show that an international debate exists on precisely this issue.

The postwar "confession" of Auschwitz commandant Rudolf Höss, which is widely cited as proof of mass gassings, is worthless, said the attorneys, because it was obtained by torture. They also cited the existence of brothels, concerts and medical treatment for inmates in the wartime concentration camps.



Remer at the Eighth IHR Conference, 1987.

To show that the allegedly criminal statements made in the *Remer Depesche* are justifiable, the defense attorneys prepared 34 exhibits, including a report by German engineer Germar Rudolf on his on-site forensic examination of the alleged extermination gas chambers at Auschwitz, Allied aerial reconnaissance photographs taken in 1944 of the camp complex, as well as several witnesses. The judges refused to consider any of this evidence.

Remer's attorneys vehemently criticized the court's refusal to consider their evidence, pointing out that the court is legally obliged to consider any evidence that might exonerate a defendant.

In a democratic state, they added, the government must be neutral about historical issues, and should permit a free exchange of competing views. It is outrageous that state officials not only make no effort to disprove what their defendant has said,

but merely insist that he has no right to express his dissident views on this issue. That the German government still refuses to give any serious consideration to the abundant evidence that there was no mass extermination of Jews, but instead simply says that this is an "obvious fact," is, in a democracy, "outrageous," said the attorneys.

Courtroom Support

Remer has never given up the struggle, as he sees it, for the good of his people. His supporters called this trial the retired commander's "last great battle for Germany."

The courtroom was entirely packed during the proceedings, and many who wanted to attend had to be turned away for lack of seating. Most of those who attended firmly supported Remer. During breaks in the proceedings, they made comments to him such as: "I congratulate you on your courage," and "Mr. Remer, I wish you all the best as a decent German."

Pointing out that Remer's "crime" was a "non-violent expression of opinion," the defense attorneys characterized the proceeding as "a special kind of political trial." Remer himself described the court as a "regime tribunal," and expressed the hope that "perhaps the day will come when this court will be called to account" for its behavior.

A prison sentence of 22 months, without suspension, is normally handed down in Germany only against major felons, such as arsonists and drug dealers. For an 80-year-old man like Remer, a 22-month prison sentence can easily be a life sentence.

The October verdict is being appealed, but the outlook for success is not good.

Remer, who addressed the Eighth IHR Conference in 1987, is himself a historical figure. As a young officer in command of the Berlin guard regiment in July 1944, he played a key role in suppressing the ill-fated attempt by conspirators to kill Hitler and seize power in a violent coup d'état.

Remer was promoted, eventually to general, and at the end of the war was serving as a commander in Pomerania. Among other decorations, he was awarded the Knight's Cross with Oak Leaves, the Golden Wounded Badge, the German Cross in Gold, and the Silver Close Combat badge for 48 close combat engagements.

After the war, the American commander of a camp for German prisoners of war, First Infantry Division officer Stanley Samuelson, said of him: "Of the 87 German generals in this camp, General Remer is the only one whom I respect as courageous and honorable."

[Remer's presentation at the Eighth IHR conference is available on both audiotape and videotape from the IHR.]

Remer's home address is: Winkelser Str. 11E, 8730 Bad Kissingen, Germany.

— M.W.

A Video that Revises History —And Could Change the Course of It

Out of all the footage I brought back, nothing is more significant, or of more vital importance, than the interview I conducted in Poland with Dr. Franciszek Piper of the Auschwitz State Museum . . . He felt comfortable enough to talk with me for an hour in his office at Auschwitz. The result should keep people talking for quite some time. —David Cole

Equipped with a Super VHS camera, a yarmulke, a list of questions, and a sense of humor, Revisionist David Cole traveled to Auschwitz in September 1992 and produced a video of that trip that is, to put it mildly, *monumental*. Cole not only documents on tape the falsehoods told Auschwitz visitors every day by the professional tour guides there, he shows that the very people who run the museum aren't at all sure about their biggest attraction—the infamous "gas chamber"!

Here is dramatic confirmation of what Revisionists have been saying about the Holocaust for more than 20 years, graphically presented on video so you can see and hear for yourself the tour guides and the museum's director, and examine the layout of the camp with its buildings and their surroundings. This video brings Auschwitz, as well as *The Leuchter Report*, to life right in your living room.

Most remarkable of all is Cole's interview with Dr. Piper, in which the curator of the Auschwitz State Museum casually admits to postwar alterations of the room that for decades has been shown to tourists as an unaltered, "original state" gas chamber.

In full color and crisp sound, the tape runs just under an hour. If you've been waiting for a concise, intelligent, and *very* persuasive presentation on the Holocaust that you can comfortably show to friends and family, *that video is here!* And for those with no access to a video player, the soundtrack is available on C-60 audio cassette.

DAVID COLE INTERVIEWS Dr. FRANCISZEK PIPER

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Five-Story US Holocaust Museum To Open in Washington, DC

President Bill Clinton and other major political figures are expected to attend the formal dedication ceremony of the *United States Holocaust Memorial Museum* on April 22 in Washington, DC. Journalists and television crews from across the United States and many foreign countries will also be present at the ceremony, which coincides with the 50th anniversary of the Warsaw ghetto uprising.

The Museum — the world's largest and costliest such memorial — will open to the public on April 26. It was built by the *United States Holocaust Memorial Council*, a taxpayer-funded federal government agency created by Congress in 1980.

The five-story Museum building is located near the National Mall, 400 yards from the Washington Monument, on land donated by the federal government.

The Museum's permanent exhibition covers a 40,000-square-foot area spread over three floors. Visitors will start on the fourth floor and descend through the highly emotional exhibit area to the second floor. The peaked roofs on the each of the building's eight five-story towers are supposed to remind visitors of the watch towers at the Auschwitz camp.

Millions Already Spent

Private citizens and corporations, mostly wealthy Jewish donors, have reportedly pledged about \$160 million to cover Museum construction costs. In spite of a well-organized campaign, though, the US Holocaust Memorial Council and its friends in the media have been unable to generate widespread public support for the Museum project, as the Council's own newsletters make clear.

In 1980, the Congress limited the budget of the US Holocaust Memorial Council to \$2.5 million. But Congress has since gone far beyond this, appropriating \$33 million above the originally authorized amount.

Last June, the Congress voted an additional \$18.3 million in taxpayer money to fund the Council for fiscal year 1993. The Congressional Budget Office estimates that for the fiscal years 1994 to 2000, the Council will receive \$15.4 million tax dollars annually (adjusted for inflation). The taxpayer bill for the Holocaust Museum between 1993 and 2000 will easily amount to at least \$110 million. (Source: *Congressional Record - House*, June 16, 1992, pp. H 4742-4744.)

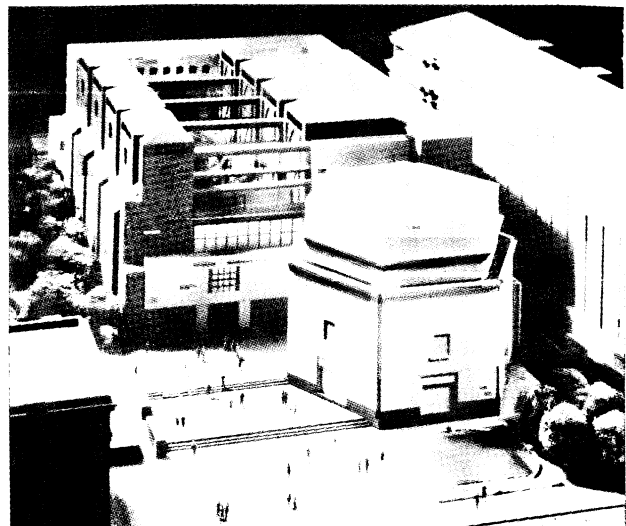
The Holocaust Museum's operating budget is expected to exceed that of the nearby Air and Space Museum, the most visited museum in the world.

Fundraising requires money, and the US Holocaust Council has been spending lots of it. In 1992 alone, the Council spent \$4.3 million on fundraising activity. (Source: USHMC "Annual Report," January 1992.)

The Zionist Factor

The Museum is certain to be a major focus and tool of the Zionist and Holocaust lobbies. For example, on the second floor visitors will be shown a laudatory, emotional depiction of the founding of Israel (but nothing about the brutal Zionist dispossession of the native Palestinian Arabs).

Members of the US Holocaust Memorial Council, appointed by the President, include such notable apologists for Israel as former US congressman Stephen Solarz, US Senator Howard Metzenbaum, Abraham H. Foxman (national director of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith), and Elie Wiesel.



Model of the US Holocaust Memorial Museum, which opens in April in Washington, DC. In the foreground is the six-sided "Hall of Remembrance."

Underscoring the importance of the Museum for international Zionist interests, the World Jewish Congress (WJC) recently urged Pope Paul II to participate in the Museum's opening. WJC general secretary Rabbi Israel Singer met at the Vatican with the Pope on November 12.

The Pope expressed his appreciation for the invitation, but made no commitment, WJC president Edgar Bronfman told journalists in early December. "Certainly the whole Jewish world and, I'm sure, most of the rest of the world, would be very pleased if he could see his way through to

doing that," commented Bronfman.

(By the way, just who authorized the World Jewish Congress to intervene in this way?)

Inappropriate

As public opinion polls reflect, most Americans resent having tens of millions of their tax dollars spent on special-interest projects such as this Museum, particularly at a time of astronomical budget deficits.

Anyway, there is little need for yet another such memorial. As Rabbi Ephraim Buchwald has pointed out: "...Right now the priority [for American Jews] seems to be building Holocaust memorials. More than \$500 million has already been pledged or spent to build 19 Holocaust memorials and 36 research centers or libraries in America. Some cities, like Los Angeles, have two or three competing Holocaust memorials..." (*Los Angeles Times*, April 28, 1992.)

The US Holocaust Museum is additionally inappropriate because it will "memorialize" non-Americans persecuted by other non-Americans. If any new memorial in the nation's capital is really justifiable, it might more appropriately be dedicated to the memory of dead American Indians or black slaves. Even an official US Museum dedicated to the victims of Communism would be more justifiable. (As historians acknowledge, the victims of Soviet dictator Stalin alone vastly outnumber those of Hitler.)

In a fundraising letter mailed out by the US Holocaust Memorial Museum in 1991 and targeted to Jewish Americans, national campaign chairman Miles Lerman promised that the Museum "will not shrink from showing the failure of American leaders and those of other nations to act" to save Jews. The Museum, Lerman went on, will insure that "Children in Dubuque, families in Tucson, and school teachers in Atlanta will learn the history and the lessons of Auschwitz as thoroughly as they learn the history of their own communities."

Pseudo-Religious

Pointing up its pseudo-religious and emotional character, the Museum's foundation was laid over earth mixed with soil brought from the sites of Auschwitz, Bergen-Belsen and other former German concentration camps. The Museum's hexagonally shaped, 60-foot-tall, sky-lit "Hall of Remembrance" includes a chapel where visitors will be encouraged to pray and light candles.

"Holocaustomania"

It is becoming clear to more and more Americans that the campaign that Jewish American historian Alfred Lilienthal has very appropriately called "Holocaustomania" has terribly skewed our nation's sense of priorities. Today the Holocaust story is widely regarded as more sacred than the

traditional religious faith of the great majority of Americans. Politicians and cultural watchdogs seem to regard vilification of Anne Frank, for example, as a greater outrage than a desecration of the Virgin Mary.

Revisionist Impact

Holocaust Revisionism's impact on the genesis of this Museum was confirmed in an article in *Regardie's*, an influential Washington, DC, business magazine. Writing in the November 1988 issue, Robert Greenberger reported:

The impetus to build a Holocaust memorial emerged from that peculiar combination of idealism and political expediency that's the hallmark of American government. In 1977 Stuart Eizenstat, President Jimmy Carter's top domestic adviser, asked a member of his staff to study the feasibility of erecting a Holocaust memorial in Washington. Eizenstat, who is Jewish, says he was prompted by the growing audience for certain revisionist historians who were questioning whether the slaughter of European Jewry had actually occurred.

Continuing this tradition, an error-ridden article attacking Holocaust Revisionism appeared in the May 1992 issue of the Museum's glossy public relations newsletter. In the piece, prominent anti-Revisionist Deborah Lipstadt specifically attacked Revisionist activist Bradley Smith and his campus ad project. Public release of Lipstadt's new book, *Denying the Holocaust: The Growing Assault on Truth*, is scheduled to coincide, appropriately enough, with the Museum's April opening.

Concerned Americans, including some Revisionist activists, plan to express their opposition to the Museum at a demonstration in Washington, DC, on the occasion of the April 22 dedication ceremony. The IHR also intends to mark this day with an appropriate response of its own.

Nothing better illustrates the triumph of expediency over principle in our nation's political and cultural life than this Museum. It will ultimately be remembered, not so much as a memorial to six million Holocaust victims, but rather as a costly and rather tacky monument to the enormous influence and power of the small minority group that pushed for it, and of the moral cowardice or venal indifference of the Senators and Congressional representatives who sanctioned it and appropriated the people's money to finance it.

— M. W.

"All great truths begin as blasphemies."

—George Bernard Shaw

The Essene Origins of Jesus' Teachings

MARTIN A. LARSON

I have long had a consuming interest in religion as a social phenomenon, especially since writing my doctoral thesis on Milton's theology in the 1920s. When leisure time became available to me in the 1950s, I plunged into a study of pre-Christian religions, of which I found there were several of great importance.



Dr. Martin Larson

Among the most significant were the Persian faith of Zoroastrianism, the Pythagorean faith of Greece, the Hindu and Buddhist systems of India, and the Isis-Osiris religion that arose in Egypt about 2,000 BC. Over the centuries, the Isis-Osiris religion gave rise to a variety of

savior cults throughout the Greek and Roman worlds, at least three of which had large followings.

The result of my study was a book published in 1959, *The Religion of the Occident*, a work that required almost ten years of intensive research. A revised 725-page edition, with an introduction by Harry Elmer Barnes and an index, appeared later under the title *The Story of Christian Origins*. Issued by six different publishers, at least 50,000 copies of this work have been printed. (A fine soft-cover edition is still available from Village Press in Oklahoma.)

In this book I explain how an obscure Middle East cult could become the basis for Christianity,

and how this dynamic new faith was able to largely replace the existing religions and become one of history's most powerful and durable institutions.

Spread of Savior Cults

In the centuries before the advent of Christianity, the official religions of deities such as Jupiter, Terminus, and the gods of Olympus that flourished in the ancient world were regarded by educated Greeks and Romans as little more than entertaining myths. Among the masses, however, the official religions had been replaced by a number of Oriental savior-cults that had spread so widely that they actually constituted the popular religion of the ancient world.

All of these were based upon belief in a great demigod who is born of a virgin, dies a sacrificial death, and, after arising from the grave, returns to the realms of glory. The blood and flesh of these saviors, which were symbolically ingested by their adherents in mystical and symbolical rituals, were believed to confer blessed immortality upon the partakers.

Of all the savior gods, Osiris was probably the most important. Isis, his sister (and wife), was worshiped as the supreme Mother Goddess, to whom prayers were directed and who would confer everlasting glory upon the participants. In Rome alone, there were 58 magnificent temples honoring Isis.

Around 180 BC an obscure sect was founded in Palestine, the followers of which gradually separated themselves more and more from the ruling Sadducees and Pharisees. They dwelled by themselves in the desert, and after about 140 BC became more radical dissidents from Jewish law and practice. Over the years, they gradually absorbed elements from Zoroastrianism, the Pythagoreans, and the Buddhists.

Holy Ones

It was at about this time that these cultists became known as Essenes, or Holy Ones. In the years that followed, they organized themselves into a secret communal order that practiced celibacy and proclaimed an imminent kingdom of heaven on earth where only the saints would dwell, while all others would be consigned to eternal punishment.

With the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls in 1947, knowledge concerning the Essenes broadened

Martin A. Larson received his Ph.D. in English literature from the University of Michigan, and for a number of years taught at what are now Eastern Michigan University and the University of Idaho. He has been a member of the *Journal's* Editorial Advisory Committee since 1980, and has addressed several IHR conferences. Dr. Larson is the author of more than 20 published books, including *The Essene-Christian Faith* (available from the IHR for \$8.95 plus \$2.00 shipping). He lives with his wife, Emma, in Phoenix.



The Roman Empire at its height in the 2nd century, AD.

and deepened. This new evidence strengthened my conviction that the Essene order had exerted a profound influence on the writers of the Christian gospels, especially the book of Luke.

Many Christian scholars believe that Jesus had been a member of the Essenes before the age of 30, when He emerged as a prominent speaker on the roads and byways of Palestine, proclaiming many of the order's doctrines.

That many passages in the Synoptic Gospels (of Matthew, Mark, and Luke) are similar to what is found in Essene literature is simply incontestable, and His denunciations of the Scribes and Pharisees are virtually identical.

This Essene connection helps us to better understand why the Christian gospel met with such wide and ready acceptance among the Greeks, Romans and other peoples living in the Mediterranean area at that time. Consistent with the tenets of similar savior cults, the followers of Jesus proclaimed that here, at last, was the real Son of God, who had died an atoning death for sinners, Whose blood and flesh were to be consumed in order to ensure a blessed immortality, and Whose gospel conferred joy and happiness upon untold millions living in hopeless poverty.

The old gods of Isis, Osiris and Serapis, Mithra (Mithras), Orpheus and Dionysus, and Cybele and Attis were soon forgotten, replaced by a human-

divine Being Whose passion and death became an all-consuming reality for new converts throughout the then-civilized world.

Mithraism: Formidable Rival to Early Christianity

During the first two centuries of the Christian era, two competing religions that shared many similarities flourished in the Greco-Roman world: Christianity and Mithraism. For a time, the followers of Mithra outnumbered those of Christ, and it was not until the third century AD that Christianity clearly emerged as the dominant religion of the declining Roman empire.

Mithraism had its origins in the Zoroastrian religion of the ancient Aryan peoples of Persia (Iran) and India, which honored Mithra as a god. By the fifth century BC, Mithra had become the principal Persian deity. Closely associated with the sun, he was worshiped as the god of light and wisdom.

After entering the Roman world around the year 70 BC, the cult of Mithra quickly gained adherents. By the second century it had grown to be one of the great religions of the Roman empire, more widespread than Christianity. As late as 307

AD, the Emperor Diocletian consecrated a temple on the Danube River to Mithra, "Protector of the Empire."



Mithra in a typical representation, shown slaying the sacred bull from whose body came all the good things of earth.

Because Mithra (or Mithras in Latin and Greek) denounced social injustice and preached the brotherhood of man, Mithraism found widespread acceptance among slaves, the poor and the exploited. Many of its downtrodden devotees were willing to die for their faith.

The religion was also widespread in the mercantile class and, because Mithra taught the necessity of stable government, among civil servants. Emphasizing courage and military virtues, Mithraism had a particularly strong following in the Roman army, and soldiers regarded Mithra as the ideal comrade and fighter.

While its devotees included a number of Roman emperors and many senators, Mithraism remained most popular among the lower classes and among people of Semitic, "Syrian," and Near Eastern origin.

A fundamental feature of Mithraism was the dualistic struggle between the forces of good and evil. Mithra, who gave to his devotees hope of blessed immortality, represented the fearless antagonist of the powers of darkness. A central article of faith was the story of Mithra's capture and sacrifice of a sacred bull, from whose body sprang all the good things of the earth.

Mithraism was a demanding religion, which its followers took very seriously. Devotees were held to rigorous moral and ethical standards. Fasting and continence were strongly encouraged. Like the "soldier" of Christ, the "soldier" of Mithras regarded himself as a warrior on the side of good against evil. Its elaborate rites and ceremonies, which were restricted to men, took place in secret in impressive temples called Mithraeums, hundreds of which were established in Italy, Germany, Britain, France, Spain and northern Africa.

Reflecting common Oriental origins, Christianity and Mithraism shared many similarities in both doctrine and ritual. The followers of each creed shared belief in a great flood and a sacred ark, atoning sacrifice, immortality of the soul, a last judgment, the resurrection of the flesh, and the ultimate triumph of good over evil. In each religion, priests presided over rituals that made use of bells, candles and holy water. Devotees of Mithra took part in a sacred communion banquet of bread and water (and possibly wine)—a ceremony that paralleled the Christian Eucharist.

In *The Story of Christian Origins* (p. 184), Dr. Martin Larson compares the two great religions:

Both taught almost identical doctrines concerning heaven and hell, the last judgment, and the immortality of the soul. Both practiced the same sacraments, those of baptism and communion of bread and wine. Regeneration through the second birth was a basic doctrine of both, and each had the same conception concerning the inter-relationship of their members—that all were mystical brethren. Each believed that its founder was mediator between God and man, that through him alone was salvation possible, and that he would be the final judge of all. Both taught the doctrine of primitive revelation. Both emphasized the constant warfare between good and evil, required abstinence and self-control, and accorded the highest honor to celibacy.

Even after they had become active competitors, Larson goes on to note, Christianity borrowed significant elements from Mithraism. In time, Christians made Sunday, which the apostolic church had never observed but which had always been sacred to the Mithraists, their holy day. Still later, they made the 25th of December, which had always been celebrated as the birthday of Mithra, the birthday of their Christ.

Mithraism was not able to compete successfully with Christianity, and it declined rapidly in the late third century AD. Why?

One major factor, it seems, was its attitude towards women. With its emphasis on masculine virtues, and with participation in its ceremonies restricted to men, Mithraism held little appeal for women, who were regarded as the source of dangerous erotic desire. Another, perhaps decisive reason was that, unlike Christianity, the followers of Mithra were not able to point to a historical god-man savior. Mithra was an obviously mythical figure.

As Christians gained greater power during the third century, they ruthlessly persecuted the devotees of Mithra (along with the followers of all other competing creeds), and by the fourth century Mithraism had all but entirely disappeared.

—M. W.

Alexander the Great and Darius —Kinsmen and Enemies

EDWARD LANGFORD

It is a very common error to regard the Greeks and Persians as having been diametrically opposed peoples in history. This common misconception arises from the fact that the ancient Greeks were domiciled in Europe, and the ancient Persians in Asia, and because of the geographical distinctness of their place of residence it has been easy to assume wide differences in character and ethnic type between the two. Nothing could be further from the truth. The terms Asian and European meant little in history, for over large areas of Asia a culture and people prevailed who were closely related to the cultures and people of Europe. Thus the concept of geographical distinction between Europe and Asia should not be applied casually to the history of mankind.

If we assume a common Indo-European homeland in the area north of the Caucasus, and in modern Ukraine, then it will be readily seen that the ancient Greeks were an off-shoot of the Indo-European peoples who migrated westward into Europe, while the people of ancient Persia (modern day Iran) were a branch of the same family who moved south and south-east, instead, and established for themselves and their Parthian and Median kinsmen, a vast empire dominating the Middle East.

In appearance, too, the Greeks and true Persians were almost identical, it would seem. From statues and sculptures and coins, as well as from contemporary comment, we know both to have been long-headed, clean-featured, of fair coloring and ruddy complexion. Of these two branches of the Indo-European people, the Greeks were perhaps the more junior, and certainly, because possibly of the intricate nature of the Greek terrain, subdivided into a multitude of islands and valleys divided by mountain ranges, the Greeks were slower in uniting politically, and in imperial or territorial expansion.

Thus it was the Persians, who having established themselves over a vast variety of nations and peoples of different origins, who moved westward into Europe, and threatened to establish their

rule over the peoples of Ancient Greece also, long before the Greeks had considered the possibility of military expansion eastward into Asia. Thus we read of the epic battle of Thermopylae, and the great accompanying sea battle in which the Greeks halted the Persian advance into their homeland. Later, as Persian control over their rambling and diverse empire began to weaken, Alexander the Great led a small army of highly disciplined Macedonian Greeks into Asia, and overran and destroyed the remains of the Persian dynasty, which had by then lost its ethnic cohesion.



Left: A Persian Warrior.

Right: Arsaces XX, King of the Parthians 58-40 BC. (From a Persian coin.)

Because of their imperial achievements in the vast expanses of Asia, the Persians are not known for their democratic ways, as were the Greeks, but there is evidence that the first Persian nations who moved south over the Caucasus practiced the traditional Indo-European democratic system until their conquests converted them into feudal overlords. Certainly they praised learning, the arts, truth and bravery, which may be described as the ideal of the Greeks, and Persian children were taught to stem evil by "thought, word and deed." The Greeks themselves praised the Persians as noblest amongst their enemies.

We see, therefore, in the combat between Greeks and Persians, the warring of two civilized and noble peoples, who in turn were closely related in blood. How often has the history of the world been analyzed in these terms! Why do neighbor and kinsman always fight neighbor and kinsman, and the more progressive seek always to destroy the equally advanced?

Edward Langford is the pen name of a historian and anthropologist who holds a doctoral degree in anthropology. He is the author of numerous articles dealing with history, and several books on anthropology.

A Powerful Indictment of America's Failed Racial Policy

Paved With Good Intentions: The Failure of Race Relations in Contemporary America, by Jared Taylor. New York: Carroll & Graf, 1992. Hardcover. 416 pages. Notes. Index. ISBN: 0-88184-866-2. (Available from the IHR for \$22.95, plus \$2 shipping.)

Reviewed by Charles Stanwood

During the 1950s and 1960s, America's black civil rights leaders, with support from liberal politicians and the most influential molders of public opinion, pressed hard for "non-discrimination" in voting, education, housing, and employment opportunity. Equal opportunity, it was argued, would inevitably lead to equal social-economic results. Upholding the standard of a "color-blind" constitution, this movement succeeded in anchoring its demands in law, including the 1964 Civil Rights Act, the Voting Rights Act of 1965, and the 1968 Open Housing Act.

When equal opportunity failed to bring the hoped-for results, America's political and cultural leaders abandoned their original goal of color-blind "non-discrimination." Armed with new state and federal laws, key court decisions and a network of administrative guidelines and regulations, they instead fashioned a new social order based on racial preferences for non-whites and proportional distribution of benefits among ethnic (and now gender and linguistic) groups. New theories of "compensatory justice" have been invoked to provide a philosophical gloss for this revolution in policy.

Moreover, as author Jared Taylor graphically relates in this meticulously documented, closely argued and powerfully written review of the lamentable state of race relations in America, a system of "prevailing taboos" has been allowed to evolve, a dangerous consequence of which is that honest and intelligent discussion of race and related issues has largely been proscribed.

Boldly defying this proscription, Taylor has produced the first book in decades issued by a mainstream publisher that forthrightly confronts the profound failure of America's racial policy. In his introduction to this damning indictment, the author sets the tone of *Paved with Good Intentions*:

Charles Stanwood is the pen name of an educator who holds a Ph.D. in History. He has taught at the college level at institutions in the West and Midwest. Author, co-author, and contributor to nine books and monographs, his articles and reviews have appeared in a wide range of scholarly American periodicals.

Race is the great American dilemma. This has always been so, and is likely to remain so... In our multicultural society, race lurks just below the surface of much that is not explicitly racial... Race is the fearful question that looms behind every social problem in America.

Almost from its opening pages this book casts doubt on the basic assumptions about race and society that have driven social policy for decades. In attempting to show how mistaken assumptions begot mistaken policy, it has been necessary to show just how miserably those policies have failed.

In the pages that follow, Taylor spares no words in portraying the harsh reality. "Hideous things are happening in our country," he writes. "Millions of Americans — many of them black — live in conditions of violence and squalor that would shame the rulers of Third World nations."

What's worse, he goes on, in spite of billions of dollars and countless pledges by platoons of politicians, conditions have actually deteriorated in recent decades. A large proportion of America's black population is much worse off today than it was during the pre-civil rights era. Over the past 40 years, the lifting of social or institutional restraints on blacks has coincided with a drastic worsening of their condition.

Grim Figures

Citing an impressive — even numbing — array of facts and figures, *Paved With Good Intentions* thoroughly documents the extent of this deterioration, and the yawning gap between black and white America. A few examples:

- While blacks make up only twelve percent of the population, they commit 60 percent of the murders and over half of all rapes and robberies.
- One of four black men in their twenties is either in jail, on parole, or on probation. In Washington, DC, 85 percent of black males are arrested during their lifetime.
- Black babies are twice as likely to die in their first year as white infants.
- Blacks are more than four and a half times as

likely than whites to be on public assistance.

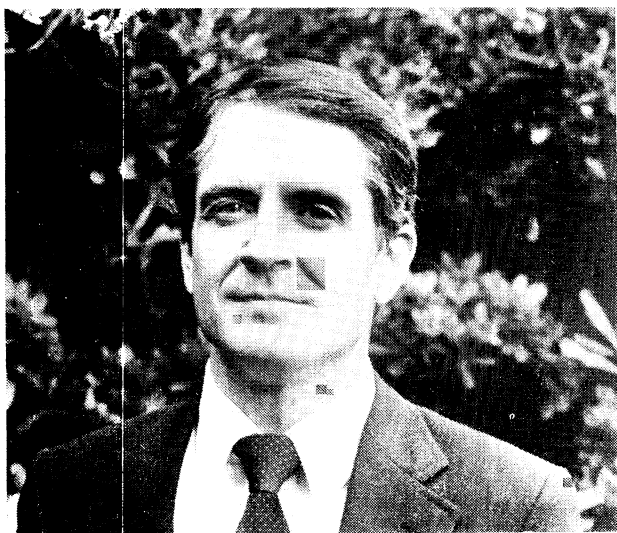
- Over the last four decades, the institution of marriage has virtually disappeared among blacks. In 1950, when discriminatory “Jim Crow” laws prevailed in many states, 52 percent of black children were living with both parents. By the 1980s, this figure had fallen to just six percent. Two-thirds of all black children are now born out of wedlock. (The rate for whites is 19 percent.)

- Around a billion dollars a year is spent treating gun-shot wounds in America’s inner cities. Blacks are ten times more likely than whites to require emergency-room treatment for the effects of cocaine abuse.

- Between 1985 and 1990, the rate of syphilis infection among blacks increased by 150 percent, while it decreased by half among whites. Nationwide, blacks are fifty times more likely to have syphilis than are whites.

- AIDS is increasingly becoming a disease of blacks and Hispanics. By the end of 1991, blacks were 3.6 times more likely than whites to have the disease. Hispanics were 2.9 times more likely. In some inner-city areas, health conditions now mirror those prevailing in many parts of Africa.

- Black men between the ages of 15 and 24 are now nearly nine times as likely to kill each other as are whites of the same age, and homicide has become the leading cause of death for black men between ages 15 and 44. In Harlem, there are so many killings that a black man living there is less likely to reach age 65 than is a man living in Bangladesh.



Jared Taylor

Interracial crime rates show a similarly stark asymmetry. When whites commit crimes of violence, they choose black victims 2.4 percent of the time. In contrast, blacks select white victims in

over half of the crimes they commit. Blacks are 325 times more likely to engage in gang attacks on whites than whites are to take part in pack assaults against blacks. Interracial rape is overwhelmingly black on white. Analysis of recent crime statistics reveals that black men rape white women 30 times more often than white men rape black women.

“Hate Crimes”

Even in the special case of “hate crimes” — a new category invented in the late 1980s to track “abuse” of ethnic and gender groups, and which was supposed to disclose widespread discrimination against blacks, Hispanics, Asians, and homosexuals by white males — whites are victimized much more often than are blacks. Observes Taylor: “The fact that blacks are far more likely to commit ‘hate crimes’ than whites is a fact for which there is simply no room in the conventional view of how American society works.”

Institutionalized Hypocrisy

A good portion of this book is devoted to the hypocritical double standard on matters of race that has taken root in our society. “There are now many things that whites may not do but that are tolerated and even encouraged among blacks,” he writes. “We have double standards in politics, in school, at work, in the press, even in our speech. Many Americans are reluctant to acknowledge these double standards.”

The author details how the national news media deliberately distorts reality by failing accurately to report black-on-white crime. The relatively rare instances of racially motivated white-on-black crime are often seized upon and sensationally blown out of all proportion. On the other hand, crime against whites is largely ignored or vastly under-reported. This may help explain why whites have not organized protests, or sought revenge, for attacks against co-racialists committed by blacks and other non-whites.

“...One of the most striking — and destructive — examples of the way the media handle news about race was the Rodney King affair,” Taylor contends. “It is not an exaggeration to say that the coverage of this incident was so slanted as to be a major cause of the riots that later rocked Los Angeles.”

America’s entertainment media engages in anti-white racist stereotyping. On television and in motion pictures, blacks are rarely portrayed as bad guys, while white businessmen are routinely depicted as villains.

School textbooks similarly reinforce the notion that wicked whites are responsible for black poverty and lawlessness. They present a racially skewed picture of America, Taylor writes, one that exaggerates non-white contributions to society while

playing down those of whites.

Whereas whites are forbidden to think in terms of racial identity, "blacks are encouraged to identify with their racial 'brothers,' to promote 'black consciousness,' and to see themselves as a group defined clearly by race." One consequence of this is that black jurors are less and less likely to convict black defendants, even in cases where the evidence against the accused is overwhelming. This is especially true in cases where the victims of crime are white.

"Many whites," Taylor contends, "thunder against the faintest trace of white racism, while they ignore the blatant racial excesses of blacks. They have convinced themselves that blacks cannot get ahead without handouts and special treatment. By exempting blacks from individual responsibility, they treat them as vassals."

Predictably, black-white relations have deteriorated, and whatever sense of community may have existed in the past seems largely to have evaporated. The sometimes euphoric confidence of the 1960s about the future of race relations in the US has given way to a national mood approaching despair.

All this has become possible, concludes Taylor, because "whites have stripped themselves of collective racial consciousness. They do not see themselves along racial lines."

White Racism to Blame?

The familiar explanation for black failure — repeated endlessly in motion pictures, newspapers, magazines, and by political and educational leaders — is lingering white racism. As Taylor stresses:

Americans are so accustomed to hearing — and repeating — this view that they scarcely bother to think what it means. It means, essentially, that white people, not blacks, are responsible for black behavior. It implies that blacks are helpless and cannot make progress unless whites transform themselves.

Do blacks drop out of school? Teachers are insensitive to their needs. Do black women have children out of wedlock? Slavery broke up the black family. Are blacks more likely than whites to commit crimes? Oppression and poverty explain it. Are ghetto blacks unemployed? White businesses are prejudiced against them. Are blacks more likely to be drug addicts? They are frustrated by white society... There is scarcely any form of failure that cannot, in some way, be laid at the feet of racist white people.

This kind of thinking denies that blacks should be expected to take responsibility for their own actions. More subtly, it suggests that they cannot do so.

Taylor marshals an army of facts to explode the

myth that whites are to blame for the problems that plague black America. In fact, he documents, blacks and whites with similar backgrounds and educational levels are doing about equally well. Although the general public is unaware of these facts, studies reveal that black women, for example, earn more than white women with equal qualifications. Blacks holding doctoral degrees make as much or more than comparably educated whites. Young black couples who manage to remain married have family incomes almost identical to those of white couples. In families where both spouses are college educated and both work, black families generally make more than white families.

In the area of criminal justice, the comparison is instructive. Contrary to what the public has been led to believe, black police officers are "more active disciplinarians" who are "more likely to make arrests." In fact, Taylor goes on, "black policemen are more likely to shoot blacks than white police are," and black judges often deal out harsher sentences to black criminals than do their white counterparts.

The figures on the death penalty do not support often-repeated charges of "institutional racism." Whites convicted of murder are more likely to receive the death penalty than black murderers. Whites who kill other whites are more likely to be executed than are blacks who kill whites.

Virtually every study comparing like groups of blacks and whites has arrived at similar findings.

"Affirmative Action"

The two long chapters devoted to a discussion of "affirmative action" are among the best in this outstanding book. Although this ambiguous term first cropped up in a 1961 executive order by President Kennedy, it was the Nixon administration that really institutionalized "affirmative action" policies. The author reveals that after "equal opportunity" legislation failed to lead to equal results, the elites in control of government, big business and education agreed to lower standards and devised a race-based point system. In every sector of American life, whites — and especially white males — are officially discriminated against. "Civil rights" now means special treatment for blacks, the meaning of 'equal opportunity' has been neatly reversed, and 'affirmative action' is a euphemism for officially sanctioned racial discrimination." Today, writes Taylor, "essentially any non-white can get preference, including recent immigrants." Nowhere is this more true than on the campuses of our colleges and universities, where preferential treatment for non-whites has become the operating norm.

"Sensitivity training" designed to defuse white resentment against manifestly unfair practices in access, hiring, and promotion is now obligatory in government, business, and education. While blacks

are openly encouraged to act in their own interests, “whites, on the other hand, are expected to support, or at least remain silent about, a system that discriminates against them.” As the author goes on to note, “one of the great, unwritten rules of race relations in America today” is that “affirmative action has lowered employment and admission standards for non-whites all across America, but everyone must pretend not to have noticed.”

High Price

The United States is paying a frightfully heavy price for all this. For example, Taylor discovered that only 14 percent of Fortune 500 companies confess that they now hire new personnel strictly on the basis of merit. The author cites report after report documenting how less-qualified blacks are being admitted to, and graduated by, colleges and graduate schools — including medical and law schools — and then hired by police and fire departments, other government agencies, and private business firms. Around half of the “black middle class” is employed by government. Those in business serve often as affirmative action/equal opportunity *apparatchiks*, or they are carried along, with white co-workers taking up the slack (though without extra compensation). The double standard prevailing throughout American education should be regarded as a national scandal. All this has undoubtedly affected the morale of conscientious and hardworking Americans, who are understandably ever more cynical about the nation’s political and cultural institutions and leaders.

If not white racism, what then accounts for the disparity in black-white performance and lifestyle, and the calamitous state of black America? The answer, Taylor explains, “is that the black population is not identical to the white population.”

While carefully avoiding any exploration of the thorny and highly emotion-charged question of racial differences, he does muse at one point:

If whites are not holding blacks down, it might mean that they [blacks] have arisen as far as their inherent limitations permit. The possibility of black inferiority is the unacknowledged goblin that lurks in the background of every attempt to explain black failure. Part of the shrillness with which white racism is denounced stems from the belief that any letup in the struggle against it might leave room for a theory that is too dangerous to be contemplated.

Courage to Face Facts Needed

Given the grim reality of racial relations in America, what, then, is to be done?

“The first step in halting black decline,” Taylor insists, “is to throw out the deadly equation of Black Failure = White Guilt. Black shakedown artists and white guilt mongers alike must be

exposed as the dangerous frauds they are.”

Secondly, he argues, the reproduction of the underclass (white as well as black) should no longer be subsidized by society’s productive element. At a minimum, he recommends that the government should provide free contraceptives and abortions for poor women, and require some welfare recipients to use the Norplant contraceptive device, which prevents pregnancy for up to five years. Here Taylor echoes the arguments made against “legal theft” by the brilliant 19th-century French political economist, Frédéric Bastiat.

In any case, Taylor argues, only by confronting the true dimensions of a failed policy can we hope to resolve the many daunting problems that are its consequence. He writes:

One hundred thirty years ago, this nation very nearly tore itself apart because of race. It could do so again. Policies based on white guilt and reverse racism have failed. Policies based on the denial of individual responsibility have failed. We must have the courage to admit that they have failed, and forge new policies that will succeed.

For producing this wise, disturbing and even enraging examination of the most crucial issue facing our nation, Jared Taylor deserves the thanks of every American who cares about the future. (The book’s New York publisher, Carroll & Graf, likewise deserves praise for its courage in daring to issue this bold volume, and for committing substantial funds to promote it.)

If any single book can re-open an honest debate on race relations in America, and motivate concerned and thoughtful (but now silent) Americans, it is *Paved With Good Intentions*.

Taylor’s *Paved With Good Intentions* is available from the IHR for \$22.95, plus \$3 shipping. Please see the ad on page 47.

Portent?

“Events [in Oregon] that might have been thought of as anomalies a year ago are feared these days as portents of a new order: in October, Phil Stanford, the *Oregonian*’s watered-down Jimmy Breslin, suggested there may be something to the claim, made at a local lecture by a writer named David Irving, that the Holocaust is a myth.”

—Robert Sullivan, “Postcard from Oregon,” *New Yorker*, Nov. 9, 1992, p. 79.

Monumental Work Sets Record Straight on Palestine-Israel Issue

Encyclopedia of the Palestine Problem, by Issa Nakhleh. New York: Intercontinental Books, 1991. Hardcover. Two volumes (8 1/2 x 11 inch format). 1,180 pages. Illustrations. Maps. Notes. Bibliography. Index. ISBN 0 9622881 1 3. (Available from the IHR: \$69, plus \$5 shipping.)

Reviewed by Robert John

At a meeting with Daniel Patrick Moynihan in the mid-1970s, when he was serving as US ambassador to the United Nations, I presented him with volume I of *The Palestine Diary*, which I had written and published in 1970 with the assistance of Sami Hadawi. Moynihan subsequently invited me back to his office at the US Mission to discuss the situation in Lebanon. The ambassador, now senior US senator from New York (and chairman of the Senate Finance Committee), lived up to his Irish ancestry by his openness to discussion and good humor.

He seemingly could not resist telling me about an unnamed Brooklyn congressman (probably Hugh Carey) who had developed a system for reelection that returned him to Washington again and again. Every time an election was coming up, he had his agent book speaking engagements for him at all the synagogues in his district. Wearing a skullcap, at each visit he would declare how much he had done for Israel, and how much more needed to be done. Invariably, he was returned with a comfortable majority. That is, until the last time he ran. In spite of adherence to this successful

routine, his usual margin of victory was sharply reduced. He ordered an inquiry. Finding: a large number of Arabs had moved into his district!

A Perennial Affair

It has long been the practice for American political candidates to cultivate supporters of the state of Israel, bidding for votes and campaign contributions. Thus, in a speech to a Jewish audience just before the 1992 presidential election, candidate Bill Clinton sought their support by criticizing President Bush for putting pressure on Israel. Bush was temporarily withholding a \$10 billion loan guarantee for new housing for Jewish immigrants from Russia as a means of inducing Israel to take part in peace negotiations with its Arab neighbors. Clinton further promised that, if elected, he would review the conviction and sentence of Jonathan Pollard, the US government official found guilty of spying for Israel. Clinton's hint of a presidential pardon is reminiscent of one given three decades earlier by President Kennedy. Following his election, he pardoned Hank Green-spun, a publicity agent for the gangster "Bugsy" Siegel who had been convicted of stealing weapons from a US Navy weapons depot and shipping them to Israel.)

As for Al Gore, I offer Gore Vidal, the erudite historian and social critic, and a distant relative of the vice president, who wrote:

The office of vice-president is now the preserve of the Israeli lobby, and Gore will continue the Quayle tradition. After all, in the 1988 presidential primaries, Gore's campaign was largely paid for by The Lobby, whose point man was the ineffable *New Republic* publisher Mart Peretz (who boasted in *Spy* magazine that he'd written "Al's" speech at the Democratic convention). The alliance between a Pentagon-oriented southern politician (Gore has never voted against an appropriation for war) and the Israeli lobby was a not unnatural one in the days of the Cold War. But no longer. Imagine if a Roman Catholic lobby were in place to siphon off billions of federal dollars to bail out the truly broke Vatican, while covertly supporting the terrorism of, say, the Irish Republican

Robert John is a diplomatic historian and policy analyst. He is co-author of *The Palestine Diary* (New York: New World Press, 1970, 2 volumes, with a foreword by Arnold Toynbee), and author of *Behind the Balfour Declaration: The Hidden Origins of Today's Mideast Crisis* (IHR, 1988). [Available from the IHR for \$8 plus \$2 shipping. A portion of this book was first presented as paper at the Fifth IHR Conference in 1983.] He has been a US correspondent for the monthly *Middle East International*.

Dr. John studied at University of London King's College, and Law at London's Middle Temple, Inns of Court. He was elected a constituency chairman of the British Conservative Party, but resigned over the policy of war against Egypt in 1956. In the United States he has studied at the Hoover Institution, has written on Middle East policy-making in the United Nations Organization, and has made a special study of the history of US foreign relations. In the mid-1970s he studied medicine and then psychiatry. He is a member of several professional organizations, including the Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations.



The delegation of the Arab Higher Committee for Palestine to the United Nations, 1947. Issa Nakhleh, author of *The Encyclopedia of the Palestine Problem*, is at the left. For years the primary representative of the Palestinian people, the committee has been superseded by the Palestine Liberation Organization.

Army. I don't think the Godly (non-Catholic) would like this, while the Manly would be in court. Once selected by Clinton, Gore made his first speech to AIPAC [American-Israel Public Affairs Committee], where he groveled without shame. He was there to get money for services rendered; and on offer. Happily, the new Israeli prime minister, Rabin, has just given the American Israeli lobby hell on the ground that their crude buying of senators in order to put the legislative against the executive branch might start a backlash among even the densest goyim. Henceforth, the Israeli command post will not be the senate but the vice-president's office. (GQ, Nov. 1992, p. 230.)

Nor have most Republican candidates and office-holders been any better than Democrats in paramount support of Israel's interests. The recent exposure of David Steiner, president of the American-Israel Public Affairs Committee, in which Steiner boasted during a secretly taped telephone conversation of having cut a deal with Secretary of State James Baker to get Israel "\$1 billion and other goodies that people don't even know about," was just another pro-Israel action perpetrated under the Reagan and Bush administrations. There was general support for Israel's invasion and occupation of Lebanon, collusion in the Israeli-orchestrated Iran-Contra scandal, and the continual extraction of billions of dollars from American taxpayers, poured annually into Israeli coffers. Steiner, who was obliged to resign after his taped

conversation was made public, also told a prospective contributor that AIPAC was busily negotiating with the Clinton camp for a pro-Israel secretary of state and a pro-Israel national security adviser to the president. As *New York Times* writer Thomas Friedman noted in his report on the Steiner affair, AIPAC has justifiably been "considered the most powerful lobby in Washington." (NYT, Nov. 5, 1992, p. A24.)

Diplomacy and 'Making Facts'

This is the reality of more than a half-century of American policy with regard to Palestine and Israel. While president after president has strutted the international stage talking of human rights, generations of Palestinians have suffered from these perennial behind-the-scenes shifters of the American political theater. As Issa Nakhleh writes in his *Encyclopedia of the Palestine Problem*:

America has been reduced in its Middle East policy to something like a quasi-colony of the Zionist State... The strength of organized American Jewry has left a list of patriotic American Senators and Congressmen [whom he names] who were silenced or politically destroyed by the Zionists.

Mr. Nakhleh is a gentleman and a diplomat, known to generations of UN delegations, as I can testify. I have recounted my meeting with him and Mr. Malik of the USSR during the 1973 Yom

Kippur war. (See: R. John, *Behind the Balfour Declaration*, pp. 19-20.) [Nakhleh spoke at the Third IHR Conference in 1981. His "Memorandum to the President" was published in the Fall 1982 IHR *Journal*.]

Mr. Nakhleh's advocacy of Palestinian rights spans the period from the last days of British rule, when he studied law in London at Lincoln's Inn, to the present. Throughout these years, he has represented the diplomatic position of the Palestine Arab Higher Committee. Mr. Nakhleh toiled patiently in that diplomatic milieu of black coat and striped trousers, conforming to the legacy of League of Nations Geneva, British White Papers, Royal Commissions, commissions of inquiry, United Nations reports, and resolution after ineffective UN resolution on Palestine, expecting "the democracies" to support their proclaimed ideals of equal rights and impartial justice.

In contrast to the tradition of formal negotiations and compromise of diplomacy and international law is the Zionism of *Realpolitik*. They call it "making facts." It is the attainment of political and territorial ends by action, not talk. It has had great success, and that success has produced imitation in contemporary international affairs, and American political-military policy.

The *Encyclopedia of the Palestine Problem* includes documentation of the process of "making facts" and its successes, terrible as the "facts" and successes have often been. Keyed to chapter-length expositions, the *Encyclopedia* documents the expulsion and deportations of Palestinians, eyewitness accounts of massacres, looting, pillaging, and expropriation of property, and the obliteration of dozens of Arab villages from the face of the earth and from maps. The successful blitzkrieg of the 1967 Six Day War took territory, a fact. Palestinian refugee camps bombed with planes and napalm "Made in the USA" are facts. Israeli concentration camps and torture of prisoners, crimes against Palestinian women, and Israeli piracy are facts of Zionist policy.

"Making facts" continues with state building of new Jewish settlements on Arab land in the "Occupied Territories," subsidized and supported by loans of \$10 billion guaranteed by the good faith and credit of the American people pledged by their president and Congress. The deportation without trial of 400 Muslim Palestinians just before Christmas 1992 was a violation of international law and convention, but the Israeli ambassador to the US said he had been assured by the State Department, "at a very high level," that "in no case" would the Security Council be allowed to approve a resolution leading to anti-Israel sanctions. (*New York Times*, Jan. 10, 1992, p. A10). No wonder many Islamic fundamentalists call the United States the "Great Satan."

The *Encyclopedia* meticulously documents the

bloody record of Zionist leaders such as Menachem Begin, the Deir Yasin killer; Yitzhak Shamir, an assassin of Red Cross peace envoy Count Folke Bernadotte; Ariel Sharon, the presiding officer of the Sabra and Shatila massacres; or Yitzhak Rabin and his policy of child murder and bone-breaking in the *Intifada*. The *Encyclopedia* compares the American, British, and French furor at German Nazi hostile acts against the Jews during the 1930s, which helped to bring on the Second World War, with the response of Western governments to Israeli crimes against the Palestinians. "The victims are called terrorists, murderers and criminals and the real terrorists and war criminals are being received as respectable representatives of a democratic society," writes Nakhleh.

The author does not neglect the wider context of what might be termed, Nuremberg-style, "International Zionist Conspiracy and Aggression." He records the efforts of Zionist leaders for a worldwide economic boycott of Germany as soon as the National Socialists came to power, a sequence that I documented in 1970. (See: *The Palestine Diary*, New York: New World Press, 1970, Vol. 1, pp. 241-246.)

Nor does Nakhleh neglect Zionism's Jewish victims. In Chapter 35, "Zionist Crimes Against Jews," he tells the story of the conflict within Jewry, reminding us that the first political victim of the Zionist conspirators in America was a Jewish Republican, Congressman Julius Kahn. This chapter includes a section about Neturei Karta, or Friends of Jerusalem, a little-known movement of observant Jews who believe that "Zionists are the greatest enemies of the Jewish people." These pious adherents of Judaic principle insist that, according to the Torah (Jewish law), all land should be returned to the rightful owners, Jews are not permitted to shed blood, humiliate or dominate others, and that Israel has no right to speak in the name of Jews. Nowhere, declares Neturei Karta, do Jews live in greater danger and insecurity than in the Zionist state.

Toward Liberation

It has always disgusted me to see pictures of American presidents grinning and holding hands with Stalin, Mao, Tito, Ceausescu, Begin, Shamir, and their like; and revolted me to hear them talk of "human rights" while turning over our tax dollars to such mass murderers. In the same way I am disgusted to hear a British prime minister or UN ambassador press *on principle* a demand that Iraq compensate Kuwait for, in part, the effects of US bombing. (Kuwait was part of the littoral of pre-"Iraq" Mesopotamia.)

What about the principle of compensation to the Palestinians? Did not the Balfour Declaration, endorsed by the US Congress, pledge "that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and

religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine." If the Palestinians could enforce compensation for breach of contract, half of England, and New England, might be up for sale!

Beyond informing, the revelations in this revisionist work should inspire its readers to speak out knowledgeably and effectively — to friends, on radio and television talk shows, in letters to the editor, and in school and academic assignments — against further American complicity in Zionist violations of Palestinians' rights. The importance of the *Encyclopedia of the Palestine Problem*, no less than its \$69 price tag, suggests that readers should ask for its acquisition by libraries.

The establishment in 1948 of a "Jewish state" in Palestine was a phenomenal achievement. In fifty years from the first Zionist Congress in Basel, Switzerland, in 1897, attended by a small number of Jews who represented little more than themselves, the Zionist idea had captivated the majority of world Jewry, and devotees had enlisted in particular Britain, America and the United Nations to intervene in Palestine in its support. In the last fifty years, using the "Holocaust" in a system of repetitive reinforcement of behavior modification, a climate of opinion has been created in which criticism of Zionism-Israel may be denounced as "anti-Semitism," and the illusion of a moral duty to support Israel has been created. This support has been transmuted into a tribute of nearly \$80 billion dollars' worth of aid from the United States, which continues to flow. (*New York Times*, Sept. 23, 1991). Germany's "restitution" payments to Jews and Israel have come to about \$50 billion (at current exchange rates). Palestinians have received no compensation for their losses.

Like millions of other Palestinians, Issa Nakhleh is barred from returning to his homeland, while the earnings and credit of Americans subsidize the illegal settlement there of Jews from Russia, Ethiopia and elsewhere. May he live to see the day when the American people are liberated from this psychological warfare against their interests and the rights of Palestinians, when they insist on a government that stops all such foreign subsidies. Arnold Toynbee wrote in his foreword to *The Palestine Diary*, "If the American government were to be constrained by American public opinion to take a non-partisan line over Palestine, the situation in Palestine might quickly change for the better." It could lead to Nakhleh's return to his homeland, and the freeing of all its people.

"The greatest mistake is to imagine we never err."

—Thomas Carlyle.

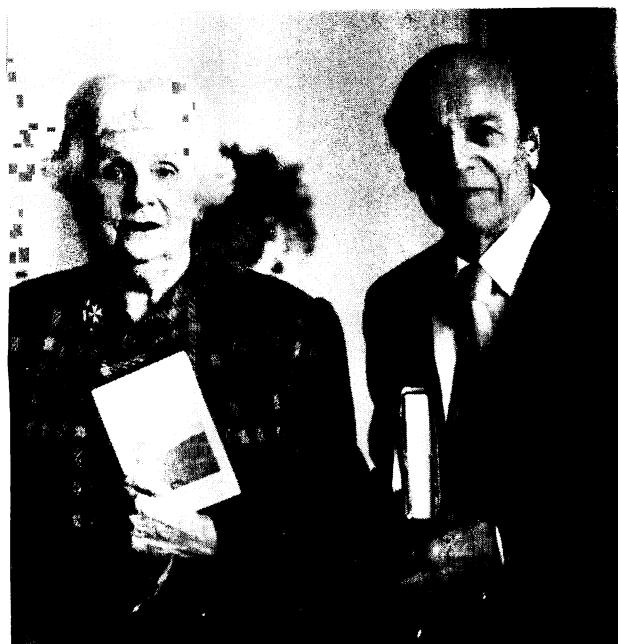
New Guide to the Holy Land Is Free of Usual Propaganda

Walking Beside Jesus in the Holy Land: An Illustrated Travel and Study Guide to the Holy Land, by Isabelle Bacon. Brattleboro, Vt.: Amana Books, 1992. Softcover. 161 pages. Illustrations, Maps. \$10. ISBN 0 915597 53 5.

Reviewed by Robert John

Coming to New York from North Carolina, Isabelle Bacon founded a Holy Land Center to encourage understanding among Christians, Jews and Moslems on the basis of "common denominators." At a time when Golda Meir was declaring that there was no such thing as a Palestinian, Mrs. Bacon saved Palestinian artifacts, especially beautifully worked regional costumes of Palestinian women. These are now exhibited at the Peale Center for Christian Living in Pawling, New York.

On her many visits to the Holy Land, Mrs. Bacon was often disturbed by the politicization of the commentaries of tour guides, as well as by their passing on misinformation, possibly unintentionally. She has produced this useful travel guide for believers. It is a "do it yourself" book with detailed information for the visitor on what to bring, what to see, with Scriptural references, by a knowledgeable and dedicated traveler. The guide and reader share a pure "Holy Land" spirit and love for its people.



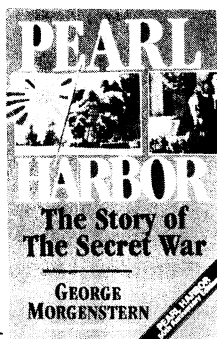
Isabelle Bacon, holding a copy of her guide to the Holy Land, with Dr. Robert John at a meeting of Middle East specialists at the United Nations, December 23, 1992.

PEARL HARBOR

The Story of the Secret War

by George Morgenstern

Hailed by Revisionist giants Barnes, Beard, and Tansill when it appeared shortly after World War II, this classic remains unsurpassed as a one-volume treatment of America's Day of Infamy. Morgenstern's *Pearl Harbor* is the indispensable introduction to the question of who bears the blame for the

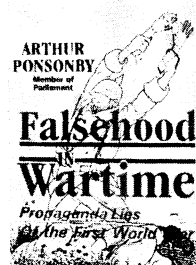


Pearl Harbor surprise, and, more important, for America's entry through the "back door" into World War II. Attractive new IHR softcover edition with introduction by James J. Martin. 425 pp., index, biblio., maps, \$14.95 + \$2.50 shipping.

"The first casualty when war comes is truth"

—Senator Hiram Johnson, 1917

FALSEHOOD IN WARTIME by Arthur Ponsonby, M.P. First published in 1928, this treacherous volume authoritatively debunks numerous atrocity lies fabricated and circulated about the Germans during World War I. Learn how professional liars — three decades before the Holocaust story — manufactured



such fakes as a "German corpse factory," "the crucified Canadian," helpless Belgian infants, and scores more with typewriter, scissors and paste to lead millions to misery, mutilation, and death. Lord Ponsonby's classic remains indispensable for anyone concerned to see through government and media lies today — and tomorrow. New softcover edition, 192 pp., \$6.95 + \$2 shipping from IHR.

"The consequences of Mr. Nakhleh's analysis are serious. If the government of Israel has committed even a fraction of the international crimes he describes, then virtually every high official in Israel from 1948 to the present is subject to prosecution as a war criminal." —John Quigley, Professor of International Law, The Ohio State University College of Law

Now, the Most Comprehensive, the Most Informative, the Most Compelling Indictment of Zionism Ever Published—

Encyclopedia of the Palestine Problem

INDICTMENT? ENCYCLOPEDIA? Yes, this mammoth two-volume set (each page 8½ by 11 inches, 1,180 pages with photos) is *both* a scholarly reference work on the modern tragedy of Palestine and its people *and* an unsparing arraignment of Israel and Zionism for more than four decades of crimes against peace and against humanity.

Distinguished jurist, diplomat and scholar Issa Nakhleh, a Christian Palestinian (and speaker at IHR's Third International Revisionist Conference in 1981) has distilled a lifetime of study and advocacy into *The Encyclopedia of the Palestine Problem*—and his encyclopedia is more than just a dry, "objective" catalogue of names and places. Relying chiefly on Israeli and Western sources, *The Encyclopedia* bristles with facts, figures, photographs and excerpts from primary documents to make its case against Palestine's Zionist usurpers.

Marshaling the facts and the law, Nakhleh blasts every lie used by the Zionists and their sympathizers to legitimize their decades-long war of genocide against the Palestinians. Case by case, *The Encyclopedia of the Palestine Problem* confronts Israeli crimes against the Palestinians. Among the forty chapter-length entries:

The Modern History of Palestine · Zionist Terrorism and Crimes in Palestine 1939-1948 · The Conspiracy to Expel and the Expulsion of Palestinian Arabs 1948-1950 · Massacres Committed by the Zionists · Erasing Arab Towns and Villages from the Map · The Desecration and Destruction of Christian and Muslim Holy Places · Israeli War Crimes · The Theft of Palestinian Lands and the Establishment of Jewish Settlements in the Occupied Territories · Israeli Concentration Camps and Prisons · The Torture of Palestinian Prisoners · Jewish Settler Terrorism · Zionist Crimes During the Intifada · Israeli War Crimes in Lebanon · Mossad Terrorism in Europe and the Middle East · Zionist Terrorism in the United States · Zionist Crimes against Jews · "The State of Israel No Fulfillment of Biblical Prophecy · The Solution to the Palestine Problem

Yes, the *Encyclopedia of the Palestine Problem* reads like a "Nuremberg Trial" review of Israel and Zionism (without the gas chambers and lampshades). Its three indexes (subject, person, and Palestinian town and village)—80 pages in all—put the facts about Zionism and Palestine at the reader's fingertips, enabling ready reference to the people (including a rogues' gallery of Zionist war criminals and terrorists, from Ben-Gurion, Meir and Dayan to Begin, Kahane, Sharon, Shamir and Rabin), places and events that concern every American taxpayer.

The *Encyclopedia of the Palestine Problem* is an indispensable source for the scholar, the student, and the concerned citizen. It's an arsenal of documented facts arguing *against* American support for the Zionist entity, bursting with ammunition for the term paper, thesis, letter to the editor or talk-show telephone call.

Issa Nakhleh is a graduate of the University of London and a member of the Palestine Bar. He has represented the Arab Higher Commission for Palestine in New York for 32 years, and delivered more than fifty speeches at the United Nations. His "Memorandum to the President," on Israel's genocidal war against Palestine, appeared in the Fall 1982 issue of *The Journal of Historical Review*.

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Letters

Not “Multicultural,” But Accurate History

In “The Challenge of Multiculturalism” (Summer 1992), Samuel [Jared] Taylor makes some interesting points, but he seems to be arguing for a history not necessarily in accord with the facts. Would it serve US history to overlook Franklin Roosevelt’s provocations leading to the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor? Or the US role in the civilian bombings of Germany and Japan during the Second World War? How about our involvement in Vietnam?

Taken to its logical conclusion, this type of “history” must lead to a “my country, right or wrong” mindset. When this occurs, what use is the study of history in avoiding war? If history taught us that we have always been right and will always be right, then everyone who disagrees with us must be wrong, and therefore possibly liable to attack.

Furthermore, the more such distortion there is in the upper strata of society (that is, on the part of our leaders, historians and other supposedly learned people), the more dishonesty there is likely to be in the society at large. People may not be very smart, but they often know when they are being lied to. If, by sanctioning a biased view of history for political or social reasons, we give the impression that it is okay to lie to get what you want, then where is the line to be drawn?

This is not to say that are not national or cultural biases the way history is taught, or that there should not be any. Obviously, US history textbooks should treat Chinese history differently than Chinese history books do. The determining factor should be whether a person (white, black or yellow) or event (here or abroad) has had a significant impact on American life or thought. If so, that person or event should be recorded in US history books. By extension, then, history should be rewritten every once in a while, not only to keep it “current,” but to make sure that the importance of the people and events covered is accurately reflected in the amount of coverage given. The goal is accuracy, not the furtherance of a socio-political agenda.

I do not deny that there should be a cultural element in the upbringing of our children, but I do not believe that it belongs in our history. I would like to see a separate branch of thought and study devoted to culture (including racial aspects), although this would be a mess to implement in today’s multicultural society. The first goal, as I see it, should be to strengthen our own society.

Only then will we be able to focus on increasing nationwide cultural awareness.

Neil Martin
Los Angeles, California

Reading Both Sides

Two years ago I was a big buff of First World War history, and came to the conclusion that Germany got a “bum rap” in that conflict. I had no special interest in the Second World War, and was convinced that the Germans got the licking they deserved. Now I’m not so sure about anything.

Having bought books from the IHR on several occasions, I am familiar with the “revisionist” side of the Holocaust debate. Until recently, though, I had not really read any “conventional” Holocaust literature, when I bought and read *Hasidic Tales of the Holocaust* by Yaffa Eliach, *Auschwitz and the Allies* by Martin Gilbert, *Auschwitz: True Tales from a Grotesque Land* by Sara Nomberg-Przytyk, and *Elie Wiesel: Messenger to All Humanity* by Robert McAfee Brown.

Two of these — the books by Nomberg-Przytyk and Brown — actually swayed me to the Revisionist view. The kicker in Nomberg-Przytyk’s book is a quotation from Wiesel: “Some events do take place but are not true; others are, although they never occurred.” (p. 166). [Nomberg-Przytyk’s book was reviewed by Ted O’Keefe in the Fall 1986 *Journal*.]

Never in my life have I read a more ass-licking, self-pitying book as Brown’s book about Wiesel. I had to force myself to finish reading it. Particularly striking are Brown’s efforts early on in the book to promote the “Holocaust” as a sacred event that can properly be approached only with awe and humility through “survivor” testimony. Brown portrays Jews as entirely innocent martyrs throughout history, and concludes his book with an attack against Christianity. [Brown’s book was reviewed by L. A. Rollins in the Fall 1985 *Journal*.]

G. H.
Kalamazoo, Michigan

Fear of Complacency

Sincere congratulations on the latest [November] *IHR Newsletter*, and on your eminently successful Conference. My only caution against celebrating

hard-won revisionist successes is fear of overconfidence and complacency. We must be ever mindful that the opponents of truth and free speech do not play by the same rules as we do. Also, they are in control of most means of information and entertainment and (as Bradley Smith can attest) higher education. They wield the power of plutocrats.

C. H.
Troy, Michigan

More About the "Wilhelm Gustloff"

Concerning John Ries' article, "History's Greatest Naval Disaster" (*Journal*, Fall 1992): The photograph on page 373 does not show the *Wilhelm Gustloff* "before the war as a luxury liner." The dark line painted along the ship's side, as well as the less visible red cross on the smokestack, show it as a hospital ship. These markings are in accord with Geneva convention regulations. (The *Gustloff* served as a hospital ship between September 22, 1939, and November 20, 1940.)

This same photograph is reproduced on glossy paper in Heinz Schön's superbly documented and illustrated book *Die Gustloff Katastrophe* (Stuttgart: Motorbuch Verlag, 1984), where the red cross on the smokestack is much more visible. Heinz Schön, who was the *Gustloff's* purser and survived the sinking, has authored several books on the life-saving mass evacuation of civilians across the Baltic Sea.

According to Schön, 1,252 people were rescued from the *Gustloff* sinking, whom he lists by name, and there were 5,348 victims. However, he allows for some more victims: people who had been smuggled aboard without being registered. Schön is said to own the most comprehensive private archive on the *Wilhelm Gustloff* and other "Kraft durch Freude" (KdF) ships.

Z. B.
Lerum, Sweden

Revisionism and Anti-Semitism

What astonishes me most is the way that anti-Revisionists like to equate Holocaust Revisionism with anti-Semitism.

When a person who really hates Jews is confronted with the widely propagated figure of six million Holocaust victims, he cynically responds with something like "Six million? So what? Too bad they didn't get more of them."

By contrast, if Holocaust Revisionists are sincere and careful in their search for historical truth, and conclude that the number of Jewish

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conspiracy of
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it gains the
attention it
deserves.

—Richard J.
Herrnstein
Professor of Psychology,
Harvard University

THERE IS NO MORE COMPELLING ISSUE confronting Americans today than that of race. And yet there is no other issue in which the gap between private beliefs and public discussion is wider. Many Americans have succumbed to the notion that it is somehow wrong to be forthright about questions of race; that decent, intelligent people should not candidly discuss what's wrong; that the only acceptable debate must take place in an arena circumscribed by taboos.

Jared Taylor wants to reopen this debate. He believes that unless we can be forthright about race issues, unless we can ask the right questions and receive honest answers, we have little chance of solving the problem. And if we don't solve the problem, the race situation can only worsen.

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Paved With Good Intentions boldly argues that as long as whites are held chiefly responsible for the situation of blacks, policies such as affirmative action and quotas, perceived to penalize one group to reward another, will only make matters worse.

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victims of persecution is much smaller than what the public has been told, than this can hardly be regarded, in itself, as an expression of anti-Semitism. Although Revisionists take a stand against the official propaganda of the Establishment, this is not in itself anti-Jewish.

Every real friend of the Jews should appreciate the work of the Revisionists, while genuine anti-Semites ought to be disappointed because those who hate Jews would like the number of Jewish Holocaust victims to be as large as possible.

This is a very obvious observation, I would think. But it shows just how absurd I regard the spectacle that was set off by Faurisson's visit to Sweden in March [1992]. There must be a fanatic desire to hold on to the justification for the hatred that the anti-Revisionists have built up.

The way that the anti-Revisionists behave and express themselves shows very clearly that they foresee the imminent collapse of their ideology. It is most remarkable that this outlook, which cannot stand up to rational argument and is based only on hatred, has held up for as long as it has.

W. H.
Silver Spring, Maryland

Planting Seeds, Sticking to Facts

Revisionists who appear as guests on radio and television talk shows sometimes do not come across as well as they should because they allow our adversaries to dictate the pace of debate. This often consists of hysterics, such as loud shouting, threats, personal attacks against character, and so forth, with the host sometimes joining the fray.

Unfortunately, the Revisionist guest sometimes responds in kind. This is a mistake. The Revisionist view is one that must be conveyed in a calm and scholarly manner. We must always stand firmly on the facts as we know and uncover them.

We need never deviate from the plain truth. The burden of proof should be shifted to our Exterminationist adversaries. If they wish to scream the Holocaust line to the high heavens, let them. Then once they come back down off their emotional diatribe to a level suitable to calm discussion, hit them again with the facts.

We lose when we fight on their terms. I would prefer to see the Revisionist calmly conclude by thanking the host for the opportunity to appear as a guest, than to see him join in name calling and back biting.

We win when they refuse to answer the hard questions that can and should be asked, such as: Why have the Polish and Israeli governments drastically cut the figures of Auschwitz victims?, or, Why point to the "reconstructed" gas chambers in the Auschwitz main camp when the supposedly

"real" ones are only a few kilometers away in Birkenau?

Mere emotionalism will never effectively refute undeniable fact. Let's stand on our scholarship, our facts.

Let's remember that it's not the host we're trying to win, but the television viewers at home. They are the final referees. The seeds of doubt, adequately planted and nurtured, will grow in the hearts and minds of those who regard themselves as members of the "silent majority."

H. F.
Louisville, Kentucky

New Threat to Free Speech Proposed in Australia

In my capacity as Secretary of the Australian Civil Liberties Union, I wish to let your readers know that Zionist-Jewish interests are attempting to introduce in this country a federal "Racial Vilification Law" under which those found guilty of disseminating "racist" words or literature would be liable to up to two years' imprisonment. This proposed legislation would criminalize "racist" remarks about the Holocaust.

The immediate target of this legislation is historian David Irving, who is planning to visit Australia in March 1993. He could likely be excluded from Australia on the basis of this law. The larger target is historical revisionism and people and organizations who are critical of Zionism.

To protest this proposed legislation, your readers should write to: Mr. Thani Nqayi, Principal Counsel, Human Rights Branch, Attorney General's Dept., Robert Garran Offices, Barton, Canberra, ACT 2600, Australia.

Geoff. Muirden, Secretary
Australian Civil Liberties Union
283 Lygon Street
Carlton, Vic. 3053
Australia

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.

Wichita Area Readers

Readers in the Wichita area who are interested in meeting with other Revisionists, or who want to help get out the word, should write to:

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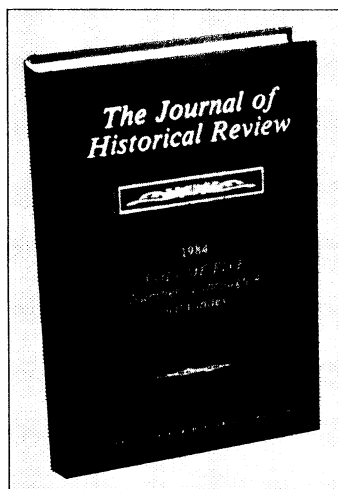
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JAMES J. MARTIN: The Dean of Historical Revisionism returns after a nine-year absence to dedicate the Eleventh to George Morgenstern, the *Chicago Tribune* editor and historian who wrote the first, and in many ways the best, book on FDR's "day of infamy" at Pearl Harbor. Dr. Martin gives his listeners not a lecture, but a seminar in the history of the rise of America's ill-starred interventionism in East Asia, 1898-1941, sparkling with dry wit, humane insight, and scholarly precision.

WILLIS CARTO, ERNST ZÜNDEL: IHR's founder introduces the video Ernst Zündel sent "just in case," (yes, once again our State Department was able to deny us our right to hear him), then the German-Canadian battler exults in his hard-won triumph (which saw Canada's highest tribunal strike down the obscure and obscurantist "false news" statute under which he was twice convicted for publishing a Revisionist book). Then Ernst thanks the many who supported him in so many ways, reaffirms his devotion to rehabilitating his German fatherland, looks ahead to the continuing struggle, and hails the coming, final victory. Includes Willis Carto presenting Ernst with the IHR's 1992 George Orwell Free Speech Award.

FRED LEUCHTER: America's leading expert in the design and operation of gas chambers, and the 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: how he licked their efforts to rob him of his freedom, how he's fighting their campaign to steal his livelihood, and the inside story of his unlawful arrest and expulsion from Great Britain.

KIRK LYONS: The U.S.A.'s counterpart to Ernst Zündel's battling barrister, Doug Christie, attorney Lyons describes his defense of Fred Leuchter, then outlines what's needed to organize a great legal counteroffensive against the enemies of freedom and truth. A rousing call to arms from America's foremost legal defender of the "politically incorrect." Leuchter and Lyons on one tape.

TED O'KEEFE: IHR editor O'Keefe tells how Holocaust survivor Mel Mermelstein, self-styled "best witness" to the Auschwitz gas chambers, was whipped on the law and the facts in Los Angeles Superior Court in September 1991, ending his ten-year campaign to bankrupt the IHR. O'Keefe tells how he gathered and evaluated the crucial evidence under the direction of defense attorneys Mark Lane and Bill Hulsy, then supplies the hilarious details of how "eyewitness" Mermelstein's libel and conspiracy suit collapsed before the horrified eyes of his high-priced Jewish lawyers as his credibility crumbled on the witness stand.

BRADLEY SMITH: Longtime director of IHR's media outreach campaign, and organizer of last year's immensely successful project to alert campuses across America to the case against the "Holocaust," Bradley Smith has never been in better form as he tells what *really* prompted him to go with full-page ads in college newspapers, and what it takes to be a full-time Holocaust Revisionist, at home and over the airwaves. You'll laugh and learn as Brad recalls Robert Faurisson's frank assessment of him as an American intellectual, and advances his own proposals for artistic tributes to Holocausters Marvin Hier and Simon Wiesenthal. Great fun!

DAVID COLE: A 23-year-old American Jewish Revisionist tells how he came, first to doubt and then to challenge, the gas-chamber stories. The young movie-maker who filmed and produced Brad Smith's video interview with Mark Lane and appeared with Mark Weber on the nationally televised Montel Williams Show recounts his recent trip to gather material for a film documentary on Auschwitz (where Ernst Zündel was his guide), above all his extraordinarily revealing, filmed interview with the research director of the Auschwitz State Museum, Franciszek Piper. Moving, informative, sensational! Smith and Cole on one tape.

JEROME BRENTAR: Jerry Brentar, the most valiant and persistent defender of John Demjanjuk, discusses, for the first time before an IHR audience, his *own* role in fighting and exposing the OSI-Israeli-Soviet frame-up of the Ukrainian-American

falsely convicted in Jerusalem as "Ivan the Terrible" of Treblinka. Jerry tells of his search for evidence on three continents; his personal experience with the skullduggery and treachery of the OSI; his 1988 "expulsion" from George Bush's presidential campaign; and his key part in educating Demjanjuk defenders like Congressman Jim Traficant (D-OH), and journalist and presidential candidate Pat Buchanan.

AHMED RAMI: The gallant Moroccan officer in exile who has become a radio apostle of Revisionism in Sweden greets the conference in French, then Robert Faurisson reads (and comments) on Rami's lecture in English. Rami tells of his trial, conviction, and jail sentence for "lack of respect" for Jews in Sweden, and how he turned his time in prison into a Revisionist seminar for guards and inmates alike. He and Dr. Faurisson give a witty rendering of Faurisson's adventure in Sweden, then Rami offers an Arab and Islamic perspective on the Holocaust, as well as experienced advice on using mass media in the battle of ideas.

WOLF R. HESS: The son of Rudolf Hess, the twentieth century's Prisoner of Peace, talks about the life and death of his father, Adolf Hitler's deputy, whose bold flight to Scotland to seek an end to World War II resulted in 46 years of imprisonment, and, Wolf Hess argues convincingly, his father's murder at the hands of his captors. In this video presentation, filmed in Germany just days before the conference, Wolf Hess offers dramatic new evidence and incomparable personal insight into his father's witness and martyrdom for Germany and world peace.

ARTHUR R. BUTZ: The author of *Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, the seminal work of modern Holocaust Revisionism, prefaces his formal lecture with a background on the origins of Brad Smith's Campus Project at Northwestern University, where he is a professor. Then Butz uses the most complete collection of German documents on the Auschwitz crematoria ever published, Pressac's *Auschwitz*, to propound a brilliant and devastating (for the Exterminationists) new hypothesis on the planning

and construction of the crematoria at Auschwitz. A vital update to *The Hoax* that every Holocaust Revisionist will want to own.

ROBERT FAURISSON: The peerless Revisionist from France first delivers a funeral oration over the cadaver of the-Holocaust-as-history, then proclaims the bad tidings: that the hoax is being resurrected, this time as a religion impervious to historical analysis, by its High Priests around the world. Professor Faurisson brings news of intensified persecution of Revisionists across Europe, and, while praising our First Amendment, warns Americans to beware the implacable fanaticism of the Holocaust cultists. An indispensable summary of how far Revisionists have come, and what we still face.

DAVID IRVING: The brilliant controversial English historian and international bestselling author provides a sobering (but hilarious) account of his harassment and embarrassment at the behest of Jewish-Zionist groups around the world, from window-smashing campaigns in Britain to obstruction by police and immigration authorities in Germany, Austria, Italy, South Africa, Canada, and Argentina. Irving then tells the *inside* story of how his contact in Moscow discovered the missing portions of the Goebbels diaries, and how Irving himself deciphered and translated them for the (London) *Sunday Times*. Finally, Irving discusses the Eichmann "memoir," offers a controversial assessment of their value for the history of World War II German Jewish policy, and crosses swords with Robert Faurisson in a dramatic and memorable question-and-answer exchange. A superb tape!

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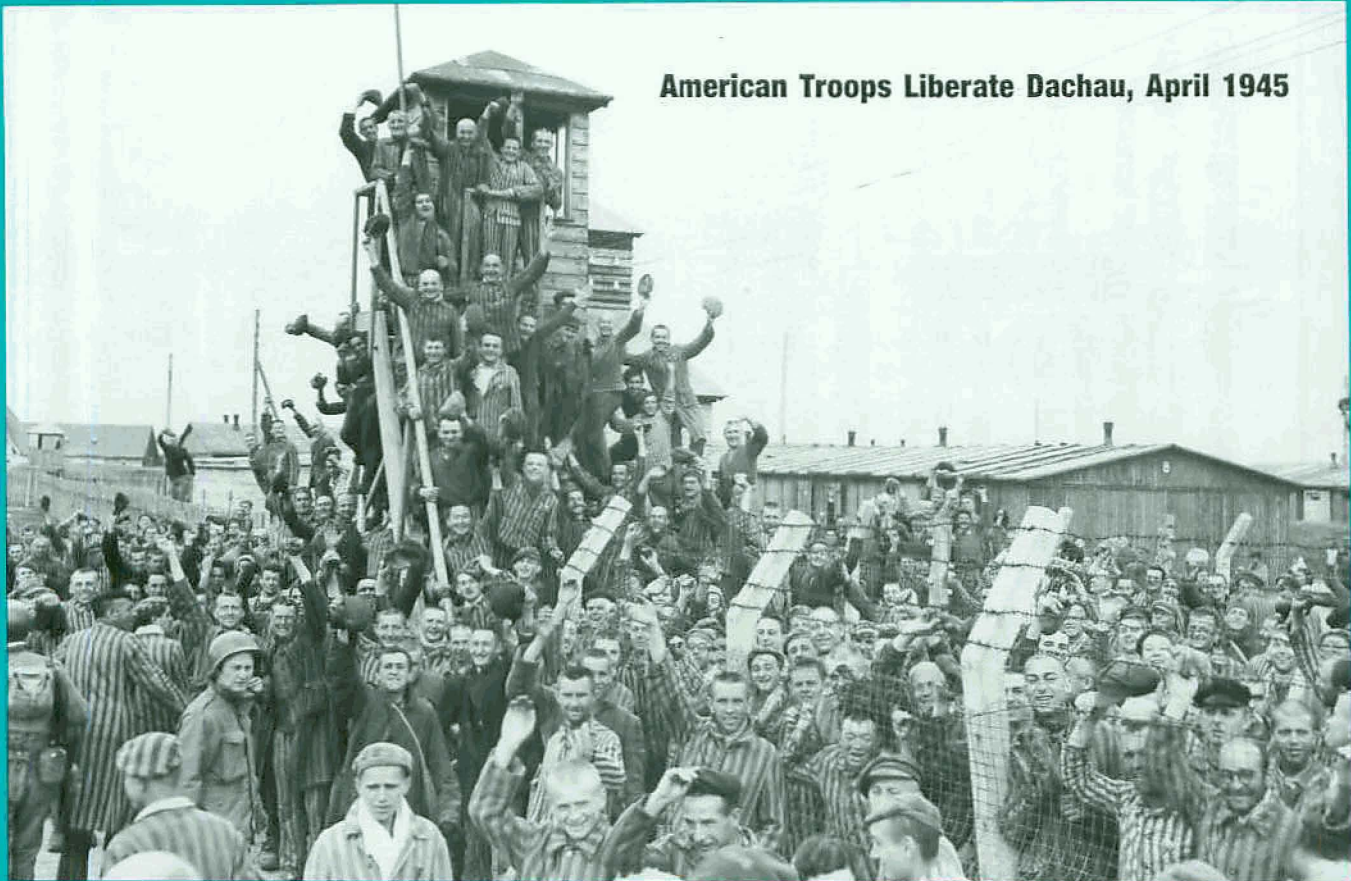


The Journal of Historical Review

Incorporating the IHR Newsletter

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May / June, 1993



American Troops Liberate Dachau, April 1945

"Liberators" Film & Book Fraud

Mark Weber and Greg Raven

*Simon Wiesenthal: "No
Extermination Camps" in Germany*

A Critique of Pressac's Opus

Arthur R. Butz

*Victory at University of Texas
for Smith's Campus Project*

Theodore J. O'Keefe

*David Irving
Barred From Australia*

Mark Weber

*Canada Affirms:
Holocaust Revisionism
Not "Hate Speech"*

— Reviews —

*British Historian
J.F.C. Fuller*

James Alexander

*Stannard's
American Holocaust*
Theodore J. O'Keefe

— And More —

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Garet Garrett was born in 1878 in Pana, Illinois. An accomplished journalist and financial expert by his thirties, he was a member of the editorial board of the *New York Times*, executive editor of the *New York Tribune*, and chief editorial writer for the *Saturday Evening Post*. Before publishing *Burden of Empire* (as *The People's Pottage*, in 1952), Garrett wrote several successful novels on business and financial themes, and a history of the 1929 crash (*A Bubble That Broke the World*, 1932); a biography of Henry Ford (*The Wild Wheel*, 1954); and a history of the American republic up to and including its demise (*The American Story*). He died on his farm in Tuckahoe, New Jersey in 1954.

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IN THIS ISSUE

From the Editor	2
"Liberators" Film and Book Project Exposed as Fraud <i>Mark Weber and Greg Raven</i>	4
Simon Wiesenthal: "No Extermination Camps" in Germany	9
Dr. Broszat: "No Gassing in Dachau"	12
David Irving Barred From Australia <i>Mark Weber</i>	13
Zionism and the Press in Australia	15
In Canada, Holocaust Revisionism is Not "Hate Speech"	16
Smith/Cole Campus Project Ad Published at University of Texas <i>Theodore J. O'Keefe</i>	17
French Scholar Recants "Heretical" Holocaust Views William Lindsey	21
Ivor Benson	21
Doug Collins Honored	22
Some Thoughts on Pressac's Opus <i>Arthur R. Butz</i>	23
British Historian J.F.C. Fuller <i>Review Essay by James Alexander</i>	38
Stannard's American Holocaust <i>Review by Theodore J. O'Keefe</i>	43
Letters	46

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We are sometimes asked why we devote so much effort to the Holocaust issue. No, it's not some bizarre obsession. We do so because, by any objective standard, "the Holocaust" has come to play a very important role in our society. The wartime fate of Europe's Jews is treated not as another chapter of history,

but rather as the most polemicized and politicized pseudo-religious icon of the present. (This is manifest, for example, in the official US Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, DC. By the time readers receive this issue, it will have been opened with great media fanfare.)

We also deal with this issue because others are unable or unwilling to so conscientiously take on the largely thankless work of challenging this taboo.

The Holocaust issue is a primary reason that the IHR came into being, and it is especially because of our thoughtful and informed treatment of this issue over the years that the IHR and its *Journal* have had such a remarkable impact — far out of proportion to our modest resources and circulation. For better or worse, our dedication to the task of combatting historical myth and stereotype demands that we continue to deal with this issue.

"Politically Correct" Fiasco

Nothing better illustrates the way that the Holocaust story is exploited to promote other aspects of the "politically correct" agenda than the much-heralded "Liberators" film and book project. As we report in this issue's lead article, this "documentary" film was launched in New York with applause and support from the cultural and political elite, including the federal government's US Holocaust Memorial Council.

It didn't take long, though, for the project's glaring defects to become embarrassingly obvious. A central claim of "Liberators" was quickly shown to be a lie: black American soldiers did not liberate the Dachau and Buchenwald concentration camps.

Butz on Pressac

An impressive (and arguably the most scholarly) effort to refute Revisionist arguments has been the detailed 564-page book on Auschwitz by French

pharmacist J.-C. Pressac. Published in 1989 by the Klarsfeld Foundation, it was meant to be the definitive response to the Revisionist view of the Auschwitz extermination story. If nothing else, Pressac's book proves — contrary to what is sometimes asserted — that there is indeed a real debate among thoughtful men and women of good will about what actually happened at Auschwitz. In keeping with our commitment to publish solidly-researched writing on the Holocaust issue, we are pleased to present here a closely argued response to the Pressac book by Dr. Arthur Butz.

Victory in Texas

Also in this issue, Theodore O'Keefe describes the victory at the University of Texas (Austin) by the Smith/Cole Revisionist "Campus Project," which prevailed in spite of a "full court press" of intimidation and pressure by the very inappropriately named Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. And in Canada, as we also happy to report, the government has affirmed that Holocaust Revisionism is not "hate speech."

Setbacks

We also tell about two recent setbacks: The decision by politicians in Australia to bar British historian David Irving — whose works can be found in any good-sized bookstore or library in the country — and the recantation by French scholar Bernard Notin of his heretical views on the Holocaust.

The Notin case is particularly instructive. The forces of bigotry mobilized a campaign of threat and persecution against the French professor's livelihood and perhaps even his life — all because he had expressed dissident views on the most sacred dogma of our time in just a few lines in an article published in a rather obscure scholarly journal.

But the Irving and Notin cases are no cause for discouragement. As inevitable as they are temporary, such setbacks are actually signs of progress. Whenever a new awareness with profound social-political implications threatens a prevailing ideological dogma, the powers that be inevitably resort to drastic measures — including government bans and physical violence — to defend their privilege and power. Unable to respond convincingly to Revisionist arguments with fact and logic, our increasingly desperate adversaries turn to such extreme measures precisely because they are so alarmed at the very real progress we have been making.

"New" Journal

As we had hoped, response to the new-format *Journal* has generally been very positive. Readers tell us that they find it more attractive and easier to read. We are also happy to report that *Journal* circulation has sharply increased as a result of recent promotional work, including a mailing to 5,000 libraries in the United States and Canada. Book sales have likewise been brisk in recent months, due in large part to promotional mailings.

Our book publishing work also continues. For example, we are happy to announce that F.J.P. Veale's acclaimed classic, *Advance to Barbarism*, is back in print in a handsome new IHR edition that should be available in June. A new edition of Garett's classic *Burden of Empire* — a work that originally appeared under the title *The People's Pottage* — will soon also be available.

An Introduction

Finally, a belated introduction: Although Greg Raven has been serving as *Journal* Associate Editor since the January-February issue, and those who attended the October 1992 IHR Conference

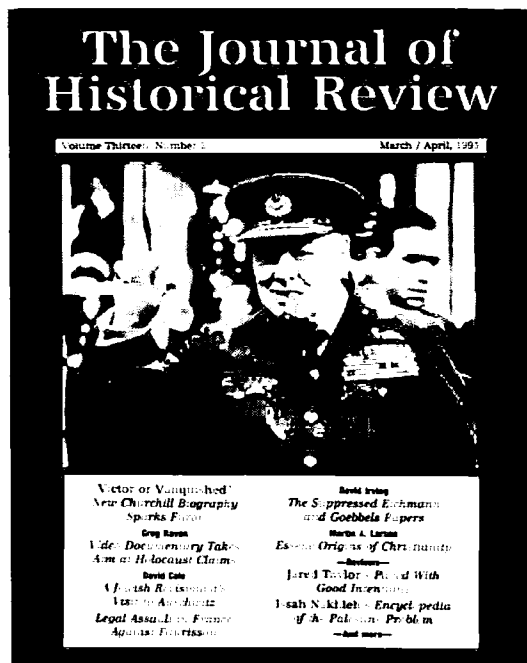
were able to meet him (and his charming wife) in person there, he has not yet been introduced to our readers.



Greg Raven

Born in 1953, he has lived most of his life in southern California. Since he began making his living as a writer in the late 1970s, he has turned out sales materials, radio plays, stand-up comedy, numerous magazine articles, computer documentation manuals, reviews, and two books. He has proven a tremendous help since he began working here

in September 1992. All of us at the IHR have also come to appreciate his positive attitude, his ready wit, and his unflappable sense of humor.



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Multi-Media 'Liberators' Project Exposed As Fraud

Historical Truth Survives "Politically Correct" Exploitation

MARK WEBER AND GREG RAVEN

Exposing historical and media fraud sometimes takes years or even decades. In the case of a recent heavily promoted and widely praised multi-media project — designed to promote the Holocaust story, condemn official racism against blacks in America during the Second World War, and encourage racial tolerance — debunking has come much more quickly.

Liberators: Fighting on Two Fronts in World War II — a lavishly financed project that claims to tell the story of how black troops liberated Buchenwald and Dachau — was exposed as an error-packed fraud within weeks of its debut.

Producers Nina Rosenblum and William Miles collaborated with author Lou Potter on the slickly promoted project that includes a much-touted "documentary" film, a book, a high school workbook, a screenplay and a theatrical version. Even before its public debut, "Liberators" had garnered impressive national and international support.

Typical of the hype was the praise by *Publishers Weekly* (Oct. 19, p. 32), a leading publishing trade periodical:

It's been a long time in coming, but *Liberators: Fighting on Two Fronts in World War II*, as a book, a TV documentary, a workbook for high schools to accompany the documentary, and a theatrical feature, is going to make its presence felt. This is the story, not found in standard historical accounts, of the role played by the 761st Tank Battalion in freeing the prisoners of Dachau and Buchenwald.

Jesse Jackson presented a copy of the sumptuous book version of *Liberators* (published by the prestigious firm of Harcourt Brace Jovanovich) to President-elect Clinton. The black leader also announced that, with financial backing from financier Felix Rohatyn, he would distribute copies to every school library in the United States.

Gala Premiere

New York Mayor David Dinkins introduced the "Liberators" film at its premiere showing on November 9 at a star-studded gathering of more than 700 leaders of the city's Jewish and black communities. The gala event at New York's Lincoln Center was co-sponsored by the US Holocaust Memorial Council (a taxpayer-funded federal government agency) and WNET television (New York City's prestigious PBS station).

Referring obliquely to the high level of tension between the city's Jews and blacks, Dinkins said: "... When we see those brave African-American soldiers freeing Jewish prisoners of concentration camps, let us remember all that binds us together." Reporting on the premiere showing, the US Holocaust Council's (Winter 1992-93) *Newsletter* similarly boasted that the film "offered a rare opportunity for reconciliation and communication between two of New York's most prominent ethnic groups."

Two days later (Veteran's Day), WNET broadcast "Liberators" nationally on the PBS television network as part of its prestigious "American Experience" series. In mid-December, Jesse Jackson introduced the film at its showing at the Apollo Theater in Harlem, a high-profile event sponsored by media giant Time Warner and a host of rich and influential New Yorkers. (*New Republic*, Feb. 8, p. 13; *New York Guardian*, March 1993)

Truth Emerges

Because its errors are so blatant and readily discernible, it wasn't long before critics began pointing them out. The first periodical to take aim was a relatively obscure monthly, the *New York Guardian*. In its December 1992 issue, the paper reported:

After an intensive examination of Army records and interviews with military historians, Holocaust experts, [and] World War II veterans including black soldiers whose lives were depicted in "Liberators," the *Guardian* has learned that the most celebrated facts of "Liberators" are not true. Neither soldiers of the 761st All Black Tank Battalion nor the soldiers of the 183rd Black Combat Engineers ever liberated Buchenwald or Dachau.

Veterans' groups and individual veterans of the 761st soon joined in, confirming that black units did not liberate Buchenwald or Dachau. Robert Abzug, professor of history at the University of Texas, and author of *Inside the Vicious Heart: Americans and the Liberation of Nazi Concentration Camps*, said that the *Liberators* book and film "violates any sense of historical accuracy." (*New Republic*, March 8, p. 42)

Staged "Reunion"

The "highlight" of "Liberators," reports the Winter 1992-93 *Newsletter* of the US Holocaust

Memorial Council, is a "deeply moving reunion" at Buchenwald of former inmate Benjamin Bender "with two of his liberators," E. G. McConnell and Leonard Smith. "In autumn 1991," readers of *Liberators* (p. vii) are told:

Jewish survivors of Dachau and Buchenwald were reunited, under the auspices of the production team, with members of the 761st. The dramatic and poignant event received widespread media coverage, which led to Harcourt Brace Jovanovich's decision to employ the publishing medium in making this exciting and previously untold story available to the widest possible audience in this country and abroad.

This "moving" and "poignant" event is a deceitful fraud. "It's a lie," confirms McConnell. "We were nowhere near these camps when they were liberated. . . . I first went to Buchenwald in 1991 with PBS, not the 761st." (*New Republic*, Feb. 6, p. 13)



A fraudulent scene from "Liberators." According to the caption to this photo in the Winter 1992-93 *Newsletter* of the US Holocaust Memorial Museum, former inmate Benjamin Bender "recalls the day the American troops freed him and his fellow inmates from Buchenwald with two of his liberators, E.G. McConnell, left, and Leonard (Smitty) Smith." Their "reunion" here at Buchenwald is a lie. McConnell and Smith were miles away from the camp when it was liberated.

Rosenblum and Miles blatantly disregarded the truth, McConnell says: "I called their attention to it. I tried to stop them, but in the final stages they decided to deviate from the fact." In an effort to secure his cooperation with the project, "Liberators" co-producers Rosenblum and Miles offered McConnell \$11,000. He turned them down. (*New York Guardian*, Dec. 1992)

"Liberators," McConnell charges, is a "distortion of black history. They [the producers] had received

a lot of money from the Jewish community based on the story and they [the producers] didn't want to change it." (*New York Guardian*, Dec. 1992)

More Lies

One person who figures prominently in "Liberators" is Leon Bass, a black veteran who has made a second career speaking to gatherings sponsored by Jewish groups, and to classrooms of impressionable school children. He has been featured on the "MacNeil/Lehrer News Hour" and in other major media as a liberator of Buchenwald.

In the Rosenblum/Miles film, and in his frequent lectures, Bass calls himself a "liberator." (*New Republic*, Feb. 8, p. 14) He has received numerous awards and large speaking fees for retelling his "liberation" story, and was named co-chairman of the Philadelphia Council on the Holocaust. (*New York Guardian*, March 1993)

In fact, though, he only visited Buchenwald — on orders — five days *after* its liberation.

In both in the film and the book version of "Liberators," Bass also emotionally recounts how he and his unit, the 183rd Combat Engineers, built a bridge in a Belgian town during the December 1944 "Battle of the Bulge." He and his men worked ". . . in spite of strafing by the airplanes that would come down daily and machine-gun us. In spite of the shelling of the howitzers, we worked on that bridge." As a result, Bass continued, "many of my friends" were killed building the bridge. (*Liberators*, p. 190)

In fact, the only soldier to die while constructing the bridge was one officer who was killed in an accident involving his jeep. There was no strafing by German planes. During its entire time of service in Europe, the 183rd lost three of its members, all due to accidents. (*New York Guardian*, March 1993)

According to *Liberators* (p. 217), Buchenwald was liberated when

The tankers from the 761st broke through the Buchenwald gates and, with their accompanying infantrymen, quickly ended resistance from the SS guards. . . . Johnnie Stevens recalls: "We . . . shot up the place and chased the guards out of there. It was a sight I never want to see again, I'll tell you that."

This account is sheer invention. American troops did not break through the camps' gates (they entered on foot), nor did they shoot up the place or chase guards.

On liberation day, "recalls" former Buchenwald inmate Ben Bender, an airplane flew overhead and gunfire was exchanged. (*Liberators*, p. 217) In fact, the German camp guards had already abandoned the camp hours before, and there was no gunfire or planes flying overhead.

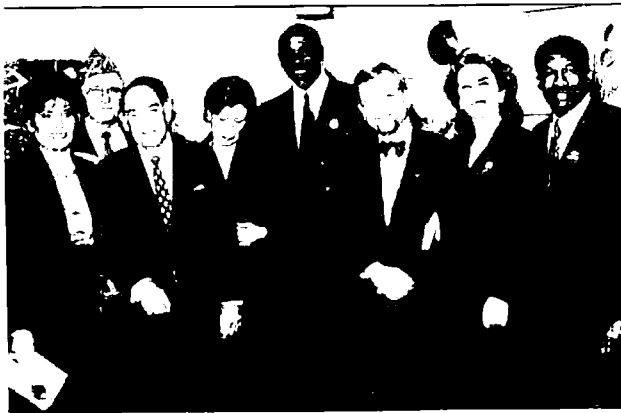
The New York Times Record of Falsehood

Over the years, few institutions have been more guilty of distorting the truth about the wartime fate of Europe's Jews than *The New York Times*, America's most influential daily paper, and an important booster of "Liberators." (Joseph Sobran, syndicated columnist and *National Review* writer, once joked that the paper "really ought to change its name to Holocaust Update.")

The *New York Guardian* detailed "a clear pattern of inaccurate reporting, and the employment of faulty journalistic practices" by *The New York Times* since 1985 in its coverage of the liberation of the German camps, and particularly the supposed role of black US Army units. The monthly paper cited eleven specific examples of such distortion of fact by the *Times*. (*New York Guardian*, March 1993)

Defending Deceit

Revealing and instructive has been the response of the project's producers and supporters to honest efforts by those who tried to point out its errors. Co-producer Rosenblum angrily castigated her film's critics as Holocaust Revisionists and racists. "These people are [of] the same mentality that says that the Holocaust didn't happen," she said. (*New Republic*, Feb. 6, pp. 13-14)



The "Liberators" film premiered at a gala gathering in New York City, November 9, co-sponsored by the US Holocaust Memorial Museum and public television station WNET. Among the attendees were, from left: Entertainer Lena Horne, an unidentified person, Harvey Meyerhoff (chairman of the US Holocaust Memorial Council), Nina Rosenblum ("Liberators" co-producer), actor Louis Gossett, Jr., William F. Baker, Elizabeth Rohatyn (WNET vice chairperson), and William Miles ("Liberators" co-producer).

When military affairs specialist and New York City radio talk show host Jim Dingman confronted Rosenblum about her film's inaccuracies, she called

him a "racist." And when he tried to explain the truth to the Anti-Defamation League (which had eagerly endorsed the project), an ADL spokesperson dismissed him as a "revisionist." (*New York Guardian*, Dec. 1992)

McConnell tells a similar story. When he tried to explain the film's fraud to the Anti-Defamation League, he was sharply rebuffed. The ADL "treated me like I was a kook, or something," he says.

While admitting that the film's description of the "reunion" scene "may be misleading," Rosenblum told one skeptic: "You can't speak to him [McConnell] because he's snapped. He was hit in the head with shrapnel and was severely brain-damaged." Informed of this, McConnell responded: "If I was so disturbed, why did they use me in the film?" (*New Republic*, Feb. 8, p. 13) As it happens, McConnell is referred to on more than 20 pages of *Liberators*, often in direct quotes.

As criticism mounted, Rosenblum "continually encouraged the veterans to blame any challenge of the film's veracity on bigotry" and "deflected criticism of the film by charging prejudice." To one critic she responded by asking why he was "willing to believe a white commander and not [the black] soldiers." (*New York Guardian*, March 1993)

Finally, Rosenblum tried to explain away criticism of her film by charging:

There's tremendous racism in the Jewish community. How people who have been through the Holocaust can be racist is completely incomprehensible. To think that black people are less, which is what most Jewish people think, I can't understand it. (*New Republic*, Feb. 6, pp. 13-14)

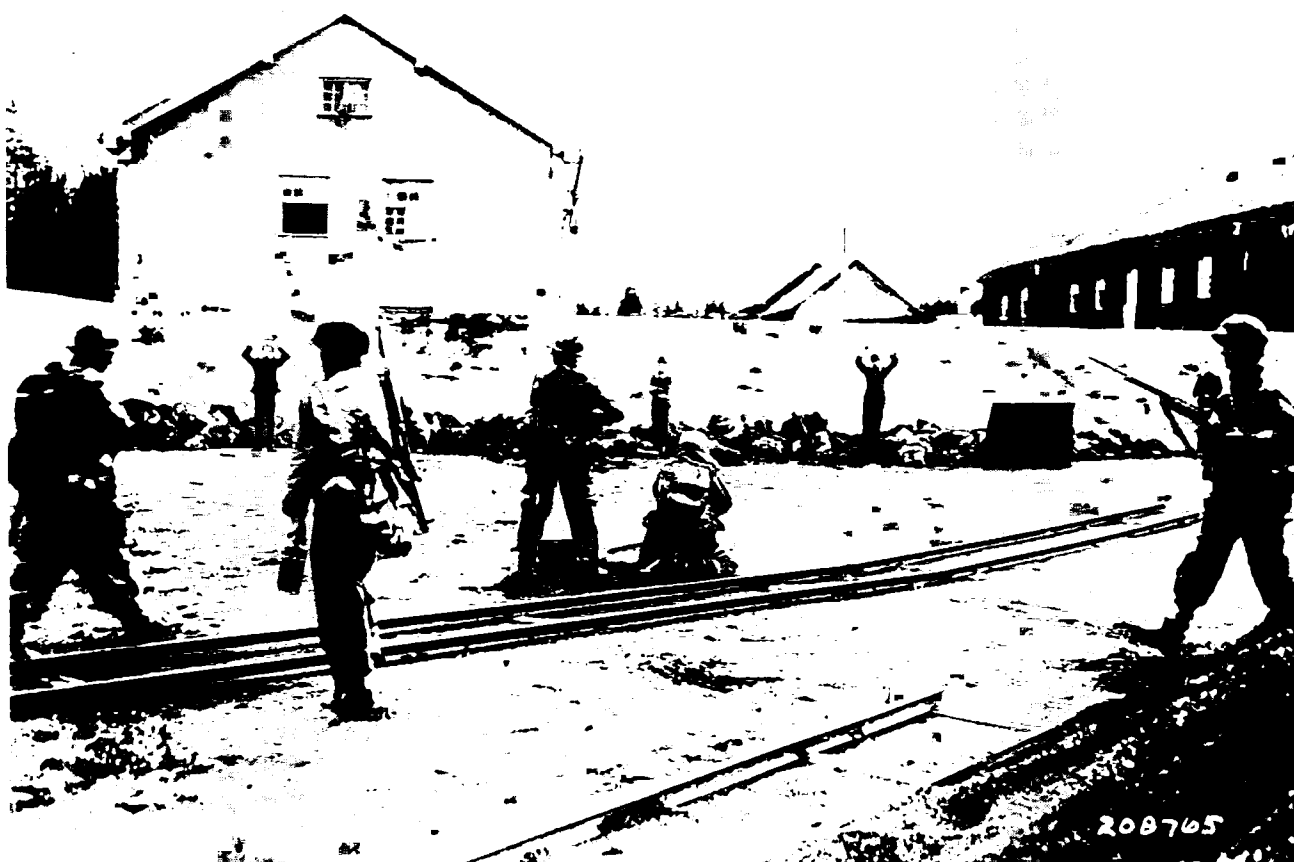
Damage Control

After the essentially fraudulent character of "Liberators" had been widely reported, the project's most prominent backers engaged in some "damage control" and sought to distance themselves from the now-discredited production.

WNET announced on February 11 that "Liberators" was being "withdrawn" from circulation. Explaining the decision, WNET vice president Harry Chancey, Jr., referred to "the sacred nature of the Holocaust. . . . Rather than let this film go up like an incendiary bomb, we decided that we would withdraw the film . . ."

Defiance

Even so, "Liberators" still had staunch defenders. One was Peggy Tishman, a former president of the Jewish Community Relations Council of New York. "Liberators," she said, is "good for the Holocaust. . . . Why would anybody want to exploit the idea that this is a fraud? . . ." What is important here is not historical accuracy but black-Jewish "dialogue," she explained, and added: "There are a lot of truths that are very necessary. This is not a truth that's necessary." (*New Republic*, Feb. 8, p. 14)



American soldiers who liberated Dachau summarily killed 520 of the 560 German camp personnel who had surrendered. Here, soldiers of the 157th Regiment, 45th Division, have just machine-gunned a group of about a hundred German prisoners. Four who were missed are still standing; they were killed moments after this photo was taken. No one has ever been punished for this atrocity. (US Army photo SC 208765.)

At Yale University, "Liberators" was "defiantly" shown to a gathering of 200 students and citizens of New Haven. "This is one more tool to help us address the issue of racism," said Gertrude Sparks, director of the New Haven YMCA which, along with local Jewish leaders, co-sponsored the showing. "This is not the time to concern ourselves with who gets credit for what camps were taken. This film will illuminate history." (*Forward*, March 5)

"Liberators" was also shown on February 8 at Harvard University. One person defended the film there by absurdly asserting that "for eight days the 761st held the German army. If they hadn't held it, the German army would have gone back to Paris. . . . Whether they went into the camps first or last . . . is not relevant." (*Forward*, Feb. 12)

In San Francisco, television station KQED broadcast "Liberators" on February 21, ten days after it had been "withdrawn" by the PBS network.

Harcourt Brace Jovanovich decided not to withdraw the *Liberators* book from circulation, and it remained a selection of the prestigious Book of the

Month Club. (*New York Times Book Review*, Feb. 21, p. 36)

Perhaps most astonishingly, on February 17 it was announced that the "Liberators" film had been nominated for an Oscar award in the category of Best Documentary.

What Critics Missed

Regrettably — but understandably — none of the prominent critics of "Liberators" have been able or willing to point out the project's falsehoods as they touch on the Holocaust extermination story itself.

For example, *Liberators* (pp. 58, 239) revives the now well-discredited story that inmates were killed in gas chambers at Dachau:

As the 761st and the 100th were preparing for combat, inmates at Dachau — outside Munich — were being murdered by the thousands. Most were gassed, shot, or hanged . . .

"Then I [GI Walter Lewis] went in the back to what they called the shower room. I didn't go in,

I just peeked through the window because I feared that maybe the gas was still on."

Liberators (p. 135) also reports that

In Buchenwald, that summer of '44, [inmate] Ben Bender could only gaze, in numbed horror, at the gray clouds billowing twenty-four hours a day from the crematorium's towering smokestacks.

Actually, crematories are designed in such a way that they do not "billow" smoke.

Bender has also claimed to have "stood in the gas chamber" at Buchenwald. (*Los Angeles Times*, "TV Times" sec., Nov. 8, p. 7.) As every reputable historian of this era acknowledges, there was no "gas chamber" at the camp.

Liberators (p. 158) also cites the "confession" of Auschwitz Commandant Rudolf Höss as proof that three million were killed in that camp. (As Dr. Robert Faurisson and others have pointed out, this confession is demonstrably inaccurate on key points, was obtained by torture, and is worthless as proof. See *The Journal of Historical Review*, Winter 1986, pp. 389 ff.)

Unmentioned Atrocity

"*Liberators*" makes no mention whatsoever of what was almost certainly the worst single atrocity committed at Dachau: the murder by the camp's American liberators of 520 of the 560 German camp personnel who had surrendered. About 100 were shot down wherever they were found scattered around the camp. GIs permitted inmates to kill another 40 prisoners with shovels, clubs and guns. But most of those who surrendered — 358 in all — were lined up against walls and summarily machine-gunned by American soldiers. (Source: Howard Buechner, *Dachau: The Hour of the Avenger*, Metairie, La., 1986.)

Conclusion

Summing up the "*Liberators*" debacle, the *New York Post* pointedly commented: "What we have here, in short, is an effort to rewrite history to suit contemporary political purposes." (Quoted in *The Washington Times*, Feb. 7)

While few of those who have pointed out errors and fraud in "*Liberators*" would regard themselves as "revisionist," Rosenblum's angry denunciation of her critics as such is quite apt. Every person who helps set straight the historical record is indeed a revisionist — in the best sense of the word. And although the larger Holocaust questions have remain untouched by mainstream commentators, the relatively successful spotlighting of the fraudulent nature of the "*Liberators*" project, and the debunking of many of its specific lies, is nevertheless a welcome blow for historical truth.

A Video that Revises History —And Could Change the Course of It

Out of all the footage I brought back, nothing is more significant, or of more vital importance, than the interview I conducted in Poland with Dr. Franciszek Piper of the Auschwitz State Museum . . . He felt comfortable enough to talk with me for an hour in his office at Auschwitz. The result should keep people talking for quite some time. —David Cole

Equipped with a Super VHS camera, a yarmulke, a list of questions, and a sense of humor, Revisionist David Cole traveled to Auschwitz in September 1992 and produced a video of that trip that is, to put it mildly, *monumental*. Cole not only documents on tape the falsehoods told Auschwitz visitors every day by the professional tour guides there, he shows that the very people who run the museum aren't at all sure about their biggest attraction—the infamous "gas chamber"!

Here is dramatic confirmation of what Revisionists have been saying about the Holocaust for more than 20 years, graphically presented on video so you can see and hear for yourself the tour guides and the museum's director, and examine the layout of the camp with its buildings and their surroundings. This video brings Auschwitz, as well as *The Leuchter Report*, to life right in your living room.

Most remarkable of all is Cole's interview with Dr. Piper, in which the curator of the Auschwitz State Museum casually admits to postwar alterations of the room that for decades has been shown to tourists as an unaltered, "original state" gas chamber.

In full color and crisp sound, the tape runs just under an hour. If you've been waiting for a concise, intelligent, and *very* persuasive presentation on the Holocaust that you can comfortably show to friends and family, *that video is here!* And for those with no access to a video player, the soundtrack is available on C-60 audio cassette.

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Wiesenthal Re-Confirms: 'No Extermination Camps on German Soil'

In a letter published in a January issue of *The Stars and Stripes*, a newspaper for US military service personnel, Simon Wiesenthal re-confirmed, in passing, that "there were no extermination camps on German soil" during the Second World War. He made the identical statement in a letter published in the April 1975 issue of the British periodical *Books & Bookmen*.

While the truth of Wiesenthal's words here has been known for years, this statement is significant, first of all, because it is made by an internationally renowned and supposedly knowledgeable and reputable figure, and, second, because it once again confirms a point that Revisionists have been making for years. What Wiesenthal does not mention, and what is not widely understood, is that he also implicitly confirms the drastic change that has taken place over the years in the Holocaust extermination story.

What the "Nazi hunter" now says contrasts sharply with what was authoritatively claimed in the decades following the Second World War. At the great Nuremberg Tribunal of 1945-1946, for example, Allied government officials presented apparently conclusive evidence to prove that camps "on German soil" — such as Dachau and Buchenwald — were "extermination" centers. Sir Hartley Shawcross, chief British prosecutor at the main Nuremberg trial, accordingly declared in his closing address on July 26, 1946, that "murder [was] conducted like some mass production industry in the gas chambers and the ovens" of Buchenwald, Dachau, Oranienburg — all "on German soil" — as well as at other German-run camps.

"Evidence" of Gassings at Dachau

Abundant "proof" that inmates were gassed at Dachau has been provided over the years, most notably at the main Nuremberg trial of 1945-1946. Former inmate Dr. Franz Blaha, for example, provided eyewitness testimony at Nuremberg about gas chamber killings there of "many prisoners."

According to a May 1945 US government document, which was accepted as evidence by the Nuremberg Tribunal as document L-159 (USA-222), "a distinguishing feature of the Dachau Camp was the gas chamber for the execution of prisoners." The official report went on to describe the alleged gassing operation in some detail. (For more about such "evidence," see: R. Faurisson, *The Journal of Historical Review*, Fall 1990, pp. 296-307.)

"Evidence" of Extermination at Buchenwald

Superficially impressive evidence has likewise been presented over the years to "prove" that the Buchenwald camp was an "extermination" center. For example, an April 1945 US Army report about Buchenwald prepared for the Supreme Allied Headquarters in Europe declared that the "mission of the camp" was "an extermination factory."



Simon Wiesenthal

The May 1945 US government report on the German camps (already cited), which was accepted as evidence by the Nuremberg Tribunal as document L-159, similarly described Buchenwald as an "extermination factory." An official French government report accepted by the Tribunal as exhibit RF-301 (document 274-F) charged:

Everything had been provided for down to the smallest detail. In 1944, at Buchenwald, they had even lengthened a railway line so that the deportees might be led directly to the gas chamber. Certain [of the gas chambers] had a floor that tipped and immediately directed the bodies into the room with the crematory oven.

(For more on such "evidence," see: M. Weber, "Buchenwald: Legend and Reality," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Winter 1986-1987.)

Broszat's Acknowledgment

Such official claims of extermination and gassing at camps in Germany proper persisted until August 1960, when Dr. Martin Broszat of Germany's semi-official Institute for Contemporary History acknowledged in a letter published in the Hamburg weekly *Die Zeit* that such allegations were not true. In doing so, Broszat implicitly also conceded that the "evidence" presented at Nuremberg and elsewhere for extermination and gassings in those camps is bogus. (The complete text of Broszat's letter is given both in facsimile and in translation on page 12 of this issue of the *Journal*.)

Ignorance

Nevertheless, some people still persist in affirming the now-discredited story of gassings at Dachau. It is precisely such ignorance that prompted Wiesenthal's recent statement.

In a letter published in the December 3, 1992, issue of *The Stars and Stripes* (European edition), J. Fulton-Scott, a veteran who had been "stationed at Dachau immediately after the war" told readers: "Everything [there] was still intact, including human ashes in the grates of the crematoriums and the blood-stained fingernail claw marks on the walls of the gas chambers." Similarly, in a letter in the January 11 issue, Ben Kerns told readers about his visit to the camp in 1945 as a sergeant with the US Third Army. He attested to having seen there "a gas chamber with the chilling sign 'Dusche' (shower) over the door."

The Stars and Stripes editors also seem to accept the view that there was a homicidal gas chamber at Dachau. Adjacent to Wiesenthal's letter in the January 24 issue appears a widely reproduced US Army photograph with the caption: "A 7th Army soldier examines the gas chamber at Dachau at the end of World War II." In fact — and as all reputable specialists of the subject now readily concede — this was a small non-homicidal delousing gas chamber that was never used to kill people.

The Wiesenthal Record

While it is gratifying to note that, in his recent "Revisionist" letter, Wiesenthal implicitly "denies history" as "established" by the Nuremberg Tribunal, it must be pointed out that nearly everything else he says is untrue.

The STARS and STRIPES

European Edition

Sunday, January 24, 1993

Gassings in Germany

A letter appeared on this page titled "Gas chamber error" (Jan. 5). Since I was quoted in this letter, I find it necessary to state the following:

It is true that there were no extermination camps on German soil and thus no mass gassings such as those that took place at Auschwitz, Treblinka and other camps. A gas chamber was in the process of being built at Dachau, but it was never completed.

Gassings did, however, take place at Mauthausen, which at that time belonged to Germany.

The Nazi euthanasia program included four institutions (Hartheim by Linz, Hadamar, Sonnenstein by Pirna, and Grafenegg), in which mentally and physically handicapped people were killed — very often with the help of gas. All four of those institutions were located on German soil.

They were closed following protests but before that served as a sort of school for mass murders; from 1942 the SS members who had been active there were assigned to the large extermination camps, such as Treblinka, Sobibor and Belzec in Poland.

—Simon Wiesenthal
Vienna, Austria

Wiesenthal's letter, reproduced here in facsimile, but slightly enlarged, as it appeared in the January 24, 1993, issue of the daily *Stars and Stripes* (European edition), page 14.

There is not a shred of evidence, for example, that "a gas chamber was in the process of being built at Dachau, but it was never completed." (See "The Second Leuchter Report" by American gas chamber expert Fred Leuchter in *The Journal of Historical Review*, Fall 1990.) There is likewise no proof that "mentally and physically handicapped people were killed" by gas at any of the four "institutions" Wiesenthal mentions.



This US Army photo was taken at Dachau on April 30, 1945, one day after the camp's capture. It shows a GI standing in front of a door marked with a skull and crossbones and the words "Caution! Gas! Life danger! Do not open!" According to the official caption, "these chambers were used by Nazi guards for killing prisoners of the infamous Dachau concentration camp." In fact, this is a small disinfection gas chamber used for delousing clothes. It was never used to kill people. For several decades, this photo has been widely reproduced to help keep alive the notorious Dachau "gas chamber" myth. (US Army photo SC 206194.)

Actually — and contrary to his highly flattering public image — the renowned "Nazi hunter" has a well-documented but little-known record of deceit, mendacity and prevarication. Some highlights:

Wiesenthal repeatedly lied about his alleged role in locating Adolf Eichmann, was consistently wrong about Josef Mengele, and falsely accused Polish-American Frank Walus of having murdered Jews

in Poland as a Gestapo official. Wiesenthal has absurdly charged that the Germans exterminated Jews in "electrocution chambers," and that they manufactured bars of soap from the bodies of murdered Jews. His deception about his own wartime activities prompted Austrian Chancellor Bruno Kreisky (himself of Jewish ancestry) to accuse the "Nazi hunter" of having collaborated with his wartime oppressors. (For details about Wiesenthal's record, see: M. Weber, "Simon Wiesenthal: Bogus Nazi Hunter," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Winter 1989-90.)



Jewish babies at Dachau. These Hungarian Jewish women and their babies were photographed on May 1, 1945, two days after the liberation of the camp. The official US Army caption reports that these Jewish babies were born during the final months of German control of the camp. (US Army photo SC 205488.)

Finally, Wiesenthal has even lied about his most widely-cited concession to truth. Concerned about the way that various Revisionists were quoting his 1975 *Books & Bookmen* letter, he simply denied ever having written it. In a letter dated May 12, 1986, to Professor John George of Central State University in Edmond, Oklahoma, Wiesenthal wrote: "I have never stated that 'there were no extermination camps on German soil.' This quote is false. I could never have said such a thing."

— M.W. and G.R.

More Education Needed

Asked what she learned from her role in "Shining Through," a movie in which she plays a Jewish secretary who spies on Nazis, actress Meleanie Griffith said: "I didn't know six million Jews were killed. That's a lot of people." (Quoted in: *Forward*, New York, Dec. 25, 1992, p. 2.)

'No Gassing In Dachau'

Reproduced here in facsimile is the widely-quoted 1960 letter by Dr. Martin Broszat, as it appeared in the Hamburg weekly *Die Zeit* under the headline "Keine Vergasung in Dachau" ("No Gassing in Dachau"). It appeared in the German edition of August 19, 1960, and in the US edition of August 26, 1960 (p. 14). Dr. Broszat writes in the name of the prestigious Institute for Contemporary History (Institut für Zeitgeschichte). He later served as director of the Munich-based archive and research center, which is funded by German taxpayers.

Here is a translation of the complete text of Broszat's letter:

Neither in Dachau nor in Bergen-Belsen nor in Buchenwald were Jews or other prisoners gassed. The gas chamber in Dachau was never entirely finished or put "into operation." Hundreds of thousands of prisoners who perished in Dachau and other concentration camps in the Old Reich [that is, Germany in its borders of 1937] were victims, above all, of the catastrophic hygienic and provisioning conditions: according to official SS statistics, during the twelve months from July 1942 through June 1943 alone, 110,812 persons died of disease and hunger in all of the concentration camps of the Reich. The mass extermination of the Jews by gassing began in 1941-1942 and occurred exclusively in a few facilities selected and equipped with appropriate technical installations, above all in the occupied Polish territory (but at no place in the Old Reich): in Auschwitz-Birkenau, in Sobibor on the Bug [river], in Treblinka, Chelmno and Belzec.

It is at those places, but not in Bergen-Belsen, Dachau or Buchenwald, where the mass extermination facilities, spoken of in your article [in an earlier issue of *Die Zeit*], were built and disguised as shower baths or disinfection rooms. This necessary differentiation does not, of course, change anything regarding the criminal character of the facility that was the concentration camp. However, it may perhaps help eliminate the annoying confusion that arises from the fact that some ineducable people make use of a few arguments that, while correct, are polemically torn from the context, and that, rushing to respond to them are other people who, although they have the correct overall view, rely upon false or mistaken information.

Dr. M. Broszat
Institute for Contemporary History
Munich

Keine Vergasung in Dachau

Weder in Dachau noch in Bergen-Belsen noch in Buchenwald sind Juden oder andere Häftlinge vergast worden. Die Gaskammer in Dachau wurde nie ganz fertiggestellt und „in Betrieb“ genommen. Hunderttausende von Häftlingen, die in Dachau oder anderen Konzentrationslagern im Altreichsgebiet umkamen, waren Opfer vor allem der katastrophalen hygienischen und Versorgungszustände: Allein in den zwölf Monaten von Juli 1942 bis Juni 1943 starben laut offizieller Statistik der SS in allen Konzentrationslagern des Reiches 110 812 Personen an Krankheiten und Hunger. Die Massenvernichtung der Juden durch Vergasung begann 1941/1942 und

fand ausschließlich an einigen wenigen hierfür ausgewählten und mit Hilfe entsprechender technischer Einrichtungen versehenen Stellen, vor allem im besetzten polnischen Gebiet (aber nirgends im Altreich) statt: in Auschwitz-Birkenau, in Sobibor am Bug, in Treblinka, Chelmno und Belzec.

Dort, aber nicht in Bergen-Belsen, Dachau oder Buchenwald, wurden jene als Brausebäder oder Desinfektionsräume getarnten Massenvernichtungsanlagen errichtet, von denen in Ihrem Artikel die Rede ist. Diese notwendige Differenzierung ändert gewiß keinen Deut an der verbrecherischen Qualität der Einrichtung der Konzentrationslager. Sie mag aber vielleicht die fatale Verwirrung beiseitigen helfen, welche dadurch entsteht, daß manche Unbelehrbaren sich einzelner richtiger, aber polemisch aus dem Zusammenhang gerissener Argumente bedienen, und daß zur Entgegnung Leute herbeieilen, die zwar das richtige Gesamturteil besitzen, aber sich auf falsche oder fehlerhafte Informationen stützen:

Dr. M. Broszat, Institut für Zeitgeschichte,
München

"Something Terrible"

"Americans didn't used to be gleeful about enemy soldiers dying . . . It is television that has made us . . . without pity. Something terrible has happened to America."

— Kurt Vonnegut, Jr., at Johns Hopkins University, citing the joy Americans exhibited during the Gulf War. Quoted in: *Oakland Tribune*, Dec. 12, 1991, p. A 16.

Irving Barred From Australia

Major Newspapers and Civil Liberties Groups Denounce Ban Against Historian

Bowing to intense pressure, the Australian government has banned British historian David Irving from the country.

In a February 10 letter, the best-selling historian was informed of the decision by Immigration Minister Gerry Hand to deny him a visa to visit the country for a lecture and promotional tour that was to begin March 17. The pretext given by Hand for barring Irving is that he is "likely to become involved in activities disruptive to, or violence threatening harm to, the Australian community or a group within the Australian community."

This government action, which has received enormous media attention in the island nation, is part of a growing international effort to silence Irving and all others who reject the orthodox Holocaust story. (Because of his dissident views on the Holocaust, Irving was deported from Canada in November, and in January a German court fined him \$18,000 for telling an audience that the "gas chamber" shown to tourists at Auschwitz is a postwar reconstruction. For more on this ominous campaign, see the January-February 1993 *Journal*.)

Australia's Zionist and Jewish community organizations — which have expressed anger over the British historian's dissident views of the Holocaust story — predictably applauded the ban. To permit Irving into the country, claimed *The Australian Jewish News*, would be "against the national interest." (Editorial, Feb. 19)

Staunch Newspaper Support for Freedom

On the other hand, the country's leading daily newspapers and civil rights organizations have sharply criticized the ban as an unnecessary and dangerous assault against free speech.

With candor that is all but unthinkable in the United States, Canada and western Europe, Australia's leading newspapers identified pressure from Jewish organizations as the critical factor behind the government ban. The country's most influential papers also forthrightly condemned the campaign by Jewish groups to impose their views on the rest of society.

Typical is the view of *The Age*, one of Australia's most influential papers. The Melbourne daily editorially denounced the ban as "neither courageous nor right" (Feb. 13), and went on to explain the political factors behind the action:

The government was under strong pressure from the Jewish community to exclude him, but the reasons given by the Minister for Immigration,

Mr. Hand, fall short of a convincing justification. It appears that the government calculated that — especially with an election pending — it would be politically safer to placate an influential lobby group, and others who find Mr. Irving's view obnoxious, than to uphold the principle of free speech and travel for a highly provocative polemicist.

Another prominent Australian daily, *The Sydney Morning Herald*, expressed a similar editorial view (Feb. 16):

The Zionist Federation of Australia and the Council of Australian Jewry last year opposed the entry of Mr. Irving into Australia because of his views on the Holocaust. The federal government has now bowed to this pressure from Jewish community groups. Re-election considerations, rather than the maintenance of a vibrant and healthy concern for free speech in Australia, have — unfortunately — won the day. . . . The ban on Mr. Irving should be lifted.

The Adelaide *Advertiser* called the ban "an assault on free speech." (Editorial, Feb. 17). While dismissing Irving's views on the Holocaust issue as "outlandish," the paper forthrightly affirmed:

. . . In succumbing to pressure from The Zionist Federation of Australia and the Council of Australian Jewry, the government (and the [political] opposition) risk appearing as bigoted as the man it apparently thinks we should all fear too much to allow into our midst.

There is little substance to claims that Mr. Irving presents a public danger, or is likely to incite violence. And the law is well equipped to deal with such eventualities. He has not done so in previous visits to Australia.

In a country that thrives on freedom, it is intolerable to have censorious politicians abrogating on our behalf one of our most basic tenets of democracy.

The Australian similarly termed the Irving ban "an ill-conceived exercise in censorship." (Editorial, Feb. 15). The Sydney-based national daily went on:

It would be unwise for a government to deny entry to a person receiving implied threats of violence rather than seek to prevent those making the threats from succeeding in an attempt to muzzle views they oppose.

. . . Only the naive observer would accept the government's stated reason for not granting Mr.

Irving a visa. It is his views that are considered unacceptable, not the likelihood of their public expression being the occasion of violence.

Restraints on open debate, in the long run, are not in the best interests even of a societal minority such as the Jewish community, however understandable its sensitivity about the Holocaust, and the persistence of its horror in living memory, may be.

After declaring that the ban against Irving "must be reversed," the Melbourne *Herald-Sun* (Editorial, Feb. 16) went on to explain:

The ban makes a nonsense of the government's censorious hectoring of other countries for their denial of human rights, including the right of free speech. . . . If the Australian government had not bowed to pressure from the understandably sensitive Jewish community, few Australians would have noticed Irving's coming and going.

A Professor's View

An emeritus professor at Australia's La Trobe University, J.S. Gregory, eloquently denounced the ban against Irving. (*The Age*, Feb. 17). The former history professor wrote:

Now that Salman Rushdie is venturing out into the world again and giving the occasional lecture, would Mr. Hand be prepared to ban him from entering Australia, should he express an interest in doing so, and should some pressure group, different from that active in the Irving case, argue that any lecture by him could provoke community disturbances?

Just for what sensitive issues, for which pressure groups, is Mr. Hand prepared to abandon the liberal principle, basic to our democratic system, that any minority opinion, however extreme, may be freely expressed in our open society unless it actively advocates violence and civil disorder?

Unless Mr. Hand can prove that this is Mr. Irving's intent, he should revoke his obnoxious ruling and help defend, not subvert, this honorable and civilized principle. This current ruling fits such governments as that of post-Tiananmen China, and too many others, but not Australia's — whichever party wins the coming elections.

ACLU Offers Help

The Australian Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) has offered legal help to overturn the ban. "There is no valid reason to refuse him [Irving] entry into the country, and I think he will win a High Court appeal," said ACLU president John Bennett, who is a member of this *Journal's* Editorial Advisory Committee. (*Herald-Sun*, Feb. 15.)

In an op-ed opinion piece in the *Herald-Sun* (Feb. 17), Bennett went on to explain:

The main argument to exclude David Irving is that his presence may have been disruptive. I have chaired two meetings for Mr. Irving, in 1986 and 1987, during his lecture tour. His meetings were well publicized and well attended, with not one interjection, and neither being disruptive by inciting violence or racial tension.

Mr. Irving says the explanation of the Jewish Holocaust is exaggerated, and I think his view should be capable of public discussion and to be treated fairly.

Views Better Known

As a result of the ban, Irving and his Holocaust views have, ironically, become better known than ever in Australia. The enemies of free speech seemingly did not reckon with the staunch stand of Australia's major daily papers, or with modern communications. Because of the ban — and in defiance of it — Irving appeared, for example, by satellite hook-up as a guest for 20 minutes on a prime-time Australia television program, February 16.

"Counter-Productive"

Reflecting on the furor over the ban, Isi Leibler, President of the Executive Council of Australian Jewry (ECAJ), complained (in the pages of *The Australian Jewish News*, March 19) that "the public debate centered on the 'powerful Jewish lobby' and what was presented as its denial of freedom of expression . . ."

He went on to revealingly admit: ". . . the ECAJ accepts that one lesson the Irving episode demonstrates is that it can be sometimes be counter-productive for Jewish organizations publicly to express satisfaction when the government responds positively to our concerns." In such cases, Leibler suggests, Jewish groups should act silently and conceal their role.

Irving Confident

Declaring that "the battle for freedom of speech is just beginning," Irving himself remains defiant and confident of ultimate victory. "I don't intend to be beaten. I'm a fighter." He says:

Free speech is becoming a rarity around the world, and it is being restricted to those with politically correct views. I'm not politically correct. I express views based on information I've dug out of archives. I may be wrong, but freedom of speech means the right to be wrong. If I'm telling lies or half-truths, why don't they let me come to Australia and expose me?

By this restriction of the freedom of speech in Australia, and of the rights of Australians to hear me, my opponents will regrettably achieve precisely the result they wished to avoid — namely an increase in anti-Semitic feelings among ordinary Australian citizens.

Encouraged by the strong press support for his

right to speak in Australia, the British historian is optimistic about winning a High Court appeal because, as he puts it, the government "has no case."

— M. W.

Zionism and the Press in Australia: Two Views

While the press in Australia may be less inhibited than that of many other countries, journalists there — like their counterparts elsewhere — must still contend with considerable pressure from the Jewish-Zionist lobby. Recently, some prominent Australian journalists were invited by the quarterly journal *Generation* to discuss how that country's media deals with issues of concern to the Jewish community. The frank responses of two of them are reprinted here from *The Australian Jewish News* [Melbourne edition], Dec. 4, 1992 (p. 19):

"I Surrender"

I have said publicly that I will never write or speak on the subject of Israel or Palestine ever again. Here is why:

The Zionist lobby in this country is malicious, implacable, mendacious and dangerous. They have caused me a great deal of lost sleep — and in the end my insomnia has not contributed anything to the resolution of the conflict over Palestine. I might as well keep my mouth shut and get some sleep.

What's more, once the expression "anti-Semite" hits the air, or, heaven forbid, the sacred formula "six million" is uttered, then I know from bitter experience that there is not one manager or editor in the country who will defend an underling. We are thrown to the jackals.

In the end the truly tolerant have no defence against intolerance. I surrender. To the Zionists I say: you win. To the Palestinians: forgive my cowardice.

— Terry Lane, broadcaster for ABC television and a newspaper columnist.

"Own Worst Enemies"

I have fronted at numerous Jewish fundraising dinners, written obsessively about the Holocaust, trudged around the death camps, performed opening ceremonies at exhibitions in the Great Synagogue in Sydney and fulminated against John Bennett and other revisionists.

As a consequence, I've enjoyed excellent relations with the Jewish community and with its principal political and social organizations

And then a funny thing happened. I was the guest speaker at a fundraising dinner at Jewish doctors in Sydney. It was a pleasant, congenial occasion,

and despite my friendly criticism of certain aspects of Jewish political behavior (in Australia), I was warmly applauded.

However, the Jewish News gave a slightly distorted version of what I'd said, and, lo and behold, I suddenly became the Jews' worst enemy. Dozens of letters accused me of being an anti-semite.

I then received an extraordinary letter from [Jewish community leader] Bill Rubinstein which I found offensive in tone and remarkably patronizing. As it illustrated some of the very points I'd made in my talk to the doctors, I published it in The Australian and all hell broke loose. Lots more letters accusing me of being an anti-semite.

All in all, it was such a bruising and unpleasant experience that I decided not to write on Jewish matters again. Or at least to take a long sabbatical from matters semitic.

I could cover pages with evidence of my good-will to the Jewish community. . . . In short, I felt that I'd paid my dues. And yet it took only a hint of cautious, friendly criticism to put me on the receiving end of Jewish anger.

. . . . When it comes to dealing with the outside world, with we goyim who are also concerned by aspects of Israeli policy, the [Jewish] ranks close and the reactions can be excessive.

Free Speech Appeal

GET IRVING BACK INTO AUSTRALIA and CANADA!

DAVID IRVING has lodged an appeal in Australia's Federal Court to revoke the ban against him in that country. He is also starting legal action against some Australian newspapers for libel.

Last November, his two-week battle to stay in Canada ran up \$8,000 in legal costs. Halls were rented and fees were lost. He has begun lawsuits in Vancouver and Toronto to get back into Canada.

This worldwide legal fight costs money.

He needs your help to carry on the battle against the falsifiers and perjurers in Canada and Australia.

This fight must not fail.

Checks for the **David Irving Legal Fighting Fund** can be sent to P.O. Box 1707, Key West, FL 33041, USA (or to Focal Point, 81 Duke Street, London W1M 5DJ, England).

Mr. Irving will personally acknowledge all contributions.

**The Fight Goes on
—To Final Victory!**

I could tell you of many attempts to repress or suppress an energetic debate on matters relating to Israel. I could describe a number of circumstances where Jewish organizations used a sledge-hammer to crack a walnut, over-reacting in a ludicrous manner to things they'd found objectionable in print or broadcasting.

When talking to the wider world, I try and explain such excesses in terms of Jewish suffering and anxieties. But when I talk to Jews, I have to say that, again and again, you're your own worst enemies. Instead of trying to persuade people to your point of view, there's a tendency to bully, to threaten, to censor.

So as a friend who has laid wreaths at the concentration camps. . . let me ask Australian Jews, and Jewish organizations, to be more careful in the way they respond to debate in the Australian media. In America there has been a systematic over-kill which has led to widespread resentment. I would not like that to happen here.

— Phillip Adams, columnist for *The Australian*, a Sydney-based nationally circulated daily paper, and a broadcaster for ABC television.

Holocaust Revisionism is not 'Hate Speech,' Canadian Officials Affirm

On August 27, Canada's Supreme Court dismissed charges against Ernst Zündel of "publishing false news" because he had circulated a reprint edition of a booklet that disputes the generally accepted Holocaust extermination story. The Court struck down as unconstitutional the law under which the German-Canadian publisher and commercial artist had been convicted. (For more on this, see the *IHR Newsletter*, Oct. 1992, pp. 1-3.)

At a news conference immediately following the Court's ruling, Zündel defiantly repeated his view of the Holocaust story, provocatively calling it a "hoax" and a "racket."

Canadian Jewish groups promptly responded by demanding that Zündel be tried again for the same "crime," this time under Canada's "hate law" that bans willful incitement to hatred. Bernie Farber, national director of the Canadian Jewish Congress, filed a formal complaint against Zündel with the "Pornography/ Hate Literature Section" of the Ontario Provincial Police in Toronto.

In a letter of March 5, 1993, Ontario Provincial Police Staff Sergeant Robert E. Matthews responded to Farber's complaint:

In the above letter of complaint [of Sept. 9], you [Farber] allege that Mr. Zündel is wilfully promoting hatred towards an identifiable group, that

being the Jews, when he makes statements through the media in which he denies the Holocaust. The statements in question were those made by Mr. Zündel at a news conference called by him at his residence on August 27, 1992, immediately following his acquittal by the Supreme Court of Canada on charges of Section 181 of the Criminal Code of Canada. Mr. Zündel also made further statements on that same date to radio talk show hostess Ms. Jane Hawton of CFRB radio in Toronto, and those statements were broadcast to her listening audience.

The statements . . . have been investigated and a legal opinion has been received from the Ministry of the Attorney General. Based upon the legal advice and the results of the investigation, it has been determined that the statements made by Mr. Zündel on that date do not constitute an offense contrary to ["hate law"] Section 319(2) of the Criminal Code.

In spite of this statement, Canadian Jewish groups have vowed to continue their efforts to legally silence Zündel. (*Canadian Jewish News*, Toronto, March 18, p. 4)

Zündel Responds

Saying "two can play this game," Zündel responded to the Canadian Jewish groups' 1992 move by filing a complaint of his own on September 3 with the Ontario Provincial police. In his formal protest, he cited a statement by Elie Wiesel in the book, *Legends of Our Time*: "Every Jew, somewhere in his being, should set apart a zone of hate — healthy, virile hate — for what the German personifies and for what persists in the German." In his letter to the Provincial Police, Zündel commented: "I know of no other clearer invitation to hate in any book or publication I have seen." (As we go to press, Zündel has not yet received a response to his formal charge.)

Incidentally, the often-repeated assertion that "Holocaust denial" is "anti-Semitism," or constitutes "promoting hatred against Jews," is not only inaccurate, it insults Jewish persons who have supported Holocaust Revisionism. (Joseph Burg, for example, himself a Holocaust survivor, testified on Zündel's behalf in the 1988 trial.)

Like the August ruling of Canada's Supreme Court, the March statement of Ontario Provincial officials is not merely vindication for a man who has fought tirelessly for civil rights and justice for his people, it is an important victory for the cause of free speech and free historical inquiry. Canada's forthright affirmation of the principle of freedom of speech for those who reject the Holocaust extermination story is particularly gratifying at a time when dissident views of twentieth-century history are banned in Israel and several European states.

— M. W.

Brad Smith's Campus Project Ad Printed After Furious Clash at University of Texas

Austin Cable Television to Broadcast Cole Auschwitz Video

THEODORE J. O'KEEFE

On February 19, after 15 months of intimidation and pressure by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, the *Daily Texan*, campus newspaper of the University of Texas (Austin), published a half-page advertisement defending and promoting David Cole's breakthrough video on the alleged gas chamber at Auschwitz.

The advertisement, placed by Bradley Smith's Campus Project in the form of a reasoned and effective "Open Letter" by Cole, was only published after the *Daily Texan* and the Texas Student Publications (TSP) Board, which oversees the paper, had refused to publish a straightforward quarter-page advertisement for the Auschwitz video. (For more on Cole's video, see the March-April *Journal*.) Publication of the Revisionist ad resulted in campus, city, and state-wide publicity; led to the theft of thousands of copies of that *Daily Texan* issue; and provoked an enraged letter from the thought police at the ADL's Houston office.

But the impact of Holocaust Revisionism on the campus of Texas's biggest university and across its capital city may be just beginning. As this issue of the *Journal* goes to press, the controversial Revisionist video is scheduled for broadcast four different days over Austin public access cable television. The weeks-long, heavily reported battle to publish the video ad, the appearance of Cole's half-page open letter, and the frenzied response to its publication have resulted in priceless advertising to the estimated 200,000 public access audience in the Austin area, setting the stage for an unprecedented opportunity to present Holocaust Revisionism directly to a large and sophisticated public.

Furthermore, the ADL's interventions, repeated and heavy-handed, into the affairs of the *Daily Texan*, have created an excellent opportunity for a

Campus Project counter-attack and a campus backlash: For example, one speaker brought by the ADL to the University of Texas to intimidate proponents of publishing a Campus Project ad is one of the chief players in the recent *Liberators* hoax.

ADL's Initial Victories

Nowhere has the battle to bring the findings of scholarly Holocaust Revisionism into print for college and university readers been as protracted and as hotly contested as at the University of Texas (Austin). Since late fall, 1991, Bradley Smith, under the auspices of the Campus Project of the Committee for Open Debate on the Holocaust (CODOH), has sought to place three different advertisements putting the Revisionist case for public discussion of admitted anomalies in the Establishment version of the Jewish Holocaust story into the *Daily Texan*, which circulates to 38,000 readers in and around the biggest, oldest, and most prestigious branch of the University of Texas. During that time, the Texas Student Publications Board had voted *eight* times on whether to publish a Campus Project advertisement before voting last February 18 to run Cole's half-page open letter.

Until then, Jewish organizations, led by the ADL, had been successful in applying irresistible pressure on the campus paper's student editors as well as on the controlling Texas Student Publications board to prevent publication of the Campus Project ads. Clear evidence for this pressure has been provided by the ADL itself. In an article in the June 1992 issue of the Zionist group's newsletter *On the Frontline* ("The Battle of Austin: An ADL Success Story"), Jeffrey A. Ross, director of the ADL's Campus Affairs/Higher Education Department, reveals that "ADL regional, national, and international resources were brought into play" against freedom of speech and inquiry at the University.

Ross also describes how, to combat publication of Smith's first ad, "The Holocaust Controversy: The

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Case for Open Debate,” ADL officials were brought in to meet with editors of the *Daily Texan* and members of the TSP Board to “provide evidence of Smith’s ties to the extremist hate movement [sic],” and to “sensitize the editorial board to the deep emotional meaning of the Holocaust to the Jewish community.” “As a result,” Ross writes, “the ad was rejected.”

A second Revisionist ad, based on *Journal* editor Mark Weber’s essay, “The ‘Jewish Soap’ Holocaust Myth,” was offered for publication in spring 1992. An ADL-organized team consisting of Ross, Professor Deborah Lipstadt, and Johnnie Stevens, a veteran of the US Army’s 761st Tank Battalion, was brought to Texas to combat the Revisionist threat.

Why Stevens? Because, according to Ross’s article, his unit “had liberated Buchenwald.” In fact, as detailed elsewhere in this issue of the *Journal*, the story that the 761st Tank Battalion, a largely black outfit, liberated the camp is lie that was fabricated years after the war. Nevertheless, unlike those veterans of the 761st who helped to expose this hoax, Stevens is quoted explicitly as having “shot up [Buchenwald] and chased the guards out of there” in *Liberators* (p. 217), a book based on the deceptive documentary of the same name. Whether unwittingly or not, the ADL, which opposed the Campus Project’s ads as untruthful, was last April promoting a palpable and subsequently exposed hoax as part of its campaign to “inform” the University of Texas community of the alleged truth of the Holocaust.

When “sensitivity” and the ADL’s brand of “historical objectivity” failed to sway the TSP Board, the Zionist-Jewish “watchdog organization,” Ross reports, switched to legal intimidation. Discovering that TSP Board guidelines for opinion advertising require that permission be obtained before citing the words of third parties, the ADL’s Israel Office alerted Shmuel Krakowski, director of Yad Vashem (who is cited in the “Jewish Soap” ad), while the ADL’s New York-based Braun Center for Holocaust Studies informed the American authorities cited in the ad’s text. Deborah Lipstadt, America’s leading would-be debunker of Holocaust Revisionism, also cited in the ad, and conveniently on the scene, threatened to sue the university if the ad appeared.

After a series of tumultuous meetings of the Texas Student Publications Board, at least one of which required protection by campus police (during one session a board member supportive of the ad on free-speech grounds, Professor John Murphy, was struck by a raging proponent of censorship), and after additional ADL pressure, this time brought to bear on the University of Texas’s Board of Regents from the ADL’s Dallas and Houston offices, the ADL got its way: last April 29, the Board rejected the Campus Project’s second adver-

tisement. As Ross crowed in the group’s June 1992 newsletter: “It was a hard fought victory but well worth it in the context of the fact that, following the decision in Texas, not a single college or university newspaper has chosen to accept the second Bradley Smith ad.”

If at First You Don’t Succeed . . .

While the Committee for Open Debate on the Holocaust can’t hope to match the ADL’s massive resources and terrifying influence, Director Bradley Smith is at the very least his censors’ equal in persistence. Because his opinion ads were increasingly prey to rejection (thanks to nation-wide smear efforts led by the ADL and other Jewish groups), he decided to advertise for sale a tangible product: he reasoned that an accurate description of the product offered would be tougher to reject on the grounds that it was untruthful or “anti-Semitic.”

And CODOH’s Campus Project now had a product to offer, thanks to Smith’s cooperation with young Revisionist (and Jewish) video producer David Cole in making “David Cole Interviews Franciszek Piper.” This video is the most competent Revisionist film on Auschwitz — or any concentration camp site — to date, and contains dramatic evidence, in the form of an admission by Dr. Franciszek Piper, director of archives at the Auschwitz State Museum, that millions of tourists have been and continue to be misled as to the authenticity of the facility exhibited as a homicidal gas chamber at the Auschwitz I Main Camp.

Approaching the *Daily Texan* yet again, in February 1993, the Campus Project sought to publish a small advertisement for the video. The paper’s editorial board refused to publish it, not merely because its description supposedly misrepresented the facts — not about the video, but about the “Holocaust”! — but also because the student editors, evidently all too well “sensitized” by the ADL, claimed to detect a subtle but sneering reference to the earlier “Jewish Soap” ad in the new ad’s headline: “Auschwitz Director Comes Clean about Fraudulent ‘Gas Chamber’ in Exclusive Interview.” Yet again, it was “no soap” at the *Daily Texan*.

Once more, Smith went through the cumbersome procedure of appealing the campus paper’s decision, first to a review committee of the Texas Student Publications Board, and then to the entire board. Both bodies upheld the newspaper’s decision to reject.

But Smith still wasn’t giving up. Quickly, what David Cole called “Plan B” was put into effect: Smith now submitted a half-page “Open Letter to the *Daily Texan*,” written by Cole, in which the video’s producer explained, frankly and personally, the intellectual curiosity and skepticism that had led him to challenge the “Holocaust” gospel, and

the concern for free inquiry and open discussion that motivated him, despite all the risks, to record and distribute the truth about the Auschwitz "gas chamber."

The *Daily Texan* again refused a Campus Project ad, but on February 18, by a vote of 6-5, the Texas Student Publication Board overruled the paper's editors. Cole's open letter was published the next day.

The Reaction

Publication of the "Open Letter" set off a geyser of fury among Revisionism's opponents, at the University of Texas and elsewhere. The university's president, Robert Berdahl, weighed in with an intellectually flaccid and morally flabby "guest column" in the *Daily Texan* deploring the "insult" the advertisement allegedly inflicted on "the Jewish people." As to the Holocaust, Berdahl, a self-described "German historian," issued the following pronouncement, evidently meant to stand as a thundering *ipse dixit*: "It happened." And, for weeks thereafter, the pages of the campus paper seethed with enraged denunciations by students and faculty members of Cole, Revisionism, and the TSP Board's decision to permit the advertisement.

Opponents of free inquiry and of historical truth weren't just writing letters, however. On the morning the Cole letter was published, two people in a pick-up truck were seen looting *Daily Texan* distribution bins; at least 3,000 copies of the paper were stolen that day, according to a subsequent story in the *Daily Texan* bearing the odd headline: "Holocaust Ad Provokes Theft, Draws Criticism." If the story is to be believed, a campus policeman said that "no arrests were made because *The Daily Texan* decided not to file charges."

There were the standard "campus protests," too, as hundreds of students lobbied for the right of would-be intellectual Catchers in the Rye — like Berdahl and the wardens from the ADL — to rush periodically out of the undergrowth to drag students away from the threatening precipice of the tolerance, skepticism, and free discussion that brings intellectual maturity. On March 9, Jewish leaders, representatives of local gay and lesbian groups, the president of the Austin chapter of the NAACP, and at least four Texas state legislators spoke out against "intolerance" at a rally of the intolerant organized by the campus chapter of Hillel House (B'nai B'rith's student branch), which has worked closely with the ADL from the opening of Smith's campaign at the University of Texas.

Nine days after the "Open Letter" was published, the ADL's Houston office issued an enraged, volcanic belch in the form of a letter to, not the *Daily Texan*, but the *Houston Chronicle*. Headlined "Stop Spreading Hatred," the letter, written by Mark Wise and Barbara Harberg, chairman and director of the regional office, is a little masterpiece of spite,

petulance, and menace. Brazenly revealed is the ADL's 15-months-long campaign of intimidation against the campus paper and the student publications board. The ADL officials emotionally invoked the right of any newspaper to reject advertising "whose main purpose is to spread hatred, to promote anti-Semitism and to reduce the victims . . .," and grimly pronounced: "Far from an issue of free speech, the publication of the Holocaust revisionist ad demonstrated an insensitivity which allows the rankest form of anti-Semitism to flourish." One may hazard the guess that, after reading and digesting this ADL anathema, the staff of the *Daily Texan* and the members of the Texas Student Publications Board breathed prayerful thanks that they don't happen to live in, say, the Gaza Strip.

Access at Last

Had the Battle of Austin ended with publication of Cole's "Open Letter," Smith and Cole could have declared moral victory, and then waited for a trickle of orders from *Daily Texan* readers curious enough to write for details on ordering the video. But friends of freedom were at work in Austin, making arrangements for Cole's Auschwitz videotape to be shown on the area's public-access cable channel. (As we have already mentioned, public-access television offers unrivalled opportunities to get out the Revisionist message. See the *IHR Newsletter*, Oct. 1992, p. 3)

Just as important, the Campus Project was able to disseminate specific information on the date and time of the showings. A provocative advertisement for the showings was accepted and published in the weekly television section of the *Austin American-Statesman*, the area's main daily newspaper. And, in a 1960's-style "media event," a local Campus Project supporter alerted the University of Texas at Austin to the video showings in unmistakable and unavoidable fashion: he drove around the UT campus and the city of Austin, proclaiming the upcoming programs in a 40-foot-long ad painted on both sides of his semi-trailer! Finally, during the week that his video will be broadcast, Cole was in Texas, where he was interviewed on at least two television programs.

As we go to press, it isn't yet clear how many of those in the Austin area who receive cable television watched the video. What seems certain, though, is that, thanks to the unprecedented efforts of the ADL, and the resulting 15-month public controversy over placement of what started out as a simple, one-shot Revisionist advertisement, the biggest audience to date watched the best Revisionist video presentation ever made. At long last, many thousands of Texans were able to see and hear the Revisionist case directly, and judge its merits for themselves.

The Campus Project's combined media breakthrough in Austin represents its most significant

victory to date, just as it marks perhaps the most stinging defeat yet inflicted on the Anti-Defamation League in its efforts to censor Historical Revisionists.

French Scholar Who Questioned 'Gas Chamber' Claims Recants After Three-Year Campaign of Intimidation and Violence

Jewish Students Force Cancellation of University Class

In August 1987, a professor of economics at Jean Moulin University in Lyon expressed, in passing in a scholarly article published in an economics journal, skepticism about claims of wartime mass killings of Jews in gas chambers and, in a footnote, mentioned a Revisionist book by Serge Thion and Robert Faurisson.

As a result of these few lines, Bernard Notin soon became a victim of an intense three-year campaign of persecution, threats and intimidation.

The same Jewish-Zionist organizations that had targeted French Revisionist scholar Dr. Robert Faurisson in 1978-79 at another university in Lyon launched a vehement campaign against Notin and his university, which was described as a nest of snakes and Nazis.

Intense Pressure

For a time the University defended Notin's right to teach, pointing out that he had never said anything about gas chambers, the Holocaust or Holocaust Revisionism in any of his lectures. However, after intense pressure (including financial pressure) was brought against the University for this stand, it abandoned Notin.

Banned from teaching for three years, he was transferred to work — at a reduced salary — as a kind of archivist. A lawsuit was also successfully brought against him for his 1987 article, and he was fined 25,000 francs (about \$4,500).

In 1988, Notin's wife found their family dog stabbed. In spite of its severe wounds, it was saved. A few weeks later, their family cat was found stabbed to death. Notin (who is 42), and his wife have five children, aged four and a half to ten. They are all dependent on his income.

In January 1993, University authorities decided to quietly permit Notin to resume teaching. This move might have succeeded if it were not for a new campaign against him by the French daily newspa-

pers *Le Monde* and *Libération*.

On January 30, a mob of about 50 Jewish students carrying a Star of David confronted Notin on the first day of his economic forecasting class, physically preventing him from entering the classroom and forcing cancellation of his class.

Instead of disbanding the violent group, which Notin called "the forces of hysteria," school administrators gave in and decided to cancel the lecture. New threats were made against his wife and children, and the Jewish Student's Association (*Union des étudiants juifs de France*) issued a statement demanding that he be barred from ever teaching.

Notin Recants

Unable to withstand any more such pressure and intimidation, Notin decided to recant. In a February 3 statement issued to the media, he declared that there was a wartime genocide against the Jews, and that Jews were killed in gas chambers. He criticized Holocaust Revisionism and begged the pardon of those he might have offended.



"He claims that the Revisionists have never been persecuted by the Jews!" French cartoonist "Konk" subtly comments on the legal persecution of Revisionism in his country.

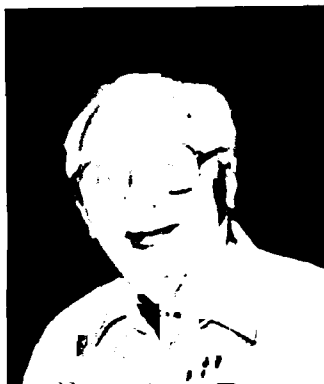
For three years, comments Dr. Robert Faurisson, Notin behaved with great courage while he and his family suffered terribly. But the tension in France is now so high that he was obliged to abjure his "heretical" views. He is courageous, but not heroic. No one has the right to criticize him.

In Lyon, comments Faurisson, "law is made and decided by the Jewish organizations, and especially by their leader, Doctor Marc Aron, a cardiologist and president of the European section of the World Jewish Congress."

The most terrible aspect of this entire affair, Faurisson believes, "is that in the whole of France and in spite of Jewish violence against Notin shown on television and reported in all the newspapers, not a single intellectual, not a single professor, dared to protest."

William Lindsey

William B. Lindsey — a good friend of the Institute for Historical Review and a member since 1983 of this *Journal's* Editorial Advisory Committee — died on February 4.



Dr. William Lindsey
at the 1992 IHR Conference

A native of Texas, Bill earned a bachelor of science degree from the University of Texas, and a doctorate in chemistry from Indiana University (Bloomington). He worked for 33 years as a research chemist for the Dupont corporation.

As a professional chemist with a keen interest in Second World War history, he was particularly curious about the claims of wartime mass killings of Jews in "gas chambers" at Auschwitz-Birkenau using hydrogen cyanide gas from Zyklon B, a commercial insecticide and pesticide. Consequently, he conducted several inspection visits of the sites in Poland of alleged wartime "extermination camps," including Auschwitz, Auschwitz-Birkenau and Majdanek.

In February 1985 he testified in the "Holocaust trial" in Toronto of German-Canadian publisher Ernst Zündel. Lindsey was recognized by the court as a expert witness on hydrogen cyanide. Based on a careful on-site examination of the "gas chambers" at Auschwitz, Birkenau and Majdanek, and on his years of experience, he declared under oath:

After looking over the evidence . . . I've been forced to conclude it is impossible for it to have happened the way it's been described. . . . There are too many inconsistencies. . . . I have come to the conclusion that no one was willfully or purposefully killed with Zyklon B in this manner. I consider it absolutely impossible.

For a man of Lindsey's standing and background, making such a statement in public took considerable courage, especially in 1985. (Since then, acknowledged specialists in several different countries have authoritatively validated his pioneering testimony. See, for example, the Winter 1992-93 *Journal*, esp. pages 427-428.)

A steadfast friend of the IHR, he addressed the Fifth IHR Conference in 1983 on "Zyklon B, Auschwitz, and the Trial of Dr. Bruno Tesch." (His presentation was published in the Fall 1983 *Journal*, and is also available on audiotape from the IHR.)

In the years since his retirement in 1985, he and his wife Tessy made their home in Camp Hill, Pennsylvania. Several of us who counted this generous, intelligent and unassuming man as a good friend were glad to see him again last October at the Eleventh IHR conference. We were very saddened to learn, just a few weeks later, that he had leukemia, and could not expect to live much longer.

Bill is survived by his wife, their two sons, Michael and Robert Lindsey, and one grandson.

— M. W.

Ivor Benson

Ivor Benson — author, journalist and current affairs analyst, and a good friend of the Institute for Historical Review — died in mid-January in a small market town in West Suffolk, England, where he and his wife had lived for nearly eight years. He was in his 86th year.



Ivor Benson
at the 1990
IHR Conference

Benson was born of Swedish parents in November 1907 in South Africa (Orange Free State), and grew up in South Africa and Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe). His writing career began as a teenage reporter with the *Natal Mercury* in Durban (South Africa). After work for the London *Daily Telegraph* and the *Daily Express*, he became chief assistant editor of the Johannesburg *Rand Daily Mail*, then South Africa's leading morning paper. He

resigned that post because of what he regarded as the paper's entrenched misrepresentation of truth. He also served as assistant editor of the *Sunday Tribune* in Durban.

During the early months of the Second World War, he worked as a freelance journalist in Poland, Finland and Sweden. He left Norway just ahead of the occupying German forces. After returning to South Africa to enlist, he served with distinction as an officer under British command in tank and armored car units in north Africa and Italy.

In 1960, he was the last journalist to leave the embattled Congolese city of Elisabethville (now Lubumbashi). His exclusive first-hand reports on the chaos and bloody fighting there appeared in

newspapers around the world. In 1963 he delivered a series of acclaimed weekly broadcasts of news analysis and commentary over the South African Broadcasting Corporation. Then, from 1964 to 1966, he served as Information Advisor to the government of Rhodesia (then headed by Ian Smith).

For most of the rest of his life, he was an independent political analyst and commentator on world affairs. For 15 years until his death, he wrote and published *Behind the News*, a courageous and well-written monthly newsletter that enjoyed an influence out of all proportion to its modest circulation.

He traveled widely and lectured on four continents, including several speaking visits to the United States. He spoke at the Seventh and Tenth IHR Conferences in 1986 and 1990. (These presentations are available on audio tape. The 1990 lecture is also available on videotape.)

Benson's articles in *The Journal of Historical Review* include "The Siege of South Africa" (Spring 1986), "Iran: Some Angles on the Islamic Revolution" (Summer 1989), and "Russia 1917-1918: A Key to the Riddle of an Age of Conflict" (Fall 1990). He wrote several books, including *The Battle for South Africa* and *The Zionist Factor*. (The revised 1992 edition of *The Zionist Factor* is available from the IHR.)

As forthright as he could be in print, in person Benson was invariably kindly and courteous. A devout Christian, he was widely regarded as a man of exceptional character, serenity and integrity. Shortly after his death, his devoted wife Joan commented:

When Ivor was a young man of about 23 years, he experienced an illumination of the heart and mind, a vision of Truth, which was to guide and stabilize the whole of his long and fruitful life.

Ivor knew the Truth, and this was the inner light which made him a wholly integrated personality. It gave him a special strength and self-discipline throughout his professional work and in all his relations with nature and other people.

By the grace of God, Ivor Benson always fought the good fight, and ran the course to the end.

Over the years, he stayed in close touch with the IHR. In a steady stream of letters, he provided many helpful suggestions and steadfast encouragement, even during the IHR's most difficult periods. His last letter to the Institute was written just a few days before an emergency heart operation from which he did not regain consciousness.

Along with many others around the world, all of us at the IHR will remember Ivor Benson as a good friend and a gentleman of exceptional insight and character.

— M. W.

Doug Collins Honored

Canadian journalist Doug Collins, who addressed the Tenth IHR Conference, has been honored with the Commemorative Medal for the 125th anniversary of Canada's Confederation. He was given the award at a ceremony on January 20 by Member of Parliament Chuck Cook, who represents North Vancouver (British Columbia).

The medal honors Canadians "who have made a significant contribution to their fellow citizens, their community or to Canada," Cook wrote in a letter notifying Collins of the award. "I believe I speak for all of North Vancouver," Cook continued, "when I extend my sincerest congratulations to you on this honour and remind you that your dedication and commitment to your fellow Canadians is greatly appreciated."

Medal recipients were chosen by a special non-partisan committee.

A native of the United Kingdom, Collins served with distinction in the British army during the Second World War. His career in journalism has included work in newspaper, television and radio, both as a reporter and commentator. For his work as a journalist, Collins has been honored with Canada's National Newspaper Award and the MacMillan Bloedel Award. He is the author of several books.

Since 1983 Collins has written a popular and often controversial column for the (North Vancouver) *North Shore News*. (Two of his columns commenting on the Zündel and Irving cases in Canada were reprinted in the January-February 1993 *Journal*.)

Besides Collins, *North Shore News* publisher Peter Speck and *News* Associate Editor Noel Wright were honored with the Commemorative Medal. At the January 20 ceremony, Cook praised the *North Shore News* as "one of the outstanding newspapers of North America." In its circulation area, he went on, "93 percent of us read at least part of the *North Shore News*."

Collins presentation at the 1990 IHR Conference, which dealt with freedom of speech and the Zündel affair, was published in the Fall 1990 *Journal*.

"Unparalleled Brutality"

"The world can sigh in relief. The idol of communism, which spread everywhere social strife, animosity and unparalleled brutality, which instilled fear in humanity, has collapsed. It has collapsed, never to rise again."

— Russian President Boris Yeltsin, in his address to the US Congress, June 17, 1992.

Some Thoughts on Pressac's Opus

A Response to a Major Critique of Holocaust Revisionism

ARTHUR R. BUTZ

(Presented at the Eleventh IHR Conference, October 1992)

Why Another Critique?

Jean-Claude Pressac's 1989 book, *Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers*, has been examined at length in *The Journal of Historical Review*¹ and elsewhere. Pressac's principal, almost sole, target is Robert Faurisson, and I expect that Faurisson's critique will become the definitive one. Accordingly, this presentation is not meant to be a thorough critique of Pressac's book.

I do, however, wish to supplement what has already been written and said with some reactions of my own. What will be illustrated is something that I observed long ago and for which Pressac's book is a wonderful example. The "Holocaust" is such a gigantic fraud that it is a cornucopia of absurdities. One has only to contemplate it from a slightly different perspective to see new absurdities tumble out. Alternatively, one can view it from the same perspective after some time has elapsed (or one can ask another person to observe it), with the same results.

Also, Pressac has commented on my work and I think it appropriate to reply.

What Pressac Has Done

It is generally agreed that Pressac did history a service in gathering and publishing documents that were previously unknown, or at least not easily available. He then interpreted these documents in the outlandish ways analyzed in the earlier critiques.

He also accepted the chemical analyses reported by Fred Leuchter in 1988 (and since confirmed by the Institute of Forensic Research in Krakow),² and the implication that the alleged mass gassings with the pesticide Zyklon did not leave cyanide traces as were left in the delousing gas chambers (although

he is not entirely consistent about this).³ Thus he invented a gassing procedure that, he claimed without offering evidence, would leave no such trace, declared it to be the one followed at Auschwitz, and found that he was consequently obliged to reject important details in the accounts of two star "witnesses": Commandant Rudolf Höss, who was supposedly in charge of the whole operation, and Dr. Nyiszli.⁴ In the course of his exposition, he notes additional problems with the standard testimonies. I am reminded of one of those old cartoons showing a man sawing off the tree branch he's sitting on. As we shall see, even on the basis of the concerns he raised in his book, Pressac should have come down much harder on the alleged eye-witnesses.

In summary, what Pressac offers is (a) an admission that the gassings at Auschwitz cannot be proved by forensic means, (b) admissions that the usual alleged witnesses to exterminations are at least unreliable, and (c) a collection of German documents, ambiguous when taken out of context, that provide what he calls "criminal traces" of exterminations. These three points have been the foci of the earlier critiques of Pressac's book.

Pressac's book is entirely dedicated to supporting his claim that the wartime German authorities at Auschwitz constructed and operated homicidal gas chambers there. He cannot, and does not even try, to connect such operations to any policy emanating from Berlin. Nor does he try to show that there existed a three-year program employing trains continuously crossing Europe and carrying Jews to their deaths, unobserved by Allied intelligence agencies, by German military intelligence, by the Red Cross, by the Vatican, by the Jews facing transport under German policies, or even by the Jewish leaders outside occupied Europe who were publicly wailing about "extermination."⁵ Such major historical bounds having long been established, an opus such as Pressac's, with its strict focus on local questions, is the only kind of anti-revisionist essay possible.

Such an author is in the position of a man who would prove that there was a recent war between Illinois and Indiana by scouring the countryside for spent firearms casings. It is not necessary to play his game of dropping all historical context in order

Arthur R. Butz was born and raised in New York City. In 1965 he received his doctorate in Control Sciences from the University of Minnesota. In 1966 he joined the faculty of Northwestern University (Evanston, Illinois), where he is now Associate Professor of Electrical Engineering and Computer Sciences. In addition to numerous technical papers, Dr. Butz is the author of *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* (available from the IHR for \$9.95, plus \$2.00 shipping).

to focus on a purely local matter, but a review of his book can do naught else. Nevertheless, I shall show that the objection that Pressac has dropped context holds even if we agree to play his game. That is, given the restriction of his view to Auschwitz, Pressac still focuses on local matters out of context, this time of the concentration camp in its full dimensions.

The Crematoria

In my view, page 184 of Pressac's book is crucial. Here we are told:

(1) Mass gassings of Jews in "Bunker 1" (located near the newly built "Birkenau" section of the Auschwitz camp), commenced in 1942, possibly in January but certainly by mid-May.

(2) On February 27, 1942 it was decided that the new 15-muffle Crematorium II would be built at Birkenau rather than at the *Stammlager* (main or original camp).

(3) On some unknown date in May or June 1942, it was decided that an "industrial" extermination of the Jews would be undertaken. The new crematorium were accordingly modified for this purpose, this being indicated by the first "criminal element" to appear on an engineering drawing: the separation of the drainage of the alleged gas chamber from the drainage of the rest of Crematorium II. (Pressac has a very low threshold in detecting a "criminal element.")

(4) In the summer 1942 it was decided that four new crematoria, rather than one, would be built at Birkenau for extermination purposes: Crematorium III, a mirror image of Crematorium II with 15 muffles, and the mirror image Crematoria IV and V, each with eight muffles, for a total of 46 muffles (not counting Crematorium I). Construction of these Birkenau crematoria was completed in spring 1943, and Crematorium I in the *Stammlager*, with its six muffles, was shut down permanently in July 1943.⁶

Pressac expects the reader to assume, as he does, that such great cremation capacity could, of course, only be to support an extermination program. Accordingly, he goes on to invite us "to imagine a village of 4,000 inhabitants with . . . a crematorium equipped with three 3-muffle furnaces. . . . We need not dwell on this picture."

This point is repeated and emphasized elsewhere in the book. Regarding the crematoria, Pressac writes: "*Their capacity was excessive in relation to the real needs of the camp.*" (Pressac's emphasis)⁷ He argues that the cremation capacity was excessive for a normal community of this many residents. However, nobody maintains Birkenau was a



Dr. Arthur R. Butz
at the 1992 IHR Conference

normal community. Indeed, I once conceded that it could properly be called a "death camp."⁸

In making his argument, Pressac tries to ignore the catastrophic typhus epidemics at Auschwitz — an impossible task because the documents emphasize the importance of this matter. The first catastrophic epidemic — during the summer of 1942 — is not mentioned at all by Pressac on page 184 of his book, which is devoted to arguing (or at least asserting) that a decision was made in spring-summer of 1942 to launch an industrial extermination of the Jews, and to expand accordingly the capacity of the cremation facilities then under construction.

Consider how horrible and devastating the summer 1942 typhus epidemic at Auschwitz was. The number of recorded male deaths in the period July 1 through August 19, 1942, was 8,236. The records for female deaths in the period are not available, but judging from the registration numbers the female camp population was about 25 percent of the male. Therefore, the combined male/female recorded deaths for the period July 1 through August 19, 1942, was about 10,000.⁹ The Höss order of July 23 quarantining the camp¹⁰ was a necessary response to an extraordinary situation. These are the events that Pressac ignores as he considers, on page 184 of his book, the changes in crematorium construction plans that were made in summer 1942. He invites us "to imagine" an ordinary village in considering these crematoria. Why should one try? What Pressac would have us ignore at this point is the virtual hellhole of catastrophic epidemic at Auschwitz. Dishonesty on this scale is rare; only a spinner of the Holocaust yarn could hope to get away with it.¹¹

At first I considered this a most shocking instance of intellectual dishonesty. Continuing to read, I noted that on page 187 he does mention the typhus epidemic, and then, on page 188, I found the prize of the whole book. On that page Pressac finally offers a relation of the measures being taken at Auschwitz against typhus to the alleged extermination of the Jews. He wrote there: ". . . The SS *used the extermination of the Jews*, about which their superiors had a general knowledge, without being informed of the practical details, to *hide the terrible hygienic conditions in the camp*, and to cover up their enormous consumption of gas for disinfection purposes." (Pressac's emphases.) The SS therefore must have hidden the catastrophe from Himmler during his visit to the camp on July 17-18, 1942. (My guess is that Himmler suggested, or at least informally approved, the quarantine order that was issued on July 23.)

Because the typhus epidemics cannot be ignored, Pressac mentions them on subsequent pages. On one he notes, "it was necessary at all costs to stop the epidemic," while on another he ludicrously writes that in mid-September, almost two months after the quarantine order, "the deaths caused by the typhus epidemic were becoming a real problem" — the great understatement of the book.¹² That which every minimally discerning reader will see, a presumptive link between the epidemics and crematoria construction, is evaded. Here Pressac argues an extraordinary role for the crematoria by maintaining that final approval for construction rested with the RSHA (the security/police branch of the SS), rather than the WVHA (the camp administration agency). If true, all that is indicated is some procedural point, or perhaps the generally acknowledged inequality of the two departments.¹³ Pressac makes no effort to convey the full horror of the typhus epidemic of 1942. These reluctant admissions of a typhus catastrophe amount to evasions performed in order to strengthen, in the reader's mind, the "industrial extermination" interpretation of the crematoria. Pressac in fact thus engages in whitewashing the true horrors of Auschwitz.

Pressac's reluctant and dispersed acknowledgment of the typhus epidemics could be viewed as yet another instance of a feature that has bothered every reviewer of the book: its poor organization. Many times I have come back to the book to reread some point I remember having read somewhere, only to find that the point is not at all where, logically, it ought to be, but rather in some unexpected place. Normally such a lack of organization would be due to sloppy craftsmanship, and would be rightly regarded as a nuisance that does not carry argumentative weight against the author's analysis. Further on, I will offer another interpretation of the poor organization that does carry such weight.

(I wonder if Pressac's evasions should be viewed

as "dishonesty." If I were to put on an odd-looking hat like the one that Napoleon wore, and then go around claiming to be the French emperor, would that be "dishonesty"? That is, when the disguise is easily seen through by anybody not eager to self-deceive, should that be regarded as a disguise at all? Pressac may be king of the clowns; he is not king of the hoaxers.)

Pressac does not bother to consider the notion that the camp's large cremation capacity was appropriate for the epidemic conditions. I have previously made the following point,¹⁴ but in view of Pressac's book it seems necessary to belabor it. In considering cremation capacity, it is difficult to reach conclusions on a purely technical basis because of the distinction that must unavoidably be made between what is physically possible and what is practically attainable. For example, although I am told that my car can move at about 100 miles per hour, I know I cannot drive the 20 miles that separates my home in Evanston from the University of Chicago in twelve minutes; too many obstacles intervene. The technical data provides two numbers from which only an irrelevant conclusion can be drawn, whose only value is that the arithmetic is correct.

Pressac cites some documents on cremation capacity that he admits could not relate to practical conditions.¹⁵ In the case of the crematoria in the concentration camps, the two main obstacles to such apparently simple calculations are (1) that the cremation equipment was not — and could not have been — used continuously, and that, (2), as I have noted elsewhere, the camp inmates who routinely operated the crematoria were normally "working with a lethargy taught them by the Russians."¹⁶

Although the term "extraordinary" is applicable when referring to numbers, I shall henceforth term as "ordinary" those camp deaths from non-homicidal causes, mainly disease but including execution for specific offenses, virtually all of which were at some point recorded in German documents and which are admitted by all sides. (Some of the "ordinary" deaths that occurred in 1945, during the chaos of the final months of the war, were not recorded).

An "extermination camp" is then a hypothetical camp where unrecorded deaths — in homicidal "gas chambers" — vastly exceeded recorded deaths. Revisionists hold that, while some German wartime documents may be lost, the ordinary deaths were essentially all the deaths, and that there were no "extermination camps." Consistent with the extermination legend, Pressac would agree that all the deaths in such camps as Buchenwald and Dachau in Germany were essentially ordinary deaths. However, he would assert that at Auschwitz in Poland large-scale unrecorded "extermination" deaths of anonymous people were carried out,

and that, consequently, only a fraction — perhaps one-tenth — of the total deaths there were “ordinary” recorded deaths.

What we need to do is consider the recorded death rates in relation to the cremation capacities. The most effective method, I think, is to compare the (“non-extermination”) camps of Buchenwald and Dachau with the (“extermination”) camp of Auschwitz in this respect. This is more convincing than citing estimates of the amount of time required to cremate a corpse. To return to the analogy of driving the 20 miles between my residence in Evanston and the University of Chicago, I must essentially disregard technical data about the speed capacity of my car and the distance between the two locations, and instead refer to experience — either my own or another’s — to accurately estimate the time required.

If it can be shown that the cremation capacity in each camp was proportionate to the numbers of “ordinary” and recorded deaths in each camp, then there must be an assumption that the crematoria at Auschwitz played, and were intended to play, the same ordinary role as the crematoria at Buchenwald and Dachau (which by universal agreement were not extermination camps).

There are a few difficulties in such a comparison, but they are surmountable. For one thing, there is a lack of complete and formal documentation of “ordinary” deaths at Auschwitz, despite the widely publicized release three years ago by Soviet authorities of the Auschwitz “death books.” Coincidentally, in a review published in 1989, I gave figures that had been given to me by the International Tracing Service in Arolsen during my visit there in 1977: 45,575 recorded deaths in 1942, and 36,960 in 1943, with death books missing for 1940, 1941, 1944, and January 1945 (when the camp was evacuated). Although my information was not complete, it is — as we shall see — satisfactory for the present purpose. Another problem is the significance of the 69,000 deaths recorded in the death certificates of the (incomplete) “death books” announced by the Soviets in 1989. Fortunately, this is not important for the present purpose. I continue to maintain that the total number of “ordinary” deaths at Auschwitz from 1940 through January 1945 is “in the range 100,000-150,000, probably closer to the former, since the camp population was small in 1940-1941 and by 1944 the Germans had made some progress against typhus.”¹⁷ As we shall see, this total is not the crucial point.

The totals for Buchenwald and Dachau, camps in Germany rather than Poland, are fairly well established. The International Tracing Service report of 1977 specified 36,550 for Buchenwald and 31,951 for Dachau. In each case, though, the figure does not include an undetermined number of “persons who died shortly before the liberation and during the evacuation transports.”¹⁸

The cremation facilities at the two camps are also fairly well known. Buchenwald had a six-muffle crematorium, installed in 1942, and perhaps two additional muffles installed earlier. Moreover, Buchenwald had access to the civilian crematorium that existed in nearby Weimar. Dachau had a two-muffle crematorium before 1942, when a four-muffle crematorium was constructed.¹⁹ We may therefore assume that Buchenwald and Dachau had at least six muffles each.

At first it may appear that, by comparison, Auschwitz had an excessive number of muffles: while the number of “ordinary” deaths at Auschwitz was about three to four times those at Buchenwald and Dachau, there were about eight times as many muffles. However, when the calculation is done correctly it can be seen that Auschwitz, in fact, had *less* relative cremation capacity.

The figures of total deaths at the two camps in Germany have entirely different interpretations from those for Auschwitz. The latter was evacuated under generally orderly conditions in January 1945. Consequently, the Auschwitz total, whatever it is, does not include “ordinary” deaths during the complete chaos of spring 1945. The worst period for Auschwitz was not 1945, but 1942, when its crematorium construction project was defined.

By contrast, most of the deaths in the camps in Germany proper were in 1944 and the chaotic first four months of 1945, during the disintegration and final collapse of German industry. Concentration camp personnel knew that any plans for fundamental expansion of cremation capabilities that might have been drawn up in 1944 stood little chance of being implemented. Indeed, such construction was scant in 1944 and 1945. All significant and effective decisions about crematoria construction were in fact made before 1944, and could have been determined only by conditions existing prior to 1944. Consequently, in order to judge German intentions regarding the construction of crematoria, we must look to the 1942-1943 period. Therefore, the incomplete figures cited here for Auschwitz are all that are required for the present purpose.

Year	Auschwitz	Buchenwald	Dachau
1940	?	1,772	1,515
1941	?	1,522	2,576
1942	45,575	2,898	2,470
1943	36,960	3,516	1,100
1944	?	8,644	4,794
1945	?	13,056	15,384
Totals	?	31,408	27,839
Totals?	125,000?	37,000?	32,000?

Table 1. Recorded deaths in the Auschwitz, Buchenwald and Dachau camps.

Available figures of “ordinary” deaths in the

three camps break down as follows (it being noted that the figure for Buchenwald is only for the first three months of 1945):²⁰

The crucial years are 1942 and 1943 because those are the latest years that could be considered to have determined German decisions about the construction of crematoria in the camps.

The ratio of projected muffles to "ordinary" deaths is presented in Table 2. I have assumed 52 muffles for Auschwitz (46 for Birkenau and six for the *Stammlager* [Auschwitz I camp]), not because Auschwitz ever in fact had 52 operational muffles, but because the purpose of this calculation is to help interpret intentions in building the crematoria rather than capabilities actually attained. We see, in fact, that the ratio of cremation muffles to deaths somewhat *disfavors* Auschwitz: that is, it was decided that Auschwitz would be *less* well equipped with crematoria than Buchenwald and Dachau (two camps that, by universal agreement, were not extermination camps). Perhaps budgetary constraints excluded more crematoria for Auschwitz.

Year	Auschwitz	Buchenwald	Dachau
Muffles	52	6	6
1942	1.14	2.07	2.43
1943	1.41	1.71	5.45

Table 2. Number of projected muffles per thousand recorded deaths.

On page 184 of his book, Pressac readily interprets the summer 1942 decision to provide 46 cremation muffles in Birkenau as a phase of an extermination program. In doing so, however, he ignores the figures of ordinary or recorded deaths (given here), which contradict his interpretation. The decision to shut down Crematorium I, with its six muffles, in the Auschwitz main camp [*Stammlager*] is, therefore, from Pressac's point of view, inexplicable.

Actually, the entire story was unravelled at its beginning by Heinrich Himmler, who stated on April 21, 1945:²¹

In order to put a stop to the epidemics, we were forced to burn the bodies of incalculable numbers of people who had been destroyed by disease. We were therefore forced to build crematoria, and on this account they are knotting a noose for us.

Unfortunately Himmler did not live to say this at the Nuremberg trials. It is scandalous that it still has to be said in 1992.

With regard to Pressac's efforts to find a homicidal gas chamber in (Birkenau) Crematorium II, I

refer the reader to Faurisson's critique. In his effort to prove a thesis, the falsehood of which is (or should be) obvious at the outset, Pressac in fact plays down or simply ignores the decisive facts. Nevertheless, he claims that it is we who are "maniacs who spend their lives trying to demonstrate that something never existed."²²

The "Vergasungskeller" ("Gassing Cellar")

In *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, I considered a widely-cited document dated January 29, 1943, in which Karl Bischoff, head of the Auschwitz construction department, reported to Hans Kammler, head of the SS engineering office in Berlin, on the operational status of Crematorium II:²³

The Crematorium II has been completed — save for some minor constructional work — by the use of all the forces available, in spite of unspeakable difficulties, the severe cold, and in 24 hour shifts. The fires were started in the ovens in the presence of Senior Engineer Prüfer, representative of the contractors of the firm of Topf and Sons, Erfurt, and they are working most satisfactorily. The formwork for the reinforced concrete ceiling of the mortuary cellar [*Leichenkeller*] could not yet be removed on account of the frost. This is, however, unimportant, as the *Vergasungskeller* ["gassing cellar"] can be used for this purpose. . . .

In his book, Pressac wrote that my interpretation of the term *Vergasungskeller* "though perfect in its literary form, was technically worthless."²⁴ He interprets the term *Vergasungskeller* in this 1943 document to mean a homicidal gas chamber, and made this number one in his list of 39 "criminal traces" of extermination gassings at Auschwitz.²⁵ I would now say that although my translation of the term was technically correct, Pressac showed that, in this case, my interpretation was not correct. However, Pressac's interpretation is also incorrect, as shown by the evidence he himself reproduces. It is necessary to consider this matter in detail.²⁶

The two important German words in this regard are *Begasung*, treatment with a gas, and *Vergasung*, gasification or conversion of something into a gas, even in the loose sense. (For example, the German word for carburetion is *Vergasung*.) Thus, although "fumigation" should normally be "*Begasung*," for no clear reason German often allows "*Vergasung*" to substitute for "*Begasung*." Thus, gas attacks in World War I were referred to as *Vergasung*, and professional fumigators often speak of their operations as *Vergasung* rather than *Begasung*. However it appears that *Begasung* never substitutes for *Vergasung*, and that a fumigation or delousing gas chamber is normally a "*Gaskammer*," not a "*Vergasungskammer*" or "*Vergasungskeller*."

Accordingly, the delousing gas chambers at Auschwitz were called "*Gaskammern*."²⁷ These are the sorts of arbitrary conventions of usage, not deducible from a dictionary, that occur in any language.

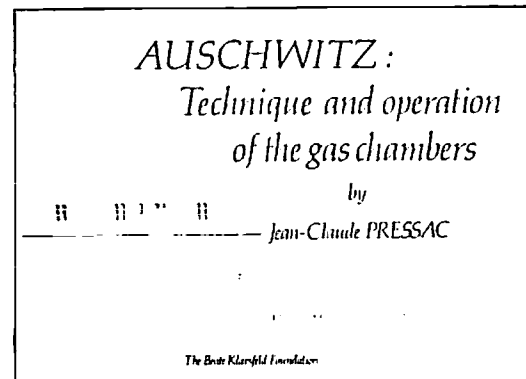
Despite all this, the normal meaning of *Vergasung*, in a technical context, is gasification, gas generation, or carburetion. In view of that, and knowing that some cremation ovens were of a design requiring a combustible gas-air mixture to be introduced by blowers located outside, I interpreted the *Vergasungskeller* mentioned in the 1943 document as a place where coke or coal was converted into a combustible gas, mixed with air, and then introduced under pressure into the cremation ovens.

While this interpretation is not "technically worthless," Pressac shows that it is not correct in this instance. His proof consists of (1) many engineering drawings of Crematorium II, in various stages of design, which show no such facility, and (2) engineering drawings of, and other technical data on, typical Topf company crematory ovens, which show that they were not of the design I assumed, and which used as fuel coke supplied directly behind the ovens.²⁸

On the basis of a newly discovered document, Pressac shows that the basement morgue (*Leichenkeller*), which was not available, due to the frost, was *Leichenkeller* 2. He thus concludes that the *Vergasungskeller* must be *Leichenkeller* 1, and that it was designated a "*Vergasungskeller*" in this document as a result of an "enormous gaff [*sic*] . . . the first of the 'slips' that SS and civilians could not help making" in the alleged preferred policy of not committing incriminating words to paper.²⁹ While it is true that the normal German term for a homicidal or delousing gas chamber would be "*Gaskammer*," "*Vergasungskeller*" is linguistically possible.

As noted by others, Pressac is in the strange position of claiming that a room consistently designated *Leichenkeller* 1 on all engineering drawings was to be used only temporarily as a *Leichenkeller*, either instead of normally as a gas chamber, or simultaneously as a gas chamber and a morgue. In the latter case the unsuspecting victims must presumably stand on the corpses. In the former case (the only interpretation worth considering), the implied delay in the use of the building for extermination was "unimportant," a major contradiction if one claims, as Pressac does, that the primary role of the building was for mass gassing.

Because this document confirms that in January 1943 the Germans were working, under great pressure, to make this installation operational as an ordinary crematorium, I regard it as further evidence against the claim that it had been decided in the summer of 1942 that the primary purpose of these crematoria was extermination by lethal gas-



The 564-page book by French suburban pharmacist J.-C. Pressac is so far the most thorough and detailed effort to respond seriously to the Revisionist critique of the generally-accepted Auschwitz extermination story.

sing. The use of the *Vergasungskeller* as a morgue not only did not interfere with bringing Crematorium II into operational status, it advanced it. Here I am arguing, in passing, for a focus on what the document says rather than on the term *Vergasungskeller* mentioned in it. I suspect that the realization of what the document really says is the basis for Hilberg's failure to make more than a hurried and superficial reference to it.³⁰ Pressac, in effect, would have us ignore what the document says.

In any case, Pressac's logic in interpreting the *Vergasungskeller* as a gas chamber depends entirely on the assumption that there was a gas chamber in Crematorium II. Without that assumption we have the following situation:

- (1) One (and apparently only one) document concerned exclusively with the operational status of Crematorium II makes reference to a *Vergasungskeller* to be temporarily used, in support of the Crematorium, as a morgue and not for its intended or normal function,
- (2) In the many engineering drawings of the crematoria that Pressac has examined, there is no mention of a *Vergasungskeller*, *Gaskammer*, or anything similar,³¹ and
- (3) Nothing in those engineering drawings implies or calls for something describable as a *Vergasungskeller*. For example the cremation ovens have been shown to be of a design not calling for such a facility.

The appropriate conclusion, I believe, is that the *Vergasungskeller* was not in Crematorium II at all. I assume that it was somewhere in the vicinity, but in the light of current knowledge the only basis for inferring that it was in the Crematorium building is an assumption that there was a gas chamber



"One Louse, Your Death!" This bilingual (German-Polish) poster graphically warned Auschwitz inmates of the danger of typhus-bearing lice. Other measures taken by camp authorities to combat typhus included camp quarantines, routine delousings of barracks and clothes with "Zyklon" gas, quarantine of newly arriving prisoners, disinfection baths for inmates, and inspections of barracks. The dread disease claimed the lives of many tens of thousands of inmates. German camp personnel also fell victim, including SS garrison physician Dr. Siegfried Schwela and other SS officers. (Source: J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz*, 1989, p. 54)

there. In the absence of the massive documentation presented by Pressac, it seemed logical to assume that the *Vergasungskeller* was located in Crematorium II. I made just that assumption in writing my book, and the assumption seemed confirmed for me by the observation that crematorium technology could call for such a facility. However Pressac has shown, without realizing it, that the *Vergasungskeller* was not in Crematorium II because it does not appear on the many engineering plans, and is not implied or called for by anything that appears on those plans. Only an unfounded or arbitrary prior assumption can place it there.

If the *Vergasungskeller* was not in Crematorium II, then the questions of what and where it was are only of limited importance. It suffices, I believe, to show that the term could have applied to operations that transpired, or may have transpired, elsewhere in the camp.

To give my favored interpretation first, it is unlikely that the town of Auschwitz had preexisting means for production and/or distribution of fuel or town gas sufficient for the needs of the huge complex of camps we call "Auschwitz." Such needs could have been for cooking, heating, or incineration of waste, and so forth. On account of the paucity of natural gas, but abundance of coal in Europe, the Germans had extensively developed the gasification of coal.³² In the Auschwitz region coal was particularly abundant, so processes of coal or coke gasification were suited for the conditions there.

In offering my earlier interpretation of the *Vergasungskeller* as a fuel gas generator for the crematorium ovens I wrote: "The two most common methods of producing fuel gases from coal or coke are, first, by passing air through a bed of burning coke to produce 'coke oven gas' and second, by passing steam through the coke to produce 'water gas'."³³ I now offer almost the same interpretation, but modified so that the specific location of the *Vergasungskeller* is no longer known, and the gas generated is for general application and not specifically for cremation. This seems entirely justified by the engineering plans that indicate no *Vergasungskeller* in the crematoria, by the great likelihood that the camp required fuel gas, and in view of the easy availability of coal there.³⁴ Incidentally it is unimportant, from the present point of view, if such a *Vergasungskeller* were operational or only in a state of construction; only the possibility of its temporary use as a morgue is relevant. So much the better if such a facility was not yet operational, since then nothing would interfere with use as a morgue.

As I say, this is my "favored" or preferred interpretation, but there are a few other possibilities that are worth noting.

It has already been remarked that fuel gas generated in the camp could have been used, among other things, in waste incineration. That is, the fuel gas could have served as the auxiliary fuel. There is also a second sense in which "Vergasung" can apply to waste incineration, because the technology views the waste as a combustible fuel being turned into gases. Incineration (or *Verbrennung*) is actually a special case of gasification (or *Vergasung*) in which all combustibles are oxidized to the highest degree possible, for example, producing carbon dioxide (CO₂) instead of carbon monoxide (CO, a combustible gas, in which case it would be said that *Vergasung* had taken place). Since perfect incineration does not exist in this sense, the line between *Verbrennung* and *Vergasung* can be blurred. What is termed waste gasification, or *Müllvergasung* in ordinary technical German, was developed as a practical process only after the war.³⁵ It appears that during the war *Vergasung* could have been used in the waste incineration

context only in the sense of one of many specific processes taking place inside a plant viewed as performing *Müllverbrennung*.³⁶ Thus this second sense of application of "*Vergasung*" to waste incineration does not seem to apply, and it is very unlikely that at Auschwitz any waste incinerator would have been spoken of as performing *Vergasung*.

This possibility is nevertheless worth mentioning. There was a waste incinerator in what I would call the chimney housing behind the cremation ovens in Crematorium II. The effluent gases from this incinerator combined with the effluent of the ovens in sharing the chimney and the suction type forced draft system.³⁷ I do not believe that the "*Vergasungskeller*" was this chimney housing because, apart from the reasons already given, it was not referred to as such on the drawings, and seems to have had insufficient free space to serve as a plausible temporary substitute for the huge *Leichenkeller* 2.³⁸ All the same, it is at least worth noting that "*Vergasung*" could apply as an inclusive description for the two processes (cremation and waste incineration) involved there. However I do not consider a waste incineration interpretation of the *Vergasungskeller* a likely possibility.

In the vicinity of the crematoria at Birkenau there were three sewage treatment plants (*Kläranlagen*) in various stages of completion.³⁹ Sewage treatment amounts basically to the acceleration of the natural processes in which bacteria metabolize solid waste into gases and inoffensive solids (sludge), and to the disposal or use of these products. There are several senses in which *Vergasung* could arise. A short outline is helpful:

1. Aeration (*Belüftung*)
2. Chlorination
3. Methane production
4. Prevention of sewer gasification (*Kanalvergasung*)
5. Sludge incineration (*Schlammverbrennung*)

Sludge gasification (*Schlammvergasung*) was a postwar development and is not relevant here.

In the technical literature, aeration of sewage is classified as one form of "gas transfer"⁴⁰ because a specific biochemical effect of the oxygen is sought; the specific purpose of the aeration is to make the aerobic bacteria more vigorous. This biochemical motivation is so emphatic that I have seen the word "*Begasung*" used to designate *Belüftung*.⁴¹ In this connection I have also seen the terms "*Belüftungskammer*" (aeration chamber) and "*Belüftungsschacht*" (aeration shaft).⁴² Chlorination is normally accomplished by converting stored liquid chlorine to the gaseous form, that is, *Vergasung*,⁴³ and then injecting the gas into the sewage or effluent, that is, *Begasung*.

In the anaerobic digestion of sewage a number of gases are produced (sludge gas or *Faulgas*), especially methane, which has various uses as a source of energy. This gas production is normally referred to, however, as *Gaserzeugung* rather than *Vergasung*. Moreover since the gas is produced at the top of a digestion tank, it is not likely that the process could be viewed as taking place in any sort of "*Keller*." However, the process of useful gas production does not end there and there are sufficient complications to allow various combinations and hence appearances of diverse technical terms. After the digestion the removal of impurities, especially hydrogen sulphide, is required if the methane is to have practical use. The removal was normally via dry scrubbing in a "*Raseneisenerzfilter*,"⁴⁴ that is, filtering in iron oxide, as was common in the gas industry.

As already remarked, sewage treatment consists of the acceleration of natural processes, so gas production also occurs spontaneously in the very sewers before the sewage reaches a treatment plant. This process is called "*Kanalvergasung*" and was studied in Germany before the war. For example, there was a 1933 doctoral dissertation on the subject.⁴⁵ Ventilation is often adequate to prevent unwanted effects, such as explosions, but in the event ventilation does not suffice there is the Gerlach device, which removes gases by suction and has both mobile and stationary versions.⁴⁶ In this case the role of the plant is not to perform *Vergasung* but to counter it, that is, it does *Entgasung* because of the undesired *Vergasung*.

Sludge incineration was practiced in Germany since early in the century, but greater interest in this method of sludge disposal was aroused when large and economic plants were built in the USA during the Thirties.⁴⁷ In this case "*Vergasung*" arises in the same way it did at the outset of this discussion, that is, in fuel gas generation, since the sludge cannot be burned without the application of some auxiliary fuel, at least for preheating. Indeed sludge gas is a highly convenient energy source in such a process.⁴⁸ A postwar development was incineration using oil as fuel, in an "*Ölvergasungsbrenner*."⁴⁹

I have not located the *Vergasungskeller* in the sewage plants. Rather, I have listed five senses in which generation of, or treatment with, a gas comes up in sewage technology. I have not found the term "*Vergasungskeller*" or "*Vergasungskammer*" in the German literature on wastewater treatment, but that is not necessary. The document in question was not written by a sewage engineer; it was written by a construction engineer for the information of another construction engineer, and the author never imagined that half a century later people would be poring over his hurried note. Nevertheless, I still favor the first interpretation offered, namely, that the *Vergasungskeller* was a

generator of fuel or town gas intended for general use.

Only the study of complete engineering plans for the camp could settle this question. Alas, that may be difficult. Some of the documentation provided to Pressac by the Auschwitz State Museum (the Panstwowe Muzeum Oswiecim, or "PMO," whose help Pressac copiously acknowledges) had earlier been provided to the Auschwitz State Museum by the Israelis.⁵⁰ I assume the Israelis also have some documents they will not part with. In response to my inquiry for more information about the sewage treatment plants, the Museum replied to me, on August 26, 1991, that it "has several construction plans" of the plants, one of which is reproduced in Pressac's book, but that "abundant documentation on the construction of the sewage treatment plants in Birkenau you will find in the Central State Archives in Moscow." Thus, precisely locating the *Vergasungskeller* may be a big job.⁵¹ At this point the only thing that seems assured is that the *Vergasungskeller* was not in the crematorium building.

The War Refugee Board Report

On April 7, 1944, two Slovakian Jews, Walter Rosenberg and Alfred Wetzler, escaped from Auschwitz-Birkenau after two years' captivity there. Their escape was reported on April 9 in a Gestapo telegram to Berlin and elsewhere.⁵²

Rosenberg and Wetzler are said to be the principal authors of the document on Auschwitz that was published by the US War Refugee Board in November 1944. Supplements to the report are said to have been contributed by two Jews (Czeslaw Mordowicz and Arnost Rosin) who escaped on May 27, 1944, and by a non-Jewish Polish major who also escaped. In writing *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, I thought the document, which I called the WRB Report, was important to the subject because it marked the first major commitment of an Allied power to the Auschwitz extermination claim.

A booklet published in New York in March 1944 with the endorsement of the US government's Office of War Information and the National CIO War Relief Committee, and purporting to be a compilation of reports about Auschwitz received through the Polish underground, illustrates what was being said about Auschwitz at the time. The camp is portrayed as a "camp of death" but not as a site of mass exterminations of Jews. Such exterminations are claimed, but only as taking place at Belzec, Sobibor and Treblinka.⁵³ This is an example of the failure of the Allies to claim that Auschwitz was an extermination camp even two years after its alleged attainment of that status, despite its being a huge and not at all secret operation. (The great extent of involvement by non-SS personnel ruled out secrecy for whatever transpired there.)

Konzentrationslager Auschwitz
Kommandantur

Auschwitz, den 12. August 1942

Sonderbefehl.

Ein heute mit leichten Vergiftungserscheinungen durch Blausäure aufgetretener Krankheitsfall gibt Veranlassung, allen an Vergasung beteiligten und allen übrigen H.- Angehörigen bekanntzugeben, daß insbesondere beim Öffnen der vergasteten Räume von H.-Angehörigen ohne Maske wenigstens 5 Stunden hindurch ein Abstand von 15 Metern von der Kammer gewahrt werden muß. Hierbei ist besonders auf die Windrichtung zu achten.
Der jetzt verwendete Gas enthält weniger beigefügte Geruchstoffe und ist daher besonders gefährlich.
Der Kommandant des Lagers trägt die Verantwortung für die Einhaltung dieser Vorschriften ab, bei denen von H.-Angehörigen diese Vorschriften nicht eingehalten werden.

Geht: H. U. D.

H.-Obersturmführer und Kommandant.

Beide:

H.-Obersturmführer und Adjutant.

Verteilung:

7 Stück an H.-Stube,	je 1 Stück an:
1 - Verwaltung	H.-Kommando, H.-D.A., Funkst.
1 - Abt.	Personalabteilung
2 - "Bauabteilung"	Gefangenvermittlung
2 - "Polizeiabteilung"	Gefangenverwaltung
1 - "H.-Stube"	Arbeitsgemeinschaft
1 - "Landwirtschaft"	Arbeitsgemeinschaft
1 - "Reitstall"	Arbeitsgemeinschaft
1 - "Schulstube"	Arbeitsgemeinschaft
1 - "F.H."	Arbeitsgemeinschaft
1 - "Gerichtsschreiber"	Arbeitsgemeinschaft
1 - "Personalabteilung"	Arbeitsgemeinschaft
1 - "Haus der H.-Stube"	Arbeitsgemeinschaft

"Zyklon," a widely available commercial insecticide and rodent killer, was used extensively at Auschwitz to kill typhus-bearing lice. Releasing hydrocyanic acid gas, it was used, for example, to fumigate clothes in delousing gas chambers, and to kill vermin in barracks and other buildings. Commandant Rudolf Höss emphasized its deadliness when not used properly in this "special order" of August 12, 1942. (Source: J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz*, 1989, p. 201)

Forty copies were distributed to officials throughout the camp. Höss warned:

Today there was a case of illness due to slight symptoms of poisoning with Prussic acid [hydrogen cyanide from Zyklon]. This makes it necessary to warn all those involved with gassings, as well as other SS personnel, that especially when opening gassed rooms, SS personnel not wearing gas masks must wait at least five hours and keep a distance of 15 meters from the chamber. In this regard, particular attention should be paid to the wind direction.

The gas now being used contains less [protective] odor additive, and is therefore especially dangerous.

The SS garrison physician refuses to accept responsibility for accidents that may occur in cases where SS personnel do not obey these guidelines.

A chapter of Pressac's book is devoted to arguing the essential accuracy of the WRB Report, despite various errors and contradictions that he notes (mainly the number and arrangement of the

crematorium ovens at Birkenau).

The authorship of the WRB Report remains a problem, but not an important one. What is indisputable is that it came from the circle of Rabbi Michael Dov Ber Weissmandel in Slovakia, whose members claimed to have received the story from the escaped Jews. The five escapees allegedly did a lot of name changing. According to an article by Erich Kulka in a book published in 1967,⁵⁴ in order to live under cover after escape, Rosenberg became Rudolf Vrba, Wetzler became Josef Lánik, Mordowicz became Petr Podulka, and Rosin became Jan Rohác. Rosenberg remained Vrba after the war, and at present is on the Faculty of Pharmacology at the University of British Columbia in Canada. The other three Jews might have dropped their aliases, although Wetzler retained Lánik as a literary pseudonym.

In his 1967 article, Kulka did not mention the Polish major, who is sometimes identified as a Pole named Jerzy Wesolowski who escaped and changed his name to Jerzy Tabeau. In a 1964 article, Auschwitz State Museum (PMO) official T. Iwaszko mentioned Wesolowski/Tabeau, reporting that he was registered as prisoner No. 27273 on March 26, 1942, escaped from the camp on November 19, 1943, and made some contributions to underground literature, but Iwaszko did not quite make him a Polish major.⁵⁵ In 1979 John S. Conway wrote that the Polish major's "identity has not been revealed thus far. It is also not known by what route this last section of the report fell into the hands of the Jewish leadership in Geneva."⁵⁶ In his 1981 book, *Auschwitz and the Allies*, Martin Gilbert mentions that the report of the "Polish major" was appended in June 1944 to the reports of the Jews by Richard Lichtheim of the Geneva office of the Jewish Agency.⁵⁷ Oddly, in a television documentary based on Gilbert's book that was made a few years after its publication, we see the Polish major's face but do not learn his name. In a 1985 article mainly about Rosenberg and Wetzler, Kulka mentioned Tabeau only as an escapee from the gypsy (*sic*) camp at Auschwitz⁵⁸ and then, in a 1986 article very similar to the 1985 one, Kulka identified the Polish major as Wesolowski-Tabeau.⁵⁹

The WRB Report contains a major contradiction of Pressac's version of the extermination thesis. Not surprisingly, Pressac ignores this contradiction. According to the Report, there were no gassings at the *Stammlager* [main camp] (identified as "Auschwitz," as distinct from "Birkenau"). This is not stated explicitly in the WRB Report, but it is clearly implicit.⁶⁰ Gassings are portrayed as taking place only at Birkenau or in the birchwood ("Brezinsky") or the "bunkers" near Birkenau.

Wetzler's part of the WRB Report says he was sent to Birkenau immediately on arrival on April 13, 1944.⁶¹ However, Vrba and the part of the WRB Report attributed to him say he was quartered at

the *Stammlager* [Auschwitz main camp] from arrival on June 30, 1942, even while working at the Buna plant (Monowitz [or Auschwitz III]), until he was transferred to Birkenau in December 1942.⁶² In his postwar book, Vrba presents himself as being deeply involved in resistance activity and says that Wetzler's "knowledge of the camp was deep and wide," on account of his great popularity.⁶³ Although I would be the last to believe Vrba, the point here is that the authors of the Report had extensive and detailed information about the camp. There is much in the Report that confirms this, such as the mention of the quarantine order of July 23, 1942,⁶⁴ the general layout of the camp, and a rough correspondence of the listed transports and registration numbers with the presumed correct ones.⁶⁵ As I wrote long ago, "One must assume that much of the material in the report is true. . . . there is no question of the competence of the authors of the report."⁶⁶ The authors were acquainted with the interior of the camp (although not, as Pressac acknowledges, with the interior of the crematoria at Birkenau).

Thus Pressac should confront a major contradiction here. Pressac notes various contradictions in the testimonies of the usual alleged eye witnesses (such as Commandant Höss), but continues to believe that they were at least speaking of real events. However, if he is to accept the WRB Report then he must throw out (I won't say "we" because I did so long ago) the testimonies of the alleged eyewitnesses Höss, Fajnzylberg (Jankowski), Müller and Broad, since they claimed to have witnessed mass gassings at the *Stammlager*, and, according to Pressac the lack of documents and "the present state of the premises" make their testimonies the only "evidence to establish the reality of homicidal gassings at the *Stammlager*."⁶⁷ This is not a contradiction of detail. By this I mean that one can no longer continue to hold that they were at least speaking of real events. Because they are so unreliable, their testimony on mass exterminations in other parts of the camp complex must be rejected. But because that testimony is no less reliable than the others, Pressac ought to reject all alleged eyewitness testimony. Thus, Pressac has a mass extermination program that was witnessed by no credible person.

As I said, we are dealing here with a "cornucopia of absurdities," and it is easy to overlook the significance of this point, for which the question of the authorship of the WRB Report is unimportant. The sole objective of the well informed authors, in composing and propagating the Report, was to claim that Jews were being exterminated *en masse* at Auschwitz. It is a piece of war propaganda, and there is no obligation to believe such claims. Nevertheless there is no way that Pressac, or anybody else, may deny that if there had in fact been mass gassings in the [Auschwitz I] *Stammlager*, then

they would have been spoken of in the WRB Report. Therefore there were none. And yet the testimonies for the *Stammlager* are equivalent, in terms of credibility and the circumstances under which they were delivered, to the testimonies of mass gassings in other parts of the camp complex.

In contemporary exploitation of the affair of the WRB Report, Vrba is really the star. Since he first publicly identified himself as Rosenberg (probably in 1958), he has published a book (in 1964) about his wartime experiences, *I Cannot Forgive*, testified at the first Zündel trial in Toronto in 1985, and appeared on various television documentaries.⁶⁸ Vrba is obviously lying about experiences at Auschwitz. This can be seen by examining his book and by considering his 1985 testimony in Toronto that his book is only "an artistic picture . . . not a document for a court."⁶⁹ I have previously noted the major factual errors of his book:⁷⁰ his belief that there were virtually no escapes from Auschwitz before April 1944,⁷¹ and his claim that there was an air raid on Auschwitz when he escaped in April. Actually, the first air raid was on August 20, 1944.⁷²

I also remarked that "the general tone of [Vrba's] book and his description of how various people behaved" further demolish his credibility, if that were possible. I did not give the best examples in my book out of fear that I might not be believed, but here I will mention some of these fantasies. Vrba claims, for example, that at the Novaky camp the Slovakian guards would hold a rifle muzzle on the tummy of a poor persecuted Jew when he was sitting on the potty, while at Auschwitz he had "seen twenty dollar bills used as toilet paper."⁷³ He means US twenty dollar notes, not German mark notes. Poetic license permits a dramatist of the john at Auschwitz to depict a pistol being held against the head by a Gestapo colonel, who would politely hand the Jew a twenty when done — which is no more incredible than what Vrba actually wrote. (Incidentally, scatological fantasies are also a striking feature of the Talmud.)⁷⁴

On the other hand, Vrba's description of the rackets run by the SS and inmates in charge of the "Kanada" section, "the commercial heart of Auschwitz"⁷⁵ where inmates' possessions were stored, seems unusually candid to me, however embellished with inanity.

I note with gratitude that the Wetzler/Lánik book about Auschwitz is frankly acknowledged to be a novel.⁷⁶

Because I had focused on Vrba in my book, in 1979 John S. Conway, a historian and colleague of Vrba at the University of British Columbia, published an article on the WRB Report.⁷⁷ In 1981 Conway also published a German text of the WRB Report, and, in 1984, he published an article relating to the WRB Report (and particularly to Rudolf Vrba) and Hungary.⁷⁸

Conway was overdue for criticism. In his 1967 article, Kulka had not criticized Vrba's 1964 book, but by 1985 Holocaust revisionism was in full vigor. Kulka scolded Conway for being willing "to accept uncritically and as fact Vrba's distorted statements" and complained that Vrba's "contradictory and problematic statements [have been] misused . . . to prove that the [WRB] report was a distortion and that the description of the gas chambers in Auschwitz were simply a figment of the imagination."⁷⁹

I would have thought that, as a result of his admission in 1985 that his book was not true, Vrba would have been finished as a player in the traveling Auschwitz show. However, it is a sad commentary on the present state of public controversy that the silly thing was actually reissued in 1989, with certain supplements, under the title *44070: The Conspiracy of the Twentieth Century*.⁸⁰ It appears that the original text, with all its inanities, was reproduced in this new edition. There were also additions as appendices. The part of the WRB Report attributed to Wetzler and Rosenberg is reproduced, there is an appendix on "trials of Auschwitz SS-officers," there is an essay by Vrba on the economic aspects of the German persecutions of the Jews, a short *vita* of Vrba (not mentioning "Rosenberg"), and an essay by Conway, drawing from and supplementing his 1979 article.

Nowhere in the new edition is there an attempt to correct, explain or apologize for the inanities and factual errors in the original edition of the book, or for Vrba's 1985 admission that the book was only "an artistic picture," that is, not true. Conway does not hint at any problems, or at any of the criticism he received for his gullibility with respect to Vrba. He does not apologize for his implicit endorsement of a book that all sides, including Vrba, have told him is not true. It seems that he will not or cannot learn. Nor will the publishers of Holocaust literature learn; there seems to be an assumption among them that critical examination of this literature is unnecessary. They seem quite willing to slap between covers almost anything as long as criticism is confined to relatively esoteric writings.

In 1990 Vrba was squabbling with Raul Hilberg, Shmuel Krakowski of Yad Vashem, and Yehuda Bauer over numbers exterminated.⁸¹

Conclusion

To return to Pressac, his blindness to the implications of the WRB Report is the rule for his whole work. I have heard revisionists speak as though Pressac's work is a respectable historical effort. The basis for this is easy to see. Having the support of influential people eager to help, Pressac was able to make available to the public documents, mainly of an engineering nature, that had previously been in the category of extreme esoterica, either unknown or known only to a few

researchers.

We are better off on account of the book, but the gain is comparable to, say, the publication of an index or bibliography. The value is purely in the factual information. The analytical part of the book is a transparent charade by an actor who is confident in advance that the people he is serving will cooperate in the sham, and will not call attention to the obvious disguise that renders him, in fact, a clown in the eyes of his targets. How else can we react to a man who insists on treating as irrelevant, at a time when it was decided to build large crematoria, the fact that there was a documented catastrophic death rate? Even Pressac's formal sin on this point, of presuming that which he is trying to prove in order to find "traces" of it, is minor compared to the comedy of his ungainly pirouetting around and away from the central points.

I began this paper with a promise to show how Pressac seeks to have his reader focus entirely on local matters while ignoring the context of the Auschwitz concentration camp in its full dimensions. I have shown three specific important senses in which this is true. First, in his treatment of the decisions to build crematoria at Auschwitz he fails to acknowledge the relevance of the catastrophic typhus epidemics that prevailed at the time of the decisions. Second, his "criminal trace" number one is a highly questionable interpretation of a single word occurring in a document that disproves, or at least renders implausible, his major claim. Third, his discussion of the WRB Report disregards the account given there, and consequently the decisive consequences of that account in evaluating the reliability of the so-called witnesses, in favor of a focus on a very picayune detail.

One should ask: how are such procedures possible in a work as replete with documentary detail as this bulky tome? That is what the notorious disorganization of the book contributes; it is a means of avoiding a focus on the simple essentials. The disorganization is there not because of the bad style of the author, but because of the bad logic applied by the author and desired of the reader.

It is fair to say that one message of Pressac's book is that, yes, the revisionists and particularly Faurisson are right in their rejections of the traditional or accepted evidence for homicidal gas chambers at Auschwitz. He does not put it that bluntly, but it is there. He then claims that he, almost half a century after the alleged events, has finally gotten the evidence right. The procedure is the usual one; flip through the mountains of documents, rejecting all clearly exculpatory material as the result of deceptive German practices in keeping written records and then, when something that can be given an incriminating interpretation is found, declare it an "enormous gaff(e)" of an unintended confession.

I think I could do the equivalent for any estab-

lishment or agency that generates voluminous written records. In these days of "affirmative action" in employment, perhaps I should look for Northwestern University's gas chambers for white males, while taking the precaution of developing an explanation why I survived. Likewise, a future Pressac can concede that our Pressac is wrong, but that he has finally gotten it right. Thus this game can go on forever; it represents the future, if there is one, of the legend, and remains the only kind of anti-revisionist essay possible.

Notes

1. Reviews and analysis of Pressac's 1989 book that have appeared in *The Journal of Historical Review*: M. Weber in Vol. 10, No. 2 (Summer 1990), pp. 231-237; C. Mattogno in Vol. 10, No. 4 (Winter 1990-91), pp. 461-485; R. Faurisson in Vol. 11, No. 1 (Spring 1991), pp. 25-66, and in Vol. 11, No. 2 (Summer 1991), pp. 133-175.
2. "An Official Polish Report on the Auschwitz 'Gas Chambers'," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Vol. 11, No. 2 (Summer 1991), pp. 207-216. [See also the "Lüftl Report" and other material in *The Journal of Historical Review*, Vol. 12, No. 4 (Winter 1992-1993).]
3. J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz* (1989), p. 133.
4. J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz* (1989), pp. 16, 53.
5. On this point, see my paper in *The Journal of Historical Review*, Vol. 3, No. 4 (Winter 1982), pp. 371-406. (This paper is reproduced as Supplement B in recent printings of *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*.) See also my short article in the *Daily Northwestern*, May 13, 1991, with correction of May 14. (This article is reproduced in *The Journal of Historical Review*, Vol. 11, No. 2, Summer 1991, pp. 251-254.)
6. J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz* (1989), p. 132.
7. J.-C. Pressac (1989), pp. 200, 206.
8. A. R. Butz, *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* (IHR, 1977), p. 131.
9. D. Czech, "Kalendarium der Ereignisse im Konzentrationslager Auschwitz-Birkenau," *Hefte von Auschwitz*, No. 3, 1960, pp. 68-76. Also D. Czech, "Die Rolle des Häftlingskrankenbaulagers im KL Auschwitz II," *Hefte von Auschwitz*, No. 15, 1975, pp. 27 ff.
10. D. Czech in *Hefte von Auschwitz*, No. 3, 1960 (cited above), p. 73.
11. J.-C. Pressac (1989), pp. 217-218, repeats this amazing evasion. On p. 384 he hurriedly suggests a very weak relation between crematorium construction activity and the epidemics.
12. J.-C. Pressac (1989), pp. 188, 202.
13. Nobody believes Oswald Pohl was equal in influence to Reinhard Heydrich while the latter was alive. It

was RSHA head Ernst Kaltenbrunner who, toward the end of the war, issued the order opening the camps to the International Red Cross. Butz, *Hoax*, p. 44.

14. A. R. Butz, *Hoax*, p. 128.

15. J.-C. Pressac, on p. 108 of *Auschwitz* (1989), cites a letter from Topf (reproduced in R. Schnabel, *Macht ohne Moral*, Frankfurt/Main, 1957, p. 346). This letter asserts that one of the firm's double muffle ovens can reduce "in about 10 hours 10-35 corpses" (that is, the average time claimed to reduce one corpse in a muffle ranged from 34 minutes to two hours), and can be operated day and night, an assertion not borne out by later experience at Auschwitz, as Pressac notes (pp. 227-247, esp. p. 244).

I believe this document is authentic, and the exaggerations are the usual ones of people trying to sell something. I note that it clearly specifies that corpses are supplied to the oven serially ("hintereinander"), in contradiction to the usual "witness" who claims that three or even more were fed into a muffle together. Witnesses also assert that the crematoria belched flames from the chimneys, certainly not the operational mode of modern crematoria. Pressac accepts such tall tales without protest (pp. 251, 253).

I have far more trouble with the document reproduced by Pressac on p. 247, ostensibly a letter of June 28, 1943, from the Auschwitz construction department claiming that the 52 muffles at Auschwitz could reduce 4,756 corpses in 24 hours of operation. That works out to an average of 16 minutes per corpse. The date of the document was when the breakdowns of the crematoria and consequent attempts at emergency repairs gave the SS no reason to exaggerate the efficacy of Topf's products (for example, Pressac, pp. 100, 227, 236). Moreover according to another document reproduced by Pressac (on p. 224), the crematoria operated only 12 hours per day. On p. 91, Pressac gives the provenance of the June 28, 1943, document as the "Committee of Anti-Fascist Resistants of the German Democratic Republic." I am in the position of a man staring at an authentic-looking German document that states that a Volkswagen broke the sound barrier. If it is not a forgery, then it must have been some sort of joke. In one of his neo-Pythagorean exegeses that Faurisson has noted (*The Journal of Historical Review*, Vol. 11, No. 2, Summer 1991, pp. 145-149), Pressac says (pp. 110, 244) that such figures should be divided "by a factor of 2 to 5."

16. A. R. Butz, *Hoax*, p. 42.
17. *The Journal of Historical Review*, Vol. 9, No. 3 (Fall 1989), pp. 369 f. [Review of Arno Mayer's book, *Why Did the Heavens Not Darken?*.]
18. A. de Cocatrix, "The number of victims of the National Socialist persecution," Arolsen: International Tracing Service, April 1977.
19. J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz* (1989), pp. 94f, 106; A. R. Butz, *Hoax*, p. 128.
20. Nuremberg document 2171-PS, published in *Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression* (U.S. Government Printing Office, 1946-1948), Vol. 4, pp. 800-835; P. Berben, *Dachau 1933-1945: The Official History* (London: Norfolk Press, 1975 ed.), p. 281.

I have not used Mauthausen in this comparison because, although the recorded deaths are fairly well known (see, for example, Hans Marsálek, *Die Geschichte des Konzentrationslagers Mauthausen*, Vienna, 1974), the extent of cremation means is uncertain. Mauthausen was more decentralized than the other camps; for example, the satellite camp Gusen experienced about as many deaths as the main camp, and it and other satellite camps had their own crematoria of uncertain extent (See: Pressac, pp. 108-114, and, Marsálek, p. 157). In addition, Mauthausen on occasion used ordinary municipal crematoria, such as the one in Steyr.

21. A. R. Butz, *Hoax*, p. 240.; *Moment* (Jewish monthly published in Boston), Vol. 11, No. 1, (Dec. 1985), p. 51.
22. J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz* (1989), p. 216.
23. A. R. Butz, *Hoax*, pp. 116, 120ff; Pressac, *Auschwitz*, p. 211. [This 1943 communication is Nuremberg document NO-4473. Original German-language text is given in: E. Kogon, et al., *Nationalsozialistische Massentötungen durch Giftgas* (Frankfurt/M.: Fischer, 1986), p. 220.]
24. J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz*, p. 548.
25. J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz*, p. 432.
26. Compare with Faurisson's discussion of this point in *The Journal of Historical Review*, Vol. 11, No. 1 (Spring 1991), pp. 55ff.
27. J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz*, pp. 27f, 31. H. Breymesser and E. Bernfus, eds., *Blausäuregaskammern zur Fleckfieberabwehr*, (Berlin: Reichsarbeitsblatt, 1943) normally uses "Gaskammer" but "Begasungskammer" is also used.
28. J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz*, pp. 106-113, 222-225. Early in 1989 Faurisson also told me that my interpretation of the *Vergasungskeller* was not correct, but as far as I can recollect he did not raise the matter of the design of the ovens. Thus I was not convinced at that time.
29. J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz*, p. 217.
30. Raul Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews* (New York: Holmes & Meier [3 vols.], 1985, p. 885, n. 67. [In the one-volume edition of 1961: p. 566, n. 52.]
31. J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz*, p. 429.
32. John F. Foster and Richard J. Lund, eds., *Economics of Fuel Gas from Coal* (NY: McGraw Hill, 1950), pp. 68-97.
33. A. R. Butz, *Hoax*, p. 121. The remark on the method of generation of coke oven gas can be improved. See: Foster & Lund (1950), cited above, p. 41. In any case the German processes were sufficiently advanced that they did not necessarily fall into classic categories. See: Foster & Lund (1950), pp. 68f.
34. A summary of various gas generation processes is given in Hermann Franke, ed., *Lueger. Lexikon der Technik* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1960-1972), Vol. 7 (1965), pp. 484+. Gasification of oil, or

- Ölvergasung*), as contrasted to gasification of solid fuels, or *Vergasung fester Brennstoffe*, had also been practiced in Germany since the late nineteenth century. See: H. Franke, ed., *Lueger* (Stuttgart: 1960-1972), Vol. 4, p. 390.
35. H. Franke, ed., *Lueger* (cited above), Vol. 16, p. 337.
 36. H. Franke, ed., *Lueger* (cited above), Vol. 7, p. 89.
 37. J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz*, pp. 277, 281ff, 287, 306.
 38. Such objections also apply against the hypothesis that one room of the small *Leichenkeller 3* (Pressac, *Auschwitz*, pp. 285, 295) was the *Vergasungskeller*. See R. Faurisson, *The Journal of Historical Review*, Vol. 11, No. 1 (Spring 1991), pp. 55ff.
 39. See J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz*, pp. 51, 165-170, 420f, 542f, for limited data.
 40. Metcalf and Eddy, Inc., *Wastewater Engineering* (3rd ed., 1991), p. 276.
 41. H. Kretzschmar, *Technische Mikrobiologie* (Berlin and Hamburg, 1968), p. 217.
 42. J. Brix, H. Heyd and E. Gerlach, *Die Wasserversorgung* (1963), pp. 323, 329.
 43. H. Kittner, W. Starke and D. Wissel, *Wasserversorgung* (Berlin, 1964), p. 424.
 44. K. Imhoff, *Taschenbuch der Stadtentwässerung* (Munich and Berlin, 1943, 10th ed.), p. 207.
 45. K. Dau, *Über Kanalvergasungen und ihre Verhütung* (Würzburg: Dissertationsdruckerei und Verlag Konrad Triltsch, 1935).
 46. H. Franke, ed., *Lueger* (cited above), Vol. 10, p. 693.; F. Gerlach, "Die Beseitigung von explosiven und gesundheitsschädlichen Gasen aus Kanalisationsbauwerken," *Gesundheits-Ingenieur*, Vol. 52, No. 8 (1929), pp. 118-122.; K. Dau, *Über Kanalvergasungen* (Würzburg: 1935), cited above, p. 61.
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 49. H. Wulf, "Die Verbrennung von Schlämmen mit Ölvergasungsbrennern," *Brennst.-Wärme-Kraft*, vol. 16, No. 8 (August 1964), pp. 397ff.; O. Pallasch and W. Triebel, eds., *Lehr- und Handbuch der Abwassertechnik* (Berlin and Munich, 1969), vol. 3, p. 193.
 50. J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz*, p. 331.; R. Faurisson, *The Journal of Historical Review*, Vol. 11, No. 2 (Summer 1991), p. 156.
 51. In his Introduction to the new American edition of *Hitler's War*, David Irving says that "the diaries of Himmler have vanished — partly said to be in Moscow, and partly known to be in Tel Aviv, Israel; Chaim Rosenthal, a former attaché of the Israeli Consulate in New York, obtained the Himmler diaries by the most questionable means." See *The Journal of Historical Review*, Vol. 10, No. 4 (Winter 1990-1991), p. 402. [See also the *IHR Newsletter*, No. 83, November 1991, pp. 2-3.]
 52. T. Iwaszko, "Häftlingsfluchten aus dem Konzentrationslager Auschwitz," *Hefte von Auschwitz*, Vol. 7, 1964, p. 67.; E. Kulka, "Five Escapes from Auschwitz," in Y. Suhl, ed., *They Fought Back* (NY: Crown, 1967), p. 205.
 53. *Oswiecim. Camp of Death* (NY: Poland Fights, 1944), esp. pp. 45f.
 54. E. Kulka, in *They Fought Back* (1967), cited above.
 55. T. Iwaszko in *Hefte von Auschwitz* (1964), cited above, pp. 7f, 38.
 56. J.S. Conway, "Frühe Augenzeugenberichte aus Auschwitz. Glaubwürdigkeit und Wirkungsgeschichte," *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte*, vol. 27, No. 2 (April 1979), p. 269.
 57. M. Gilbert, *Auschwitz and the Allies* (NY: Rinehart and Winston, 1981), p. 234.
 58. E. Kulka, "Attempts by Jewish escapees to stop mass extermination," *Jewish Social Studies*, Vol. 47, Fall 1985, p. 296.
 59. E. Kulka, "Kampf der jüdischen Häftlinge gegen die Endlösung in Auschwitz," *Zeitgeschichte*, vol. 13, 1986, pp. 381-396 (note 53).
 60. WRB Report. That is: US War Refugee Board, *German Extermination Camps - Auschwitz and Birkenau*, Washington, DC: Executive Office of the President, November 1944. See esp. pp. 8ff, 12, 14, 29-32, 40, and pp. 11ff, 17ff from the story of the "Polish major," who does speak of "mass executions" at the *Stammlager*, but only by shooting. He also states explicitly that Crematorium I was not employed to dispose of the bodies of gassed Jews.
 61. WRB Report, cited above, pp. 1, 6.
 62. WRB Report (1944), cited above, pp. 29, 32; R. Vrba and A. Bestic, *I Cannot Forgive* (NY: Grove, 1964), pp. 77, 106ff, 113, 167ff.
 63. R. Vrba and A. Bestic, *I Cannot Forgive*, cited above, p. 218.
 64. WRB Report (1944), cited above, p. 30.
 65. Compare with: D. Czech, "Kalendarium der Ereignisse im Konzentrationslager Auschwitz-Birkenau," *Hefte von Auschwitz*, No. 3 (1960), No. 4 (1961), and No. 7 (1964).
 66. A. R. Butz, *Hoax*, p. 92.
 67. J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz*, p. 123. Pressac writes on p. 132 that the *Stammlager* "gas chamber was used sporadically from the end of 1941 to 1942." In view of the testimonies he cites, he should say rather "from the end of 1941 to at least through 1942." For example, the Fajnzylberg testimony cited by Pressac on p. 124 speaks of a gassing of "400 Jews brought from Birkenau" on a date not earlier than November 1942, when he was assigned to the *Sonderkommando* of

Crematorium I. The other testimonies — in Jadwiga Bezwinska, ed., *KL Auschwitz Seen by the SS* (NY: Howard Fertig, 1984), pp. 114ff, 174ff, and in Filip Müller, *Eyewitness Auschwitz* (NY: Stein and Day, 1979), pp. 31-49 — also claim not merely gassings, but mass gassings of Jews, in the mortuary of Crematorium I during much of 1942.

One of the many contradictions in Pressac's work is that on p. 133 he also asserts, on the basis of logic that I can't see at all, that from the data given in the Leuchter report we can infer "use as a homicidal gas chamber" for Crematorium I. Another contradiction I noticed is that on p. 106 he contrasts the oil-fired ovens of Buchenwald with the coke-fired ovens of Auschwitz, but on p. 259 he says they were "identical." Faurisson reviews additional contradictions: See *The Journal of Historical Review*, Vol. 11, No. 1 (Spring 1991), and No. 2 (Summer 1991).

68. In the documentary based on Martin Gilbert's book *Auschwitz and the Allies*, Vrba says that in May-June 1944 Hungarian Jewesses were arriving at Auschwitz in mink coats. At that time, he is supposed to have been hiding in Slovakia.
69. *Toronto Sun*, Jan. 24, 1985, p. 52.
70. A. R. Butz, *Hoax*, pp. 98f, 150f.
71. R. Vrba and A. Bestic, *I Cannot Forgive*, cited above, pp. 217, 220.; E. Kulka in *Jewish Social Studies* (Fall 1985), cited above, p. 295, specifies 55 successful escapes until the end of 1942, 154 in 1943, and 167 in 1944. E. Kulka in Y. Suhl, ed., *They Fought Back* (1967), cited above, p. 201, gave lower figures, but the 1985 paper used the figures given by the Auschwitz State Museum (PMO) in 1964 (T. Iwaszko in *Hefte von Auschwitz*, 1964, cited above, p. 49).
72. A. R. Butz, *Hoax*, p. 150.; R. Vrba and A. Bestic, *I Cannot Forgive*, cited above, p. 233.
73. R. Vrba and A. Bestic, *I Cannot Forgive*, cited above, pp. 35, 209.
74. To learn what the Talmud says happened to Jesus, read Gittin 57a in the Soncino Press edition (London, 1936, p. 261 with note referring to the Munich codex) or the Jüdischer Verlag edition (Berlin, 1932, p. 368).
75. R. Vrba and A. Bestic, *I Cannot Forgive*, cited above, p. 127.
76. J. Lánik, *Was Dante nicht sah* (Vienna: Die Buchgemeinde, 1964). Translation of the Slovakian language original *Co Dante nevidel* (Bratislava, 1964).
77. J. S. Conway in *Vierteljahrshäfte für Zeitgeschichte* (April 1979), cited above.
78. "Der Auschwitz-Bericht von April 1944," *Zeitgeschichte*, Vol. 8, 1981, pp. 413-442.; "Der Holocaust in Ungarn. Neue Kontroversen und Überlegungen," *Vierteljahrshäfte für Zeitgeschichte*, Vol. 32, No. 2, 1984, pp. 179-212.
79. E. Kulka in *Jewish Social Studies* (Fall 1985), cited above, pp. 304, 306 (note 45).
80. R. Vrba and A. Bestic, *44070: The Conspiracy of the*

Twentieth Century (Bellingham, Washington: Star and Cross, 1989)

81. *IHR Newsletter*, No. 74, July-August 1990, p. 3. [Source cited: JTA dispatch in *Jewish World* (Broward, Florida), March 9-16.]

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"Boney" Fuller: Soldier, Strategist, and Writer, by Anthony John Trythall. Baltimore: The Nautical & Aviation Publishing Company of America, 1989. Hardcover. 314 pages. Illustrations. Notes. Index. \$24.95. ISBN 0-933852-98-3.

J.F.C. Fuller: Military Thinker, by Brian Holden Reid. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1990. Softcover. 283 pages. Notes. Bibliography. Index. \$19.95. ISBN 0-312-04208-6.

Reviewed by James Alexander

Though dead now for more than 25 years, J.F.C. Fuller is still widely remembered by those who love great history and who believe that history should be something more than a "distillation of rumors," as Carlyle put it, or fawning, languorous *apologias* turned out by establishment courtiers. In this review essay, we take a look at the life and work of this outstanding British historian, military theoretician and Major-General. After first noting his impact as a military thinker, we consider his controversial political activities and his career as a writer and historian. We conclude with a discussion of two volumes that chronicle his extraordinarily productive life.

John Frederick Charles Fuller (1878-1966) is acknowledged as one of this century's most brilliant military strategists. Often compared to Clausewitz, his reputation as the first to grasp fully the implications of the mechanization and armoring of battlefield forces, and as the creator of the *Blitzkrieg* style of warfare, was already firmly established by the early 1940s. Figures as diverse as Charles De Gaulle, Adolf Hitler, Heinz Guderian and Marshal Timoshenko have acknowledged his genius. Characteristic is the comment of US Army Lt. Colonel S.L.A. Marshall, who wrote in his introduction to a US edition of Fuller's manual on armored warfare:

... Nowhere else in the writings of men was the outline of the military future so clearly revealed, and nowhere else had the tactics of modern bat-

tle been explored as brilliantly in conformity with war's enduring principles. One cannot weigh the pure gold contained in this slender volume . . .

Between the two world wars, Fuller tirelessly warned that the war of the future would not be like the static conflict of 1914-18. Fixed trenches and the supremacy of artillery and machine guns had become obsolete. Future wars would be fluid and dynamic, he insisted, with victory ultimately going to the nation that mechanized and maintained supremacy in armor and in the air.

Fuller was more than a brilliant thinker. Of inestimable help in publicizing ideas that demanded a revolutionary change in the conventional British military thinking of the time was Fuller's gift — one might even use the word genius — for vivid, forceful and persuasive writing.

Fascist Views

In his political views Fuller was no less outspoken, or radical. During the 1930s, when the assumptions and values of the Old Order seemed irreparably shattered in the aftermath of the First World War, he was strongly attracted to authoritarianism (along the lines of Italian fascism). He was not at all alone in this. During that period, many prominent intellectuals sympathized with the "fascist" outlook. Roy Campbell, Ezra Pound, William Butler Yeats, T.S. Eliot, Henry Williamson, Hilaire Belloc, and A.K. Chesterton, among many others, voiced approval, to one degree or another, for some form of rightist authoritarianism.

A man of decidedly authoritarian inclinations, Fuller held a deep distrust of mass democracy (which he dubbed "pluto-mobocracy") as well as contempt for the intrinsic vulgarity of 20th-century popular culture. Only heroic figures, he believed,

James Alexander is the pen name of a West coast writer on political and historical topics. His articles and reviews have appeared in a variety of magazines, newspapers, and scholarly journals. This is his first contribution to the *Journal*.

would be capable of rising to the great challenges of the time — which meant, above all, revitalizing the Old World and stemming the destructive tide of Bolshevism. Accordingly, Fuller joined Sir Oswald Mosley's British Union of Fascists (BUF) in 1934, serving as its spokesman on military matters and as a member of its policy committee. He contributed prolifically to fascist periodicals, and was a BUF parliamentary candidate.



Fuller as a Colonel, about 1919

From the early 1930s onwards, Fuller's writings reflected his fascist-authoritarian outlook. This is perhaps most manifest in his two-volume military history, *Decisive Battles: Their Influence Upon History and Civilisation*, which came off the press at the outbreak of war in 1939. Its 1,060 pages fairly bristle with denunciations of the corrupting, anti-national influence of high finance — "the Money-Power" — the source, he believed, of many of the world's ills. Typical are the following extracts, which comment on the decline of the ancient Roman world, the American Civil War, and the period between the two world wars:

Never had the rabble sunk so low. Bereft of religion, morality and all social virtues, the dole-fed masses wallowed in every vice. Luxury begot brutality and brutality licence. . . . Whilst to these degenerates licence spelt liberty, to the

plutocrats liberty spelt power, profit and an unlimited scramble for wealth, until money became the sole link between man and man.

. . . Moral decay had so deeply eaten into the vitals of the Romans that he [Augustus] could do no more than stay the voracity of the disease. Peace was now to be corrupted by plenty, as war had been corrupted by profit, and peace and plenty were the abutments upon which the arch of the Principate rested. As peace grew more solid the burgesses avoided politics in order to enjoy wealth, whilst the nobility became atrophied as the path to glory narrowed. As wars grew less frequent, life became more comfortable, until the spirit of the wild-boar petrified into the gluttony of the farmyard pig. . . . Gold had curdled the Roman blood: it was no longer red, but thin and yellow. . . .

Slavery had by this date made the South so unlike the North that, though the Southern States were the originators of the Union, now they daily were growing more and more antagonistic to it, because their people could not keep pace with economic changes, for slavery prohibited machine-industry. Then two simultaneous events occurred which accentuated the turmoil: the first was the discovery of gold in California, and the second the rapid extension of the railroad. Whilst the one disintegrated the people morally, the other facilitated social and economic union.

So it came about that all these various events more and more divided the people into two groups: the Northern insisting upon union, and the Southern insisting on the right of each State to control its own destiny, which tallied with the Constitution. These two groups could no longer even think alike: the one was composed of field-men, the other of men of the city; and the one was an aristocracy, whilst the other was a pluto-democracy. In the South the military, religious and artistic spirits preponderated; in the North the commercial, matter-of-fact and practical. The South was eighteenth century, the North nineteenth century; the one looked backward to Cavalier and King's man, the other forwards to the Roundheads and Cromwells of an all-conquering mechanical age.

So the gap widened and widened, when, in 1857, depression and crisis followed the boom created by the discovery of gold. Then psychosis took ultimate command, and was fanned into fury by the Abolitionists, until, though the North dreaded disunion, it learnt to dread the unchecked ascendancy of the slave-interests even more, because they undermined the fundamental idea of its own economic civilisation — namely, industrial in contradiction to agricultural servitude. At length fact was obliterated by fiction — e.g., *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, etc. — until a universal falsehood cancelled out reason, when suddenly from out of the North, on Octo-

ber 17, 1859, came a maniac — John Brown (“a cold-prayer hardened into a musket-ball”). . . .

In 1918, writes Karl Friedrich Nowak in his book *The Collapse of Central Europe*, “two evangels, which no armed force could stop, had spread among the masses. . . . They came from the east and the west . . .” from Moscow and from Washington, and together they represented the extremes of the world revolution begotten by Money-Power and its repercussions upon nineteenth-century thought. The one strove at liberating the masses, the other at making the world safe for bankers.

On March 20, 1919, [US Secretary of State] Mr. Lansing had jotted down: “The whole world wants peace. The President wants the League [of Nations]. I think that the world will have to wait.” It did, because the League could not possibly rise higher than the level of the nations composing it. It became the instrument of the “status quo,” which so greatly favored the Money-Power, and about it circled the treaties like phantoms round a witch’s cauldron. Meanwhile, what was the alternative solution proposed by Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov (Lenin), that “guillotine which thinks”? Whilst Woodrow Wilson was burnishing his evangel, November 1917, Lenin carried out his “coup d’état” in Petrograd, and with Lev Davidovich Bronstein (Trotsky) assumed power, when the vision of the Second Advent swept over Russia. His political outlook was as narrow and lethal as a razor blade, and self-determination was also the bait in his political trap.

As these passages suggest, Fuller’s renown is not merely as a military prophet and innovator, nor, obviously, is it due to his commitment to a short-lived political movement. He is remembered today primarily as a masterful writer of history, and as a historian who artfully described the underlying forces behind historical events. “Like Clausewitz he has been drawn to the study of history by his desire to interpret,” the *London Times* once wrote of Fuller. “It is as interpreter and prophet, one of the most remarkable of modern times, that he will be best remembered.”

Nearly 40 Books

Though some of Fuller’s writings do not lend themselves to rigid classification, his nearly 40 published books may be said to fall roughly into three categories:

1. Military strategy, tactics, technology, and training: 15 volumes.
2. Military and political perspectives on topical issues and problems: 8 volumes.
3. Military history: 15 volumes.

Fuller’s writings on military strategy, tactics,

technology, and training — while still useful and instructive — are now largely obsolete. Dating from the 1920s and 1930s, these books were written primarily for specialists. Likewise little read today are his works dealing with topical questions, such as the League of Nations, the unity of the British Empire, the future of British India, speculation on the long-term results of the Italian venture in Ethiopia, and so forth. None of these topical works has ever been reprinted.

By contrast, his works of military history remain enduringly popular. Like Sir Edward Creasy’s *Fifteen Decisive Battles of the World*, they will be read and admired for the next hundred and fifty years. At the same time, they have a breadth comparable to Hans Delbrück’s monumental *Geschichte der Kriegskunst im Rahmen der politischen Geschichte*. Accordingly, many of these classic works have been reprinted several times. Nine are currently in print, and a tenth will appear later this year. They are given here (with the year of original publication):

1. *The Generalship of Ulysses S. Grant* (1929)
2. *Grant and Lee: A Study in Personality and Generalship* (1933)
3. *Decisive Battles of the U.S.A.* (1942) [Fall 1993]
4. *The Second World War* (1948, revised edition 1954)
5. *A Military History of the Western World: Vol. I— From the Earliest Times to the Battle of Lepanto* (1954)
6. *A Military History of the Western World: Vol. II— From the Defeat of the Spanish Armada to the Battle of Waterloo* (1955)
7. *A Military History of the Western World: Vol. III— From the American Civil War to the End of the Second World War* (1956)
8. *The Generalship of Alexander the Great* (1958).
9. *The Conduct of War, 1789-1961: A Study of the Impact of the French, Industrial and Russian Revolutions on War and its Conduct* (1961).
10. *Julius Caesar: Man, Soldier and Tyrant* (1965).

The most highly praised of these — and Fuller’s *magnum opus* — is his three-volume *A Military History of the Western World*. (Originally published in Britain under the title *Decisive Battles of the*

Western World, it is based on his earlier, two-volume military history.) Writing in *The New York Times*, Lynn Montross called this "Far and away the foremost military history in its field — indispensable reading for every intelligent adult." [A *Military History of the Western World* is available in softcover, but only as a complete set, from the IHR for \$44.85, plus \$5.00 shipping.]

View of Second World War

Though not quite so strongly ideological as his pre-Second World War books, this is nonetheless revisionist writing *par excellence*. For example, Fuller writes with uncommon insight about Hitler's consolidation of power in Germany, and he clearly identifies the underlying economic factors behind the outbreak and expansion of the Second World War.

He is extremely critical of the conduct of that conflict, which he regards as an unmitigated catastrophe for the West. He characterizes it less as a contest between two great coalitions of nations, than as a *guerre à mort* between proponents of two powerful myths:

They [Mussolini and Hitler] challenged the myth of Economic Man, the fundamental factor in Capitalism, Socialism, and Communism, and exalted in its stead the myth of Heroic Man . . .

In Hitler's eyes the aims of international Capitalism and Marxism were one and the same. Both, he said, repudiated "the aristocratic principle of nature"; both were destroyers of quality, not of things but of life. He held that both lacked the self-justification of sacrifice, fought against Nature, and were destroyers of the race . . .

Unless the struggle between these two myths — Economic Man and Heroic Man — is accepted and understood, the cataclysm which in 1939 submerged the world is almost incomprehensible and the age to which it gave birth little more than the plaything of chance.

In this three-volume study, Fuller also expresses outrage over the Allied terror-bombing of Germany and Japan, arguing that it was of questionable military value and, if anything, served to prolong the bloodshed and devastation. Predictably, he has little regard for Churchill or Roosevelt, portraying them as bungling incompetents and unwitting tools of international Communism:

This blind trust in Russia's motives can only be explained by Roosevelt's and Churchill's ignorance of her history, or by the trance into which they had been induced by their pro-Soviet propaganda. . . . At least they might have borne in mind Lenin's prediction of the inevitable clash between the bourgeois states and the Soviet Union. Instead, they bandied witticisms between each other on Uncle Joe!

The second American crusade ended even more disastrously than the first, and this time the agent provocateur was not the German Kaiser but the American President [Roosevelt], whose abhorrence of National Socialism and craving for power precipitated his people into the European conflict and so again made it worldwide.

What persuaded them [Roosevelt and Churchill] to adopt so fatal a policy? We hazard to reply — blind hatred! Their hearts ran away with their heads and their emotions befogged their reason. For them the war was not a political conflict in the normal meaning of the words, it was a Manichean contest between Good and Evil, and to carry their people along with them they unleashed a vitriolic propaganda against the devil they had invoked.

Throughout this masterpiece, Fuller expresses his dissident views on a wide range of related military, social, and political issues. (On the Second World War, two other books by Fuller are also recommended: *The Second World War* and *The Conduct of War*.)

Two Biographies

There are two currently available biographies of Fuller. The first — Major-General Anthony Trythall's *'Boney' Fuller* — is the only comprehensive study of his life. (The US edition is a reprint, under a slightly different title, of the work published originally in Britain in 1977.)

Trythall has produced an attractive, well-written and interesting treatment that embraces everything one would expect in such a work. He relates, for example, that Fuller's father was an Anglican priest and that his mother was French. His education, it seems, was somewhat mediocre, but he compensated for this through voracious reading, especially of history. In 1906 Fuller married Margarethe Karnatz, a woman of German-Polish ancestry who was known as Sonia. While absolutely devoted to her husband, she was inexplicably abrasive toward others. Their married life was very private but apparently happy, although they had no children.

Fuller's career in the military, including his service in the South African (Boer) War and the First World War, and his peacetime service, as well as his political activities, are all treated in detail here. Trythall also writes of his close friendships with a small circle of prominent men that included Sir Basil Liddell Hart and Sir Oswald Mosley, as well as of his visits with figures such as Franco, Mussolini, Hitler and Churchill.

Perhaps the most interesting of these meetings took place in 1939, when he was invited, as a personal guest of Hitler, to attend the ceremony marking the German leader's 50th birthday. On the morning of the 20th of April, from a reviewing

stand across the Berlin avenue from where Hitler stood, Fuller viewed a spectacular military parade, the Third Reich's most elaborate display of armed might. "Never before or since have I watched such a formidable mass of moving metal," he later wrote. At a formal Chancellery reception that afternoon, Hitler came forward to greet him warmly. Alluding to his role in the development of the tank, Hitler remarked: "I hope you are pleased with your children?" Fuller responded: "Your Excellency, they have grown up so quickly that I no longer recognize them."

Dealing with Fuller as a writer, Trythall describes and analyzes each of his books. He considers how each has contributed to history and to the science of warfare, and discusses how well each has stood the test of time. Fuller, he writes,

... never believed in history for its own sake or in the necessity for dusty accuracy; he studied and wrote history ... for its lessons, for what it could teach us about the present and about how we ought to behave in the future ...

Trythall praises Fuller as "as a man of very great vitality and intelligence, application and integrity." While manifestly opposed to his political views, Trythall for the most part considers them respectfully, and within the context of the times:

... It is important not to judge his action [in joining the fascists] by standards derived from feelings of revulsion engendered by events which took place after June 1934. It is also reasonable to conclude that he saw in fascism a way of implementing the military reforms he thought essential for purely patriotic reasons ...

The second biography — *J.F.C. Fuller: Military Thinker* — is by Brian Holden Reid, a lecturer in War Studies at King's College (London) and Resident Historian at the British Army Staff College. First published six years ago, this new edition is in a quality paperback format.

Dr. Reid's approach is markedly different than Trythall's. Omitting much biographical detail, Reid instead concentrates on a close examination of Fuller's views and theories, and on his impact as a military critic and historian. Reid's book might more accurately be described as a lengthy bibliographical essay, with other elements interwoven, than a biography. Still, this work does include anecdotal material that wonderfully illustrates Fuller's character and temperament. As Reid shows, for instance, Fuller was not an easy man to befriend. He was, rather, an intensely private person who selected his friends carefully. Conversely, he was so impatient with those of differing opinions, and his particular brand of wit so barbed, that he made enemies at those very times when, from the standpoint of his career in the British

Army, he could not afford such luxuries. His forced retirement in 1933 was a direct result of his withering public criticism of his military superiors, whom he depicted, Reid relates, as ill-educated fools.

Like Trythall, Reid does not sympathize with Fuller's political views. He attempts to account for them by explaining that "Fuller's fascism was technocratic in character, emphasizing order and efficiency in government — a rational management of resources that was not possible with democratic muddle." In fact, Fuller's repeatedly stressed admiration for ideals such as heroism, duty, hierarchy, chivalry, and authority would indicate that his worldview might better be described as medieval rather than technocratic.

Given Reid's wholly conventional political outlook, he is largely fair in his treatment of a man in whom the British military now, apparently, takes considerable pride. Reid's analyses of Fuller's works are trenchant and lucid, which is not to say that he is always correct in his assessments.

For readers seeking an introduction to Fuller's thought and astonishingly prolific career as a writer, Reid's book is an excellent choice. If, on the other hand, one wishes to explore General Fuller's life from beginning to end, then Trythall's highly rewarding book is preferable. (Reid himself calls Trythall's volume, "the fullest account of Fuller's life.") In this reviewer's opinion, each book complements the other handsomely, and each is essential for an informed appreciation of one of the most fascinating and influential figures produced by Britain in many years.

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A Failed Look at Europe's Impact on America's Native Peoples

American Holocaust: Columbus and the Conquest of the New World, by David E. Stannard. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1992. Hardcover. 358 pages. Illustrations. Bibliography. Index. \$26. ISBN 0 19 507581 1.

Reviewed by Theodore J. O'Keefe

Most Americans today would, after a little reflection, admit that the white man's discovery and conquest of the Americas was a disaster for the red man; doubtless those Americans who have lapsed from or opted out of traditional Christianity would view it as an unmitigated catastrophe for the Indians.

Many shameful deeds have been done to the Indians, and the eclipse of the indigenous cultures of the New World, from the 16th century to the present, has never lost its tragic penumbra for Americans of European origin. The eradication of the traditional Indian way of life, from the overthrow of Indian empires to the uprooting of tribes, has resulted in wounds to the white as well as to the Indian soul.

Of the demise of the impressive civilizations of Mexico and Peru at the hands of the Spanish *conquistadors*, no less pro-Western a writer than Oswald Spengler writes:

... this is the one example of a Culture ended by violent death. It was not starved, suppressed, thwarted, but murdered in the full glory of its unfolding, destroyed like a sunflower whose head is struck off by one passing. (*The Decline of the West*, Vol. 2, Trans. by C. Atkinson, New York: Knopf, 1986, p. 43)

Francis Parker Yockey, echoing his mentor, writes in his *magnum opus*:

The two grand empires of Mexico and Peru, with social forms, economico-political organization, transportation, communication, city life, all developed to the utmost limits for this particular [cultural] soul, made the invading Spaniards seem like mere naive barbarians. (*Imperium*, Noontide, 1969, p. 8.)

No "multiculturalist" could make a more poignant statement of the glories of the Incas or

Aztecs. Not just a chauvinist of Western civilization, however, is entitled to wonder how equivalent they were to the European culture of the day, and to question whether using the attainments and comportment of Cortez's and Pizarro's Spaniards supplies any better measuring stick than that of the British and French troops who sacked and burned the Summer Palace of the Manchu emperors outside Peking in 1859.

For all the pathos that inheres in the outcome of the clash between divergent world-views and unequal technologies, however, we are forced to ask ourselves how different things could have been, given the questing, thrusting dynamic of Western civilization and the mortal isolation of the pre-Columbian "Americas." And, acknowledging the prior sufficiency unto themselves of the Indian cultures as well as their unique contributions to the European invaders, is it any service to the American Indians, living and dead, to sentimentalize and distort their past by deforming our own judgment?

Broadside Against Christendom

American Holocaust, by David Stannard, attempts to perform just such a service to America's original inhabitants. The book was published in 1992, the author informs us, "to coincide with the Columbian Quincentennial — the 500th anniversary of the beginning of the genocide that nearly expunged the Western Hemisphere of its people." (p. 247) While those words and the book's main title pretty much express the drift of *American Holocaust*, Stannard's purpose is rather more grandiose: to launch a mighty broadside against Christendom, the word white, Western, Christian culture used for itself at the time of Christopher Columbus's discovery.

To call *American Holocaust* a polemic rather than a sound historical study would be to understate seriously Stannard's animus against Christianity and the West, and his treacly view of

Indian life and culture. The book's three main parts, "Before Columbus," "Pestilence and Genocide," and "Sex, Race, and Holy War," are towering in their ambition, but so skewed is their author's vision that they end up so grossly misshapen as to be useless as either propaganda or history.

Before the advent of Columbus, Stannard's Indians, as presented in the first section, lived an Edenic existence, from the Bering Strait to Tierra del Fuego. On Indian cultural achievement, the author wants it both ways: where they are civilized, he has them by far the superiors of the Spanish *conquistadors*; where they are simple hunters and gatherers, they have chosen an ideal life, in perfect harmony with the abundance of nature.

While this reviewer is not competent to judge the literature on pre-Columbian population, it is evident that Stannard leans strongly toward those researchers who see even the highest currently accepted estimates of the number of pre-Columbian Indians as too low. (p. 268) Of the hypothetical 100-million-plus Indians of 1492 and their descendants, the author represents, again following the most extravagant estimates, that "... population loss among native societies routinely reached and exceeded 95 percent ..." (p. 268)

Pestilence Equals Genocide

How does the author account for this gigantic "population loss"? Essentially, in two ways, although, in one of the staggering weaknesses of *American Holocaust*, Stannard is constantly conflating them into one: "Pestilence and Genocide." While, as his section title indicates, Stannard is well aware of the annihilating effects of the diseases, such as smallpox, introduced (almost always unintentionally, as he concedes) by the Europeans, he constantly relapses into terminology that describes Indian victims of epidemics as "killed" (p. 85), "exterminated" (pp. 86, 107), subjected to "wholesale slaughter" (p. 87), "carnage" (p. 95) or "liquidation" (p. 121). For Stannard, pestilence *is* genocide.

And if it weren't, Stannard has adduced for evidence of genocide a series of white murders, massacres, and wars of what he calls — relying on this or that isolated (and usually misleading) quotation from men such as George Washington and Thomas Jefferson — extermination. Naturally, he omits any but the sparsest mention of Indian atrocities; more important, he fails to show anything approaching a deliberate state policy, anywhere in the Americas, of exterminating the Indians, with the arguable exception of a handful of tribes, over half a millennium of mostly hostile confrontation of quite different races and cultures. It's as if he claimed that the

US government was trying to exterminate the Vietnamese on the evidence of the My Lai massacre — and in fact he comes close to that further along in his text by deceitfully equating the Vietcong with the "people of Vietnam," in his exegesis of a single quotation from General William Westmoreland in which the US commander likened the Communist guerrillas to terrorists. (p. 252)

Why did the white man carry out this (imaginary) genocide? Stannard gets at the answer to this question by borrowing another question from black novelist Toni Morrison's *Beloved*, in which a 19th-century Southern black man is moved by the latest evidence of white murderousness to ask, "What *are* these people?" "What *were* those people," echoes Stannard, "whose minds and souls so avidly fueled genocides against Muslims, Africans, Indians, Jews, Gypsies, and other religious, racial, and ethnic groups?"

Why, Christians, of course! And how better to sound that answer than to pluck the strings of that laureate liar, the fork-tongued Elie Wiesel, whose double-whopper about Jews and Germans in World War II— "All the killers were Christian"—Stannard qualifies as "no better place to begin" his bilious section on "Sex, Race, and Holy War."



Columbus sets foot on an island in the West Indies, 1492.

Then follows an embarrassing (for the reputation of historian Stannard) survey of the development of the mind and soul of Christian Europe. The author has already introduced his readers to a 16th-century Europe sunk in squalor, disease, ignorance, and intolerance (p. 58). Now he attempts to show us why, by conjuring up a Christendom that never existed, governed entirely by wild-eyed, self-mortifying monkish ascetics who, when they aren't off in the wilderness flailing themselves for their impurities of body and soul, are wildly exhorting the laity to Christianize or extirpate the infidel and heathen "other," which Stannard argues to be a projection of the subconscious lusts of the benighted, sex-starved ancestors of modern whites.

Historical Travesty

Like a late-night Japanese television chef flourishing his Ginsu knives, Stannard brandishes a glittering array of current historiographical modes, then proceeds to slice, dice, chop, and deconstruct the evidence to support his crack-brained notions of a thousand years of European culture. Those of his readers who have never heard of Geoffrey Chaucer or the Benedictine Order or the Italian Renaissance may well buy his notion that the entire life and direction of the West was ruled by hair-shirted Torquemadas (not that he makes any effort at empathy even with his caricatures); those who have will likely sneer at *American Holocaust*.

Yet it is from the historical travesty of medieval and early modern Christendom he presents in "Sex, Race and Holy War" that Stannard derives the basic European impetus for his so-called genocide. From the anthropological fancies of such classical writers as Pliny and from imaginative medieval travel reports the author finds, following other modern historians, that the Europeans had distilled an archetypal "wild man," who, according to Stannard, was the perfect meeting of the Christians' projected self-hatred and the American aborigines. His argument here is helped, at least for the ignorant and unwary, by his failure to mention any of the numerous Christian efforts on behalf of Indian welfare, with the sole important exception of Bishop Bartolomé de Las Casas' *leyenda negra* ("black legend"), which he mines extensively for its atrocity reports.

While Stannard, in accord with the prevailing fashion, vaunts the comparative perspective (he's hot to raise the American Indian "Holocaust" to the same mythic stature as the Jewish one), his lucubrations (at second-hand) over Columbus's millenarian *Libro de la profécias* ("Book of Prophecies") and other writings might have borne some fruit, however shriveled. But he's evidently never thought to compare the fate of aborigines elsewhere and at other times to that of the American Indians at the hands of their conquerors: the peoples of Siberia, the Ainu of Japan, relict tribes of India, and so forth. No, he's too busy indicting Christendom for the Crusades, Spain for its eviction of the noble Moors and the poor Jews (not to mention the rich ones), and Anglo-Saxon and Iberian alike for his factitious Amerindian genocide.

Genocide Or . . . ?

Indeed, given that there are tens, more likely hundreds, of millions of North, South, and Central Americans who are recognizably Indian, what can Stannard mean by "genocide"?

This we find out on the very last pages of his "Epilogue," where the author informs us that

what he's *really* been meaning all along is the deprivation of "continued cultural integrity" and the right "to exist as autonomous peoples." And while the loss of those two desiderata can be wrenching, even terrible (as it often was for the Celtic and Germanic tribes of old Europe at the hands of Roman legionaries and Christian missionaries), it is not the same thing as the physical annihilation of a people (genocide). (This review is not the place to evaluate the usefulness of that neologism, which according to the definitions of its inventor, Raphael Lemkin, should include everything from complicity in the extinction of the Manx language to the submergence of the nascent Burgundian nation in medieval France and Germany to the dying off of the last Shaker. The definitive study of Lemkinism is James J. Martin's *The Man Who Invented Genocide*, published by and available from the IHR.)

Stannard, who by the word "sex" in his "Sex, Race and Holy War" means to say that the Europeans killed off the Indian women and children, not that they slept with and begot them, isn't having any of the "comparative perspective" hinted at above. Alternately sympathetic with the Jews and envious of their hypertrophied hoax, he'd rather pad the statistics of dead-and-gone "pure" Indians than take solace from the heartening (and perhaps, for European diehards, even threatening) resurgence of Indian numbers and consciousness across the Americas.

In the end, Professor Stannard, who once wrote an excellent debunking of "psychohistory" (*Shrinking History*, Oxford, 1980), has become his own "wild man," fleeing rational historical inquiry and discourse to follow the *ignis fatuus* of "genocide" into the fever swamps of "Holocaust studies." Since Stannard has dared to give conditional endorsement to the recognition by Arno Mayer, a Holocaust believer (but dissident), that more Jews died at Auschwitz from natural causes than from purposeful killing (p. 254), he risks an untimely end to his scholarly career, for, as Revisionist researchers could tell him, the rotting stumps and phosphorescent toadstools of the Exterminationist quagmire are infested by as nasty a species of swamp adders and alligators as populate any of the groves of academe. Few proud red men, and even fewer proud whites, will mourn the demise of American studies à la Stannard.

"Now Recognized"

"Even in Auschwitz, it is now recognized, more people died from hyperexploitation, malnutrition and disease than from gassing, hanging or shooting. . ."

— David E. Stannard, professor at the University of Hawaii and author of *American Holocaust*, writing in *The Nation*, Oct. 19, 1992, p. 432.

Letters

The "New" *Journal*

Congratulations on the new format of the JHR!
It is excellent!

A. Dibert
Ithaca, N.Y.

I want to applaud your staff for the new look and
format!

W. H.
Houston, Texas

We sure think that the new format is much
better — and more practical.

B. and S. R.
Palo Cedro, Calif.

A real achievement!

E. D.
Westminster, Calif.

Your new format *Journal* is fantastic. I find it
much easier to read, and I commend you on the
change.

The work you are doing is paying off in that
people are now at least asking questions about
the Second World War that were not common
even a few years ago. Bringing out the truth
takes a lot of research and time. We are pleased
that you are doing this, even if under very ad-
verse conditions.

F. V.
Headingley, Man., Canada

Really like the new format. Keep up the good
work.

G. K.
Eureka Springs, Arkansas

*We welcome letters from readers. We reserve
the right to edit for style and space.*

Congratulations on the "new" *Journal*.

D. H.
Old Bridge, N.J.

Just received this morning your beautiful new
[January-February] *Journal*. I just love the front
cover colors: mild and elegant. Bravo!

Y. F.
Paris, France

I am very pleased with the *Journal's* new look.
This kind of format is very popular here in this
country, and I hope it will help in getting many
new subscribers.

Unfortunately, it is becoming ever more diffi-
cult to publish Revisionist material here in
Germany. The outrageous sentences meted out
against Irving, Remer, Deckert and others are a
dark blotch on the name of Germany's "justice"
system.

H. R.
Kamen, Germany

"Profiles in Courage" Award Nominees

David Cole, Fred Leuchter, Ernst Zündel and
Robert Faurisson deserve the annual John F.
Kennedy "Profiles in Courage" Award. (My nomi-
nation last year of Leuchter and Faurisson was
at least acknowledged.) Though I regard myself
as a cynic, I yet dare hope that the youthful
David Cole will live to receive the thanks of
people of good will everywhere.

J.M.
Del City, Okla.

Authentic Heroes

The October 1992 IHR Conference was an out-
standing experience. What a staggering contrast
between the reality of this gathering of decent,
gentle, scholarly people, and the denigrating,
abusive depictions in the media of those who
pursue historical truth.

That anyone should be able willfully to harm such mild and kindly folk, and get away with it, verifies the degeneration of America under current misrule and political corruption. We live in times where the perverse is being institutionalized as normal in every phase of life, so that the individual who seeks truth in history is deemed deranged. Lies are taught and accepted in institutions of higher learning, where historical truth is resisted. Citizens must embrace falsehood and fraud if they wish to be considered "respectable." Facts are buried under congenial legends.

A large percentage of my life has been devoted to writing books about the fighter aces who are revered by the world aviation community. As a result of these labors, I know something about heroism. Therefore, I say that brave gentlemen like Jerry Brentar, Fred Leuchter, Robert Faurisson, David Irving and the others who graced your Conference podium are authentic heroes of the central struggle of this age — the fight for truth and justice.

Consider the sacrifices of such heroic men, the economic price they have paid and continue to pay, and the harassments and risks of violence and even murder that they run on a continuous basis. No hero that I ever wrote about in any of my flying books ranks higher in the pantheon than the heroes of revisionist historical research. Theirs is a sustained courage in the face of murderous drives to suppress truth. Corrupted and subverted state powers in every part of the world now permit victimization of these revisionists, with justice often suspended. I look on the courage of these gentlemen with the deepest reverence.

The IHR is to be congratulated for its own sustained courage in providing them with a forum.

Trevor J. Constable
Hauula, Hawaii

Truth No Matter What

It is my firm belief that history can never be definitive. New material constantly crops up and must be examined without prejudice. Although I may disagree with some of these new revelations, I maintain that they should be published. The truth must be allowed to come to light no matter how it hurts. Censorship of what we may believe is false is not the answer. Keep the door open to truth and let the reader decide.

John Toland
Danbury, Conn.

"I Saw Gas Chambers"

Are you trying to say that there was no Holocaust? That there were no gas chambers? If so, you are dead wrong. The gas chambers were real. I saw them myself in Germany at the end of the war, and I took pictures. Dachau was a death camp!

I am not a Holocaust hatemonger. I was an officer and saw what actually happened at Dachau, and there is plenty of proof of actual gas chambers at Auschwitz, too. You cannot revise the truth.

L. H. McCormack
Cottondale, Alabama

First Rate

I am writing to tell you that I find the articles in the *Journal* to be absolutely first-rate. In the Winter 1992-93 issue, I was especially impressed by Paul Grubach's "The Leuchter Report Vindicated." Because it is a response to an article that purports to "demolish" the Leuchter Report, I'd call Grubach's essay a case of demolishing the demolition. Being an engineer myself, I was mightily impressed by Grubach's mastery of all of the technical details.

Weber's article on Fred Leuchter did a good job of disposing of any remaining doubts I had about his character or motives. (I had no idea how awesome his engineering credentials really are.)

As for what has happened to Leuchter (whom I've met, by the way): I consider it a pretty revolting state of affairs when a man can have his livelihood destroyed for doing nothing more than testifying truthfully in a court of law. Unquestionably, if the truth of what happened to him ever becomes generally known, Fred's tormentors are going to be called to account, perhaps very rudely and abruptly. Even though I'm Jewish, I'll have no tears for them.

Another *Journal* article I want to comment on is Degrelle's narrative [in the Fall 1992 issue] about Hitler's early days in power. I had read his book, *Campaign in Russia*, in which he writes about combat on the Eastern Front with the "Wallonia" division of the Waffen SS. It's certainly an awesome accomplishment for a man without previous military background to rise in a couple of years to command a division. Apart from that, though, I was inclined to dismiss Degrelle as a romantic writer of no great depth. His article in the Fall *Journal* showed me how wrong I was.

To begin with, he is a superb writer. I tell you this as a plodding and hopeful practitioner of the

craft myself. But what astonished me was to learn that Hitler's notions of society and economics so remarkably parallel my own. (His Jewish policies are quite another matter, of course.)

So just what was Hitler? A revolutionary, the Anti-Christ, the Devil incarnate, an Evil Force of Nature? The only thing I can say for sure is that, because the very name has become a swearword, it will be a very long time before any civil discourse on the matter becomes possible.

P. D.
Lowell, Massachusetts

Criticism of Jefferson

After receiving the January-February issue of the *Journal*, I promptly read it from cover to cover. I love the new format. The articles on the late Rudolf Hess are superb, as are the terrific articles by and about the irrepressible David Irving.

On the other hand, Dr. Larson's article about Thomas Jefferson left me cold. There is another — and not very attractive — side to Jefferson's "genius." I speak of his association with radical anti-Christian and anti-Catholic philosophies that had a certain vogue in Europe at the time, and of his admiration for the bloody French Revolution even during the terrible years of the "Reign of Terror," 1792-1794. In support of my view, I enclose copies of articles by Solange Hertz and H. K. Weiskittel. The late Nesta H. Webster also criticized Jefferson.

D. J. M.
Bristol, Conn.

Americans to the Rescue?

Jewish organizations here are now [early February] calling for the automatic closing down of any bookstore that sells a revisionist book or pamphlet. You Americans should come and liberate us.

Robert Faurisson
Vichy, France

Auschwitz

At the end of the Second World War, the Soviet Russians converted Auschwitz into a prisoner of war camp for mainly German soldiers. My cousin's husband was a German soldier who was

captured by the Russians, and then interned in Auschwitz. He told me two things that stand out in my memory:

First, he emphatically stated that "there were no gas chambers at Auschwitz." If there had been, he told me, "the Russians would have rubbed our noses in it."

Second, he also witnessed Russians executing German soldiers who were prisoners, particularly Waffen SS men, against a wall. This "execution wall" at Auschwitz is often cited in propaganda about the camp. It may well be that this wall is riddled with bullet holes as a result of executions of German prisoners.

The marvelous work of the IHR is having such a marked impact that the Establishment must now resort to repression in an effort to quell the Revisionist advance.

R. T.
Woodland, Calif.

Killings of Japanese Prisoners

"Mercy for Japs," an item in the Winter 1991-92 *Journal* (pp. 491-494) about wartime American treatment of Japanese soldiers, is very good. It brought to mind conversations I had as a teenager with World War II veterans. One who had been at Okinawa let me visit him at his house, where he showed me his collection of graphic photographs.

They were unlike any I had ever seen, and several showed Japanese prisoners of war who had been executed. There is no mistaking this, because the Japanese shown in the photos had been beheaded. He quite plainly told me that his unit had killed captured Japanese prisoners in retaliation for atrocities against American nurses, who had been murdered and horribly mutilated.

Charles D. Provan
Monongahela, Penn.

Videos Scheduled

I have reserved a room at the local library for a public showing on February 23 of David Cole's video, as well as the video you distribute about the Katyn massacre.

Nice work on the new *Journal*!

H. T.
East Nicolous, Calif.

The Unsurpassed Standard Refutation

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THE Hoax OF THE Twentieth Century

THE CASE AGAINST
THE PRESUMED EXTERMINATION
OF EUROPEAN JEWRY

Arthur R. Butz

Yehuda Bauer and Prof. Moshe Davis agreed that there is a "recession in guilt feeling" over the Holocaust, encouraged by fresh arguments that the reported extermination of six million Jews during World War II never took place... "You know, it's not difficult to fabricate history," Davis added. —Chicago Sun-Times, Oct. 25, 1977

You can't discuss the truth of the Holocaust. That's a distortion of freedom of speech. The U.S. should emulate West Germany, which outlaws such public exercises. —Franklin Littell, Temple University. Quoted in: Jerusalem Post, weekly edition, Oct. 19-25, 1980

IN SPITE OF THE MANY IMPORTANT BREAKTHROUGHS in Revisionist scholarship since it was first published in 1976, Dr. Butz' pathbreaking study remains unsurpassed as the standard scholarly refutation of the Holocaust extermination story.

In more than 400 pages of penetrating analysis and lucid commentary, he gives the reader a graduate course on the fate of Europe's Jews during the Second World War. He scrupulously separates the cold facts from the tonnage of stereotyped myth and propaganda that has served as a formidable barrier to the truth for half a century.

Chapter by solidly referenced chapter, he applies the scholar's rigorous technique to every major aspect of the Six Million legend, carefully explaining his startling conclusion that "the Jews of Europe were not exterminated and there was no German attempt to exterminate them."

Focusing on the postwar "war crimes trials," where the prosecution's evidence was falsified and secured by coercion and even torture, Dr. Butz re-examines the very German records so long misrepresented. Reviewing the demographic statistics which

do not allow for the loss of the "Six Million," he concludes that perhaps a million Jews may have perished in the turmoil of deportation, internment and war. He re-evaluates the concept and technical feasibility of the legendary extermination "gas chambers."

Maligned by people who have made no effort to read it, denounced by those unable to refute its thesis, *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* has sent shock waves through the academic and political world. So threatening has it been to the international Holocaust lobby that its open sale has been banned in several countries, including Israel, Germany and Canada.

In four important supplements contained in this edition (including his lecture presented to the Eleventh International Revisionist Conference, October, 1992) the author reports on key aspects of the continuing international Holocaust controversy.

Now in its ninth US printing, this semi-underground best seller remains the most widely read Revisionist work on the subject — must reading for anyone who wants a clear picture of the scope and magnitude of the historical cover-up of the age.



Dr. Arthur R. Butz was born and raised in New York City. He received his Bachelor of Science and Master of Science degrees in Electrical Engineering from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. In 1965 he received his doctorate in Control Sciences from the University of Minnesota. In 1966 he joined the faculty of Northwestern University (Evanston, Illinois), where he is now Associate Professor of Electrical Engineering and Computer Sciences. Dr. Butz is the author of numerous technical papers. Since 1980 he has been a member of the Editorial Advisory Committee of *The Journal of Historical Review*, published by the Institute for Historical Review.

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This is a relentlessly truth-speaking book. The truths it speaks are bitter, but of paramount importance if civilization is to survive. —MAX EASTMAN

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. . . Indispensable to earnest students of the nature and effects of warfare. It contains trenchant criticisms of the Nuremberg trials, and it exposes the stupidities of "peace-loving" politicians. —FRANCIS NEILSON

. . . A very outstanding book . . . —GENERAL J.F.C. FULLER

This is a book of great importance. Displaying the rare combination of a deep knowledge of military history and an acute legal insight, it is a brilliant and courageous exposition of the case for civilization. —CAPTAIN RUSSELL GRENFELL

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Propaganda for War, 1898

*America Becomes
an Imperial Power, 1898*
John Ries and Mark Weber

*The US Holocaust Memorial
Museum: A Challenge*
Robert Faurisson

Zionism and the Third Reich
Mark Weber

Hess' 1934 Appeal for Peace

*Croatia's President:
Holocaust Revisionist*

*Organization of
American Historians:
A Double Standard*

— Reviews —

Third Reich Almanac

Anatomy of the Nuremberg Trials
Andrew Gray

The Heart-warming, Infuriating, Informative, and Revisionist memoir that Dares to Tell the Truth About the Postwar Trials of the Germans

INNOCENT AT DACHAU

AMERICAN TEENAGER JOE HALOW was still a boy when he sailed to war-ravaged Germany in late 1946. The year he spent there, taking part in some of the most sensational of the war-crimes trials of the defeated Nazis, turned him into a man.

Innocent at Dachau is Joe Halow's account of his year in postwar Germany, above all his work as a court reporter during the U.S. Army courts-martial at Dachau. There Halow witnessed, recorded and transcribed some of the most gripping testimony from some of the most sensational trials of the postwar years: of SS guards from Buchenwald, Mauthausen, and Dora/Nordhausen; of the inmates who carried out their orders as kapos (prisoner trustees); and of German villagers who attacked and murdered downed American fliers in the last phase of the Allies' terrifying air war.

Armed with an ironclad faith in American righteousness when he arrived, young Halow soon saw the flaws and abuses in the trials: reliance on *ex post facto* law and broad conspiracy theories; abuse of prisoners during interrogation; and the shocking tolerance, even encouragement, of perjured testimony by concentration camp survivors. The teenaged American court reporter came to sympathize with the plight of the accused, particularly those convicted, sentenced or executed unjustly.

Innocent at Dachau is Joe Halow's story of his coming of age, of his loss of innocence in the Dachau courts. And it's the human drama of how he came to terms with his own anti-German feelings living and working in a Germany still heaped with rubble and ruled by the black market, in the shadow of the looming Iron Curtain and approaching Cold War.

Innocent at Dachau is also the story of how, four decades later, Joe Halow went back — back to the long-classified records of the Army's trials at Dachau where he found astounding confirmation from official sources of his own misgivings about the trials; and back to Germany for a moving visit with one of the German SS men Halow watched testify about his role at Nordhausen concentration camp.

Outspoken, informative, moving, *Innocent at Dachau* is a unique testimony to one American's quest for truth, understanding and honor, in a realm ruled even today

by shibboleth and taboo — a book that deserves to be read, and read again.

Joseph Halow was born and raised in Altoona, Pennsylvania. After a brief stint in the U.S. Army following World War II, during which he served in Peking, China, Mr. Halow served as a court reporter at the U.S. Army war crimes trials at Dachau. Mr. Halow has had a long career in the export-import business, during which he headed an association that promoted the exportation of American grain. A Phi Beta Kappa graduate of The George Washington University, Joseph Halow is the author of numerous articles on agricultural affairs, as well as a book, *U.S. Grain: The Political Commodity*. He lives near Washington, D.C.

INNOCENT AT DACHAU

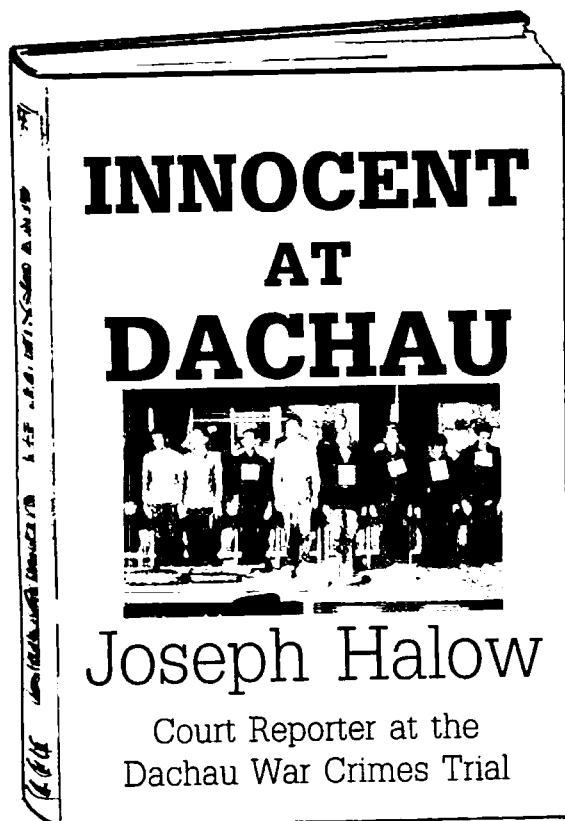
By Joseph Halow

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TOP: The author at publisher's 1990 historical conference.

INSET: Germany, 1946: The author transcribing his courtroom "take" for the record.

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IN THIS ISSUE

From the Editor	2
The Fateful Year 1898: The United States Becomes an Imperial Power <i>John Ries and Mark Weber</i>	4
The US Holocaust Museum: A Challenge <i>Robert Faurisson</i>	14
Faurisson and Rami Attacked in Stockholm Croatia's President Denounced as Holocaust Revisionist	18
Organization of American Historians Condemns IHR, Shows Double Standard	19
New Revisionist Books in Europe	20
German Political Leader Sentenced	25
Revisionist Activism	26
Zionism and the Third Reich <i>Mark Weber</i>	26
Rudolf Hess' July 1934 Appeal to Fellow Veterans of World War I	38
The Anatomy of the Nuremberg Trials <i>A Review by Andrew Gray</i>	43
The Third Reich Almanac <i>A Review by Mark Weber and Greg Raven</i>	44
Letters	46

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Appropriate manuscripts are welcomed by the Editor. They should be double-spaced and accompanied by return postage. Especially welcome are submissions on IBM-compatible computer diskette.

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From the Editor



When the presidents of the United States, Israel and several other countries gathered in Washington, DC, on April 22 to formally dedicate the US Holocaust Memorial Museum, a small army of journalists, cameramen and commentators was there to broadcast the story to the entire world. In keeping with the spirit of the occasion, one politician after another spouted the most piously self-righteous rhetoric. President Clinton didn't just deliver a speech, it was said, he was busy "bearing witness."

As a result of generous support from several dozen of our readers, we were also in Washington, DC, that same week to express forthright and reasoned opposition to this \$160 million monument to misguided priorities and illicit power. On the evening of April 21 we held a special IHR "mini-conference" at a hotel in a suburb of Washington, DC. About 200 friends and supporters of the IHR — some traveling great distances — gathered for the enthusiastic meeting, at which Robert Faurisson, David Irving, Robert Countess, and I spoke. (Videotapes of the presentations will be available for sale soon. We'll keep you posted.)

Unfortunately, our news conference at the National Press Club

on the morning of April 22 was a disappointment. As a result of what amounts to a media blackout, only a few journalists contacted us. Still, as a result of this effort, I gave a few radio and newspaper interviews, and Dr. Countess appeared on a New York City television news program.

This media outreach, and our successful meeting, was made possible as a result of the more than \$4,000 raised through our special appeal. We warmly appreciate such support, especially on such short notice. A heartfelt "thank you" to everyone who contributed to this effort.

At the same time the US Holocaust Memorial Museum was being dedicated on the morning of April 22, about two hundred persons gathered nearby in spite of the wind, rain and cold to loudly express their opposition. Although turnout was not large, this very diverse group more faithfully reflected the authentic sentiment of concerned citizens on this issue than do "our" newspapers and political and intellectual leaders.

Millions of Americans — including many well-educated people — understand very well just how grotesque and inappropriate this Holocaust campaign really is. My recent visit to Washington reconfirmed this.

For example, I met for about an hour there with a veteran *New York Times* journalist who expressed to me, in private, his disgust with the new Holocaust Museum. He called it an "institution of guilt-mongering," and emphasized that he would never take his children to the place. He added that "everyone" he knows — including colleagues on the staff of America's most influential paper — privately hold similar views. When I suggested that he

express his view on this in some public way, he explained that he has no interest in jeopardizing his career. "I gave up on causes long ago," he said.

A former high-ranking American diplomat (now-retired) with whom I also met in Washington expressed quite similar views about the Holocaust campaign and the new Museum.

History shows that genuine popular sentiment can't be suppressed forever. That's why, in spite of the extravagant new Holocaust Museum, the guardians of the legend are not at all happy. As a flurry of recent newspaper and magazine articles confirms, they are alarmed, above all, at the dramatic and seemingly unstoppable growth in recent years of Holocaust Revisionism — in spite of legal sanctions, physical attacks and a vicious anti-revisionist propaganda campaign.

A lengthy but grossly unfair *New York Times* article, April 30, reported, for example, on the "disturbing phenomenon that has gained momentum in recent years in both America and Europe . . . the growing visibility of 'revisionist historians'." Similarly, *Time* magazine (April 26) noted that "the claim that the Holocaust never occurred has been spreading in America," and a wildly inaccurate Associated Press article denouncing revisionism appeared in many newspapers across the country. (For example: "Holocaust Denial Seen Gaining Ground," *Los Angeles Times*, May 8.)

Newspapers across the country also recently reported with something like despair that, in spite of the vast sums devoted to Holocaust "education," millions of Americans have doubts about the Holocaust story. A public opinion

survey released just three days before the Holocaust Museum dedication ceremony shows that one out of three Americans aren't sure about the official Holocaust extermination story. Many commentators were quick to pin at least part of the blame for this on the diabolical work of Holocaust Revisionists.

Four new anti-revisionist books further testify to the fearful trend:

— *Hitler's Apologists: The Anti-Semitic Propaganda of Holocaust "Revisionism,"* an 88-page book compiled and published by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

— *Holocaust Denial*, a 195-page book by the American Jewish Committee.

— *Assassins of Memory: Essays on the Denial of the Holocaust*, a 200-page book published by Columbia University Press by Pierre Vidal-Naquet, a leading French adversary of Robert Faurisson.

— *Denying the Holocaust: The Growing Assault on Truth and Memory*, a 300-page book by Deborah Lipstadt.

We must be doing something right. Not only does the IHR figure prominently in each of these books, but one of them, *Holocaust Denial*, explicitly reports that "the IHR is the spine of the international Holocaust denial movement, and, according to Leonard Zeskind, a research director of the Center for Democratic Renewal, the IHR's influence now is only a fraction of what it will be."

Until recently, the standard operating procedure in dealing with revisionism was either to ignore the phenomenon, or to stridently dismiss revisionists as crackpots, neo-Nazis, hate-mongers, "flat earth types" and so forth. As the authors of these polemical and error-packed new books now recognize, though, that approach just won't work any more.

While continuing to insist that revisionists must never be given an opportunity to express their views, and that, above all, one

must *never* agree to anything like a reasoned exchange of views with revisionists (supposedly because we are so insidiously clever), these authors feel compelled to respond with what superficially appear to be substantive responses to at least some revisionist arguments.

This is already a big step forward, and accordingly we will take a much closer look at these four books in future *Journal* issues.

Much of the credit for our steady progress is due to the quiet work of activists across the United States. A good example, as we briefly report later in this issue, is Jack Riner, a long-time IHR supporter who recently passed out 2,400 IHR leaflets to students on two university campuses.

Other good examples of such activism are the two IHR supporters who (as we also note) arranged for publication of a full-page IHR advertisement in local papers.

We applaud and strongly encourage such grass-roots efforts. Experience has shown that, even when they might not seem to have any noticeable effect, the real long-term impact of such efforts is very difficult to measure. Don't forget the example of Bradley Smith — now one of the most active of activists — who was introduced to all this quite a few years ago when someone handed him a revisionist leaflet. Reading that short item jolted Bradley and transformed his life.

With your continued support, including the much-appreciated support of friends like Jack Riner, we will carry on our work as the world's foremost center of historical myth-busting.

Erratum:

In the May-June 1993 issue, pages 26-27, the short paragraph that follows Table 1 ("Available figures . . .") should instead come before Table 1.

THE FORCED WAR

When Peaceful Revision Failed

By David L. Hoggan

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

This is the shocking story of who really plunged humanity into World War II, how they did it, and why. The product of years of careful study of the secret documents of the men who made the war, and the men who tried to stop it, *The Forced War* reads like a diplomatic thriller, and deals a deathblow to such long-cherished legends as British "appeasement," the "shame" of Munich, the "rape" of Czechoslovakia, and German sole guilt in the outbreak of World War II. After reading *The Forced War*, your view of how world leaders talk peace, of how they plan war, and of how the most cataclysmic struggle of this century began, will never be the same.

THE FORCED WAR

Hardcover, 716 pp.,
Notes, Index, Photos
\$35 + \$3.50 shipping from IHR

The Fateful Year 1898: The United States Becomes an Imperial Power

JOHN RIES AND MARK WEBER

Most Americans have come to accept as entirely normal the readiness of their government to send troops to faraway lands. With few exceptions, even those who might oppose this or that specific action readily agree that such expeditions are sometimes appropriate to protect "national interests," stop wanton killing or otherwise "restore order."

In recent decades, such military adventures have included President Johnson's Vietnam fiasco, President Reagan's ill-fated dispatch of Marines to Lebanon, President Bush's massive Gulf War against Iraq, and the Somalia intervention of presidents Bush and Clinton. More recently, President Clinton has been talking of sending US warplanes and troops to Bosnia and Macedonia.

It wasn't so long ago when most Americans firmly rejected global adventurism. Until the 1890s, America followed its traditional foreign policy of non-interventionism. The year 1898 was a landmark in the transition of the United States from a republic to an imperial power.

Today, as Americans debate the merits of new military intervention in foreign lands, many of the arguments for and against such actions echo those made nearly a century ago, but with some interesting differences. Economic self-interest is no longer so readily acknowledged as a motive, and instead of Christianity or Western Civilization, politicians now like to talk of spreading the blessings of Democracy. What is still familiar, though, is the insistence that current American values and standards are, or should be, the model for the rest of the world.

Implicit in the following essay is a question: Would America, and the world, be better or worse off today if the United States had decided against overseas expansion and imperialism in the late 1890s?

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 has previously contributed four reviews and one essay to the *Journal*. He teaches history in southern California.

Many students of history trace the beginning of America's readiness for overseas military intervention to one of two presidential decisions:

— President Wilson's declaration of war against Germany in April 1917, which brought on the first direct involvement of US troops in a European conflict, or

— President Franklin Roosevelt's campaign during the 1937-1941 period to actively mobilize the United States against European "fascism" and Japanese "militarism."

To be sure, each decision was a major break with the traditional American policy of non-intervention — a policy laid down by George Washington, Thomas Jefferson and the other founding leaders. There is likewise no question but that the policies of Wilson and Roosevelt set the stage for America's role today as the world's foremost superpower and global "policeman." In fact, though, this policy of interventionism was already well established by the time the US entered the First World War. The great transition in American foreign policy took place during the final decade of the 19th century.

The 1890s

As the 1890s dawned, Americans could look back on the recent past with some gratitude. Internally the United States had been at peace since the end of the Civil War in 1865, and had not been involved in a foreign war since 1848. Reflecting its generally inward-looking mood, the country maintained only a small military force, and some questioned the need for even its minimal foreign ties. In 1889 the *New York Sun* told readers:¹

... The diplomatic service has outgrown its usefulness. . . . It is a costly humbug and sham. It is a nurse of snobs. It spoils a few Americans every year, and does no good to anybody. Instead of making ambassadors, Congress should wipe out the whole service.

But other forces were at work that would change all this. After several decades of dramatic economic expansion, the United States had, by the early

1890s, become the world's leading agricultural and industrial nation. Along with its new status as an economic giant, the United States now found itself able to compete militarily in the international arena with the other great powers. It now had the economic muscle to permit it to engage successfully in foreign expansion or imperialism, the imposition of control over, and sometimes outright annexation of, overseas territory.

Many farmers and manufacturers looked ever more eagerly to foreign markets to absorb their growing surpluses, while a small but growing number of Americans wondered why they should not follow the example of rival European powers in the imperialist scramble for colonies.

"The subjugation of a continent," remarked the *Overland Monthly* in 1898, "was sufficient to keep the American people busy at home for a century. . . But now that the continent is subdued, we are looking for fresh worlds to conquer."²

In this setting came the greatest challenge so far to the principles that had guided the conduct of American foreign policy since the earliest days.

Manufactured War Hysteria

The Spanish-American War of 1898 — through which the United States suddenly became an overseas empire — did not begin spontaneously. As has happened on other critical occasions in American history, the media played an important and probably crucial role in rousing public sentiment for war.

Above all, two fiercely competing mass-circulation New York City daily papers — William Randolph Hearst's *Journal* and Joseph Pulitzer's *World* — had already been doing everything possible to inflame adventurist and bellicose passions with embellished stories of Spanish "barbarism" in Cuba. By 1898, each of the two "yellow press" rivals was selling more than 800,000 newspapers a day, and equally irresponsible imitators had sprung up across the country.

In response to mounting unrest in Cuba, in early 1898 President McKinley sent the US warship *Maine* to Havana harbor. While the US government announced that the *Maine*'s visit was a "friendly act of courtesy," everyone knew that this was a lie. Its real mission was to protect American life and property if and when Cuban revolutionaries took control of Havana. On the evening of February 15, a mysterious explosion suddenly blew up the *Maine* while it was resting at anchor in the harbor, killing 260 navy servicemen.

Without a shred of real evidence, the "yellow press" and prominent individuals immediately blamed Spanish authorities for the disaster. Even though Spain had no rational motive for provoking the United States, and no evidence of Spanish guilt has ever come to light, the incident was instantly seized upon to inflame passions for war. Headlines

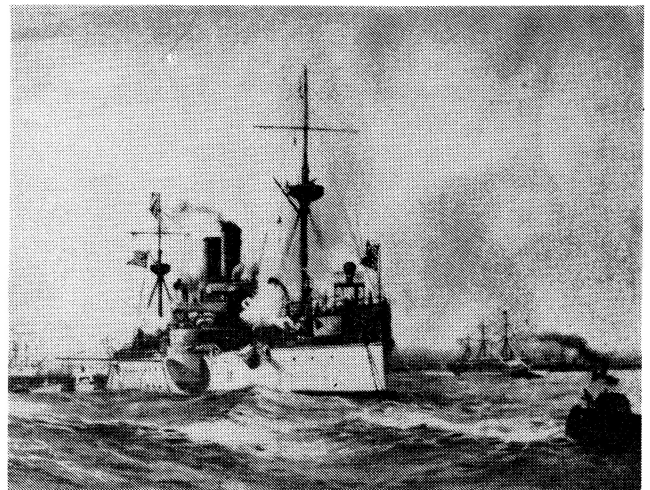
in the New York *Journal* (February 17) told readers that "Destruction of the War Ship Maine Was The Work of an Enemy," that "Assistant Secretary Roosevelt Convinced the Explosion of the War Ship Was Not an Accident," and that "Naval officers think the Maine was destroyed by a Spanish mine." (Hearst's *Journal* would later shamelessly take credit for the Spanish-American war itself.)³

Pulitzer's *World* (April 1, 1898) likewise branded the explosion "an act of war," and declared that "the destruction of the *Maine* by foul play should be the occasion of ordering our fleet to Havana. . . If Spain will not punish her miscreants, we must punish Spain." Ten days later the paper cried: "Stop the nonsense! Stop the trifling, let us have peace even at the muzzle of our guns."

Even supposedly responsible voices joined in the national frenzy. One Presbyterian journal piously declared: "And if it be the will of Almighty God, that by war the last trace of this [Spanish] inhumanity of man to man shall be swept away from this Western hemisphere, let it come!"⁴

"Remember the *Maine*! To Hell with Spain!" quickly became the rallying-cry across the United States.

Media treatment of the *Maine* incident foreshadowed similar cases at other pivotal times in US history, including the highly misleading and inflammatory press coverage of the German submarine sinking in May 1915 of the liner *Lusitania*, the August 1964 Gulf of Tonkin attack (which was misrepresented by President Johnson to secure blank check Congressional authorization for unlimited war in Southeast Asia), and the fake atrocity stories that helped incite public support for the Gulf War against Iraq.⁵

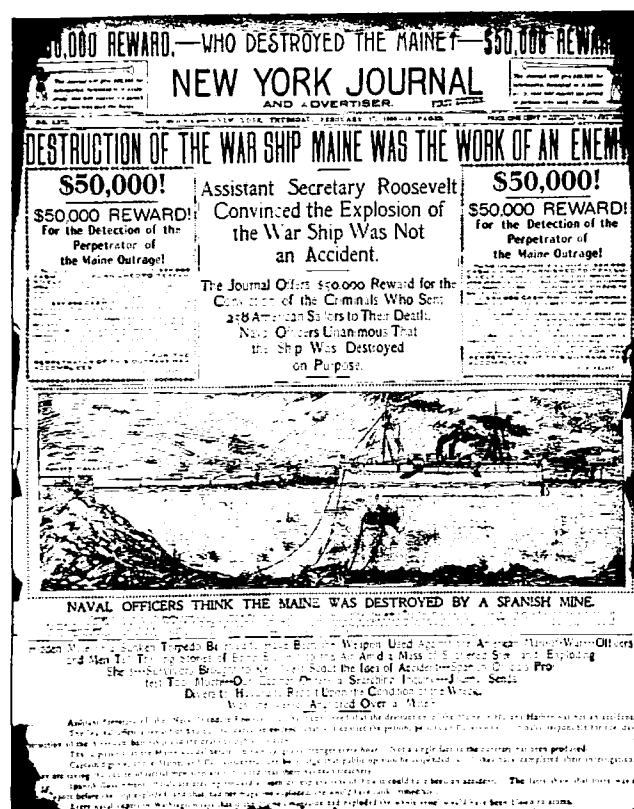


The US warship *Maine* arrives in Havana harbor, January 1898. Its mysterious sinking was seized upon by American newspapers and politicians to inflame popular passion for war against Spain.

Predictably, the hysteria that swept the country was reflected in Congress, where lawmakers shouted at each other and ran up and down aisles like madmen. One Representative said that every Congressman "had two or three newspapers in his district — most of them printed in red ink . . . and shouting for blood."

Senator Allen accused Spain of "wholesale murder" in the *Maine* explosion, while in the lobbies war-hungry congressmen sang "The Battle Hymn of the Republic" and other bellicose songs. Representative McDowell demanded that "these murderous, treacherous, bull-fighting [Spanish] hyenas should be made to get off the Western Hemisphere . . ."

In this crazed atmosphere, anyone who raised a voice in protest risked being labeled unpatriotic. Charles Eliot Norton, Harvard's esteemed Professor of Fine Arts, was denounced by the press as a traitor for his outspoken opposition to the war, and a Boston politician proposed that he be lynched.⁷



No newspaper did more to incite popular mania for war against Spain than William R. Hearst's *New York Journal*. Without a shred of real evidence, this issue of February 17, 1898, blames Spanish authorities for the sinking of the US warship *Maine*.

Distressed by mounting criticism that he was "soft," President McKinley on April 11, 1898, asked Congress — "in the name of humanity, in the name of civilization, in behalf of endangered American

interests" — for authorization to expel Spanish forces from Cuba. Congress promptly approved, and on April 25, it passed another resolution declaring war to exist in fact, and directing the President to employ land and naval forces to wage it. The Spanish-American War was underway.

In the Far East, a US fleet under Admiral George Dewey steamed into Manila harbor in the Philippines on May 1, where it quickly destroyed the Spanish fleet there. In Cuba, some 17,000 American volunteer troops — the most famous being Teddy Roosevelt's "Rough Riders" — soon routed the weak Spanish forces there. In August, after barely four months, Spain asked for peace, and Cuba, Puerto Rico and the Philippines came under American control. "It has been a splendid little war," wrote US ambassador John Hay from London in a letter to his friend, Theodore Roosevelt.⁸

Hawaii Annexed

Almost incidentally, the United States in 1898 also took control of Hawaii, which had actually been an earlier target of American expansionism. Although the Hawaiian Islands had been coveted for some years by several European powers and by Japan, by 1890 a small group of prosperous Americans had succeeded in taking economic control there, including most of the country's real estate.



Queen Liliuokalani of Hawaii. In response to her "Hawaii for the Hawaiians" policy, American sugar planters, together with US government officials, overthrew her government in 1893. Five years later, the United States formally annexed the country.

In January 1893, American sugar growers, in collusion with the US ambassador there, staged a revolt against the ruling government of Queen Liliuokalani, who was, incidentally, also a gifted poet and musical composer. (Her most familiar song is "Aloha Oe.") Alarmed by her talk of "Hawaii for the Hawaiians," the businessmen feared that the Queen would harm their substantial economic interests. After forcing her to abdicate, the Americans established a provisional republic that wasted no time in formally asking Washington for annexation. Presidents Benjamin Harrison and Grover Cleveland declined to act, though, and a resolution of this issue was put off for five years. In July 1898, after President William McKinley had declared that "we need Hawaii just as much and a good deal more than we did California,"⁷⁹ Congress voted to approve American takeover of the Hawaiian Islands, which were formally annexed by the United States on August 12, 1898.

The Philippines Problem

As in Cuba, the Philippines was already in open revolt against Spanish rule before the United States assumed control. The popular Filipino leader, Emilio Aguinaldo, proclaimed his country's independence from Spain on June 12, 1898, and, at American request, his forces helped in the capture on August 13 of Manila, the capital.

With the defeat of the Spanish, the Filipinos rather naturally assumed that the United States would readily grant them independence, just as had been promised to the Cubans. But when they realized that the US intended merely to exchange Spanish rulers for American overlords, they rose in revolt in February 1899.

President McKinley was sorely perplexed by the problem of the Philippines, a country he was supposed to have once admitted he "could not have located within 2,000 miles." Night after night he walked the floor of the White House and, as he himself said, went down on his knees and "prayed Almighty God for light and guidance." One night it came to him "that there was nothing left for us to do but to take them [the Philippine islands] all, and to educate the Filipinos, and uplift and civilize and Christianize them, and by God's grace do the very best we could by them, as our fellow men for whom Christ also died." After this inspiration, the President went to bed and slept soundly.¹⁰

In the three-year war that followed, the United States sent nearly 70,000 troops to suppress Aguinaldo's "insurrectionists." The conflict quickly degenerated into a guerilla war in which, inevitably, both sides committed terrible atrocities. Americans back home were shocked to read reports of their soldiers torturing and killing prisoners. In one case, when an American soldier was beheaded by a native in a village, 89 local Filipinos were burned and shot to death in retaliation.¹¹ A modi-

fied concentration camp system introduced by the Americans caused the deaths of more than 200,000 Philippine civilians.¹²

By the time it was "officially" over in July 1902, the war had cost the lives of 4,000 Americans and up to 20,000 Filipinos.¹³ Many more died as indirect victims, including large numbers of non-combatants who perished due to disease and starvation. On Luzon island alone, one American general estimated, 600,000 inhabitants were killed or died from the effects of the war.¹⁴

What had begun supposedly as an altruistic crusade for the liberation of Cuba had turned into a war to acquire overseas territory, and an imperialist action to subdue people fighting for their freedom. The brutal suppression of the Filipino independence movement can only be regarded as one of the darker chapters in American history.

In the decades that followed, American efforts to "civilize" their "little brown Filipino brothers" brought a gradual turnover to native control of the islands' affairs, a process that was largely completed by the late 1930s. The Philippines was granted independence in 1946, although the US maintained a significant military "presence" on the islands. When the last American soldiers withdrew in November 1992, an estimated \$3 billion in plant and equipment, thousands of half-caste children, and an undetermined concentration of toxic waste and unexploded ordnance were left behind.¹⁵

The Case for Imperialism

Supporters of imperialism viewed the acquisition of overseas territory as necessary for the maintenance and promotion of American national interests. They cited, among other reasons, the value of colonial holdings as strategic assets in the on-going quest for maritime supremacy.

Probably the most influential spokesman for this view was Alfred Thayer Mahan, a Navy captain and scholar whose numerous writings on the importance of sea power to a nation's place in the world persuaded many to "look outward." *The Influence of Sea Power upon History* (1890), was probably his most important work. Someday, he predicted, the United States would have to decide the great question of "whether Eastern or Western civilization is to dominate throughout the earth and to control its future."¹⁶

Among Mahan's most important disciples was Theodore Roosevelt, who was serving as Assistant Secretary of the Navy at the outbreak of the Spanish-American war. His reckless statements suggesting Spanish responsibility for the *Maine* explosion contributed significantly to the popular sentiment for war. (Some years later, "Teddy" was one of the most strident voices demanding US intervention in the First World War against the German "Huns.")

Another important follower of Mahan, and a close

friend of Roosevelt, was Senator Henry Cabot Lodge. Influenced by Mahan, he and Roosevelt had campaigned hard for a modern American navy.



Alfred T. Mahan, naval officer and scholar. His writings convinced many that the United States must build a large navy and play a major role as a world military power. Someday, he said, the United States would have to decide "whether Eastern or Western civilization is to dominate throughout the earth to control its future."

Lodge was an influential voice for war against Spain, and for US acquisition of the Philippines. In a speech delivered to the Senate on March 7, 1900, he said:¹⁷

Duty and interest alike, duty of the highest kind and interest of the highest and best kind, impose on us the retention of the Philippines, the development of the islands, and the expansion of our Eastern commerce.

Perhaps the effective voice for imperialism was that of Albert J. Beveridge, US Senator from 1899 to 1911. His impassioned defense of the US takeover of the Philippines had much to do with the decision to retain the islands. In a speech delivered on September 16, 1898, Beveridge exhorted:¹⁸

The ocean does not separate us from lands of our duty and desire — the oceans join us. . . . Steam joins us; electricity joins us — the very elements are in league with our destiny. Cuba not contiguous!? Porto Rico not contiguous!? Hawaii and the Philippines not contiguous!? Our navy will make them contiguous . . .

[Today] we are raising more than we can consume. Today we are making more than we can use. . . . Therefore we must find new markets for our produce, new occupation for our capital, new work for our labor . . .

Think of the thousands of Americans who will pour into Hawaii and Porto Rico when the republic's laws cover those islands with justice and safety! . . . Think of the hundreds of thousands of Americans who will build a soap-and-water, common-school civilization of energy and industry in Cuba, when a government of law replaces the double reign of anarchy and tyranny!



Theodore Roosevelt, a dashing and energetic political leader, eagerly promoted American military adventurism and overseas expansion.

In an even more arrogant address delivered before the Senate on January 9, 1900, Beveridge declared:¹⁹

[This] question is deeper than any question of party politics; deeper than any question of the isolated policy of our country even; deeper even than any question of constitutional power. It is elemental. It is racial.

God has not been preparing the English-speaking and Teutonic peoples for a thousand years for nothing but vain and idle self-contemplation and self-admiration. No! He has made us the master-organizers of the world to establish system where chaos reigns. . . . He has made us adepts in government that we may administer government among savage and senile peoples . . .

He has marked the American people as His chosen nation to finally lead in the regeneration of the world. This is the divine mission of America. . . . The Philippines are ours forever. We will not repudiate our duty in the archipelago. We will not abandon our opportunity in the Orient. We will not renounce our part in the mission of our race, trustee, under God, of the civilization of the world.

Appealing to racial pride, Beveridge asked: "Shall [future generations] say that, called by events to captain and command the proudest, ablest, purest race of history in history's noblest work, we declined that great commission?"²⁰



President William McKinley decided, after much soul-searching, that the United States must take the Philippines and "uplift and civilize and Christianize" its people.

Josiah Strong, a militant Protestant missionary, was another influential agitator for imperialism. In *Our Country*, a book widely circulated during the 1880s and 1890s, he preached that the Anglo-Saxon race was chosen by God to civilize the world, and that the United States should bear the main responsibility for this crusade. "It is time," he insisted, "to dismiss 'the craven fear of being great,' to recognize the place in the world which God has given us and to accept the responsibilities which it devolves upon us in behalf of Christian civilization."²¹ Millions of brown, yellow and black people, Strong said, awaited the blessings of Christianity. Through conquest, he said, the United States would bring the gospel of Jesus to these unfortunate races.

William Allen White, editor of the *Emporia Gazette*, a relatively small Kansas newspaper that nevertheless had considerable national influence, wrote in March 1899:²²

Only Anglo-Saxons can govern themselves. The Cubans will need a despotic government for many

years to restrain anarchy until Cuba is filled with Yankees. . . . It is the Anglo-Saxon's manifest destiny to go forth as a world conqueror. He will take possession of the islands of the sea. . . . This is what fate holds for the chosen people.

Apart from such supposedly idealistic sentiment, blatant self-interest was not forgotten. In the cynical view of the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, for example, "The Filipino is treacherous and deceitful. Besides, we want his country."²³

Imperialists also argued that the United States needed Hawaii, the Philippines, Guam, and, later, Western Samoa, because of their supposed value as "stepping stones" to the rich markets of East Asia. The 1899-1900 period marked the beginning of America's decades-long obsession with China, an on-again, off-again fixation that was both sentimental and self-serving.



"The Spanish Brute," an American press commentary on the *Maine* disaster. This cartoon originally appeared in full color on the cover of *Judge*, a popular illustrated magazine of the day. Such propagandistic images presaged similarly hateful caricatures in the American press of Germans during the First and Second World Wars, of Japanese during the Second World War, and of Arabs in recent decades.

Puerto Rico, expansionists also claimed, was essential for the "fortification" of the proposed canal across the isthmus of Central America. (Passage of the "Teller Amendment" at the beginning of the war with Spain meant that Cuba, which had been eyed for this purpose, would not be

able to play this role.)²⁴

Finally, imperialists argued that acquiring colonial territories was necessary to keep them from coming under the control of potentially hostile rival powers, and thus would protect American security while advancing American interests. As George Kennan has pointed out, though, this argument had little, if any substance. "In the case of Puerto Rico and Hawaii. . . there was no real likelihood of anybody else intervening. Puerto Rico could have been left with Spain, or given independence like Cuba, so far as our security was concerned." While the Philippines "was a more serious" case, especially in so far as we had "shattered" Spanish rule there following the conquest of Manila, there is little reason to suppose that the takeover of the islands by another power — even Japan — would have been "particularly unfavorable to America's interests." Kennan concludes by noting that "if we today cannot see a likelihood that the [relinquishment of the Philippines would have threatened American interests, than] I doubt that the people of that time could have seen it very clearly themselves."²⁵

Anti-Imperialist Arguments

Opponents of imperialism saw much danger in the seductive call to extend American power beyond the seas. Among the anti-imperialists were such prominent figures as former President Grover Cleveland, steel magnate Andrew Carnegie, author Mark Twain, former US Senator and cabinet member Carl Schurz, labor leader Samuel Gompers, historian William Graham Sumner, and philosopher William James.

"America's greatness lay at home," said Thomas Reed, the leading Republican in the Congress, "not in some far-off group of islands no one has ever heard of."²⁶ Anticipating a view that has a familiar ring today, he argued that "a great deal of work lay ahead in our own country to improve living conditions and raise the political intelligence among Americans rather than extending American rule over half-civilized people difficult to assimilate."²⁷ To Harvard President Charles William Eliot, imperialism was synonymous with "militarism," something "absolutely foreign to American society, . . . yet some endeavor to pass it off as patriotic Americanism."²⁸

The American Anti-Imperialist League, founded in 1899, soon gained impressive support. In a formal statement it declared:²⁹

We hold that the policy known as imperialism is hostile to liberty and tends towards militarism, an evil from which it has been our glory to be free. . . . We insist that the subjection of any people is "criminal aggression" and open disloyalty to the distinctive principles of our government.

Although it did not succeed in its immediate goal, the Anti-Imperialist League upheld a venerable American tradition that would later find expression in the writings of revisionist historians of the inter-war period, and in the America First Committee of 1940-1941.

James Bryce, a British opponent of imperialism, urged Americans to have nothing to do with expansion. To yield to the "earth hunger" raging among European states, he said, would be a "complete departure from the maxims of the illustrious founders of the republic." This was a reference to the thinking of men such as Thomas Jefferson, who held that the United States must be, above all, "a standing monument and an example."

Anti-imperialists also recalled the words of John Quincy Adams, sixth president of the United States, who admonished in 1821:

Wherever the standard of freedom and independence has been or shall be unfurled, there will her [America's] heart, her benedictions, and her prayers be. But she goes not abroad in search of monsters to destroy. She is the well-wisher to the freedom and independence of all. But she is the champion and vindicator only of her own. She well knows that by once enlisting under other banners than her own, were they even the banners of foreign independence, she would involve herself beyond the power of extrication, in all the wars of interest and intrigue, of individual avarice, envy, and ambition, which assume the colors and usurp the standard of freedom.

During America's westward expansion of the 1840s, the problems associated with assimilating millions of people of alien race served as a brake on efforts to acquire large areas of Mexico, Central America, and even Cuba. Similar considerations figured in the debate of the late 1890s.

The anti-imperialists pointed out that the United States had never before acquired territory that could not be Americanized, and eventually admitted as a state on equal standing. Puerto Rico and the Philippines, though, were remote and densely populated by peoples of alien race and language. Senator Pettigrew of South Dakota summed up by remarking that bananas and self-government could not grow on the same section of land.³⁰

Carl Schurz, a highly respected Republican leader who was closely identified with his party's efforts to "regenerate" both the American Indian and the Negro, left no doubt where he stood regarding the "yellow and brown race" of the Pacific Islands.³¹ When the issue of Hawaiian annexation first came up in the early 1890s, the German-born liberal reformer expressed strong opposition in an article in *Harper's* magazine. Among other things, he cited a lengthy demographic survey of the islands' population that indicated that Americans and settlers of European descent were in a distinct

minority. "If there was ever a population unfit to constitute a State of the American Union," he declared, "it is this."³²

In the view of Thomas Reed, the problems that would arise over the "purchase" of the "ten million [Filipino] Malays . . . at \$2.00 a head unpicked" would prove to be much greater than any in Hawaii. Labor leader Samuel Gompers worried that the "half-breeds and semi-barbaric peoples" of the new American colonies might undercut labor here. Imperialism, he charged, was an attempt "to divert the attention of our people from the ills from which we suffer at home."³³



This cartoon in the *Detroit Journal*, 1907, reflected widely-held assumptions of the time. A paternalistic Uncle Sam, backed with naval might, has the power to grant or withhold "freedom" from a childlike Cuba.

Senator Ben Tillman told his colleagues in February 1899: "As a Senator from . . . South Carolina, with 750,000 colored population and only 500,000 whites, I realize what you are doing, while you don't; and I would save this country from the injection into it of another race question which can only breed bloodshed and a costly war and the loss of the lives of our brave soldiers."³⁴

Anti-imperialists emphasized the grotesque absurdity, if not hypocrisy, of entering a war to free the Cubans, and then winding up with American troops 8,000 miles away, killing to impose alien rule on seven million people against their will. This was a violation of the spirit of the Declaration of Independence and the US Constitution. Tyranny abroad would beget tyranny at home.

Anti-imperialists also considered a "permanently subordinated American 'colonial empire' as a fundamental violation of the principle of equality laid down in the Declaration of Independence, the historic 'co-ordinate' basis of the American Union, and the cherished American anti-colonial heritage." Implicitly at stake here was the character of America as a nation and as a republic.

George F. Hoar, a Republican Senator from Massachusetts, broke with the imperialist policy of

his own party. In a speech to the Senate in January 1899, he said:³⁵

. . . Under the Declaration of Independence, you cannot govern a foreign territory, a foreign people, another people than your own, that you cannot subjugate them and govern them against their will, because you think it is for their good, when they do not. . . . You have no right at the cannon's mouth to impose on an unwilling people your Declaration of Independence and your Constitution and your notions of freedom and notions of what is good . . .

"Imperialism and republicanism," said Hoar, "were mutually incompatible."³⁶ The Democratic Party platform of 1900 echoed this view: "We assert that no nation can long endure half republic and half empire, and we warn the American people that imperialism abroad will quickly and inevitably lead to despotism at home."³⁷ George S. Boutwell, president of the Anti-Imperialist League, put it this way:³⁸

The question I put to the defenders of this war [in the Philippines]. What is the end that you seek? Is it the vassalage of these people? If so, then you are the enemies of the republic and the betrayers of the principles upon which the republic thus far has been made to rest.

Foes of overseas expansion also argued that America's time-honored policy had well served the nation's defense requirements. As long as the US minded its own business, she could easily defend her shores without a great military complex. But now the United States was acquiring far-away territories that would require a costly, two-ocean navy to protect. Just how far were Americans prepared to go, skeptics asked, to become involved in foreign squabbles?

Andrew Carnegie opposed imperialism for what he regarded as common sense reasons. The Scottish-born businessman, who had made a fabulous fortune in the iron and steel industry, said:³⁹

The naval powers of Europe, and Japan also, are apparently determined to be prepared for a terrific struggle for possessions in the Far East, close to the Philippines — and why not for these islands themselves? . . .

It has never been considered the part of wisdom to thrust one's hand into the hornet's nest, and it does seem as if the United States must lose all claim to ordinary prudence and good sense if she enter this arena, and become involved in the intrigues and threats of war which make Europe an armed camp.

It is the parting of the ways. We have a continent to populate and develop; there are only 23 persons to the square mile in the United States. England has 370, Belgium 571, Germany 250. A

tithe [tenth] of the cost of maintaining our sway over the Philippines would improve our internal waterways; deepen our harbors; . . . thoroughly improve the Lower and Upper Mississippi, and all our seaboard harbors.

All these enterprises would be as nothing in cost in comparison to the sums required for the experiment of possessing the Philippine Islands, 7,000 miles from our shores. If the object be to render our Republic powerful among nations, can there be any doubt as to which policy is better?

Finally, anti-imperialists argued, by meddling in the Far East, the United States could not consistently forbid other powers from doing the same in the Americas — as the United States had long insisted through the Monroe Doctrine. “The Monroe Doctrine is gone!,” cried Senator Hoar.

A Constitutional Issue

Imperialism presented a difficult constitutional problem. Until the 1890s, the acquisition of new US territory was always considered “preliminary to its organization as new states, to be admitted to the Union on the basis of ‘co-ordinate equality’.” Now, for the first time in American history, “sizeable populations were taken under our flag with no wide anticipation that they would ever be accepted into statehood.” Imperialists responded to such considerations by insisting that the federal government had a long-established right “to acquire new territory — by purchase, treaty, or war,” and that such “colonies might be governed as Congress saw fit without assuming either future statehood or full application of all constitutional rights to the native.” In short, the Constitution need not follow the flag.⁴¹

It wasn’t until sometime later that the Supreme Court decided the Constitutional issue implicit in imperialism. In the “Insular Cases,” the Court upheld the legality of what had taken place. It created a doctrine of “incorporation,” which stipulated that the United States first had to “incorporate” the territory in question in order for the Constitution to be applicable.⁴² The Court found, though, that *none* of the newly acquired territories had satisfied this doctrine, and decided that the Constitution does not follow the flag. The people of the newly acquired territories are not automatically entitled to the same guarantees of the Constitution as US citizens. The Court’s rulings confirmed what many had suspected: that the US government never intended to consider any of the colonial acquisitions for eventual statehood.

Bryan’s Betrayal

Reflecting an intense national discussion on the question of American imperialism, the debate in the US Senate over ratification of the peace treaty with Spain was likewise heated. On February 6,

1899, it barely approved the treaty by a vote of 57-27, just slightly more than the two-thirds majority needed for ratification.



Democratic Party leader William Jennings Bryan betrayed principle and his supporters to provide critical support in ratifying the treaty by which the United States formally became an imperialist power.

To the astonishment of his colleagues, and to the gratification of his imperialist foes, William Jennings Bryan — the Democratic party’s 1896 presidential candidate, and an acknowledged “pillar” of the Anti-Imperialist League — decided at the last minute to renounce principle and support the treaty.⁴³ His betrayal was based on what turned out to be a gross political miscalculation. He reckoned that if the treaty were ratified, imperialism would be a potent issue in the forthcoming election campaign, which he could then exploit to his advantage. He therefore used his considerable prestige to ensure ratification, a move that, by all accounts, was decisive in this close vote.

But the “Great Commoner” had reckoned wrongly, and went down to defeat once again in the presidential election of 1900. Benefiting from a revived economy, and taking credit for the impressive imperialist spoils of the recent war against Spain, McKinley coasted to a relatively easy reelection victory.⁴⁴ While historical “what ifs” are by nature speculative, it is intriguing to imagine the course that American policy — and world history — might have taken if Bryan had let conscience and not expediency be his guide in February 1899.

At any rate, the story of America’s great transition from an inner-directed republic to an imperial power provides timely lessons for Americans today.

Notes

1. Thomas A. Bailey, *A Diplomatic History of the American People* (New York: 1964), p. 391.
2. T. A. Bailey, *A Diplomatic History of the American People* (New York: 1964), p. 422.
3. According to a well-known anecdote (repeated, for example, in the film "Citizen Kane"), Hearst sent an artist to Cuba to produce pictures of strife there for his paper. The artist supposedly telegraphed: "Everything is quiet. There is no trouble here. There will be no war." Hearst, so the story goes, wired back: "You furnish the pictures and I'll furnish the war." See: Thomas A. Bailey, *A Diplomatic History of the American People* (New York: 1964), p. 453 (n.).
4. Thomas A. Bailey, *A Diplomatic History of the American People* (1964), p. 460.
5. See "War Atrocity Propaganda Exposed," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Summer 1992, pp. 243 f.
6. T. A. Bailey, *A Diplomatic History of the American People* (1964), p. 474.
7. Barbara Tuchman, *The Proud Tower* (New York: Bantam Books, 1966), p. 175.
8. Roger Butterfield, *The American Past* (New York: 1947), p. 282.
9. Barbara Tuchman, *The Proud Tower* (New York: Bantam Books, 1966), p. 179.
10. R. Butterfield, *The American Past* (1947), p. 286.
11. R. Butterfield, *The American Past* (1947), p. 285.
12. J. R. Chapin, R. J. McHugh and R. E. Gross, *Quest for Liberty: Investigating United States History* (Sacramento: Calif. State Dept. of Education, 1973), p. 511.
13. Henry F. Graff, ed., *American Imperialism and the Philippines Insurrection* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1969), p. xiv.
14. R. Butterfield, *The American Past* (1947), p. 285.
15. *The Washington Post*, November 25, 1992.
16. R. Butterfield, *The American Past* (1947), p. 276.
17. J. R. Chapin, R. J. McHugh and R. E. Gross, *Quest for Liberty: Investigating United States History* (1973), p. 509.
18. Carol Berkin & L. Wood, *Land of Promise: A History of the United States* (1983), p. 511.
19. Roger Butterfield, *The American Past* (1947), p. 287.; J. R. Chapin, R. J. McHugh and R. E. Gross, *Quest for Liberty* (Sacramento: 1973), p. 509.
20. Mary B. Norton, et al., *A People and a Nation: A History of the United States* (Boston: 1990), Vol. 2, p. 651.
21. J. R. Chapin, R. J. McHugh and R. E. Gross, *Quest for Liberty* (1973), p. 509.
22. R. Butterfield, *The American Past* (1947), p. 287.
23. T. A. Bailey, *A Diplomatic History of the American People* (1964), p. 471.
24. Frederick Merk, *Manifest Destiny and Mission in American History* (New York: Vintage Books, 1963), pp. 257-258. The Teller Amendment pledged that the United States would transfer sovereignty to Cuba as soon as order had been restored. It was proposed to appease the advocates of the war with Spain who opposed imperialism.
25. George F. Kennan, *American Diplomacy, 1900-1950* (University of Chicago Press, 1951), pp. 242-243.
26. B. Tuchman, *The Proud Tower* (Bantam Books, 1966), p. 163.
27. B. Tuchman, *Proud Tower* (1966), p. 163.
28. B. Tuchman, *Proud Tower* (1966), p. 168.
29. J. R. Chapin, R. J. McHugh and R. E. Gross, *Quest for Liberty* (1973), p. 506.
30. T. A. Bailey, *A Diplomatic History of the American People* (1964), p. 477.
31. F. Merk, *Manifest Destiny and Mission in American History* (New York: 1963), p. 242.
32. F. Merk, *Manifest Destiny* (1963), p. 243.
33. Mary B. Norton, et al., *A People and a Nation* (1990), Vol. 2, p. 650.
34. J. R. Chapin, R. J. McHugh and R. E. Gross, *Quest for Liberty* (1973), pp. 506 f.
35. J. R. Chapin, R. J. McHugh and R. E. Gross, *Quest for Liberty* (1973), p. 507.
36. Alfred H. Kelly, and W. A. Harbison, *The American Constitution: Its Origin and Development* (New York: W.W. Norton and Co., 1970), p. 579.
37. J. R. Chapin, R. J. McHugh and R. E. Gross, *Quest for Liberty* (Sacramento: 1973), p. 507.
38. Henry F. Graff, ed., *American Imperialism and the Philippines Insurrection* (Boston: 1969), pp. xiv-xv.
39. J. R. Chapin, R. J. McHugh and R. E. Gross, *Quest for Liberty* (1973), p. 507.
40. George F. Kennan, *American Diplomacy, 1900-1950* (University of Chicago Press, 1951), cited in: Jerald A. Combs, ed., *Nationalist, Realist, and Radical: Three Views of American Diplomacy* (New York: Harper and Row, 1972), p. 241.
41. Alfred H. Kelly, and W. A. Harbison, *The American Constitution* (New York: 1970), p. 579.
42. Alfred H. Kelly, and W. A. Harbison, *The American Constitution* (New York: 1970), pp. 580-584.
43. According to F.H. Harrington in "The Anti-Imperialist Movement in the United States, 1898-1900," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, xxii (1935), pp. 211-230. Bryan and his supporters were less fervid than the Cleveland Democrats over the imperialist issue, contributing not only to the movement's weakness, but to the defeat of the Democrats in 1900.
44. Daniel Smith, *The American Diplomatic Experience* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1972), pp. 212-214.

"The greatest enemy of the truth is very often not the lie — deliberate, contrived and dishonest — but the myth — persistent, persuasive and unrealistic."

—John F. Kennedy

The US Holocaust Memorial Museum: A Challenge

ROBERT FAURISSON

The question of the existence or non-existence of the Nazi gas chambers is one of considerable historical importance. If the gas chambers existed, they provide evidence that the Germans attempted to physically exterminate the Jews; on the other hand, if they didn't exist, we have no evidence of such an extermination attempt. Pierre Vidal-Naquet, a leading French anti-Revisionist, is under no illusion. To those tempted to give up the controversy over the gas chambers, he has warned that to jettison the gas chambers "is to surrender in open country." (*Nouvel Observateur*, Sept. 21, 1984, p. 80.) One can only agree. The gas chambers are not — contrary to what Jean-Marie Le Pen once remarked — a mere footnote (*"point de détail"*) of Second World War history. Thus, those who contest their existence are subject to judicial sanction in France and some other countries.

Nor could the monumental US Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, DC, which was formally dedicated on April 22, 1993, allow itself to ignore the Nazi gas chambers. The question remained: What kind of physical representation of this terrifying weapon would the new Museum provide?

We now know the answer, and it is dismaying: For lack of anything better this opulent museum — which has cost American taxpayers and donors from the American Jewish community more than \$150 million — has been reduced to showing us, as its only model of a homicidal gas chamber, a casting of a gas chamber at the former Majdanek camp in Poland: a gas chamber for . . . delousing. As I shall explain, even Jean-Claude Pressac, author of a 564-page work published in 1989 in cooperation with the Beate Klarsfeld Foundation of New York, was obliged to acknowledge that this room was merely a delousing chamber.

This is nothing new. As early as 1945 the Americans were portraying four delousing (disinfestation) chambers in the Dachau camp (Germany) as homicidal gas chambers.

Robert Faurisson is acknowledged as Europe's leading Holocaust Revisionist. He was educated at the Paris Sorbonne, and served as associate professor at the University of Lyon in France from 1974 until 1990. Dr. Faurisson has addressed several IHR conferences, and many of his numerous essays and reviews on the Holocaust issue have appeared in translation in the *Journal*. This essay was translated by IHR editor Theodore J. O'Keefe.

Those in charge of the new Holocaust Museum in Washington have resorted to so grave an imposture, I believe, because they are forced to do so: they are not able to offer visitors a physical representation, in any form whatsoever, of one of the chambers, we are told incessantly, the Germans used to murder swarms of victims.

My Challenge in Stockholm and Washington

On March 17, 1992, I threw down the gauntlet to the Jewish organizations of the entire world. On that day, after arriving in Stockholm at the invitation of my friend Ahmed Rami, I issued a challenge of international scope to the Swedish media. It consisted of this nine-word sentence: "Show me or draw me a Nazi gas chamber!" These words were accompanied by two pages of explanation.

According to my information, the Swedish media, eager to answer my challenge, immediately contacted every possible source in order to obtain photographs of Nazi gas chambers. To their consternation, they discovered that no such photographs exist, and that the facilities or rooms currently portrayed to tourists at Auschwitz and elsewhere as homicidal gas chambers have none of the characteristics of such chemical slaughterhouses. Although the Swedish media leveled innumerable personal attacks against me, my challenge was not mentioned in a single newspaper article, or in a single word on radio or television.

Over the months the embarrassment would grow among those who propagate the thesis of the physical extermination of the Jews during the Second World War: hence the frenzied agitation that has gripped Jewish organizations worldwide.

On April 21, 1993, I renewed my challenge in Washington, this time directing it to the officials of the Holocaust Museum that was to be dedicated there the next day, with President Clinton, several heads of state, and Elie Wiesel in attendance. Among the Museum officials I had in mind, I was thinking especially of Michael Berenbaum, its Research Institute Director.

My challenge in Washington can be summed up as follows:

Tomorrow the US Holocaust Memorial Museum will be dedicated in Washington. I challenge the Museum authorities to provide us a physical representation of the magical gas chamber. I have searched for 30 years for such a representation without finding it: neither at Auschwitz, nor in

any other concentration camp; not in a museum, or a book; neither in a dictionary nor an encyclopedia; not in a photograph, model or documentary film.

Of course I am acquainted with certain attempts at representation, but all of them are illusory. None withstands examination. In particular, when one understands the extreme dangers of using Zyklon B (a commercial insecticide) or hydrocyanic acid (HCN), one quickly realizes that the sites sometimes portrayed to tourists as homicidal gas chambers could never have served as chemical slaughterhouses without enormous danger for everyone in the area. When one understands the extreme — and inevitable — complexity of a gas chamber for the execution of a single man by hydrocyanic acid in an American penitentiary, one sees immediately that the places portrayed as Nazi “gas chambers” — where, day after day, veritable swarms of victims were supposedly killed — lack today (and lacked then) the least bit of the formidable machinery that would have been required.

Apart from the matter of sealing the chambers, one of the most serious problems to solve would have been that of the entering the HCN-saturated chamber after the execution to remove the corpses, themselves saturated with the same poison. Hydrocyanic acid penetrates into the skin, the mucous membranes, and the bodily fluids. The corpse of a man who has just been killed by this powerful poison is itself a dangerous source of poisoning, and cannot be touched with bare hands. In order to enter the HCN-saturated chamber to remove the corpse, special gear is needed, as well as a gas mask with a special filter. Because physical exertion must be kept to a minimum (it accelerates respiration, reducing the filter's effectiveness), it is necessary, before entering the area, to evacuate the gas, and then neutralize it. On this matter, I refer to the documents on gas chambers used in American penitentiaries that I published in 1980.¹

I warn the officials of the US Holocaust Museum and, in particular, Mr. Berenbaum, that tomorrow, April 22, 1993, they need not offer, as proof of the existence of Nazi gas chambers, a disinfection gas chamber, a shower room, a morgue, or an air-raid shelter. I am even less interested in a section of a wall, a door, a pile of shoes, a bundle of hair, or a heap of eyeglasses. I want a portrayal of an entire Nazi gas chamber, one that gives a precise idea of its technique and operation.

Evasion and Trickery

I knew this challenge could not be answered because, as a matter of fact, for half a century they have been telling us about Nazi gas chambers without ever showing us one. I also fully expected that the Museum would be reduced to playing a trick of some kind. But just what kind of trick?

The answer would come the next day, April 22,

the date of the formal dedication. (The Museum opened to the public on April 26.) On the 22nd, I obtained a copy of a book of about 250 pages that presents itself as a sort of catalog of the new Museum. This book is by Michael Berenbaum, and is entitled *The World Must Know: The History of the Holocaust As Told in the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum* (1993, xvi + 240 pages).

On page 138 are three photographs:

— The first shows a Zyklon B canister and some pellets of Zyklon B, which is described as a “highly poisonous insecticide.”

— The second shows “a casting of the door to the gas chamber at Majdanek . . . from the outside, SS guards could observe the killing through a small peephole.”

— The third photograph shows “the inside of a Majdanek gas chamber. The blue stain is a chemical remnant of Zyklon B.”²

The first photograph proves nothing more than that the Germans used the insecticide Zyklon B. (This commercial product was used throughout the world.) The second and the third photos should be familiar to visitors of the former Majdanek camp in



Dr. Robert Faurisson at the April 21 IHR meeting in suburban Washington, DC, where he issued his challenge to the officials of the US Holocaust Memorial Museum.

Poland. They will recognize the outer door and the interior door, as well as a portion of the inside of the first chamber shown to visitors there as an execution gas chamber, even though this room has all the characteristics of a delousing gas chamber. In this regard, I will not cite here my own research, including my photographs that show the entire room, including the little annex containing a stove to provide the heat, which was essential to circulate the HCN from Zyklon B. (In the second photograph described above, the intake vent for the air heated by the furnace can be seen, at hip height, on the right.) Nor shall I cite here the expert report of American gas chamber specialist Fred Leuchter, which concludes definitively that this room was a delousing gas chamber where, not human beings but, at most, typhus-bearing lice were killed.

J.-C. Pressac's Admission

I shall content myself here by referring to Jean-Claude Pressac, protégé of the Beate Klarsfeld Foundation and author of the 1989 anti-Revisionist work *Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers* (a misleading title, by the way). Here, then, is Pressac's opinion of the room that Berenbaum dares to portray as a homicidal gas chamber:

The red-ochre bricks stained with dark blue were for him [Bernard Jouanneau, an attorney who opposed Faurisson in a 1982 court case in Paris] material and visible proof of the existence of homicidal gas chambers. The problem, for there is one, is that the gas chamber presented has all the characteristics of a DELOUSING [sic] installation. I am not saying that it was never used to kill people, for that is possible [here, Pressac is wrong. — R.F.³] but the traces of Prussian blue are an absolutely certain indication of use for delousing purposes. (p. 555.)

Pressac goes on to note that the presence of a peep-hole is no proof of a homicidal gas chamber because a delousing gas chamber may be furnished with such a peep-hole. He concludes:

I am sorry to say, and I am not the only one in the West, that the Majdanek homicidal and/or delousing gas chambers are still waiting for a true historian, which is mildly upsetting in view of the fact that the camp fell into the hands of the Russians intact in 1944 (p. 555.)

On page 557 he presents a photograph of the exterior of the gas chamber in question and of another gas chamber located in the same building. According to the caption, this is a photograph

... showing one of the disinfection gas chambers thought to be a homicidal gas chamber.

Between the two doors with their inspection peep-holes, the darker bricks are of Prussian blue colour, a sign of prolonged use of "Blausäure/blue acid," in other words hydrocyanic or prussic acid sold as a delousing agent under the name of "Zyklon B."

It should be noted that these gas chambers were in the *Bad und Desinfektion* ("Bath and Disinfection") building, located right at the entrance to the camp, and in plain view.

It is understandable that in his "Bibliographical Note" (pp. 224-232) Berenbaum makes no mention of Pressac's 564-page book.

A New Advance for Revisionism

In 1978 President Jimmy Carter established a commission charged with creating a federal government Holocaust memorial museum. He chose as its chairman Elie Wiesel, thereby providing Arthur Butz with the inspiration for a comment both accurate and sarcastic: A historian was needed, but a histrion was chosen.

The choice of Berenbaum as the Museum's "scholarly" authority is of the same nature. Berenbaum is an adjunct professor of theology at Georgetown University. Where a historian was required, a theologian was chosen — which is appropriate because, for some years now, in place of the history of the "Holocaust," Jewish organizations have substituted the *religion* of the "Holocaust."

The central pillar of this religion, as I have often said, is "the magical gas chamber that, like a mirage, is the image of nothing real."

To portray this "central pillar," Museum officials selected a delousing gas chamber falsely labeled as a homicidal gas chamber. Although it was designed and built by the Germans as a facility for protecting the health of Jewish and non-Jewish prisoners, it is presented to us as an instrument for the torture and murder of these inmates. This portrayal epitomizes the deceit and the effrontery of the zealots of the "Holocaust" religion.

The time has come for a little more intellectual honesty and sanity regarding the story of the Jewish people's real misfortunes during the Second World War. Visitors to the new Holocaust Museum in Washington — particularly American taxpayers, without whom it would not exist — have a right to demand an accounting from Mr. Berenbaum and his friends. A recent article in the *Los Angeles Times* was headlined "Poll Finds 1 Out of 3 Americans Open to Doubt There Was a Holocaust." (April 20, 1993) The doubts will increase.

A few days after the Museum's formal dedication, Berenbaum revealed to a newspaper:

You're surrounded by death [in the Museum]. It's like working in an emergency room or a mortuary. . . . I've ended up on an analyst's couch. (*The Washington Post*, April 26, 1993, p. B6.)

It is not out of the question that Berenbaum will return to the analyst's couch when he grasps the grave consequences of his deception. April, 22, 1993, was supposed to be a date for the consecration of the "Holocaust" religion on American soil. In reality, this date will go down in history as marking an outstanding victory for revisionist historians.



A few of the two hundred or so persons who rallied in Washington, DC, on April 22 to express opposition to the US Holocaust Memorial Museum.

To conclude, I would like to pay tribute here to those revisionists who have contributed to the victory on this specific point:

— First, to Ahmed Rami, exiled in Stockholm, who allowed me to publicly launch the "Stockholm Challenge" of March 17, 1992;

— Next, to the Institute for Historical Review in southern California, which, since 1979, has, more than any institution in the world, made possible the publication of books, essays and articles on the "Holocaust" of a scholarly and often unrewarding nature, and this in spite of repression, persecution and violence; this Institute has organized eleven conferences under sometimes difficult and even dramatic conditions, and, as a matter of fact, arranged the meeting in suburban Washington, DC, on April 21 where I was able to renew my Stockholm Challenge, this time to the US Holocaust Memorial Museum;⁴

— Finally, to Ernst Zündel of Toronto, without whom "Holocaust" revisionism would probably still be struggling in obscurity.

My thoughts are also of the French revisionists who have expended so much effort, among them one person in particular, whom I cannot mention without putting in danger, who could be called the mainspring of the revisionist movement in France.

Notes

1. Serge Thion, *Vérité historique ou vérité politique?* (Paris: 1980), pp. 301-309.
2. On pages 140-144 of Berenbaum's new book, one finds naive plaster figurines that supposedly represent, in sequence, victims in the changing room, in the gas chamber, and in the crematory room of an Auschwitz-Birkenau crematory. While historical museums (such as military and war museums) routinely strive to illustrate what really happened using models that are as accurate and as graphic as possible, these figurines in Berenbaum's book are presented in a kind of ethereal setting. The captions are sullied by imprecision, errors, and absurdities, and they testify to an urgent need to revise downward the number of alleged victims of each gassing, and the number of daily cremations. Berenbaum makes discreet allusion to a model that the Polish Communists built after the war, and which is still exhibited at the Auschwitz State Museum (Block 4, second floor). I understand that a replica of this model may be displayed at the Holocaust Museum in Washington. If so, why hasn't Berenbaum included it in his book? Might he have learned that I often use this model to illustrate the physical impossibilities of the gassing operations it is supposed to replicate? See, in particular, my video "Le Problème des chambres à gaz" (1982), as well as my commentary, "Auschwitz en images," given at the end of the French edition of Wilhelm Stäglich's book, *Le Mythe d'Auschwitz* (La Vieille Taupe, 1986, pp. 492, 507). Even J.-C. Pressac is skeptical of this model. (*Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers*, pp. 377-378). Symptomatically, though, he does not provide one of his own.
3. A Zyklon B delousing gas chamber could not have been used as a homicidal gas chamber. The first can be operated relatively easily, while the second is necessarily very complicated. The conceptual difference between the two lies in the relative ease of ridding the fabric and clothes of HCN gas after the delousing, as opposed to the extreme difficulty of removing gas from the skin, mucous membranes, and bodily fluids of a corpse. In the first case, the HCN gas is removed by blowing in a large amount of hot air, which causes most of it to evaporate. Then the fabric and the clothes are beaten for some time outdoors to discharge the remaining gas. In the second case, heating or beating the corpses would not be possible. An authentic homicidal gas chamber, of the kind used in the United States to execute convicted criminals, is extremely complicated. To execute even a *single person* is so complicated that one can scarcely imagine the appalling sophistication the Nazi gas chambers would have required to execute not just one victim, but hundreds or even thousands at a time. Such gas chambers would have become veritable baths of poison, impossible to drain. Nobody, even wearing a gas mask, could have ever survived entering such oceans of hydrocyanic acid and making the physical effort of removing the corpses, and clean up for the next batch.
4. At that meeting, I also made two additional challenges:
First: give me the name of the person whom you consider to be the best eyewitness of gassings.
Second: make public the documents you continue to keep secret, particularly the papers of Dr. Mengele. (There are about 30 pounds of Mengele papers, including his memoir *Fiat Lux* — "Let There Be Light" — which suggests that he describes there the reality of Auschwitz.)

MOVING?

Please notify us well in advance of your new address.

New Attack Against Faurisson and Rami in Stockholm

Even before he arrived in Stockholm in late May, French professor and revisionist scholar Robert Faurisson was expecting trouble. This would be his third visit to the Swedish capital at the invitation of Moroccan-born refugee, author and revisionist activist Ahmed Rami.

A few days earlier, the militant Jewish organization "Betar" had announced in Paris that it would try to stop Faurisson's arrival in Sweden even "by force." (*La Lettre de Magazine Hebdo*, May 21, p. 4.) Accordingly, 30 Jews flew from Paris to Stockholm on May 21 to oppose Faurisson's visit to Sweden.

On May 22, when Faurisson and Rami arrived at the (supposedly secret) site in Stockholm where a private meeting of revisionists was to take place, they first parked 300 yards away. A waiting mob of about 30 stick-wielding thugs recognized Rami and Faurisson, and began pelting the car with stones they had brought along in sacks for the occasion. Fortunately, the two revisionists were not injured, and damage to the car was slight.

The thugs, all wearing hoods to hide their identity, then attacked other revisionists at the meeting site. In the ensuing assault, which forced the cancellation of the meeting, the hoodlums wounded two plainclothes policemen. Four of the attackers — one French Jew and three Swedish Jews — were arrested.

This was Faurisson's third visit to Stockholm at Rami's invitation. During the first, a gang of thugs attacked Faurisson, Rami and two young Swedes on March 17, 1992. One of the young Swedes was seriously injured, while the others were able to flee. The thugs also broke windows of the meeting site. Police who were present refused to intervene. (For more about this, see the *IHR Newsletter*, May 1992.) Faurisson's second visit in December 1992 took place without trouble.

On September 16, 1989, Faurisson was attacked and nearly killed by three men who were later described by police investigators as "young Jewish activists from Paris."

Revisionism is rapidly gaining support in Scandinavia, Faurisson and Rami report.

Jewish organizations in Europe are particularly furious these days because Rami and his many Swedish friends recently completed a successful mass distribution of 260,000 copies of an effective revisionist leaflet.

Rami's address at the October 1992 IHR Conference will appear in a forthcoming issue of the *Journal*.

Could You Survive a Nuclear Attack?

Why I Survived The A-Bomb

By Akira Kohchi (Albert Kawachi)

Until now, the *real* story of the first nuclear holocaust had not been told. Previous books on the atomic bombings of Hiroshima approached it only obliquely: technical works hailed it as a marvel of nuclear science, and books written from the military perspective honored the men who gave and carried out a difficult order. Even the eyewitness accounts, numbering some two thousand—and almost all yet to be translated from the Japanese—are overwhelmingly stories of *personal* misery. The total picture—the background, scope, and consequences of the catastrophe—has, until now, never been presented.

Why I Survived the A-Bomb tells a unique and fascinating story as seen from inside Japan 48 years ago and today. The author is eminently qualified—he lived through the experience of a nuclear attack and walked through the flaming, radioactive city of Hiroshima!

Albert Kawachi, a longtime United Nations finance officer, explores the attempts at political and economic justifications for the atom-bombing as he describes the day-to-day living experiences of his family in its wake. His story is dramatic, informative, and historically revisionist.



Holocaust survivor and author
Albert Kawachi

What was it really like to survive the massive devastation, then deal with the suffering and humiliation wrought by this American doomsday weapon? Who was behind the use of the bomb in the first place? And what did it really accomplish? We need real answers to these hard questions before we speak glibly of defense and disarmament, and before we argue over trade imbalances and deficits, for what happened at Hiroshima and Nagasaki could be our tomorrow.

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President Tudjman Refuses to Recant Croatia's Leader Denounced as Holocaust Revisionist

In spite of strong criticism from prominent American Jewish leaders, the President of Croatia refuses to repudiate his revisionist views on the Holocaust issue. Franjo Tudjman, Croatia's democratically elected leader, and a respected European scholar, has aroused controversy for publicly rejecting the "Six Million" story.

At the invitation of the US government, Tudjman and other foreign leaders attended the formal ceremony on April 22 in Washington, DC, dedicating the US Holocaust Memorial Museum. Elie Wiesel, a Jewish survivor of Auschwitz and other German wartime camps, was not happy. "Tudjman's presence in the midst of survivors is a disgrace," said Wiesel, who also expressed concern that a 1988 book by the Croatian historian would, in the words of the *New York Times* (April 22), "fuel the arguments of historical revisionists who deny that the Holocaust occurred."

Rabbi Marvin Hier, director of the Simon Wiesenthal Center in Los Angeles, said that the only justification for Tudjman's appearance at the dedication ceremony would be to provide an opportunity for him to publicly repudiate his heretical views. "If that is not the case," Hier said, "the invitation is giving credence to one of the world's most famous Holocaust revisionists." (*New York Times*, April 22, 1993.)

"Exaggerated Data"

Tudjman readily acknowledges that Europe's Jews suffered "terrible hardships" during the war years. At the same time, though, he has written in *Bespuca — Povijesne Zbiljnosti* ("Wastelands: Historical Truth"), a 500-page scholarly work first published in 1988:

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 on the squaring of accounts with the defeated. . . . In the mid-1980s, world Jewry still has the need to recall its "holocaust" even by trying to prevent the election of the former U.N. Secretary General Kurt Waldheim as president of Austria.

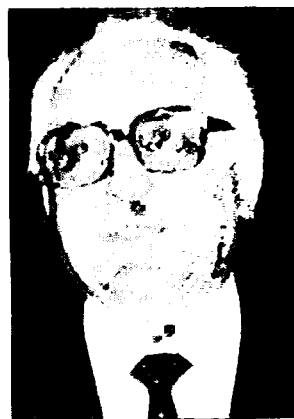
Tudjman reportedly estimates that a total of 900,000 Jews perished in the catastrophe of the Second World War. (*New York Times*, April 22.) He also suggests that many wartime Jewish deaths would not have occurred if German armed forces had prevailed over the Soviet Union, allowing for

a "territorial solution" to the Jewish question such as a "reservation" in eastern Poland or in Madagascar. (See *The Journal of Historical Review*, Summer 1992, pp. 240-243, and, *The New Republic*, Nov. 25, 1991, pp. 16, 18.)

Tudjman reaffirmed his revisionist outlook in an 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.)

Respected Historian

Tudjman's views are all the more noteworthy because they are those of a respected historian who cannot seriously be regarded as a "Nazi." During the Second World War he fought against Croatia's pro-German Ustashe regime as an officer in the partisan forces of Communist leader Tito. After 1945, he served in Belgrade as a member of the General Staff of the Yugoslav National Army, eventually attaining the rank of Major General. In 1961 he left the military to pursue academic interests.



Franjo Tudjman

After study in Belgrade, he assumed a position in 1963 as a part-time professor on the Faculty of Political Science at the University of Zagreb, and in 1964 he earned a doctorate in history. From 1961 to 1967, he was director in Zagreb of the Institute for the History of the Workers Movement. He has also served as edi-

tor-in-chief of the magazine *Paths of the Revolution*, and as a member of the editorial boards of the military-theoretical journal *Voino delo* and the intellectual magazine *Forum*.

Tudjman is the author of numerous historical works, several of which have appeared in other languages, and has been a guest lecturer at universities and institutes in Italy, Germany and the United States. In 1966 he was a speaker at the International Seminar series at Harvard Universi-

ty. His book *Nationalism in Contemporary Europe* was published in 1981 by the Columbia University Press, and his controversial 1988 book *Bespuca* ("Wastelands") was given a respectful review by Germany's prestigious national daily, the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, Jan. 16, 1990. Tudjman, the paper told readers, has dealt with questions of contemporary history "with competence and courage."

Tudjman's refusal to give in to demands that he repudiate his revisionist views on the Holocaust issue is entirely consistent with his record of defiance of biased "official" history. Because of his dissident views, Communist Yugoslav authorities ordered his arrest in 1972 and barred him from public activity for two years. After a second arrest in 1981 for dissident activities, he was imprisoned for a year and a half.

Following the breakup of the artificial Yugoslav state, Tudjman emerged as leader of the Croatian Democratic Union, his country's major political party. After the victory of his party in the first democratic elections held in Croatia in more than 50 years, he was sworn in as president on May 30, 1990.

A Little-Known Holocaust

Few of those Americans who are so determined to "never forget" the wartime fate of Europe's Jews know much about what happened to the continent's other national and ethnic groups. For example, many tens of thousands of Croat, Slovene and Bosnian Muslim prisoners were summarily murdered at the end of the war by the partisan forces of Yugoslav Communist leader Tito (who was backed by the United States and Britain). In addition to combat personnel taken prisoner, the victims also included nurses, nuns and children.

Most historians have estimated that the partisans shot from 70,000 to 100,000 people without trial within weeks of the war's end, although some believe that as many as 500,000 were summarily killed. Most of the victims were people who were trying to flee Tito's Communist forces. The refugees were returned by British troops from detention camps in Austria, or were turned back at the border by British forces who occupied southern Austria and northeastern Italy. At one site near Sosice in Slovenia, for example, as many as 40,000 were systematically shot, and their bodies flung into caves. (See: *New York Times*, July 9, 1990.; *Los Angeles Times*, Nov. 4, 1990.; *The New Republic*, Dec. 24, 1990, pp. 16-19.)

Revisionism in Croatia

Reflecting the historical revisionism that has been sweeping Eastern Europe and the lands of the former Soviet Union in recent years, a downtown street and an elementary school in Croatia's capital city of Zagreb have recently been renamed in honor

of Mile Budak, a noted author of several novels written before the Second World War. Most of Zagreb University's main facilities are on the newly named street. The Simon Wiesenthal Center has protested the renaming because Budak was a ranking minister in the wartime Croatian republic (which was allied with Germany), and promulgated the law prohibiting Jewish participation in Croatian "institutions of social, sports and cultural life."

While a few European countries have outlawed Holocaust Revisionism, in Croatia it enjoys support from the highest level. Indeed, Croats are more free than Americans to express their views on this issue.

— M. W.

The Organization of American Historians: Faithfully Reflecting Academic Standards

MARK WEBER

As one might expect, the recent annual conference of the Organization of American Historians — the foremost association of scholars devoted to US history — and the OAH's scholarly *Journal of American History*, faithfully reflect the prevailing standards and ideological slant of America's historical "establishment."

At the 1993 OAH Annual Meeting, held April 15-18 in Anaheim, California, the specialized sessions devoted to particular historical issues included the following:

- "Links in the Chain: Musical Culture of the Labor and Black Freedom Movements"
- "Urban Black Communities in the Twentieth Century: Race, Class and Economic Change"
- "The African-American Context for Cowboy and Western Music"
- "Woman's Work and Gender Identity"
- "Woman's Culture and Women's Biography"
- "Malcolm X and Historical Memory"
- "Race, Ethnicity, and Public Policy in Modern America"
- "Recent Research in Slave Women's History"
- "Recruiting Minorities into the Historical Profession"
- "The Development of a Chinese American Consciousness"
- "African American Intellectuals and the Discourse of American Culture"
- "The Legacies of W.E.B. Du Bois"
- "The Problem of American Conservatism"
- "Religion and Identity in the Old South: Gen-

der and Race"

— "Race, Class and the Law in the South"

— "Race, Labor and 'Social Equality' in the Jim Crow South"

— "Race, Gender and Violence: The Case of *Celia, A Slave*"

— "Work-in-Progress Roundtable on Gay and Lesbian history"

— "Work-in-Progress Roundtable on American Indian History"

— "African-Americans and Public Rituals in New York City"

— "On Common Ground: The Historical Archaeology of African America"

— "Ethnicity and Class in Los Angeles"

— "Los Angeles One Year Later: Race and Politics in L.A."

— "The Culture of Violence in the American Revolution"

— "Celebration: Songs of American Diversity"

— "Twenty-Five Years After King's Assassination: Perspectives on Black Movement Leadership"

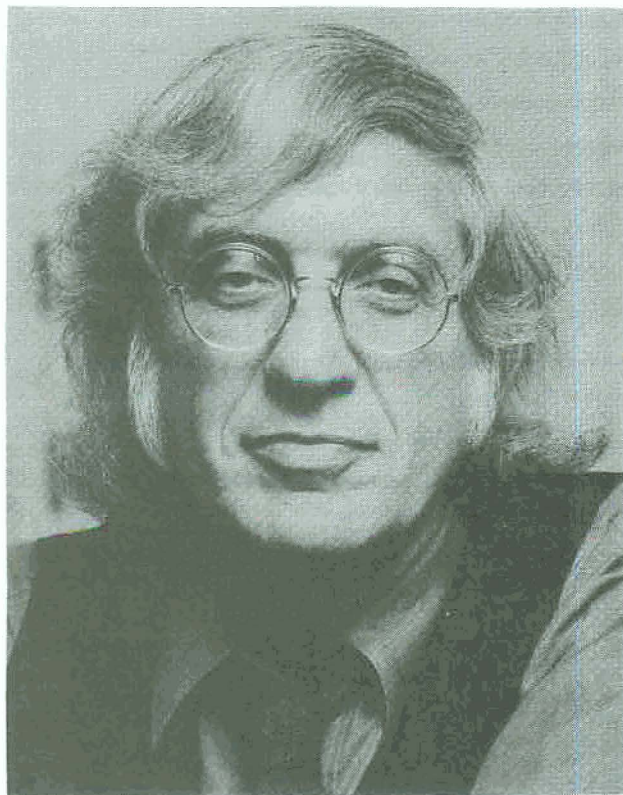
On Friday evening, the 16th, OAH President Lawrence W. Levine, a specialist of African-American history at the University of California, Berkeley, delivered a rousing Presidential Address to the conference attendees. In this keynote speech (which I attended), Levine mockingly rejected what he called the "Eurocentric" interpretation of history, and staunchly defended the current trend toward an ever more "inclusive" treatment of the past. He dismissed as wrong-headed and prejudiced the critics of this trend, specifically mentioning by name the warnings of previous OAH presidents C. Vann Woodward and Eugene Genovese.

While most historians present expressed their approval of Levine's message with an enthusiastic standing ovation, not everyone was thrilled. The next day, during a symposium on "Writing Contemporary Presidential Biography" (which I also attended), Stephen Ambrose of the University of New Orleans joked that this is one of the few sessions at this year's OAH conference not devoted to class, gender, race or ethnicity. Contrary to what seems to be the currently prevailing wisdom, he went on, it still worthwhile and appropriate to deal with history made by "dead white males" — including former American presidents.

Ambrose also noted with regret that although this OAH conference is taking place on the 250th anniversary of the birth of Thomas Jefferson, not a single session is devoted to him or his legacy. But perhaps that is just as well, Ambrose went on, because more attention would likely be devoted to Sally Hemmings than to the Declaration of Independence. The historian also noted that not a single session at this year's conference dealt with the world-historical events of 50 years ago, includ-

ing, for example, the first meeting at Teheran of Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin.

Like the OAH Annual Meeting, *The Journal of American History*, the OAH's quarterly scholarly periodical, similarly reflects the prevailing outlook and standards of historians of United States history.



Lawrence Levine, President of the Organization of American Historians, 1992-1993, and a professor at the University of California, Berkeley.

On the front cover of the March 1993 issue (which is more than 500-pages thick), is a photograph of "Chicano students protesting during the March 1968 high school walkouts in East Los Angeles." The photo highlights a lengthy feature article inside by Edward Escobar, "The Dialectics of Repression: The Los Angeles Police Department and the Chicano Movement, 1968-1971."

Accompanying this polemical piece are five photographs that show demonstrating Mexican-Americans, and alleged police repression against Chicanos. "... Thus, while the LAPD [Los Angeles Police Department] may have curbed militant Chicano activism," Escobar happily concludes his essay, "the response to the department's tactics gave rise to a new consciousness that has the potential to empower the Chicano community."

In this same issue of the *OAH Journal* is a laudatory review of Herbert Aptheker's *Anti-Racism in U.S. History*. For many years Aptheker was

the chief theoretician of the Communist Party, USA, and this new book continues to faithfully reflect his Marxist-Leninist interpretation of history. In the opinion of reviewer Herbert Shapiro of the University of Cincinnati, Aptheker's book

... breaks fresh ground in comprehensively and systematically exploring a theme that has hitherto been ignored or received fragmentary attention. It is certainly to be hoped that Aptheker's work stimulates others to further consideration of this vital aspect of the struggle for democracy in American history.

Finally, this same issue of *The Journal of American History* includes a laudatory review of a comic book. While such a work would normally not merit attention in this quarterly, this is no ordinary cartoonist's work. It's *Maus: A Survivor's Tale*, Parts I and II, a Holocaust "oral history account" by Art Spiegelman that has received gushing praise from countless American newspapers and magazines.

In his *Journal of American History* review, Joshua Brown of Hunter College (CUNY), writes: "*Maus* is a significant contribution to the field of history, not in spite of the medium chosen by its

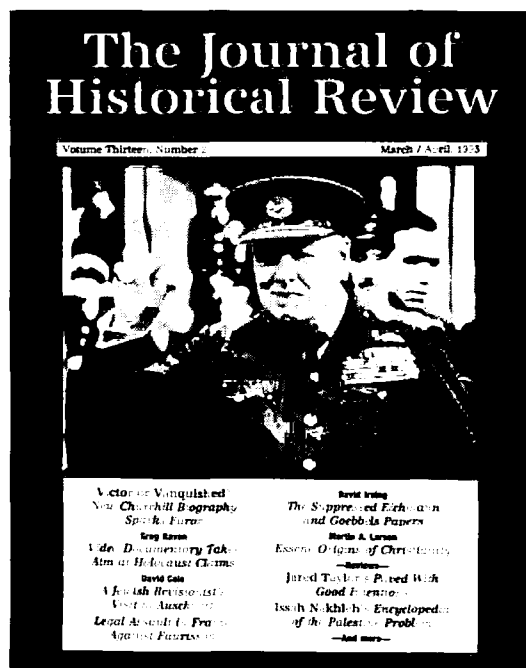
author, but because of it." In Brown's opinion, cartoonist Spiegelman's depiction of Jews as mice, Germans as cats, and Poles as pigs "subvert the stereotypes of racism constructed by the Nazis"!

Besides its implicitly contemptuous portrayal of non-Jewish humanity, this utterly subjective and impressionistic work is littered with historical falsehood and distortion. For example, a *Maus* character arriving at Auschwitz solemnly informs the reader:

And we came here to the concentration camp Auschwitz, And we knew that from here we will not come out anymore. We knew the stories — that they will gas us and throw us in the ovens. This was 1944. . . . We knew everything. And here we were. . . . So it was.

Among the numerous Jews who did, in fact, "come out" of Auschwitz were — to name just a prominent few — Elie Wiesel (and his father), Anne Frank (who died of typhus later in Bergen-Belsen camp), and Otto Frank (her father).

Moreover, *Maus*, Part I, begins with a quotation attributed to Hitler: "The Jews are undoubtedly a race, but they are not human." The quote is, in fact, spurious. But hey, who's checking? Certainly



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not the reviewer or OAH *Journal* editors.

As this review shows (once again), the normal standards of historical evidence and criticism are simply tossed aside when it comes to the secular pseudo-religion of our era.

In light of such "scholarship," any OAH criticism of the IHR is not only ludicrous, but serves to underscore a clear double standard.

In the field of history — no less than with clothing styles and musical tastes — the more fashionable anything is, the more quickly it is destined to become unfashionable. Ten years from now — if not sooner — historians will look back on the OAH of 1993 with a mixture of amusement, irritation and disgust.

Organization of American Historians Censors the IHR

On October 31, 1992, the Executive Board of the Organization of American Historians (OAH) formally condemned the Institute for Historical Review and resolved to exclude "advertisements or announcements" from the IHR in the *OAH Newsletter*.

For some years now, the Institute has been a member of the OAH, the leading organization of scholars devoted to American history. In 1991, the IHR submitted a short notice for publication in the "calls for papers" section of the *OAH Newsletter*. Appearing in the November 1991 issue, the notice informed readers that the IHR's *Journal of Historical Review* welcomed contributions on topics such as FDR's campaign to get the US into war, and the background to the Pearl Harbor attack.

This small notice upset some *OAH Newsletter* readers, and touched off a debate among historians around the country. Letters protesting the notice appeared in the May 1992 *OAH Newsletter*, including a particularly vicious one by Jordan Schwarz, who asserted that the IHR is a "Nazi" or "pro-Nazi" organization with a "mission of hate."

A letter by *Journal* editor Mark Weber responding to these false allegations was rejected. Not a single word in defense of the IHR and its work been has so far been permitted to appear in the pages of the *OAH Newsletter*.

Then, on October 31, the OAH Executive Board resolved to prohibit any future notice or advertisement by the IHR. A minority of Board members argued against the decision, saying that it violated the OAH's stated support for the principle of freedom of speech and inquiry. The Board has five officers, including President Lawrence W. Levine of the University of California, Berkeley. A formal statement of the OAH Board's October decision

appeared in the February 1993 *OAH Newsletter*.

In the same issue also appeared a full-page article, "Revisionism and the Holocaust," which reported on a heated panel discussion at a Holocaust conference in April 1992 at Millersville University (Pennsylvania). David Oshinsky of Rutgers University, one of the principal speakers at the meeting of about 150 persons, argued that advertisements and notices by associations such as the IHR and the Committee for Open Debate on the Holocaust (CODOH) should be rejected out of hand by academic and student publications. Revisionist statements are "irresponsible" and "intentionally hurtful and fallacious" in content, he said. By providing a forum for a "cadre of distortionists . . . you open up the path to a kind of legitimacy." The panel's other main speaker, Samuel Walker of the University of Nebraska-Omaha, disagreed, saying that the principle of free speech should be upheld even in this case. Throughout this *OAH Newsletter* article, revisionist views were repeatedly and simplistically referred to as "denying the Holocaust."

In a letter dated February 24, the IHR responded to the OAH Board's October decision. Not until May 7, however, was the IHR informed that "the OAH has decided not publish" the letter.

The full text of the IHR's February 24 letter follows:

OAH Newsletter

Organization of American Historians
112 North Bryan Street
Bloomington, IN 47408

The October 31 decision by the OAH Executive Board to exclude "advertisements or announcements" from the Institute for Historical Review is "political correctness" at its hypocritical worst.

According to the Board's formal statement (published in the February *OAH Newsletter*), the ostensible basis for this decision is that an advertisement or notice from the IHR would not be "consonant with the purposes of the Organization." However, no explanation is given of precisely how an IHR advertisement is not "consonant" with the OAH's purposes.

That *any* IHR advertisement or notice is prohibited *beforehand* — regardless of content — is particularly disturbing. This decision presumably forbids an IHR advertisement for our edition of Arthur Ponsonby's classic study of First World War propaganda, *Falsehood in Wartime*, or for our edition of collected writings by the eminent American historian and sociologist Harry Elmer Barnes, or even for one of the many books we distribute that are published by prominent "mainstream" publishers.

It is ironic indeed that an advertisement by International Publishers appears in the very

issue of the *OAHS Newsletter* that informs readers of the decision to forbid *any* advertisement from the IHR. Operating for years as the publishing arm of the Communist Party USA, this Marxist-Leninist enterprise has offered, among other writings, works by Stalin and Mao Zedong. Presumably this *OAHS Newsletter* ad offering the *Collected Works* of Marx and Engels, along with other "Marxist Classics," is "consonant with the purposes" of the OAH.

Perhaps the most remarkable sentence of the OAH statement is this: "We [members of the OAH Executive Board] all abhor, on both moral and scholarly grounds, the substantive arguments of the Institute for Historical Review."

Since when has the OAH been pronouncing on the *moral* validity of arguments? Is this a unique pronouncement, or — to be fair and consistent — can we look forward to similar OAH declarations on the *moral* fitness of arguments by other organizations, publishers or even individual scholars? And precisely what is the Board's "moral" yardstick?

Nowhere is it given.

As for "scholarly grounds": anyone who rejects arguments on this basis should be willing and able to support his/her view with logic and evidence.

Precisely which of the IHR's "substantive arguments" did the OAH Executive Board find so abhorrent? All of them? Some of them? Not a single one is specifically mentioned. How about the IHR's often-repeated "arguments" in favor of international peace and understanding? Or the IHR's staunch support for freedom of speech and expression?

"We all reject their claims to be taken seriously as historians," the OAH Executive Board statement goes on. Just who are "they"? Did the OAH Executive Board evaluate each and every *Journal* contributor or IHR Editorial Advisory Committee member to determine if he or she is a "serious" historian? And on what basis?

By any reasonable standard, at least some IHR *Journal* contributors and IHR Committee members are serious and qualified historians.

As for myself, I hold a Master's degree in European history from Indiana University (Bloomington) [where the OAH offices are located]. On March 22, 1988, Toronto District Court Judge Ron Thomas ruled on my qualifications as a historian. After carefully considering arguments for and against recognizing me as a credible historian, he decided to permit me to testify (for five days, as it turned out) as a qualified specialist of wartime Germany's "final solution" policy and the Holocaust issue.

While OAH Executive Board members take care to explicitly affirm "the importance of defending free speech," they have flunked a practi-

cal test of their support for this principle. We urge the OAH Executive Board to courageously re-consider a decision that, I am convinced, will one day be regarded with shame and embarrassment.

Sincerely,

Mark Weber
Editor, *The Journal of Historical Review*
Institute for Historical Review
Newport Beach, Calif.

BARNES AGAINST THE BLACKOUT

Essays Against Interventionism

With an introduction by James J. Martin

American intellectual giant

Harry Elmer Barnes

—historian, sociologist, criminologist, journalist, and controversialist without peer—was, for over half a century, our country's leading voice for avoiding unnecessary wars through objective study of their causes. A pioneer in the Revisionist school of history, Barnes evaded the

snarls by which "conservatives" and "liberals" alike have been lured into fighting one costly war, "conflict" or "police action" after another during this century. A bolt of lightning against the Establishment's historical blackout, Barnes had the courage to find and reveal the facts on how our government lied us into two world wars once upon a time when almost all Americans trusted their leaders, and his and was a prescient voice in the wilderness against our involvement in the Korean and Vietnam quagmires.

These nine classic essays are Barnes at his best. Informed, passionate, more relevant than ever, they show how the twentieth century's equivalent of the corrupt court historians of despots past erected a glittering facade of lies to hide the hollowness of America's "victories" in the two world wars, then used the false arguments that got us into those wars to inflict a post-1945 "perpetual war for perpetual peace" warfare state on three generations of Americans who have come of age since.

As current as today's headlines, *Barnes Against the Blackout* is must reading for every American concerned to keep our country strong, free, and at peace.

Softcover, 376 pp., index, \$13.95 + \$2.50 shipping from Institute for Historical Review.

HARRY ELMER BARNES

**Barnes
Against
the
Blackout**

*Essays
Against
Interventionism*

Introduction by JAMES J. MARTIN

New Revisionist Books in Europe

In Italy, two new books by that country's foremost Revisionist researcher, Carlo Mattogno, have been published.

Auschwitz: La Prima Gasazione ("Auschwitz: The First Gassings") is an illustrated work with extensive reference notes and a good bibliography. This handsome 190-page paperback covers some of the same ground as Mattogno's presentation at the Ninth IHR Conference (1989), "The First Gassing at Auschwitz" (published in the Summer 1989 *Journal of Historical Review*).

In *La Soluzione Finale: Probleme e polemiche* ("The Final Solution: Problems and Polemics"), an attractive 215-page paperback, Mattogno cites numerous German wartime documents that are routinely suppressed or ignored by establishment historians to demonstrate conclusively that the "final solution" referred to a policy of forced emigration and deportation — not extermination.

A three-page article in the mass-circulation Italian illustrated magazine *L'Espresso*, May 27, 1990 — reprinted in *La Soluzione Finale* — reports on the growing impact of Holocaust revisionism in Italy and around the world. The work of the Institute for Historical Review is discussed at some length in the article, which is accompanied with a photograph of "the revisionist historian Carlo Mattogno."

Mattogno's two new books are published by Edizioni di Ar, and are available from: Libreria Ar, Via F. La Francesca 26, 84100 Salerno, Italy.

From Switzerland comes *Der Holocaust auf dem Prüfstand: Augenzeugenberichte versus Naturgesetze* ("The Holocaust on the Test Stand: Eyewitness Reports versus the Laws of Nature"). This new 112-page softcover book provides a well organized and up-to-date introduction to the Holocaust issue from a Revisionist perspective.

Written by Jürgen Graf, who was born in Switzerland in 1951, it includes an introduction by Swiss Revisionist researcher and activist Arthur Vogt. *Der Holocaust auf dem Prüfstand* is available from the publisher: Guideon Burg Verlag, Postfach 52, CH-4009 Basel, Switzerland.

In Ireland, a new book that takes a Revisionist view of the Second World War, including the Holocaust extermination story, has come under fire. The Irish-language work by Róisín Ní Mheara, *Cé hl seo amuigh?* ("Who's Outside?"), was published in January by Coisceim. (*Sunday Tribune*, Dublin, Jan. 31, 1993.)

Among other things, the book characterizes reports of mass extermination in German concen-

tration camps as "fantasies," and maintains that deaths in at least one camp were caused by typhus, which also claimed the lives of German camp personnel. Ireland's Equality Minister Mervyn Taylor, who is Jewish, has sharply criticized the work.

The book's publisher, Padraig O'Snodaigh, staunchly defends the work, calling it "a marvelous historical document." He says: "It gives an excellent insight into the English ruling class during the Second World War, and indicates how many of them accepted what was going on in Germany before the war. I don't like the lady who wrote the book, and I dislike some of the things that she says. But I am not going to get involved in the censorship of a book."

The book's author is now in her 70s. The daughter of Irish parents, Róisín Ní Mheara was adopted into the English aristocracy when she was two years old. As she grew older, she developed an abiding antipathy for the English, and during the 1930s moved to Germany, where she worked for German propagandists during the war.

Saying that the public only knows one side of what happened during the war, Ní Mheara is urging readers to be "wise and unbiased" in making up their minds.

From Germany come books by IHR editorial advisor (and 1986 IHR Conference speaker) Dr. Georg Franz-Willing. *Kriegsschuldfrage der beiden Weltkriege* ("War Guilt Question of the Two World Wars") was published in 1992 by Kultur- und Zeitgeschichte/ Archiv der Zeit (Rosenheim). This 200-page illustrated hardcover work favorably cites numerous works published by the IHR. In 1991 this same publisher issued *Roosevelt und Churchill*, a 270-page hardcover work of political biography co-authored by Dr. Franz-Willing and Adolf von Thadden.

Franz-Willing is also the author of *Vergangenheitsbewältigung: Bundesrepublikanischer Nationalmasochismus* ("Coming to Grips with the Past: Federal German National Masochism"), a 253-page hardcover book published in 1992 by Nation Europa Verlag of Coburg. This is a companion to his book *Umerziehung* ("Reeducation"), which was reviewed in the Winter 1992-93 *Journal*.

"Christmas is the time when kids tell Santa what they want and adults pay for it. Deficits are when adults tell the government what they want — and the kids pay for it."

— Richard Lamm

Political Leader Punished German Sentenced for Translating Leuchter Address

Günter Deckert, leader of a small German nationalist political party, has been punished by a German court for serving as interpreter at a lecture by American gas chamber expert Fred Leuchter.

On November 13, 1992, a court in Mannheim found Deckert guilty of "popular incitement," defamation of the memory of the (Jewish) dead, and incitement to hatred. The court ordered Deckert to pay a fine of 10,000 marks (about \$6,000), and sentenced him to one year imprisonment (suspended for four years).

Deckert, 52, is federal chairman of the National Democratic Party (NPD), and is an elected official of the local community council of his home town of Weinheim (near Heidelberg).



Günter Deckert

As in similar recent German "Holocaust" cases, the court refused to accept any evidence by the defense to show that what the defendant had said (or, in this case, translated) was true, declaring that the question of extermination gas chambers is an "obvious" fact. During the trial, prosecuting attorney Klein called Leuchter's findings "garbage."

In the Fall 1992 presentation translated by Deckert, Leuchter reported on his forensic examination of the alleged "gas chambers" at Auschwitz, and explained his conclusion that these structures could never have been used to kill people as claimed.

As the trial began, Deckert said: "The verdict has already been decided. This is a purely political show trial."

Following the verdict, he commented: "Scholars in all countries must now acknowledge that historical research in Germany is not free. Even the presentation of new insights and sources is treated as an act of personal defamation." For the first time in Germany, even to translate such evidence about contemporary history is punishable as a crime, he added.

Deckert — who is respected even by adversaries for his sharp tongue and keen wit — vows to continue the struggle. "After all," he says, "the earth is not flat."

The verdict is being appealed.

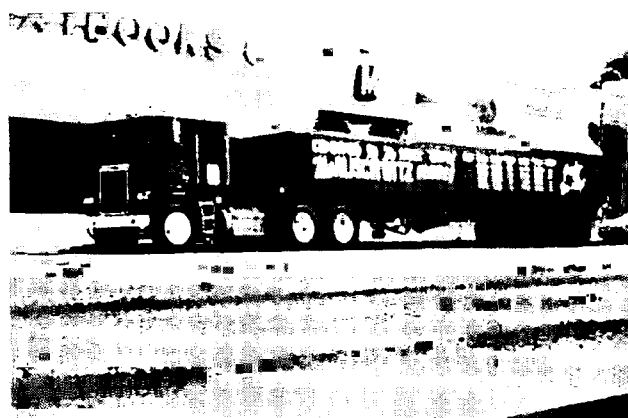
Getting Out The Word Revisionist Activism

Truck's Message Alerts People in Austin

Using his 40-foot-long semi-truck, revisionist activist Rolf Hermes alerted people in Austin, Texas, of the exact times when the David Cole's Piper video would be broadcast there on local public access cable television. No one could fail to see the announcements boldly lettered on the truck's sides.

For up to two hours daily (March 29 through April 2), Rolf drove his truck around the campus of the University of Texas at Austin, and in the center of the city. While it was parked, he and his daughter and a friend passed out hundreds of leaflets.

The student newspaper declined to publish an announcement about the broadcast of the Cole/Piper video. (For more this, see the March-April *Journal*, pp. 17-20.) However, a notice headlined "Auschwitz: A New Look At An Old Story," giving broadcast times did appear March 28 in the Austin city daily *American-Statesman*.



"CENSORED BY THE DAILY TEXAN! THE AUSCHWITZ DEBATE! SEE IT ON CABLE 'PUBLIC ACCESS' TELEVISION. JUDGE FOR YOURSELF!" With this bold message painted on his 40-foot-long truck, IHR supporter Rolf Hermes informs people in Austin of the exact times when Cole's video is aired on local cable television. For up to two hours daily, Rolf drove his truck around the campus of the University of Texas, and in the center of the city. While it was parked (here in front of the "Texas Textbooks" bookstore), he and his daughter and a friend passed out leaflets.

Ads Placed

IHR supporters in South Carolina and Texas arranged for publication in their local papers of a full-page advertisement on "The 'Human Soap' Holocaust Myth." Prepared in cooperation with the IHR by the Committee for Open Debate on the

Holocaust, the ad includes a condensed version of a fully-referenced article that originally appeared in the Summer 1991 *Journal*.

The advertisement appeared as a public service in the June 24, 1992, issue of *The North Charleston News*, a South Carolina weekly. And in eastern Texas, IHR supporter Bill McKinney arranged for its publication (with the headline in red) in the local *Treasure Chest Shopper's Guide*.

(A facsimile of the ad appears in the May 1992 *IHR Newsletter*. Readers interested in arranging for publication of it in their local daily, weekly, community or association paper, should contact the IHR for details.)

High School Appearance

Journal editor Mark Weber addressed a seniors' honors class at Mission Viejo High School (Orange County, Calif.) on March 23. He was invited to speak to the packed classroom of about 80 students (and three teachers) on the subject of how history is written and interpreted, and on Holocaust Revisionism. Several students were writing papers for the class on this subject.

Giving numerous examples, Weber explained that in America today, as throughout the ages, the generally accepted view of history reflects the interests and ideals of the prevailing social-economic and political forces. During most of the presentation, which lasted about an hour and a half, he spoke about the Holocaust story. During the lively question and answer period, he responded to often skeptical but consistently thoughtful questions.

Appreciation for his appearance was expressed by several of the students, and by the teacher. This was Weber's second appearance as a guest speaker there. He addressed a similar class at the high school in February 1992.

Special Anti-Holocaust Tabloid Sets Record

A record 380,000 copies of a special anti-Holocaust edition of *The Truth at Last*, a feisty Georgia tabloid, have been distributed. In December, individuals and groups around the country joined in a campaign to distribute copies of the special four-page issue (No. 360), which is designed for mass distribution. The press run for this issue is by far the largest ever, says editor-publisher Dr. Ed

Fred Leuchter Needs Our Help

When Fred Leuchter testified in 1988 on the results of his history-making on-site examination of the supposed extermination "gas chambers" at Auschwitz, he knew what the stakes were. He knew that the powerful Holocaust lobby would try to punish him for his heresy. Nevertheless, he chose to stand by his findings. In a dramatic court case, America's foremost expert on execution gas chamber technology declared under oath that these facilities were never used to kill people as alleged, and could not possibly have functioned as claimed.

The path-breaking *Leuchter Report*, which details his forensic examination, has struck a mighty blow against the core of the Holocaust extermination story, and the campaign to impose an artificial sense of guilt on ourselves and generations to come. Now widely available in all major languages, the *Report's* key findings have since been authoritatively corroborated by the Institute of Forensic Research in Krakow (Poland), by leading Austrian engineer Walter Lueftl, and by German engineer Germar Rudolf, among others.

It wasn't long before the international Holocaust lobby, spearheaded by the notorious Beate and Serge Klarsfeld, mounted a vicious campaign to blacken Leuchter's reputation, and destroy his career. The most insidious 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. (For more on this, see the Winter 1992-93 *Journal*.)

Unfortunately, this campaign has been successful.



Fred must now support himself and his wife as a telephone solicitor.

No American has suffered more at the hands of the vengeful Holocaust lobby than Fred Leuchter. In spite of everything, though, he remains defiant:

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.

Now, after risking, enduring and achieving so much, Fred Leuchter needs our help: to carry on the legal fight against the Klarsfelds and their allies, to continue the work for revisionism, to support himself and his family.

By your generous support, show Fred that we revisionists refuse to forget his accomplishments and sacrifices, that we stand by our friends, and that we will not concede victory to the Holocaust lobby.

Please send your personal contribution to:

Fred A. Leuchter, Jr.
178 Washington St., Malden, MA 02148

Fields. This special issue continues to sell well, he reports.

Radio Talk Show Appearances

IHR editor Weber appeared last August and September as a guest on three radio talk shows, including stations in New Orleans, southern Michigan, and with host Tom Valentine on "Radio Free America," which is heard across the United States.

Libertarian Forum Address

Mark Weber appeared as the featured speaker at the April 6 session of the Nock Forum, a Los Angeles-area libertarian group, where he spoke about the Holocaust and the Nuremberg Trials.

Cole on Radio

David Cole appeared March 29 as a guest on the Morton Downey radio talk show, which is based in Dallas, Texas, but airs across the country on syndication. During the hour-long, one-on-one broadcast session, Downey was uncharacteristically respectful and non-combative.

That same day, the young Jewish Holocaust revisionist (who addressed the October 1992 IHR Conference) was also guest on "About Town," a Dallas-area half-hour local television program. The host, Jo Shannon Baldwin, was respectful.

Leaflet Distributions

On January 20, Indiana activist Jack Riner passed out 1,200 IHR leaflets to students in front of the student union building at Indiana State University, Terre Haute. Although he has had trouble on one or two occasions in previous years, Riner reports, "this time a campus cop told me I can pass out any kind of literature I wish." A few weeks earlier, he passed out another 1,200 IHR leaflets on the campus of Bowling Green State University in Ohio.

Utah State University Lecture Cancelled

Just three days before it was scheduled to take place, a lecture by *Journal* editor Mark Weber at Utah State University (Logan) was cancelled by the group that had invited him. The school's International Student Council had accepted a proposal, made by a graduate economics student from India, to invite Weber to address a "Scholar's Forum" on Thursday, February 18.

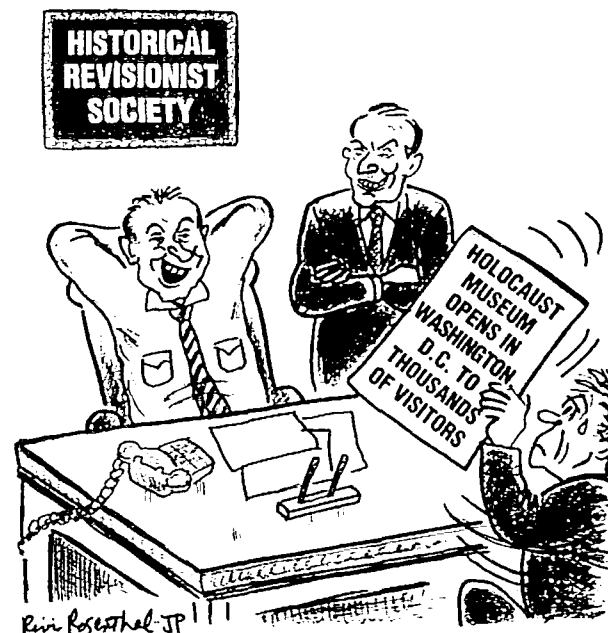
At an emergency meeting on the 15th, members of the school's history department made outrageously false and alarmist claims that helped persuade the Council to cancel the scheduled event. History professor Leonard Rosenband told the Council that IHR director Tom Marcellus was the person who had ordered the well-publicized skin-head killing in Portland, Oregon, of an Ethiopian

immigrant. When the India-born graduate student pointed out that Rosenband was in fact talking about Tom Metzger, another person entirely, Rosenband shot back that the two are the same.

One Council member was so disgusted by the unfair decision to cancel Weber's lecture that he resigned from the body.

An essentially accurate and even-handed report on the Council meeting appeared in the *Utah Statesman*, Feb. 17, along with an editorial that concluded:

Why not let Weber come and speak in a debate forum with professors or other experts who disagree with Weber's views? This would surely be preferable to discrediting Weber and his group in a private meeting without letting him speak in his own defense.



"Don't worry — within time, people will forget all about the so-called 'Holocaust'!"

This childish cartoon appeared in the May 7 *Jewish Press* of Brooklyn, New York. The *Press* calls itself "the largest independent Anglo-Jewish weekly newspaper." In recent months Holocaust Revisionism has received more media attention than ever, much of it on this level.

"The man who fights for his ideals is the man who is alive."

—Miguel de Cervantes

Zionism and the Third Reich

MARK WEBER

Early in 1935, a passenger ship bound for Haifa in Palestine left the German port of Bremerhaven. Its stern bore the Hebrew letters for its name, "Tel Aviv," while a swastika banner fluttered from the mast. And although the ship was Zionist-owned, its captain was a National Socialist Party member. Many years later a traveler aboard the ship recalled this symbolic combination as a "metaphysical absurdity."¹ Absurd or not, this is but one vignette from a little-known chapter of history: The wide-ranging collaboration between Zionism and Hitler's Third Reich.

Common Aims

Over the years, people in many different countries have wrestled with the "Jewish question": that is, what is the proper role of Jews in non-Jewish society? During the 1930s, Jewish Zionists and German National Socialists shared similar views on how to deal with this perplexing issue. They agreed that Jews and Germans were distinctly different nationalities, and that Jews did not belong in Germany. Jews living in the Reich were therefore to be regarded not as "Germans of the Jewish faith," but rather as members of a separate national community. Zionism (Jewish nationalism) also implied an obligation by Zionist Jews to resettle in Palestine, the "Jewish homeland." They could hardly regard themselves as sincere Zionists and simultaneously claim equal rights in Germany or any other "foreign" country.

Theodor Herzl (1860-1904), the founder of modern Zionism, maintained that anti-Semitism is not an aberration, but a natural and completely understandable response by non-Jews to alien Jewish behavior and attitudes. The only solution, he argued, is for Jews to recognize reality and live in a separate state of their own. "The Jewish question exists wherever Jews live in noticeable numbers," he wrote in his most influential work, *The Jewish State*. "Where it does not exist, it is brought in by arriving Jews. . . . I believe I understand anti-Semitism, which is a very complex phenomenon. I consider this development as a Jew, without hate or fear." The Jewish question, he maintained, is not social or religious. "It is a national question. To solve it we must, above all, make it an international political issue. . . ." Regardless of their citizenship, Herzl insisted, Jews constitute not merely a religious community, but a nationality, a people, a *Volk*.² Zionism, wrote Herzl, offered the world a welcome "final solution of the Jewish question."³

Six months after Hitler came to power, the Zionist Federation of Germany (by far the largest Zionist group in the country) submitted a detailed memorandum to the new government that reviewed German-Jewish relations and formally offered Zionist support in "solving" the vexing "Jewish question." The first step, it suggested, had to be a frank recognition of fundamental national differences:⁴

Zionism has no illusions about the difficulty of the Jewish condition, which consists above all in an abnormal occupational pattern and in the fault of an intellectual and moral posture not rooted in one's own tradition. Zionism recognized decades ago that as a result of the assimilationist trend, symptoms of deterioration were bound to appear . . .

Zionism believes that the rebirth of the national life of a people, which is now occurring in Germany through the emphasis on its Christian and national character, must also come about in the Jewish national group. For the Jewish people, too, national origin, religion, common destiny and a sense of its uniqueness must be of decisive importance in the shaping of its existence. This means that the egotistical individualism of the liberal era must be overcome and replaced with a sense of community and collective responsibility . . .

We believe it is precisely the new [National Socialist] Germany that can, through bold resoluteness in the handling of the Jewish question, take a decisive step toward overcoming a problem which, in truth, will have to be dealt with by most European peoples . . .

Our acknowledgment of Jewish nationality provides for a clear and sincere relationship to the German people and its national and racial realities. Precisely because we do not wish to falsify these fundamentals, because we, too, are against mixed marriage and are for maintaining the purity of the Jewish group and reject any trespasses in the cultural domain, we — having been brought up in the German language and German culture — can show an interest in the works and values of German culture with admiration and internal sympathy . . .

For its practical aims, Zionism hopes to be able to win the collaboration of even a government fundamentally hostile to Jews, because in dealing with the Jewish question not sentimentalities are involved but a real problem whose solution interests all peoples and at the present moment especially the German people . . .

Boycott propaganda — such as is currently

being carried on against Germany in many ways — is in essence un-Zionist, because Zionism wants not to do battle but to convince and to build . . .

We are not blind to the fact that a Jewish question exists and will continue to exist. From the abnormal situation of the Jews severe disadvantages result for them, but also scarcely tolerable conditions for other peoples.

The Federation's paper, the *Jüdische Rundschau* ("Jewish Review"), proclaimed the same message: "Zionism recognizes the existence of a Jewish problem and desires a far-reaching and constructive solution. For this purpose Zionism wishes to obtain the assistance of all peoples, whether pro- or anti-Jewish, because, in its view, we are dealing here with a concrete rather than a sentimental problem, the solution of which all peoples are interested."⁶ A young Berlin rabbi, Joachim Prinz, who later settled in the United States and became head of the American Jewish Congress, wrote in his 1934 book, *Wir Juden* ("We Jews"), that the National Socialist revolution in Germany meant "Jewry for the Jews." He explained: "No subterfuge can save us now. In place of assimilation we desire a new concept: recognition of the Jewish nation and Jewish race."⁶

Active Collaboration

On this basis of their similar ideologies about ethnicity and nationhood, National Socialists and Zionists worked together for what each group believed was in its own national interest. As a result, the Hitler government vigorously supported Zionism and Jewish emigration to Palestine from 1933 until 1940-1941, when the Second World War prevented extensive collaboration.

Even as the Third Reich became more entrenched, many German Jews, probably a majority, continued to regard themselves, often with considerable pride, as Germans first. Few were enthusiastic about pulling up roots to begin a new life in far-away Palestine. Nevertheless, more and more German Jews turned to Zionism during this period. Until late 1938, the Zionist movement flourished in Germany under Hitler. The circulation of the Zionist Federation's bi-weekly *Jüdische Rundschau* grew enormously. Numerous Zionist books were published. "Zionist work was in full swing" in Germany during those years, the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* notes. A Zionist convention held in Berlin in 1936 reflected "in its composition the vigorous party life of German Zionists."⁷

The SS was particularly enthusiastic in its support for Zionism. An internal June 1934 SS position paper urged active and wide-ranging support for Zionism by the government and the Party as the best way to encourage emigration of Germany's Jews to Palestine. This would require increased Jewish self-awareness. Jewish schools,

Jewish sports leagues, Jewish cultural organizations — in short, everything that would encourage this new consciousness and self-awareness — should be promoted, the paper recommended.⁸

SS officer Leopold von Mildenstein and Zionist Federation official Kurt Tuchler toured Palestine together for six months to assess Zionist development there. Based on his firsthand observations, von Mildenstein wrote a series of twelve illustrated articles for the important Berlin daily *Der Angriff* that appeared in late 1934 under the heading "A Nazi Travels to Palestine." The series expressed great admiration for the pioneering spirit and achievements of the Jewish settlers. Zionist self-development, von Mildenstein wrote, had produced a new kind of Jew. He praised Zionism as a great



"A Nazi travels to Palestine," a series of articles in the Berlin newspaper *Der Angriff*, reported enthusiastically on the 1934 visit to Palestine by a high-ranking SS officer and an official of the Zionist Federation of Germany.

benefit for both the Jewish people and the entire world. A Jewish homeland in Palestine, he wrote in his concluding article, "pointed the way to curing a centuries-long wound on the body of the world: the Jewish question." *Der Angriff* issued a special medal, with a Swastika on one side and a Star of David on the other, to commemorate the joint SS-Zionist visit. A few months after the articles appeared, von Mildenstein was promoted to head the Jewish affairs department of the SS security service in order to support Zionist migration and development more effectively.⁹

The official SS newspaper, *Das Schwarze Korps*, proclaimed its support for Zionism in a May 1935 front-page editorial: "The time may not be too far off when Palestine will again be able to receive its sons who have been lost to it for more than a thousand years. Our good wishes, together with

official goodwill, go with them."¹⁰ Four months later, a similar article appeared in the SS paper:¹¹

The recognition of Jewry as a racial community based on blood and not on religion leads the German government to guarantee without reservation the racial separateness of this community. The government finds itself in complete agreement with the great spiritual movement within Jewry, the so-called Zionism, with its recognition of the solidarity of Jewry around the world and its rejection of all assimilationist notions. On this basis, Germany undertakes measures that will surely play a significant role in the future in the handling of the Jewish problem around the world.

A leading German shipping line began direct passenger liner service from Hamburg to Haifa, Palestine, in October 1933 providing "strictly kosher food on its ships, under the supervision of the Hamburg rabbinate."¹²

With official backing, Zionists worked tirelessly to "reeducate" Germany's Jews. As American historian Francis Nicosia put it in his 1985 survey, *The Third Reich and the Palestine Question*: "Zionists were encouraged to take their message to the Jewish community, to collect money, to show films on Palestine and generally to educate German Jews about Palestine. There was considerable pressure to teach Jews in Germany to cease identifying themselves as Germans and to awaken a new Jewish national identity in them."¹³

In an interview after the war, the former head of the Zionist Federation of Germany, Dr. Hans Friedenthal, summed up the situation: "The Gestapo did everything in those days to promote emigration, particularly to Palestine. We often received their help when we required anything from other authorities regarding preparations for emigration."¹⁴

At the September 1935 National Socialist Party Congress, the Reichstag adopted the so-called "Nuremberg laws" that prohibited marriages and sexual relations between Jews and Germans and, in effect, proclaimed the Jews an alien minority nationality. A few days later the Zionist *Jüdische Rundschau* editorially welcomed the new measures:¹⁵

Germany . . . is meeting the demands of the World Zionist Congress when it declares the Jews now living in Germany to be a national minority. Once the Jews have been stamped a national minority it is again possible to establish normal relations between the German nation and Jewry. The new laws give the Jewish minority in Germany its own cultural life, its own national life. In future it will be able to shape its own schools, its own theatre, and its own sports associations. In short, it can create its own future in all aspects of national life . . .

Germany has given the Jewish minority the opportunity to live for itself, and is offering state protection for this separate life of the Jewish minority: Jewry's process of growth into a nation will thereby be encouraged and a contribution will be made to the establishment of more tolerable relations between the two nations.

Georg Kareski, the head of both the "Revisionist" Zionist State Organization and the Jewish Cultural League, and former head of the Berlin Jewish Community, declared in an interview with the Berlin daily *Der Angriff* at the end of 1935:¹⁶

For many years I have regarded a complete separation of the cultural affairs of the two peoples [Jews and Germans] as a pre-condition for living together without conflict. . . . I have long supported such a separation, provided it is founded on respect for the alien nationality. The Nuremberg Laws . . . seem to me, apart from their legal provisions, to conform entirely with this desire for a separate life based on mutual respect. . . . This interruption of the process of dissolution in many Jewish communities, which had been promoted through mixed marriages, is therefore, from a Jewish point of view, entirely welcome.

Zionist leaders in other countries echoed these views. Stephen S. Wise, president of the American Jewish Congress and the World Jewish Congress, told a New York rally in June 1938: "I am not an American citizen of the Jewish faith, I am a Jew. . . . Hitler was right in one thing. He calls the Jewish people a race and we are a race."¹⁷

The Interior Ministry's Jewish affairs specialist, Dr. Bernhard Lösener, expressed support for Zionism in an article that appeared in a November 1935 issue of the official *Reichsverwaltungsblatt*:¹⁸

If the Jews already had their own state in which the majority of them were settled, then the Jewish question could be regarded as completely resolved today, also for the Jews themselves. The least amount of opposition to the ideas underlying the Nuremberg Laws have been shown by the Zionists, because they realize at once that these laws represent the only correct solution for the Jewish people as well. For each nation must have its own state as the outward expression of its particular nationhood.

In cooperation with the German authorities, Zionist groups organized a network of some forty camps and agricultural centers throughout Germany where prospective settlers were trained for their new lives in Palestine. Although the Nuremberg Laws forbid Jews from displaying the German flag, Jews were specifically guaranteed the right to display the blue and white Jewish national banner. The flag that would one day be adopted by Israel was flown at the Zionist camps and centers in

Hitler's Germany.¹⁹

Himmler's security service cooperated with the Haganah, the Zionist underground military organization in Palestine. The SS agency paid Haganah official Feivel Polkes for information about the situation in Palestine and for help in directing Jewish emigration to that country. Meanwhile, the Haganah was kept well informed about German plans by a spy it managed to plant in the Berlin headquarters of the SS.²⁰ Haganah-SS collaboration even included secret deliveries of German weapons to Jewish settlers for use in clashes with Palestinian Arabs.²¹



Zionist retraining camps in Germany, August 1936. There were about 40 such centers throughout Germany, where the Zionist "Hechalutz" organization, with government support, prepared German Jews for new lives in Palestine.

In the aftermath of the November 1938 "Kristallnacht" outburst of violence and destruction, the SS quickly helped the Zionist organization to get back on its feet and continue its work in Germany, although now under more restricted supervision.²²

Official Reservations

German support for Zionism was not unlimited. Government and Party officials were very mindful of the continuing campaign by powerful Jewish communities in the United States, Britain and other countries to mobilize "their" governments and fellow citizens against Germany. As long as world Jewry remained implacably hostile towards National Socialist Germany, and as long as the great majority of Jews around the world showed little eagerness to resettle in the Zionist "promised land," a sovereign Jewish state in Palestine would not really "solve" the international Jewish question. Instead, German officials reasoned, it would immeasurably strengthen this dangerous anti-German campaign. German backing for Zionism was therefore limited to support for a Jewish homeland in Palestine under British control, not a sovereign

Jewish state.²³

A Jewish state in Palestine, the Foreign Minister informed diplomats in June 1937, would not be in Germany's interest because it would not be able to absorb all Jews around the world, but would only serve as an additional power base for international Jewry, in much the same way as Moscow served as a base for international Communism.²⁴ Reflecting something of a shift in official policy, the German press expressed much greater sympathy in 1937 for Palestinian Arab resistance to Zionist ambitions, at a time when tension and conflict between Jews and Arabs in Palestine was sharply increasing.²⁵

A Foreign Office circular bulletin of June 22, 1937, cautioned that in spite of support for Jewish settlement in Palestine, "it would nevertheless be a mistake to assume that Germany supports the formation of a state structure in Palestine under some form of Jewish control. In view of the anti-German agitation of international Jewry, Germany cannot agree that the formation of a Palestine Jewish state would help the peaceful development of the nations of the world."²⁶ "The proclamation of a Jewish state or a Jewish-administrated Palestine," warned an internal memorandum by the Jewish affairs section of the SS, "would create for Germany a new enemy, one that would have a deep influence on developments in the Near East." Another SS agency predicted that a Jewish state "would work to bring special minority protection to Jews in every country, therefore giving legal protection to the exploitation activity of world Jewry."²⁷ In January 1939, Hitler's new Foreign Minister, Joachim von Ribbentrop, likewise warned in another circular bulletin that "Germany must regard the formation of a Jewish state as dangerous" because it "would bring an international increase in power to world Jewry."²⁸

Hitler himself personally reviewed this entire issue in early 1938 and, in spite of his long-standing skepticism of Zionist ambitions and misgivings that his policies might contribute to the formation of a Jewish state, decided to support Jewish migration to Palestine even more vigorously. The prospect of ridding Germany of its Jews, he concluded, outweighed the possible dangers.²⁹

Meanwhile, the British government imposed ever more drastic restrictions on Jewish immigration into Palestine in 1937, 1938 and 1939. In response, the SS security service concluded a secret alliance with the clandestine Zionist agency *Mossad le-Aliya Bet* to smuggle Jews illegally into Palestine. As a result of this intensive collaboration, several convoys of ships succeeded in reaching Palestine past British gunboats. Jewish migration, both legal and illegal, from Germany (including Austria) to Palestine increased dramatically in 1938 and 1939. Another 10,000 Jews were scheduled to depart in October 1939, but the outbreak of war in September brought the effort to an end. All the same,

German authorities continued to promote indirect Jewish emigration to Palestine during 1940 and 1941.³⁰ Even as late as March 1942, at least one officially authorized Zionist "kibbutz" training camp for potential emigrants continued to operate in Hitler's Germany.³¹

The Transfer Agreement

The centerpiece of German-Zionist cooperation during the Hitler era was the Transfer Agreement, a pact that enabled tens of thousands of German Jews to migrate to Palestine with their wealth. The Agreement, also known as the *Ha'avara* (Hebrew for "transfer"), was concluded in August 1933 following talks between German officials and Chaim Arlosoroff, Political Secretary of the Jewish Agency, the Palestine center of the World Zionist Organization.³²

Through this unusual arrangement, each Jew bound for Palestine deposited money in a special account in Germany. The money was used to purchase German-made agricultural tools, building materials, pumps, fertilizer, and so forth, which were exported to Palestine and sold there by the Jewish-owned *Ha'avara* company in Tel-Aviv. Money from the sales was given to the Jewish emigrant upon his arrival in Palestine in an amount corresponding to his deposit in Germany. German goods poured into Palestine through the *Ha'avara*, which was supplemented a short time later with a barter agreement by which Palestine oranges were exchanged for German timber, automobiles, agricultural machinery, and other goods. The Agreement thus served the Zionist aim of bringing Jewish settlers and development capital to Palestine, while simultaneously serving the German goal of freeing the country of an unwanted alien group.

Delegates at the 1933 Zionist Congress in Prague vigorously debated the merits of the Agreement. Some feared that the pact would undermine the international Jewish economic boycott against Germany. But Zionist officials reassured the Congress. Sam Cohen, a key figure behind the *Ha'avara* arrangement, stressed that the Agreement was not economically advantageous to Germany. Arthur Ruppin, a Zionist Organization emigration specialist who had helped negotiate the pact, pointed out that "the Transfer Agreement in no way interfered with the boycott movement, since no new currency will flow into Germany as a result of the agreement. . . ."³³ The 1935 Zionist Congress, meeting in Switzerland, overwhelmingly endorsed the pact. In 1936, the Jewish Agency (the Zionist "shadow government" in Palestine) took over direct control of the *Ha'avara*, which remained in effect until the Second World War forced its abandonment.

Some German officials opposed the arrangement. Germany's Consul General in Jerusalem, Hans

Döhle, for example, sharply criticized the Agreement on several occasions during 1937. He pointed out that it cost Germany the foreign exchange that the products exported to Palestine through the pact would bring if sold elsewhere. The *Ha'avara* monopoly sale of German goods to Palestine through a Jewish agency naturally angered German businessmen and Arabs there. Official German support for Zionism could lead to a loss of German markets throughout the Arab world. The British government also resented the arrangement.³⁴ A June 1937 German Foreign Office internal bulletin referred to the "foreign exchange sacrifices" that resulted from the *Ha'avara*.³⁵



Postage stamp issued by Israel in 1960 honors Theodor Herzl, the founder of the modern Zionist movement.

A December 1937 internal memorandum by the German Interior Ministry reviewed the impact of the Transfer Agreement: "There is no doubt that the *Ha'avara* arrangement has contributed most significantly to the very rapid development of Palestine since 1933. The Agreement provided not only the largest source of money (from Germany!), but also the most intelligent group of immigrants, and finally it brought to the country the machines and industrial products essential for development." The main advantage of the pact, the memo reported, was the emigration of large numbers of Jews to Palestine, the most desirable target country as far as Germany was concerned. But the paper also

noted the important drawbacks pointed out by Consul Döhle and others. The Interior Minister, it went on, had concluded that the disadvantages of the agreement now outweighed the advantages and that, therefore, it should be terminated.³⁶

Only one man could resolve the controversy. Hitler personally reviewed the policy in July and September 1937, and again in January 1938, and each time decided to maintain the Ha'avara arrangement. The goal of removing Jews from Germany, he concluded, justified the drawbacks.³⁷

The Reich Economics Ministry helped to organize another transfer company, the International Trade and Investment Agency, or Intria, through which Jews in foreign countries could help German Jews emigrate to Palestine. Almost \$900,000 was eventually channeled through the Intria to German Jews in Palestine.³⁸ Other European countries eager to encourage Jewish emigration concluded agreements with the Zionists modeled after the Ha'avara. In 1937 Poland authorized the Halifin (Hebrew for "exchange") transfer company. By late summer 1939, Czechoslovakia, Romania, Hungary and Italy had signed similar arrangements. The outbreak of war in September 1939, however, prevented large-scale implementation of these agreements.³⁹

Achievements of Ha'avara

Between 1933 and 1941, some 60,000 German Jews emigrated to Palestine through the Ha'avara and other German-Zionist arrangements, or about ten percent of Germany's 1933 Jewish population. (These German Jews made up about 15 percent of Palestine's 1939 Jewish population.) Some Ha'avara emigrants transferred considerable personal wealth from Germany to Palestine. As Jewish historian Edwin Black has noted: "Many of these people, especially in the late 1930s, were allowed to transfer actual replicas of their homes and factories — indeed rough replicas of their very existence."⁴⁰

The total amount transferred from Germany to Palestine through the Ha'avara between August 1933 and the end of 1939 was 8.1 million pounds or 139.57 million German marks (then equivalent to more than \$40 million). This amount included 33.9 million German marks (\$13.8 million) provided by the Reichsbank in connection with the Agreement.⁴¹

Historian Black has estimated that an additional \$70 million may have flowed into Palestine through corollary German commercial agreements and special international banking transactions. The German funds had a major impact on a country as underdeveloped as Palestine was in the 1930s, he pointed out. Several major industrial enterprises were built with the capital from Germany, including the Mekoroth waterworks and the Lodzia textile firm. The influx of Ha'avara goods and capital, concluded Black, "produced an economic

explosion in Jewish Palestine" and was "an indispensable factor in the creation of the State of Israel."⁴²

The Ha'avara agreement greatly contributed to Jewish development in Palestine and thus, indirectly, to the foundation of the Israeli state. A January 1939 German Foreign Office circular bulletin reported, with some misgiving, that "the transfer of Jewish property out of Germany [through the Ha'avara agreement] contributed to no small extent to the building of a Jewish state in Palestine."⁴³

Former officials of the Ha'avara company in Palestine confirmed this view in a detailed study of the Transfer Agreement published in 1972: "The economic activity made possible by the influx German capital and the Haavara transfers to the private and public sectors were of greatest importance for the country's development. Many new industries and commercial enterprises were established in Jewish Palestine, and numerous companies that are enormously important even today in the economy of the State of Israel owe their existence to the Haavara."⁴⁴ Dr. Ludwig Pinner, a Ha'avara company official in Tel Aviv during the 1930s, later commented that the exceptionally competent Ha'avara immigrants "decisively contributed" to the economic, social, cultural and educational development of Palestine's Jewish community.⁴⁵

The Transfer Agreement was the most far-reaching example of cooperation between Hitler's Germany and international Zionism. Through this pact, Hitler's Third Reich did more than any other government during the 1930s to support Jewish development in Palestine.

Zionists Offer a Military Alliance With Hitler

In early January 1941 a small but important Zionist organization submitted a formal proposal to German diplomats in Beirut for a military-political alliance with wartime Germany. The offer was made by the radical underground "Fighters for the Freedom of Israel," better known as the *Lehi* or Stern Gang. Its leader, Avraham Stern, had recently broken with the radical nationalist "National Military Organization" (*Irgun Zvai Leumi*) over the group's attitude toward Britain, which had effectively banned further Jewish settlement of Palestine. Stern regarded Britain as the main enemy of Zionism.

This remarkable Zionist proposal "for the solution of the Jewish question in Europe and the active participation of the NMO [*Lehi*] in the war on the side of Germany" is worth quoting at some length:⁴⁶

In their speeches and statements, the leading statesmen of National Socialist Germany have often emphasized that a New Order in Europe requires as a prerequisite a radical solution of the

Jewish question by evacuation. ("Jew-free Europe")

The evacuation of the Jewish masses from Europe is a precondition for solving the Jewish question. However, the only way this can be totally achieved is through settlement of these masses in the homeland of the Jewish people, Palestine, and by the establishment of a Jewish state in its historical boundaries.

The goal of the political activity and the years of struggle by the Israel Freedom Movement, the National Military Organization in Palestine (Irgun Zvai Leumi), is to solve the Jewish problem in this way and thus completely liberate the Jewish people forever.

The NMO, which is very familiar with the good will of the German Reich government and its officials towards Zionist activities within Germany and the Zionist emigration program, takes that view that:

1. Common interests can exist between a European New Order based on the German concept and the true national aspirations of the Jewish people as embodied by the NMO.

2. Cooperation is possible between the New Germany and a renewed, folkish-national Jewry [*Hebräertum*].

3. The establishment of the historical Jewish state on a national and totalitarian basis, and bound by treaty with the German Reich, would be in the interest of maintaining and strengthening the future German position of power in the Near East.

On the basis of these considerations, and upon the condition that the German Reich government recognize the national aspirations of the Israel Freedom Movement mentioned above, the NMO in Palestine offers to actively take part in the war on the side of Germany.

This offer by the NMO could include military, political and informational activity within Palestine and, after certain organizational measures, outside as well. Along with this the Jewish men of Europe would be militarily trained and organized in military units under the leadership and command of the NMO. They would take part in combat operations for the purpose of conquering Palestine, should such a front be formed.

The indirect participation of the Israel Freedom Movement in the New Order of Europe, already in the preparatory stage, combined with a positive-radical solution of the European Jewish problem on the basis of the national aspirations of the Jewish people mentioned above, would greatly strengthen the moral foundation of the New Order in the eyes of all humanity.

The cooperation of the Israel Freedom Movement would also be consistent with a recent speech by the German Reich Chancellor, in which Hitler stressed that he would utilize any combination and coalition in order to isolate and defeat England.

There is no record of any German response. Acceptance was very unlikely anyway because by this time German policy was decisively pro-Arab.⁴⁷ Remarkably, Stern's group sought to conclude a pact with the Third Reich at a time when stories that Hitler was bent on exterminating Jews were already in wide circulation. Stern apparently either did not believe the stories or he was willing to collaborate with the mortal enemy of his people to help bring about a Jewish state.⁴⁸

An important Lehi member at the time the group made this offer was Yitzhak Shamir, who later served as Israel's Foreign Minister and then, during much of the 1980s and until June 1992, as Prime Minister. As Lehi operations chief following Stern's death in 1942, Shamir organized numerous acts of terror, including the November 1944 assassination of British Middle East Minister Lord Moyne and the September 1948 slaying of Swedish United Nations mediator Count Bernadotte. Years later, when Shamir was asked about the 1941 offer, he confirmed that he was aware of his organization's proposed alliance with wartime Germany.⁴⁹

Conclusion

In spite of the basic hostility between the Hitler regime and international Jewry, for several years Jewish Zionist and German National Socialist interests coincided. In collaborating with the Zionists for a mutually desirable and humane solution to a complex problem, the Third Reich was willing to make foreign exchange sacrifices, impair relations with Britain and anger the Arabs. Indeed, during the 1930s no nation did more to substantively further Jewish-Zionist goals than Hitler's Germany.

Notes

1. W. Martini, "Hebräisch unterm Hakenkreuz," *Die Welt* (Hamburg), Jan. 10, 1975. Cited in: Klaus Polken, "The Secret Contacts: Zionism and Nazi Germany, 1933-1941," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Spring-Summer 1976, p. 65.
2. Quoted in: Ingrid Weckert, *Feuerzeichen: Die "Reichskristallnacht"* (Tübingen: Grabert, 1981), p. 212. See also: Th. Herzl, *The Jewish State* (New York: Herzl Press, 1970), pp. 33, 35, 36, and, Edwin Black, *The Transfer Agreement* (New York: Macmillan, 1984), p. 73.
3. Th. Herzl, "Der Kongress," *Welt*, June 4, 1897. Reprinted in: *Theodor Herzls zionistische Schriften* (Leon Kellner, ed.), erster Teil, Berlin: Jüdischer Verlag, 1920, p. 190 (and p. 139).
4. Memo of June 21, 1933, in: L. Dawidowicz, *A Holocaust Reader* (New York: Behrman, 1976), pp. 150-155, and (in part) in: Francis R. Nicosia, *The Third Reich and the Palestine Question* (Austin: Univ. of Texas, 1985), p. 42.; On Zionism in Germany before Hitler's assumption of power, see: Donald L. Niewyk, *The Jews in Weimar Germany* (Baton Rouge: 1980),

- pp. 94-95, 126-131, 140-143.; F. Nicosia, *Third Reich* (Austin: 1985), pp. 1-15.
5. *Jüdische Rundschau* (Berlin), June 13, 1933. Quoted in: Heinz Höhne, *The Order of the Death's Head* (New York: Ballantine, pb., 1971, 1984), pp. 376-377.
 6. Heinz Höhne, *The Order of the Death's Head* (Ballantine, 1971, 1984), p. 376.
 7. "Berlin," *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (New York & Jerusalem: 1971), Vol. 5, p. 648. For a look at one aspect of this "vigorous life," see: J.-C. Horak, "Zionist Film Propaganda in Nazi Germany," *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television*, Vol. 4, No. 1, 1984, pp. 49-58.
 8. Francis R. Nicosia, *The Third Reich and the Palestine Question* (1985), pp. 54-55.; Karl A. Schleunes, *The Twisted Road to Auschwitz* (Urbana: Univ. of Illinois, 1970, 1990), pp. 178-181.
 9. Jacob Boas, "A Nazi Travels to Palestine," *History Today* (London), January 1980, pp. 33-38.
 10. Facsimile reprint of front page of *Das Schwarze Korps*, May 15, 1935, in: Janusz Piekalkiewicz, *Israel's Langer Arm* (Frankfurt: Goverts, 1975), pp. 66-67. Also quoted in: Heinz Höhne, *The Order of the Death's Head* (Ballantine, 1971, 1984), p. 377. See also: Erich Kern, ed., *Verheimlichte Dokumente* (Munich: FZ-Verlag, 1988), p. 184.
 11. *Das Schwarze Korps*, Sept. 26, 1935. Quoted in: F. Nicosia, *The Third Reich and the Palestine Question* (1985), pp. 56-57.
 12. Lenni Brenner, *Zionism in the Age of the Dictators* (1983), p. 83.
 13. F. Nicosia, *The Third Reich and the Palestine Question* (1985), p. 60. See also: F. Nicosia, "The Yishuv and the Holocaust," *The Journal of Modern History* (Chicago), Vol. 64, No. 3, Sept. 1992, pp. 533-540.
 14. F. Nicosia, *The Third Reich and the Palestine Question* (1985), p. 57.
 15. *Jüdische Rundschau*, Sept. 17, 1935. Quoted in: Yitzhak Arad, with Y. Gutman and A. Margalit, eds., *Documents on the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1981), pp. 82-83.
 16. *Der Angriff*, Dec. 23, 1935, in: E. Kern, ed., *Verheimlichte Dokumente* (Munich: 1988), p. 148.; F. Nicosia, *Third Reich* (1985), p. 56.; L. Brenner, *Zionism in the Age of the Dictators* (1983), p. 138.; A. Margalit, "The Reaction....," *Yad Vashem Studies* (Jerusalem), vol. 12, 1977, pp. 90-91.; On Kareski's remarkable career, see: H. Levine, "A Jewish Collaborator in Nazi Germany," *Central European History* (Atlanta), Sept. 1975, pp. 251-281.
 17. "Dr. Wise Urges Jews to Declare Selves as Such," *New York Herald Tribune*, June 13, 1938, p. 12.
 18. F. Nicosia, *The Third Reich* (1985), p. 53.
 19. Lucy Dawidowicz, *The War Against the Jews, 1933-1945* (New York: Bantam, pb., 1976), pp. 253-254.; Max Nussbaum, "Zionism Under Hitler," *Congress Weekly* (New York: American Jewish Congress), Sept. 11, 1942.; F. Nicosia, *The Third Reich* (1985), pp. 58-60, 217.; Edwin Black, *The Transfer Agreement* (1984), p. 175.
 20. H. Höhne, *The Order of the Death's Head* (Ballantine, pb., 1984), pp. 380-382.; K. Schleunes, *Twisted Road* (1970, 1990), p. 226.; Secret internal SS intelligence report about F. Polkes, June 17, 1937, in: John Mendelsohn, ed., *The Holocaust* (New York: Garland, 1982), vol. 5, pp. 62-64.
 21. F. Nicosia, *Third Reich* (1985), pp. 63-64, 105, 219-220.
 22. F. Nicosia, *Third Reich* (1985), p. 160.
 23. This distinction is also implicit in the "Balfour Declaration" of November 1917, in which the British government expressed support for "a national home for the Jewish people" in Palestine, while carefully avoiding any mention of a Jewish state. Referring to the majority Arab population there, the Declaration went on to caution, "...it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine." The complete text of the Declaration is reproduced in facsimile in: Robert John, *Behind the Balfour Declaration* (IHR, 1988), p. 32.
 24. F. Nicosia, *Third Reich* (1985), p. 121.
 25. F. Nicosia, *Third Reich* (1985), p. 124.
 26. David Yisraeli, *The Palestine Problem in German Politics 1889-1945* (Bar-Ilan University, Israel, 1974), p. 300.; Also in: *Documents on German Foreign Policy*, Series D, Vol. 5, Doc. No. 564 or 567.
 27. K. Schleunes, *The Twisted Road* (1970, 1990), p. 209.
 28. Circular of January 25, 1939. Nuremberg document 3358-PS. International Military Tribunal, *Trial of the Major War Criminals Before the International Military Tribunal* (Nuremberg: 1947-1949), vol. 32, pp. 242-243. *Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression* (Washington, DC: 1946-1948), vol. 6, pp. 92-93.
 29. F. Nicosia, *Third Reich* (1985), pp. 141-144.; On Hitler's critical view of Zionism in *Mein Kampf*, see esp. Vol. 1, Chap. 11. Quoted in: Robert Wistrich, *Hitler's Apocalypse* (London: 1985), p. 155.; See also: F. Nicosia, *Third Reich* (1985), pp. 26-28.; Hitler told his army adjutant in 1939 and again in 1941 that he had asked the British in 1937 about transferring all of Germany's Jews to Palestine or Egypt. The British rejected the proposal, he said, because it would cause further disorder. See: H. v. Kotze, ed., *Heeresadjutant bei Hitler* (Stuttgart: 1974), pp. 65, 95.
 30. F. Nicosia, *Third Reich* (1985), pp. 156, 160-164, 166-167.; H. Höhne, *The Order of the Death's Head* (Ballantine, pb., 1984), pp. 392-394.; Jon and David Kimche, *The Secret Roads* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1955), pp. 39-43. See also: David Yisraeli, "The Third Reich and Palestine," *Middle Eastern Studies*, October 1971, p. 347.; Bernard Wasserstein, *Britain and the Jews of Europe, 1939-1945* (1979), pp. 43, 49, 52, 60.; T. Kelly, "Man who fooled Nazis," *Washington Times*, April 28, 1987, pp. 1B, 4B. Based on interview with Willy Perl, author of *The Holocaust Conspiracy*.
 31. Y. Arad, et al., eds., *Documents On the Holocaust* (1981), p. 155. (The training kibbutz was at Neuen-dorf, and may have functioned even after March 1942.)

32. On the Agreement in general, see: Werner Feilchenfeld, et al., *Haavara-Transfer nach Palästina* (Tübingen: Mohr/Siebeck, 1972); David Yisraeli, "The Third Reich and the Transfer Agreement," *Journal of Contemporary History* (London), No. 2, 1971, pp. 129-148.; "Haavara," *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (1971), vol. 7, pp. 1012-1013.; F. Nicosia, *The Third Reich and the Palestine Question* (Austin: 1985), pp. 44-49.; Raul Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews* (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1985), pp. 140-141.; *The Transfer Agreement*, by Edwin Black, is detailed and useful. However, it contains numerous inaccuracies and wildly erroneous conclusions. See, for example, the review by Richard S. Levy in *Commentary*, Sept. 1984, pp. 68-71.
33. E. Black, *The Transfer Agreement* (1984), pp. 328, 337.
34. On opposition to the Ha'avara in official German circles, see: W. Feilchenfeld, et al., *Haavara-Transfer nach Palästina* (1972), pp. 31-33.; D. Yisraeli, "The Third Reich," *Journal of Contemporary History*, 1971, pp. 136-139.; F. Nicosia, *The Third Reich and the Palestine Question*, pp. 126-139.; I. Weckert, *Feuerzeichen* (1981), pp. 226-227.; Rolf Vogel, *Ein Stempel hat gefehlt* (Munich: Droemer Knaur, 1977), pp. 110 ff.
35. W. Feilchenfeld, et al., *Haavara-Transfer* (1972), p. 31. Entire text in: David Yisraeli, *The Palestine Problem in German Politics 1889-1945* (Israel: 1974), pp. 298-300.
36. Interior Ministry internal memo (signed by State Secretary W. Stuckart), Dec. 17, 1937, in: Helmut Eschwege, ed., *Kennzeichen J* (Berlin: 1966), pp. 132-136.
37. W. Feilchenfeld, et al., *Haavara-Transfer* (1972), p. 32.
38. E. Black, *Transfer Agreement*, pp. 376-377.
39. E. Black, *Transfer Agreement* (1984), pp. 376, 378.; F. Nicosia, *Third Reich* (1985), pp. 238-239 (n. 91).
40. E. Black, *Transfer Agreement*, p. 379.; F. Nicosia, *Third Reich*, pp. 212, 255 (n. 66).
41. W. Feilchenfeld, et al., *Haavara-Transfer*, p. 75.; "Haavara," *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, (1971), Vol. 7, p. 1013.
42. E. Black, *Transfer Agreement*, pp. 379, 373, 382.
43. Circular of January 25, 1939. Nuremberg document 3358-PS. International Military Tribunal, *Trial of the Major War Criminals Before the International Military Tribunal* (Nuremberg: 1947-1949), Vol. 32, pp. 242-243.
44. Werner Feilchenfeld, et al., *Haavara-Transfer nach Palästina* (Tübingen: Mohr/Siebeck, 1972). Quoted in: Ingrid Weckert, *Feuerzeichen* (Tübingen: Grabert, 1981), pp. 222-223.
45. W. Feilchenfeld, et al., *Haavara-Transfer nach Palästina* (1972). Quoted in: I. Weckert, *Feuerzeichen* (1981), p. 224.
46. Original document in German Auswärtiges Amt Archiv, Bestand 47-59, E 224152 and E 234155-58. (Photocopy in author's possession); Complete original German text published in: David Yisraeli, *The Palestine Problem in German Politics 1889-1945* (Israel: 1974), pp. 315-317. See also: Klaus Polkhen, "The Secret Contacts," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Spring-Summer 1976, pp. 78-80.; (At the time this offer was made, Stern's Lehi group still regarded itself as the true Irgun/NMO.)
47. Arab nationalists opposed Britain, which then dominated much of the Arab world, including Egypt, Iraq and Palestine. Because Britain and Germany were at war, Germany cultivated Arab support. The leader of Palestine's Arabs, the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem, Haj Amin el-Husseini, worked closely with Germany during the war years. After escaping from Palestine, he spoke to the Arab world over German radio and helped raise Muslim recruits in Bosnia for the Waffen SS.
48. Israel Shahak, "Yitzhak Shamir, Then and Now," *Middle East Policy* (Washington, DC), Vol. 1, No. 1, (Whole No. 39), 1992, pp. 27-38.; Yehoshafat Harkabi, *Israel's Fateful Hour* (New York: Harper & Row, 1988), pp. 213-214. Quoted in: Andrew J. Hurley, *Israel and the New World Order* (Santa Barbara, Calif.: 1991), pp. 93, 208-209.; Avishai Margalit, "The Violent Life of Yitzhak Shamir," *New York Review of Books*, May 14, 1992, pp. 18-24.; Lenni Brenner, *Zionism in the Age of the Dictators* (1983), pp. 266-269.; L. Brenner, *Jews in America Today* (1986), pp. 175-177.; L. Brenner, "Yitzhak Shamir: On Hitler's Side," *Arab Perspectives* (League of Arab States), March 1984, pp. 11-13.
49. Avishai Margalit, "The Violent Life of Yitzhak Shamir," *New York Review of Books*, May 14, 1992, pp. 18 - 24.; Lenni Brenner, *Zionism in the Age of the Dictators* (1983), pp. 266-269.; L. Brenner, *Jews in America Today* (1986), pp. 175-177.; L. Brenner, "Skeletons in Shamir's Cupboard," *Middle East International*, Sept. 30, 1983, pp. 15-16.; Sol Stern, L. Rapoport, "Israel's Man of the Shadows," *Village Voice* (New York), July 3, 1984, pp. 13 ff.

THE BALFOUR DECLARATION Britain's Great War Pledge

Few documents have had as shadowy a past, or as ominous a future, as the British government's 1917 pledge to the House of Rothschild. By it the British Empire broke its promise to the Arabs to court what it believed to be a far mightier power, and in the name of the Jewish people international Zionism won a foothold in Palestine.

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A Veteran's Plea for Peace

Rudolf Hess' July 1934 Appeal to Fellow Soldiers of the First World War

Even many people who consider themselves well-informed about the history of the Third Reich and the Second World War are ignorant of the numerous offers of peace made by Hitler and his government in the years before the outbreak of war, particularly during the 1934-1937 period.

His first speech on foreign policy after taking office as Chancellor was a plea for peace and mutual understanding among nations delivered to the Reichstag on May 17, 1933. So persuasively argued was his appeal that it was enthusiastically endorsed even by opposition-party representatives, including Social Democratic Party deputies.

Two years later, the German leader again stressed the need for peace on the basis of mutual understanding in his Reichstag speech of May 21, 1935. In the view of the London Times, Hitler's address was "reasonable, straightforward and comprehensive."

Such calls for peace were not mere rhetoric. On March 31, 1936, the German government announced a comprehensive plan for strengthening peace in Europe. The detailed paper included numerous specific proposals, including demilitarization of the entire Rhineland region, a western Europe security agreement, and mutual prohibition of poison gas and incendiary bombs, and heavy tanks and heavy artillery.

Efforts like this were not without some success. For example, in January 1934 Hitler's government concluded a ten-year non-aggression pact with Poland. (Unfortunately, the spirit of this treaty was later broken by the men who took power in Poland after the death of Marshal Pilsudski in 1935.)

One of Hitler's most important foreign policy successes was a comprehensive naval agreement with Britain, signed in June 1935. (This agreement, incidentally, abrogated the Treaty of Versailles, thereby showing that neither London nor Berlin still regarded it as valid.) For the most part, though, Germany's neighbors rejected Hitler's peace proposals.

Most historians have tended to dismiss his proposals as insincere posturing designed to deceive the world about his "true" intentions. Sincere or not, it is significant that Germany's neighbors — above all France and Britain — declined to call Hitler's "bluff" by at least giving serious consideration to his proposals.

A particularly eloquent expression of the Third Reich's "peace offensive" is Rudolf Hess' address of

July 8, 1934. This speech — the relevant portion of which is given here — was delivered in Königsberg, capital of the province of East Prussia (now the Russian city of Kaliningrad). Speaking as Hitler's Deputy (or Stellvertreter), Hess' words reflected not only the policy of Hitler and his government, but also the heart-felt desire of the vast majority of Germans for lasting peace in Europe.

The sincerity of this appeal to, especially, former front-line soldiers of the First World War, is confirmed by everything we know about Hess. His personal passion for peace was manifest, above all, in his history-making May 1941 flight to Britain, in which he risked his life in an effort to end fighting between Britain and Germany. (For more about Hess and his legacy, see the January-February 1993 Journal.)

— M. W.

Within a few weeks we shall be celebrating the day [in August 1914] that marked the opening of an epic struggle on the part of Germany's soldiers [during the First World War]. It was here in [the province of] East Prussia that the great soldier, Hindenburg, turned back the invasion and saved the country. East Prussia suffered more in the war than any other part of Germany. East Prussia experienced the war in its most brutal realities. Here the ruined villages remained for a long time as striking witnesses of the Russian invasion. There are many among you here who remember the tragic sight of the refugees, fleeing for safety from the hands of the Cossacks.

Therefore, because you have been acquainted with war in your own homeland, I wish to say here in East Prussia something which I have long wanted to say to Germany and to the world at large. It is this: Today our people have the good fortune to be led by soldiers who fought in the front line trenches [during the First World War] and who have brought over into the leadership of the state those virtues which they learned at the front. They are carrying out the rebuilding of the Reich in the spirit of the trenches; because it was the spirit of the trenches which created National Socialism.

While in the trenches they were everywhere confronted with death; and in the face of this terror all feeling of class distinction or differences of calling broke down. In the common sorrows and

joys that they shared while in the trenches, there developed a spirit of comradeship between fellow countrymen such as had never been known before. In the trenches the common destiny stood out, before all eyes and in gigantic form, above the destiny of the individual.

And yet another thing arose in those trenches, despite all the bitterness and ruthlessness of the struggle. This was a certain feeling that between the men in the front lines on the opposite side of "no man's land" there was a certain bond of union which arose from the fact that on both sides they had to endure the same suffering, to stand in the same mud and face the same death.

A Common Bond Among Soldiers

And this feeling of a common bond has remained up to the present day. Is it not so? When [former] soldiers of the front-line trenches who fought on the opposite sides now find themselves together they naturally speak of the world war; but the hope that is constantly glittering through their conversation is the hope of peace. And therefore, if the politicians cannot find the means of doing so, it is the men who fought in the front-line trenches who are now called upon to throw a bridge of understanding across the gulf that separates nation from nation.

It is no mere coincidence that the two nations that are [today] led by soldiers [Mussolini and Hitler] who once fought in the trenches — Italy and Germany — are now working hard to establish a world peace. And it was not mere accident that when the two [former] front-line soldiers, Hitler and Mussolini, met one another a cordial personal understanding immediately arose. With our Polish neighbors we have entered into a covenant that serves the cause of peace. And in that country also the political leader is a soldier: Marshal Pilsudski.

Even in France, Hitler's attempt to bring about an understanding with our western neighbor met with the most favorable reception in the ranks of the former front-line soldiers.

Understanding Based on Mutual Respect

We who have fought in the trenches are deter-

mined that an incompetent diplomacy shall not be the cause of our stumbling into another catastrophe. Once again, front-line soldiers would have to bear the brunt of the suffering. The soldiers who fought in the trenches, no matter on which side, feel free of all responsibility for the last war. We want to work together to prevent a new catastrophe. We desire in common to build up in peace what in common we destroyed in war.

It is high time that now, at last, a real understanding should be reached among the nations. This must be an understanding based on mutual respect for one another, because only such an understanding can endure. It must be founded on the same kind of mutual respect as those who fought on opposite sides in the front-line trenches have always had for one another.

For there must be no doubt about this: Most of

the Great Powers have accumulated more war materiel now than ever before. But war materiel, which is in danger of deteriorating, is perilous stuff in the midst of a world that has had been in a spirit of unrest ever since the war, and among nations that have the highest mistrust of one another today. An insignificant episode, like the unfortunate shot that was fired in Sarajevo in 1914 — perhaps an explosion from the pistol of a fool — might suffice, even against the best will of the nations con-

cerned, to set millions of people against one another in armed conflict. Such an episode might be sufficient to plow up whole sections of countryside through tens of thousands of cannon of all calibers and ranges, to blow towns and villages into the air in a sea of flames, and to smother all life in clouds of poison gas.

Those who took part in the [First] World War have a premonition of what a modern war, with more fully perfected weapons, would mean today.

The Experience of the Front

I appeal to the front-line comrades of the war, on all sides.

Be honest. Of course we once stood out there in the proud feeling that we were stalwart men — soldiers, warriors, liberated from the everyday



Rudolf Hess at a soldiers' cemetery in France, 1940.

routine of our former existence. We probably experienced a temporary pleasure in a kind of life that was a crude contrast to the languid existence that modern civilization and hyper-civilization brings with it. We felt ourselves worthier men than those who were far from the front, and had nothing to do with the destiny that was being decided there. We felt that we were defending the life of our nation, and that we were the trustees of our nation, and that we were the trustees of its future.

We enjoyed happy and bright hours. We tried to double every minute of life that was given to us. Not one of us would like to have this time at the front erased from his memory.

Death and Suffering

But let us be honest. The smell of death was always in our nostrils. We have seen death in more fearful and mangled shapes than any men before our time. We squatted and crouched in our dug-outs, waiting to be crushed to pieces. We listened with stilled breath as our trained ear heard the hiss of the shell above us, as the mine exploded before our feet. Our hearts throbbed as if they would break to pieces when we sought cover in vain against the deadly rattle of the machine gun. With our gas masks on we felt ourselves suffocating to death in the midst of the gas clouds. We stumbled along in the water-logged trenches. We lay out in shell craters through the freezing nights. For days and weeks together, the horror of battle passed over us. We were frozen and hungry and often on the verge of madness. The cries of the heavily wounded men were in our ears. We met blinded men staggering back and we heard the death rattle in the throats of the dying. Among the heaped-up corpses of our dead comrades we lost all hope of life. We saw the misery of the refugees behind the lines. We saw the widow and the orphans, the cripples and the suffering, the sick children and the hungry women at home.

"Must This Be?"

Let us be honest. Did not each one of us then and there often ask: Why all this? Must this be? Can humanity not be spared all this in the future?

But we held out, on all sides, as men of duty and discipline and loyalty, as men who despised cowardice.

Today I take up anew the question we then asked, and I send it out to ring as a summons around the world. As one who fought in the front-line trenches [speaking] to the [former] front-line soldiers throughout the world, as a leader of the German nation to the leaders of other nations, I ask: Must this be? With goodwill and cooperation, cannot we save humanity from this?

Perhaps someone will ask: Why do you raise your voices today for the first time? Why have you remained silent during the past years?

I shall give the answer: Because in the past my voice would have been intermingled with the voices of those who had betrayed their own nation. It would have been associated with those who fell upon our fighting soldiers from the rear. It would have been intermingled with the voices of those Germans who have the Treaty of Versailles on their consciences.

Today I can speak, because a man of my own people has reestablished the honor of that people before the world. Today I can speak because the world now knows that a National Socialist soldier is not a knave. Today I can speak because the leader of my people has himself offered the hand of peace to the world. Today I can speak because the courageous stand of one man, Adolf Hitler, is a guarantee against my being misunderstood or accused of making common cause with the pacifist poltroons.

Today I *must* speak, because I must stand by the man who is seeking in this final moment to save the world from catastrophe. Today I raise my voice, because I wish also to warn the world against mistaking the Germany of today, the Germany of peace, for the Germany of the pacifists.

For this must be proclaimed and made known: although the men of the old front-line have the thousandfold horrors of the war still before their minds, and although the post-war generation wants war as little as the older generation does, yet the road is not open for an "Excursion" into our country.

Just as in the Great War the French people defended every square foot of their soil with all their might, and would defend it again any day against a renewed attack, so would the German people do in like manner today. The French [former] front-line soldier will especially understand us when we tell those who are constantly playing with the idea of another war — which, of course, would have to be waged on the front by other than the professional hate mongers — the French [former] front-line soldier will understand us when we tell these people:

If you dare to attack us, if you dare to march into the new Germany, then the world will learn what the spirit of the new Germany is. It would fight for the inviolability of its freedom as hardly any other people in history ever fought. The French people know how one defends one's native soil. Every scrap of wood, every hill, every farmstead would have to be conquered with the outpouring of blood. Old and young would dig themselves into their native soil. They would defend themselves with a fanaticism unparalleled in world history.

And even if superiority of armament would turn out to be victorious, the way through the Reich would be a road of gruesome sacrifice for the invader as well; because no nation has ever been so filled with a sense of its right as our nation is

[today], and with a sense of its duty to defend itself to the last against every attack.

Yearning for Peace

But we do not believe those who are poisoning the springs of international relations when they suggest that there is any nation ready today to wreck the peace of Germany and therewith that of Europe, if not of the whole world.

We believe that this is particularly true of the French people; for we know that these people also yearn for peace. We who fought in the trenches remember that the French population behind the lines in the World War always spoke of it as a misfortune for themselves and the whole world. The demand for an honorable understanding with Germany, expressed officially by the organizations of French [former] front-line soldiers, was received with keen sympathy by us, and especially by [former] German front-line soldiers. The demand undoubtedly sprang from a firsthand knowledge of what the realities of war mean, and also from the esteem which France's [former] front-line soldiers have for the military achievements of the German soldiers in the war.

The soldiers of France recognize how tenaciously German soldiers fought for four-and-a-half years against superior forces. And in the same way the

German front-line soldier has never failed to acknowledge the bravery of his French adversary. This bravery found its expression in the fact that the French army paid the highest price in blood of any army in the ranks of the Allies.

The former soldiers of the old front-line want peace.

The people want peace.

The German government wants peace.

And if sometimes the words of authoritative representatives of the French government sound to us in disharmony with the spirit of willingness for an understanding, this does not lead us to abandon hope that, in spite of all, the government of France also wants peace. The French people undoubtedly want peace. In face of that fact we are convinced that the French government does not desire a war with Germany.

If authoritative French representatives do not speak the language of the French people or the French [former] front-line soldiers, they are not to be taken as representative of prevailing views in France. A Frenchman who knows the people and politics of his country very well said to me once: "Have sympathy with us. We still govern through the parliamentary system." He meant to say that statesmen are often forced in their speeches to avoid saying what they think and to say what the parliamentary majority wants to hear. But we know that parliamentary majorities do not represent the opinion of the public. They are rather the representatives of commercial interests and other forces.

Rudolf Hess Prisoner of Peace

THE FLIGHT TO BRITAIN and ITS AFTERMATH

The late martyr's moving prison letters to his beloved wife, spanning the years of his imprisonment in England, Nuremberg and Spandau 1941-1951. These letters, along with other letters and commentary on Hess's peace mission to England, present an eloquent case for the solitary prisoner of Spandau Fortress—the 20th century's *Man in the Iron Mask*—whose only crime was his desire for peace between England and Germany.

Edited by George Pile, softcover, 151 pages, photos, \$7.95 + \$2 shipping.

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Real Peace Benefits All

History will certainly bestow more laurels on the men who, in these difficult times, will have worked to bring about an understanding among the nations, and thus to save civilization, than on those who think that by aggressive political and military measures they can win victories. The people themselves will be grateful to those leaders who will have assured peace to them; because unemployment, with all its social misery, is ultimately attributable to a meager interchange of goods between the various nations. And this interchange is kept at a low level by the absence of mutual trust.

It is an indubitable fact that an understanding between Germany and France would not only help those [two] nations, looked upon as a whole, but also each single individual among the populations of both. To put the matter concretely, every Frenchman and every German would thereby be assured a higher permanent income or a higher permanent wage.

The war, and the continuation of it by other means under the name of peace, brought no good to civilization or the well-being of the nations. As little as the war profited us all, so much more will

a real peace benefit us all.

Real peace and honest mutual trust between the nations will make possible the reduction of armaments, which today are a heavy drain on a large section of the income of nations, thereby decreasing the wealth of individual citizens.

Equality of Rights

Again and again Adolf Hitler has asserted that Germany demands equality of rights in all spheres, including that of armament. Once such an understanding as I have been speaking of is arrived at between Germany and her neighbors, Germany can easily be content with the minimum amount of armament necessary for her own internal security and the guaranteeing of peace.

For a practically disarmed country represents a danger to peace. The fact that it lacks the means of military defense offers a temptation to foreign armies to undertake "excursions" that would involve no military risk. Disarmament of a single nation in the midst of heavily armed nations might easily excite ambitious men to an attempt to win easy laurels for themselves. It might also prove a lure for governments to ease tension at home by undertaking foreign adventures.

It is especially the veteran soldiers among you, my party colleagues, who as former soldiers can bear testimony to the fact that the former soldiers of the front-line, to whom I have the honor to belong, desire peace in the profound conviction of their souls.

Peace and Mutual Understanding

The world was surprised at the frank and open way in which that soldier of the old front-line, Adolf Hitler, recently expressed his opinion on this point. The [former] front-line soldiers who are now in the German government honorably demand peace and understanding. I appeal to the veterans of all nations, and even to their governments, to give us their combined support in striving toward this goal.

From the sacred soil of East Prussia I send out this appeal to the soldiers of the world who fought in the war. Here on this German borderland began the great world struggle that brought with it such terrible sacrifices, sacrifices from which the nations that took part in the struggle have not yet recovered. I hope that the spirits that hover over this historic battlefield from which I send out this cry of peace will help to make it effective. We now have pacts of understanding with [Poland,] our great neighbor on this eastern German frontier, thereby guaranteeing peace to the populations dwelling on both sides of this frontier. Would that the nations which stand on Germany's other frontiers might guarantee a greater degree of security for their own people, and ours, through friendly pacts of mutual understanding rather than

by the heaping up of war material. That is our hope. In the memory of its dead, many of whom fell here in East Prussia, Germany's will to peace will continue to grow stronger and stronger.

The old soldiers of the war fronts and the young men who are striving to build up a free and proud and peaceful Reich send their greetings from here to the front-line soldiers of the world and to Adolf Hitler in particular. We all look upon him as our protagonist in the cause of peace.

ICEBREAKER: Who Started the Second World War?

by Viktor Suvorov (V. Rezun)

In this Revisionist blockbuster, a former senior Soviet military intelligence officer meticulously documents Stalin's preparations to invade Germany, and shows that Hitler's 1941 "Barbarossa" attack was a pre-emptive strike that came just in time.

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"What has happened is that the meaning of the Holocaust is today the principal unifying force for Jews, of whatever nationality — observing Jews or not, Zionists or not, pro-Israelis or not. Who touches the Holocaust touches them. They have willy-nilly become the guardians of the Holocaust, to keep its memory from being desecrated, to enforce the 'never again' implicit in it. In a grim sense they have not chosen this role: it has chosen them."

— Max Lerner, noted Jewish author and nationally syndicated columnist, writing in *The Washington Times*, June 12, 1986.

An Old/New Perspective on the Nuremberg Process

The Anatomy of the Nuremberg Trials by Telford Taylor. Alfred A. Knopf and Sons, New York, 1992. Hardcover. 703 pages. Photographs. Bibliography. Notes. Index. \$35.00. ISBN: 0-394-58355-8.

Reviewed by Andrew Gray

All in all, the members of the war crimes community lived fairly well, and the Americans, who were paid more than the others, very well." The war crimes community! An ear for irony is not among the virtues of this author, whose virtually boundless self-esteem and presumption of moral superiority have survived the intervening half-century undiminished. "Franconian Bavaria is a splendid place for rubbernecking, at which I am very good, and I made the most of my opportunities." Easy to believe, and when these pleasures palled, "Two-day or longer holidays could be spent in the Bavarian and Austrian alps. The Army requisitioned hotels and villages for R and R in such resorts as Garmisch-Partenkirchen, Berchtesgaden and Salzburg, each of which I was able to enjoy during the 1945-46 winter." And villages.

It was such a romp. "Visits to Faber castle were enjoyable. The army commandant, Major Ernest Dean, had formed a small female

chorus of German waitresses with lovely voices who sang German folk songs and, as comic relief, heavily accented version of American pop songs; a general favorite was 'Mairzy Doats'." One of the Russian interpreters from the distaff side was called "the passionate haystack."

The gossip in this memoir makes it worth perusing. His comments about the defendants — and their counsel — are neither original nor especially penetrating, but the author is excellent in depicting the vanities and vagaries of his superiors within the American "war crimes community." Ex-Attorney General Francis Biddle and General "Wild Bill" Donovan are both the subjects of relatively subtle send-ups, and the chief prosecutor himself, "Mr. Justice" Jackson, emerges from these pages as remarkably thick-fingered. His drubbing at the hands of Hermann Göring in the first cross-examination is a dramatic high point of the book, and Telford Taylor does not try to minimize it.

At the heart of the book is a drastic dichotomy that will nonetheless be detectable only by those who have given at least some attention to the quality of the evidence brought against the defendants. While the description of the circumstances and judicial mechanics of the trials themselves represent the fruits of decades of reflection on Telford Taylor's part, no such reflection is cast upon the evidence itself. In this respect, the text constitutes a time capsule from the 1940s — as if no accretions of historical knowledge, or no modifications or corrective of the evidence had meanwhile taken place. Thus, the author refers frequently to the "Malmedy massacre" without the slightest hint that the subsequent trial (the second one) resulted in virtual

acquittal of the accused; and to Oradour without any reference to the Bordeaux trial of 1950 that brought to light the mitigating circumstance in this disaster. Typically, Taylor quotes at length from the affidavits of Hermann Gräbe concerning murders allegedly committed by SS units (in cooperation with Ukrainian militiamen) in the autumn of 1942, as if this text constituted in itself sufficient proof of every last gruesome detail of the accusations.

Amid this concatenation of coached testimony, suborned witnesses, doctored papers and confessions obtained under duress (to put it mildly), Telford Taylor and fellow Americans in the "war crimes community" proceeded under the pretense that they were upholding the highest standards of the legal profession. The Soviet members were more honest — among themselves at least. No doubt they did not wish to spoil the garden parties in Erlenstegen.

The pretense to moral superiority is equivalent in its way to racism at its most extreme. It is a categorical and pervasive claim — and time and the onset of old age have done little to modify it in the author. Is it a case of arrested development? Or is it the effect of the taboo on serious debate on the quality of this evidence and its reasonable interpretation? Here is the author, quoting himself at length in his arraignment of the entire German General Staff, delivered to the Tribunal on August 30, 1946:

The truth is spread on the record before us, and all we have to do is state the truth plainly. The German militarists joined forces with Hitler and with him created the Third Reich; with him they deliberately made a world in which war was all that mattered; with him they plunged the world

Andrew Gray, a writer and translator, is a former office director in the US Department of Commerce. He lives in Georgetown, Washington, DC.

him they plunged the world into war, and spread terror and devastation over the continent of Europe. They dealt a blow at all mankind; a blow so savage and foul that the conscience of the world will reel for years to come. This was not war; it was crime. This was not soldiering; it was savagery. We cannot here make history over again, but we can see that it is written true.

The ghost of Goebbels smiles at this — maybe even a bit enviously.

Reference Work on the Third Reich is Riddled with Errors

The Third Reich Almanac, by James Taylor and Warren Shaw. New York: World Almanac, 1988. Hardcover. 395 pages. Photographs. Maps. Bibliography. \$24.95. ISBN: 0-88687-363-0.

*Reviewed by Mark Weber
and Greg Raven*

In no field of twentieth-century history has there been greater distortion and polemics than with regard to the Third Reich, and especially Germany's wartime treatment of the Jews. While Hollywood and government officials bear much of the blame for this legacy of organized misinformation, equally culpable have been the academic and publishing establishments, which have done little to correct the propagandistic version of history established by the victorious Allied powers during and following the Second World War.

The Third Reich Almanac (originally published in Britain as *Dictionary of the Third Reich*) continues this lamentable tradition of historical distortion. According to the dust jacket, this is "the first of its kind ever published." Not true.

Several quite similar works (such as Louis Snyder's *Encyclopedia of the Third Reich*) have been published over the years. Is the claim by the *Almanac's* publisher perhaps meant ironically, knowing that this book's only claim to uniqueness is based not on its format but rather on the slovenliness with which it presents information?

Canards

To their credit, the authors do take aim at a few historical canards. They concede, for example, that the "Lebensborn" maternity homes "were not, as has been suggested, a chain of SS brothels." The Allied claim of sole German guilt for the outbreak of the First World War is a "lie," and the authors note that a notorious phrase often attributed to Hermann Göring, "When I hear anyone talk of culture, I reach for my revolver," is actually an actor's line from a play.

The authors are not as forthcoming about the 1933 burning of the German Reichstag. They assert that "there is strong but inconclusive evidence that an SA detachment was responsible," and that "the debate is still going on" over who set the fire. In fact — and as serious historians of the subject now acknowledge — the Reichstag was single-handedly set ablaze by a young Dutchman, Marinus van der Lubbe. Calling him "a Dutch bricklayer, associated with anarchists," the *Almanac's* authors fail to mention that the arsonist was a member of a Communist organization.

The *Almanac's* entry about Leon Degrelle is rather typical. It makes no mention at all of the Belgian leader's wartime service as an SS commander (or his decorations for bravery during combat on the Eastern Front). But it does report: "In 1945, the Belgian government sought to bring Degrelle to trial, but by then he had escaped to Spain and, later, to the Argentine, where he successfully avoided all attempts at extradition." In fact, Degrelle has lived in

Spain continuously since 1945, when he arrived after a daring flight across Europe.

The *Almanac* mentions the purported record of private conversations with Hitler by one-time NS party official Hermann Rauschning. (This work, a best-seller in English and French, was submitted as supposedly damning evidence at Nuremberg by the Allies.) Although this often quoted source was thoroughly exposed as a complete fabrication years ago, the *Almanac's* authors concede merely that Rauschning's "book *Conversations with Hitler* must read with reservations since his real contact with Hitler was certainly less than he wished to imply."

Nearly two full pages are devoted to the "Hossbach Memorandum," a supposedly critical document that was cited by the Allies at Nuremberg as proof of Hitler's aggressive war aims. The spurious character of this "document" has long been authoritatively established by historians such as A.J.P. Taylor.

The *Almanac* wrongly asserts that Bulgarian King Boris III died in Germany. (He died in his homeland.)

The entry for Konstantin Hierl completely ignores this man's important role in Germany after Hitler took power in 1933. The reader will not learn that as "Reich Labor Leader," Hierl headed the Reich Labor Service, or that he was named (in 1943) as Minister of Labor.

Oswald Spengler's writings, the *Almanac* claims, were "suppressed" by the Hitler government, and he was "banned from writing." Not true. Collections of the historian's writings were published by major German firms in 1937 and 1941.

Reflecting the *Almanac's* lack of balance, there is a separate entry for the *Bayerische Kurier*, the relatively unimportant paper of the small Bavarian People's Party, but none for *Das Reich*, Germany's best-written and best-edited wartime weekly paper.

active in the anti-Hitler opposition merits a separate entry, although quite prominent Third Reich personalities — such as film director Veit Harlan or radio commentator (and Nuremberg trial co-defendant) Hans Fritzsche — are simply ignored.

The Third Reich Almanac contains not a word of criticism of the Nuremberg trial of 1945-1946, which the Allies conducted on the basis of a blatantly hypocritical double standard. Nor is there any mention of the outrageous (and illegal) postwar Allied treatment (including torture) of German leaders such as Rudolf Hess.

"Final Solution"

While this work's treatment of Germany's wartime "Final Solution" policy is predictably riddled with errors, it is surprising that what the authors write on this subject is not even consistent with the current "official" version of the extermination story. For example, Theresienstadt — the wartime ghetto-camp in Bohemia — is cited here as an "extermination" center, an assertion that no reputable historian would accept.

The complete text of the entry for "Birkenau" reads as follows:

Part of the much larger Auschwitz camp, Birkenau had a railway siding disguised as a complete railway station. It began operations in 1941 as a hastily constructed extermination camp for Russian prisoners and continued in use as a sub-camp of Auschwitz.

At another place it is asserted that Birkenau was "ordered by Himmler specifically as a killing centre for Russian officers."

While the Nuremberg Tribunal "established" that no less than one and half million people had been killed at the wartime German camp of Lublin (Majdanek), the *Almanac*'s authors maintain (without citing any evidence) that 200,000 people were put to death there.

The now thoroughly discredited "confession" and Nuremberg testi-

mony of Auschwitz Commandant Rudolf Höss is cited as proof that he organized the extermination there of up to three million people. Even Höss' citation of "Wolzek" as an extermination camp is uncritically accepted by the authors. (In fact, no camp under this name ever existed.)

The 1943 "Korherr Report" is said to have provided "the first total figures of the extermination of the Jews." It does nothing of the kind, as a reading of the original text readily discloses, and as the report's author, Richard Korherr, later insisted.

Misspellings

Much of the weakness of *The Third Reich Almanac* seems due to the authors' utter lack of familiarity with relevant original sources, or even of appropriate secondary works. However, this cannot excuse the work's numerous misspellings of proper names, such as "Marius" van der Lubbe. Similarly, Rabbi Leo Baeck is wrongly rendered as "Bäck," and Joseph Goebbels is consistently given as "Göbbels."

In spite of its rather attractive appearance, this is a miserable work. (For those who read German, a similar but vastly superior 510-page reference work is recommended: *Lexikon: Deutsche Geschichte im 20. Jahrhundert*, edited by W. Schütz.) Loaded with errors of fact, omission and interpretation, *The Third Reich Almanac* is not worthy of any self-respecting publisher.

"In this country, you can say you don't believe in God, but you can't say you don't believe in the Holocaust."

— Felipe Rivero, Chairman of the Cuban National Alliance (Maimi). Quoted in the *Miami Herald*, Dec. 27, 1991, and Jan. 5, 1992.

Ingrid Weckert's FLASHPOINT

The Book that Dares to Ask:
Who Benefitted from
the "Crystal Night"

Kristallnacht — the attacks on Jewish property throughout Germany in response to the assassination of a German diplomat by a young Jew in



Paris — signalled an ominous turning point in relations between the Third Reich and international Jewry.

But what was the *real* story of the shooting in Paris? Was Herschel Grynszpan a "lone gunman"? Or

was he commanded by shadowy backers? And what was the role of Vladimir Jabotinsky, mentor to Menachem Begin and Yitzhak Shamir?

Who bears the responsibility for the riots? Was it Hitler? Goebbels? The German people? Or a shadowy cabal of provocateurs?

Historian Ingrid Weckert asks—and answers—these bold questions in *Flashpoint*, her gripping investigation of the instigators, victims, and beneficiaries of *Kristallnacht*.

Meticulously researched, *Flashpoint* places the momentous events of early November, 1938 firmly within the much-neglected context of German-Jewish relations (above all the surprising collaboration between Hitler's Germany and the Zionists). Yet it reads like an international thriller!

No one with an interest in the Third Reich, Zionism and the Jews can afford to ignore *Flashpoint*.

FLASHPOINT by Ingrid Weckert
Softcover • 179 pp • Notes, Bibl.,
Index, Glossary
ISBN 0-939484-37-4 • \$15.95

Published by INSTITUTE FOR HISTORICAL REVIEW

A Bit Worried

The new Holocaust Museum in Washington is scarcely worth a serious protest. It is its own best confutation. People *know* this, but put up with such nonsense in the same way we put up with bad weather.

The real fight is the serious intellectual one. At issue is the integrity of the historical profession itself, our culture's quality of self-criticism, and our society's ability to resist a propagandistic view of itself and its history.

I suppose I am not alone in being a bit worried about the decision to change the format of the *Journal*. It should remain the kind of publication that is implicitly addressed to people yet unborn — like *The Dial* or *The Yellow Book*.

G.P.
Washington, DC

Neither of the Right Nor of the Left

The real, main strength of *The Journal of Historical Review* is precisely that it has no links with politics or religion. If the *Journal* says that something is true, it is not because it is of the right or of the left, but because it is truthful, and because a fact is a fact.

The great strength of revisionism is that it belongs everywhere and nowhere, that it is apolitical. Our adversaries are quite aware of this, and would therefore be very happy if we were to proclaim ideological or political aims, and thus confirm that they have been right all along in charging that we say what we say not because it is the truth, but in order to strengthen a political or ideological agenda.

Our adversaries would very much like to link us with, in particular, the extreme right, because they have created, especially through television, a real terror in people's minds about "extreme" anything, and in particular the extreme right.

Y. F.
Paris, France

"Multiculturalism": A Response to Smith

In his attack [in the Winter 1992-93 issue] on my article, "The Challenge

of 'Multiculturalism,'" [Summer 1992 issue] Bradley Smith makes two errors. The first is to assume that I am advocating the distortion of history, and the other is to suggest that a "multicultural" approach is a good way to learn "what really happened" in history.

First, I am just as much in favor of finding out "what really happened" as is Mr. Smith. My point, which seems to have escaped him, is that the same event can be felt entirely differently by different groups, even when there is no dispute about what happened. Take, for example, the Harvard-Yale football game. There may be complete agreement in New Haven and in Cambridge as to what happened on the field, yet there may be joy in one city and grief in the other. The "multicultural" interpretation of the game would be one that forbade either emotion, for it would find them both illegitimate. Whether Mr. Smith likes it or not, there will always be emotion in New Haven and in Cambridge whenever Harvard plays Yale. To assume otherwise is to misread human nature, and that is exactly what the "multicultural" approach does.

The historical dilemmas I referred to in my article are therefore not at all "fake" as Mr. Smith claims. Was the settlement of the Americas by Europeans a triumph or a defeat? If this is a "fake" problem, let Mr. Smith solve it for us and put the controversy to rest. If he would prefer to argue that it depends on one's point of view, then he will find that he agrees with me in spite of himself. Different ethnic groups in the United States have different points of view — and probably always will. It is therefore impossible to do what the multiculturalists wish to do and teach history in a way that satisfies all of them.

This leads to Mr. Smith's second error. The true multiculturalists — almost all of whom are white — really do want a history in which there are no winners or losers. This is impossible, but they really do want a world in which Harvard students are just as happy as Yale students when Yale wins the game. The non-whites who claim to be multiculturalists are entirely different. They advocate histories that are not only explicitly pro-

ethnic and anti-white but that are demonstrably false. If Mr. Smith is looking for renewed objectivity in the search for "what really happened," the multiculturalists will disappoint him.

The ultimate goal of sincere multiculturalists is to reduce the differences between peoples, races, and nations to the point that history loses all particularist meaning and becomes a sequence of events in which no one takes more than an abstract interest. This day will never come because men are no more likely to look upon the past with dispassion than they are to look upon the future with indifference.

If anything is "fake," it is multicultural history. It could exist only in a world in which men failed to distinguish their own interests from those of others. Any man who did so would be devoured. As Vilfredo Pareto once observed, "Whoever would become a lamb will find a wolf to eat him."

Samuel Jared Taylor
Louisville, Ky.

Danger of Racist Subjectivism

Over the years, the *Journal* and the Institute for Historical Review have earned respect for publishing only factually grounded material. Whatever the enemies of truth might say about the IHR, they have not been able to accuse you (at least not seriously) of printing lies. Having just read through the first [January-February] issue of the new-format *Journal*, I am concerned that your shift to a more "popular" approach runs the risk of squandering some of that hard-won respect.

In particular, I am dismayed by your treatment of the issue of race, and your apparent defense of racist views. However much I might agree with you on this issue, a subjective treatment — particularly of race — blurs the line between fact and opinion and makes you much more assailable. Such an approach also suggests

We welcome letters from readers. We reserve the right to edit for style and space.

that everything else appearing in the *Journal* is equally subjective.

The IHR has had a formidable impact because of its factual presentation of historical evidence and its scholarly analysis. Please don't do anything to endanger that.

I. H.
Falls Church, Virginia

Open Mind on Holocaust

It is very encouraging to see that, according to a recent survey (*New York Times*, April 20), 34 percent of adult Americans aren't certain of the orthodox account of the Holocaust. Exterminationists will ascribe this to the failure of American education (that is, "indoctrination"). In spite of the deplorable state of US education, though, this survey seems to indicate that one-third of adults still have an open mind on specifics of the Holocaust story.

C. H.
Troy, Mich.

Takes Pride

I take great pride in playing some small role in forcing the Organization of American Historians to overturn their decision to sell advertising space to your organization. Like many historians, I suggested to the OAH that this was not a free speech issue.

Douglas R. Egerton
Associate Professor of History
Le Moyne College
Syracuse, N.Y.

"Democracy"?

I could hardly believe the comments by Mr. H. P. of Norwalk, California in the Winter 1992-93 *Journal* (pp. 506-507).

Where is the "democracy" he speaks of when, in times like these, David Irving and others like him are punished, university degrees are annulled and withdrawn, a Professor Faurisson can be spat on in Toronto and nearly beaten to death in France, and many other outstanding, righteous persons treated likewise in other countries — all for questioning a sacred doctrine? It isn't Nazis who are responsible for these outrages.

Where is the "democracy" when schools teach distorted, untrue history, anthropology, political science and sociology, and when entire nations are forced to accept the results of historical crimes?

In the aftermath of the First World War, prostrate Germany was not merely treated shabbily, she was

politically and economically raped, with the intention of destroying her.

Until the whole truth is said openly in the face of those who oppress it, there can be no breakthrough or liberation from the terroristic rule of the manipulators.

Please do not compromise with the wicked. Our adversaries will not be impressed or softened as a result of your efforts at accommodation, but will only become even bolder.

E. S.
Underwood, Queensland
Australia

Work Appreciated

I can't tell you how much my husband and I appreciate your continuing good work. It has relieved a great burden we have long carried, caused by the disparity between what we know to be true and what everyone else seems to accept as true.

D. G.
Gainesboro, Tenn.

You are doing a great job. There are greater and greater numbers of people who support you.

L. V.
Colchester, Essex, England

I congratulate you on the excellent standard you observe in your *Journal*, while dealing with the most controversial chapters of history.

O. Z.
Karenpark, South Africa

Congratulations on the March-April issue of the *Journal*. The new size and illustrated cover is such an improvement. I'm quite impressed with the gutsy young David Cole.

T. L.
Delray, Fla.

We heartily endorse your *Journal*, and pray that you will continue to enlighten the citizens of our great country.

E. K.
Fredericksburg, Texas

I am a young man in the US Navy. I have a wife and two beautiful children, and I wouldn't trade my life for anything. I just wanted to let you know that what you are doing is greatly appreciated. Thank you all, and keep up the great work. The victory of truth depends on it.

A. F.
Oak Harbor, Virginia

Word for Word

I recently subscribed to your *Journal*, and have read the two 1993 issues word for word (every single word!). This is something I have never done with any other magazine, and only a few books. More important, I feel as though I received a Master's degree in truth — which is what I thought history was about. Now I know that no two histories are created equal. And nothing I have ever known or imagined equals the work and integrity of your truth.

From the height of my intellect to the bottom of my heart: congratulations on a great job in this huge effort to set the record to truth, and vindicate the victims of perjury.

W. T.
Huntley, Ill.

Epic Struggle

The "Holocaust" is a mania, an obsession, a fanatical new religion. Since April 22, we are confronted by still another outrage of this campaign, the most grandiose and insolent so far: the monstrosity in our nation's capital.

The "Holocaust" will not just go away. It has to be driven away. Considering the forces and personalities arrayed on each side, the "Holocaust" war is an epic struggle. The enemy is utterly ruthless, totally without scruples. Weighed by what is riding on the outcome, this struggle is western man's most crucial. Until it is won, other issues must be regarded as secondary.

The "Holocaust" lives by, and will die with, the lie of gas chamber.

C. H.
Beachwood, N.J.

Wartime Internment

I commend you on your efforts to bring historical truth to light, free of "politically correct" rhetoric. Thanks to your efforts, the public has begun to question the Holocaust lobby.

I hope you will consider publishing something about the wartime American internment of German- and Italian-Americans. While many people know that Japanese-Americans were relocated to detention camps, few realize that many European-Americans also suffered.

L. G.
San Diego, Calif.

World War II — The

ONLY THE TRUTH CAN PUT AN END TO WORLD WAR II. . .
NOW, IHR'S CLASSIC

Perpetual WAR For Perpetual PEACE

PUTS THE TRUTH ABOUT WORLD WAR II IN YOUR HANDS!

Nearly fifty years ago, the bombing and the shooting ended in the most total military victories, and the most annihilating defeats, of the modern age. Yet the war lives on, in the words — and the deeds — of the politicians, in the purposeful distortions of the professors, in the blaring propaganda of the media. The Establishment which rules ordinary Americans *needs* to keep World War II alive — in a version which fractures the facts and sustains old lies to manufacture phony justifications for sending America's armed forces abroad in one senseless, wasteful, and dangerous military adventure after another.

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More Than Just a History

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Revisionism and the Historical Blackout by Harry Elmer Barnes • *The United States and the Road to War in Europe* by Charles Callan Tansill • *Roosevelt Is Frustrated in Europe* by Frederic R. Sanborn • *How American Policy toward Japan Contributed to War in the Pacific* by William L. Neumann • *Japanese-America Relations: 1921-1941: The Pacific Back Door to War* by Charles Callan Tansill • *The Actual Road to Pearl Harbor* by George Morgenstern • *The Pearl Harbor Investigations* by Percy L. Greaves, Jr. • *The Bankruptcy of a Policy* by William Henry Chamberlin • *American Foreign Policy in the Light of National Interest at the Mid-Century* by George A. Lundberg • *How "1984" Trends Threaten American Peace, Freedom and Prosperity* and *Summary and Conclusions* by Harry Elmer Barnes

War that Never Ends



- Continuing persecution of aged "war criminals"
- Grandiose new "Holocaust" museums
- Ever more billions in "aid" and "reparations" to the State of Israel
- Non-stop scapegoating of Germans and Europeans
- Ceaseless wars and interventions justified as "rejecting appeasement," "stopping aggression," "standing up to a new Hitler"

Classic... and Burningly Controversial

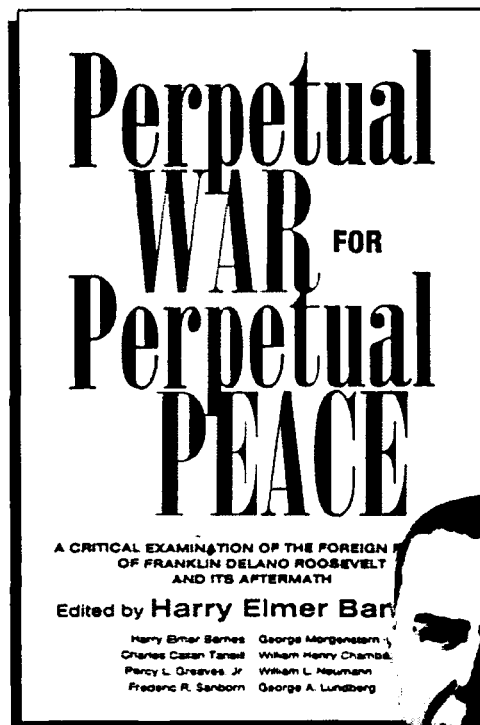
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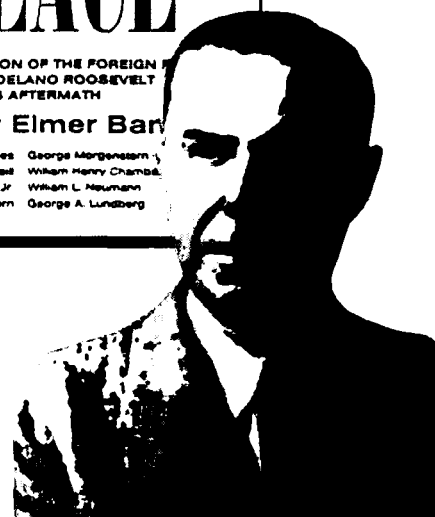
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**HARRY
ELMER
BARNES**



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Wilton's book, *The Last Days of the Romanovs*, based on the evidence gathered by Russian investigative magistrate Nikolai Sokolov, was published in France, England, and America at the beginning of the 1920's—but it soon vanished from the bookstores and almost all library shelves, and was ignored in later "approved" histories. The most explosive secret of Wilton's book—the *role that racial revenge played in the slaughter of the Romanovs*—had to be concealed. And it continued to be concealed for decades—as the same motive claimed the lives of millions of Christian Russians, Ukrainians, Balts, and other helpless victims of the Red cabal.

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Russia's Imperial Family
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The Journal of Historical Review

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Robert Morgan

*Pope Pius XII
in the Second World War*

Mary Ball Martinez

*The Holocaust Issue:
Three Christian Views*
Herman Otten, Joseph Sobran, Louis Vezelis

*"Gas Chamber" Fraud at
US Holocaust Museum*

*Legal Assault Against
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Faking War Atrocity Stories

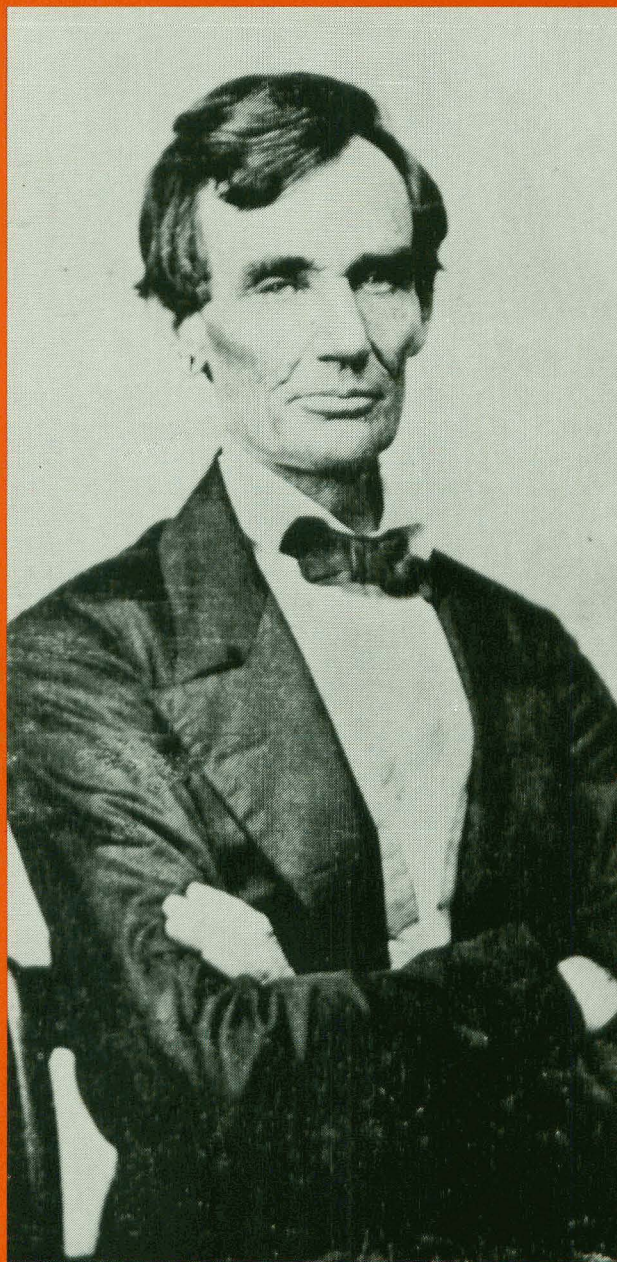
The Adventure of Revisionism
Robert Faurisson

*The Holocaust and
Middle East Policy*
Alfred Lilienthal

*Hugh Trevor-Roper
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Penn State: Lesson in Ignorance

—And More—



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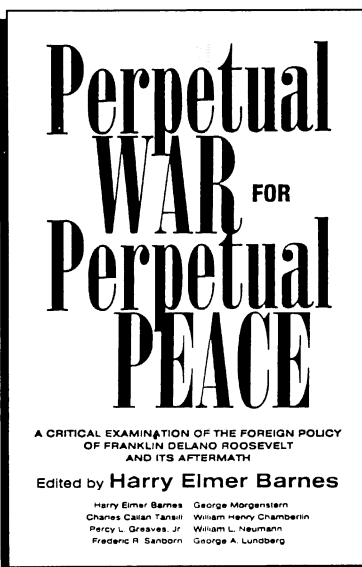
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IN THIS ISSUE

From the Editor	2
Abraham Lincoln and the Issue of Race <i>Robert Morgan</i>	4
Pope Pius XII During the Second World War <i>Mary Ball Martinez</i>	26
Italian-American / ADL Conference <i>Russell Granata</i>	30
The Holocaust Issue: Three Christian Views <i>Herman Otten, Joseph Sobran, Louis Vezelis</i>	32
Legal Persecution of Revisionists in Europe	36
South African Paliamentarian Under Fire	38
Moynihan and Waldheim Comment on the <i>Journal</i>	38
Fraudulent Gas Chamber Portrayal at Holocaust Museum	39
Hugh Trevor-Roper to Henry Roques	40
The Adventure of Revisionism <i>Robert Faurisson</i>	42
Rumor-Mongering: Fake Wartime Atrocity Stories	43
The Holocaust and Middle East Policy <i>Alfred Lilienthal</i>	44
Penn State Holocaust Class: Lesson in Ignorance	45
Letters	46

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VINDICATION FOR DEMJANJUK



On April 18, 1988, an Israeli court solemnly declared "without hesitation" that a simple Ukrainian-born auto worker, John Demjanjuk, was "the sadistic motorman who had operated the gas chambers at the Nazi death camp in Treblinka." When the verdict was

announced, hundreds in the Jerusalem courtroom jumped to their feet and launched into gleeful shouts of "Death! Death! Death!"

Five years later — and just as we were wrapping up this issue of the *Journal* — Israel's Supreme Court acquitted Demjanjuk of the hideous charge of helping to kill hundreds of thousands of Jews. In the face of compelling new evidence, it apparently decided that acquittal was the least damaging way out of what had become a great embarrassment for the Zionist state.

John Demjanjuk's terrible 16-year ordeal has meant destruction of his good name, financial ruin for his family, and seven years imprisonment, five of them under sentence of death. Along with all others who stood with him, we join in expressing joy at this victory of justice. Demjanjuk must now be permitted to return without delay to his family in America.

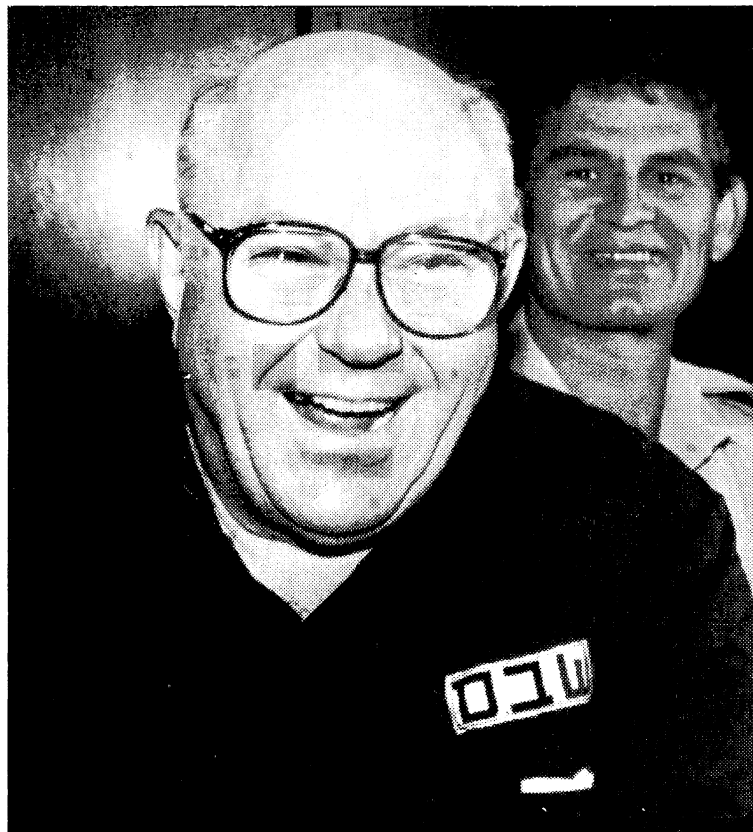
Ignoring for the

moment Israel's role in the case, the actions of our own government should shame every American who cares about justice and fair play. The acquittal is a devastating indictment of the "Office of Special Investigations," the US government agency established to track down "Nazi war criminals." In its zeal to "get" Demjanjuk, the OSI, it later turned out, suppressed and threw aside — in at least one case, literally — evidence that OSI officials knew could have helped to exonerate this naturalized American citizen. Now, more than ever, it is time to shut down the OSI.

Even more culpable, though, have been the US Congressmen and Senators who dutifully voted, year after year, to continue funding the OSI. Throughout this entire affair, Washington's politicians and much of the establishment media — fearful of the power of America's most formidable special interest group — put an alien agenda above all else. To protect their privileged positions, they bowed to the demands of the Holocaust lobby in this assault against justice and the rights of American citizens.

There was never any legal justification, for example, for the United States to turn Demjanjuk over to Israel — a country that did not even exist at the time of the alleged crimes. The Zionist state had no more right to try Demjanjuk than, let us say, the Vatican has to try Catholics living in the United States for crimes allegedly committed in Brazil. By handing him over, the US government recognized Israel's bizarre claim to act in the name of Jews everywhere.

To their everlasting credit, a hand-



John Demjanjuk in Israel

ful of courageous Americans dared to defy the powerful "Never Forget, Never Forgive" lobby. We remember, in particular, Patrick Buchanan, Ohio Congressman James Traficant, and Cleveland businessman (and good friend of the IHR) Jerome Brentar.

Because they demanded justice for Demjanjuk, these courageous men were vilified as anti-Semites and "defenders of Nazi war criminals." These three are owed a great apology. But given the character of Alan Dershowitz, Marvin Hier and their like, it would be foolish to expect any expression of humility or contrition.

Happily, the acquittal of Demjanjuk is an important defeat for the mighty Holocaust lobby — which Britain's chief rabbi, Immanuel Jakobovits, once accurately called "an entire industry, with handsome profits for writers, researchers, filmmakers, monument builders, museum planners and even politicians."

We don't expect many newspapers to stress the point, but the acquittal is also an important vindication of the cause of historical revisionism. For one thing, revisionists have again been confirmed in their decades-long insistence that "eyewitness" testimony — even of Jewish "Holocaust survivors"

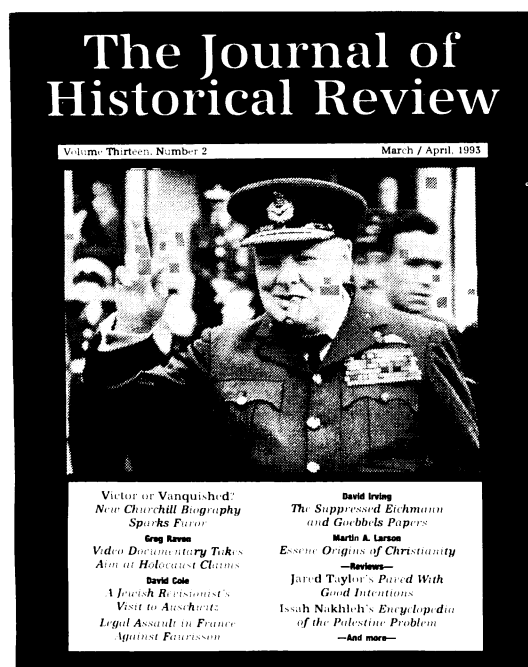
— must be regarded with the greatest skepticism.

In his highly-publicized trial in Jerusalem, which had many of the elements of a show trial, five Jewish "Holocaust" survivors declared under oath that they recognized Demjanjuk as the mass murderer of Treblinka known as "Ivan the Terrible." The judges cited this "eyewitness" testimony as the most compelling evidence against the accused. Although the five "witnesses" conceivably could have been grievously mistaken, so fantastic and sensational was their testimony that the heavy presumption must be that they lied brazenly.

From the outset, Israel's leaders announced that the well-publicized 1988 trial of Demjanjuk would be an "educational" undertaking that would "teach" the world the "lessons of the Holocaust." The Demjanjuk case certainly does have some important lessons to teach — and we will have much more to say about them in the next issue of the *Journal*.

Note:

We appreciate the help of Mr. Fred Burkhart of Chicago, who took the photographs on pages 2, 15, and 17 of the July-August 1993 issue.



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The "Great Emancipator" and the Issue of Race

Abraham Lincoln's Program of Black Resettlement

ROBERT MORGAN

Many Americans think of Abraham Lincoln, above all, as the president who freed the slaves. Immortalized as the "Great Emancipator," he is widely regarded as a champion of black freedom who supported social equality of the races, and who fought the American Civil War (1861-1865) to free the slaves.

While it is true that Lincoln regarded slavery as an evil and harmful institution, it also true, as this paper will show, that he shared the conviction of most Americans of his time, and of many prominent statesmen before and after him, that blacks could not be assimilated into white society. He rejected the notion of social equality of the races, and held to the view that blacks should be resettled abroad. As President, he supported projects to remove blacks from the United States.

Early Experiences

In 1837, at the age of 28, the self-educated Lincoln was admitted to practice law in Illinois. In at least one case, which received considerable attention at the time, he represented a slave-owner. Robert Matson, Lincoln's client, each year brought a crew of slaves from his plantation in Kentucky to a farm he owned in Illinois for seasonal work. State law permitted this, provided that the slaves did not remain in Illinois continuously for a year. In 1847, Matson brought to the farm his favorite mulatto slave, Jane Bryant (wife of his free, black overseer there), and her four children. A dispute developed between Jane Bryant and Matson's white housekeeper, who threatened to have Jane and her children returned to slavery in the South. With the help of local abolitionists, the Bryants fled. They were apprehended, and, in an affidavit sworn out before a justice of the peace, Matson claimed them as his property. Lacking the required

certificates of freedom, Bryant and the children were confined to local county jail as the case was argued in court. Lincoln lost the case, and Bryant and her children were declared free. They were later resettled in Liberia.¹

In 1842 Lincoln married Mary Todd, who came from one of Kentucky's most prominent slave-holding families.² While serving as an elected representative in the Illinois legislature, he persuaded his fellow Whigs to support Zachary Taylor, a slave owner, in his successful 1848 bid for the Presidency.³ Lincoln was also a strong supporter of the Illinois law that forbid marriage between whites and blacks.⁴

"If all earthly power were given me," said Lincoln in a speech delivered in Peoria, Illinois, on October 16, 1854, "I should not know what to do, as to the existing institution [of slavery]. My first impulse would be to free all the slaves, and send them to Liberia, to their own native land." After acknowledging that this plan's "sudden execution is impossible," he asked whether freed blacks should be made "politically and socially our equals?" "My own feelings will not admit of this," he said, "and [even] if mine would, we well know that those of the great mass of white people will not. . . . We can not, then, make them equals."⁵

One of Lincoln's most representative public statements on the question of racial relations was given in a speech at Springfield, Illinois, on June 26, 1857.⁶ In this address, he explained why he opposed the Kansas-Nebraska Act, which would have admitted Kansas into the Union as a slave state:

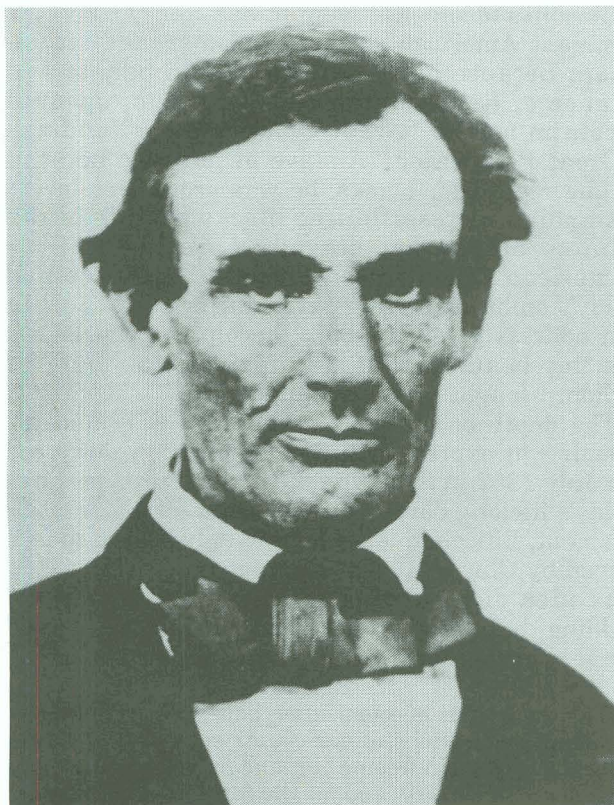
There is a natural disgust in the minds of nearly all white people to the idea of indiscriminate amalgamation of the white and black races. . . . A separation of the races is the only perfect preventive of amalgamation, but as an immediate separation is impossible, the next best thing is to keep them apart where they are not already together. If white and black people never get together in Kansas, they will never mix blood in Kansas . . .

Racial separation, Lincoln went on to say, "must be effected by colonization" of the country's blacks to a foreign land. "The enterprise is a difficult one," he acknowledged,

but "where there is a will there is a way," and what colonization needs most is a hearty will. Will springs

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from the two elements of moral sense and self-interest. Let us be brought to believe it is morally right, and, at the same time, favorable to, or, at least, not against, our interest, to transfer the African to his native clime, and we shall find a way to do it, however great the task may be.



Lincoln at the time of the Lincoln-Douglas debates of 1858

To affirm the humanity of blacks, Lincoln continued, was more likely to strengthen public sentiment on behalf of colonization than the Democrats' efforts to "crush all sympathy for him, and cultivate and excite hatred and disgust against him . . ." Resettlement ("colonization") would not succeed, Lincoln seemed to argue, unless accompanied by humanitarian concern for blacks, and some respect for their rights and abilities. By apparently denying the black person's humanity, supporters of slavery were laying the groundwork for "the indefinite outspreading of his bondage." The Republican program of restricting slavery to where it presently existed, he said, had the long-range benefit of denying to slave holders an opportunity to sell their surplus bondsmen at high prices in new slave territories, and thus encouraged them to support a process of gradual emancipation involving resettlement of the excess outside of the country.

Earlier Resettlement Plans

The view that America's apparently intractable racial problem should be solved by removing blacks

from this country and resettling them elsewhere — "colonization" or "repatriation" — was not a new one. As early as 1714 a New Jersey man proposed sending blacks to Africa. In 1777 a Virginia legislature committee, headed by future President Thomas Jefferson (himself a major slave owner), proposed a plan of gradual emancipation and resettlement of the state's slaves. In 1815, an enterprising free black from Massachusetts named Paul Cuffe transported, at his own expense, 38 free blacks to West Africa. His undertaking showed that at least some free blacks were eager to resettle in a country of their own, and suggested what might be possible with public and even government support.⁷

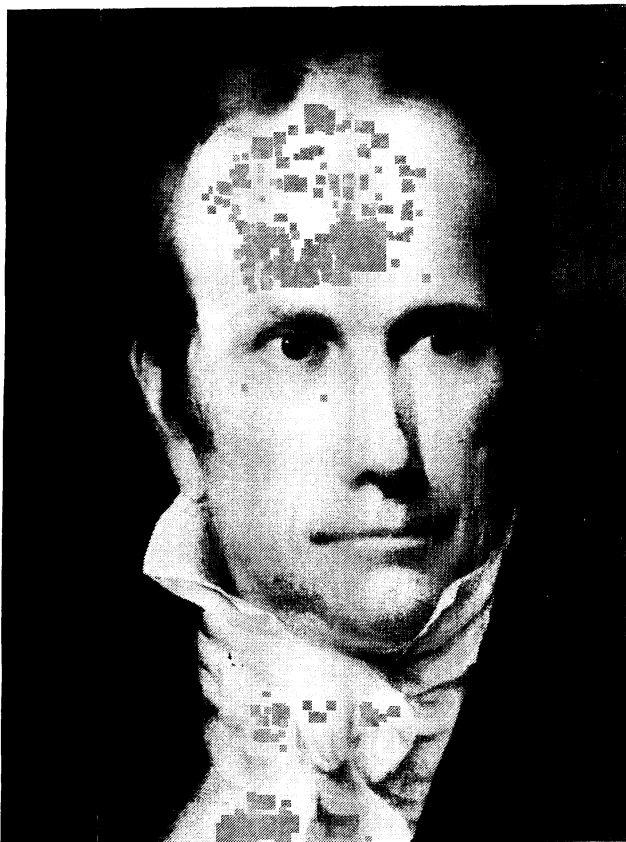
In December 1816, a group of distinguished Americans met in Washington, DC, to establish an organization to promote the cause of black resettlement. The "American Colonization Society" soon won backing from some of the young nation's most prominent citizens. Henry Clay, Francis Scott Key, John Randolph, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, James Monroe, Bushrod Washington, Charles Carroll, Millard Fillmore, John Marshall, Roger B. Taney, Andrew Jackson, Daniel Webster, Stephen A. Douglas, and Abraham Lincoln were members. Clay presided at the group's first meeting.⁸

Measures to resettle blacks in Africa were soon undertaken. Society member Charles Fenton Mercer played an important role in getting Congress to pass the Anti-Slave Trading Act of March 1819, which appropriated \$100,000 to transport blacks to Africa. In enforcing the Act, Mercer suggested to President James Monroe that if blacks were simply returned to the coast of Africa and released, they would probably be re-enslaved, and possibly some returned to the United States. Accordingly, and in cooperation with the Society, Monroe sent agents to acquire territory on Africa's West coast — a step that led to the founding of the country now known as Liberia. Its capital city was named Monrovia in honor of the American President.⁹

With crucial Society backing, black settlers began arriving from the United States in 1822. While only free blacks were at first brought over, after 1827, slaves were freed expressly for the purpose of transporting them to Liberia. In 1847, black settlers declared Liberia an independent republic, with an American-style flag and constitution.¹⁰

By 1832 the legislatures of more than a dozen states (at that time there were only 24), had given official approval to the Society, including at least three slave-holding states.¹¹ Indiana's legislature, for example, passed the following joint resolution on January 16, 1850:¹²

Be it resolved by the General Assembly of the State of Indiana: That our Senators and Representatives in Congress be, and they are hereby requested, in the name of the State of Indiana, to call for a change of national policy on the subject of the African Slave



Because of his extraordinary political skill, Henry Clay won national acclaim as the "Great Compromiser." Lincoln called him "my beau ideal of a statesman." Clay served as president of the American Colonization Society, which sought the resettlement of blacks outside of the United States.

Trade, and that they require a settlement of the coast of Africa with colored men from the United States, and procure such changes in our relations with England as will permit us to transport colored men from this country to Africa, with whom to effect said settlement.

In January 1858, Missouri Congressman Francis P. Blair, Jr., introduced a resolution in the House of Representatives to set up a committee

to inquire into the expediency of providing for the acquisition of territory either in the Central or South American states, to be colonized with colored persons from the United States who are now free, or who may hereafter become free, and who may be willing to settle in such territory as a dependency of the United States, with ample guarantees of their personal and political rights.

Blair, quoting Thomas Jefferson, stated that blacks could never be accepted as the equals of whites, and, consequently, urged support for a dual policy of emancipation and deportation, similar to Spain's expulsion of the Moors. Blair went on to

argue that the territory acquired for the purpose would also serve as a bulwark against any further encroachment by England in the Central and South American regions.¹³

Lincoln's Support for Resettlement

Lincoln's ideological mentor was Henry Clay, the eminent American scholar, diplomat, and statesman. Because of his skill in the US Senate and House of Representatives, Clay won national acclaim as the "Great Compromiser" and the "Great Pacificator." A slave owner who had humane regard for blacks, he was prominent in the campaign to resettle free blacks outside of the United States, and served as president of the American Colonization Society. Lincoln joined Clay's embryonic Whig party during the 1830s. In an address given in 1858, Lincoln described Clay as "my beau ideal of a statesman, the man for whom I fought all of my humble life."¹⁴

The depth of Lincoln's devotion to Clay and his ideals was expressed in a moving eulogy delivered in July 1852 in Springfield, Illinois. After praising Clay's lifelong devotion to the cause of black resettlement, Lincoln quoted approvingly from a speech given by Clay in 1827: "There is a moral fitness in the idea of returning to Africa her children," adding that if Africa offered no refuge, blacks could be sent to another tropical land. Lincoln concluded:¹⁵

If as the friends of colonization hope, the present and coming generations of our countrymen shall by any means succeed in freeing our land from the dangerous presence of slavery, and, at the same time, in restoring a captive people to their long-lost fatherland, with bright prospects for the future, and this too, so gradually, that neither races nor individuals shall have suffered by the change, it will indeed be a glorious consummation.

In January 1855, Lincoln addressed a meeting of the Illinois branch of the Colonization Society. The surviving outline of his speech suggests that it consisted largely of a well-informed and sympathetic account of the history of the resettlement campaign.¹⁶

In supporting "colonization" of the blacks, a plan that might be regarded as a "final solution" to the nation's race question, Lincoln was upholding the views of some of America's most respected figures.

Lincoln-Douglas Debates of 1858

In 1858 Lincoln was nominated by the newly-formed Republican Party to challenge Steven Douglas, a Democrat, for his Illinois seat in the US Senate. During the campaign, "Little Giant" Douglas focused on the emotion-charged issue of race relations. He accused Lincoln, and Republicans in general, of advocating the political and social equality of the white and black races, and of thereby promoting racial amalgamation. Lincoln

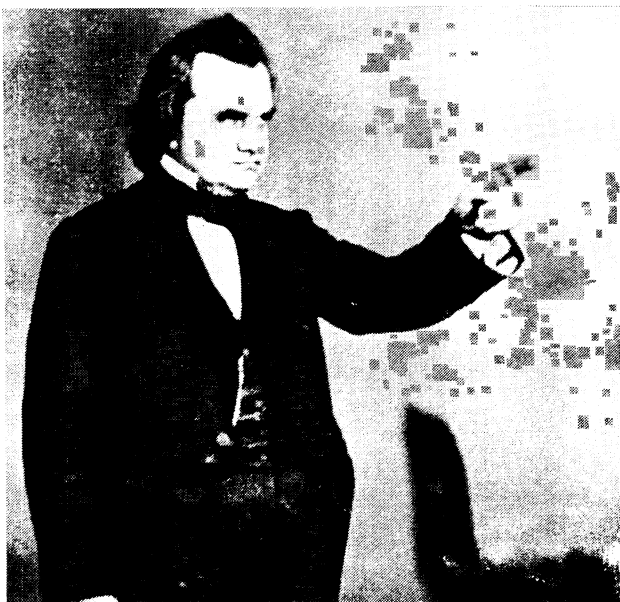
responded by strenuously denying the charge, and by arguing that because slavery was the chief cause of miscegenation in the United States, restricting its further spread into the western territories and new states would, in fact, reduce the possibility of race mixing. Lincoln thus came close to urging support for his party because it best represented white people's interests.

Between late August and mid-October, 1858, Lincoln and Douglas travelled together around the state to confront each other in seven historic debates. On August 21, before a crowd of 10,000 at Ottawa, Lincoln declared:¹⁷

I have no purpose directly or indirectly to interfere with the institution of slavery in the states where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so.

He continued:

I have no purpose to introduce political and social equality between the white and black races. There is physical difference between the two which, in my judgment, will probably forever forbid their living together upon the footing of perfect equality, and inasmuch as it becomes a necessity that there must be a difference, I, as well as Judge Douglas, am in favor

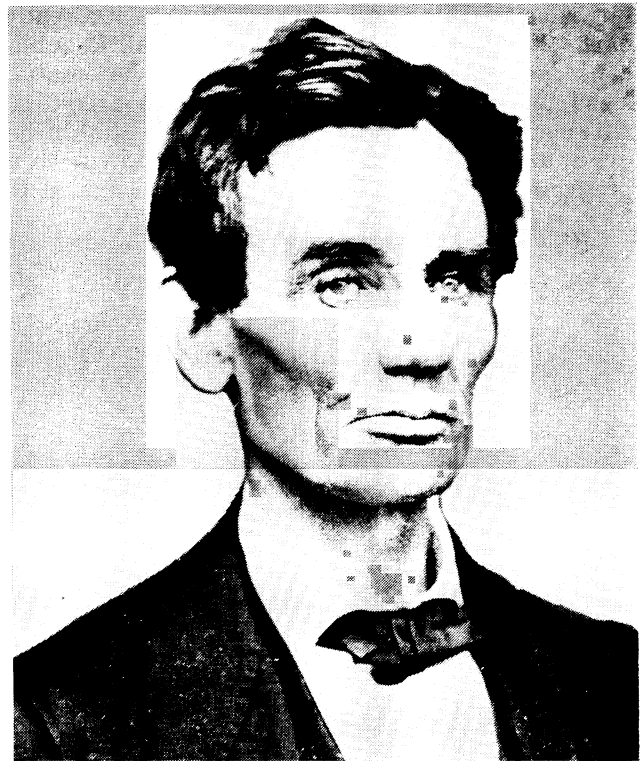


Stephen A. Douglas, known as the "Little Giant" of Illinois, successfully fended off Lincoln's 1858 challenge to his US Senate seat. The two men confronted each other in a series of well-publicized debates that elevated Lincoln to national prominence.

of the race to which I belong having the superior position.

Many people accepted the rumors spread by Doug-

las supporters that Lincoln favored social equality of the races. Before the start of the September 18 debate at Charleston, Illinois, an elderly man approached Lincoln in a hotel and asked him if the stories were true. Recounting the encounter later before a crowd of 15,000, Lincoln declared:¹⁸



Lincoln as a presidential candidate, 1860

I will say then that I am not, nor ever have been, in favor of bringing about in any way the social and political equality of the white and black races; I am not nor ever have been in favor of making voters or jurors of negroes, nor of qualifying them to hold office, nor to intermarry with white people.

He continued:

I will say in addition to this that there is a physical difference between the white and black races which I believe will forever forbid the two races living together on terms of social and political equality. And inasmuch as they cannot so live, while they do remain together there must be the position of superior and inferior, and I, as much as any other man, am in favor of having the superior position assigned to the white race.

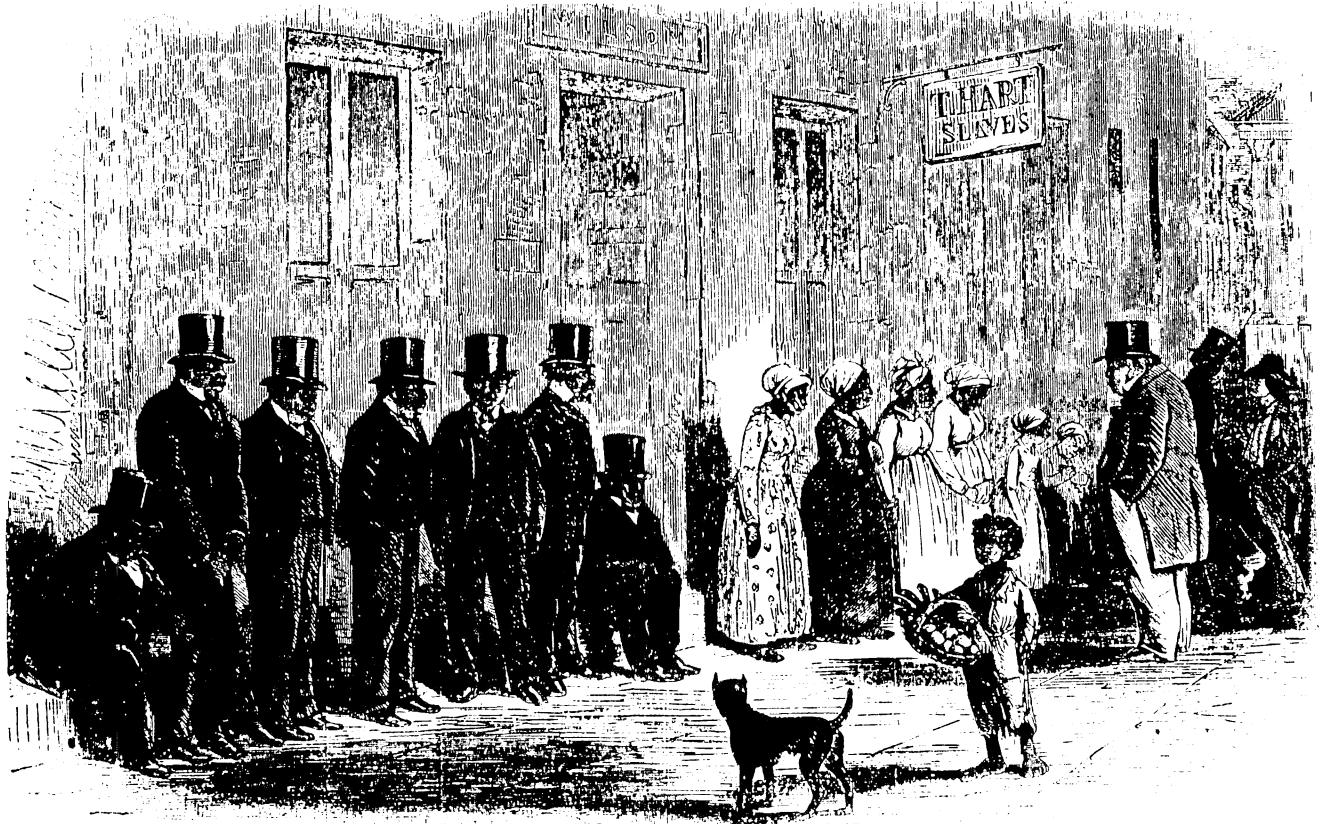
Candidate for President

Though he failed in his bid for the Senate seat, the Lincoln-Douglas debates thrust "Honest Abe" into the national spotlight.¹⁹ In 1860, the Republican Party passed over prominent abolitionists such as William H. Seward and Salmon P. Chase to nominate Lincoln as its presidential candidate.

In those days, presidential contenders did not make public speeches after their nomination. In the most widely reprinted of his pre-nomination speeches, delivered at Cooper Union in New York City on February 27, 1860, Lincoln expressed his agreement with the leaders of the infant American republic that slavery is “an evil not to be extended, but to be tolerated and protected” where it already exists. “This is all Republicans ask — all Republicans desire — in relation to slavery,” he emphasized, underscoring the words in his prepared text. After stating that any emancipation should be gradual and carried out in conjunction with a program of scheduled deportation, he went on to

the “all men are created equal” passage of the Declaration of Independence, though without directly mentioning either the Declaration or non-whites. Another section, designed to attract conservative voters, recognized the right of each state to conduct “its own domestic institutions” as it pleased — “domestic institutions” being an euphemism for slavery. Still another, somewhat equivocally worded, plank, upheld the right and duty of Congress to legislate slavery in the territories “when necessary.”²¹

On election night, November 7, 1860, Abraham Lincoln was the choice of 39 percent of the voters, with no support from the Deep South. The remain-



Black slaves displayed for sale at a market in New Orleans. The men in silk hats, offered as domestic servants, fetched from \$600 to \$800 each.

cite Thomas Jefferson:²⁰

In the language of Mr. Jefferson, uttered many years ago, “It is still in our power to direct the process of emancipation, and deportation, peaceably, and in such slow degrees, as that the evil will wear off insensibly; and in their places be, *pari passu* [on an equal basis], filled up by free white laborers.”

On the critical question of slavery, the Republican party platform was not altogether clear. Like most documents of its kind, it included sections designed to appeal to a wide variety of voters. One plank, meant to appease radicals and abolitionists, quoted

der had cast ballots either for Stephen A. Douglas of the Northern Democratic Party, John C. Breckinridge of the Southern Democratic Party, or John Bell of the Constitutional Union Party. Still, Lincoln won a decisive majority in the electoral college.²²

By election day, six southern Governors and virtually every Senator and Representative from the seven states of the lower South had gone on record as favoring secession if Lincoln were elected.²³ In December, Congress met in a final attempt to reach a compromise on the slavery question. Senator John H. Crittenden of Kentucky proposed

an amendment to the Constitution that would guarantee the institution of slavery against federal interference in those places where it was already established.²⁴ A more controversial provision would extend the old Missouri compromise line to the west coast, thereby permitting slavery in the southwest territories.

On December 20, the day South Carolina voted to secede from the Union, Lincoln told a major Republican party figure, Thurlow Weed, that he had no qualms about endorsing the Crittenden amendment if it would restrict slavery to the states where it was already established, and that Congress should recommend to the Northern states that they repeal their "personal liberty" laws that hampered the return of fugitive slaves. However, Lincoln said, he would not support any proposal to extend slavery into the western territories. The Crittenden Amendment failed.²⁵

Southern Fears

Less than one third of the white families in the South had any direct connection with slavery, either as owners or as persons who hired slave labor from others. Moreover, fewer than 2,300 of the one and a half million white families in the South owned 50 or more slaves, and could therefore be regarded as slave-holding magnates.²⁶

The vast majority of Southerners thus had no vested interest in retaining or extending slavery. But incitement by Northern abolitionists, where fewer than 500,000 blacks lived, provoked fears in the South, where the black population was concentrated, of a violent black uprising against whites. (In South Carolina, the majority of the population was black.) Concerns that the writings and speeches of white radicals might incite blacks to anti-white rampage, rape and murder were not entirely groundless. Southerners were mindful of the black riots in New York City of 1712 and 1741, the French experience in Haiti (where insurgent blacks had driven out or massacred almost the entire white population), and the bungled effort by religious fanatic John Brown in 1859 to organize an uprising of black slaves.

What worried Southerners most about the prospect of an end to slavery was fear of what the newly-freed blacks might do. Southern dread of Lincoln was inflamed by the region's newspapers and slave-owning politicians, who portrayed the President-elect as a pawn of radical abolitionists. Much was made of Lincoln's widely-quoted words from a June 1858 speech:²⁷

A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. . . I do not expect the house to fall; but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing, or all the other.

During the critical four-month period between

election and inauguration days, Southern Unionists strongly urged the President-elect to issue a definitive public statement on the slavery issue that would calm rapidly-growing Southern fears. Mindful of the way that newspapers in the slave-holding states had either ignored or twisted his earlier public statements on this issue, Lincoln chose to express himself cautiously. To the editor of the *Missouri Republican*, for example, he wrote:²⁸

I could say nothing which I have not already said, and which is in print and accessible to the public.

Please pardon me for suggesting that if the papers like yours, which heretofore have persistently garbled and misrepresented what I have said, will now fully and fairly place it before their readers, there can be no further misunderstanding. I beg you to believe me sincere, when . . . I urge it as the true cure for real uneasiness in the country . . .

The Republican newspapers now, and for some time past, are and have been republishing copious extracts from my many published speeches, which would at once reach the whole public if your class of papers would also publish them. I am not at liberty to shift my ground — that is out of the question. If I thought a *repetition* would do any good, I would make it. But my judgment is it would do positive harm. The secessionists, *per se* believing they had alarmed me, would clamor all the louder.

Lincoln also addressed the decisive issue in correspondence with Alexander H. Stephens, who would soon become Vice President of the Confederacy. Stephens was an old and much admired acquaintance of Lincoln's, a one-time fellow Whig and Congressman. Having seen reports of a pro-Union speech in Georgia by Stephens, Lincoln wrote to express his thanks. Stephens responded with a request that the President-elect strike a blow on behalf of Southern Unionists by clearly expressing his views. In a private letter of December 22, 1860, Lincoln replied:²⁹

Do the people of the south really entertain fears that a Republican administration would, *directly or indirectly*, interfere with their slaves, or with them, about their slaves? If they do, I wish to assure you, as once a friend, and still, I hope, not an enemy, there is no cause for such fears.

Lincoln went on to sum up the issue as he saw it: "You think slavery is *right* and ought to be extended; while we think it is *wrong* and ought to be restricted. That I suppose is the rub. It certainly is the only substantial difference between us."

To Horace Greeley, editor of the *New York Tribune*, who had passed along a report of a rabid anti-Lincoln harangue in the Mississippi legislature, Lincoln wrote that "madman" there had quite misrepresented his views. He stated he was not "pledged to the ultimate extinction of slavery," and that he did not "hold the black man to be the equal of the white."³⁰

When a Mississippian appeared at a reception for Lincoln in the Illinois statehouse, and boldly announced he was a secessionist, Lincoln responded by saying that he was opposed to any interference with slavery where it existed. He gave the same sort of general assurance to a number of callers and correspondents. He also wrote a few anonymous editorials for the *Illinois State Journal*, the Republican newspaper of Springfield. Additionally, he composed a few lines for a speech delivered by Senator Trumbull at the Republican victory celebration in Springfield on November 20. In those lines Lincoln pledged that "each and all" of the states would be "left in as complete control of their own affairs" as ever.³¹

Inauguration

Abraham Lincoln took the oath as President on March 4, 1861. Among the first words of his Inaugural Address was a pledge (repeating words from an August 1858 speech) intended to placate Southern apprehensions: "I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the states where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so." Referring to the proposed Crittenden amendment, which would make explicit constitutional protection of slavery where it already existed, he said, "I have no objection to its being made express, and irrevocable." He also promised to support legislation for the capture and return of runaway slaves.³²

At the same time, though, Lincoln emphasized that "no state, upon its own mere motion, can lawfully get out of the Union." With regard to those states that already proclaimed their secession from the Union, he said:

I shall take care, as the Constitution itself expressly enjoins upon me, that the laws of the Union be faithfully executed in all the states. Doing this I deem to be only a simple duty on my part; and I shall perform it, so far as practicable, unless my rightful masters, the American people, shall withhold the requisite means, or, in some authoritative manner, direct the contrary.

In his masterful multi-volume study of the background and course of the Civil War, American historian Allan Nevins attempted to identify the conflict's principle underlying cause:³³

The main root of the conflict (and there were minor roots) was the problem of slavery with its complementary problem of race-adjustment; the main source of the tragedy was the refusal of either section to face these conjoined problems squarely and pay the heavy costs of a peaceful settlement. Had it not been for the difference in race, the slavery issue would have presented no great difficulties. But as the racial gulf existed, the South inarticulately but clearly perceived that elimination of this issue would still leave it the terrible problem of the Negro. . .

A heavy responsibility for the failure of America in this period rests with this Southern leadership, which lacked imagination, ability, and courage. But the North was by no means without its full share, for the North equally refused to give a constructive examination to the central question of slavery as linked with race adjustment. This was because of two principal reasons. Most abolitionists and many other sentimental-minded Northerners simply denied that the problem existed. Regarding all Negroes as white men with dark skins, whom a few years of schooling would bring abreast of the dominant race, they thought that no difficult adjustment was required. A much more numerous body of Northerners would have granted that a great and terrible task of race adjustment existed — but they were reluctant to help shoulder any part of it. . . Indiana, Illinois and even Kansas were unwilling to take a single additional person of color.

Outbreak of War

Dramatic events were swiftly creating enormous problems for the new President, who had greatly underestimated the depth of secessionist feeling in the South.³⁴ In January and early February, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana and Texas followed South Carolina's example and left the Union. Florida troops fired on the federal stronghold of Fort Pickens. When South Carolina seceded, she claimed as rightfully hers all US government property within her borders, including federal forts and arsenals. While announcing a willingness to pay the federal government for at least a share of the cost of improvements it had made, South Carolina insisted that these properties belonged to the state, and would no longer tolerate the presence of a "foreign" power upon her soil. The other newly-seceding states took the same position.³⁵

On the day Lincoln took the presidential oath, the federal government still controlled four forts inside the new Confederacy. In Florida there were Forts Taylor, Jefferson, and Pickens, the first two of which seemed secure, while in South Carolina there was Fort Sumter, which was almost entirely encircled by hostile forces.³⁶ While historians do not agree whether Lincoln deliberately sought to provoke an attack by his decision to re-supply the Fort, it is known that on April 9, while the bombardment of the stronghold was underway, the new President received a delegation of Virginia Unionists at the White House. Lincoln reminded them of his inaugural pledge that there would be "no invasion — not using force," beyond what was necessary to hold federal government sites and to collect customs duties. "But if, as now appeared to be true, an unprovoked assault has been made upon Fort Sumter, I shall hold myself at liberty to repossess, if I can, like places which have been seized before the Government was devolved upon me."³⁷

In the aftermath of the Confederate seizure of Fort Sumter in mid-April, Lincoln called upon the

states to provide 75,000 soldiers to put down the rebellion. Virginia, Tennessee, Arkansas and North Carolina responded by leaving the Union and joining the newly-formed "Confederate States of America." This increased the size of the Confederacy by a third, and almost doubled its population and economic resources. Remaining with the Union, though, were four slave-holding border states — Delaware, Missouri, Maryland and Kentucky — and, predictably, the slave-holding District of Columbia.

The American Civil War of 1861-1865 — or the "War Between the States," as many Southerners call it — eventually claimed the lives of 360,000 in the Union forces, and an estimated 258,000 among

gress, which responded to Lincoln's cancellation of Frémont's order by passing, on August 6, 1861, the (first) Confiscation Act. It provided that any property, including slaves, used with the owner's consent in aiding and abetting insurrection against the United States, was the lawful subject of prize and capture wherever found.³⁸

In May 1862, Union General David Hunter issued an order declaring all slaves in Georgia, Florida and South Carolina to be free. Lincoln promptly revoked the order. An irate Congress responded by passing, in July, a second Confiscation Act that declared "forever free" all slaves whose owners were in rebellion, whether or not the slaves were used for military purposes. Lincoln refused to sign



Confederate dead at the battle of Antietam (Sharpsburg, Maryland), September 17, 1862. More than 23,000 men lost their lives in this single clash. Although the battle itself was a draw, the Confederate army under General Lee withdrew from the field.

the Confederates, in addition to hundreds of thousands of maimed and wounded. It was by far the most destructive war in American history.

Even after fighting began in earnest, Lincoln stuck to his long-held position on the slavery issue by countermanning orders by Union generals to free slaves. In July 1861, General John C. Frémont — the Republican party's unsuccessful 1856 Presidential candidate — declared martial law in Missouri, and announced that all slaves of owners in the state who opposed the Union were free. President Lincoln immediately canceled the order. Because the Southern states no longer sent representatives to Washington, abolitionists and radical Republicans wielded exceptional power in Con-

the Act until it was amended, stating he thought it an unconditional bill of attainder. Although he did not veto the amended law, Lincoln expressed his dissatisfaction with it. Furthermore, he did not faithfully enforce either of the Confiscation Acts.³⁹

Deaths in Union "Contraband Camps"

Slaves seized under the Confiscation Acts, as well as runaway slaves who turned themselves in to Union forces, were held in so-called "contraband" camps. In his message to the Confederate Congress in the fall of 1863, President Jefferson Davis sharply criticized Union treatment of these blacks. After describing the starvation and suffering in

these camps, he said: "There is little hazard in predicting that in all localities where the enemy have a temporary foothold, the Negroes, who under our care increased sixfold . . . will have been reduced by mortality during the war to no more than one-half their previous number." However exaggerated Davis' words may have been, it remains a grim fact that many blacks lost their lives in these internment camps, and considerably more suffered terribly as victims of hunger, exposure and neglect. In 1864, one Union officer called the death rate in these camps "frightful," and said that "most competent judges place it as no less than twenty-five percent in the last two years."⁴⁰

The Chiriqui Resettlement Plan

Even before he took office, Lincoln was pleased to note widespread public support for "colonization" of the country's blacks.⁴¹ "In 1861-1862, there was widespread support among conservative Republicans and Democrats for the colonization abroad of Negroes emancipated by the war," historian James M. McPherson has noted. At the same time, free blacks in parts of the North were circulating a petition asking Congress to purchase a tract of land in Central America as a site for their resettlement.⁴²

In spite of the pressing demands imposed by the war, Lincoln soon took time to implement his long-standing plan for resettling blacks outside the United States.

Ambrose W. Thompson, a Philadelphian who had grown rich in coastal shipping, provided the new president with what seemed to be a good opportunity. Thompson had obtained control of several hundred thousand acres in the Chiriqui region of what is now Panama, and had formed the "Chiriqui Improvement Company." He proposed transporting liberated blacks from the United States to the Central American region, where they would mine the coal that was supposedly there in abundance. This coal would be sold to the US Navy, with the resulting profits used to sustain the black colony, including development of plantations of cotton, sugar, coffee, and rice. The Chiriqui project would also help to extend US commercial dominance over tropical America.⁴³

Negotiations to realize the plan began in May 1861, and on August 8, Thompson made a formal proposal to Secretary of the Navy Gideon Wells to deliver coal from Chiriqui at one-half the price the government was then paying. Meanwhile, Lincoln had referred the proposal to his brother-in-law, Ninian W. Edwards, who, on August 9, 1861, enthusiastically endorsed the proposed contract.⁴⁴

Appointing a commission to investigate the Thompson proposal, Lincoln referred its findings to Francis P. Blair, Sr. Endorsing a government contract with the Chiriqui Improvement Company even more strongly than Edwards had, the senior

Blair believed the main purpose of such a contract should be to utilize the area controlled by Thompson to "solve" the black question. He repeated Jefferson's view that blacks would ultimately have to be deported from the United States, reviewed Lincoln's own endorsement of resettlement, and discussed the activities of his son, Missouri Representative Francis P. Blair, Jr., on behalf of deportation. Blair concluded his lengthy report with a recommendation that Henry T. Blow, US Minister to Venezuela, be sent to Chiriqui to make an examination for the government.⁴⁵

Lincoln ordered his Secretary of War, Simon Cameron, to release Thompson from his military duties so he could escort Blow to Central America⁴⁶

for the purpose of reconnaissance of, and a report upon the lands, and harbors of the Isthmus of Chiriqui; the fitness of the lands to the colonization of the Negro race; the practicability of connecting the said harbors by a railroad; and the works which will be necessary for the Chiriqui Company to erect to protect the colonists as they may arrive, as well as for the protection and defense of the harbors at the termini of said road.

Cameron was to provide Thompson with the necessary equipment and assistants. The mission was to be carried out under sealed orders with every precaution for secrecy,⁴⁷ because Lincoln did not have legal authority to undertake such an expedition.

While Blow was investigating the Chiriqui area, Lincoln called Delaware Congressman George Fisher to the White House in November 1861 to discuss compensated emancipation of the slaves in that small state — where the 1860 census had enumerated only 507 slave-holders, owning fewer than 1,800 slaves. The President asked Fisher to determine whether the Delaware legislature could be persuaded to free slaves in the state if the government compensated the owners for them. Once the plan proved feasible in Delaware, the President hoped, he might be able to persuade the other border states and, eventually, even the secessionist states, to adopt it. With assistance from Lincoln, Fisher drew up a bill to be presented to the state legislature when it met in late December. It provided that when the federal government had appropriated money to pay an average of \$500 for each slave, emancipation would go into effect. As soon as it was made public, though, an acrimonious debate broke out, with party rancor and pro-slavery sentiment combining to defeat the proposed legislation.⁴⁸

"Absolute Necessity"

In his first annual message to Congress on December 3, 1861, President Lincoln proposed that persons liberated by the fighting should be deemed free and

that, in any event, steps be taken for colonizing [them] . . . at some place, or places, in a climate congenial to them. It might be well to consider, too, whether the free colored people already in the United States could not, so far as individuals may desire, be included in such colonization.

This effort, Lincoln recognized, “may involve the acquiring of territory, and also the appropriation of money beyond that to be expended in the territorial acquisition.” Some form of resettlement, he said, amounts to an “absolute necessity.”⁴⁹

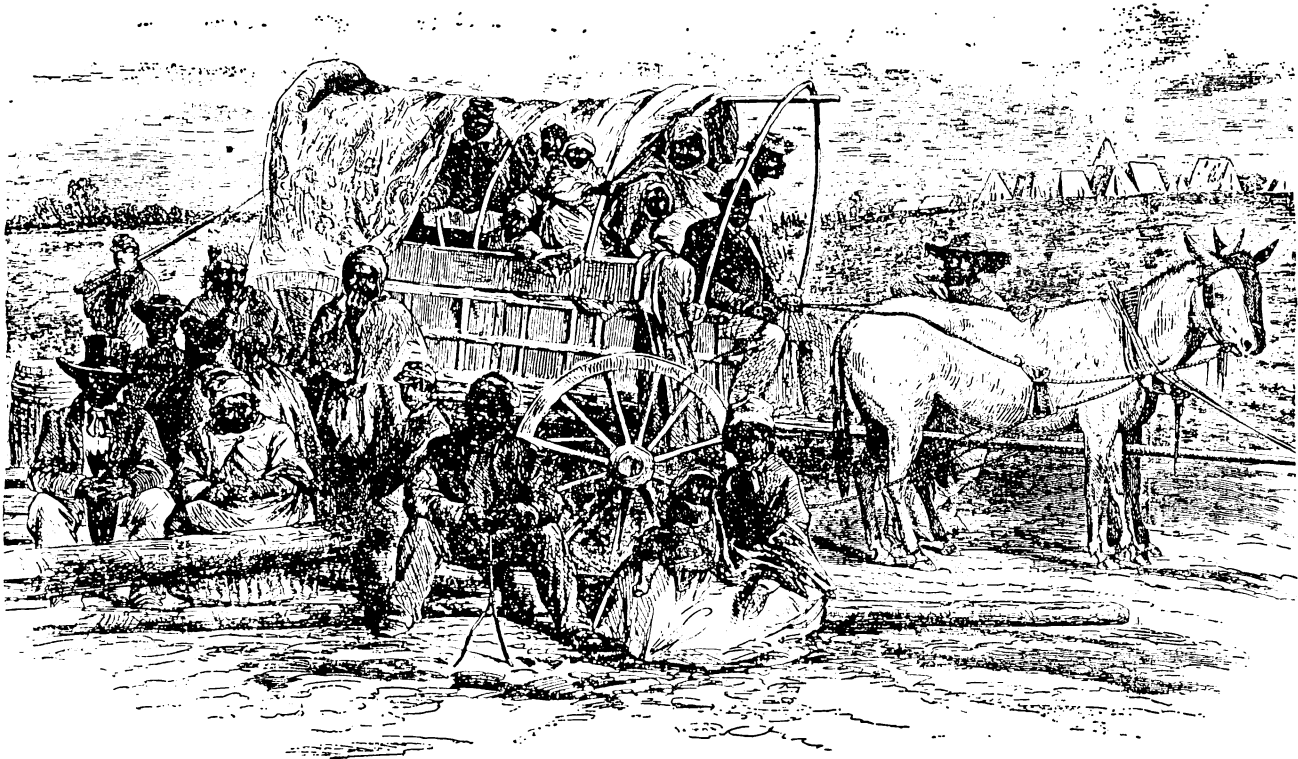
Growing Clamor for Emancipation

Lincoln’s faithful enforcement of the Fugitive

Resolved, that the United States ought to cooperate with any state which may adopt gradual abolishment of slavery, giving to such state pecuniary aid, to be used by such state in its discretion, to compensate for the inconvenience, public and private, produced by such change of system.

In a letter to *New York Times* editor Henry J. Raymond urging support for the resolution, Lincoln explained that one million dollars, or less than a half-day’s cost of the war, would buy all the slaves in Delaware, and that \$174 million, or less than 87 days’ cost of the war, would purchase all the slaves in the border states and the District of Columbia.⁵²

Although the resolution lacked authority of law,



Black slaves seized by Union forces during the Civil War, or who made their way to Union lines, were interned in “contraband” camps. This contemporary illustration from *Harper’s Weekly* depicts the arrival of slaves at a “contraband” camp. Conditions in such centers were often dreadful, and many of the internees died of disease and neglect.

Slave Law not only filled Washington, DC, jails with runaway slaves waiting to be claimed by their owners, but also enraged many who loathed slavery. In an effort to appease his party’s abolitionist faction, Lincoln urged that the United States formally recognize the black republics of Haiti and Liberia, a proposal that Congress accepted.⁵⁰

Lincoln realized that the growing clamor to abolish slavery threatened to seriously jeopardize the support he needed to prosecute the war to preserve the Union. Accordingly, on March 6, 1862, he called on Congress to endorse a carefully worded resolution:⁵¹

and was merely a declaration of intent, it alarmed representatives from the loyal slave-holding border states. Missouri Congressman Frank P. Blair, Jr. (who, in 1868, would campaign as the Democratic party’s vice presidential candidate) spoke against the resolution in a speech in the House on April 11, 1862. Emancipation of the slaves, he warned, would be a terrible mistake until arrangements were first made to resettle the blacks abroad. Blair spoke of shipping them to areas south of the Rio Grande.

In spite of such opposition, though, moderate Republicans and Democrats joined to approve the resolution, which was passed by Congress and

signed by Lincoln on April 10, 1862. Not a single border state lawmaker had voted for the measure, however.⁵³

In an effort to assuage such concerns, in July Lincoln called border state Congressmen and Senators to a White House meeting at which he explained that the recently-passed resolution involved no claim of federal authority over slavery in the states, and that it left the issue under state control. Seeking to calm fears that emancipation would suddenly result in many freed Negroes in their midst, he again spoke of resettlement of blacks as the solution. "Room in South America for colonization can be obtained cheaply, and in abundance," said the President. "And when numbers shall be large enough to be company and encouragement for one another, the freed people will not be so reluctant to go."⁵⁴

Congress Votes Funds for Resettlement

In 1860, the 3,185 slaves in the District of Columbia were owned by just two percent of the District's residents. In April 1862, Lincoln arranged to have a bill introduced in Congress that would compensate District slave-holders an average of \$300 for each slave. An additional \$100,000 was appropriated⁵⁵

to be expended under the direction of the President of the United States, to aid in the colonization and settlement of such free persons of African descent now residing in said District, including those to be liberated by this act, as may desire to emigrate to the Republic of Hayti or Liberia, or such other country beyond the limits of the United States as the President may determine.

When he signed the bill into law on April 16, Lincoln stated: "I am gratified that the two principles of compensation, and colonization, are both recognized, and practically applied in the act."⁵⁶

Two months later, as part of the (second) Confiscation Act of July 1862, Congress appropriated an additional half-million dollars for the President's use in resettling blacks who came under Union military control. Rejecting criticism from prominent "radicals" such as Senator Charles Sumner, most Senators and Representatives expressed support for the bold project in a joint resolution declaring⁵⁷

that the President is hereby authorized to make provision for the transportation, colonization and settlement in some tropical country beyond the limits of the United States, of such persons of African race, made free by the provisions of this act, as may be willing to emigrate . . .

Lincoln now had Congressional authority and \$600,000 in authorized funds to proceed with his plan for resettlement.

Obstacles

Serious obstacles remained, however. Secretary of the Interior Caleb B. Smith informed the President that Liberia was out of the question as a destination for resettling blacks because of the inhospitable climate, the unwillingness of blacks to travel so far, and the great expense involved in transporting people such a vast distance. Haiti was ruled out because of the low level of civilization there, because Catholic influence was so strong there, and because of fears that the Spanish might soon take control of the Caribbean country. Those blacks who had expressed a desire to emigrate, Secretary Smith went on to explain, preferred to remain in the western hemisphere. The only really acceptable site was Chiriqui, Smith concluded, because of its relative proximity to the United States, and because of the availability of coal there.⁵⁸ Meanwhile, the United States minister in Brazil expressed the view that the country's abundance of land and shortage of labor made it a good site for resettling America's blacks.⁵⁹

In mid-May 1862, Lincoln received a paper from Reverend James Mitchell that laid out arguments for resettling the country's black population:⁶⁰

Our republican system was meant for a homogeneous people. As long as blacks continue to live with the whites they constitute a threat to the national life. Family life may also collapse and the increase of mixed breed bastards may some day challenge the supremacy of the white man.

Mitchell went on to recommend the gradual deportation of America's blacks to Central America and Mexico. "That region had once known a great empire and could become one again," he stated. "This continent could then be divided between a race of mixed bloods and Anglo-Americans." Lincoln was apparently impressed with Mitchell's arguments. A short time later, he appointed him as his Commissioner of Emigration.

A Historic White House Meeting

Eager to proceed with the Chiriqui project, on August 14, 1862, Lincoln met with five free black ministers, the first time a delegation of their race was invited to the White House on a matter of public policy. The President made no effort to engage in conversation with the visitors, who were bluntly informed that they had been invited to listen. Lincoln did not mince words, but candidly told the group:⁶¹

You and we are different races. We have between us a broader difference than exists between almost any other two races. Whether it is right or wrong I need not discuss, but this physical difference is a great disadvantage to us both, as I think your race suffers very greatly, many of them, by living among us, while ours suffers from your presence. In a word, we suffer

on each side. If this is admitted, it affords a reason at least why we should be separated.

... Even when you cease to be slaves, you are yet far removed from being placed on an equality with the white race ... The aspiration of men is to enjoy equality with the best when free, but on this broad continent, not a single man of your race is made the equal of a single man of ours. Go where you are treated the best, and the ban is still upon you.

... We look to our condition, owing to the existence of the two races on this continent. I need not recount to you the effects upon white men growing out of the institution of slavery. I believe in its general evil effects on the white race.

See our present condition — the country engaged in war! — our white men cutting one another's throats, none knowing how far it will extend; and then consider what we know to be the truth. But for your race among us there could not be war, although many men engaged on either side do not care for you one way or the other. Nevertheless, I repeat, without the institution of slavery, and the colored race as a basis, the war would not have an existence.

It is better for us both, therefore, to be separated.

An excellent site for black resettlement, Lincoln went on, was available in Central America. It had good harbors and an abundance of coal that would permit the colony to be quickly put on a firm financial footing. The President concluded by asking the delegation to determine if a number of freedmen with their families would be willing to go as soon as arrangements could be made.

Organizing Black Support

The next day, Rev. Mitchell — who had attended the historic White House meeting as Lincoln's Commissioner of Immigration — placed an advertisement in northern newspapers announcing: "Correspondence is desired with colored men favorable to Central America, Liberian or Haitian emigration, especially the first named."⁶² Mitchell also sent a memorandum to black ministers urging them to use their influence to encourage emigration. Providence itself, he wrote, had decreed a separate existence for the races. Blacks were half responsible for the terrible Civil War, Mitchell went on, and forecast further bloodshed unless they left the country. He concluded:⁶³

This is a nation of equal white laborers, and as you cannot be accepted on equal terms, there is no place here for you. You cannot go into the North or the West without arousing the growing feeling of hostility toward you. The south must also have a homogeneous population, and any attempt to give the freedmen equal status in the South will bring disaster to both races.

Rev. Edwin Thomas, the chairman of the black delegation, informed the President in a letter of August 16 that while he had originally opposed colonization, after becoming acquainted with the

facts he now favored it. He asked Lincoln's authorization to travel among his black friends and co-workers to convince them of the virtues of emigration.⁶⁴

While Thompson continued working on colonization of the Chiriqui site, Lincoln turned to Kansas Senator Samuel Pomeroy, whom he appointed United States Colonization Agent, to recruit black emigrants for Chiriqui resettlement, and arrange for their transportation. On August 26, 1862, Pomeroy issued a dramatic official appeal "To the Free Colored People of the United States".⁶⁵

The hour has now arrived in the history of your settlement upon this continent when it is within your own power to take one step that will secure, if successful, the elevation, freedom, and social position of your race upon the American continent . . .

I want mechanics and labourers, earnest, honest, and sober men, for the interest of a generation, it may be of mankind, are involved in the success of this experiment, and with the approbation of the American people, and under the blessing of Almighty God, it cannot, it shall not fail.

Although many blacks soon made clear their unwillingness to leave the country, Pomeroy was pleased to report in October that he had received nearly 14,000 applications from blacks who desired to emigrate.⁶⁶

On September 12, 1862, the federal government concluded a provisional contract with Ambrose Thompson, providing for development and colonization of his vast leased holdings in the Chiriqui region. Pomeroy was to determine the fitness of the Chiriqui site for resettlement. Along with the signatures of Thompson and Interior Secretary Caleb Smith, the contract contained a note by the President: "The within contract is approved, and the Secretary of the Interior is directed to execute the same. A. Lincoln." That same day, Lincoln also issued an order directing the Department of the Interior to carry out the "colonization" provisions of the relevant laws of April and July 1862.⁶⁷

The President next instructed Pomeroy, acting as his agent, to accompany the proposed colonizing expedition. Lincoln authorized him to advance Thompson \$50,000 when and if colonization actually began, and to allow Thompson such sums as might immediately be necessary for incidental expenses.⁶⁸ Interior Secretary Smith sent Pomeroy more specific instructions. He was to escort a group of black "Freedmen" who were willing to resettle abroad. However, before attempting to establish a colony at Chiriqui, no matter how promising the site, he should first obtain permission of the local authorities, in order to prevent diplomatic misunderstandings.⁶⁹

Acting on these instructions, Pomeroy went to New York to obtain a ship for the venture. Robert Murray, United States Marshall at New York, was

advised of Pomeroy's status as special colonization agent, and was asked to help him secure a suitable ship.⁷⁰ On September 16, Interior Secretary Smith wired Pomeroy: "President wants information . . . has Murray the control and custody of the vessel? Is there order of sale; and if so, when? Is any deposit necessary to get the vessel?"⁷¹ President Lincoln's concern with black resettlement at this time is all the more significant because September 1862 was a very critical period for Union military fortunes. In spite of this, he took time to keep himself abreast of the project, even to the point of having a telegram sent to hurry the procurement of a ship for the venture.

The Emancipation Proclamation

During the winter and spring 1861-1862, public support grew rapidly for the view that slavery

of State William Seward and Treasury Secretary Salmon Chase, abolitionists who had challenged Lincoln for the 1860 Republican presidential nomination — agreed even in part with the proclamation's contents. Seward persuaded the President not to issue it until after a Union military victory (of which so far there had been few), or otherwise it would appear "the last measure of an exhausted government, a cry for help."⁷⁴

Union General McClellan's success on September 17 in holding off the forces of General Lee at Antietam provided a federal victory of sorts, and the waited-for opportunity. Five days later, Lincoln issued his Preliminary Emancipation Proclamation, which included a favorable reference to colonization:⁷⁵

I, Abraham Lincoln . . . do hereby proclaim and



Dead soldiers from both Confederate and Union armies lay strewn on the Gettysburg battlefield at dawn, July 5, 1863. The battle — a turning point in the Civil War — generated 43,000 casualties, including 5,000 killed from each side.

must be abolished everywhere. Lincoln did not ignore the ever louder calls for decisive action.⁷² On June 19, he signed a law abolishing slavery in all the federal territories.⁷³ At the same time, he was quietly preparing an even more dramatic measure.

At a cabinet meeting on July 22, Lincoln read out the draft text of a document he had prepared — a proclamation that would give the Confederate states a hundred days to stop their "rebellion" upon threat of declaring all slaves in those states to be free.

The President told his cabinet that he did not want advice on the merits of the proclamation itself — he had made up his mind about that, he said — but he would welcome suggestions about how best to implement the edict. For two days cabinet members debated the draft. Only two — Secretary

declare that hereafter, as heretofore, the war will be prosecuted for the object of practically restoring the constitutional relation between the United States, and each of the states, and the people thereof . . .

That it is my purpose, upon the next meeting of Congress to again recommend the adoption of a practical measure tendering pecuniary aid to the free acceptance or rejection of all slave-states, so called, the people whereof may not be then be in rebellion against the United States, and which states, may then have voluntarily adopted, or thereafter may voluntarily adopt, immediate, or gradual abolishment of slavery within their respective limits; and that the effort to colonize persons of African descent, with their consent, upon this continent, or elsewhere, with the previously obtained consent of the Governments existing there, will be continued.

Lincoln then went on to state that on January 1,

1863,

all persons held as slaves within any state, or designated part of a state, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then, thenceforward, and forever, free. . .

The edict then cited the law passed by Congress on March 13, 1862, which prohibited military personnel from returning escaped slaves, and the second Confiscation Act of July 1862.

Proclamation Limitations

On New Year's Day, 1863, Lincoln issued the final Emancipation Proclamation.⁷⁶ Contrary to what its title suggests, however, the presidential edict did not immediately free a single slave. It "freed" only slaves who were under Confederate control, and explicitly exempted slaves in Union-controlled territories, including federal-occupied areas of the Confederacy, West Virginia, and the four slaveholding states that remained in the Union.

The Proclamation, Secretary Seward wryly commented, emancipated slaves where it could not reach them, and left them in bondage where it could have set them free. Moreover, because it was issued as a war measure, the Proclamation's long-term validity was uncertain. Apparently any future President could simply revoke it. "The popular picture of Lincoln using a stroke of the pen to lift the shackles from the limbs of four million slaves is ludicrously false," historian Allan Nevins has noted.⁷⁷

"Military Necessity"

Lincoln himself specifically cited "military necessity" as his reason for issuing the Emancipation Proclamation. After more than a year of combat, and in spite of its great advantages in industrial might and numbers, federal forces had still not succeeded in breaking the South. At this critical juncture of the war, the President apparently now hoped, a formal edict abolishing slavery in the Confederate states would strike a blow at the Confederacy's ability to wage war by encouraging dissension, escapes, and possibly revolt among its large slave labor force.⁷⁸

As the war progressed, black labor had become ever more critical in the hard-pressed Confederacy. Blacks planted, cultivated and harvested the food that they then transported to the Confederate armies. Blacks raised and butchered the beef, pigs and chicken used to feed the Confederate troops. They wove the cloth and knitted the socks to clothe the grey-uniformed soldiers. As Union armies invaded the South, tearing up railroads and demolishing bridges, free blacks and slaves repaired them. They toiled in the South's factories, shipping yards, and mines. In 1862, the famous Tredegar iron works advertised for 1,000 slaves. In 1864,

there were 4,301 blacks and 2,518 whites in the iron mines of the Confederate states east of the Mississippi.⁷⁹

Blacks also served with the Confederate military forces as mechanics, teamsters, and common laborers. They cared for the sick and scrubbed the wounded in Confederate hospitals. Nearly all of the South's military fortifications were constructed by black laborers. Most of the cooks in the Confederate army were slaves. Of the 400 workers at the Naval arsenal in Selma, Alabama, in 1865, 310 were blacks. Blacks served with crews of Confederate blockade-runners and stoked the firerooms of the South's warships.⁸⁰

Confederate General Nathan Bedford Forrest, the legendary cavalry commander, said in a postwar interview: "When I entered the army I took 47 Negroes into the army with me, and 45 of them were surrendered with me . . . These boys stayed with me, drove my teams, and better Confederates did not live."⁸¹

On several occasions, Lincoln explained his reasons for issuing the Proclamation. On September 13, 1862, the day after the preliminary proclamation was issued, Lincoln met with a delegation of pro-abolitionist Christian ministers, and told them bluntly: "Understand, I raise no objections against it [slavery] on legal or constitutional grounds. . . I view the matter [emancipation] as a practical war measure, to be decided upon according to the advantages or disadvantages it may offer to the suppression of the rebellion."⁸²

To Salmon Chase, his Treasury Secretary, the President justified the Proclamations's limits: "The original [preliminary] proclamation has no constitutional or legal justification, except as a military measure," he explained. "The exceptions were made because the military necessity did not apply to the exempted localities. Nor does that necessity apply to them now any more than it did then."⁸³

Horace Greeley, editor of the influential *New York Tribune*, called upon the President to immediately and totally abolish slavery in an emphatic and prominently displayed editorial published August 20, 1862. Lincoln responded in a widely-quoted letter:⁸⁴

My paramount object in this struggle is to save the Union, and is *not* either to save or destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing *any* slave, I would do it, and if I could save it by freeing *all* the slaves, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would also do that. What I do about slavery and the colored race, I do because I believe it helps to save the Union. . .

Concern about growing sentiment in the North to end slavery, along with sharp criticism from prominent abolitionists, was apparently another motivating factor for the President. (Abolitionists even feared that the Confederate states might give up

their struggle for independence before the January first deadline, and thus preserve the institution of slavery.)⁸⁵

Lincoln assured Edward Stanly, a pro-slavery Southerner he had appointed as military governor of the occupied North Carolina coast, that "the proclamation had become a civil necessity to prevent the radicals from openly embarrassing the government in the conduct of the war."⁸⁶

Impact of the Proclamation

While abolitionists predictably hailed the final

hoped, news of it spread rapidly by word of mouth among the Confederacy's slaves, arousing hopes of freedom and encouraging many to escape.⁸⁸ The Proclamation "had the desired effect of creating confusion in the South and depriving the Confederacy of much of its valuable laboring force," affirms historian John Hope Franklin.⁸⁹

Finally, in the eyes of many people — particularly in Europe — Lincoln's edict made the Union army a liberating force: all slaves in areas henceforward coming under federal control would automatically be free.



The President with his cabinet in 1862, as he presents the draft of his Emancipation Proclamation. From left to right: War Secretary Stanton; Treasury Secretary Chase; President Lincoln; Navy Secretary Welles; Secretary of State Seward (sitting); Interior Secretary Smith; Postmaster General Blair; Attorney General Bates.

Proclamation, sentiment among northern whites was generally unfavorable. The edict cost the President considerable support, and undoubtedly was a factor in Republican party setbacks in the Congressional elections of 1862. In the army, hardly one Union soldier in ten approved of emancipation, and some officers resigned in protest.⁸⁷

As a work of propaganda, the Proclamation proved effective. To encourage discontent among slaves in the Confederacy, a million copies were distributed in the Union-occupied South and, as

The Proclamation greatly strengthened support for the Union cause abroad, especially in Britain and France, where anti-slavery sentiment was strong. In Europe, the edict transformed the conflict into a Union crusade for freedom, and contributed greatly to dashing the Confederacy's remaining hopes of formal diplomatic recognition from Britain and France.⁹⁰ "The Emancipation Proclamation," reported Henry Adams from London, "has done more for us [the Union] here than all our former victories and all our diplomacy. It is

creating an almost convulsive reaction in our favor all over this country."⁹¹

End of the Resettlement Efforts

Lincoln continued to press ahead with his plan to resettle blacks in Central America, in spite of opposition from all but one member of his own Cabinet, and the conclusion of a scientific report that Chiriqui coal was "worthless."⁹²

Mounting opposition to any resettlement plan also came from abolitionists, who insisted that blacks had a right to remain in the land of their birth. In addition, some Republican party leaders opposed resettlement because they were counting on black political support, which would be particularly important in controlling a defeated South, where most whites would be barred from voting. Others agreed with Republican Senator Charles Sumner, who argued that black laborers were an important part of the national economy, and any attempt to export them "would be fatal to the prosperity of the country."⁹³ In the (Northern) election campaign of November 1862, emancipation figured as a major issue. Violent mobs of abolitionists opposed those who spoke out in favor of resettlement.⁹⁴

What proved decisive in bringing an end to the Chiriqui project, though, were emphatic protests by the republics that would be directly effected by large-scale resettlement. In Central America, the prospect that millions of blacks would soon be arriving provoked alarm. A sense of panic prevailed in Nicaragua and Honduras, the American consul reported, because of fears of "a dreadful deluge of negro emigration . . . from the United States." In August and September, Honduras, Nicaragua and Costa Rica protested officially to the American government about the resettlement venture. (Objection from Costa Rica was particularly worrisome because that country claimed part of the Chiriqui territory controlled by Thompson.)⁹⁵

On September 19, envoy Luis Molina, a diplomat who represented the three Central American states, formally explained to American officials the objections of the three countries against the resettlement plan. This venture, he protested, was an attempt to use Central America as a depository for "a plague of which the United States desired to rid themselves." Molina also reminded Seward that, for the USA to remain faithful to its own Monroe Doctrine, it could no more assume that there were lands available in Latin America for colonization than could a European power. The envoy concluded his strong protest by hinting that the republics he represented were prepared to use force to repel what they interpreted as an invasion. Learning later that the resettlement project was still underway, Molina delivered a second formal protest on September 29.⁹⁶

Secretary of State Seward was not able to ignore such protests. After all, why should Central Ameri-

cans be happy to welcome people of a race that was so despised in the United States? Accordingly, on October 7, 1862, Seward prevailed on the President to call a "temporary" halt to the Chiriqui project.⁹⁷ Thus, the emphatic unwillingness of the Central American republics to accept black migrants dealt the decisive blow to the Chiriqui project. At a time when the Union cause was still precarious, Secretary of State Seward was obliged to show special concern for US relations with Latin America.⁹⁸

Lincoln Proposes a Constitutional Amendment

In spite of such obstacles, Lincoln re-affirmed his strong support for gradual emancipation coupled with resettlement in his second annual message to Congress of December 1, 1862. On this occasion he used the word *deportation*. So serious was he about his plan that he proposed a draft Constitutional Amendment to give it the greatest legal sanction possible. Lincoln told Congress:⁹⁹

I cannot make it better known than it already is, that I strongly favor colonization.

In this view, I recommend the adoption of the following resolution and articles amendatory to the Constitution of the United States. . . "Congress may appropriate money, and otherwise provide, for colonizing free colored persons, with their consent, at any place or places without the United States."

Applications have been made to me by many free Americans of African descent to favor their emigration, with a view to such colonization as was contemplated in recent acts of Congress. . . . Several of the Spanish American republics have protested against the sending of such colonies [settlers] to their respective territories. . . Liberia and Haiti are, as yet, the only countries to which colonists of African descent from here could go with certainty of being received and adopted as citizens. . .

Their old masters will gladly give them wages at least until new laborers can be procured; and the freedmen, in turn, will gladly give their labor for the wages, till new homes can be found for them, in congenial climes, and with people of their own blood and race.

Fellow-citizens, we cannot escape history. We of this Congress and this administration will be remembered in spite of ourselves. . .

The President's December 1862 proposal had five basic elements:¹⁰⁰

1. Because slavery was a "domestic institution," and thus the concern of the states alone, they — and not the federal government — were to voluntarily emancipate the slaves.
2. Slave-holders would be fully compensated for their loss.
3. The federal government would assist the states, with bonds as grants in aid, in meeting the financial burden of compensation.

4. Emancipation would be carried out gradually: the states would have until the year 1900 to free their slaves.

5. The freed blacks would be resettled outside the United States.

The "Ile à Vache" Project

With the collapse of the Chiriqui plan, Lincoln next gave serious consideration to a small Caribbean island off the coast of the black republic of Haiti, Ile à Vache, as a possible resettlement site for freed blacks.

In December 1862, the President signed a contract with Bernard Kock, a businessman who said that he had obtained a long-term lease on the island. Kock agreed to settle 5,000 blacks on the island, and to provide them with housing, food, medicine, churches, schools, and employment, at a cost to the government of \$50 each. About 450 blacks were accordingly transported to the island at federal government expense, but the project was not a success. As a result of poor organization, corruption, and Haitian government opposition, about a hundred of the deportees soon died of disease, thirst and starvation. In February-March 1864, a government-chartered ship brought the survivors back to the United States. After that, Congress cancelled all funds it had set aside for black resettlement.¹⁰¹

End of Resettlement Efforts

In early 1863, Lincoln discussed with his Register of the Treasury a plan to "remove the whole colored race of the slave states into Texas." Apparently nothing came of the discussion.¹⁰²

Hard-pressed by the demands of the war situation, and lacking a suitable resettlement site or even strong support within his own inner circle, Lincoln apparently gave up on specific resettlement efforts. On July 1, 1864, presidential secretary John Hay wrote in his diary: "I am happy that the President has sloughed off that idea of colonization."¹⁰³

Whatever its merits, the notion that America's racial question could be solved by massive resettlement of the black population probably never had much realistic prospect of success, given the realities of American life. Writing in *The Journal of Negro History*, historian Paul Scheips summed up:¹⁰⁴

... Large-scale colonization of Negroes could only have succeeded, if it could have succeeded at all, if the Nation had been willing to make the gigantic propaganda, diplomatic, administrative, transportation and financial effort that would have been required. As it was, according to [historian Carl] Sandburg, "in a way, nobody cared." But even had hundreds of thousands of Negroes been colonized, the Nation's race problem would not have been solved.

Abolishing Slavery

A Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution, which would prohibit slavery throughout the United States, was passed by the Senate on April 8, 1864. Because the House failed immediately to approve it with the necessary two-thirds majority vote, Lincoln, in his Annual Message of December 6, asked the House to reconsider it. On January 31, 1865, and with three votes to spare, the House approved it. By this time, slavery had already been abolished in Arkansas, Louisiana, Maryland and Missouri, and a similar move seemed imminent in Tennessee and Kentucky.¹⁰⁵

On February 3, 1865, Lincoln and Secretary of State Seward met with a Confederate peace delegation that included Confederate Vice President Stephens. Lincoln told the delegation that he still favored compensation to owners of emancipated slaves. It had never been his intention, the President said, to interfere with slavery in the states; he had been driven to it by necessity. He believed that the people of the North and South were equally responsible for slavery. If hostilities ceased and the states voluntarily abolished slavery, he believed, the government would indemnify the owners to the extent, possibly, of \$400 million. Although the conference was not fruitful, two days later Lincoln presented to his cabinet a proposal to appropriate \$400 million for reimbursement to slave owners, providing hostilities stopped by April 1. (The cabinet unanimously rejected the proposal, which Lincoln then regretfully abandoned.)¹⁰⁶



Lincoln with his son Tad, February 1864

On April 9, General Lee surrendered his army to General Grant at Appomattox Courthouse, and by the end of May, all fighting had ceased. The Civil War was over.

Lincoln's Fear of "Race War"

A short time before his death on April 15, 1865, Lincoln met with General Benjamin F. Butler, who reported that the President spoke to him of "exporting" the blacks.¹⁰⁷

"But what shall we do with the negroes after they are free?," Lincoln said. "I can hardly believe that the South and North can live in peace, unless we can get rid of the negroes. . . I believe that it would be better to export them all to some fertile country with a good climate, which they could have to themselves." Along with a request to Butler to look into the question of how best to use "our very large navy" to send "the blacks away," the President laid bare his fears for the future:

If these black soldiers of ours go back to the South, I am afraid that they will be but little better off with their masters than they were before, and yet they will be free men. I fear a race war, and it will be at least a guerilla war because we have taught these men how to fight. . . There are plenty of men in the North who will furnish the negroes with arms if there is any oppression of them by their late masters.

To his dying day, it appears, Lincoln did not believe that harmony between white and black was feasible, and viewed resettlement of the blacks as the preferable alternative to race conflict. ". . . Although Lincoln believed in the destruction of slavery," concludes black historian Charles Wesley (in an article in *The Journal of Negro History*), "he desired the complete separation of the whites and blacks. Throughout his political career, Lincoln persisted in believing in the colonization of the Negro."¹⁰⁸

Frederick Douglass, a gifted African American writer and activist who knew Lincoln, characterized him in a speech delivered in 1876:¹⁰⁹

In his interest, in his association, in his habits of thought, and in his prejudices, he was a white man. He was preeminently the white man's President, entirely devoted to the welfare of the white man. He was ready and willing at any time during the first years of his administration to deny, postpone, and sacrifice the rights of humanity in the colored people, to promote the welfare of the white people of this country.

Allan Nevins, one of this century's most prolific and acclaimed historians of US history, summed up Lincoln's view of the complex issue of race, and his vision of America's future:¹¹⁰

His conception ran beyond the mere liberation of four million colored folk; it implied a far-reaching alteration of American society, industry, and government. A gradual planned emancipation, a concomitant transportation of hundreds of thousands and perhaps even millions of people overseas, a careful governmental nursing of the new colonies, and a payment of unprec-

edented sums to the section thus deprived of its old labor supply — this scheme carried unprecedented implications.

To put this into effect would immensely increase the power of the national government and widen its abilities. If even partially practicable, it would mean a long step toward rendering the American people homogeneous in color and race, a rapid stimulation of immigration to replace the workers exported, a greater world position for the republic, and a pervasive change in popular outlook and ideas. The attempt would do more to convert the unorganized country into an organized nation than anything yet planned. Impossible, and undesirable even if possible? — probably; but Lincoln continued to hold to his vision.

For most Americans today, Lincoln's plan to "solve" America's vexing racial problem by resettling the blacks in a foreign country probably seems bizarre and utterly impractical, if not outrageous and cruel. At the same time, though, and particularly when considered in the context of the terrible Civil War that cost so many lives, it is worth pondering just why and how such a far-fetched plan was ever able to win the support of a leader of the stature and wisdom of Abraham Lincoln.

Notes

1. Benjamin Quarles, *Lincoln and the Negro* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1962), pp. 21-27.; Nathaniel Weyl and William Marina, *American Statesmen on Slavery and the Negro* (Arlington House, 1971), pp. 197-198.; Carl Sandburg, *Abraham Lincoln: The Prairie Years* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1926 [two volumes]), Vol. I, pp. 330-334.
2. Benjamin Thomas, *Abraham Lincoln* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1952), pp. 85, 89, 260, 480.
While Mary Todd Lincoln's eldest brother and a half-sister remained loyal to the Union during the Civil War, another brother, David, three half-brothers, and the husbands of three half-sisters fought on the side of the Confederacy. (Brother David, a half-brother named Alec, and the husband of a half-sister lost their lives in the fighting.)
3. B. Thomas, *Abraham Lincoln* (1952), pp. 121-122.
4. Benjamin Quarles, *Lincoln and the Negro* (New York: 1962), pp. 36-37.; Stephen B. Oates, *With Malice Toward None: The Life of Abraham Lincoln* (New York: Harper & Row, 1977), p. 158.
5. Roy P. Basler, editor, et al, *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers Univ. Press, 1953-1955 [eight volumes and index]), Vol. II, pp. 255-256. (Cited hereinafter as R. Basler, *Collected Works*.); David A. Hollinger and Charles Capper, eds., *The American Intellectual Tradition* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1989), vol. I, pp. 378-379.
6. R. Basler, *Collected Works* (1953), vol. II, pp. 405, 408, 409.
7. John Hope Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of Negro Americans* (New York: A. Knopf, 1964 [2nd ed.]), pp. 234-235. [In the fifth edition of 1980, see pages 108-109, 177.]; Leslie H. Fischel, Jr., and Benjamin Quarles, *The Negro American: A Documentary History* (New York: W. Morrow, 1967), pp. 75-78.; Arvarh E. Strickland, "Negro Colonization Movements to 1840," *Lincoln Herald* (Harrogate, Tenn.: Lincoln Memorial Univ. Press), Vol. 61, No. 2 (Summer 1959), pp. 43-56.; Earnest S. Cox, *Lincoln's Negro Policy* (Torrance, Calif.: Noontide Press, 1968), pp. 19-25.

Thomas Jefferson outlined his plan for black resettlement in *Notes on the State of Virginia* (apparently first published in 1785):

To emancipate all slaves born after passing of the act [a proposed law]. . . [They] should continue with their parents to a certain age, then be brought up, at public expense, to tillage, arts, or sciences, according to their geniuses, till the females should be eighteen, and the males twenty-one years of age, when they should be colonized to such place as the circumstances of the time should render most proper, sending them out with arms, implements of household and of the handicraft arts, seeds, pairs of the useful domestic animals, etc., to declare them a free and independent people, and to extend to them our alliance and protection till they have acquired strength. . .

(Source: *Life and Selected Works of Thomas Jefferson* New York: Modern Library, 1944], p. 255. Also quoted in: Nathaniel Weyl and William Marina, *American Statesmen on Slavery and the Negro* (Arlington House, 1971), p. 83.)

For more on Jefferson's view of the race issue, and his support for forcible deportation, see: N. Weyl and W. Marina, *American Statesmen on Slavery and the Negro* (1971), pp. 71-100.

8. Nathaniel Weyl and William Marina, *American Statesmen on Slavery and the Negro* (Arlington House, 1971), pp. 132-134.; Allan Nevins, *Ordeal of the Union* (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1947), vol. I ("Fruits of Manifest Destiny, 1847-1852"), pp. 511-517.; Robert William Fogel, *Without Consent or Contract: The Rise and Fall of American Slavery* (New York: 1989), pp. 251-254.
9. Henry N. Sherwood, "The Formation of the American Colonization Society," *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol. II, (July 1917), pp. 209-228.; Earnest Cox, *Lincoln's Negro Policy* (1968), pp. 19-25.; Allan Nevins, *Ordeal of the Union* (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1960), vol. I ("Fruits of Manifest Destiny, 1847-1852"), pp. 511-516.; *Congressional Globe*, 25th Congress, 1st Session, Pt. 1, pp. 293-298.
10. C. I. Foster, "The Colonization of Free Negroes in Liberia, 1816-1835," *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol. 38 (January 1953), pp. 41-66.; John Hope Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom* (New York: 1964 [2nd ed.]), pp. 235-236.; Allan Nevins, *Ordeal of the Union* (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1960), vol. I ("Fruits of Manifest Destiny, 1847-1852"), pp. 511-516.
11. John Hope Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of Negro Americans* (New York: A. Knopf, 1964 [2nd ed.]), p. 235.
12. *General Laws of the State of Indiana, Passed at the 34th Session of the General Assembly* (Indianapolis: 1850), [Chap. XXVII], p. 247.
13. *Congressional Globe*, 35th Congress, 1st Sess., Pt. 1, pp. 293-298. See also: Allan Nevins, *The War for the Union*, volume II, "War Becomes Revolution, 1862-1863" (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1960), pp. 516-517. [This is volume VI of *The Ordeal of the Union*.]
14. R. Basler, *Collected Works* (1953), vol. III, p. 29.; In 1864, Lincoln told Congressman James Rollins: "You and I were old whigs, both of us followers of that great statesman, Henry Clay, and I tell you I never had an opinion upon the subject of slavery in my life that I did not get from him." Quoted in: Nathaniel Weyl and William Marina, *American Statesmen on Slavery and the Negro* (Arlington House, 1971), p. 196.
15. R. Basler, *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* (1953), Vol. II, p. 132. Also quoted in: Stephen B. Oates, *With Malice Toward None: The Life of Abraham Lincoln* (New York: Harper & Row, 1977), pp. 105-107.; See also: Allan Nevins, *The War for the Union*, volume II, "War Becomes Revolution, 1862-1863" (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1960), p. 7.
16. R. Basler, *Collected Works* (1953), Vol. II, pp. 298-299.
17. R. Basler, *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* (1953), Vol. III, p. 16.; Paul M. Angle, ed., *Created Equal?: The Complete Lincoln-Douglas Debates of 1858* (Univ. of Chicago Press, 1958), p. 117.
18. R. Basler, *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* (1953), Vol. III, pp. 145-146.; James M. McPherson, *The Struggle for Equality* (Princeton Univ. Press, 1964), pp. 23-24.; Paul M. Angle, ed., *Created Equal?: The Complete Lincoln-Douglas Debates of 1858* (Univ. of Chicago Press, 1958), p. 235.
19. B. Thomas, *Abraham Lincoln* (1952), p. 192.
20. R. P. Basler, ed., et al, *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* (1953), vol. III, pp. 522-550, esp. pp. 535, 541.; The complete text is also in: Robert W. Johannsen, *Democracy on Trial: 1845-1877* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1966), pp. 105-119.; See also: Richard N. Current, *The Lincoln Nobody Knows* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1958), p. 220.
21. Richard N. Current, *The Lincoln Nobody Knows* (New York: 1958), p. 83.
22. R. Current, *Lincoln Nobody Knows* (1958), p. 77.
23. B. Thomas, *Abraham Lincoln* (1952), pp. 224-225.
24. One of Crittenden's sons would later serve as a Confederate army General, while another would serve as a General in the federal forces.
25. R. Current, *Lincoln Nobody Knows* (1958), pp. 87-92.; Stephen Oates, *With Malice Toward None* (New York: 1977), pp. 199-200.
26. Leland D. Baldwin, *The Stream of American History* (New York: American Book Co., 1952 [two volumes], vol. I, 293. It is likewise often overlooked that there were more than 250,000 free blacks in the South. In New Orleans alone, more than 3,000 free blacks owned black slaves themselves, many being ranked as slave magnates. More than 8,000 black slaves were owned by Indians in Florida and the West who supported and often fought on the side of the Confederacy.
27. B. Thomas, *Abraham Lincoln* (1952), p. 180.; Roger Butterfield, *The American Past* (New York: 1947), pp. 153-154.
28. B. Thomas, *Abraham Lincoln* (1952), pp. 226-227.
29. R. P. Basler, *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* (1953), Vol. IV, p. 160.; R. Current, *Lincoln Nobody Knows* (1958), p. 85.
30. R. Current, *Lincoln Nobody Knows* (1958), pp. 85-86.
31. R. Current, *Lincoln Nobody Knows* (1958), p. 86.
32. B. Thomas, *Abraham Lincoln* (1952), p. 246.; The complete text of Lincoln's 1861 Inaugural Address is in: Robert W. Johannsen, *Democracy on Trial: 1845-1877* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1966), pp. 161-168, and in: R. P. Basler, *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* (1953), vol. IV, pp. 262-271.
33. Allan Nevins, *The Emergence of Lincoln: Prologue to Civil War, 1859-1861* (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1950), pp. 468-469. [This is volume IV of *The Ordeal of the Union*.]
34. Stephen B. Oates, *With Malice Toward None: The Life of Abraham Lincoln* (1977), pp. 196, 197, 204, 209, 226-227. See also: Sam G. Dickson, "Shattering the Icon of Abraham Lincoln," *The Journal of Historical Review* (Vol. 7, No. 3), Fall 1986, p. 327.
35. R. Current, *Lincoln Nobody Knows* (1958), p. 105.
36. R. Current, *Lincoln Nobody Knows* (1958), p. 110.
37. R. Current, *Lincoln Nobody Knows* (1958), p. 117.
38. R. Current, *Lincoln Nobody Knows* (1958), p. 221.; B. Thomas, *Abraham Lincoln* (1952), pp. 275-277.
39. R. Current, *Lincoln Nobody Knows* (1958), p. 221.

40. J. H. Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom* (1964 [2nd ed.]), pp. 268-271. [In the fifth edition of 1980, this is pp. 207-208.]; See also: Allan Nevins, *The War for the Union*, vol. III, "The Organized War, 1863-1864" (New York: 1971), pp. 418-419, 428, 432. [This is volume VII of *The Ordeal of the Union*.]
41. In January 1861, the influential *New York Tribune* proposed a plan for the gradual, compensated emancipation of the 600,000 slaves in Delaware, Maryland, Missouri, Arkansas, Texas and Louisiana. The federal government, the paper urged, should appropriate enough money to compensate slave-holders an average of \$400 per slave. See: James M. McPherson, *The Struggle for Equality* (1964), p. 40.; Allan Nevins, *The War for the Union*, volume II, "War Becomes Revolution, 1862-1863," (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1960), p. 7 (fn. 9). [This is volume VI of *The Ordeal of the Union*.]
In 1854, Jacob Dewees of Philadelphia published a 236-page book, *The Great Future of Africa and America; an Essay showing our whole duty to the Black Man, consistent with our own safety and glory*. Dewees urged compensated emancipation, to be paid for by the proceeds of sales of public lands, and transportation of the Negroes to Africa, a process that might take as long as a century. Source: Allan Nevins, *Ordeal of the Union* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1960), vol. I ("Fruits of Manifest Destiny, 1847-1852"), p. 517 (fn. 29).
42. James M. McPherson, *The Struggle for Equality* (1964), p. 155.; A. Nevins, *The War for the Union*, volume II, "War Becomes Revolution, 1862-1863" (New York: 1960), p. 8 (fn. 12).
43. 36th Congress, 1st Session, House of Representatives, Report No. 568: *Report of the Hon. F.H. Morse, of Maine, from the Committee on Naval Affairs, H.R. in Relation to the Contract made by the Secretary of the Navy for Coal and Other Privileges on the Isthmus of Chiriqui*.;
At that time, the Chiriqui region was part of New Granada.; On the Chiriqui project, see also: Paul J. Scheips, "Lincoln and the Chiriqui Colonization Project," *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol. 37, No. 4, (October 1952), pp. 418-420.; Nathaniel Weyl and William Marina, *American Statesmen on Slavery and the Negro* (1971), pp. 215-216.; Allan Nevins, *The War for the Union*, volume II, "War Becomes Revolution, 1862-1863" (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1960), p. 7.; R. P. Basler, ed., et al, *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* (1953), Vol. V, pp. 370-371 (note).
44. "Important Considerations for Congress," enclosure with Ninian W. Edwards to Abraham Lincoln, August 9, 1861. *The Robert Todd Lincoln Collection of the Papers of Abraham Lincoln* (Washington: Library of Congress, 1947 [194 volumes]), vol. 52, f. 11109. (Hereafter cited as *Lincoln Collection*.); Also cited in: Paul J. Scheips, "Lincoln and the Chiriqui Colonization Project," *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol. 37, No. 4 (October 1952), pp. 420-421.
45. F. P. Blair, Sr. to A. Lincoln, November 16, 1861. *Lincoln Collection*, Vol. 61, ff. 13002-13014.; Also cited in: P. J. Scheips, "Lincoln. . .," *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol. 37, No. 4, pp. 420-421.
46. A. Lincoln to Simon Cameron, December [?], 1861, *Lincoln Collection*, vol. 64, f. 13636.; Also cited in: P. J. Scheips, "Lincoln. . .," *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol. 37, No. 4 (1952), p. 421.
47. A. Lincoln to Gideon Welles, December [?], 1861, *Lincoln Collection* (cited above), Vol. 64, ff. 13637-13638.
48. Allan Nevins, *The War for the Union*, volume II, "War Becomes Revolution, 1862-1863," (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1960), pp. 6-8. [This is volume VI of *The Ordeal of the Union*.]
49. R. P. Basler, et al, *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* (1953), Vol. V, pp. 35-53, esp. p. 48.
50. Stephen B. Oates, *With Malice Toward None: The Life of Abraham Lincoln* (New York: Harper & Row, 1977), p. 299.; Nathaniel Weyl and William Marina, *American Statesmen on Slavery and the Negro* (1971), p. 216.
51. Allan Nevins, *The War for the Union*, volume II, "War Becomes Revolution, 1862-1863," (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1960), p. 31.
52. A. Nevins, *The War for the Union*, volume II, "War Becomes Revolution, 1862-1863" (New York: 1960), p. 32.
53. A. Nevins, *The War for the Union*, volume II, (1960), pp. 32-33.
54. R. Basler, ed., et al, *Collected Works* (1953), vol. V, p. 318.; Robert W. Johannsen, *Democracy on Trial: 1845-1877* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1966), p. 265.
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70. Caleb Smith to Samuel Pomeroy, Sept. 20, 1862. 39th Congress, 1st Sess., Senate Exec. Doc. 55. *Report on the Transportation, Settlement, and Colonization of Persons of the African Race*, p. 17.
71. Caleb Smith to S. Pomeroy, Sept. 20, 1862. Same source, p. 17.
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73. John H. Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom* (New York: 1964 [2nd ed.]), p. 277.; Stephen Oates, *With Malice Toward None* (1977), p. 299.
74. Benjamin Quarles, *Lincoln and the Negro* (New York: 1962), pp. 126-127.; B. Thomas, *Abraham Lincoln* (1952), p. 334.
75. The complete text of Lincoln's preliminary Emancipation Proclamation of September 22, 1862, is printed in: Robert W. Johannsen, *Democracy on Trial: 1845-1877* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1966), pp. 266-268, and in: R. P. Basler, *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* (1953), vol. V, pp. 433-436.
76. The complete text of the final Emancipation Proclamation is printed in: Carl Sandburg, *Abraham Lincoln: The Prairie Years and The War Years*, (New York: 1954 [One-volume edition]), pp. 345-346.
77. Allan Nevins, *The War for the Union*, volume II, "War Becomes Revolution, 1862-1863" (New York: 1960), p. 235.
78. Benjamin Thomas, *Abraham Lincoln* (1952), p. 333.

As historians acknowledge, Lincoln did not issue the Emancipation Proclamation out of altruistic concern for blacks in bondage. If his objective truly had been solely to free slaves in the Confederacy, he could simply have faithfully enforced the second Confiscation Act, by which Confederate slaves coming under Union control were set free.

It is also possible that, having announced on September 22, 1862, that he would make a final proclamation of emancipation on January 1, 1863, Lincoln had an excuse for disregarding the Confiscation laws, and could stave off support for pending legislation, which he opposed, that would permit blacks to fight for the Union.

It also appears that edict provided the President with a means to frustrate Thaddeus Stevens and other abolitionists in Congress, who had introduced legislation to make freedmen and soldiers out of the slaves from the four slaveholding states that had remained with the Union. According to this interpretation, holds, Lincoln hoped to make use of the hundred-day period before the final proclamation was to be issued in order to make irreversible progress on implementing the Chiriqui colonization project, and to gain additional support for the gradual black resettlement.
79. John H. Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom* (1964 [2nd ed.]), pp. 283-286. [This is apparently p. 228 of the 1974 edition.]
80. Same source as footnote 79.
81. Forrest interview in the *Cincinnati Commercial*, August 28, 1868. Reprinted in: Stanley Horn, *Invisible Empire: The Story of the Ku Klux Klan, 1866-1871* (Montclair, N.J.: Patterson-Smith, 2nd ed., 1969), p. 414.
82. R. Basler, ed., et al, *Collected Works* (1953), vol. V, p. 421.
83. B. Thomas, *Abraham Lincoln* (1952), p. 361.

84. A. Nevins, *The War for the Union*, vol. II, "War Becomes Revolution, 1862-1863" (New York: 1960), pp. 231-233.; Facsimile of text of Lincoln's letter of Aug. 22, 1862 to Greeley in: Stefan Lorant, *Lincoln: A Picture Story of His Life* (New York: Bonanza, 1969), pp. 158-159.; See also: R. Current, *Lincoln Nobody Knows* (1958), p. 224.; B. Thomas, *Abraham Lincoln* (1952), pp. 342-343.
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88. Roger Butterfield, *The American Past* (New York: 1947), p. 172.; Allan Nevins, *The War for the Union*, volume II, "War Becomes Revolution, 1862-1863" (New York: 1960), pp. 235-237.
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90. Stephen Oates, *With Malice Toward None* (1977), p. 340.; A. Nevins, *The War for the Union*, volume II, "War Becomes Revolution, 1862-1863" (New York: 1960), pp. 236-237.
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92. Joseph Henry to A. Lincoln, Sept. 5, 1862. *Lincoln Collection* (cited above), Vol. 86, ff. 18226-18227.; Paul J. Scheips, "Lincoln. . .," *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol. 37, No. 4 (1952), pp. 430-431.; Nathaniel Weyl and W. Marina, *American Statesmen* (1971), p. 224.; Gerstle Mack, *The Land Divided* (New York: 1944), p. 276.
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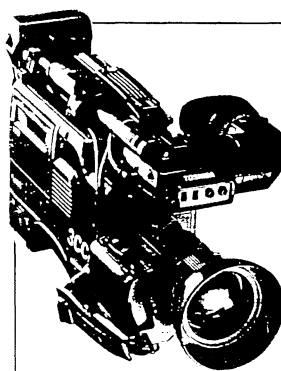
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"Integrity without knowledge is weak and useless, and knowledge without integrity is dangerous and dreadful."

— Dr. Samuel Johnson



ON CAMERA Against the Holocaust Lobby

Dr. ROBERT DAVID
FAURISSON IRVING

MARK Dr. ROBERT
WEBER COUNTESS

On April 22, 1993, presidents and high-ranking officials of the United States, Israel and other countries gathered in Washington, DC to dedicate the new US Holocaust Memorial Museum. An army of journalists, cameramen and commentators was there to broadcast the media event to the world.



FAURISSON



IRVING

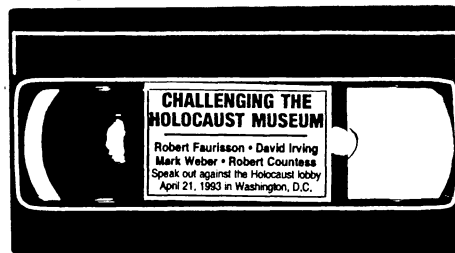


WEBER

IHR was there, too — there to declare its unequivocal opposition to this monstrous \$160 million monument to flawed priorities and illicit power. On April 21 IHR held a conference at a hotel in a suburb of Washington, DC where 200 friends came to hear Robert Faurisson from France, David Irving from England, IHR editor Mark Weber and Robert Countess speak out against the Holocaust lobby. The event was captured on video, including, Prof. Faurisson's challenge to Museum officials that read, in part:

Tomorrow the US Holocaust Memorial Museum will be dedicated in Washington. I challenge the Museum authorities to provide us a physical representation of the magical gas chamber. I have searched for 30 years for such a representation without finding it . . . I warn the officials of the US Holocaust Museum . . . that tomorrow, April 22, 1993, they need not offer, as proof of the existence of Nazi gas chambers, a disinfection gas chamber, a shower room, a morgue, or an air-raid shelter . . . I want a portrayal of an entire Nazi gas chamber, one that gives a precise idea of its technique and operation.

Watch Prof. Faurisson deliver the complete text of his devastating challenge. Watch the inimitable David Irving thrill his audience with details of the Holocaust lobby's stepped-up efforts to crush truth in history. Watch Mark Weber deliver his rousing "call to arms" in opposition to the museum, and hear Dr. Countess' elegant tribute to the IHR — all in an unforgettable 90-minute video that tells you what you need to know about this costly and dangerous mistake they call a "museum."



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Pope Pius XII

During the Second World War

MARY BALL MARTINEZ

Since the 1960s, it has been increasingly fashionable to condemn Pius XII (Eugenio Pacelli) — who was Pope from 1939 until 1958 — for his alleged indifference to the fate of Europe's Jews during the Second World War. Rabbi Marvin Hier of the Simon Wiesenthal Center of Los Angeles, for example, recently declared: "... Pope Pius XII sat on the throne of St. Peter in stony silence, as the trains carrying millions of unsuspecting victims criss-crossed Europe en route to the gas chambers. ... Not once did the Pope lift his voice in unequivocal terms to protest the deportations and murder of the Jews ..."

*To be sure, the Vatican is not the only target of such criticism. The wartime leaders of the United States, Britain and other countries have come under similar, and growing, attack in recent years for their alleged indifference to the wartime persecution of Europe's Jews. In fact, as Dr. Arthur Butz has pointed out, Pope Pius XII — along with the Allied governments and even the major international Jewish organizations — did not act as if they seriously believed wartime stories of mass extermination of Jews. (See: A. Butz, *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, Appendix E and Supplement B.)*

*Criticism like Rabbi Hier's shows cruel ingratitude for the Vatican's extensive help to persecuted Jews during the war years. In a 1967 book, *Three Popes and the Jews*, Jewish historian and Israeli government official Pinchas Lapide strongly defends the Vatican's record. "The Catholic Church, under the pontificate of Pius XII, was instrumental in saving at least 700,000, but probably as many as 860,000 Jews," writes Lapide.*

In the following essay, a seasoned Vatican observer takes a strikingly different view of the wartime role of the Holy See. Contrary to widely-held perception, she argues that Pius XII strongly opposed National Socialist Germany, did everything in his power to aid Europe's persecuted Jews, and actively aided the Allied cause during the war.

Mary Ball Martinez was an accredited member of the Vatican press corps from 1973 to 1988, reporting for *National Review*, *The American Spectator* and *The Wanderer*. This essay has been adapted by her from a section of her 200-page book, *The Undermining of the Catholic Church*. (Available for \$15, postpaid, from Omni/Christian Book Club, P.O. Box 900566, Palmdale, CA 93590.)

The persistent myth of the Vatican's indifference to the fate of Europe's Jews during the Second World War had its origin in the 1960s, and particularly in "The Deputy," a play by German Protestant Rolf Hochhuth, and in a book by Jewish historian Saul Friedländer.

Responding to these accusations, Pope Paul VI opened the wartime records in the Vatican archives to study by four Jesuit historians, permitting them to select documents for publication. The American among them, Robert A. Graham, sorted out a great number that were eventually published in a series of volumes. These weighty documents clearly show that well before the outbreak of hostilities in 1939, Secretary of State Pacelli, the future Pope, was deeply involved in promoting the welfare of Europe's Jews.

Adolf Hitler had been Chancellor of Germany less than half a year when Cardinal Pacelli was urging Pope Pius XI to give hospitality inside Vatican City to prominent Jews who requested it. In 1937, as he arrived in New York harbor aboard the Italian liner *Conte di Savoia*, he asked the ship's captain to run up an improvised banner with the six-pointed star of the future State of Israel in honor, he said, of six hundred German Jews on board. A year later, citizens of Munich were astonished to see the Torah and other ritual objects being removed "for safe-keeping" from the city's chief synagogue in the limousine of the Archbishop, and to learn that the transfer had been ordered by Cardinal Pacelli in Rome. One of his last acts before becoming Pope in 1939 was to notify American and Canadian bishops of his displeasure at the reluctance of Catholic universities in their countries to accept more European Jewish scholars and scientists on their staffs, and he looked to the bishops to remedy this situation.

Support for Zionism

As Pius XII, Eugenio Pacelli understood early on the importance of Palestine to the Jewish soul. In 1939, as soon as news reached Rome of the German advance into Poland, he telegraphed Nuncio Pacini in Warsaw to "try to organize Polish Jews for a passage to Palestine." Meanwhile Pius XII ordered Nuncio Angelo Roncalli (the future Pope John XXIII) in Istanbul to prepare thousands of baptismal certificates for arriving Jews in the hope these papers would cause the British police in

Palestine to let them enter the country.

Roncalli protested. "Surely," he wrote to the Pope, "an attempt to revive the ancient Kingdoms of Judea and Israel is utopian. Will it not expose the Vatican to accusations of support for Zionism?"

The Secretary of State, Cardinal Maglione, was hardly less troubled. "How," he asked the Pope, "can you justify historically a criterion of bringing back a people to Palestine, a territory they left 19 centuries ago? Surely there are more suitable places for the Jews to settle."

Not Neutral

Midway into his project, Father Graham told *The Washington Post*: "I was stupefied at what I was



Cardinal Pacelli shortly after he became papal Secretary of State in 1930. Nine years later he was named Pope Pius XII.

reading. How could one explain actions so contrary to the principle of neutrality?" During the first months of the war, Graham found, the new Pope himself was personally authoring the intensely anti-German texts beamed around the world by Vatican Radio. Although Pius XII's personal involvement was not known at the time, these statements were so strongly worded and partisan that they prompted vigorous protests from the German Ambassador to the Holy See, and even from Polish bishops. As a result, the broadcasts were suspended, much to the chagrin of the British government, which lost what Father Graham calls "a formidable source of propaganda."

Pius XII also set up a Catholic refugee committee in Rome, which he placed under charge of his secretary, Father Leiber, and his housekeeper, young Mother Pasqualina. In his book, *Pie XII avant l'Histoire*, Monsignor Georges Roche reports that this committee enabled thousands of European Jews to enter the United States as "Catholics," providing them with efficient documentation service, including baptismal certificates, financial aid and other trans-national arrangements. The French historian estimates that by 1942 more than one million Jews were being housed, on Vatican orders, in convents and monasteries throughout Europe. British historian Derek Holmes reports that Jews as well as Italian partisans of underground guerrilla movements were dressed as monks and nuns, and taught to sing Gregorian chants.

The Pope himself set an example by taking care of some 15,000 Jews and Italian dissidents at Castel Gandolfo, the Pope's summer residence, as well as several thousand at Vatican City. Among those so helped was the Italian Socialist leader, Pietro Nenni, who needed a hiding place after his return from war-torn Spain, where he had served as a commissar with the International Brigades.

Meanwhile in France, under the very nose of the so-called Vichy government, Cardinal Tisserant worked with the Joint Distribution Committee in facilitating Jewish emigration. His secretary, Msgr. Roche, has described an underground printing press at Nice, protected by the mayor of the city and the archbishop, where 1,915 false identity cards, 136 false work permits, 1,230 false birth certificates, 480 false demobilization cards and 950 false baptismal certificates were produced before the operation was discovered.

In Hungary, Father Giovanni Battista Montini, the future Paul VI, was working with authorities on a scheme that would guarantee safety to the country's 800,000 Jews on condition they submit to baptism.

Plot Against Hitler

To their astonishment, the four Jesuit historians came upon records documenting the personal involvement of Pius XII in a plot to overthrow Hitler. In January 1940 he was approached by the agent of a certain clique of German generals, who asked him to tell the British government that they would undertake to "remove" Hitler if they were given assurances that the British would come to terms with a moderate German regime. Pius XII promptly passed along this message to Sir D'Arcy Osborne, Britain's envoy to the Holy See. The offer was turned down.

The Soviet Factor

Papal preference for the Allied side became more difficult to defend after June 1941, when this

became the Soviet side. By that time Hitler's "Fortress Europe" was overwhelmingly Catholic. Germany itself then included the predominantly Catholic regions of Austria, the Saarland, and the Sudetenland, as well as Alsace-Lorraine and Luxembourg. Moreover, the German-allied countries of Italy, Slovenia, Slovakia and Croatia were entirely Catholic, and Hungary was mainly so. France — including both the German-occupied northern zone and the Vichy-run south — cooperated with Germany. Similarly, Catholic Spain and Portugal were sympathetic.

A Catholic priest, Josef Tiso, had been elected president of the German-backed Republic of Slovakia. In France, which adopted the Axis ban on Freemasonry, crucifixes went up on all public buildings, and on French coins the old official motto of the French Revolution, "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity," was replaced with "Family, Fatherland, Work."

Thus, Pope Pius XII found himself in the awkward position of siding with atheistic Soviet Russia, overwhelmingly Protestant Britain (with its vast, mainly non-Christian Empire), and the predominantly Protestant United States of America, against the largely Catholic "Fortress Europe." His predicament reached a climax following the December 1941 attack on Pearl Harbor, and America's full entry into the world war. Most Catholic Americans — including those of Italian, Irish, German, Hungarian, Slovenian, Croatian and Slovakian descent — had regarded themselves as "isolationists." Furthermore, Communist atrocities against priests, nuns and churches during the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) were fresh in their minds.

Skilled diplomat that he was, Pius XII met the challenge. He appointed the dynamic young Auxiliary Bishop of Cleveland, Michael Ready, to head a campaign to "reinterpret" *Divini Redemptoris*, the anti-Marxist encyclical of the previous Pope, Pius XI, and to put out the word that Soviet dictator Stalin was opening the way to religious freedom in the USSR.

The Pope's Wartime Silence

That it cost something for the head of the Catholic Church to face so many millions of European Catholics as an enthusiastic supporter of their enemies is evident from a poignant letter Pacelli wrote to Myron C. Taylor, who had been his host in New York and was now Roosevelt's envoy to the Holy See. In part, "at the request of President Roosevelt, the Vatican has ceased all mention of the Communist regime. But this silence that weighs heavily on our conscience, is misunderstood by the Soviet leaders who continue the persecution against churches and faithful. God grant that the free world will not one day regret my silence." There was indeed a "silence of Pius XII," but it was not the silence invented by Hochhuth and Friedländer.

Vatican-Communist Cooperation

Still the strivings of the Pope continued. When it became certain that German troops would occupy Rome, he ordered the papal seal to be carved on the entrance gate of Rome's Great Synagogue, and in July 1944 he authorized a meeting between his right-hand man, Msgr. Montini, and the undisputed leader of Italian Communism, Palmiro Togliatti, who had recently returned from 18 years in the Soviet Union.

According to document JR1022, released a few years ago by the successors of the US wartime Office of Strategic Services (OSS)

... the discussion between Msgr. Montini and Togliatti was the first direct contact between a high prelate of the Vatican and a leader of Communism. After having examined the situation, they acknowledged the potential possibility of a contingent alliance between Catholics and Communists in Italy which would give the three parties — Christian Democrats, Socialists and Communists — an absolute majority, thereby enabling them to dominate any political situation. A tentative plan was drafted to forge the basis on which the agreement between the three parties could be made.

That "tentative plan," forged 49 years ago, became the foundation for the unholy alliance that de-Christianized large sections of the Italian population, brought several decades of bloody turmoil into the schools and factories, and opened the nation to the Mafia, climaxing today in the national demand for sweeping social-political reform that is dubbed "*Mani Puliti*," Clean Hands.

"Crusade" Rejected

In his first major address after the war, the Pope defended the one-sided attitude he had maintained throughout the conflict. He told the College of Cardinals, "We as head of the Church refused to call Christians to a crusade." He was referring to the wartime visit to Rome of the French Cardinal, Boudrillat, to ask a papal blessing for the volunteer regiments of Frenchmen, Spaniards, Italians, Croats, Hungarians, Slovenians — Catholics nearly to a man — who were setting out with the armed forces of Germany and her allies to conquer the Soviet Union or, as the Cardinal put it, "to free the Russian people." Along with the "crusaders" was to go a sizeable contingent of Russian- and Ukrainian-speaking priests, young graduates of the Russicum, Rome's Russian seminary, who hoped to open long-closed churches on the way.

The Cardinal's expectations were speedily dashed when the Pope demanded an immediate withdrawal of the request for a blessing. In addition, Boudrillat was to have no contact whatsoever with the press.

As the war dragged on, more pressure was put on Pius XII to resist advancing Marxism. Nuncio Roncalli wrote from Turkey to express "panic" at



Pope Pius XII speaks to a crowd in Rome following an American air attack on the city, August 1943.

the Soviet offensive. He had tried in vain, he reported, to find out from his recent visitor, Cardinal Spellman of New York, how much Roosevelt had promised Stalin. From Bern, the Nuncio Bernardini reported that the Swiss press, "up to now preoccupied with German hegemony, has suddenly begun to take account of a far greater, a mortal danger, that of Germany falling into Soviet hands." Pleading on behalf of the Catholic majorities in Poland and Hungary, he begged the Pope to back any reasonable peace initiative.

In March 1944, Secretary of State Maglione — without, it must be assumed, the Pope's knowledge — was urging Britain's envoy to the Holy See to try to convince Churchill that the Empire needed a non-Communist Germany in a stable Europe. Finally, in April, the Prime Minister of Hungary, Dr. Kallay, came to Rome with a desperate plea to Pius XII to put himself "at the head of a peace initiative capable of halting the Soviet advance that was about to engulf the Christian peoples of Europe."

Pius XII, as he would boast in 1946 to the College of Cardinals, resisted every pressure and rejected every plea, and he gave his reason: "National Socialism has had a more ominous effect on the German people than has Marxism on the Russians, so that only a total reversal of German policies, particularly of those relating to the Jews, could make any move on the part of the Holy See possible."

"... particularly those relating to the Jews." Therein must lie the answer to the question posed by Robert Graham during the *Washington Post* interview, "How could one explain actions so contrary to the principle of neutrality?"

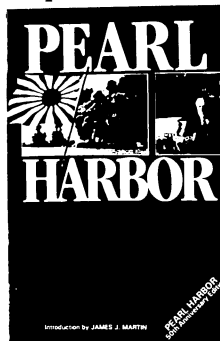
PEARL HARBOR

The Story of the Secret War

by George Morgenstern

Hailed by Revisionist giants Barnes, Beard, and Tansill when it appeared shortly after World War II, this classic remains unsurpassed as a one-volume treatment of America's Day of Infamy. Morgenstern's *Pearl Harbor* is the indispensable introduction to the question of who bears the blame for the

Pearl Harbor surprise, and, more important, for America's entry through the "back door" into World War II. Attractive new IHR softcover edition with introduction by James J. Martin. 425 pp., index, biblio., maps, \$14.95 + \$2.50 shipping.



One in Ten Italians Reject Holocaust Story

One in ten Italians — 9.5 percent — believes that the holocaust extermination story is an "invention of the Jews," according to a public opinion poll. In addition, 42 percent of those surveyed criticize Jews for "playing up" the Holocaust story, particularly after half a century. Results of the survey, which was conducted by the large-circulation Italian magazine *Espresso*, were made public in early November 1992.

Wartime Vatican Role Debated Anti-Defamation League Takes Aim at Italian-American Pride

RUSS GRANATA

On October 25 and 26, 1992, the National Italian American Foundation (NIAF) and the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith (ADL) co-sponsored a conference on "Italians and Jews: Rescue and Aid during the Holocaust" at the Regent Beverly Wilshire Hotel, Beverly Hills, California. I was there, as both a Revisionist and an Italian-American, for the second day of the conference.

The NIAF, based in Washington, D.C., describes itself as a non-profit foundation "dedicated to preserving the Italian heritage and values and providing a Washington voice for the Italian American community." Among its functions are "to promote a positive and realistic image of Italian Americans in the media" and "to encourage greater appreciation of the history and accomplishments of Italians and their descendants in America." Its introductory brochure sports photographs of a galaxy of Italian Americans prominent in many fields, including Governor Mario Cuomo of New York, Associate Justice Antonin Scalia, Joe DiMaggio, Lee Iacocca, Liza Minnelli, and the late A. Bartlett Giamatti.

An ADL brochure distributed there vaunted the group's role in "leading the fight against anti-Semitism," and further informed anyone who didn't already know that the ADL is made up of "advocates for Israel" who see that "challenges to Israel still lie ahead."

Wartime Italian-Jewish Cooperation

At the first session I attended, held on the morning of October 26, Father Robert Graham, an American Jesuit who has, according to Arthur Butz in *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, served "as the principal spokesman of the Vatican" on the stance of the Papacy toward the wartime Axis measures against the Jews, spoke on "The Italian Clergy and Hospitality to the Hounded Jews." Father Graham stressed the help that the Catholic clergy, particularly of the Franciscan order, gave in hiding Jews or aiding them to flee.

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 World War Two.

Professor Andrew Canepa, of the University of California, spoke next on the causes of the Italians' toleration of their small Jewish minority, which he laid to the Italian ability to assimilate many different immigrants through Italy's history, as well as an ability to accept ambiguity. (Professor Canepa, like all other speakers on the day I attended, avoided the touchy question of the positive, mutual affinity that Mussolini and his Fascists evinced for certain Zionists, above all Vladimir Jabotinsky, leader of the Zionist Revisionist movement and mentor of, among others, the late Israeli terrorist and premier Menachem Begin and his followers.)

"Enough of Ambiguity"

After an Italian priest, Father Augusto Moretti, regaled the audience with tales of heartfelt Italo-Jewish wartime collaboration, relations between the two ethnic groups in Beverly Hills took a swift turn for the worse. Rabbi Harold Schulweis, chairman of the conference committee, said to Professor Canepa, in effect, "Enough of Italian ambiguity already. What would have been the impact on Hitler if both Pope Pius XI and Pope Pius XII had spoken out for the Jews?" Professor Canepa shot back that had the Italian clergy denounced the "Holocaust" publicly, they themselves would have been arrested. Father Graham hastened to support this by pointing out that no matter how desirable a statement by Pius XII would have been, the Catholic underground nevertheless came through.

Rabbi Schulweis countered that, whatever the benefits of Italian ambiguity, it would have been better for the Jews had the Italians shown less of it on their behalf. He was seconded by another rabbi, Harvey Fields, whereupon an unidentified man who hurried to the dais from the audience exclaimed that Slovakia had been headed by an anti-Semitic priest (Msgr. Josef Tiso), whom the pope could have excommunicated, but didn't. After further denunciations of other Catholic nations and individuals, including Croatia, he turned to one of the priests and sneered: "They didn't do enough, but you say they did what they could!"

Charge and Counter-Charge

Now the pot was really boiling. Someone exclaimed from the audience, "The Vicar of God never opened his mouth!" A papal defender retorted that Pope Pius XII had kept the proper balance, saving thousands of Jews. Someone else mentioned the

1937 anti-Nazi encyclical "Mit Brennender Sorge," but Professor H. Stuart Hughes (Univ. of Calif.-Santa Barbara) reminded from the dais that encyclical had been issued by Pius XI: Pius XII made no similar public statement during his pontificate.

A somewhat fitful calm was restored by Father Vivian Ben Lima of India, who said that he had known Jews in school in India, and that there was none of this anti-Semitic business back there when he was growing up: "I submit that anti-Semitism is a virus that comes from a European milieu." He observed that in any case the Vatican had made significant concessions to Jewry in the years after Pope Pius XII, and with that the conference moved to another room for lunch.

After the luncheon, Anna Maria Alberghetti and Father Victor Salandini were honored with awards. NIAF Vice Chairman Arthur Gajarsa introduced the ceremony, stating among other things that the main thing to remember from the conference is that the "Holocaust" must not happen again. (Not many minutes before, this was beginning to seem a near thing!). Miss Alberghetti was introduced to much applause from the crowd. The actress of stage and cinema, still a very attractive woman (I was able to talk with her afterward), offered some memories from her wartime girlhood in Italy: an aunt had been shot by the SS, she said, and her father, a music teacher who had trained more than a few Jewish cantors, had been arrested by the Fascists. Miss Alberghetti accepted a silver proof coin commemorating the 500th anniversary of Columbus's voyage of discovery in 1492. I could not help noticing that otherwise no one from the NIAF mentioned that event throughout the day.

Next we were able to see and hear Father Salandini, the self-styled "Tortilla Priest," who was presented the Giorgio Perlasca Humanitarian Award for "someone who has provided extraordinary service to people in need of assistance," and named for an Italian diplomat who allegedly prevented the deportation of thousands of Jews from Hungary in 1944 (presumably by giving them, or selling them, false papers). The Tortilla Priest qualified for this award by aiding striking members of Caesar Chavez's United Farm Workers Union against lettuce and grape producers (among them Italian-Americans): he earned his nickname by celebrating a Mass in front of the home of Robert Egger, an owner of the Egger-Ghio Company, in which he employed a tortilla as the host. (Following the luncheon I caught a glimpse of Mel Mermelstein, whom I hadn't seen earlier, moving through the hotel.)

That afternoon the theme was more conciliatory, with an American Jewish scholar, Dr. Paul Bookbinder of the University of Massachusetts, and an Italian Jewish scholar, Dr. Liliana Picciotto Fargion, from the Milan Center for Modern Jewish Documentation, essentially agreeing that, all things considered, the Italian people were pretty sympathetic to the Jews, and that the real villains were the Germans. (Dr. Bookbinder noted that

even today, the Germans are blaming the disturbances in Rostock and other cities on immigrants, not themselves.)

NIAF official Frank Guida closed the conference, remarking that if attendees had not visited the synagogues in Rome, Milan, Florence, Palermo, and other Italian cities, they certainly should. He also claimed, "We as Roman Catholics think of what might have happened if Italy had been on the Allied side of the Second World War" (allegedly it was, at least for the last twenty months of the conflict). The last words he spoke were: "Arrivederci and shalom."

Atoning for Sins?

So much for Italian pride. One wonders about how Jews would react to a similar conference, titled, let's say, "Jews and Palestinians: Rescue and Aid 1948-1993," culminating in the presentation of a Folke Bernadotte award to, perhaps, Alfred Lilienthal. And after wondering, one ventures that organized Jewry, led by the ADL, would be enraged, describe such a conference as "anti-Semitic," and castigate any Jew who participated as "self-hating."

Are Zionist groups like the ADL targeting the growing "ethnic pride" movement by attaching themselves to various European-American groups, and then using them to promote their own concerns? Might they be planning to shift these groups' emphasis from justified pride in the legitimate achievements of their ancestors (and current kinfolk) to shame for how wickedly they allegedly treated Jews over the centuries, with a wonderful redemption in prospect if they own up to the sins of their forebears, and atone for them as dutiful servitors of Israel and the Zionist-Jewish lobby?

For a refutation of the charge that Pius XII was guilty of failing to help save the Six Million, read the following books, available from the IHR:

— Henri Roques' brilliant, suppressed doctoral thesis, *The 'Confessions' of Kurt Gerstein* (\$11, pb.), exposing the key "witness" against the Pope.

— Arthur Butz's *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* (\$9.95, pb.), which includes a definitive explanation of the papal silence.

— Lenni Brenner's *Zionism in the Age of the Dictators* (\$13, pb.), which documents Zionist collaboration with Mussolini's fascist regime.

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The Holocaust Issue: Three Christian Views

Christian Responsibility to Truth

HERMAN OTTEN

While most Revisionists appear to be opposed to the construction of the [US government] Holocaust Museum in Washington, DC, right next to some of our nation's most cherished monuments, I say: Let it be built! One day it will serve as a monument to the stupidity of modern man, who can still accept a hoax as a fact. Hopefully it will then serve as a reminder to study all the facts and evidence, and repudiate all hoaxes.

The day is surely coming when all the evidence showing that the Germans never exterminated six million Jews can no longer be suppressed. Truth is not determined by majority vote. I learned this lesson in high school, and since then have repeatedly discovered how the majority of scholars, even within our churches, can be in error. That our presidents, senators and congressmen are all supposed to be convinced that the Germans killed six million Jews, that almost all of our nation's professors and churchmen are said to maintain that the Holocaust is a fact, doesn't make it a fact.

There is no dispute over the fact that large numbers of Jews were deported to concentration camps and ghettos, or that many Jews died or were killed during World War II. Revisionist scholars have presented evidence, which "exterminationists" have not been able to refute, showing that there was no German program to exterminate Europe's Jews, and that the estimate of six million Jewish wartime dead is an irresponsible exaggeration.

The Holocaust — the alleged extermination of some six million Jews (most of them by gassing) — is a hoax and should be recognized as such by Christians and all informed, honest and truthful men everywhere.

Here are the reasons that have impressed me as particularly persuasive in coming to my own conclusion that the Revisionist view of the Holocaust story is the correct one:

— There is no convincing or substantial evidence for the allegation of mass killings in gas chambers in the wartime German camps. Careful investigation — in particular that carried out by American engineer Fred Leuchter — has thoroughly discredited the "gas chamber" extermination claims.

— The most reliable statistics available cannot be reconciled with the legendary "six million" figure. The best evidence indicates that no more than a million, or perhaps a million and a half, European Jews perished from all causes during the war years.

— Neither the major Jewish organizations in the United States, nor the wartime Allied governments, nor the International Red Cross, nor the Vatican acted as if they seriously believed the wartime extermination propaganda.

— Although the German government kept extensive and detailed records of its wartime Jewish policy, not a single document has ever been found which substantiates or even refers to an extermination program or policy. Instead, the voluminous German records confiscated by the Allies at the end of the war clearly show that the German "final solution" program was one of emigration and deportation, not extermination.



Rev. Herman Otten speaking at the 1989 IHR Conference.

— Even prominent Jewish "exterminationist" historians now acknowledge that the stories of gassings and extermination in camps in Germany proper are not true, in spite of the fact that such claims were once seriously made, particularly at the great Nuremberg Trial of 1945-1946.

— The Holocaust story now centers on just six former camps in Poland. The so-called "evidence" presented to prove mass exterminations in these camps is qualitatively no better than the now discredited "evidence" once cited for extermination in the camps in Germany proper.

— Much of the co-called "evidence" presented by "exterminationists" over the years has already been thoroughly discredited. For example, the well-known horrific photographs of piles of corpses taken in camps in western Germany at the end of the war are now acknowledged to be photos of victims of disease and malnutrition who perished as indirect victims of the war in the final weeks and months of the conflict. Also, so-called "confessions" — such as those of Auschwitz commandant Rudolf Höss — have been shown to be untruthful

and extracted by torture. Many of the official reports and testimonies presented as “evidence” by the prosecution in the Nuremberg trials have since been shown to be lies.

— The fact that so many Jews “survived” German rule during the war — many of them even in so-called “extermination” centers such as Auschwitz-Birkenau — is enough to show that there was no German program or policy to exterminate the Jews of Europe.

The Holocaust is a hoax. The time has come for Christian scholars and pastors to recognize this, and to stop perpetrating a hoax as the truth. A Christian is not free to believe and promote a lie about any person or nation. True Christian scholars should at least read what the Revisionists write.

Many have said to us: “What difference does it make? The truth of the Holocaust is of no concern to Christians.” Nonsense! A Christian is not free to believe and promote a lie about any person or nation. A Christian is guided by truth and facts, not emotions and majority opinion.

If Christians can accept as historical fact the Holocaust, despite all the powerful evidence that it is a hoax, what does that say about their ability to evaluate evidence? What about their scholarship? Is it any wonder that some Revisionists, who have made a careful study of the Holocaust, question the scholarship of Christians, so many of whom swallow as absolute truth what is clearly a hoax?

I have been told numerous times, even by theologians who claim to be orthodox: “I don’t care whether it was six million or one Jew, even one is too many.” Such an attitude shows contempt for the truth. A Christian is to show true love, and the Apostle Paul tells us that love is “happy with the truth.” (1 Cor. 13:6) The writing of Proverbs tells us: “Speak out for those who can’t speak, for the rights of those who are doomed. Talk up, render fair decisions, and defend the rights of the poor and needy people.” (Proverbs 31:9)

A Christian bases his faith upon facts and absolute truth, not feelings and emotion. A Christian recognizes that only God is all-knowing. A Christian is willing to listen to evidence and evaluate various viewpoints. He doesn’t close his mind to the facts and evidence. He doesn’t start out with the assumption that the Jew is right and the German is wrong, or that the Jew is wrong and the German is right. He looks at the evidence. Those who say they don’t care if it was six million or one are showing a despicable attitude toward truth. They are saying: “We don’t care about the truth.” Such an attitude is sinful and worldly. Is it any wonder that so many then go on to act as if they don’t care about another man’s wife or property? The truthfulness of the Holocaust is a moral issue. Those who maintain that the Germans exterminat-

ed some six million Jews, most of them by gassing, are seeing to it that the Christian Church can no longer avoid speaking out. Churches are being pushed, as never before, to have special services commemorating the Holocaust.

A Christian is ready to change his opinion if the evidence shows he is wrong. Numerous times we have invited “exterminationists” to refute the Revisionists.

Some tell us that we have not shown love to the Jews, and that we are being racists and anti-Semitic when we publish articles by Revisionists questioning the Holocaust, and when we insist that Jesus Christ is the only way to heaven.

We have repeatedly emphasized in many editorials that the Bible teaches that there is no special chosen race. All those — regardless of color, race, nationality, sex, wealth, et cetera — who trust in the merits of Jesus Christ alone for their salvation are God’s chosen people and will go to heaven. Those who tell Jews, Muslims, and any other non-Christian that they worship the true God, and can get to heaven without Christ, are not showing true love to the Jews and other non-Christians.

The so-called “fact” of the Holocaust is being used to deport innocent men from this country who, as teenagers, served with the German armed forces. In some cases they have been sent back to certain death in Communist lands. The [US government’s] Office of Special Investigation is using the Holocaust as an excuse to force from the United States even such a reputable person as the scientist Arthur Rudolph.

Israel is using the “fact” of the Holocaust as an excuse to execute John Demjanjuk, an innocent Ukrainian-American. “The Jewish people have a long score to settle with the Ukrainian people” says Dov Ben-Meir, a deputy speaker of Israel’s Knesset [parliament]. According to this top Israeli official, “unaccounted numbers” of Ukrainians “collaborated with the Nazi regime, especially in the annihilation of hundreds of thousands of Jews.”

The “fact” of the Holocaust is being used by some to deny that Christianity is the only true religion, or that Jesus Christ rose from the dead.

Israel is using the “fact” of the Holocaust as an excuse to kill Palestinians in Israel. This slaughter, together with the anti-scriptural notions of the Israel-first Millennialists, almost all of whom believe in the Holocaust, could lead to another bloody war.

The Holocaust is not some innocent hoax, such as children’s fairy tales that entertain and have no evil consequences.

The “chosen people” and “Holocaust” myths make mission work among non-Christians far more difficult. Arabs, who are told that the Bible teaches that their land belongs to the Jews, find it more difficult to believe what the Bible says about Christ.

"Victims Deserve Better"

JOSEPH SOBRAN

I haven't been to the new United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, but even a *Washington Post* reporter was shocked by what he describes its "outrageous" anti-Christian propaganda. The exhibition apparently dates anti-Semitism from the birth of Christ. And of course the implication of the Museum is that mass murder is worse when its victims are Jews.

Some surprisingly critical notes have been struck in the reviews of the Museum. Kay Larson, art critic for *New York* magazine, objects that "the Germans depicted here . . . are almost exclusively Nazis. . . . Most American children who endure the walk-through will think of Germans as Nazi pigs." She continues:

The Jews endured the most dementedly calculated and well-documented — but hardly the only — case. To separate the Nazi evil from other evils is understandable but Eurocentric. It trivializes all suffering but its own. . . . It awards special, extra-human stature to the victims. Nothing that occurs inside Israel can be wrong, because Jews were gassed at Auschwitz. And so people set themselves apart from, against, and above others.

She has caught the note of most Holocaust rhetoric: intense self-absorption. This is a human reaction, and it can be excused up to a point. That point comes when those whose rights have been violated begin disregarding others' rights, as when Jewish apologists for Israel feel persecuted by criticism of Israel's brutality toward non-Jews.

Even many pro-Israel Jews feel uneasy about the Museum being in America, on government land, paid for with tax money. The implication of its presence is that all Gentiles, especially Christians, need to be instructed, to have their consciousness raised, even to be made to feel guilty about Jewish suffering. As if we didn't know that murder and persecution are wrong! As if Israel were a moral model for *us*!

In the same way, the implication of the word "anti-Semitism" is that the chief moral test for anyone is whether he has the correct attitude toward Jews. And again, this is understandable — but also very narrow. Murdering Ukrainians is every bit as evil as murdering Jews, after all. But why should we even have to say that?

The wrong lesson is being drawn. You would think that the evil of Hitler was mere anti-Semitism as such, rather than mass murder. But if anti-Semitism were confined to country-club snobbery, even Jews wouldn't mind it too much. The real evil is the use of the state as an instrument of death. Government, perverted from its modest uses, can magnify every crime unimaginably.

That is the real "lesson of the Holocaust," the lesson our time still refuses to learn. We think it's

only the Hitler or Stalin version of the superstate that is wrong. But think how America's conduct in World War II would have appeared to our ancestors. It's hard for us to feel the sheer monstrosity of bombing cities.

I recently heard some interesting testimony on this point. During that war the US government commissioned a series of propaganda films from Frank Capra, which were made under the collective title "Why We Fight." One of them, "The Battle for China," describes the barbarity of the "Japs," also called "Nips," and mocked them for their "grinning yellow faces." Among the horrors perpetrated by the Japs was the unprecedented atrocity of bombing cities, killing civilians by the thousands!

Of course Capra and his staff didn't know that the US government was planning to do exactly that to Japanese and German cities. In their innocence, they assumed that only a savage, alien race could have stooped to such barbarism.

But we have supped full with horrors. Evil bores us. Its statistical extremes have long since lost their interest, and there is something ritually formulaic in the demands that we profess belief in, and abhorrence toward, Nazi and Communist abominations. "Holocaust denial" has become the big thought crime, denounced by Christians who are quite tolerant of those who deny the Redemption. No similar opprobrium, by the way, attaches to Gulag denial. After all, nobody who really believes a thing wants to force others to profess belief in it. Sincerity never demands hypocrisy.

Even the word "Holocaust" has come to seem a polemical appropriation of human suffering that verges on the indecent. I remember an old Jewish woman I slightly knew who had a number tattooed on her wrist. That told me all I needed to know about Hitler, and it would be pedantic to wonder whether a regime that was willing to brand Jews like cattle meant to kill them all. But it would have seemed morally crass to call what that woman had been through as a girl "the Holocaust": It's beginning to sound like a brand name, of special utility to glib hawkers. All the victims of World War II, including Jews, deserve more respect than that.

"Examine All the Evidence"

LOUIS VEZELIS

On April 22, 1993, an ugly, monstrous edifice was dedicated in Washington, DC. It is a grotesque museum dedicated to the victims of evil. The only problem is that the majority of people throughout the world have been conditioned like Pavlovian dogs to react irrationally to pre-determined stimuli. Those who refuse are summarily isolated from the rest of the dehumanized human herd through use of meaningless but emotionally-charged epithets.

It is quite easy to observe which newspapers are subservient to this modern day hoax. The subject is the so-called "Holocaust Museum" built on public land "generously" donated by the US government...

Insulting terminology in an editorial appearing in the left-wing, pro-Zionist, anti-Christian *Democrat and Chronicle* [newspaper of Rochester, New York] introduces the reader to the most obvious abuse of logic and good taste. But, logic and good taste have systematically been expunged from the American mind during a period of more than thirty years.

Well-informed American citizens demonstrated [in Washington, DC, on April 22] against the historically false accusations constantly made against the German people and other nationalities whose only real crime was resisting the international gangsters who facetiously call their brand of exploitation "Communism."

The *Democrat and Chronicle* editorial starts out:

The mindless folks who were waving signs at the opening of the Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, DC, last week claiming that the Holocaust never happened merely demonstrate why the museum is so important: to preserve the facts, before they disappear in the mists of history.

These "mindless folks" include none other than well-educated professors and professional historians, investigative reporters and, in general, are among the most descent people of a civilized society. It is their *right and duty* to examine all the evidence, and draw the truthful conclusions concerning what really happened in history.

There is already a strong indication that those who promote the Holocaust story are afraid of the truth. That can only explain the need for ridiculing those who seek only to present the entire matter before an open world forum of unbiased and unprejudiced investigators. Because the preponderance of objective and factual evidence shows the promoters of the Holocaust story to be libelous frauds, sneak tactics and irrational emotionalism must be used.

We are concerned for the truth. Only those who are not of the truth must resort to lies and bloodshed. Facts by themselves do not constitute truth. Truth is in the judgment. . .

The Hollywood cosmetics exploiting the unfortunate victims of death do not prove anything. For example, to film or photograph dead bodies, and then label them according to one's political need is a travesty of justice and truth beyond the capability of morally responsible individuals. Facts must be correctly interpreted before they can tell something of truth.

Another example is the famous "Anne Frank Diary" which has been foisted upon the American people at all levels. We all wept at the Hollywood tear-jerker action on the silver screen. Decent people reacted as expected by the unscrupulous

falsifiers of fact. It has come to the attention of more and more people that this diary is a fraud. Yes, it has been proven to be fake. Public school facilities are periodically used to foist this fraud upon unsuspecting citizenry to re-enforce the psychological brainwashing.

Anne Frank was not fake: She really did live. But everything else about her life is a melodramatic, money-making operation to overwhelm the world with hatred for a nation. . . No one says anything comparable about the children brutally murdered by the Soviets when they occupied the Baltic States in 1940, and Germany in 1945.

A French Professor whose love for truth is greater than his love for fame and life, Robert Faurisson, has proven that the alleged "diary" of Anne Frank could not have been written by her. . .

While the American people are being lulled into very dangerous apathy by being fed psycho-babble, a real holocaust, including child murder, is taking place every day in occupied Palestine. . .

Could it be that someone is trying to put a guilt complex on the American people so they will not dare raise a loud voice of protest against greater evils?

Herman Otten is a Lutheran pastor and editor-publisher of the weekly *Christian News* of New Haven, Missouri. This commentary is excerpted from his address at the Ninth IHR Conference. The complete text is published in the Fall 1989 *Journal*.

Joseph Sobran is a nationally-syndicated columnist, lecturer and Critic-at-Large for *National Review*. This commentary is taken from his "Washington Watch" column in the May 13, 1993, issue of *The Wanderer*, a conservative Roman Catholic weekly.

Louis Vezelis, O.F.M., is editor of *The Seraph*, a traditionalist Roman Catholic monthly published by the Franciscan Friars (Order of St. Francis of Assisi) of Rochester, New York. This commentary is from an editorial by Bishop Vezelis in the May 1993 issue of *The Seraph*.

"Even in a world as degenerate as ours, one can still lead a life worthy of living. It means remaining unbought and true to one's dignity, and never to lift a finger for the unworthy — even at the cost of sacrifice."

— Joachim Fernau, German writer, in his published collection of letters *In dem Hause auf dem Berge* (Munich, 1992). quoted in: *Nation und Europa* (Coburg), June 1993, p. 13.

In Europe:

Further Legal Persecution of Revisionists

German University Professor Charged for Holocaust Remarks

A respected German university professor has been charged with “popular incitement” because he told some colleagues six years ago that the Holocaust story is not true.

Rainer Ballreich, who teaches “biomechanics” at the sports institute of the University of Frankfurt, reportedly told a few colleagues at a 1987 meeting of the German Sports League that the story of six million murdered Jews is a lie, and that most concentration camp deaths were due to disease and malnutrition. The alleged remarks were first made public last March in an open letter by one of those present. (*Frankfurter Neue Presse*, March 26, 1993 p. 18.)

Ballreich, 62, has a respected name in his profession. From 1974 to 1988 he was a member of the scholarly commission of the Federal Committee for Sports Achievement of the German Sports League. Until 1988 he was chairman of the “Movement and Training” section of the Federal Institute for Sports Science, which is supervised jointly the German Interior Ministry and the German Sports League. Until last year Professor Ballreich was a member of the credentials committee of the Federal Institute for Sports Science.

Ballreich denies the charge against him. The case is further complicated because there is a five year statute of limitations for the crime.

Teacher Faces Legal Action for Denial of Mass Gassings

A German teacher faces dismissal and legal action for his rejection of claims of mass killings in gas chambers during the Second World War.

Hans-Jürgen Witzsch teaches German and history at the metropolitan school of economics in Nuremberg. The 53-year-old educator (*Oberstudienrat*) and former city council member, is also chairman of a local revisionist group.

In January he sent a letter to Bavarian Radio expressing support for the revisionist views of British historian David Irving. Witzsch wrote:

For me, along with many other historians, there is no longer any reasonable doubt that the claim of gas chambers as extermination facilities during the National Socialist period is an invention of wartime atrocity propaganda, and a claim for which there is no real proof.

Because of his revisionist views about the Second World War, Witzsch was suspended in 1981 from teaching at the city’s metropolitan school of economics. However, the suspension was overturned on appeal to a court, and he resumed teaching at the school in the fall of 1991. (*Nürnberger Nachrichten*, March 26, p. 11.)

Swiss Teacher Suspended For Holocaust Book

Because he wrote a book that disputes claims of wartime extermination gas chambers, a Swiss teacher has been summarily suspended from his position.

Jürgen Graf was suspended as a teacher of Latin and French at a secondary school in Therwil (near Basel) in late March shortly after the publication of his book, *Der Holocaust auf dem Prüfstand: Augenzeugenberichte versus Naturgesetze* (“The Holocaust on the Test Stand: Eyewitness Reports versus the Laws of Nature”). The 112-page softcover work provides a well-organized introduction to the Holocaust issue from a revisionist perspective. (This book is also mentioned in the July-August 1993 *Journal*, p. 25.)

Graf distributed copies of his book, along with a four-page cover letter, to numerous history teachers, professors, journalists and political figures across Switzerland.

Graf says that he was very much aware of the likely repercussions of the publication of his book, and fully expected that official action of some kind would be taken against him. “I had to expect to be suspended from school service,” he says. “De facto,” this suspension is “a dismissal without notice.”

Someone like Graf “obviously” cannot be a teacher, an official of the Swiss Federal Education and Cultural Affairs Authority has declared. Graf’s book is “absolutely not open to discussion.”

During the year and a half that he worked as a teacher in Therwil, Graf was well regarded by both colleagues and students as an “involved and competent teacher.” He did not speak about the Holocaust issue in his classroom sessions. (*Basellandschaftliche Zeitung*, March 24.)

Graf, who was born in Switzerland in 1951, strongly rejects allegations that he is a neo-Nazi or an anti-Semite. “I respect the truth,” he explains. “I can no longer live with the gas chamber lie.”

Graf readily acknowledges that Europe’s Jews suffered terribly under German rule during the war years. “Every decent person strongly condemns

these brutal persecutions," he says.

It was only after intensive study — including reading of more than 150 books — that Graf came to the conclusion in 1991 that the generally accepted Holocaust story is a product of wartime propaganda. There were no extermination gas chambers, and no systematic extermination of Jews during the war years, he writes.

A second and much more detailed work by Graf appeared in June. *Der Holocaust-Schwindel: Vom Werden und Vergehen des Jahrhundertbetrugs* ("The Holocaust Swindle: The Development and Passing of the Hoax of the Century") is a copiously referenced 250-page softcover book. A letter by Dr. Robert Faurisson serves as a preface to the work.

Graf promises to openly defy a new Swiss "Anti-Racism" law that provides for heavy fines or imprisonment for those who "deny the genocide or the crimes against humanity."

As we go to press, Graf's two books are still available from: Guideon Burg Verlag, Postfach 52, CH-4009 Basel, Switzerland.

Doubts About Holocaust Story Permissible, German Judge Rules

In a remarkable verdict, a German court has found a key Revisionist activist innocent of the crime of "denying" the Holocaust extermination story.

On May 25, Munich court judge Florian Schenk declared defendant Ewald Althans innocent of charges arising from statements he made during a 1992 television interview expressing doubt about claims of systematic extermination of Jews during the Second World War.

In a vigorously delivered and evidently persuasive defense plea, made by Althans himself, the gifted 27-year-old cited the drastically divergent figures of Auschwitz victims, as well as the findings of Jewish American revisionist David Cole. (For more about Cole and his work, see the March-April 1993 *Journal*.)

While German law "of course" makes it a crime to deny mass extermination, said Judge Schenk, expressing doubt about extermination or mass gassings is not forbidden. Althans had "merely doubted" the Holocaust story, declared Schenk, who said that expressions of doubt are necessary in order to arrive at the truth. The German law that makes it a crime to "deny" the Holocaust story could be a dangerous restriction of freedom of expression, he added.

Schenk also criticized the behavior of the police during a demonstration by the "Ecological Left" on January 16 against Althans' Munich headquarters. Schenk expressed disgust with the behavior of the police, who escorted the leftist mob to the site, and then stood by while the hoodlums carried out their crimes of violence.

Althans is a major distributor of Revisionist writings in Germany. He works closely with German-Canadian publisher and publicist Ernst Zündel.

State prosecutors are appealing the verdict, which Althans called "phenomenal" and a "splendid victory."

Health Care Worker Sentenced for Distributing Revisionist Paper

A German court has sentenced a 30-year-old health care worker to four months imprisonment, suspended for three years, for distributing copies of a tabloid paper that rejects the Holocaust extermination story.

In March, a court in Hameln found the defendant, identified in newspaper reports only as "Rainer W.," guilty of defamation, popular incitement, and incitement to racial hatred.

The defendant, who works in the nearby town of Bad Pyrmont, freely acknowledging distributed 300 copies of an issue of *Remer Depesche*, a tabloid paper published by retired German general Otto Ernst Remer. Rainer W. expressed his support for the views of Remer's paper, and spoke in court of the "Six Million Lie." A newspaper report on the case expressed astonishment that he felt no sense of guilt for his "crime." (*Bad Pyrmont Nachrichten*, March 19.)

Remer Depesche is considered particularly "incendiary," the local newspaper reported, because it claims that there was no systematic wartime extermination of Jews. (For more about Remer and his paper, see the March-April *Journal*, pp. 29-30.)

Citing the right of freedom of expression guaranteed in Germany's "Basic Law," Rainer W. told the court that he was legally entitled to distribute the *Remer Depesche*. State prosecuting attorney Nikolaus Borchers sharply rejected this argument, insisting that the right does not apply in this case. The right of freedom of expression, said Borchers, is not unlimited and cannot be abused to libel others. The "persecution of the Jews," he went on to explain, has been "historically proven," and is not open to discussion.

Calling Rainer W. a "criminal by conviction," the prosecuting attorney argued that the public must be protected from his activities. Borchers asked the court to punish him with a fine of 2,000 marks (about \$1,200), and six months imprisonment, suspended for three years.

Rainer W. rejected an offer by Borchers to reduce the sentence if he promised to "improve." The defendant was encouraged by the presence of many friends and supporters, who filled the courtroom. He is appealing the sentence.

South African Member of Parliament Under Fire for Support of Revisionism

Because he expressed public support for the revisionist cause of truth in history in a letter to the Institute for Historical Review, a South African lawmaker has come under attack from Zionist-Jewish organizations.

South African newspapers have reported on a letter in the November 1992 *IHR Newsletter*, by Louis F. Stofberg, a senior Conservative party member of the House of Assembly in Cape Town. In the letter he wrote:

I have just received the *IHR Newsletter* for October with the good news that Zündel has won in Canada's Supreme Court. Please convey my congratulations and good wishes to Ernst Zündel. Like the *IHR* itself, he is a hero of the truth unsurpassed in our times.

Our enemies have done everything, and their worst, to stop him. They have failed, and revisionism can go forward with greater confidence than ever before that victory will be ours.

A report on the letter in the Johannesburg *Star*, the country's largest-circulation daily paper, was headlined "CP MP defends letter about Holocaust" (May 14).

A lengthier report in *The Weekly Mail*, also of Johannesburg, was headlined "CP's Stofberg linked to neo-Nazis" (May 14-20). This sensational article seemed less concerned about the lawmaker's acclaim for the *IHR*, than for his praise of "neo-Nazi" Zündel. As Stofberg explained to journalists, though, he praised Zündel as a defender of free speech, not for his political views.

The *Weekly Mail* article absurdly characterizes the *IHR* as a group that has "claimed that Auschwitz and other death camps were built by the Allies after the war in an attempt to smear the Nazis."

An official of the South African Jewish Board of Deputies says of Stofberg: "It is scandalous in today's world that an MP should deny the Holocaust." In *Holocaust Denial*, a new book compiled and published by the American Jewish Committee, AJC official Kenneth Stern criticizes Stofberg for his letter in the *IHR Newsletter*.

Interestingly, Stofberg has not (yet) been criticized for his letter in the Summer 1992 issue of the *Journal* (p. 246), which concludes: "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."

Who reads the Journal? Letters from a US Senator and an Austrian President about articles in the Journal

United States Senate
Washington, DC 20510

April 21, 1993

Dear Dr. John,

Thank you very much for having taken the time to write and to send the excerpt from [the March-April 1993 *Journal* of Robert John's review of] Issah Nakleh's *Encyclopedia of the Palestine Problem*. I am glad to have it, and I anticipate that it will prove to be of use.

Sincerely,

[signed]
Daniel Patrick Moynihan

Der Bundespräsident

September 15, 1986

Dear Mr. John,

Many thanks for your kind wishes on the occasion of my election to the Presidency of the Republic of Austria. I was deeply touched by your thoughtful gesture.

I have read with great interest your article [in the Winter 1985-86 *Journal*] on the Balfour Declaration and other historical aspects. I return you herewith *The Journal of Historical Review*.

One of the first important steps to overcome the horrible consequences of a tragedy, as was World War II, was to build up an atmosphere of understanding of mutual esteem between Europeans and Americans. That is why I appreciated so much your letter.

With warmest regards and best wishes.

Yours sincerely,

[signed]

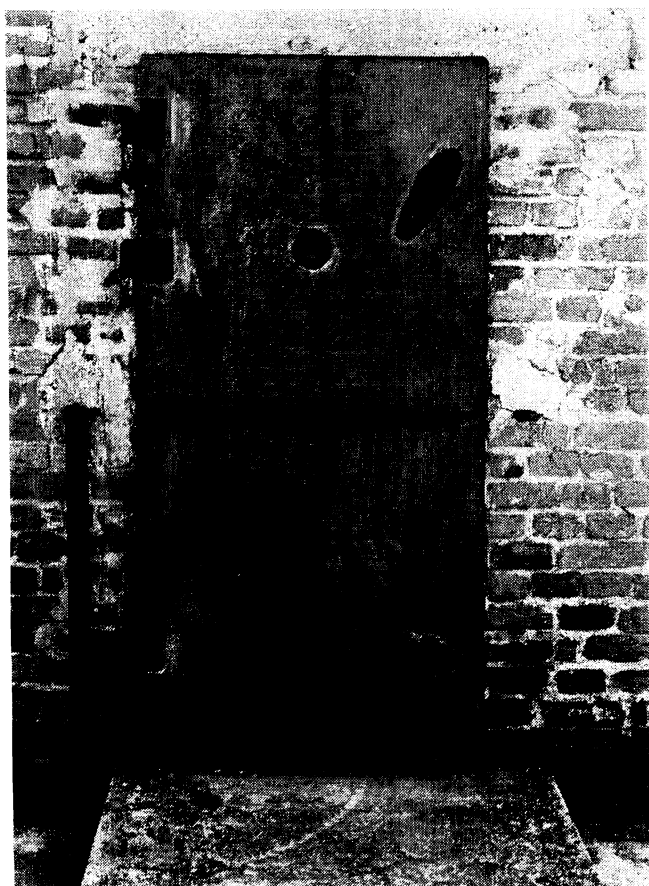
Kurt Waldheim

"Let truth and falsehood grapple freely, for whoever knew the truth put to the worst in a free and open encounter."

— John Milton

Gas Chamber Door Fraudulently Portrayed at US Holocaust Museum

Visitors at the recently opened US Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, DC, will find on display a casting of a door of a supposed extermination gas chamber. This artifact is presented as graphic evidence of the chemical slaughterhouses supposedly used by the Germans to systematically exterminate masses of Jews during the Second World War.



This door on display at the US Holocaust Memorial Museum is fraudulently portrayed as the door of an extermination gas chamber.

According to the March 1990 issue of the Museum's official *Newsletter*, this is "a casting of the door that sealed one of the gas chambers at the Majdanek killing center in Poland." This door is also shown in *The World Must Know: The History of the Holocaust as Told in the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum*, a book by Museum official Michael Berenbaum. A photograph of it appears on page 138 (reproduced here) along with

a caption describing it as "a casting of the door to the gas chamber at Majdanek . . . from the outside, SS guards could observe the killing through a small peephole."

French anti-Revisionist researcher Jean-Claude Pressac reports on this door in his 563-page book, *Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers* (published in 1989 by "Nazi hunters" Serge and Beate Klarsfeld). He provides a photograph of the building in the Majdanek camp, including the door from which the Holocaust Museum casting was made.

As Pressac correctly notes, this door did indeed close on a gas chamber at Majdanek. However, as he concedes (on pages 555 and 557 of his book), this was a *delousing* chamber used to disinfest clothing. The only living things killed in this gas chamber were lice.

The fraud of the US Holocaust Museum in presenting this "gas chamber" door was pointed out by *Journal* editor Mark Weber in his speech in suburban Washington, DC, on April 21, and by IHR editorial advisor Dr. Robert Faurisson in the July-August *Journal* (pages 14-17).



Shattering the Icon of Abraham Lincoln

By Sam Dickson

A Paper Presented to the **Seventh
International Revisionist
Conference**, October 1986

Softcover • 32 pages

Notes • \$2.50 + 75¢ shipping

from Institute for Historical Review

*"The
astonishing
thing about
this paper on
Abraham
Lincoln is
that it is
needed at all
or is
considered
controversial. In my
opinion, one
does not
have to be a
scholar to
ferret out
obscure and
suppressed
facets of
history to see
Abraham
Lincoln as he
was."*

—Sam Dickson

"The profoundest of all infidelities is the fear that the truth will be bad."

— Herbert Spencer

British Historian Hugh Trevor-Roper On the Gerstein "Confessions," the Roques Thesis, and the Gas Chamber Question

While serving as a British army intelligence officer during the Second World War, Hugh-Trevor Roper earned a reputation as a leading expert on the German military intelligence service. At the end of the war, he was called upon to investigate the many stories then circulating about Hitler's fate. The results of his inquiry, which he made public in late 1945, immediately brought an end to fantastic tales that Hitler had survived the war.

*Trevor-Roper's investigation became the basis for a book, *The Last Days of Hitler*, which was first published in 1947. By 1983, almost half a million copies of this widely acclaimed work had been sold worldwide.*

*In 1957, Trevor-Roper's friendship with Harold Macmillan, then Prime Minister, helped secure for him the prestigious post of Regius Professor of History at Oxford University, which he held for many years. His criticisms of *The Origins of the Second World War*, a revisionist work by fellow British historian A.J.P. Taylor, have been widely quoted.*

*Prime Minister Thatcher granted Trevor-Roper a peerage in 1979, and a year later he took the title Lord Dacre of Glanton. Perhaps the most embarrassing moment in his career came in 1983, when he inspected the spurious "Hitler diaries" and, after only a cursory examination, pronounced them to be authentic. (For more on this, see Robert Harris' *Selling Hitler*, reviewed in the Winter 1986-87 Journal.)*

*In the following letter, Lord Dacre (Trevor-Roper) comments on the doctoral work of French historian Henri Roques. (Roques' dissertation, which is published in English by the IHR under the title *The "Confessions" of Kurt Gerstein*, is available from the IHR for \$11, plus \$2 shipping. Roques, a member of the IHR editorial advisory committee, addressed the 1987 IHR Conference. His presentation appeared in the Spring 1988 Journal.)*

As he makes clear in this letter — published here in full with permission of Henri Roques — Trevor-Roper generally accepts the orthodox Holocaust extermination story. At the same time, though, the renowned British historian expresses praise for French scholar's work, confirms the unreasoning persecution that befalls those who dare question the orthodox Holocaust story, and dismisses the supposedly authoritative evidence presented at the main Nuremberg trial for execution gassings at the Dachau and Buchenwald camps.



Hugh Trevor-Roper (Lord Dacre)

House of Lords

The Old Rectory
Didcor
Oxon OX11 7EB
[England]
17 May 1990

Dear Monsieur Roques

I greatly appreciate the trouble you have taken to write to me so fully about your thesis and its consequences. Many thanks for your letter.

I was impressed by your thesis when I read it in Mr. Percival's translation. I thought it an entirely legitimate, scholarly and responsible work of *Quellenkritik* [source critique] on a limited but important subject, and I was shocked by Mr. Percival's account, in his preface, of its rejection on what seem to me irrelevant non-intellectual grounds. Indeed, I found it difficult to believe that account — or Mr. Percival's explanation of the attack, *viz*: that French professors, because of the centralization of French education, are mere functionaries, obedient, even in intellectual matters, to the government. From your letter I see that Mr. Percival has indeed simplified the story. In any case, the manifesto in *Le Monde* is not directly relevant to your case since it preceded it in time. Mr. Percival did not, I think, make this perfectly clear.

I consider that you have shown that Gerstein's testimony cannot be relied upon. The logical consequence of this, as it seems to me, is that we should (at least provisionally) exclude it altogether from the

evidence. What evidence then remains for the gas-chambers?

I agree that, at first, many irresponsible statements were made — e.g. about gas-chambers at Dachau and Buchenwald. But we can forget them. We are concerned with the “extermination camps” in the General Gouvernement of Poland. You argue that the elimination of Gerstein’s evidence eliminates the alleged gas chambers at Belzec; and your thesis suggests (though it does not explicitly state) that if the gas chambers at Belzec disappear, the others follow them into limbo. However, in your letter, you concede that this is not a necessary consequence: you *believe* that the other did not exist, but you do not claim to have demonstrated it.

I am not competent to argue the matter. It is a long time since I saw the evidence and I am now too pre-occupied (and too old) to immerse myself in the controversy. I also know, from experience (as you have found), that the controversy is itself dangerous. The Jews suffered so horribly during the war that any comment which seems to reduce that suffering, even if it is merely a scholarly attempt to disengage history from mythology, is at once regarded as a kind of blasphemy. Arno Mayer, whose book I have read [*Why Did the Heavens Not Darken?*], has experienced this. And of course there are some such commentators with whom one does not wish to be associated.

I would hope to see the whole evidence fairly re-examined without reference to Gerstein; but I am not prepared to undertake that task myself: The evidence is too indistinct in my mind. I take it that there is no need to argue about the *Einsatzkommandos* or the policy of extermination; only about the systematic gassing in particular camps. That gas was used in mobile vans we know; and we know that this was found to be unsatisfactory and that a “cleaner” and more systematic method of destruction was sought. We know that experts were sent out from the department T2 (which used gas in the euthanasia project) and that T2 was directly controlled from the *Führerkanzlei*, thus showing Hitler’s personal involvement (also admitted in Goebbels’ *Diary*). So the circumstantial evidence is strong. What then of the actual, or alleged chambers?

In my letter to Mr. Percival I think I referred to the evidence of Pfannenstiel at Belzec and of Hoess as commandant of Auschwitz, which is demonstrably independent. You dismiss this, offering what you admit to be speculative motives for Pfannenstiel’s testimony, and regarding Hoess as a dubious source (I don’t know why). I can find other motives — still speculative, but to me more plausible — for Pfannenstiel; and I also consider that von Otter’s account has some relevance. But since we are both speculating about motives, we can agree to differ there. On the technical aspects cited by you in your thesis, and by Fred Leuchter, I am incompetent to express a view.

So there I must leave the matter — in suspense — only saying that I regard your thesis as entirely legitimate and very interesting, and that I hope your appeal to the Conseil d’Etat is upheld!

Yours sincerely, Dacre

The Exposé that Shatters the Myth
of Pope Pius XII’s
Complicity in the Holocaust

THE ‘CONFESSIONS’ OF KURT GERSTEIN

Author Henri Roques’ doctoral thesis made world headlines in 1986 when, for the first time in the nearly eight-century history of French universities, a duly awarded doctorate was revoked by government order.



Henri Roques

What Roques had done was produce a closely argued thesis that struck at the very roots of the Holocaust story’s credibility by challenging the “confessions” of SS officer Kurt Gerstein.

For the first time, the accusations of Gerstein—the enigmatic, twisted Third Reich functionary who claimed to have witnessed mass gassings of Jews in 1942—were

subjected to thorough critical review. Roques’ stunning conclusion: *not only are Gerstein’s allegations of a mass extermination of Jews, and a Roman Catholic cover-up of the slaughter groundless, but postwar academics have deliberately manipulated and falsified key parts of Gerstein’s tortured testimony.*

An indispensable resource for scholar and layman alike, *The ‘Confessions’ of Kurt Gerstein* provides transcripts and translations of all six versions of Gerstein’s story, as well as photocopies of the originals; a searching examination of both the authenticity and credibility of the “confessions”; and numerous documents and records which have never before been published.

Had I been a member of the jury, I would probably have given a grade of “Very good” to Mr. Roques’ thesis.

—Michel de Bouard, Institut de France

... From now on researchers will have to take his work into account. . .

—Alain Decaux, Académie Française

The ‘Confessions’ of Kurt Gerstein by Henri Roques

Translated from the French by Ronald Percival

Softcover • 318 pp. • Index, Charts • \$11 + \$2.50 postage

ISBN 0-939484-27-7

Available from

INSTITUTE FOR HISTORICAL REVIEW

The Adventure of Revisionism

ROBERT FAURISSON

With rare exceptions, a Revisionist researcher is not an intellectual closeted in his study. Even if he were to choose a hermit's life, society would soon see to the end of his isolation.

To begin with, a Revisionist must be willing to travel wherever his research requires, and to carry out investigations on the spot. And because he'll receive no help from the authorities — on the contrary — the Revisionist must learn to outwit his adversaries and overcome a hundred obstacles to achieve his goals. Life itself becomes his teacher.

He must establish and cultivate contacts with fellow Revisionists around the globe, for no researcher can isolate himself from the work of others. Speaking for myself, Revisionism has brought me to many lands, in particular the United States of America, Canada and Germany, as well as Britain, the Netherlands, Belgium, Norway, Sweden, Austria, Switzerland, Spain, Italy, Poland, and a few other countries. (Historical Revisionism is also growing in Australia, New Zealand, Ukraine, Japan, Tunisia, South Africa, Iran and Peru.)

In cultivating these contacts, one discovers the ways that different mentalities — Anglo-Saxon, Germanic, Latin, Arab, Jewish, Catholic, Protestant, Muslim and atheist — confront one of the mightiest taboos in history: the Jewish "Holocaust." Revisionism, which lays bare the taboo, thus uncovers differences in outlook as well.

It reveals, too, what individuals are made of and how institutions actually function. I like to watch the face of a man or a woman, an oldster or a teenager, as he or she trembles upon hearing, for the first time, the sacrilegious words of a Revisionist. With some, the face colors and the eyes light up: curiosity is aroused. Others pale; the person who believed in his own tolerance discovers his bigotry, and the one who had easily opened his heart quickly slams it shut.

Confronted by Revisionism, institutions likewise show themselves for what they are: products of circumstantial arrangements on which time has conferred an aura of respectability. The judiciary, for instance, claims to defend justice (a virtue!) or to uphold the law (a necessity), and would have us believe that, as a group, judges care for truth. But, when a judge finds himself obliged to try a Revi-

sionist, how odd to watch as he jettisons the scruples he and his colleagues claim to honor! When faced with a Revisionist, there exists for a judge neither faith, nor law, nor right. In confronting Revisionism, the judiciary shows just how rickety it is.

As for the petty little world of journalism, the media demonstrates how it, more than anyone, is careful to traffic only in authorized ideas and wares; while at the same time it fosters, through its antics, the illusion of a free circulation of ideas and opinions — not unlike jesters in a tyrant's court.

The Revisionist lives dangerously. Police, judges and journalists lurk in wait for him. He may end up in prison — or the hospital. He risks economic ruin for himself and his family. Little of that matters to him. He lives, he dreams, he imagines. He feels that he is free. It's not that he cherishes illusions about the impact of his findings. These frighten everyone; they are too much in contradiction to accepted knowledge. These findings strike at two great human mysteries: the general mystery of fear, and the specific mystery of the need for belief, belief in something, no matter what.

One historian, after finishing a five-volume *History of Mankind*, was once asked: "After all is said and done, what is the chief motivation of human history?" After a long hesitation, he replied: "Fear." There is no question that fear is an overwhelming factor, and that it assumes in man, more than in beast, the most striking, and sometimes the most ludicrous, forms, no less than the most deceptive disguises. In most men, but certainly not in all, the mystery of fear combines with another mystery: that is, as already indicated, the need, the desire, or the will to believe for the sake of believing. For this there is a saying in English that we lack in French: "the will to believe." Céline said: "The fury to lie and *to believe* spreads like the itch." ("La rage de mentir *et de croire* s'attrape comme la gale.") Before him, La Fontaine noted: "Man is frozen to truths. He is on fire for lies." ("L'homme est de glace aux vérités. Il est de feu pour les mensonges.")

Revisionism can correct history, but it will correct nothing of human nature. On the other hand, the future will prove the Revisionists, as writers of history, were right. There is already too much evidence to show that the progress of Revisionism is inexorable. Revisionism is destined for a place in history "as the great intellectual adventure of the end of the century."

Robert Faurisson, Europe's foremost Holocaust Revisionist scholar, is a frequent *Journal* contributor. This essay was translated by IHR editor Theodore J. O'Keefe.

How Fake War Propaganda Stories Are Manufactured

M.I.L.L./7.b.

Suggestions for Rumours of a Military Nature submitted through the Inter-Services Security Board for the current week.

○ SECRET.

Serial No.	Suggestions.	Submitted by	Remarks by I.S.S.B.
A.	<p><u>GENERAL.</u> Note: This rumour is designed to suggest that although the Germans may have a peace offer in mind, (a) such offers are never genuine, (b) the British have no intention of negotiating.</p> <p>1. The reason the Germans want peace is that they have worked out that it will require 200 divisions to hold the Russian front in winter. Fifteen divisions are proving too few even for the Russian guerrillas.</p>	P.I.D.	No security objection.
B.	<p><u>GERMANY.</u> Note: Nos 1-7 are designed to stress the horrors of the Russian winter and are aimed at German women, particularly the older generation.</p> <p>1. The wolves in White Russia track ambulance columns by the smell of blood.</p> <p>2. Two ambulance columns from the East Front ran out of petrol in a forest in White Russia and were besieged by wolves for three days when they were rescued only the guards were left alive and the only doctor had gone mad.</p> <p>3. The Wehrmacht have realised that heavy casualties among specialist troops are killing off all their numbers and have insisted that men over 40 should be drafted into shock battalions.</p> <p>4. Now that the East Front war has become less mechanised the last war soldier has come more into his own and is getting more of the fighting.</p> <p>5. At a certain point on the homeward journey guards and attendants on German hospital trains are ordered to put their gas masks on. The train then enters a tunnel where it stays for half an hour. When it comes out the wounded are dead.</p> <p>Note. This rumour was suggested by the J.I.C.</p> <p>6. There are special wards in some of the more remote German hospitals for noseless, earless, toeless and fingerless soldiers - frostbite cases.</p>	"	"

Manufactured "rumors," designed to mislead and demoralize the German public during the Second World War, were proposed to the British War Cabinet's Joint Intelligence Sub-Committee in October 1941. "Rumor" number five, which was suggested by the Joint Intelligence Committee, is a story that the Germans were using poison gas to secretly kill off their own wounded soldiers.

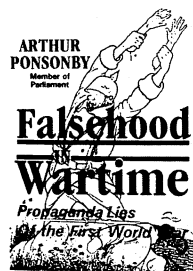
This document, and other records of this Committee, were kept secret until earlier this year, when they were released to the Public Record Office in London. This document is reproduced in facsimile from *The Independent Magazine* (London), March 27, 1993, p. 59.

"Works Every Time"

"It's a sad fact," said the principal philanthropist of the grotesque Simon Wiesenthal Center in Los Angeles, "that Israel and Jewish education and all the other familiar buzzwords no longer seem to rally Jews behind the community. The Holocaust, though, works every time." His candor was refreshing, even if it was obscene. On the subject of the extermination of the Jews of Europe, the Jews of America are altogether too noisy."

— Leon Wieseltier,
literary editor of *The New Republic*,
writing in the issue of May 3, 1993, p. 20.

FALSEHOOD IN WARTIME by Arthur Ponsonby, M.P.



First published in 1928, this trenchant volume authoritatively debunks numerous atrocity lies fabricated and circulated about the Germans during World War I. Learn how professional liars — three decades before the Holocaust story — manufactured such fakes as a "German corpse factory," "the crucified Canadian," handless Belgian infants, and scores more with

typewriter, scissors and paste to lead millions to misery, mutilation, and death. Lord Ponsonby's classic remains indispensable for anyone concerned to see through government and media lies today — and tomorrow. New softcover edition, 192 pp., \$6.95 + \$2 shipping from IHR.

The Holocaust Issue and Middle East Policy

ALFRED M. LILIENTHAL

One is unable to discuss Middle East policy without bringing up this question of the Holocaust. Let me make my thinking clear: The Nazi genocide was a gross tragedy. It matters little whether six million or three million, or but three Jews were killed, simply because they were Jews. It was one of the worst abominations committed against humanity. But we ought to also remember that other peoples, other than Jews, were victimized as well. There is no reason why, today, 47 years after the end of World War II, we must constantly look back over our shoulders and dwell infinitely on the tragedy of that time, rather than to move forward and seek remedies for our many current ills.

The reason for this continuing backward look is to make us all feel guilty, Christians and Jews alike, and to silence us in the face of what has been going on in Palestine's occupied territories, the West Bank and Gaza. Day in and day out, the media — led by *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, and the television networks — in stories and headlines, aim to make us all feel guilty as hell. It is either a reunion of Holocaust survivors, if not a gathering of the grandchildren, and even the story of the great grandchildren. "Bormann is alive," ran the headlines five years ago. And more recently, the bones of the killer Mengele were exhumed, to see whether or not the Nazi was really dead and buried there. These stories always appear in booming headlines.

Concentrate the attention of public opinion makers and the American people on the many sins of mankind committed against the Jews through genocide and anti-Semitism, in its many forms, and inject Holocaustomania into every possible aspect

Alfred M. Lilienthal, historian, journalist and lecturer, is a graduate of Cornell University and Columbia Law School. During the Second World War, he served with the US Army in the Middle East. He later served with the Department of State, and as a consultant to the American delegation at the organizing meeting of the United Nations in San Francisco.

Since 1947, he has been at the forefront in the struggle for a balanced US policy in the Middle East. He is the author of several acclaimed books on the Middle East, including *The Zionist Connection*. (Available from the IHR for \$29, plus \$3 shipping.) He now lives in Washington, DC.

This commentary is taken from Dr. Lilienthal's address at a meeting of the National Association of Arab Americans in Los Angeles, December 5, 1992.

of daily life, politics, religion, the arts and the entertainment world. Then, no one will ever be able to make a reasoned, logical judgment on how best we can bring about peace in the harassed Middle East.

American attention is thus diverted from the dangerous incubator of future war, the abysmal neglect of Palestinian human rights. Many Americans here at home who see this are, however, inhibited and fearful of speaking out, lest they be labeled "anti-Semites" by the partisans of Israel.

I sense a growing stirring and latent, ugly anti-Semitism resulting from this free-speech suppression. This deeply concerns me, as it must many others.

The policies of the State of Israel, as well as Zionism and the Jews, must be open to constructive criticism. I do not believe the Holocaust saga should be sanctified as if it were our third holy book along with the Old and New Testaments. Even they are open to scrutiny in the search for truth.

Thomas Jefferson once asked the Virginia legislature, "For God's sake, why can't we really hear *both sides*?"

I do not believe that questioning certain exaggerated details of the grossest act of humanity, as I have done, and will continue to do, is tantamount to asserting there was no Holocaust. Only a big fool or a greater villain takes such a view today. When I questioned the authenticity of *The Diary of Anne Frank*, I was widely assailed. It cost me dearly in my relations with my alma mater, Cornell University. But there is a fundamental difference between saying there was no Holocaust, and insisting that the Holocaust not be used continuously as a justification and a cover up to win sympathy for the Zionist position and Israeli excesses, and as an excuse for ignoring the plight of the Palestinians.

Unfortunately, it is no exaggeration to sadly note that worship of the State of Israel and the Holocaust, have become the new Golden Calves of Jewry, and that they are slowly supplanting the worship of Yahweh. The Chief Rabbi of Britain, Immanuel Jakobovits, has stated that the Holocaust has become "an industry far from the soul of Judaism."

Relative to this, when I spoke at Claremont in 1976, I pleaded for a free and open debate on US Middle East policy as a prime necessity. I called for discussion in which both speaking out in favor of the Palestinian right to self-determination, and against accepting chapter and verse of the oft-repeated tale of Nazi genocide and anti-Semitism, can take place without drawing the label of "anti-Semite." Unfortunately, as eminent columnist Joe Sobran recently quipped, "It used to be that an anti-Semite was anyone who hated Jews. Now, it is anyone whom Jews hate."

Penn State 'Holocaust History' Course: A Lesson in Ignorance

Professor Responds to Revisionist Question By Calling Police

When *Journal* subscriber Karl Striedieck signed up in January for Professor Rose's three-credit "Holocaust History" course at Pennsylvania State University (University Park), he wasn't expecting a warm welcome for his skeptical views. Still, he wasn't quite prepared for the bigoted reception he did receive.

Striedieck, who served for 23 years as a US military fighter pilot, says that he decided to sign up for course 297C "to broaden my knowledge of the subject in a university-level course, taught by an accredited specialist on the subject."

On the first day of the Spring term class, Dr. Paul Rose warned students that they should not read any of the writings of Robert Faurisson, Arthur Butz, Arno Mayer, David Irving, or Mark Weber, or any of the publications of the Institute for Historical Review. These Revisionist historians are so clever, Rose explained, that students aren't able to see through their deceptive arguments. Thinking this a rather odd approach to take by someone supposedly dedicated to open-minded inquiry, Striedieck informed the teacher that he had, in fact, already read works by these individuals, and would appreciate a critique of their arguments. Rose responded by suggesting that the student immediately drop the course.

"Much of what Rose taught in the weeks that followed contrasted sharply with the findings of revisionist historians," recalls Striedieck. "Still, I resisted the temptation to raise awkward questions." That is, until the day when students were assigned a short story that included a claim of homicidal gas chambers at Buchenwald, a Nuremberg trial story that is now generally acknowledged as a propaganda lie.

At this point Striedieck asked: "I have been unable to find a single serious historian on either side of this issue who claims that there were homicidal gas chambers at Buchenwald. Would you please comment?" Without attempting to answer, Rose ordered Striedieck out of the classroom. The student responded by explaining that "since I haven't behaved in a manner deserving expulsion, I am staying."

In the face of this defiance, the teacher threatened to call the police to have him removed. Rose then abruptly left the room, and ten minutes later two campus policemen arrived. During Rose's absence, Striedieck gave the other students (bored until this

point) an abbreviated crash course in Holocaust Revisionism. After taking his statement and listening to his account of what had happened, the police agreed with Striedieck that he had done nothing wrong, and returned with him to the classroom. Unsuccessful in his further efforts to remove the uppity student, Rose himself returned ten minutes later and finished the hour-long class. Later Striedieck met with the head of the History Department, who agreed that he was a serious student who had done nothing improper.

Professor Rose's course reflects the standards that now prevail in American academic life. More than half of class time was devoted to watching videotape presentations, many of them frankly fictional dramatizations, including "Seven Beauties," "The Garden of the Finzi-Contini," "The Wannsee Conference," "Nasty Girl," and "Europa, Europa."

Although the teacher urged students to purchase and read Michael Marrus' *The Holocaust in History*, as a "course text," Rose made no assignments or even further references to it. He did make a point of bringing to class a copy of the 1989 book about Auschwitz by French pharmacist Jean-Claude Pressac (whom Rose inaccurately identified as an engineer), and of telling students that this 564-page work thoroughly discredits the revisionists. On other occasions, Rose endorsed the Holocaust fable that Ilse Koch made lampshades from the tattooed skins of murdered Buchenwald inmates, and said that Zyklon B was not an effective pesticide.

This "Holocaust history" class might be described as a course in German-bashing, Striedieck recalls. At one point, Rose told students that the German national character is one of "mindless obedience."

Of the eight or so students who normally attended, one or two routinely nodded off during class. There were no tests or exams, and no grading policy was announced. The only requirement for this three-credit course was an eight-page paper analyzing "a single Holocaust" event, issue, episode or process from different perspectives.

Predictably, Dr. Rose did not find Striedieck's paper on Birkenau very satisfying, and gave it a "D."

— M.W.

"The arts of power and its minions are the same in all countries and in all ages. It marks the victim, denounces it, and excites the public odium and the public hatred to conceal its own abuses and encroachments."

— Henry Clay, 1834

Letters

Defining Moment

Just a note to express appreciation for the improved quality of the *Journal*. At first I did not like the shift from an academic to a magazine format, and I think I detected some grinding of gears in the change-over. But the July-August issue is a real success. I enjoyed the tantalizing selection of well-chosen and brilliantly written items covering timely, appropriate matters.

The lead article on "The Fateful Year 1898" is an excellent starting point for the new revisionist to begin the process of historical rethinking. Here is where an understanding of what has happened to our country must begin. In the shift from the America of our founders to the new world empire we lost our way, and perhaps our soul. The transition to imperialism was such a defining moment in our history that it should be dealt with more fully.

I. H.
Falls Church, Va.

Hess, Churchill, Irving

Belated congratulations on the "new" *Journal*. I was particularly interested in the material in the first two issues of 1993.

I am old enough to remember how startled we all were at the news of Rudolf Hess' flight [to England in May 1941]. Wolf Hess' presentation is an eye-opener to those for whom Rudolf Hess now is but a name. It should also touch the heart of anyone genuinely concerned with human rights.

The article about Winston Churchill in the March-April issue, sub-titled "A Slaughterhouse for Sacred Cows," is particularly well put together. The most telling summation of Churchill is your quotation from young Peter Mil-

lar, writing in *The European*.

As your report in the May-June issue indicates, there was indeed a media outcry here over the bar against Irving entering the country. As you point out, the discussion revolved around the all-important question of freedom of speech. Enclosed are cuttings from our local paper about the ban.

S. A.
Caloundra, Queensland,
Australia

New Historians Association Needed?

Now retired, I obtained an A.B. degree in history many years ago from Indiana University. After reading your report [in the July-August issue] of censure by the Organization of American Historians, I wrote to give them a piece of my mind.

Knowing the agenda of the OAH, I am not interested in its version of "history." Sounds like you and like-minded colleagues should consider forming your own national organization.

W. R.
Phoenix, Ariz.

Good Diversity

Your feature article on the Spanish-American war era in the July-August issue is very well done. It is indeed wise to deal with revisionist issues in general rather than hammer away only on World War II, the Nazi regime, and the "Holocaust." Further revisionist examination of the Middle East would be in order, for example.

The new *Journal* format is excellent, and I'm very glad to see your use of photographs.

T. K.
Hornell, N.Y.

Plans Put on Hold

I was somewhat taken aback by the vehement response of E. S. of

Underwood, Australia [in the July-August issue], to my critique [in the Winter 1992-93 issue] of Leon Degrelle's uncritical admiration of Hitler. I simply expressed my unhappiness at the failure of Hitler to accomplish the most important goal he set out to achieve: the destruction of Communism. Had "Operation Barbarossa" been successful, there would have been no Korean or Vietnam wars, no nuclear arms race, no super-power brinkmanship threatening the world. In the final analysis, we must acknowledge the failure of National Socialism.

Whenever I open my mailbox to find the latest issue of *The Journal of Historical Review*, I put my plans for the rest of the day on hold. By the time I read through to the last page, I have become a different person. Keep up your indispensable work.

H. P.
Norwalk, Calif.

Barbarian Western Notion

I am a Mexican citizen currently doing graduate studies in the United States. As you say, new historical research and insights normally upset entrenched interests. However, there is no single historical truth. History is relative to our social and individual context and interests.

There is something wrong with the Western concept of history, notably the belief that the truth can be found and uncovered. Pre-Columbian Americans had no notion of Absolute Truth. In the ancient Toltec society, it was the task of judges to determine which interpretation of events was more harmful, and which was more useful, for the community.

Concern with numbers of dead or killed is a barbarian Western notion. The Holocaust lobby counts, the Nazis counted, and

the IHR counts. Each unnecessary death is a crime.

Regardless of whether or not there were gas chambers in this or that wartime concentration camp, or whether six million Jews were killed, there remains the fact of deliberate persecution of Jews, Gypsies and Communists, and so forth. Their suffering is enough reason to condemn this persecution.

F. A.-G.
Washington, DC

Good Ammunition

One advantage of the new *Journal* format is that the pages can be photocopied much more easily. Because of your use of photographs and "eye-pleasing" graphic elements, they also have a more professional look.

I am making many copies of your article [in the May-June issue] about the "Liberators" fraud. Producer Nina Rosenblum will be giving a lecture soon at a nearby campus. Thanks to the *JHR*, I now have good ammunition to distribute, not to mention some uncomfortable questions for Nina herself.

L. C.
Atlanta, Ga.

Takes Issue

As a charter *Journal* subscriber, I appreciate Bradley Smith's many positive accomplishments on behalf of revisionism. Nevertheless, I must take issue with his letter in the Winter 1992-93 issue, in which he criticizes Samuel Taylor's excellent essay "The Challenge of 'Multiculturalism'."

Smith sneers at the concept of white professors teaching white history to white students. Yet, as any black, Jewish or Japanese nationalist can tell you, a people that lacks pride in its own race, history and culture is on the fast track to oblivion.

Contrary to what Smith claims, nowhere does Taylor write that scholarship should serve the interests of the "state." Smith goes on to claim that "multicultural"

history — unlike the history of Western historians — asks "What really happened?" In fact, the last thing "multicultural" types desire to know is what actually happened. Or has Smith never encountered the rampant minority racism and "political correctness" mania that infects the campuses of our colleges and universities?

Finally, Smith is wrong to regard the "gas chamber" myth as part of the "white history" that he was taught as a youngster in school. Apparently he cannot distinguish between white history and alien propaganda peddled by the spineless, intimidated minions of modern academia.

M. B.
Los Angeles

Patriarchal Distortion

Thank you for sending information about *The Journal of Historical Review*. However, I do not get the point, or understand to what ends these "new" discoveries have to bear on the question of "morality" in war . . . The demise of even one human or animal, the wasting of war, cannot be tolerated or reasoned out by misguided individuals such as you.

I note also that all the members of the [*Journal*] Editorial Advisory Committee are males . . . The distortion of facts by patriarchal oppressors is nothing new under the sun. Feminists have recently unearthed some 5,000 years of patriarchal distortion of Women's herstory, including the usurpation of all knowledge, wisdom, contributions, etc. We view male revisionism with a jaundiced eye.

Ms. G. Artemis
Femina Society,
New York Chapter
Brooklyn, N.Y.

*We welcome appropriate articles
and reviews from female (and
male) writers.*

— The Editor

Splendid Speech

David Cole's speech at the IHR Conference [in the March-April issue] was splendid. He says two years yet. I think he's right. It was also wonderful to read the exposé of Churchill by other British historians.

The *Journal*'s new format is indeed worthy of much praise.

Enclosed is a small donation. I am 80 years old.

M. Z.
Buffalo, N. Y.

Little Hope

After years of involvement and observation, I now have little hope that the truth about the Holocaust story will be generally accepted anytime soon. I had long assumed that, when presented with the facts, people would respond rationally. What I didn't realize is that this society and its intellectual classes do not care for the truth at all. Indeed, a lie of this magnitude could only have flourished in a society where deceit in the interests of political expediency is generally accepted.

P. B.
Toronto, Canada

Devotion Appreciated

Congratulations! You're doing a great job. Your devotion to the cause is sincerely appreciated. Keep up the good work.

W.P.
Alexandria, Va.

ADL On the Defensive

Isn't it nice to see these guys [the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith] on the defensive for a change.

Thanks to you, I knew the score years before the rest of the press figured out what was going on.

As you continue to be proven right about so much of this stuff, people might even begin to take a closer look at you "crackpots."

Keep up the good work.

Ace Backwords
Berkeley, Calif.

Genocide Against Indians

I was very interested to read Theodore O'Keefe's review of David Stannard's *American Holocaust* in the May-June *Journal*.

Those who talk about a Holocaust of the Indians generally begin by asserting that there were 15 million Indians in North America. However, almost any encyclopedia confirms that when the Europeans first arrived, there were about one million Indians in all of North America (although substantially more in South and Central America). [The *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 1957 edition, Vol. 12, p. 203, reports that the total "Aboriginal Indian Population, North of Mexico" when coming into contact with Europeans was 1,153,000. — The Editor.]

North America was almost entirely empty when the Europeans arrived. The area of modern-day Ohio, for example, contained only a few Indian villages in the southern part of the state. The area of today's West Virginia was entirely empty, except for a few hunting trails. The only area that was full of Indians when the whites came was California, where 75,000 of them were killed by miners. The Indians of North America have disappeared largely through race-mixing.

The principal source for the accounts of Spanish atrocities in South America is *Historia de las Indias* of Bartolomé de Las Casas (1474-1566). Although I have never read anything to indicate that *Historia* is not authentic, it does seem odd that it was not published until 1875-86, three centuries after the author's death.

In some cases, the Spanish appear to have exaggerated their own atrocities. Hernando Cortés claimed to have destroyed, with a handful of soldiers, the buildings of a city of 200,000 people and 60,000 houses (without iron tools or explosives). This can only have been true if he forced the Indians to tear down their own mud huts.

The Spanish are said to have killed one million Indians in Haiti alone; this would be equivalent to

the total original population of Indians in all of North America.

Generally, the Spanish attacked decaying empires built on conquest. In Yucatan, they found huge cities that were totally deserted as a result of soil exhaustion, drought or pestilence.

It is often simply assumed that the native Indians were exterminated by the Spanish alone. Pizarro attacked the Empire of Peru with 187 followers, mostly adventurers and criminals. His success was possible only by exploiting the rivalries of subject tribes (who were enslaved, of course). One might almost consider the Spanish to have "liberated" these subject tribes.

The Peruvians have forgotten their own role in the enslavement of Chinese contract laborers who had been brought over to exploit the guano deposits on the Chin-chas Islands in the 1870s, after the abolition of Negro slavery. Of 4,000 Chinese forced to work under the lash, not one survived, and most committed suicide by jumping off sheer cliffs. (The wealth produced in this operation led to a wave of financial speculation in Lima followed by a panic and crash.) I do not hear the Peruvians offering to pay reparations to the Chinese.

Prefers Old Format

Although I recognize that the new *Journal* format makes it more accessible, even more readable, I prefer the old format. It appeared more scholarly, and thus, I think, was better able to reach opinion makers. What has not changed is the quality, which remains consistently high.

B.D.

Wendell, N.C.

Origins of Christianity

Please do not give further support to Dr. Larson's wrong-headed opinions about the Dead Sea Scrolls. ("The Essene Origins of Jesus' Teachings," March-April 1993.) Dr. Surburg and Rev. Otten have already discredited Larson's arguments. [See Rev. Otten's letter in the *Journal*, Fall 1991, pp. 378-79]. Unless you drop this, you will lose Christian supporters.

Moreover, your comparison of Mithraism and Christianity is superficial and mistaken. Mithraism was a cult of secrets. Christianity was, and is, open and public. Mithraists practiced animal sacrifices, but Christians banned it.

M.C.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

With regard to the article by Martin Larson — whose book *Religion of the Occident* I read when it first appeared in 1959: Then as now, my only disagreement with the Essene thesis is the claim that Jesus is a historical character. Except for the gospels, which were written long after the events they supposedly depict, history is strangely silent about Jesus.

J.E.

Hot Springs, Mont.

Time Has Come

I agree! Historical Revisionism is a movement whose time has come. Please enter my subscription.

B. D.

Sylacauga, Alabama

A Salute

To offset the gaseous billowing of political correctness that infects even the conservative Christian school that our children attend, I plan to have them read the *Journal* and other IHR materials. I salute your courage.

S.A.

Los Angeles, Calif.

We welcome letters from readers. We reserve the right to edit for style and space.

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THE CASE AGAINST THE PRESUMED EXTERMINATION OF EUROPEAN JEWRY

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THE Hoax OF THE Twentieth Century

THE CASE AGAINST
THE PRESUMED EXTERMINATION
OF EUROPEAN JEWRY

Arthur R. Butz

Yehuda Bauer and Prof. Moshe Davis agreed that there is a "recession in guilt feeling" over the Holocaust, encouraged by fresh arguments that the reported extermination of six million Jews during World War II never took place... "You know, it's not difficult to fabricate history," Davis added. —Chicago Sun-Times, Oct. 25, 1977

You can't discuss the truth of the Holocaust. That's a distortion of freedom of speech. The U.S. should emulate West Germany, which outlaws such public exercises. —Franklin Littell, Temple University. Quoted in: Jerusalem Post, weekly edition, Oct. 19-25, 1980

IN SPITE OF THE MANY IMPORTANT BREAKTHROUGHS in Revisionist scholarship since it was first published in 1976, Dr. Butz' pathbreaking study remains unsurpassed as the standard scholarly refutation of the Holocaust extermination story.

In more than 400 pages of penetrating analysis and lucid commentary, he gives the reader a graduate course on the fate of Europe's Jews during the Second World War. He scrupulously separates the cold facts from the tonnage of stereotyped myth and propaganda that has served as a formidable barrier to the truth for half a century.

Chapter by solidly referenced chapter, he applies the scholar's rigorous technique to every major aspect of the Six Million legend, carefully explaining his startling conclusion that "the Jews of Europe were not exterminated and there was no German attempt to exterminate them."

Focusing on the postwar "war crimes trials," where the prosecution's evidence was falsified and secured by coercion and even torture, Dr. Butz re-examines the very German records so long misrepresented. Reviewing the demographic statistics which

do not allow for the loss of the "Six Million," he concludes that perhaps a million Jews may have perished in the turmoil of deportation, internment and war. He re-evaluates the concept and technical feasibility of the legendary extermination "gas chambers."

Maligned by people who have made no effort to read it, denounced by those unable to refute its thesis, *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* has sent shock waves through the academic and political world. So threatening has it been to the international Holocaust lobby that its open sale has been banned in several countries, including Israel, Germany and Canada.

In four important supplements contained in this edition (including his lecture presented to the Eleventh International Revisionist Conference, October, 1992) the author reports on key aspects of the continuing international Holocaust controversy.

Now in its ninth US printing, this semi-underground best seller remains the most widely read Revisionist work on the subject — must reading for anyone who wants a clear picture of the scope and magnitude of the historical cover-up of the age.



Dr. Arthur R. Butz was born and raised in New York City. He received his Bachelor of Science and Master of Science degrees in Electrical Engineering from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. In 1965 he received his doctorate in Control Sciences from the University of Minnesota. In 1966 he joined the faculty of Northwestern University (Evanston, Illinois), where he is now Associate Professor of Electrical Engineering and Computer Sciences. Dr. Butz is the author of numerous technical papers. Since 1980 he has been a member of the Editorial Advisory Committee of *The Journal of Historical Review*, published by the Institute for Historical Review.

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As the author compellingly argues, the ensuing "War Crimes Trials" at Nuremberg and Tokyo, and their more numerous and barbaric imitations in Communist-controlled eastern Europe, established the perilous principle that "the most serious war crime is to be on the losing side."

Out of print for many years, this classic work of revisionist history — a moving denunciation of hate-propaganda and barbarism — is once again available in a well-referenced new IHR edition with a detailed index.



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. . . Indispensable to earnest students of the nature and effects of warfare. It contains trenchant criticisms of the Nuremberg trials, and it exposes the stupidities of "peace-loving" politicians. —**FRANCIS NEILSON**

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This is a book of great importance. Displaying the rare combination of a deep knowledge of military history and an acute legal insight, it is a brilliant and courageous exposition of the case for civilization. —**CAPTAIN RUSSELL GRENFELL**

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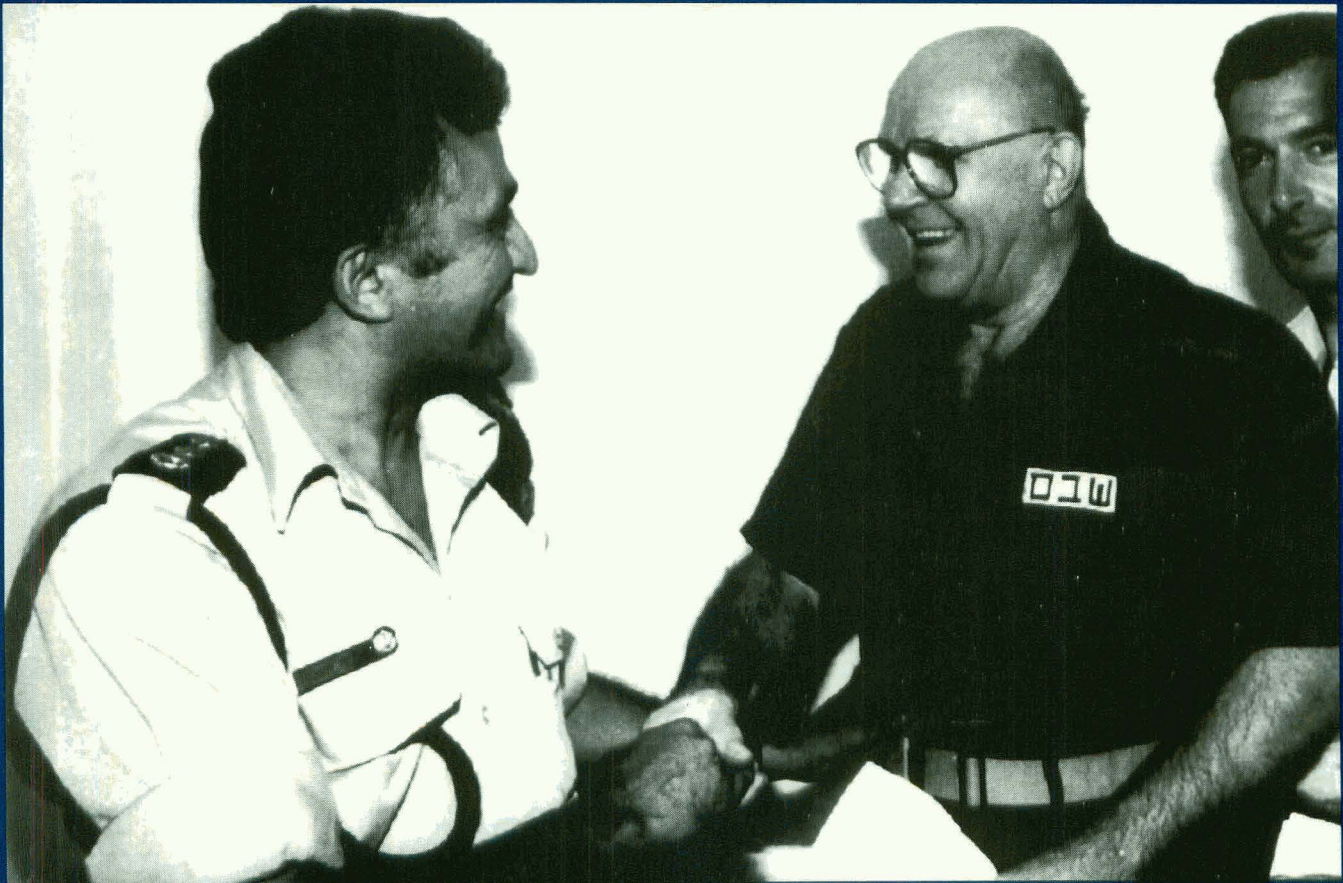
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SPECIAL ISSUE

The Journal of Historical Review

Volume Thirteen, Number 6

November/December, 1993



*Seeking Justice for
John Demjanjuk*

Jerome Brentar

*Demjanjuk, Israel
and the Holocaust*

Joseph Sobran

The Story Keeps Changing

Doug Collins

Victory for Irving in Australia

Greg Raven

*George Will and
Holocaust Revisionism*

Mark Weber

Smith Steps Up CODOH Campaign

*The Journal of Historical Review: A
Look Back, and Cumulative Index*

Greg Raven

— Reviews —

*Lipstadt's Denying the Holocaust,
and Other Anti-Revisionist Works*

Theodore J. O'Keefe

*Square One: Revelations
of an ADL Official*

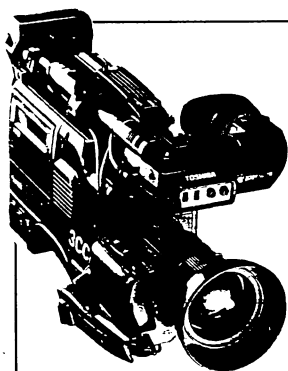
John Cobden

Vidal-Naquet's Assassins of Memory

Mark Weber

— And More —

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ON CAMERA Against the Holocaust Lobby

Dr. ROBERT FAURISSON **DAVID IRVING**
MARK WEBER **Dr. ROBERT COUNTESS**

On April 22, 1993, presidents and high-ranking officials of the United States, Israel and other countries gathered in Washington, DC to dedicate the new US Holocaust Memorial Museum. An army of journalists, cameramen and commentators was there to broadcast the media event to the world.



FAURISSON



IRVING

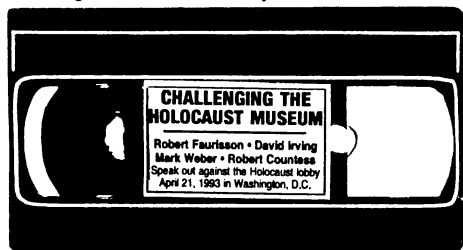


WEBER

IHR was there, too — there to declare its unequivocal opposition to this monstrous \$160 million monument to flawed priorities and illicit power. On April 21 IHR held a conference at a hotel in a suburb of Washington, DC where 200 friends came to hear Robert Faurisson from France, David Irving from England, JHR editor Mark Weber and Robert Countess speak out against the Holocaust lobby. The event was captured on video, including, Prof. Faurisson's challenge to Museum officials that read, in part:

Tomorrow the US Holocaust Memorial Museum will be dedicated in Washington. I challenge the Museum authorities to provide us a physical representation of the magical gas chamber. I have searched for 30 years for such a representation without finding it . . . I warn the officials of the US Holocaust Museum . . . that tomorrow, April 22, 1993, they need not offer, as proof of the existence of Nazi gas chambers, a disinfection gas chamber, a shower room, a morgue, or an air-raid shelter . . . I want a portrayal of an entire Nazi gas chamber, one that gives a precise idea of its technique and operation.

Watch Prof. Faurisson deliver the complete text of his devastating challenge. Watch the inimitable David Irving thrill his audience with details of the Holocaust lobby's stepped-up efforts to crush truth in history. Watch Mark Weber deliver his rousing "call to arms" in opposition to the museum, and hear Dr. Countess' elegant tribute to the IHR — all in an unforgettable 90-minute video that tells you what you need to know about this costly and dangerous mistake they call a "museum."



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Barred From Australia

Last February the Australian government banned British historian David Irving on the pretext that he was "likely to become involved in activities disruptive to, or violence threatening harm to, the Australian community or a group within the Australian community."

Zionist organizations of course cheered the ban — Irving's views are "against the national interest," they bitched — but the Australian media, with candor unthinkable elsewhere in the West, zeroed right in on the ban's pivotal component — Jewish pressure — sharply condemning the campaign by Jewish groups to impose their fanatical views on the entire country. As the controversy raged, Irving appeared by satellite hook-up for 20 minutes on a major prime-time Australia television news program.

Irving and his views soon became household knowledge in Australia.

Lamenting the publicity, Isi L. President of the E. Council of Australian, ry, cautioned that Jewish interests would be better served if only Jewish groups would conceal their role in such cases.

Irving took offense:

The battle for freedom of speech is just beginning. . . I don't intend to be beaten. I'm a fighter. Free speech is becoming a rarity around the world, and it is being restricted to those with politically correct views. I'm not politically correct. I express views based on information I've dug out of archives. . . If I'm telling lies or half-truths, why don't they let me come to Australia and expose me?

THE SEARCH FOR TRUTH IN HISTORY



DAVID IRVING

By this restriction of the freedom of speech in Australia, and of the rights of Australians to hear me, my opponents will achieve precisely the result they wished to avoid — namely an increase in anti-Semitic feelings among ordinary Australian citizens.

Now, from IHR and Focal Point Productions, learn the whole story of the ban and the evil behind it, see the extraordinary headlines and copy it sparked in the Aussie media, and watch Irving deliver a rousing talk on the ban and his plans to fight it.

This exclusive 80-minute video, **The Search for Truth in History** (also available on audiotape) has already sold thousands of copies in Australia. It's history in the making. It's about the war for Freedom of Speech. And it's a case study of how the real bigots and hatemongers bend governments to their will. Order your copy of this high quality, full-color video production today. Your documentary library is not complete without it.

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IN THIS ISSUE

My Campaign for Justice for John Demjanjuk <i>Jerome A. Brentar</i>	2
Demjanjuk, Israel and the Holocaust <i>Joseph Sobran</i>	9
The Story Keeps Changing <i>Doug Collins</i>	10
Victory For Irving In Australia Free Speech Struggle <i>Greg Raven</i>	12
Hellmut Diwald, German Professor	16
George Will and Holocaust Revisionism <i>Mark Weber</i>	18
Smith Steps Up CODOH Ad Campaign	22
Fred Leuchter Arrested in Germany	22
Bergen-Belsen Gassing Lies	24
"Danger" of Holocaust Revisionism Spreading	25
Willis Carto and the IHR	25
Three Revisionist Books from Germany	25
Lipstadt's <i>Denying the Holocaust</i> and two other new books <i>A review by Theodore J. O'Keefe</i>	28
Vidal-Naquet's <i>Assassins of Memory</i> <i>A review by Mark Weber</i>	36
<i>Square One</i> : Revealing memoir by ADL official <i>A review by John Cobden</i>	39
Letters	47
<i>The Journal of Historical Review</i> , A Look Back <i>Greg Raven</i>	52
<i>The Journal of Historical Review</i> index, 1980 to 1993 <i>Compiled by Greg Raven</i>	54

Front cover photo: John Demjanjuk, holding his release papers, shakes hands with a prison guard in the Israel Supreme Court in Jerusalem on July 29, 1993, after he is acquitted of crimes as "Ivan the Terrible" of Treblinka. (Reuters/Bettman)

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My Campaign for Justice for John Demjanjuk

JEROME A. BRENTAR

John Demjanjuk's vindication — culminating in his recent reunion with his family in the United States — has special meaning for Jerome Brentar. For more than a decade, this deeply religious man of Croatian ancestry and anti-Communist conviction has devoted countless hours of his own time and considerable money from his own pocket to help defend the Ukrainian-American auto worker.

This was not the first such case in which Brentar had played an important role. In the earlier case of Frank Walus, Brentar dug up evidence that proved to be of crucial importance in exonerating the Polish-born American.

It was only after a protracted and devastating legal ordeal that Walus, who has gratefully called Brentar "my savior," was able to establish that he was not a Gestapo murderer of Jews in wartime Poland, as Simon Wiesenthal, the United States government, eleven Jewish "eyewitnesses," and several newspapers had insisted, but instead had spent the war years as a quiet teenage farm laborer in Germany. (For more on this case, see the Summer 1992 Journal, pp. 186-187.)

Brentar's dismissal in early September 1988 as national co-chairman of a George Bush presidential campaign organization — after a Jewish weekly paper focused attention on his efforts on behalf of Demjanjuk — made headlines in newspapers around the country, and brought Brentar's face to national television news broadcasts.

Explained a Bush campaign aide: "We became aware of his [Brentar's] affiliation with the group

that supports the defense of John Demjanjuk, and that position is at fundamental odds with the Vice President [Bush] and this campaign. And we took the action based on learning about that today. . . . We told him [Brentar] that his advocacy on this issue puts him at a fundamental disagreement with the campaign and the Vice President."

Commenting on his dismissal, Brentar said: "It's part of a dirty smear campaign that started because I said Demjanjuk is innocent. For that, I'm called a neo-Nazi and an anti-Semitic revisionist." Brentar also noted: "I could have been an atheist. I could have been a polygamist. I could have been anything else, and questions wouldn't have been asked. And now because I helped a poor victim, I'm everything under the sun." (New York Times, Sept. 9, 1988.)

A mark of the sorry moral level to which our country has fallen is not only the shameful role of the US federal government in the persecution of John Demjanjuk, but that an American vice president could see fit to order the removal of a man as decent and upright as Brentar from a campaign committee because of his selfless work on behalf of an American citizen he passionately believes to be innocent of monstrous crimes, in a country where people are supposedly presumed innocent until proven otherwise.

On September 14, 1988, not long after his dismissal from the Bush campaign, Brentar appeared on the CNN cable television program "Crossfire," along with New York Congressman Stephen Solarz and co-hosts Tom Braden and Pat Buchanan. On a nationally-televised broadcast, apparently for the first time ever, the great taboo of Holocaust revisionism was breached.

Although Brentar was reluctant to get into the Holocaust issue itself, the program's "liberal" fossil, Tom Braden, gave further evidence of his calcified mindset by vigorously claiming that he personally saw gas chamber victims at Buchenwald at the end of the war. Co-host Pat Buchanan, a savvy and courageous writer and probably the most prominent national defender of Demjanjuk, thereupon cut in and pointed out that no serious historian makes that claim anymore.

Braden responded with sheepish silence.

Stephen Solarz, a Congressman from Brooklyn who boasted in 1981 that he had become a member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee in order, as he put it, to "deliver for Israel," lost control of him-

Jerome A. Brentar was born in 1922 in northern Ohio, the son of immigrants from Croatia. During the Second World War he served in Europe with the US Army's 93rd Armored Cavalry. From 1948 to 1950, he worked in post-war Europe as an eligibility/screening officer for the International Refugee Organization (IRO) of the United Nations. From 1954 to 1957 he worked in Europe for the Catholic Relief Service of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, a Roman Catholic refugee assistance agency. Besides English and Croatian, Brentar speaks German, Polish, Russian and Ukrainian. He studied at Michigan State University and at the University of Munich in Germany. Back in Ohio, he founded and for many years directed Europa Travel Service, a travel agency in Cleveland.

This essay is adapted from his address at the Eleventh IHR Conference, October 1992. (Brentar's presentations at the 1989 and 1992 IHR conferences are available on both audio and video cassette from the IHR.)

self. He charged that Brentar's greatest sin was not that he defended Demjanjuk, but that he had doubts about the Holocaust story.

Although Brentar explained that he preferred not to get into the issue, Solarz insisted on a statement. "Did Jews die in gas chambers at Auschwitz? Were six million Jews killed?," he demanded. Finally, Brentar simply said that although he is not a scholar of the Holocaust, there are certainly absurdities and contradictions in the Holocaust story. Brentar specifically mentioned the once seriously made allegation that masses of Jews were put to death at Treblinka in huge steam chambers, and he mentioned the now discredited story of mass killing by electricity.



Jerome Brentar at the 1989 IHR Conference

Brentar's calm and factual remarks only further enraged Solarz. After another outburst from the ultra-Zionist politician, Buchanan shot back, "don't be a complete phony," a remark that so stunned the normally loquacious lawmaker that he was momentarily struck speechless.

Over the years, Jerry Brentar has endured a barrage of outrageous attacks against his character, including loud criticism for speaking at IHR conferences. But long after such mean-spirited carping is forgotten, this noble man will be remembered as the person without whose intrepid and selfless help John Demjanjuk almost certainly would have been deported to the Soviet Union and executed for crimes he did not commit.

— M. W.

I appreciate this opportunity to address fellow Americans who share my concerns. I wish first to take this opportunity to thank the Institute for Historical Review for creating this citadel of free speech. I commend the IHR and its supporters for their tremendous job, under very trying circumstances, to protect this right of freedom of speech.

John Demjanjuk has been a victim of an unprecedented travesty of justice. The US Justice Department's Office of Special Investigations, working with the Soviet government, and those who might be called "Holocaustians" have carried on a campaign to portray this innocent man as "Ivan the Terrible" of Treblinka.

For their part, the Soviets have always been concerned about the Ukrainians because of their efforts for independence from Russia. Accordingly, the Kremlin worked to instill in the Ukrainians, and in the other non-Russian peoples of the USSR, the fear that the long hand of the Soviet secret police can track down any of them, anywhere in the world. This is why John Demjanjuk was targeted.

This Soviet effort received cooperation from the federal government's Office of Special Investigations, the OSI, and the pro-Israel lobby. The people in the OSI are interested, first of all, in holding onto their lucrative jobs, while the "Holocaustians" want to keep alive the multi-million dollar Holocaust industry.

Essential to this campaign has been the sensationalism of the "hunts" and trials of alleged "Nazi war criminals" such as Frank Walus, Andrija Artukovic, Tscherim Soobzokov and, of course, John Demjanjuk. Newspapers join in this because they sell best with sensationalized atrocity stories.

Wartime Beginnings

In a way, my involvement with the Demjanjuk case began during World War II, while I was serving as an American soldier in Germany. During the final months of the war, masses of German soldiers came under our control as prisoners of war. I was one of those who helped to process these prisoners, and I examined the documents of many of these men. This experience gave me a very vivid picture of what wartime German documents look like. And then, after the war — because I speak German and Slavic languages — I got a job with the International Refugee Organization working in Germany. At that time, there were millions of "displaced persons" in Germany. In that job, which gave me access to additional important information, I had to examine the documents of many of these refugees.

I first became aware of the federal government's legal prosecution of John Demjanjuk in 1980, when I saw reprinted in Cleveland newspapers a facsimile of a supposed identity card proving that this was "Ivan the Terrible" of Treblinka. This in spite of the fact that this alleged "Trawniki" ID card, which was the key piece of documentary evidence against

Demjanjuk, does not mention Treblinka at all, but instead places him at Sobibor and at an agricultural estate in Poland.

Along with this piece of evidence, the government produced five witnesses from Israel who testified that Demjanjuk was the notorious Ivan of Treblinka. As it happened, though, one of these witnesses, Elijah Rosenberg, had told the Polish War Crimes Commission in 1945 that the man known as Ivan of Treblinka had been killed during an uprising at the camp in August 1943. Rosenberg repeated this claim in a statement given in December 1947 at the Jewish center in Vienna, declaring under oath that Ivan of Treblinka had been killed. Some years later, though, testifying against Demjanjuk in Cleveland in 1981, and again in Israel in 1987, Rosenberg changed his story. He admitted that, yes, he had stated that Ivan the Terrible was dead. At the trial in Israel, however, he said, pointing, "But he's there. He's alive. I'm seeing him there!" It was testimony like this that brought the sentence of death against this poor man.



A dramatic moment during the trial in Jerusalem of John Demjanjuk: Prosecution witness Elijah Rosenberg angrily spurns the defendant's offered hand as Demjanjuk attorney Mark O'Conner looks on.

Streibel's Testimony

After seeing the ID card in the newspaper, I called Mr. Karl Streibel, who had been commandant of the Trawniki camp, where this document had supposedly been issued. Streibel told me:

Mr. Brentar, I told your people from Washington, who came to see me three years ago, that this is not an ID card from Trawniki. I told them that Trawniki was a training camp for those men who were chosen to work as guards for the Germans, and that this was a training camp not

only for concentration camp guards. There were approximately five thousand men there, most of whom were then assigned to guard military installations, bridges, depots, motor pools, and so on. About three hundred of them were assigned to guard at camps such as Treblinka, Belzec, and Sobibor.

Mr. Streibel went on to tell me:

Mr. Brentar, the attorneys from the OSI were here, and I told them to bring me the original ID card. I wanted to see the original because I would absolutely never sign any document without putting the date and place of issue before my signature.

The OSI was very much concerned that Demjanjuk's defense attorneys would try to meet and talk with Mr. Streibel. And indeed a meeting was arranged in Hamburg with Streibel and the defense attorneys, Mr. John Martin and Mr. Spiros Gonakis. But even though a date and a time in the late afternoon had been set for the meeting, as John Martin later told me, he received a phone call, allegedly from a friend of Mr. Streibel, informing him that he was not interested in meeting with the gentlemen from America after all. As it turned out, Streibel received a similar telephone call, allegedly from the defense attorneys, telling him that they were not interested in seeing him. This clearly seems to be another example of the dirty tricks engaged in by the OSI in its campaign to prosecute and persecute this man, and bring him to KGB-style justice.

Additional Testimony

As you can appreciate, I quickly became very suspicious of the charges against Demjanjuk. I then began a years-long search for evidence, tracing the route followed by the OSI in its search for evidence against this man. In Germany, I met with the wartime commandant of the Treblinka camp, Kurt Franz, who was then serving a sentence in a prison near Düsseldorf. During our meeting, Franz told me: "Mr. Brentar, several years ago six of your people were here, and I told them that this man [Demjanjuk] is not the Ivan of Treblinka. The Ivan of Treblinka was much older, had dark hair, and was taller. He had a stoop because he was so tall. So why do you come here again to ask me the same questions?" I replied: "Mr. Franz, I am not from Washington. I'm from Cleveland, Ohio, and I'm trying to help this man."

I want to mention here that the Institute for Historical Review, and its friends and associates, have really helped me to establish contacts with people who proved instrumental in helping put together a thorough and truthful picture, of what happened — and still is happening — to John Demjanjuk.

Well, as I continued my investigation, I

arranged to meet with every one of the people whom the OSI had visited earlier. What I discovered is that the OSI's case against John Demjanjuk was built on lies, exaggerations, distortions, fabrications, innuendos, and dirty tricks.

Obstacles in Israel

Visiting Israel, I arranged to go with a Jewish friend to meet with Menachem Russek, chief of the agency that is the Israeli counterpart of the OSI in the United States. "Mr. Russek, don't be a fool," I said to him. "You're being misled by the OSI. This is an innocent man." And even though I had brought along evidence to prove what I was saying, well, he couldn't care less, because he was every bit as eager to prosecute and persecute John Demjanjuk as was Neal Sher and his OSI entourage.

I asked Mr. Russek if I could speak with the three main witnesses against Demjanjuk: Pinchas Epstein, Elijah Rosenberg and Sonia Lewkowicz. I particularly wanted to meet with Rosenberg, to question him about the discrepancies in his sworn statements. "I'm here to give you everything I have — all the truth," I told Russek. "Why don't you let me meet with these people so I can question them?" Well, for obvious reasons, I was not permitted to meet with any of them.

Fedorenko's Fate

John Demjanjuk was originally supposed to be deported to the Soviet Union where, as you know, the authorities make quick work of liquidating their "enemies." That's what happened to other "Nazi war criminals" from the United States, such as Karl Linas and Fedor Fedorenko. While Fedorenko's case was on appeal, OSI chief Neal Sher met with the Ukrainian-born Fedorenko and told him: "Look, why don't you go back to your homeland. You've already been back several times." (That was true: he had a wife and a family there, and had returned several times since the war.) "This appeal will cost you a lot of money. Why don't you go back and spend the rest of your life with your family there?"

That was a trick. No sooner had Fedorenko, the poor fellow, arrived there with thousands of dollars worth of Soviet rubles, which he had bought on the black market (getting a much better rate than he could have gotten in Russia), then he was arrested and, after a quick KGB trial, shot. I am convinced that Neal Sher had notified the Soviets of his arrival, to get rid of him and prevent him from testifying in the Demjanjuk case.

Villagers' Testimony

In Poland I visited Treblinka and the nearby villages. In one such village I visited the house of Maria Dudek. When I showed her the photograph of John Demjanjuk, she said to me, in Polish: "I never saw this man before." But when I asked her if she ever heard of "Ivan the Terrible," she panicked and

shut the door on me.

I found three other witnesses from that village, former inmates of Treblinka, who had seen "Ivan." These three villagers were supposed to come to Cleveland to testify in court. But an OSI official named Michael Wolf telephoned the US Consulate in Warsaw and told officials there: "Don't let the witnesses come. The hearing is over." That was a lie; the hearing was still continuing. This was another of their many dirty tricks. They prevented these three witnesses from testifying on behalf of Demjanjuk.



Pinchas Epstein, a key prosecution witness in the Jerusalem trial of Demjanjuk, accuses the defendant of being the notorious Treblinka camp guard known as "Ivan the Terrible." (Reuters/Bettmann photo)

Wolf also told the Polish authorities that I'm a neo-Nazi, an anti-Semite and a revisionist, and that I'm paying money to witnesses to lie to defend a Nazi murderer, John Demjanjuk. As a result, a long article appeared in the Polish newspaper *Polityka* that condemned me for trying to recruit witnesses who would lie in court for money as witnesses on behalf of Demjanjuk.

With regard to testimony of Maria Dudek, I'd like to mention an article from the Cleveland *Plain Dealer* (Sept. 13, 1992), headlined "Demjanjuk wasn't Treblinka's 'monster,' ex-captives insist," which reports that an additional witness named Nina Shiyenko likewise confirmed that "Ivan of Treblinka" is not John Demjanjuk.

Such incidents tell just part of the story of what has happened to this poor man, John Demjanjuk.

But there's an old saying that I think applies in this case: "Every evil carries within itself the seed of its own destruction." And that seed has begun to germinate.

Exonerating Evidence

As a result of all the exonerating evidence that I was able to provide to the defense, Demjanjuk was not deported to the Soviet Union, as was originally planned. Instead, OSI chief Sher panicked. He ran to Israel to tell the authorities there to work for Demjanjuk's extradition to that country, because of the danger that the case was being lost in Cleveland. There's too much evidence to show that Demjanjuk is innocent, he told them. As a result of his effort, Israel made an official request for his extradition.

According to the legal rules for extradition that were in effect at that time, it was not permissible to submit any further evidence on behalf of a defendant. So it was planned to present the additional evidence to the court in Jerusalem.



Patrick J. Buchanan

The OSI was incensed at my activity. They couldn't understand how an insignificant travel agent could be so successful in finding such potent evidence against them — evidence proving that they were lying.

A Journalist's Admission

Back in Cleveland, in 1984, I visited the office of the *Plain Dealer*, the city's main newspaper, which was supposedly supporting Demjanjuk. Regrettably, though, they printed more negative than positive articles about him. A *Plain Dealer* reporter said to me: "Jerry, we're not interested in his innocence. We're only interested in his extradition."

The Bush Campaign

I want to tell you a little more about how I was asked to resign from the Bush presidential campaign. Actually, I had never been active in Bush's campaign, the Republican party, or even in politics. So I was very much surprised when I learned that I had been chosen to become co-chairman of the Bush campaign's national ethnic coalition group. In Washington I was received by Mr. Bush, who congratulated me. When he asked me to support him, I told him that I would. My hope was that this might give me a further opportunity to help John Demjanjuk.

Unfortunately, in this God-blessed country of ours, it's no longer what you know, but who you know, that counts. About a month after I was named, I received a phone call from an official of the Bush campaign, who told me: "Mr. Brentar, the Vice President is very much upset because we've been getting all kinds of calls telling us that you're a neo-Nazi, that you're an anti-Semitic revisionist, and that you are helping a convicted Nazi war criminal. Mr. Bush wants you to leave the ethnic coalition, and I calling to ask you to resign." I replied by telling him: "My dear man, I am with the campaign by invitation. If you want me to resign, please send me this request in writing, and I'll consider it." Well, I never received it.

As a result of that, my name appeared in newspapers around the country, and I received phone calls from Argentina, Australia, and from people I had met and worked with years earlier in Germany, who asked me what was going on. "I don't know myself," I told them. "I'm just trying, as a true American, to help an innocent man, and instead I'm being lambasted as an anti-Semitic neo-Nazi revisionist."

Pat Buchanan

Some good did come out of all this publicity, though. One day I got a call from a Mr. Matt Balic of New Jersey. Like me, he is of Croatian background. He told me that he'd like to introduce me to Pat Buchanan. Balic told me that I have an important story to tell, and asked if I'd like to appear [on the television program] "Crossfire." "Sure," I replied. So that's how I came to appear on "Crossfire." I got to know Buchanan very well, and from that time on I sent him much information that he used in writing articles in defense of Demjanjuk.

Congressman Traficant

A short time after that, Matt Balic arranged for me to meet Congressman James Traficant. Well, after I finished telling him the whole story, much as I'm telling it to you here, but in even more detail, Traficant said to me: "Jerry, I can't believe this. Are you lying to me? Are you exaggerating?" And I said, "Why should I? I'm not paid. I'm doing this voluntarily because I am for truth and justice, and that's the only way we're going to have peace in this world, with justice." Well, after that meeting this man really went to bat for me, and for Demjanjuk, going far beyond the call of duty.

Another "Ivan"

It was during its investigation of Fedorenko that the OSI had obtained copies of court transcripts of the Treblinka trials in the USSR that referred to the Ivan of Treblinka. These papers, which were not made available to the defense in Demjanjuk's denaturalization hearings in Cleveland, include the testimony of 18 former Treblinka guards who confirmed that the "Ivan of Treblinka" was a man named Ivan Marchenko (or Marczenko). These documents had been in the hands of the OSI since 1978, so these US government officials knew very well that John Demjanjuk was not "Ivan the Terrible" of Treblinka.

In August 1991, Congressman Traficant was able — through the Freedom of Information Act — to obtain copies of these documents, which proved to be crucial in finally exonerating Demjanjuk. Traficant even arranged for John Demjanjuk's son-in-law, Ed Nishnic, along with John Demjanjuk, Jr., to go to Poland and the Soviet Union in December 1991, as his aides, to obtain additional exculpatory evidence. During this visit, the two men met with Marchenko's daughter.

"Political Suicide"

Until my meeting with Jim Traficant, we had had no luck at all with politicians. Earlier, John Demjanjuk, Jr., and I had visited Washington, DC, where we rapped on the doors of every Congressman and Senator to ask for help in the defense of an innocent man. The Representatives from the Cleveland area, Demjanjuk's home, whom one might have expected to be most willing to help, wanted nothing whatsoever to do with the case. A few Congressmen were somewhat sympathetic, but they did nothing.

One Congressman, Dana Rohrabacher, who represents a district in southern California, explained frankly to me why he would not help: "Jerry, do you want me to commit political suicide?" Is this really the kind of country we now live in? Pat Buchanan really hit the nail on the head, I think, when he referred to the US Congress as "a parliament of whores" on "Israeli-occupied" capitol hill. Because of

comments like that, Buchanan is, of course, near the top of the ADL's enemies list.

I am not so far down on that list myself. I'm not trying to brag, but while I was in Israel attending the trial of Demjanjuk, the prosecutor took time to ask me to stand up and to identify myself as a defender of the convicted murderer. When I did, I was booed. My name also came up during the appeal hearing last year, when the charge was made that the defense case was suspect because it had to rely so much on help from a revisionist, an anti-Semite and a neo-Nazi — me, that is — in obtaining all this lying, crooked information and testimony.



Congressman James Traficant

"Big Business"

The people who work for the Office of Special Investigations claim to be motivated by concern for the memory of the dead. But I am sure that none of those people would lift a finger for anyone if the Holocaust was not so profitable and prestigious. There is truth to the saying, "There's no business like Shoah business."

This point was confirmed by Rabbi Immanuel Jakobovits, who is Chief Rabbi of Britain, and Lord in the British parliament. A front-page article in the Israeli newspaper *Jerusalem Post* (Nov. 26, 1987, p. 1) reports:

Despite widespread acceptance of the Holocaust as a tragedy unique in Jewish history, leading

[Jewish] Torah scholars are “unanimous” in “denying the uniqueness of the Holocaust as an event any different . . . from any previous national catastrophe,” according to British Chief Rabbi Sir Immanuel Jakobovits.

The Holocaust, Jakobovits went on to say, has become “an entire industry, with handsome profits for writers, researchers, film-makers, monument builders, museum planners, and even politicians.” He added that some rabbis and theologians are “partners in this big business.”

Because it is considered the most important event in Jewish history, those who play up the Holocaust also find sensationalism necessary. Tales about Demjanjuk and “Ivan the Terrible” give the story spark. But as Jakobovits warned:

Would it not be a catastrophic perversion of the Jewish spirit if brooding over the Holocaust were to become a substantial element in the Jewish purpose, and if the anxiety to prevent another Holocaust were to be relied upon as an essential incentive for Jewish activity?

Ivan of Sobibor?

Now, as the story of Demjanjuk of Treblinka falls apart, efforts are being made to replace it with the story of Demjanjuk of Sobibor. Now it is claimed that “when Demjanjuk was an SS guard he took part in mass killings of Jewish citizens in Sobibor camp.” Well, that’s a lot of baloney because, as Karl Streibel explained to me: “Mr. Brentar, anybody who was [trained] in Trawniki had to have a *Personalbogen*.” This refers to a German personnel and identity record, which includes information about date and place of birth, a thumb print, and so forth.

Here, for example [holding up for everyone to see], is a facsimile copy of the *Personalbogen* identity record from Trawniki for Ivan Marchenko. If John Demjanjuk had actually been a guard at Sobibor, as some are now claiming, he would have received basic training at Trawniki, and his completed *Personalbogen* would therefore have been on file there as well. But there isn’t any.

False and Authentic Documents

As Mr. Streibel explained to me, the Soviets advanced so quickly on the Trawniki camp that those in charge there had no opportunity to destroy the camp’s files. The Soviets captured all those records, including the *Personalbogen* for Marchenko and others, as reproduced in facsimile here in this book [holding it up], which was written by a very good friend of mine, a German by the name of Dieter Lehner. I am sure that if a *Personalbogen* record for Demjanjuk had been on file at Trawniki, the Soviets would certainly have made it public.

In this book, which is entitled *Du sollst nicht falsch Zeugnis geben* (“Thou shall not bear false witness”), Lehner proves the phoniness of the widely-

reproduced ID card that was a key piece of prosecution evidence against Demjanjuk. Lehner points out some 30 different errors in the supposed Demjanjuk ID card, and shows just what a genuine Trawniki ID card looks like. Lehner also cites, and in a few cases, reproduces in facsimile, authentic *Personalbogen* documents issued to other men who had been trained at Trawniki. He shows that every guard of this type who was assigned to a camp was first sent to Trawniki, where he received an *Erkennungs-marke* metal “dog tag,” but not a Trawniki ID card.

This [holding it up] is the ID card of Heinrich Schäfer, a German official in the camp administration who served as paymaster in Trawniki. It has the signature of the officer in charge, and includes Schäfer’s rank and the date and place on which the card was issued. Schäfer testified that the supposed Demjanjuk ID card was not issued in Trawniki.

German Subservience

Dr. Louis-Ferdinand Werner, a department chief of the Federal Criminal Office (Bundeskriminalamt) in Wiesbaden has similarly declared — as the German magazine *Stern* reports — that the infamous Demjanjuk ID card is not authentic, in any way or form.

It took quite a long time for the Germans to make such a statement. Some years ago, when I had just begun my own investigation into the Demjanjuk case, I visited the office of German Chancellor Helmut Kohl. I went with a friend who happens to be a priest in the parish in Ludwigshafen where Mr. Kohl is a parishioner. He had met with Mr. Kohl, who had said to him that if there was anything he could do for him, please feel free to call upon him. So that’s why the priest and I took the liberty to go right to Kohl’s office in Bonn to ask for help in proving that the supposed Demjanjuk ID card is not authentic. During a meeting there with an aide or adjutant to Chancellor Kohl, I said that this supposed ID card is an insult to the German tradition of *Ordnung* (order) and *Pünktlichkeit* (precision). During the war, the Germans were proud of the care they took with everything, including their dress and their documents. Even during the war’s final months, everything had to be tip-top, and there was no place for such a sloppy document.

After we explained what we wanted, Chancellor Kohl’s adjutant said to us: “My dear friends, if you want any help from us [for this], you have to ask the Israelis for permission.” Just imagine! Well, I could go on and on to tell you about more of the many difficulties we’ve had in our efforts on behalf of Demjanjuk.

“Better to light a candle than to curse the darkness,” wrote Thomas Merton, the poet and Trappist monk. Some years ago, I choose to light a candle, and now it seems that the whole world is seeing the light of a great fire.

Demjanjuk, Israel and The Holocaust

JOSEPH SOBRAN

The Israeli Supreme Court has finally acquitted John Demjanjuk of the charge of being “Ivan the Terrible,” the Treblinka guard who is said to have killed and tortured countless Jews. The acquittal is also a vindication of Pat Buchanan, who led the calls for the old Ukrainian’s release.

It has become increasingly obvious that Demjanjuk was framed. A US appeals court has ordered that he be readmitted to this country because of the underhanded way the sadistic Immigration and Naturalization Service arranged his deportation to Israel in 1986: Among other things, evidence that would have exonerated him was suppressed.

Meanwhile, the Israelis have decided to detain him for a few more days while they decide whether to try him on another charge, which contradicts the charge that he was “Ivan the Terrible”: namely, that he was a guard at Sobibor. If that one falls through too in a few years, they can probably produce witnesses to swear he was a guard at Belsen or Buchenwald.

The Zionist lust to convict this poor man is incredible. If he wasn’t Ivan of Treblinka or Sobibor or Buchenwald or Somewhere-or-Other, maybe the Israelis will finally just try him on the charge of having been named Ivan. With any luck, Demjanjuk, now 73, could be home in time for his 90th birthday.

Many Zionists fear that Demjanjuk’s acquittal could cast doubt on the whole story of the Holocaust and play into the hands of the Holocaust revisionists. No doubt that is true, but whose fault is it? And should the old man have been convicted, though innocent, just to prove a point?

Israel is one strange country, when you stop to think of it. The standards of jurisprudence by which it claimed the right to try Demjanjuk at all are alien to Western notions of justice and fair procedure. (As are some of the INS practices.) He was tried in one country for crimes committed in another country, at a time when the country trying him didn’t even exist. This is a big advance on traditional *ex post facto* laws. His fate was decided, nearly permanently, 40 years after the crimes were committed, by hysterical witnesses who had been coached or had changed their stories.

Joseph Sobran is a nationally-syndicated columnist and lecturer. This essay originally appeared in the August 12 issue of *The Wanderer*, a Roman Catholic weekly. A former senior editor and critic-at-large of *National Review*, Sobran’s relationship with that magazine was terminated in early October in the wake of a column by him that was critical of NR founder William Buckley.

In short, it was a show trial. Its purpose was to drive home the Zionist version of “the lessons of the Holocaust,” and the Israeli government gave it maximum publicity toward that end. Now it has backfired, creating overdue skepticism about the official history — the victors’ account — of World War II. Someday it will be possible to ask soberly what really happened.

I suspect that the official version will turn out to have a great deal of truth, because a lot of it is undisputed or checks out, even when you discount American and Zionist propaganda: but that when the full truth is known, and exaggerations are trimmed away, what is now suppressed will make the whole picture look very different.

Chiefly in this: The whole war was an unprecedented war on the innocent — on both sides. I have seen an appalling statistic: whereas civilian deaths in World War I were about 17 percent of the total, the percentage in World War II was about 70. It was the policy of both sides to bomb cities, and both sides were trying to develop the atomic bomb, whose whole purpose was mass murder. If you think Hitler has a monopoly on race hatred, watch some videos of American propaganda about “the Japs” and “the Nips” with their “grinning yellow faces.” (At least two of the demonically brilliant *Why We Fight* series are easily available at low prices.)

But for the time being, there are intense pressures against any independent view of that war. The legitimacy not just of Israel but of the American political establishment depends on the standard version. Even many conservatives now accept the heroic mythology of Roosevelt and Truman.

These questions are not merely speculative. They nearly cost John Demjanjuk his life. And it’s daunting to reflect that if Pat Buchanan hadn’t had the courage to endure smears for defending him, Israel might have killed him. (Ironically, some of the most bitter abuse of Pat came from the “Anti”-Defamation League.)

No apologies were forthcoming from the Amen Corner, whose party-lining and concerted smearing would do Stalin’s old fellow-travelers proud; nor from the Amen Corner’s amen corner, those servile conservatives who hope the Zionists and liberals blacken Buchanan’s name. Luckily, Demjanjuk’s fate didn’t depend on their honesty or courage, or he’d have been a goner.

The Corner swung into action the same week as Israel bombed southern Lebanon, killing hundreds and driving 200,000 or so people from their homes, in retaliation for the killing of seven Israeli soldiers. The soldiers were killed not in Israel but in Lebanon — yet the Israelis called the acts “terrorism.” The word “terrorism” has legitimate uses, but it hardly describes the killing of invaders; it would be more apt as a description of what Israel did to the entire civilian population of southern Lebanon. Of course we don’t call it terrorism when it’s done from the air;

the word is used by countries with air power to condemn the tactics of their enemies who don't have bombers and have to commit their mayhem on the ground.

Even if Israel can be defended for avenging the soldiers' deaths, its response was immoral and widely disproportionate. Its explicit purpose was to punish civilians, and the carnage inflicted was completely unjustifiable. So much for hopes that the labor government would be more "moderate" than the Likud. Of course there will be no war crimes trials for the Israeli atrocities.

Israel wants to have it both ways. It wants to be accepted as a model democracy, "an integral part of the West," as Likud leader Benjamin Netanyahu put it. But it also claims exemption from the normal obligations of a state — to treat people justly and equally, for example.

Its real purpose, of course, is to provide a privileged existence for Jews. All Gentiles, including Christians, are second-class citizens at best. (A Jew who becomes a Christian can forfeit the privileges of a Jew). This is played down by Zionists, but it is perfectly obvious to anyone who examines Israel even cursorily.

This is why the Holocaust is so important to Israel. It helps legitimate acts that would otherwise seem plainly barbaric. Any normal state would be roundly condemned for doing what Israel does to its minorities and neighbors, but Israel can always do it in the name of "survival" — an excuse that lets the consciences of its Western Christian servitors off the hook, as they ignore the plight of their fellow Christians under Israel rule, occupation, and air assault. Armed with nuclear weapons, Israel can insist that it perpetually faces the threat of extermination.

A state that can always claim to be in a state of crisis can literally get away with murder. The duty of a normal state is to maintain peace and justice. But an abnormal state can do nearly anything, however violent and disproportionate, in the name of national security. It can define anything it pleases as a threat to its existence, and act accordingly. Everything becomes a matter of "defense." Granting itself continuing emergency powers, the state can do away with all the limitations that protect personal liberty. The memory of the Holocaust — and the supposed prospect of another one — prevents Israel from being judged by ordinary standards applied to states.

World War II, in its received version, also helps legitimate the US government as we now know it, and is invoked to justify American military intervention everywhere. Without the war's mythology, it would be very hard to claim that American "vital interests" are at stake around the globe and that every little despot is a new Hitler.

But eventually the habit of intervention becomes so strong that it sheds its rationale like a

snakeskin. We have armed forces in Somalia now, and nobody thinks our own face is at risk there. It's odd that we always talk of "preparedness" for war, but nobody imagines for a moment that the next war will be here.

The Story Keeps Changing

DOUG COLLINS

Museums are much in vogue these days. I reported recently on the Simon Wiesenthal "Museum of Tolerance" in Los Angeles. But an apparently even bigger bang for the propaganda buck is to be seen in the Holocaust Museum in Washington, D.C.

The major media again fell over themselves to deliver unquestioning coverage of the six million story, and we can expect more of the same when the Spielberg boy (he of the Jurassic Park nonsense) completes his film on Auschwitz.

But I do not believe the six million story that is thrown at us daily on TV and in the prints. Let me emphasize, though, that large numbers of Jews did die in the concentration camps — as did many others. There were also large-scale massacres on the Eastern Front, and David Irving is wrong when he says they were "My Lai-type massacres," i.e., actions conducted in the heat of battle. They were much bigger than that. And I never heard of anyone being court-martialled for them.

Winston Churchill's memoirs spanned the whole of the Second World War, and the last volume was published in 1954, nine years after the war and after the Nuremberg trials were long over. What did he have to say about the six million? Nothing. There is plenty about the persecution of the Jews in Hitler's Germany, but nothing at all about war-time gas chambers, etc. And if it was true that 60,000 Jews a day were being disposed of, as is frequently claimed, he could hardly have ignored it.

Bear in mind too that London was cracking the German codes and that Churchill was loyal to the Zionist cause — even after his friend, Lord Moyne, was murdered by Jewish terrorists in Palestine. The closest he got to the subject was a footnote mention of the brutal deportation of the Hungarian Jews to Germany in 1944.

It's a fact, also, that the Polish government-in-exile was in constant touch with Poland. It had spies in Auschwitz as early as 1940 and published a newspaper in Britain called *The Fortnightly Review*. But there was no mention in it until May 1945, when the war was virtually over, of any mass extermination of the Jews.

There were a thousand other questions. Why would a David Irving bring calumny on his head by becoming a leading "holocaust denier?" He once accepted the six million story and was a top British

author. But after he changed his mind he became a media leper and his "revisionism" cost him a fortune.

Why, too, would the late Paul Rassinier write a book debunking the story? He was a French socialist, Resistance fighter and concentration camp inmate himself.

Why would Professor Robert Faurisson of France have his academic career ruined? Europe's leading "revisionist," he has been dragged through the courts for years by a government anxious to please French Jews. And four years ago he was nearly killed by Jewish thugs.

It used to be a given that four million people perished in Auschwitz. In my book *P.O.W.* I described it as "the place where millions died." Well, it's time to confess. I was parroting what "everyone" knew. The Polish government has now reduced the figure to 1.5 million, and the plaque containing the other total has been taken down. Further, the senior curator at Auschwitz has admitted that the "gas chamber" shown to tourists at the camp was a reconstruction done by the Soviets after the war.

In 1989, Israeli holocaust scholar Professor Yehuda Bauer declared: "The larger figures have been dismissed for years, except that it hasn't reached the public yet." He could have added that it never will, given our conformist media. America's "leading expert on the Holocaust" is Raul Hilberg, who says the proper figure is 5.1 million. But he was chewed to bits at the first Zündel trial and didn't come back for more in the second.

The Leuchter Report, of which you have never heard, showed that the "mass gassings" were a technical impossibility.

So what difference does it make whether the figure was six million, one million, or 300,000, as was stated by the Red Cross after the war? Well, as a often-repeated witticism puts it, "There's no business like Shoah (holocaust) business."

My change of mind began when I went to the first Zündel trial as a witness for freedom of speech,

Doug Collins, a native of the United Kingdom, served with the British army during the Second World War. An award-winning journalist, he has worked for several Canadian daily newspapers. His career has included work in newspaper, television and radio, both as a reporter and commentator. For a time he hosted an open-line radio talk show. Since 1983 he has written a popular and controversial column for the *North Shore News* of North Vancouver, British Columbia. He is the author of several books.

Collins spoke on freedom of speech and the Zündel case at the Tenth IHR Conference, 1990. His presentation appeared in the Fall 1991 *Journal*, and is available from the IHR on both audio and video cassette. Other writings by Collins appeared in the January-February 1993 *Journal*.

This essay is reprinted by permission from his column in the *North Shore News* of August 18.

and when I read Professor Arthur Butz's *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*. It is on Canada's "banned" list, of course, but for \$11.95 (U.S.) you can get it from the Institute for Historical Review, P.O. Box 2739, Newport Beach, California 92659.



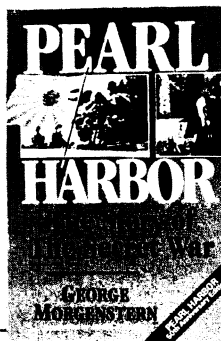
Doug Collins addresses the Tenth IHR Conference (1990), in Washington, DC.

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Censorship Update from Down Under Victory For Irving In Australia Free Speech Struggle

GREG RAVEN

In an important victory for free speech and open debate on the Holocaust issue, Australia's Federal Court on September 16 unanimously overturned an earlier decision by immigration authorities to reject the visa application of David Irving. Any decision about a visa application by Irving, the high court ruled, must now be reconsidered "by law." There now appears to be no legal bar to visits by the bestselling British revisionist historian, who immediately announced plans for a six-week lecture tour.

The high court also ordered the Australian government to foot the total bill of more than \$100,000 in legal costs in the case, including Irving's own legal expenses of \$22,000.

In an editorial commenting on the Federal Court decision, the Melbourne *Herald Sun* (Sept. 18) offered some advice:

The Jewish community vocally opposed his [Irving's] visit. This was a tactical error. It elevated Mr. Irving to martyr status, and ensured a level of publicity he did not merit. The sensible course for Australian Jews now is to ignore him.

Irving thus once again finds himself at the forefront in the free speech struggle against the international campaign to suppress dissident views on the Holocaust issue. "The fight is colossal," says Irving, a *Journal* contributor. (For more on this, see the Jan.-Feb. 1993 *Journal*, pp. 12-19.)

"I think my opponents have underestimated the tenacity of the English," says Irving. "We have a tendency in England when we hear gunfire not to move away from it but, out of a sheer sense of bloody-minded curiosity, to go and find out what the gunfire's about . . ." (*Herald Sun*, May 20)

Following Australia's example, New Zealand has recently repealed its own ban on Irving's entry. Officials there still won't let him speak in public, though. "We shall see!," says Irving.

Background

The "fight" began late last year when Irving, planning to combine a six-week lecture tour with attending the wedding of his daughter to an Australian, contacted ten (mostly Jewish) heads of university history departments in an attempt to arrange debates on matters historical. Although not one of those contacted responded to the offer, news of his plans triggered a campaign to bar him from the country. Citing earlier alleged exclusions of him

from Austria, Canada, Italy, and South Africa, some legal setbacks in Germany, and the sometimes violent controversy over his works in Britain, Jewish groups argued that this was not an issue of free speech, but rather one of public safety.

Bowing to pressure, Immigration Minister Gerry Hand decided in February to deny Irving's visa application on the grounds that he was "likely to become involved in activities disruptive to, or violence threatening harm to, the Australian community or a group within the Australian community." (For more on this, see the May-June 1993 *Journal*, pp. 13-16.) As matters turned out, Hand was not entirely incorrect, although the disruption and violence came not from Irving (or his supporters), but from his enemies.

As Australia's leading daily newspapers have plainly acknowledged, efforts to bar Irving from the country have come almost entirely from the Jewish community. Irving has served libel writs against five major Jewish personalities and periodicals.

A Dangerous Man?

By denying Irving a visa, Australian immigration authorities had implied that the internationally renowned researcher, author, and lecturer is as dangerous as four Serbian terrorists — the only others to be refused entry into Australia in a similar manner out of 1.68 million visa applicants in 1991-92. (Martin Daly, *The Age*, Feb. 16.)

An editorial in the *Newcastle Herald* (May 21) made a related point:

A worrying aspect of the ban on Mr. Irving is that it is selective. In 1987, the Foreign Affairs Department brought the then leader-in-exile of the African National Congress, Mr. Oliver Tambo, to Australia for a tour. This was despite the fact that Mr. Tambo's much-publicised visit was expected to polarise opinion, and did. However, there was no violence on that occasion and there would probably have been none if Mr. Irving's opponents and the Federal Government alike had been prepared to let him make his tour without surrounding it with controversy.

Electronic Democracy

Although forced to postpone his tour by one year, Irving's message has been getting through nevertheless. The historian has appeared, via satellite, three times on Australian television during

prime time, and has given countless live and recorded radio interviews. Dozens of articles, editorials, and letters to the editor have appeared in newspapers across the country, and letters by Irving clarifying his position have appeared in at least two major newspapers. (*The Australian*, May 24; *Sydney Morning Herald*, May 26.)

Generating the most attention, though, has been a specially-made 80-minute videotape cassette, "The Search for Truth in History," in which Irving effectively presents his views on the Holocaust issue and on the international fight for free speech. According to Veritas, Irving's Australian publisher, hundreds of the video were sold within hours of its release in May. "They started buying it late yesterday [Wednesday] afternoon and haven't stopped," reported Veritas manager Jan Pope. (*Herald Sun*, May 21) Altogether some 10,000 copies have been produced. ("The Search for Truth in History" is available from the IHR for \$29, plus \$2 for shipping. See the inside front cover of this issue.)

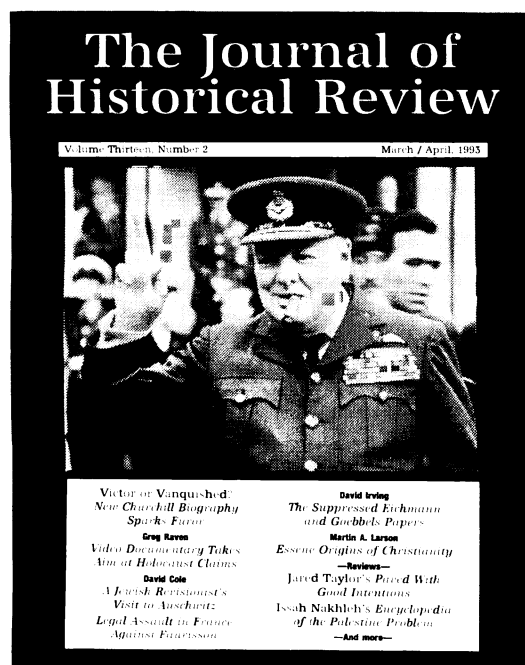
All proceeds from sales of the video are earmarked for the David Irving Legal Fighting Fund, which was set up to overturn restrictions on the historian's movements worldwide. (P.O. Box 1707, Key West, FL 33041, USA)

"G" Rated

When Irving's opponents learned of the video, they immediately contacted the Film and Literature Censorship Board (FCB). Any video imported for commercial purposes must have a FCB rating; without a rating it would be illegal to sell or screen the video for profit. Technically, the FCB can legitimately censor a video only if the contents are violent or sexually depraved. Just hours before the first screening was scheduled to start, the FCB issued the video a "G" rating, claiming it is "suitable for viewing by persons of all ages and contains no material that would distress or harm children." Five members of the ten-member Board voted to award the "G" rating, four voted for a "PG" rating, and one voted to ban the video entirely as being "not in the national interest."

The move was applauded by International PEN, a writers' group that earlier supported Irving's right to visit Canada. Likewise supportive was an the *Sydney Morning Herald* (May 21), which editorialized:

This robust trust by the [Film Censorship] board in the good sense of the public is in the best interests of a workable and useful system of censorship. The point about censorship is



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that there should be as little of it as is necessary for the well-being of the community. There has been too much censorship by Australian authorities of Mr. Irving's strange views, though. It's becoming increasingly obvious that the Federal Government made a mistake when it decided, just before the last election, to ban Mr. Irving from Australia.

Israeli Snooping?

Interest in the outcome of the FCB vote was not limited to citizens of Australia. Israel's secret intelligence agency Mossad apparently bugged the room in which the FCB had met to discuss the Irving video. In an article headlined "Israeli secret agents linked with bugging," the *Sunday Times* of Perth (May 30) reported that "allegations of a covert bugging operation organized in Sydney by the Israeli intelligence organization Mossad are being pursued" by the leader of Australia's opposition National Party. "An espionage operation using a highly-sophisticated listening device is alleged to have been discovered" in the building where the FCB met. "There is speculation that the alleged operation is linked to the canceled visit and lecture tour by controversial historian David Irving, who claims Jewish suffering in the Holocaust has been overstated," the paper went on.

Pressure and Threat

Having failed to halt distribution of the new Irving video, Jewish groups next threatened and otherwise pressured the managers of hotels, halls, and theaters where it was scheduled to be shown. As a result, a number of screenings were canceled. In a letter to the *Herald Sun* (May 25), one reader expressed his disgust at this turn of events:

What a bunch of spineless yellow-bellies have so many Australians become! The slightest threat of protest and virtually the entire management of the proposed venues for the G-rated David Irving "The Search for Truth in History" video presentation, cave in.

At sites where the video was scheduled to show, groups of Jews gathered to protest. David Berinson, 23-year-old spokesman for one such protest, was quoted as saying, "It's clear that this sort of video, though I haven't seen it, and David Irving's statements have formed the basis of a lot of neo-Nazi action in movements in Europe." (*West Australian*, Perth, May 20) Jewish community leader Mark Leibler commented: "Australia is no place for the peddling of Irving's sick, racist hate propaganda." (*Herald Sun*, May 25)

Mick Coventry, owner of one establishment where the video was shown, defended his decision to allow the screening: "I don't care what is on the video, as long as it's not illegal." (*Riverine Herald*, May 26.)

Media Coverage

Australian media coverage of the entire affair has been intense, as noted in the May-June 1993 *Journal*. Front page headlines in the *Shepparton News* of May 21 and 23, for example, proclaimed in two-inch-high letters, "Nazi' video on show," and "Irving ban foiled."

A hostile review of the Irving video in *The Australian* (Sydney, May 21) by Sam Lipski — a "media commentator" and publisher of the *Australian Jewish News* — carefully avoided any substantive arguments and instead relied on character assassination and misrepresentation to discount Irving's message.

In contrast to media coverage in other Western democracies of similar disputes, most Australian papers have fairly and accurately presented the views of Irving and his supporters. For the most part, the country's press reported that Irving regards the Holocaust story as "exaggerated," "overstated," and "open to debate." Assertions that Irving "denies the Holocaust" come almost exclusively from Jewish sources, which have routinely misrepresented other aspects of the issue.

The Free Speech Debate

Defenders of the orthodox Holocaust extermination story predictably deny that repression of dissident views on this question involves any issue of free speech. Most Australian newspapers sharply disagree, even though none seems to think very highly of Irving.

An editorial in the Perth *West Australian* (May 20) reflected what might be called a consensus view:

It is one of the measures of a truly democratic system that even those whose views and values are anathema to a majority of people are entitled to a fair hearing.

Indeed, the ultimate strength of a democracy rests on its ability to accommodate a free flow of ideas — even ones which may be repugnant and which may be seen in some quarters as posing a danger to cohesion in the community . . .

The Federal Government's decision early this year to refuse a visa for an Australian visit by controversial British writer David Irving was an affront to principles of free speech. . . . [This] action has diminished the rights of all Australians.

. . . Perversely, by banning Mr. Irving, the Government and those who support the decision have given him an international platform from which to campaign. Canberra's heavy hand has ensured that Mr. Irving's warped material has been disseminated more widely and attracted more publicity than would ever have happened if he had been allowed into Australia this time — as he has in the past.

Professor Paul Wilson, Dean of Arts at Queensland University of Technology, wrote in the *Canberra Times* (May 24):

. . . Mr. Irving has visited this country on two other occasions and there is no record of violence being perpetrated against the Jewish community as a result of these tours.

. . . To ban a person on the basis of what might occur as a result of what he might say establishes a dangerous precedent. Such a ruling could be used effectively against any international visitor wishing to enter this country who has opinions that conflict with the views of any religion, ethnic, political or special-interest group.

. . . The ultimate irony is that if David Irving is banned from our shores he can justifiably claim (as he already has) that free speech is threatened in Australia.

An editorial in the *Canberra Times* (May 20) opined:

The Commonwealth film censor has shown considerably better judgment in classifying British historian David Irving's video so that it can be shown publicly, than the Government showed in February by banning the man from Australia.

. . . Instead of attracting a small amount of critical press attention for his views, the ban has generated a public debate about his right to free speech. He has attracted respectable defenders (of his right of free speech, not of his history) who otherwise never would have allowed their names to be associated with his.

As is so often the case, if the Government had simply let events take their course his views would have been more than adequately exposed by the light of public debate.

The Melbourne *Herald Sun* (editorial, May 21) expressed a similar view, but upset a few readers with a reference to "that article of faith for post-war Jews, the Holocaust":

The David Irving affair is an assault on our basic democratic right — freedom of speech. This newspaper holds no brief for Mr. Irving, a historian with widely contested, controversial views. But we believe that he has an absolute right to express them. Just as the many people who fiercely oppose him have an equal right to publicly disagree.

As we said in this column in February, the Federal Government was wrong to refuse Mr. Irving entry. We also believe Australian Jews have been mistaken in seeking to stop screening of a video of his lecture, passed by the Office of Film and Literature.

Central to Mr. Irving's unpopularity is his

challenge to that article of faith for post-war Jews, the Holocaust. . . . But by campaigning to silence Mr. Irving, Australian Jews have succeeded in focusing unmerited public attention both on the man and his claims.

Side Issues

In the media discussion surrounding Irving's efforts to visit Australia, marginal side issues have sometimes obscured the larger picture. Irving's opponents, for example, have accused him of supporting Australian far right groups, of provoking outbursts of anti-Jewish graffiti, and of erring as an historian. In this last instance, one paper went so far as to claim that Irving was wrong in his views about Winston Churchill, and cited revisionist historian John Charmley's critical book on Churchill as proof. (For more about Charmley's highly critical biography of the British leader, see the March-April *Journal*.)

As part of the general debate provoked by the Irving ban, critical attention has been given to the issue of improper Jewish influence on the Australian government, the totalitarian tactics of those who would deny Irving the right to enter Australia, the pointless wastefulness of war crimes trials over allegations dating back to the Second World War, and the precious nature of free speech.

Another Victory

As Irving has pointed out, and as the recent events in Australia underscore, each new effort to censor or ban revisionists has ultimately proven to be another boost for the revisionist cause. Clearly, it is becoming ever more difficult for those who seek to monopolize history to rely on help from venal and repressive government officials. With active support from the growing worldwide revisionist community, each attempt at censorship provides yet another opportunity to broadcast the revisionist viewpoint to additional thousands who otherwise would never hear of it.

Errata:

In the July-August 1993 issue, in the review of *The Third Reich Almanac*, the beginning portion of the sentence at the start of page 45 is missing. This sentence should begin with the words:

"Just about everyone who was active in the anti-Hitler opposition merits a separate entry, although . . ."

In the September-October 1993 issue, a sentence in the caption to the photograph on page 11 is not accurate. It is not true that "More than 23,000 men lost their lives in this single clash." Actually, this figure refers to casualties (both dead and wounded).

In the September-October 1993 issue, the issue date at the bottom of page 3, as well as at the bottom of the odd-numbered pages 37 through 47, is incorrectly given as July-August.

Hellmut Diwald, German Professor

One of Germany's best-known and most controversial historians, Hellmut Diwald, died on May 26, 1993. A skilled writer and an eloquent public speaker, he was not only one of his people's most widely read historians, he was unquestionably one of the most gifted and courageous. No ivory tower academic, he learned what it meant to come under fire for taking an unpopular stand.

He authored numerous acclaimed works of history, including important biographies of Martin Luther, Wallenstein, Heinrich the First and Wilhelm Dilthey. Probably his most important — and certainly his most controversial — work was *Geschichte der Deutschen* ("History of the Germans"), first issued in 1978 by the prestigious Propyläen publishing house. In the two pages of the book devoted to the "final solution," Professor Diwald pointed out that there were no extermination camps in Germany proper, that important claims about the camps have been revealed as lies, and that Jewish deaths in the German concentration camps were not the result of an extermination policy, but rather the consequence of chaotic and unavoidable wartime conditions. He described the postwar Holocaust campaign as one of distortion, deception and exaggeration — one meant to morally



Prof. Diwald

degrade and totally disqualify the German people. Diwald concluded this section by pointing out that in spite of all the literature that has been written on this subject, the central questions about the fate of the Jews during the war are still not clear.

Although it became an immediate best-seller in Germany — unusual for a heavy 760-page work of history — Dr. Diwald quickly learned what happens to even a prominent and reputable scholar who dares to cast doubt on a politically sensitive chapter of official history. As a result of the appearance of these two pages in a book written by a reputable historian and issued by a respectable publisher, that Diwald called "the problem of 'Auschwitz,'" which had been quietly simmering among academics and Holocaust revisionists, suddenly burst into public attention. Quickly acceding to pressure from powerful groups, including boisterous protests from Jewish groups, sales of the first printing of 100,000 copies were immediately stopped, and a new edition with a hastily rewritten and "acceptable" section about the "final solution" was quickly substituted.

Dr. Diwald was born in 1924 in south Moravia (now part of the Czech Republic), and grew up in Prague and Nuremberg. With a doctorate awarded in 1958, from 1965 he taught mediaeval and modern history at the University of Erlangen, where he was promoted to senior professor of history.

He steadfastly refused to submit to the prevailing "spirit of the times" that had been imposed on the Germans by the victorious Allied powers at the end of the Second World War. The twelve years of the Third Reich, he stressed, should not be permitted to overshadow Germany's imposing thousand-year history.

He was a co-founder and leading supporter of the revisionist Contemporary History Research Center, headed by Dr. Alfred Schickel. An interview with Dr. Diwald, translated from the Austrian monthly *Die Aula*, appeared in the Winter 1984 issue of this *Journal*.

— M. W.

"The Problem of 'Auschwitz'"

Ever since the charge was made that the SS attempted to physically annihilate the Jews of Europe, under orders from Hitler and as directed by Himmler and the Reich Security Main Office, the problem of "Auschwitz" had been completely blacked out. Since the capitulation in 1945, "Auschwitz" has also served as the main vehicle in a campaign to reduce the German people to complete moral degradation.

... Countless works have been published and claims made since 1945 that cannot be proven and which cynically add to the infamy. The most horrible events of modern times have been exploited through the use of distortions, deceptions and exaggerations for the purpose of totally disqualifying a people.

Thus, the victorious Allies claimed the existence of "extermination camps" of which there was not a single one in

Germany. For years visitors to the Dachau concentration camp were shown "gas chambers" where as many as 25,000 Jews were allegedly killed daily by the SS. Actually, the rooms displayed were dummy chambers that the US military had forced imprisoned SS men to build after the capitulation. A similar case involved the notorious Bergen-Belsen concentration camp, where 50,000 inmates were supposedly murdered. Actually, about 7,000 inmates died during the period when the camp existed, from 1943 to 1945. Most of them died in the last months of the war as a result of disease and malnutrition — consequences of the bombings that had completely disrupted normal deliveries of medical supplies and food. The British commander who took control of the camp after the capitulation testified that crimes on a large scale had not taken place at Bergen-Belsen.

The deportation of the Jews took place as part of a general forced-labor program for the war industry. After the

beginning of the war against Russia, the German war economy grew from month to month and reached a high point in mid-1944. All those who could work at all were inducted, including the Jews. In accordance with their special status, they were subject to especially inhumane treatment. The enormous program for their deportation by railway from all the occupied territories for use in Eastern munitions factories and work camps was justified by the military importance of their tasks and received top priority, even ahead of army transport.

Auschwitz, an old industrial town in the upper Silesian plateau, developed into a major wartime production center. The chemical industry quickly became far more important than the older zinc rolling mills and grinding works. The most significant aspect was the production of artificial rubber and petroleum from coal. On February 16, 1942, all concentration camps were incorporated into the war economy and munitions industry and accordingly came under the organizational authority of the SS Main Office for Economic Administration and its chief, General Otto Pohl.

The various camps were classified according to their importance to the war economy. Birkenau, a part of the Auschwitz complex, served as the camp for those inmates

who were declared unsuited for work. Consequently, the camp had the highest death rate. On July 26, 1942, a devastating typhus epidemic broke out in Birkenau. As many as 20,000 died within three months.

That is why an especially large number of crematoria for burning the bodies were built in Birkenau. Reports of the high death rate there moved Himmler to issue an order on December 28, 1942, "to reduce the number of deaths in the concentration camps at all costs."

During the war Jewish emigration was no longer possible, and the expression "total solution" or "final solution" was coined to refer to the policy whereby all Jews were to be segregated from the German population, removed from central Europe, evacuated to the East, and relocated in new ghettos. This plan was outlined by Reinhard Heydrich, chief of the Reich Security Main Office, on June 24, 1940. The central questions about what actually happened in the subsequent years still remain unclear despite all of the literature. "Auschwitz" is the German stigma of this century.

— Hellmut Diwald, *Geschichte der Deutschen* ("History of the Germans"), first edition, 1978, pages 164-165.

WHO REALLY KILLED THE ROMANOVs... AND WHY?

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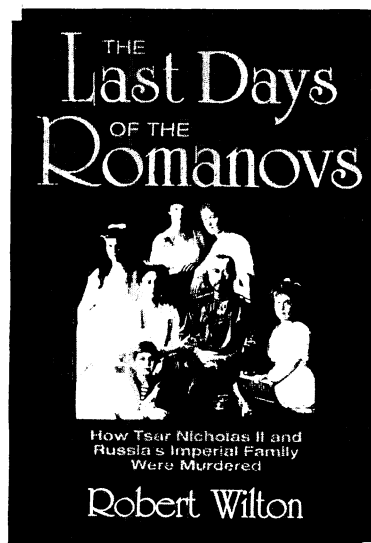
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How an Influential Journalist Twists the Truth

MARK WEBER

With a syndicated column that appears in several hundred daily papers, regular appearances on ABC television's "This Week With David Brinkley," several successful books, and well-paid appearances on the lecture circuit, George F. Will has a deserved reputation as one of America's most influential commentators on social-political affairs.

So when his secretary phoned to ask me to meet with him for lunch, I was both hopeful and wary: Hopeful about the good that could possibly come from such a meeting; Wary because, given his well-known biases, he might distort whatever I say or do as part of a smear.

Still, I was optimistic, in part because his secretary had assured me that Will merely wanted to meet and talk. She indicated that this would not be an interview.

From the outset of our August 19 luncheon meeting, Will made clear that he was interested in revisionist *motives* (or what he believes them to be), not revisionist *arguments*. Indeed, at one point he said that it is not the truth or validity of what a revisionist says that determines whether it is evil, but rather his *motive*.

In response to a question early on, Will told me that he had read the issues of this *Journal* and other IHR material I had sent him prior to our meeting. It was quickly, even embarrassingly obvious, though, that he was either lying, or was not able to understand what he had read.

When I asked Will if he considered himself to be well informed about the Holocaust, he replied that he did — citing visits to the sites of some of the wartime German camps, and his reading of a good bit of secondary literature.

I was struck by what Will did not know about this subject. He was completely unfamiliar with the *Einsatzgruppen* — the special German security police units that operated in the occupied Soviet territories. He did not know (or remember) that Anne Frank — along with others in her family — had "survived" internment in Auschwitz. (She died later in Bergen-Belsen camp, a victim of typhus.)

He confirmed that he accepts as accurate and reliable the often-cited "testimony" of Auschwitz commandant Rudolf Höss. Will acknowledged that he did not know that this important piece of Holocaust evidence was obtained by torture, and that, on a number of key points, it is not even consistent with the current version of the Auschwitz extermination story.

He said that he also accepts as authentic the frequently quoted but now thoroughly discredited "testimony" of Hermann Rauschning. Will made clear that he was not aware of the many German wartime documents that plainly show that the "Final Solution" policy was not one of extermination.

It soon became obvious during the course of our conversation that Will is unable or unwilling to view Holocaust claims with the same refined skepticism with which he critically dissects so many other official and historical claims.

I reminded Will of something he had written about Auschwitz a decade earlier. In his *Washington Post* syndicated column of March 10, 1983, he told readers:

You could tell from the smoke the sort of persons consumed in the crematoria. Newcomers to Auschwitz, who still had some fat on their bones, made black smoke. Persons who had been there for awhile made white smoke. There: that is an emblematic fact of 20th century politics.

What Will calls an "emblematic fact" is, rather, an instructive fable, and the way he cites it not only points up the reverential, even awestruck way he regards the Holocaust story, but shows his careless disregard for facts.

When I told him that this statement is simply not true — that in fact crematory chimneys give off no flame and almost no smoke — he asked me how I know this. I explained that I had studied the matter, and had spoken with crematory managers — adding that anyone who takes a little time to look into this question can determine the truth for himself.

Will responded by somewhat snidely asking if the Auschwitz crematories were like those at Forest Lawn. In reply, I explained that the crematories at Auschwitz were of the standard design used throughout Germany during the war years. Will responded with silence.

I then asked Will for his source for this anecdote, adding that in all the reading I have done on this subject, I had never come across any other mention of this particular story. Will replied that he couldn't remember, but that it was something an Auschwitz inmate (perhaps Elie Wiesel, he mentioned) had said or written.

Will's rigid bias with regard to the Holocaust story and Israel is no secret. Even William Buckley, himself a staunch friend of Israel and Zionist interests, has taken note of what he calls Will's "perverse" partisanship with regard to these matters. (*The Washington Post*, Jan. 27, 1987.) With regard to the Holocaust issue, wrote the founder of *National Review* magazine, "Will is losing sight of rather a lot of things." Buckley took exception to a reference by Will to the "Vatican's contemptible behavior toward the Holocaust."

George Will begins any discussion on the Middle East, Buckley wrote, "by siding with Israel on every single point." He went on: "The problem with devising peaceful solutions in the Mideast, where George Will is concerned, is that there he sees only a single position: Israel's — at all times, in all places. George sometimes sounds a little like Rabbi Kahane" (founder of the terrorist Jewish Defense League).

As part of a discussion with Will about the double standard that prevails in America with regard to the Holocaust story, I mentioned the ban against Austrian President Kurt Waldheim. He was barred from this country, I pointed out, even though no evidence of his personal involvement in any atrocity or



George F. Will

war crime has ever come to light. At the same time, I went on, American presidents have rolled out the red carpet for Israeli leaders Menachem Begin and Yitzhak Shamir — each of whom has a well-documented record as a terrorist.

Will had no comment, but when I asked him if he agrees that Waldheim should be barred from the United States, he said yes. When I asked on what basis he deserves to be banned, Will replied: because Waldheim is a "suspected war criminal."

Will said at one point that he has been particularly impressed with the presentation in Claude Lanzmann's film "Shoah" of the "testimony" of Tre-

blinka camp barber Abraham Bomba. Contrary to the impression given in the film, I responded, this "testimony" is actually a staged recitation, the absurdity of which should be obvious to any really critical person.

Will himself seems to understand this, at least implicitly. Writing in a November 1985 column, he apparently concluded that Bomba's claim to have cut hair of doomed Jews *inside* the Treblinka "gas chamber" is not credible, deciding instead to shift the action to "the threshold of the gas chamber." (Lanzmann's nine-and-a-half hour film "Shoah," wrote Will in that 1985 column, is "the noblest use to which cinema — the technology, the techniques — has been put, ever.")

At one point, and suddenly changing the subject, Will asked me why I think that anti-Semitism exists. I said that this is a complex issue, and that a better way to put it might be to ask why hostility towards Jews has persisted over so many centuries, and in so many different cultures.

I went on to say that I largely agreed with what Theodor Herzl, the founder of the modern Zionist movement, had written (in *The Jewish State*) on this issue. I mentioned that Herzl, along with many others, often referred to the relationship between Jews and non-Jews in society as "the Jewish question." (Grossly misrepresenting this aspect of our conversation in his column, Will also pretentiously cited the German term, *Judenfrage*, as if this version is somehow more sinister.)

When I put this same question to Will, he expressed the view that the phenomenon of anti-Semitism is probably rooted in Christianity, but said that he is completely unable to explain why it has persisted through the centuries. "Why is there is no 'Baptist question'?", he rhetorically asked, an exclamation that is either disingenuous or manifests intellectual poverty.

Near the conclusion of our meeting, Will spoke — in a tone almost of exasperation — of having once stood in a Birkenau barracks with a former inmate who pointed out the exact place where she had once slept. He cited this anecdote as particularly compelling reason for his belief in the Holocaust story.

While I didn't expect the column that Will said he would write about our meeting would be flattering, I was surprised at just how mean-spirited and inaccurate it turned out to be. He was unwilling even to concede my sincerity. (The column appeared in *The Washington Post* on August 29, and in dozens of other daily papers on or about the same day.)

As unfair as it was, on balance it was probably more helpful than harmful. It at least made many more people (most of them relatively well-educated) aware of the growing skepticism about the orthodox Holocaust story. And he paid for my lunch.

Letters of response from the IHR were published in perhaps half a dozen of the papers in which Will's column had appeared. It was also gratifying

to note that letters from other revisionists taking issue with Will on this matter appeared in at least several daily papers.

George Will's attitude about the Holocaust issue is, unfortunately, all too typical of millions of relatively well-educated Americans today. His smug sense of moral and intellectual certainty about this subject is characteristic of the close-minded who know just enough about this trendy subject to pronounce on it with arrogance. The self-righteous and almost reverential way he writes about "the Holocaust" is not merely fashionable these days, it is all but obligatory — particularly for a successful commentator on current affairs.

Will's column concludes with the "good news that this year two million people" will visit the US government's new "Holocaust Memorial Museum" in Washington, DC. In the end, though, it will be neither such state-sponsored temples nor the motives of revisionists that matter, but rather the historical reality — which cannot be suppressed forever.

A Letter to George Will

George F. Will
1208 Thirtieth St., N.W.
Washington, DC 20007

Dear Mr. Will,

While I did not expect a friendly report by you of our conversation over lunch, I was surprised at just how mean-spirited, unfair and intellectually dishonest your column turned out to be.

You attribute words to me that are either invented or are crass distortions of remarks ripped from their context. You attribute the following sentence to me: "Anti-semitic and anti-democratic, Hitler understood the necessity for severely hierarchical and racially homogenous nations." I said no such thing. For you to then go on to write that "applying these ideas, Weber says . . ." only adds to the dishonesty.

I did not say that Hitler was "the most philosophical" figure of the 20th Century. What I said was that he was probably the most philosophical of the great political figures of his time. (As I recall, I added that Churchill is a possible exception.)

Your presentation of what I said to you about Hitler gives an utterly false impression of my view of the man. (You may recall my remark to you that your own statements to me about Hitler could, if taken out of context, be taken as praise for the man.)

Your assertion that "the deniers 'arguments' always return to what Weber, like the Nazis, calls 'the Jewish question'" is likewise inaccurate and dishonest. As you will recall, it was *you* who first raised the issue of relations between Jews and non-Jews.

Your portrayal of the arguments of Holocaust "deniers" is grotesquely inaccurate. No serious revisionist has ever claimed that "Zyclon-B [sic] gas was too weak to kill." Your contention that revisionists claim that gas from Zyklon was "too powerful to use for mass murder" or that "the gas chambers were really showers" is likewise a gross misrepresentation. You have obviously not taken the time to familiarize

yourself — even superficially — with the findings and arguments of revisionist scholars. Apparently you have simply relied on Lipstadt's grossly distorted portrayal of revisionist arguments [in her book, *Denying the Holocaust*].

What you wrote about an IHR *Journal* advertisement for Ingrid Weckert's book about the "Crystal Night" is similarly dishonest. Contrary to what you suggest, neither the advertisement, nor Weckert's book, contend that "the Jews" benefited from that outburst of violence on November 9th (not 6th), 1938. While you chide a young reporter for his/her failure to read Lipstadt's book, it is obvious that you have not read the book by Weckert you inaccurately describe.

Finally, your assertion that I "torture the past in the hope of making the future safe for torturers" is simply contemptible.

You should be ashamed of yourself for writing such a column.

Sincerely,
Mark Weber

Letters from individual revisionists, and from IHR *Journal* editor Weber, responding to George Will's polemic were published in several of the papers in which the syndicated column had appeared. The entire text of the IHR's response was published in the Cleveland *Plain Dealer* and in the St. Petersburg (Florida) *Times*. In most cases, though, only a portion of the full text appeared.

Will's column, and Weber's response, touched off an exchange of views in the "readers' letters" section of the *San Francisco Chronicle*, including a commentary by an ADL official and this follow-up letter by Weber (published September 15) that included the IHR address. It resulted in about 60 letters and postcards to the IHR from readers seeking further information. Typical was this comment: "Thanks for your letter to the editor. You are the biggest secret around. Please send me your literature."

Holocaust Revisionism

Editor — Contrary to what Richard Hirschhaut of the Anti-Defamation League asserts, I am not a "neo-Nazi" or a "peddler of hate" (Letters, September 10).

Such name-calling is ultimately irrelevant anyway. A growing number of people — including scholars and, yes, Jews — have come to accept the revisionist view of the Holocaust story because they have been persuaded by the evidence — not because of their politics, or because they hate Jews. One young Jewish revisionist, David Cole, has recently come under intense fire for his video debunking myths about Auschwitz.

Name calling as a substitute for solid arguments does no credit to anyone. Unfortunately, such polemics seem to be a stock in trade for the ADL, which has yet to respond forthrightly to specific charges of criminal wrongdoing in the ADL/Bullock spy case, or to revisionist arguments.

To learn more about what Holocaust revisionists actually say, we offer literature at no cost (P.O. Box 2739, Newport Beach, CA 92659).

MARK WEBER, editor
Institute for Historical Review
Newport Beach

FROM: David Cole and Bradley Smith

**TO: *Journal of Historical Review* Subscribers,
Institute for Historical Review Supporters,
and Revisionists everywhere —**

THANK YOU

It was one year ago exactly that we released *David Cole Interviews Dr. Franciszek Piper*, the video which contained the dramatic admission from the senior curator at the Auschwitz State Museum that the "gas chamber," shown to millions of tourists as being in its original state is, in fact, a post-war Soviet creation.

Since that time, the "Piper" video has had an incredible impact on the Holocaust debate. It has been the subject of numerous articles in both the revisionist press and the establishment media. It has been discussed on TV talk shows, on the radio, and even in college classrooms! The world over, from North America to Europe . . . from Australia to (believe it or not) Israel, vast numbers of new people have been introduced to the hard revisionist truths contained in the Piper video. So difficult has the Piper tape been to ignore, that in the August 7th edition of the *Jerusalem Post*, internationally renowned Holocaust scholar Dr. Yehuda Bauer, head of Hebrew University's Institute of Contemporary Jewry, had to admit the impact of this ground breaking video. He called the Piper tape "a powerful video," and urged the production of exterminationist videos to counter it.

How could all this come about? How did this one video, denied any advertising in the mainstream press and viciously attacked by the Anti-Defamation League, the Simon Wiesenthal Center, and influential individuals like Holocaust scholar Professor Deborah Lipstadt and University of Texas (Austin) President Dr. Robert Berdahl, still make such an impact?

It was because of you, the revisionist community. This victory in the battle for historical truth is **yours** to celebrate. All the **censorship**, all the **suppression**, all the **lies** employed by the other side couldn't stop you from getting the information contained in the Piper tape to the general public. And how was this done? With the Piper tape as your tool, you have put an incredible amount of energy and creativity into educating the public about the Auschwitz fraud. Throughout the past year, we have marveled at the ingenuity you've displayed. Neighborhood get-togethers and home video parties have been organized where the Piper video is shown to revisionist newcomers. In cities all across North America, private showings of the Piper tape have turned skeptics into revisionist supporters!

You have taken the lead in getting the Piper tape shown on local community access cable channels. On cable stations from Oregon to Florida, from Texas to New York (in Manhattan no less!), you have helped educate tens of thousands of people who might never have been exposed to revisionist ideas. You have taken the time, completely on your own, to translate the Piper tape into other languages, post the transcript onto national computer bulletin boards, and even prod local TV talk shows into doing episodes about the Piper tape!

It's gotten to the point where so many people have seen the Piper tape that the other side can no longer ignore the Auschwitz "gas chamber" issue. We have put the exterminationists on the defensive, and now they must worry about "damage control." All this because of you. Your dedication. Your ingenuity.

And now, a challenge: **CAN WE DO IT AGAIN?** Within the next month, we will be releasing David Cole's next video from his 1992 fact-finding tour of the camp sites in Europe. Titled *The Gas Chambers: A Look at the Physical Evidence*, this video will go the Piper tape one better. Whereas the Piper video dealt only with the Auschwitz main-camp "gas chamber," this new video, consisting of never before seen footage, will tackle the other supposed gas chamber sites at Birkenau, Majdanek, Mauthausen and Dachau.

It is our belief that this new video will be a final nail in the coffin of the gas chamber story, because the evidence presented in this tape will prove **conclusively** the **physical impossibility** of homicidal gassings at those sites. It will be absolutely impossible for anyone to dismiss this video. It will demonstrate that the evidence most **damaging** to the gas chamber story comes *not* from conjecture, but from the physical state of the rooms where the gassings are said to have occurred. The hard evidence presented in this video, much of it never mentioned before in any other revisionist work, will stun even the most seasoned revisionist.

So, our challenge is this: Can we repeat, or even *top*, the success we've had in disseminating the information contained in the Piper tape? Can we build on our successes from 1993 and, with this new video, make 1994 the year the tide turns in this debate?

Our answer is **yes!** We believe we can do it — together.

Smith Steps Up CODOH Ad Campaign

Bradley Smith, intrepid chairman of the Committee for Open Debate on the Holocaust (CODOH), attracted nationwide notoriety in late 1991 and early 1992 as a result of his success in placing advertisements calling for open debate on the Holocaust issue in student newspapers at several major universities. After something of a lapse, Smith has recently put new life his CODOH ad campaign. Some highlights:

- A syndicated College Press Service (CPS) article about Smith's campus ad campaign appeared September 16 in *The Setonian*, the student paper of Seton Hall University (South Orange, New Jersey). This short article is based in part on an interview with Smith.

- Smith's CODOH ad was published in the September 27 issue of the *Christian News*, a traditionalist Lutheran weekly paper published in Missouri.

- The text of Smith's ad appeared September 28 as a guest editorial in the *Record*, student paper of State University of New York (SUNY) at Buffalo.

- In Ann Arbor, the text of Smith's ad appeared October 6 as a "viewpoint" guest opinion essay in the *Michigan Daily*, student paper of the University of Michigan. In the same issue, an editorial sharply denounced Smith's piece as irrational and "absurd." A few days later, activists of the "National Women's Rights Organization" held a campus rally to denounce the paper, which they called "a tool of fascists," for publishing Smith's essay,

- A rather lengthy College Press Service article appeared October 1 in the *Northwestern Chronicle* of Northwestern University (Evanston, Illinois). The article is based in part on interviews with Bradley Smith and anti-revisionist author Deborah Lipstadt.

- Smith's CODOH ad appeared in the October 14 issue of the *Georgetown Voice* of Georgetown University (Washington, DC). Michael Berenbaum, project director of the US Holocaust Memorial Council (which operates the new federal Holocaust Museum), responded to Smith's ad with a guest opinion essay in the paper.

- Smith's CODOH ad appeared in the October 15 issue of *The State News* of Michigan State University (East Lansing).

- Smith's CODOH ad was published October 21 in the *Rough Rider*, student paper of Roosevelt High School in Portland, Oregon. This is the first publication of the ad in a high school paper. In response to protests from some parents, the school principal confiscated the remaining copies of the issue.

- Also in Portland, Smith's CODOH ad appeared October 24 in *The Oregonian*, the state's most influential and largest circulation newspaper. This is the first publication of the CODOH ad in a

major metropolitan daily.

- Smith's CODOH ad was published, in slightly abbreviated form, in the October 26 issue of *The Stanford Daily* of Stanford University. Accompanying it was an error-ridden and prominently displayed editorial commentary that was highly critical of the ad.

- Smith's CODOH ad ran in the student newspaper of Ohio University (Athens, Ohio), October 28.

- Smith's CODOH ad appeared November 2 in *The Miami Student* of Miami University (Oxford, Ohio).

Fred Leuchter Arrested in Germany

IHR Protests Politically-Motivated Act of Censorship

Fred A. Leuchter, Jr., the American execution hardware specialist who insists that claims of wartime mass gassings at Auschwitz are not true, was arrested in Cologne, Germany, on October 28, half an hour before his scheduled appearance on a television show.

Leuchter was arrested without an arrest warrant or formal charges. He was then taken to Mannheim, leaving his wife, Carolyn, behind in Cologne. Neither speaks German.

Only the next day was Leuchter formally charged. Cited in the criminal charge were statements he had made during a speech at a meeting in Germany in November 1991, in which he spoke about his 1988

on-site forensic examination of the alleged execution gas chambers at Auschwitz, Birkenau and Majdanek. These facilities were not used, and could not have been used, to kill people as alleged, said Leuchter, a recognized specialist of gas chambers used to execute convicted criminals in the United States.

Leuchter had been scheduled to appear on the show "Schreinemakers Live" of the private television network SAT-1. He was invited to appear as an execution expert, the show's host, Margarethe Schreinemakers, confirmed. His travel costs and hotel expenses had been paid in advance by the station.

Schreinemakers said she had no idea that Leuchter was wanted by the police, and was flabber-



Fred Leuchter

gasted when they "stormed" her Cologne studio shortly minutes before airtime. "I do not support this thoughtless act of censorship, which now makes Leuchter a dubious heroic figure," she commented. "With this *Blitzaktion*, the authorities have managed to make Leuchter a martyr of the neo-Nazis."

Confirming the political motive of the arrest, a police official declared that "it was decided on the political level that a television appearance by Leuchter would harm Germany's image in foreign countries." (*Kölnische Rundschau*, Oct. 30.)

Leuchter was formally charged by the Mannheim prosecuting attorney's office with "incitement to hatred," and "defamation of the memory of the [Jewish] dead." If convicted, Leuchter could face a sentence of up to five years imprisonment.

In recent years a number of individuals who publicly reject claims about wartime mass killings of Jews have been arrested and convicted in Germany on these charges. Best-selling British historian David Irving, for example, was convicted in 1992 on a charge of "defaming the memory of the dead," for public statements rejecting stories of mass extermination of Jews in gas chambers at Auschwitz as a myth. (For more on this case, see the July-August 1992 *IHR Newsletter*, p. 3.)

Bail has been denied Leuchter, and eight days after his arrest he was still being held under "investigative custody" in a Mannheim jail cell.

The Institute for Historical Review has written to the US ambassador in Germany "to express our profound concern over this situation, and to strongly urge you to take every legally permissible action on behalf of this American citizen." The letter concludes:

This case is particularly important because, according to newspaper reports, Mr. Leuchter has been arrested for actions that are not criminal in the United States. He was arrested for expressing views that, in our country, are protected by the Constitution. This can therefore be regarded as a free speech case, and Mr. Leuchter consequently has something of the status of a political prisoner.

The decision to arrest Leuchter is an apparent expression of panic on the part of the German authorities, and will likely prove to be a major mistake for them. A formal court hearing is now all but inevitable, which will force a public airing of the Holocaust issue, and of the iconoclastic findings of Leuchter and other specialists.

Reports about the arrest — many of them unfortunately biased, sensationalized and inaccurate — have appeared in dozens of German daily papers.

Leuchter, a resident of Malden, Massachusetts, addressed the IHR conferences of 1989, 1990, and 1992. The Holocaust lobby has responded to Leuchter's findings, which have been widely circulated as *The Leuchter Report*, with a campaign of slander, pressure and intimidation. As a result of this campaign, Leuchter's career as an execution

hardware specialist has been destroyed. (For more about Leuchter, his career, and the campaign against him, see the Winter 1992-93 *Journal*.)

IHR Activist Puts Cole Video on Local Television

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"GAS CHAMBER"

WITH

JEWISH REVISIONIST

DAVID COLE

This Controversial
Video Will Air
On Continental
Cablevision
Channel 5 - Public Access
October 6 & 13, 8:00 P.M.

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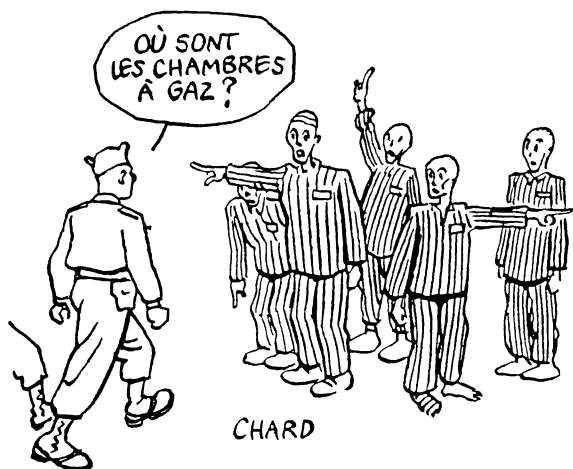
THE M

DAILY

In northern California, veteran IHR supporter Harvey Taylor recently arranged for the broadcast of David Cole's compelling video about Auschwitz on local cable access television, Continental Cablevision of Yuba City. To inform the public of the showing, Taylor also published an announcement (reproduced here) in the local daily Marysville *Appeal-Democrat*. Beginning October 5, it appeared in the paper for seven consecutive days. As a result of the broadcast, anonymous persons made telephone death threats against Fred Kirchubel, video production supervisor of Continental Cablevision (Sierra region), as well as other members of the station staff.

"An invasion of armies can be resisted, but not an idea whose time has come."

—Victor Hugo



La libération de Buchenwald.

(Dessin de CHARD.)

"Where are the gas chambers?," asks an American soldier at the "Liberation of Buchenwald." This cartoon by a prominent female artist who uses the pen name "Chard," is from the French paper *Rivarol*, July 2, 1993.

Not long after it appeared, French authorities summoned the artist to question her about this drawing. Even though no serious historian now contends that anyone was killed in gas chambers at Buchenwald, it appears that her cartoon may have violated France's Fabius/Gayssot law of July 1990, which makes it a crime to contest the "crimes against humanity" as specified by the Nuremberg Tribunal.

On September 6, a French court ordered Robert Faurisson and *Rivarol* to each pay a fine of 19,750 francs (about \$3,950) because the paper had published a mildly revisionist article by Faurisson.

Holocaust Lies: Bergen-Belsen Gassings

Fraudulent Holocaust claims about magical gas chambers and miraculous survival in wartime German camps are all too familiar. Occasionally, though, we come across a claim so breathtaking in its mendacious effrontery that it deserves special notice.

In an article (reproduced here) in *The Gazette* of Montreal (Canada), August 5, 1993, and in a memoir, Moshe Peer recounts his wartime ordeal as an eleven-year-old in the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp. Peer claims that he "was sent to the [Bergen-Belsen camp] gas chamber at least six times." The *Gazette* account goes on to relate: "Each time he survived, watching with horror as many of the women and children gassed with him collapsed and died. To this day, Peer doesn't know how he was able to survive." In an effort to explain the miracle, Peer muses: "Maybe children resist better, I don't know."

(These days, not a single reputable historian claims that anyone was ever "gassed" in the Bergen-Belsen camp.)

How was such horror possible? In Peer's view, the "rest of the world stood by and let the Holocaust happen." The evil Germans, he says, "had the permission of the world" to kill Jews. Although Peer claims that "Bergen-Belsen was worse than Auschwitz," he acknowledges that he and his younger brother and sister, who were deported to the camp in 1944, all somehow survived internment there.

THE GAZETTE, MONTREAL, THURSDAY, AUGUST 5, 1993

Surviving the horror

Author recounts experiences in Nazi concentration camp

KAREN SEIDMAN
THE GAZETTE

ST. LAURENT — As an 11-year-old boy held captive at the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp during World War II, Moshe Peer was sent to the gas chamber at least six times.

Each time he survived, watching with horror as many of the women and children gassed with him collapsed and died.

To this day, Peer doesn't know how he was able to survive. "Maybe children resist better, I don't know," he said in an interview last week.

Spent 19 years on book

Now 60, Peer has spent the last 19 years writing a first-person account of the horror he witnessed at Bergen-Belsen. On Sunday, he spoke to about 300 young adults at the Petah Tikva Sephardic Congregation in St. Laurent about his book and his experience as a Holocaust survivor.

The gathering was part of the synagogue's Shabbaton 93, which brought together young adults from across North America for a cultural and social experience.

Called Inoubliable Bergen-Belsen (Unforgettable Bergen-Belsen), Peer wrote the book to make the reader feel like a witness at the scene.

But he admits he can never recreate for anyone the living hell he experienced.

"The condition in the camp is indescribable," Peer said. "You can't bring home the horror."

In 1942, at age 9, Peer and his younger brother and sister were arrested by police in their hometown of France. His mother was sent to Auschwitz and never returned.

Peer and his siblings were sent to Bergen-Belsen two years later.

He recalls the separation from his parents as excruciating. But surviving the horrors of the camp quickly became a priority. "There were pieces of corpses lying around and there were bodies lying there, some alive and some dead," Peer recalled.

"Bergen-Belsen was worse than Auschwitz because there people were gassed right away so they didn't suffer for a long time."

"But at Bergen-Belsen people stayed months and months until they died — they suffered for a long period of time."

Peer said Russian prisoners were kept in an open-air camp "like stables" and were given no food or water. "Some people went mad with hunger and turned to cannibalism," Peer said.

Peer's days began with a roll call of the numbered prisoners. This

could last as long as five hours, while their captors calculated how many prisoners had died. Anyone who fell over during the roll call was beaten on the spot.

After roll call, the prisoners returned to their barracks, where they were given a tiny piece of bread and some colored water.

Peer and his siblings — who all survived — were cared for at the camp by two women, whom Peer has unsuccessfully tried to find.

Children being children, they did play, sometimes chasing each other around the barracks. But there would always be some who were too sick or weak to get up.

Reunited with father

After the war, Peer was reunited with his father in Paris and the family moved to Israel. Peer's four children were born in Israel, but after serving in the Israeli army in a number of wars, Peer moved to Montreal in 1974.

Even 49 years later, Peer is still haunted by his concentration-camp experience and still finds his memories keep him awake at night.

But what he is most bitter about is the way the rest of the world stood by and let the Holocaust happen.

"No one told the Germans not to do it. They had the permission of the world," he said.



Peer
"Some went mad"

Sarajevo Worse Than Auschwitz, Says Former Inmate

According to at least one former inmate of Auschwitz-Birkenau, conditions today in Sarajevo, the capital of wartorn Bosnia, are worse than in the notorious German camp during the Second World War.

WORLD

Friday, July 30, 1993 11

Auschwitz survivor says Sarajevo's worse

By PAUL HODGES
SARAJEVO, Thursday: Moshe Peer, an 11-year-old Jewish boy who survived the horrors of the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp, said today that conditions in Sarajevo are worse than in the notorious German camp during the Second World War.

Peer, who was deported to the camp in 1944, said he "was sent to the [Bergen-Belsen camp] gas chamber at least six times." The *Gazette* account goes on to relate: "Each time he survived, watching with horror as many of the women and children gassed with him collapsed and died. To this day, Peer doesn't know how he was able to survive." In an effort to explain the miracle, Peer muses: "Maybe children resist better, I don't know."

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Danica Bagaric, an ethnic Croat, was a 17-year-old partisan fighter with Tito's Communist forces when she was captured by the Germans in April 1943. During the next two years, she was interned in four German camps, including (she says) 14 months in Auschwitz-Birkenau, perhaps the most notorious German wartime internment center. Bagaric's statements are reported in a Reuter news agency feature article dated July 27, 1993. This item has appeared in a number of daily newspapers, including Australia's *Sydney Morning Herald* of July 30 (reproduced here).

"Danger" of Holocaust Revisionism Spreading, Says Israeli Scholar

Israeli Holocaust scholar Yehuda Bauer is worried. In an article in the Israeli English-language daily *Jerusalem Post*, August 7, 1993, he warns that "America is the center of a world-wide Holocaust denial movement."

According to the article, headlined "US is center of Holocaust revisionism," Bauer also "named France as the second major center, followed by Sweden. He said the danger is spreading from South America and from France to the rest of the European continent, to the Third World, India and Japan."

"Only a small percentage of people in different countries believe what is being spread by the revisionists," Bauer went on. "In some countries it is eight percent, in others it is ten or twelve percent."

Yehuda Bauer is head of the Institute of Contemporary Jewry at Israel's Hebrew University. As one of the world's most prominent Holocaust experts, it has been his unenviable task to announce awkward but unavoidable concessions to truth — and thus to revisionist critics of the Holocaust story. In April 1990, he publicly acknowledged that the widely-repeated Holocaust tale that the Germans had manufactured bars of soap from the bodies of murdered Jews is a myth. A few months later, he had the equally unhappy task of acknowledging that the long-standing allegation that the Germans killed four million people at Auschwitz — a claim that was supposedly proven at the Nuremberg Tribunal — is likewise not true.

In the *Jerusalem Post* article, Bauer specifically mentions David Cole's videotape about Auschwitz, calling it "a powerful video." ("David Cole Interviews Dr. Franciszek Piper" is available on VHS from the IHR for \$49.00, plus \$ 2.50 for shipping.)

"Producer of the video is the Institute for Historical Review," Bauer inaccurately goes on to say. (In fact, the IHR had nothing to do with the video's production.) Israel, Bauer said, "lags behind the rest of the Western world" in producing video material to counter Holocaust revisionism.

Cole on Morton Downey Show

David Cole appeared on the nationally-broadcast Morton Downey television show, on the episode aired October 13 (or 14), 1993. Downey was at his typically raving and vicious worst, loudly denouncing Cole as "crap," and saying that the young Jewish Holocaust revisionist should be given "a damn good spanking."

Willis Carto and the IHR

Willis Carto is perhaps best known as the founder and director of Liberty Lobby, an organization based in Washington, DC that publishes a weekly tabloid paper, *The Spotlight*. Carto has also been affiliated with the Institute for Historical Review since its founding in 1978. As those who have attended recent IHR conferences know, the IHR staff acknowledges the many hours of volunteer help that he and his wife Elisabeth have contributed over the years. Neither, however, contributed financially to the IHR. Neither was involved in the IHR's day to day operations, nor was either ever a paid employee. Willis Carto did, however, occasionally act as an "agent" for the Institute and its non-profit corporate parent, the "Legion for the Survival of Freedom, Inc."

During the past several months, facts have come to light to persuade the IHR senior staff that Carto's relationship with the IHR had become a liability. After much careful deliberation, and on advice of legal counsel, the Institute resolved to terminate this relationship. Accordingly, the corporate Board of Directors, meeting on September 25, voted unanimously to end its relationship with the Cartos. This decision has the full support of the IHR staff, including Director Tom Marcellus and editors Mark Weber, Theodore O'Keefe and Greg Raven.

Three Revisionist Books from Germany

The Rudolf Report: Germany's "Leuchter Report"

A German chemist's meticulous new technical-forensic examination of the alleged execution "gas chambers" of Auschwitz has been attracting a good bit of attention in Europe.

Printed on glossy paper in a large, magazine-size format, this 110-page report contains numerous photographs (several in color), charts, diagrams, and more than 200 reference notes. It is entitled *Gutachten über die Bildung und Nachweisbarkeit von Cyanidverbindungen in den "Gaskammern" von Auschwitz* ("Technical Report on the formation and detection of cyanide compounds in the 'gas chambers' of Auschwitz"). Germar Rudolf, the author, is a certified chemist and doctoral candidate who has

been working at the renowned Max Planck Institut research center in Stuttgart. The samples taken by Rudolf from the alleged execution "gas chambers" in Auschwitz were analyzed by the prestigious Institut Fresenius.

Rudolf's study provides further authoritative confirmation of the conclusions reached by American gas chamber specialist Fred Leuchter in his widely-distributed 1988 report, as well as of the similar findings of American chemist William B. Lindsey, Austrian engineer Walter Lüftl, the Institute of Forensic Research in Krakow (Poland), and German engineer Wolfgang Schuster. (For more on this, see the Winter 1992-93 *Journal*.)



Germar Rudolf at Auschwitz-Birkenau, taking samples from the ruins of the mortuary room (the supposed "gas chamber") of crematory (Krema) II.

"For chemical-physical reasons," concludes Rudolf, "the claimed mass gassings with hydrocyanic acid in the alleged 'gas chambers' in Auschwitz did not take place." Eyewitness claims of gassings in Auschwitz are not consistent with the laws of natural science, he affirms. "The supposed facilities for mass killing in Auschwitz and Birkenau were not suitable for this purpose. . . The supposed gas chambers in Auschwitz and Birkenau did not come into contact with Zyklon B. In legal language: the weapon was not loaded."

Rudolf also dismissively notes that "the reports and position papers that have appeared so far in response [to the revisionists] — written, astonishingly, for the most part by non-specialists — are, above all, shameful." Hundreds of copies of the Rudolf report have already been distributed to leading figures of German academic, political, business and media academic life.

The *Rudolf Gutachten* is available for DM 46 (about \$28) from: Cromwell Press, 27 Old Gloucester St., London WC1N 3XX, England, U.K.

Valuable "Lectures"

Despite its rather innocuous-sounding title, a new 350-page book is one of the most impressive works of its kind to appear in German on the Holocaust issue. *Vorlesungen über Zeitgeschichte: Strittige Fragen im Kreuzverhör* ("Lectures on Contemporary History: Controversial Questions in the Cross Fire") by Ernst Gauss was published earlier this year by Grabert Verlag of Tübingen.

Presented in the form of six lectures, including probing questions and commentary, this mine of valuable information provides an excellent overview of the entire subject of Holocaust revisionism. It is well-organized and detailed, with a rather strong emphasis on technical aspects of this issue. Numerous charts, diagrams, photos (some in color), and a good bibliography help to round out this important work.

Vorlesungen über Zeitgeschichte can be ordered for DM 40, or about \$25 (softcover, not including shipping), from: Grabert Verlag, Postfach 1629, 72076 Tübingen, Germany.

Deported Jews Resettled in Occupied Soviet Lands, Says Revisionist Author

One of the most important works of Holocaust revisionism to appear in Germany in recent years is *Die zweite babylonische Gefangenschaft: Zum Schicksal der Juden im Osten seit 1941* ("The Second Babylonian Captivity: On the Fate of the Jews in the East Since 1941") by Steffen Werner. Privately published in early 1991, it has been distributed by Grabert Verlag of Tübingen.

This detailed, carefully written 200-page softcover book deals with the fate of the hundreds of thousands of Jews who were deported to the East and allegedly gassed in "death camps," especially Treblinka, Sobibor and Belzec. Werner assembles an impressive amount of documentation — including citations from numerous secret wartime documents and quotations from high-ranking German officials, and 483 reference notes — to support his thesis that the hundreds of thousands of "evacuated" Jews were deported to the occupied Soviet territories, and particularly to the province of Belarus (White Russia). The work also contains maps (including two in color), diagrams and charts.

Denounced as "exoneration literature of the worst kind," the newspaper of Germany's central Jewish organization cited Werner's book to demand that the authorities shut down the Grabert publishing company "to protect society against socially dangerous aggression and incitement." (*Allgemeine Jüdische Wochenzeitung*, March 21, 1991.) In contrast, *Journal* contributor and editorial advisor Dr. R. Clarence Lang praises Werner's book as "compelling."

Revisionist Commentary Opens Eyes in Milwaukee.

Friday August 13, 1993

READER VIEWS

Challenging facts of Holocaust is responsibility of historians

THE HOLOCAUST, like any other historical event, should be studied in depth to separate the propaganda from the facts. To seriously argue that no individual or organization has any right to challenge the established version of a historical event goes squarely against what this country stands for.

In fact, it seems odd that we live in a society that values the freedom to question the existence of God, but stops short of extending that freedom to the Holocaust.

Tom Teepen, in his July 25 column, argues that the evidence the Holocaust deniers present is a "farce" and motivated by anti-Semitism. He goes on to state that Soviet files recently opened "nail the point further."

Well, I personally can't think of a more reliable source with unquestionable motives than the former Soviet Union. It took the Soviets only 45 years to admit their guilt regarding the Katyn massacre — which at the Nuremberg Trials they pinned on the Nazis.

It is the responsibility of those doing historical research to question the motives of those who have made historical claims. That works both ways. Those who argue the case of the victimization of the 6 million should have their motives questioned just as much as those who argue against it.

And questioning an individual's or group's motives shouldn't make you an anti-Semite just because the target happens to be Jewish. In the end, a person's decision regarding any such matters should be based on evidence substantiated by facts. Any claim that cannot be substantiated

by facts cannot be taken as the truth.

Here are a few facts that are generally not known about the Holocaust:

- In 1990, the official figure of 4 million deaths at Auschwitz was officially and quietly reduced to 1.1 million. Strange as it may seem, the figure of 6 million has not been adjusted accordingly in the media.

- Franciszek Piper, the head curator and director of the Auschwitz State Museum for the last 26 years, has admitted that the "gas chamber" shown to tourists was "reconstructed" after the war.

- Not a single autopsy conducted on any of the bodies recovered from the concentration camps has ever indicated the cause of death was gassing.

- None of the aerial photographs of the Auschwitz camp(s) taken during the war shows any of the telltale signs of mass killings — no belching smoke, no waiting lines of people, etc.

- None of the camps on German territory — including Dachau — is recognized by historians as ever having had gas chambers.

- Israel has received more than \$54 billion since the end of World War II from the United States, and the funds are still flowing. The Holocaust is big money.

When all of the facts (and these are just a few) can be presented and debated in an open forum, then we can honestly discover what really happened and why. We might even discover news media that are finally doing their job.

Robert Kling lives in Milwaukee



IN MY OPINION
Robert Kling

This guest commentary by *Journal* subscriber Robert Kling appeared in the *Milwaukee Journal*, August 13. A good example of individual initiative by a young revisionist, it set off a flurry of letters and commentary in the pages of the influential Wisconsin daily. The somewhat misleading headline was added by the newspaper.

"Symbol of Our Culture"

"Whether presented authentically or inauthentically, with empathy and understanding or as monumental kitsch, the Holocaust has become a ruling symbol of our culture. Hardly a month passes without a new TV production, a new film, a number of new books of prose or poetry dealing with the subject."

— Israeli Holocaust historian Yehuda Bauer (professor at Hebrew University, Jerusalem). Quoted in *The Canadian Jewish News* (Toronto), Jan. 30, 1992, p. 8.

Moving? Please notify us of your new address well in advance.

Our old mailing address on Newport Boulevard in Costa Mesa is no longer valid. Mail reaches us most quickly at **P. O. Box 2739, Newport Beach, CA 92659**

Ingrid Weckert's **FLASHPOINT**

The Book that Dares to Ask: *Cui bono* (Who Benefitted?) from Reichskristallnacht

Kristallnacht—the attacks on Jewish property throughout Germany in response to the assassination of a German diplomat by a

young Jew in Paris — signalled an ominous turning point in relations between the Third Reich and international Jewry.

But what was the *real* story of the shooting in Paris? Was Herschel Grynszpan a "lone gunman"? Or



was he commanded by shadowy backers? And what was the role of Vladimir Jabotinsky, mentor to Menachem Begin and Yitzhak Shamir?

Who bears the responsibility for the riots? Was it Hitler? Goebbels? The German people? Or a shadowy cabal of provocateurs?

Historian Ingrid Weckert asks — and answers—these bold questions in *Flashpoint*, her gripping investigation of the instigators, victims, and beneficiaries of *Kristallnacht*.

Meticulously researched, *Flashpoint* places the momentous events of early November, 1938 firmly within the much-neglected context of German-Jewish relations (above all the surprising collaboration between Hitler's Germany and the Zionists). Yet it reads like an international thriller!

No one with an interest in the Third Reich, Zionism and the Jews can afford to ignore *Flashpoint*.

FLASHPOINT by Ingrid Weckert
Softcover • 179 pp • Notes, Bibl., Index, Glossary
ISBN 0-939484-37-4 • \$15.95

Published by INSTITUTE FOR HISTORICAL REVIEW

New Books Seek to Discredit "Growing Threat" of "Holocaust Denial"

Denying the Holocaust: The Growing Assault on Truth and Memory by Deborah Lipstadt. New York: Free Press, 1993. Hardcover. 278 pages. Notes. Index. \$22.95. ISBN: 0-02-919235-8.; **Holocaust Denial** by Kenneth S. Stern. New York: American Jewish Committee, 1993. Softcover. 193 pages. Notes. Index. \$12.95. ISBN: 0-87495-102-X.; **Hitler's Apologists: The Anti-Semitic Propaganda of Holocaust "Revisionism"** edited by Alan M. Schwartz. New York: The Anti-Defamation League, 1993. Softcover. 86 pages. Notes.

Reviewed by
Theodore J. O'Keefe

The earlier method of opposing Holocaust Revisionism was to ignore it entirely as a scholarly, historiographical phenomenon (except for a few dismissive phrases about "flat earthers") in favor of attacking it as a political threat, branding it as "neo-Nazi," "anti-Semitic," etc. With the exception of Bradley Smith's radio talk show appearances and college newspaper advertisements, Revisionism's opponents have been able to impose an effective blackout on Revisionist challenges to the Holocaust. The result? In the United States, some 16 years after the title of Profes-

sor Arthur Butz's *Hoax of the Twentieth Century* was mistakenly reported by *The New York Times* in its first notice of Holocaust Revisionism, there are scores of millions who know that there is a determined movement that challenges the factuality of the alleged World-War-II genocide of the Jews, and tens of millions of Americans who, according to the latest polls, question it themselves.

Whether the growth of this opposition occurred so much in spite of the blackout of what the Holocaust Revisionists say and have written, or rather because of an increasing aversion to the spread of what one Jewish writer has called "Holocaustomania" is unclear, but obviously the blackout hasn't worked to its proponents' satisfaction. Thus, the powerful lobby which propagates (obligatory) reverence for the "Holocaust" has decided to mount an elaborate propaganda campaign against the Revisionists. This time, as the Holocausters march into the fray, some of them are proclaiming a new theme: confronting and defeating Revisionist scholarship.

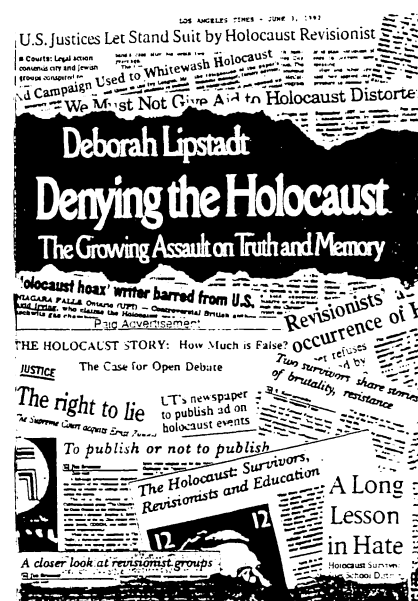
Generous Help

Two of the three books here under review advertise themselves as setting off on this new demarche; the third, ADL's *Hitler's Apologists*, sticks unabashedly to the tried and true tactics of what might be called "McCarthyism."

Chief among these three intellectually slight works is Deborah Lipstadt's *Denying the Holocaust*, a labored exposé that has been years in the gestation (the *New York Times* devoted a major fanfare to Lipstadt's lucubrations on the Revisionists as far back as June 20, 1988), yet manages to give off telltale signs of desperate,

last-minute suturing and low-voltage jolts of stylistic electricity, by a crew of editorial Igors in New York City.

The book that shambles forth from the Free Press (a division of Macmillan in Manhattan) is, as author Lipstadt herself acknowledges, heavily dependent on the assistance of professional character assassins from Jewish so-called "defense organizations": operatives of the Anti-Defamation League, the Canadian Jewish Congress, the American Jewish Committee, the World Jewish Congress' Institute for Jewish Affairs in London, and the Simon Wiesenthal Center all receive thanks in the preface.



Denying the Holocaust is copyrighted by something called the Vidal Sassoon International Center for the Study of Anti-Semitism of The Hebrew University of Jerusalem (as a perquisite of which the author may have received the stylish haircut pictured on the dust jacket).

What's actually new about Lipstadt's approach? Not much, despite the author's all-but

Theodore J. O'Keefe is an IHR editor. Educated at Harvard, he is the author of numerous published articles and reviews on historical and political subjects.

breathless intimations that she's the first researcher who has dared to look Holocaust Revisionism in the face, and despite the hosannas which have poured forth from the book review sections of the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, and other newspapers. Although the author, proudly enthroned on something called the "Dorot Chair in Modern Jewish and Holocaust Studies" at Emory University, makes much of the need to analyze the Revisionist case against the Holocaust, in sum her promised "exposure" of the Revisionists has little to do with confronting Revisionist scholarship.

Ineptitude and Deceit

While Professor Lipstadt is less than honest elsewhere in her book, she is disarmingly frank about her dogmas and purposes at the outset: "The existence of the Holocaust [is] not a matter of debate" (p. 1); Revisionists are "extremist antisemites" who "camouflage their hateful ideology" "under the guise of scholarship . . ." (p. 3).

But how to expose them, other than by proclaiming that the Holocaust is beyond question (which comes perilously close to relegating it to the realm of religion) and calling the Revisionists names, particularly when she has haughtily announced her refusal to be "sucked into a debate that is no debate and an argument that is no argument"?

In fact, her promised "analysis" and "exposure" is in large measure derived from the tried-and-true methods of the ADL and its junior partners at the Wiesenthal Center and elsewhere. Lipstadt parades the same labeling and smear techniques as the slick dossiers churned out by the "watchdog groups": antisemite/neoNazi/fascist/professional-hatemonger/bigot/Hitlerian/Holocaust-denier. As you flip through the pages of *Denying the Holocaust*, the epithets all seem to run together into a single quavering wail.

Where Professor Lipstadt can't

believably pin one of her slanderous labels on her subjects, or has perhaps temporarily tired of impugning their supposed motives, she is forced to attempt, as best she can, historical analysis and scholarly argument. However, she gives scant evidence of any grasp of historical knowledge or method, and more than a little indication of scholarly indolence and a timidity about confronting the masters of Holocaust Revisionism in their areas of expertise. Her analytic efforts are further vitiated by errors, big and small; omissions, deliberate or in ignorance; and distortions and misstatements, that, coming from any real scholar, can only be called deceitful. Lipstadt's ineptitude, after years of ballyhooed toil amid Revisionist writings, is only underscored by her pitiful efforts to take refuge in her own academic credentials (by the way, all the evidence indicates that she is unable to read Revisionist works in the original French or German) and those of the numerous professional historian-hacks whose authority she invokes. These she brandishes, like Medusa shaking her snaky locks, at the Revisionists in hopes of petrifying these alleged amateurs. But this tactic will impress only other amateurs.

To catalogue the slanders and mistakes of *Denying the Holocaust*, let alone refute them, would require almost a book itself, and despite all the media trumpet blasts, this book isn't worth the effort. Still, a look at some of the more important techniques that serve Lipstadt, as well as the rest of the now sweating wardens of Holocaust orthodoxy, is perhaps of some merit.

Word Wizards

Chief among these is one surprisingly simple: a reliance on the emotive and minatory power of the Word. For Lipstadt and her fellows, words such as "antisemite" (her spelling), "neo-Nazi," "denier," "Holocaust," "memory" and the like aren't so much (if they are at all) labels for

independent realities as they are weapons, first for controlling discourse, then for anathematizing opponents, and finally for striking directly at the central nervous systems of the population at large. Thanks to the Holocaust lobby's ready access to the international media, efforts by Revisionists to reverse the process by labeling the other side "Exterminationists" and the like tend to strike even sympathizers as odd, labored, and reeking of reactive, *tu quoque* ("you too").

Nevertheless, it is indispensable for Revisionists untiringly to confront and mercilessly to dissect the shibboleths of the word wizards: as in this book, deceptive labels are 90 percent of their case. "What is the Holocaust?" Revisionists must ask, and why does "denying" it sound so direr and more unreasonable than merely questioning whether the Germans had a policy to exterminate the Jews, resulting in the deaths of around six million of them, largely in gas chambers?

What is an "antisemite"? If the word denotes merely someone who opposes the Jews, what's wrong with using a term that says so?¹ (And why don't we hear more of "anti-Hamitism" and "anti-Japhetism"?)

Was Robert Faurisson correct when he suggested, in a 1989 article, that the Jewish "memory" that professional Holocausters so often invoke might more accurately be defined as the "beliefs"

1. This reviewer recalls reading a "scholarly" article — author, title and source long forgotten — on the elaborate punctilio that governs the orthography of this term so dear to anti-defamatory bigdames. "Anti-Semite" was eschewed as seeming to indicate a (possibly rational) opposition to "Semitism" and "Semites," whereas the unhyphenated, uncapitalized form points to the unconscious miasmas of unreasoned bigotry that lead "antisemites" to oppose US handouts to Israel, a Holocaust museum on every block, etc. There remain simpler Jewish souls, however, who favor the term "Jew-hater" for such creatures.

and “legends” of the Jews?

Historical Revisionism

For those who doubt that Lipstadt’s long tussle with Holocaust revisionism is based largely on her manipulation of a handful of empty words, a more specific analysis of her use of the terms “Holocaust” and “Holocaust denial” is in order.

After decreeing that the “Holocaust” is not subject to debate, it is the author’s ploy to equate the word with the facts supposed to underlie it. She approvingly quotes (p. 198) the following pontification emanating from the Duke University history department shortly after the appearance of Bradley Smith’s full-page advertisement challenging several well-known tales of the Holocaust:

That historians are constantly engaged in historical revision is certainly correct; however, what historians do is very different from this advertisement. Historical revision of major events is not concerned with the actuality of these events; rather it concerns their historical *interpretation* — their causes and consequences generally.

Sorry, profs, but that sophomoric stance wouldn’t fool many college freshmen — at least not in the days when a demonstrated ability to think critically was a prerequisite for college admission, let alone this or that professorship. In this reviewer’s freshman days, students learned quickly that many alleged “major events” — such as “the fall of the Roman Empire,” “the Middle Ages,” and “the Renaissance” — are in large measure names and interpretations coined by historians based on their evaluation of a large, but still painfully limited, amount of evidence. Although perhaps various proponents of this or that historical interpretation might have welcomed anathemas aimed at their opponents, this reviewer

doesn’t recall any of them attempting to turn logic on its head by invoking the “reality” of the “Dorian invasion” or the “Ottonian renaissance” to validate each component of the theory, as Lipstadt and her colleagues have tried to do to save the lampshades, shrunken heads, Jewish soap bars, and spectral gas chambers attacked by Smith in his campus ads. Nor, outside of the flacks from the Holocaust lobby, has he ever encountered the cheap trick of representing a historian who doubted the applicability of the name “Dark Ages” for a period in European history as arguing that the centuries in question “never happened.”

Exercise in Evasion

Having conjured the “Holocaust” into existence without worrying about such inconsequential matters as the documents ordering, planning, and budgeting it, or the forensic tests establishing the murder weapons, or the autopsies showing deaths by gassing, Lipstadt performs her next sleight-of-hand trick. This is to impose her own name for Revisionism, “denial” — with all its shopworn Freudian implications — on her targets. Focusing on “denial” and “deniers” as on some pathological syndrome allows her to “analyze” them without reference to the full body of Revisionist scholarship, of which she seems woefully uninformed, even after more than half a decade’s study.

In fact, most of her book is an exercise in evasion of precisely that body of Revisionist findings that would seem to have made her work necessary. Conversely, an inordinate amount of *Denying the Holocaust* is devoted to tracing the antecedents of contemporary Holocaust Revisionist scholarship.

Her book is front-loaded with Revisionists and Revisionist arguments which have been long since been incorporated, superseded, and in some cases corrected by later Revisionists. Indeed, Lipstadt devotes five chapters, span-

ning 91 pages, to the predecessors of Arthur Butz, whereas Butz and his contemporaries and successors, including Robert Faurisson, Fred Leuchter, and the Institute for Historical Review, get a measly three chapters and an appendix comprising a comparatively modest 64 pages. (It should be noted that much of this text, particularly that concerning the IHR, is rife with the sort of irrelevancies that fill the pages of ADL’s “exposés”: the life and times of Willis Carto and David McCalden, headlines from *The Spotlight*, and the like.) Other chapters virtually devoid of analysis of Revisionist argument include her Chapter One, largely devoted to lamenting an alleged tolerance for Holocaust Revisionism in the mass media (that is, agonizing that a good number of radio and television talk shows have not blacklisted revisionists), and a speedy, superficial tour of “denial” abroad. In Chapters Ten she marshals such arguments as she can to support the banning of Revisionist advertisements and articles from college newspapers in the wake of Bradley Smith’s remarkably successful campaign of two years ago. Chapter Eleven, called “Watchers on the Rhine,” is her attempt to chart “the future course of Holocaust denial,” and to prescribe what must be done to thwart the Revisionism and an evidently looming rise of the Fourth Reich.

Paul Rassinier

Characteristic of her technique is the way she handles the work of two courageous pioneers of Revisionism, Paul Rassinier and Austin App. Each of these is accorded considerable space in *Denying the Holocaust*, largely to focus on flaws and errors, many of them minor, in their work.

Most readers won’t know that where both men genuinely erred, Revisionists have long since corrected them. Rassinier’s mistakes on Jewish population statistics, avidly cited by the author (pp. 58-62) were set right by *Journal* editor Mark Weber in testimony at

the second (1988) trial of Ernst Zündel, a trial with which Lipstadt should be familiar since she dwells on it at some length and has had access to the transcript. If that weren't enough, however, Weber summarized his corrective testimony in the *Journal* ("My Role in the Zündel Trial," Winter 1989-90, pp. 391, 415-416), and included three pages of specific corrections in an "afterword" to the IHR's most recent edition of Rassinier's key Revisionist writings, *The Holocaust Story and the Lies of Ulysses* (pp. 414-416).

Although Lipstadt states rather murkily that what she calls Rassinier's "use of the numbers game . . . established a pattern followed by all deniers who try to prove that the death tolls are not valid" (p. 58), the knowledgeable reader searches in vain for evidence of this: she has omitted any and all mention of Walter Sanning's key book *The Dissolution of Eastern European Jewry*; the posthumous article "How Many Jews Were Eliminated by the Nazis?" in the Spring 1983 *Journal* (pp. 61-81) by Professor Frank Hankins, a longtime demographer and former president of the American Sociological Society; and Swedish demographer Carl Nordling's two *Journal* studies, "The Jewish Establishment under Nazi Threat and Domination" Summer 1990 (pp. 195-209) and "How Many Jews Died in the German Concentration Camps," Fall 1991 (pp. 335-344).

Austin App

Similarly, Lipstadt has chosen to give Austin App an entire chapter, eighteen pages long, subtitled "The World of Immoral Equivalency," by which she means to say that App dared to compare such genuine, but comparatively unpublishized and certainly unpunished Allied atrocities as the mass expulsion of millions of Germans from their ancestral homelands, or the mass rapes carried out especially by conquering Soviet troops, to those alleged

German atrocities of which we never cease to hear and for which the United States and other governments still dog innocent men, such as John Demjanjuk, to the present day.

While Dr. App, a member of the Editorial Advisory Committee of this *Journal* from its founding until his death in 1984, deserves the highest praise for his indomitable courage, his unflagging loyalty to his German roots, and his dedication to propagating the case for the German nation and people during and after the Second World War, only a writer less than familiar with the progress of revisionist research could claim that App "played a central role in the development of Holocaust denial" (p. 85), or that "his major contribution was to formulate eight axioms that have come to serve as the founding principles of the California-based Institute for Historical Review and as the basic postulates of Holocaust denial" (p. 86). In fact, a survey of the more than 50 issues of *The Journal of Historical Review* published to date reveals only a single article by Dr. App ("The Holocaust Put in Perspective," Vol. 1, no. 1 [Spring 1980]), an obituary tribute to him (Winter 1984, pp. 446-450), and a handful of mentions of his incisive but not always meticulous pamphlets.

It should not be necessary, by the way, to point out that Dr. App, a life-long Catholic who never wrote a word against the republican form of government its founding fathers bequeathed his native America, was by no stretch of the imagination a "fascist," as Lipstadt terms him (p. 87).

Arthur Butz

Bad as is her work on Rassinier, App, and other precursors of contemporary Holocaust Revisionism such as David Hogan or "Richard Harwood" (Richard Verrall), Lipstadt's real inadequacies as a scholar begin to shine when at length she attempts to analyze and expose the work of Dr. Arthur R. Butz

and the Revisionist scholars who have followed him.

Her tack on Professor Butz and his epoch-making *Hoax of the Twentieth-Century* is to represent Butz as a master of *trompe-l'oeil*, assuming "a veneer of scholarship and the impression of seriousness and objectivity" (p. 123) to fool the unwary. To that end, she claims, he provided *The Hoax* with what Lipstadt calls "the hallmarks of scholarly works," that is, "the requisite myriad notes and large bibliography" (p. 124), and criticized the work of earlier Revisionists as well as "German wartime behavior" — a ploy "that was clearly designed to disarm innocent readers and enhance Butz's aura of scholarly objectivity" (p. 124).

Lipstadt's efforts to unmask Butz's pseudo-scholarly trumpery and hidden "agenda" are vitiated by both her ineptitude and her dishonesty. She bypasses both the central issues of *The Hoax* and Butz's often complex argumentation to reduce its theses to caricatures. Thus, her chapter makes no reference either to Butz's key (and as yet unanswered) question as to how the mass gassings at the huge, comparatively open, and closely monitored Auschwitz complex could go unnoticed and unreported for more than two years, or to the dual interpretations of German public-health measures at Auschwitz (brilliantly summarized on page 131 of *The Hoax*). Instead, Lipstadt would rather dog Butz for his appearance at a meeting sponsored by Minister Louis Farrakhan, or for the fact that "his books [*sic*] are promoted and distributed by the Ku Klux Klan and other [*sic*] neo-Nazi organizations" (p. 126).

Where Lipstadt does lay hands on what Butz actually writes, she almost invariably misrepresents, misstates, or otherwise garbles his positions. Butz does not argue that "the key to perpetrating the hoax was the forging of massive numbers of documents" (p. 127). As the discerning reader will discover by checking the citation from *The Hoax* that Lipstadt cites

here, Butz in fact wrote of “a fabrication constructed of perjury, forgery, distortion of fact and misrepresentation of documents” (*Hoax*, p. 173).

Lipstadt similarly badly misconstrues (or misstates) Butz’s thesis on why so many postwar German defendants refused to challenge the extermination allegations. The vast majority of them did not “plead guilty” to the Holocaust, as she clearly implies (p. 130). Rather than argue (to their extreme peril in the context of the show-trial hysteria) that it hadn’t taken place, the defendants usually argued that they had had nothing to do with it.

Lipstadt is either unable or unwilling to follow Butz when he argues closely. For example, she badly misrepresents his argument regarding Oswald Pohl’s testimony at Nuremberg. Butz’s point is that it is absurd to imagine that Pohl, the head of the SS agency (the WVHA) that supervised the construction and operation of all the concentration camps, including Auschwitz, would only have learned of the alleged exterminations through a speech of Heinrich Himmler at Posen in October 1943, as Pohl claimed (*Hoax*, p. 195). Lipstadt is silent regarding this claim, stating only that Pohl testified “that he had heard Himmler deliver his famous 1943 speech to the SS leaders at Posen” (p. 131). Elsewhere she cites the word “ludicrous,” with which Butz characterizes Pohl’s claim about his first knowledge of the supposed genocide, as evidence of Butz’s dismissal of “anything that disagreed with [his] foregone conclusion and the thesis of his book” (p. 124).

This reviewer defies anyone to compare Lipstadt’s criticisms of *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* with what its author actually writes, both in those passages Lipstadt cites as well as the far more numerous aspects of Butz’s book she has chosen to ignore, and come away convinced that the would-be confounder of the

deniers has made so much as a dent in his thesis, even where it is perhaps most vulnerable.

Mistakes and Irrelevancies

Aside from the intellectual dishonesty that members of the professional Holocaust orthodoxy share (which can only grow as Revisionist researchers gain access to more evidence), Lipstadt seems to suffer from an intellectual incapacity crippling in a scholar bent upon penetrating veneers and veils of supposedly false scholarship through rigorous criticism. She excels at mistaking a point or fixing on an irrelevancy, then dwelling on it for half a page or more, as when, for example, she taxes Richard Verrall (“Harwood”), author of *Did Six Million Really Die?*, for quoting Hitler biographer Colin Cross to the effect that “murdering [the Jews] in a time of desperate war emergency was useless from any rational point of view” (pp. 113-114). She reproaches Verrall for the better part of a page for having tried to represent Cross as challenging the “Holocaust.” Checking the passage in question (*Did Six Million Really Die?*, p. 20), reveals no such intent to co-opt Cross.

Then again, the fact that Revisionists have paid close attention to Exterminationist writers, and cited such authors as Raul Hilberg, Gerald Reitlinger, and J.-C. Pressac to bolster their case either by referencing otherwise unobtainable evidence or by employing the valid controversial tactic of admission against interest, brings forth an anguished yelp from our author: “They [the “deniers”] rely on books that directly contradict their arguments, quoting in a manner that completely distorts the authors’ objectives (p. 111).” Well, what’s sauce for the Gentile goose... but we understand perfectly, Debbie, that you and your colleagues would much prefer that we ignore your works — and we understand why.

Omissions

Another tactic (or failing) of *Denying the Holocaust*, is in the matter, already adverted to, of omission — omission of all sorts of pertinent facts, arguments, writings, personages, and attainments of Revisionist scholars. Lipstadt seems only half aware of the compass of revisionist research and publication. Her book contains no mention of such key Revisionist authors as Wilhelm Stäglich, Fritz Berg, Carlo Mattogno and Enrique Aynat. And, despite the fact that she makes use of the English translation of Pierre Vidal-Naquet’s *Assassins of Memory*, she omits all reference to world-class Jewish historian Arno Mayer’s *Why Did the Heavens Not Darken*, with its two crushing observations: “Sources for the study of the gas chambers are at once rare and unreliable” and “There is no denying the many contradictions, ambiguities, and errors in the existing sources.”

Lipstadt’s understating of the achievements and credentials of Revisionists, despite their availability from the sources she cites, is too frequent to be anything but willful. James Martin gets mention in a single footnote, which fails to mention his doctorate in history from the University of Michigan, his 25-year academic career, and his authorship of five well-received books and numerous articles: Lipstadt does credit him (p. 44) for being listed as “a contributor to the 1970 *Encyclopaedia Britannica*.” Mark Weber, who studied history at four different universities, including Munich and Indiana University, obtaining a master’s degree from the latter, is said (p. 186) only to have been “educated in a Jesuit high school in Portland, Oregon.”

When Lipstadt refers (p. 67) to Stephen Pinter’s famous letter published in the Catholic newspaper *Our Sunday Visitor* (June 14, 1959), which challenged the gas chamber and extermination claims, she leaves out all refer-

ence to the fact that Pinter served as an attorney for the U.S. War Department during the postwar Dachau trials, and that he based his knowledge of the wartime treatment of the Jews on having "interviewed thousands of Jews, former inmates of concentration camps in Germany and Austria."

Fred Leuchter

Lipstadt's noisiest evocation of the "credentials" issue comes in her assault on the findings of Fred Leuchter regarding the purported gas chambers at Auschwitz. She takes considerable pains to show that: 1) Leuchter has only a B.A. in history; 2) he is not a certified engineer; 3) a Canadian judge deemed him unqualified to "serve as an expert witness on the construction and functioning of the gas chambers" (p. 164); and he is not America's leading authority on execution gas chambers.

Lipstadt presents a melange of truth and fiction to make her case that Leuchter's analysis of the feasibility of execution gassings at Auschwitz, Majdanek and elsewhere may mislead the uninformed or the unwary, but the essential facts and elementary common sense refute her.

Leuchter's formal educational credentials easily exceed those of Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Edison, or the Wright brothers; he holds numerous patents for inventions ranging from the first electronic sextant to a color stereo helicopter mapping system to various types of execution hardware (Lipstadt omits all mention of these). Even worse, she flagrantly misstates the truth by writing that Leuchter was not allowed to testify during the Second trial of Ernst Zündel as an expert on execution gas chambers: he certainly was, as the transcript makes perfectly clear.

As to Leuchter's pre-eminence as the American expert on gas chamber design, operation and maintenance, a recent book by journalist Stephen Trombley, *The Execution Protocol*, makes abundantly clear that Leuchter was all

that in abundance, before his career was wrecked thanks to his steadfastness in standing by the conclusions he reached in his widely-circulated 1988 Report. Lipstadt is aware of *The Execution Protocol*, since she reproaches it for having "resurrected" Leuchter's reputation, but she has no specific criticisms to make of its massive confirmation, coming from an author unsympathetic to capital punishment, of Leuchter's expertise and authority. (Trombley's book also throws light on how Leuchter's ambiguous position as an inventor and technician dedicated to humane execution methods, and an ambitious businessman, made him vulnerable to unfair charges from state officials that his testimony against defective and inhumane equipment and procedures was prompted merely by venality.)

In any case, Lipstadt is unable to shake the most important aspect of the Leuchter affair: that, thanks to the enterprise of Ernst Zündel and the dedication of Robert Faurisson, the first-ever expert forensic examination of whether mass homicidal gassing was feasible in the Auschwitz crematoria, and the first quantitative investigation of the physico-chemical evidence of such gassings, was conducted by a leading, professional, court-certified expert in homicidal gas chambers. Needless to say, she fails to report the existence of three subsequent reports on the alleged homicidal gas chambers of Auschwitz — carried out by a Polish forensic institute, a German chemist, and an Austrian engineer — each of which corroborates Leuchter's 1988 report.

Jean-Claude Pressac

Aside from attempting to impugn Leuchter's credentials, Lipstadt makes a feeble effort to uphold the gas chamber myth by invoking the supposed findings and authority of Jean-Claude Pressac, the French pharmacist whose book *Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Cham-*

bers was published in 1989 by Beate and Serge Klarsfeld. Despite its labored attempts to substantiate the "gas chambers" of Auschwitz by revealing and discussing an unprecedented wealth of documents from Auschwitz, Pressac's book has to date received scant public notice from orthodox Holocaust scholars. It has, rather, been the Revisionists, above all in this *Journal*, who have analyzed this and other of Pressac's writings — to the embarrassment of the Exterminationists and to the great profit of historical truth.

Suffice it to say that Lipstadt (pp. 226-228) has merely listed (not always accurately) a few of the 39 allegedly criminal traces which Pressac claims to have discovered from documents relating to the Auschwitz crematoria: a gas-tight door here, a request for gas detectors there, an inventory listing shower heads, and so forth. Readers interested in ascertaining the perfectly banal usages of all these items are advised to turn to the *Journal* articles by Robert Faurisson (Spring 1991), Paul Grubach (Winter 1992-93), and Arthur Butz (May/June 1993). As for Lipstadt's own gross ignorance of the Auschwitz gas-chamber question, this reviewer is content to cite this sentence from *Denying the Holocaust*: "The delousing chambers were constructed in the same fashion as the homicidal gas chambers," and refer the reader to *The Leuchter Report*, Pressac, or any other source for blueprints and photographs he or she may choose.

Dread Portent?

Dr. Lipstadt seems to have begun unraveling in the course of her work on this book. In her preface (pp. vii-viii) she makes less than cryptic references to the growing stress she felt as she strove to confront and expose the increasingly powerful arguments of the Revisionists:

I had constantly to avoid being sucked into a debate

that is no debate and an argument that is no argument. It has been a disconcerting and, at times, painful task that would have been impossible without the aid and support of a variety of people. Without them I would never have emerged from this morass.

In her final chapter, entitled "Watching on the Rhine: The Future Course of Holocaust Denial," Debbie becomes completely unglued. After sniffing suspiciously at the work of such orthodox, but disarmingly skeptical, modern German historians as Ernst Nolte, who has recently called for open debate on the gas chambers, and Michael Stürmer, who seems to think that the interpretation of his country's recent past should serve purposes other than a source for Hollywood horror scripts and fundraising gimmicks for the United Jewish Appeal, Lipstadt conjures up the looming horror of a Fourth, Revisionist Reich.

The "deniers," she tells her readers, are really no different from the Ku Klux Klan, the skinheads, the Neo-Nazis: "They hate the same things — Jews, racial minorities, and democracy — and have the same objectives, the destruction of truth and memory." And the deniers are cleverer: they don't run around in sheets or Nazi paraphernalia, but "...attempt to project the appearance of being committed to the very values that they in truth adamantly oppose: reason, critical, rules of evidence, and historical distinction. It is this that makes Holocaust denial such a threat."

And just what does this dire threat portend? What final horror threatens Jews, racial minorities, and democracy? Here's how Lipstadt evokes (p. 218) the coming tribulation:

A strategic change will also mark the activities of the racist, neo-Nazi, ultranationalist groups. So easily identifiable by their outer

trappings, they will adopt the deniers' tactics, cast off the external attributes that mark them as extremists, and eschew whatever pigeonholes them as neofascists. They will cloak themselves and their arguments in a veneer of reason and in arguments [sic] that sound rational to the American people. The physical terror they perpetrate may cease, but the number of people beguiled by their arguments will grow.

As a portent of the terrors to come, and as a tactic analogous to those of the deniers, Professor Lipstadt cites an attempt by one of the many Klan groupuscules to erect a cross on city property in Cincinnati during Christmas. Horrors!

She's not done yet, however. After considering (p. 219) "the most efficacious strategies for countering these attacks" (she lukewarmly opposes legal censorship because it may turn revisionists into martyrs, and advocates that the population at large be stuffed, like so many Strasbourg geese, with more Holocaust education, museums, etc.), Lipstadt ends (pp. 221-222) with a final, quavering, self-pitying wail (a wail that begs for annotation):

Though we cannot directly engage them [in debate — as to why not, the reader may decide], there is something we can do. Those who care not just about Jewish history or the history of the Holocaust but about truth in all its forms [comment supererogatory], must function as canaries in the mine [not cuckoos in the clock or bats in the belfry?], to guard against the spread of noxious fumes. ["Gas masks for sale! O-o-o-ld gas masks!"] We must vigilantly stand watch against an increasingly nimble enemy. [Tough work for increasingly sclerotic Holocaustomaniacs!] But unlike

the canary, we must not sit silently by waiting to expire so that others will be warned of the danger. ["Good, heavens, Martha, it's raining canaries! What can it mean?"] When we witness assaults on the truth, our response must be strong, though neither polemical or emotional [like your book?] We must educate the broader public and academe about this threat and its historical and ideological roots [Oh, boy! More lavishly funded Chairs of Holocaust Studies!]. We must expose these people for what they are. [Is the ADL about to fold up?]

The effort will not be pleasant. [You can count on that one, Debbie!] Those who take on this task will sometimes feel — as I often did in the course of writing [Does she mean typing?] this work — as if they are being forced to prove what they know to be a fact. [What an awful imposition!] Those of us who make scholarship our vocation and avocation dream of spending our time charting new paths, opening new vistas, and offering new perspectives on some aspect of the truth. [Us Revisionists have things so easy! But you're not getting tired of the Holocaust, are you, Debbie? What are you — some kind of anti-Semite?] We seek to discover, not to defend. [Aww...] We did not train in our respective fields in order to stand like watchmen and watchwomen on the Rhine [100-1 she got this image only second-hand from prune-faced, lying old Stalinist Lillian Hellman, not from hearing the patriotic German song]. Yet this is what we must do. [What dedication!] We do so in order to expose falsehood and hate. ["But we don't l-i-i-ke mirrors!"] We will remain ever vigilant so that the most pre-

cious tools of our trade and our society — truth and reason — can prevail. The still, small voices of millions cry out to us from the ground demanding that we do no less. [Ugh!]

And with that last emetic cry, the Wicked Witch of the West (or is it the East?) dissolves into an oozing putrescence. Unwilling to confront the Revisionists, unable of answering their arguments, at best a second-rate mistress of the dossier and the exposé, she can only bequeath her formulas and her broom to the smear mongers at the defense agency.

As for *Denying the Holocaust*, to recall the German philologist Wilamowitz-Möllendorff's famous dismissal of a study of socialism in antiquity, "Dieses Buch existiert nicht für die Wissenschaft" ("This book doesn't exist for scholarship.") In a sane world, it would merit not a review, but an epitaph: "Here lies Deborah Lipstadt."

Stern's Effort

Kenneth Stern, author of the American Jewish Committee's *Holocaust Denial*, is described therein as "Program Specialist, Anti-Semitism and Extremism" for that organization. Despite these ominous credentials, and endorsements from Deborah Lipstadt, Shelly Z. Shapiro (who tried to frame Fred Leuchter on orders from Beate Klarsfeld), and the irrepressible Mel Mermelstein, Stern's book is fairer than might be expected.

Why so? After all, his book contains many of the standard slurs and slanders: the IHR is "Carto's lie-tank" (p. 8), "Holocaust denial" is an "enterprise of professional anti-Semites" (p. 9) and "a dogma that provides ideological incentives to feel good about Jew-hatred" (p. 84). Stern relies heavily on slanted information provided by Gerry Gable, editor of the pro-Communist periodical *Searchlight*, Leonard Zeskind, research director of the Center for

Democratic Renewal, and other Marxist flacks, and opines that "even if we do not agree with the complete agenda of the current Europe [sic] organizations that have a mission to fight fascism — such as some of the mainstream left-wing 'antifascist' groups — we should be more active in helping them." (p. 97)

Nevertheless, Stern takes Holocaust Revisionism seriously enough to provide nearly fifty pages of appendices with evidence — from their own mouths and pens — of Revisionist scholarly and polemical activity, including the full text of Brad Smith's first campus advertisement, "The Holocaust Controversy: The Case for Open Debate"; a complete transcript of Montel Williams's April 30, 1992, television show devoted to Holocaust Revisionism, during which *Journal* editor Weber and Revisionist filmmaker David Cole easily bested a gaggle of Holocausters, including a couple of survivors; and an 18-page listing of "Holocaust-denying" books, booklets, and pamphlets, and of articles from *The Journal of Historical Review* that should make even the hardiest true believer shiver at the evident industry and sophistication of the Revisionists.

Like Lipstadt (in her first chapter), Stern offers a world tour of Holocaust Revisionism. His Baedeker is rather more informative than hers, for all his errors, and even this reviewer, inundated as all IHR's editors are by Revisionist news from around the globe, read it with some profit.

Stern takes a stab at refuting selected Revisionist arguments, not very successfully, since he has either dodged major questions in favor of trivial ones ("[Revisionist] Claim: That neither Churchill nor Eisenhower, in their memoirs, mention either gas chambers or a genocide program" [p. 71]), or relied on empty pronouncements from Exterminationist authority figures, such as Professor Yehuda Bauer, who confutes the laws of physics by informing us that "the

incinerators at Auschwitz were built to cremate nine corpses per hour" (p. 65), or put his faith, like Lipstadt, in J.-C. Pressac.

All in all, Revisionists will likely experience a warm feeling of satisfaction when they put down *Holocaust Denial*: we are on the march, and Stern makes clear that he and his fellow professional anti-anti-Semites don't know how to stop us.

ADL Hatchet Job

The second offering from the Jewish "defense agencies" under review is a rather less attractive effort. *Hitler's Apologists* lumbers along after Lipstadt's and Stern's books, its knuckles grazing already well-worn grooves of innuendo, smear, and what used to be called "guilt by association." Compiled by a cast of professional snoops, this 86-page booklet was edited by Alan Schwartz, who was dropped from the plaintiff's list of expert witnesses after he was mercilessly grilled by Mark Lane in deposition during the second Mermelstein case.

Although the booklet's subtitle, "The Anti-Semitic Propaganda of Holocaust 'Revisionism'," would seem to indicate a programmatic confrontation with the Revisionist case, the way *Hitler's Apologists* is organized belies that. Most sections are titled with the names of individual Revisionists, who are pilloried for all manner of associations and linkages, motives and agendas, positions and statements, some of them dating back decades, while their formal arguments are passed over or dismissed with ritualistic slurs.

For example, Mark Weber is falsely described as "a long-time neo-Nazi" (p. 10). (Question: How long does one have to be a "neo-Nazi" before he qualifies as a "paleo-Nazi"?) Bradley Smith, who has been earlier accused of falsifying credentials — credentials he never claimed! — by Harvard law professor Alan Dershowitz, is taxed for being the co-director of a "pseudo-academic enterprise, the Committee for

Open Debate of the Holocaust" (p. 12), although Smith has never represented CODOH as being in any way academic.

Once the ADL's smear apparatus has been turned on and has sputtered to life, it takes on a demonic existence of its own, like some odd carnival amusement, ultimately repellent whatever its attraction. Amid stomach-turning odors, to the manic burling of a cranky calliope, the centrifugal pump that is *Hitler's Apologists* whirls faster and faster, spewing filth and falsehood about Revisionists, great and small, into the faces of the American public. Fred Leuchter! David McCalden! Jack Wikoff! Hans Schmidt! Ernst Zündel! Pat Buchanan! Arno Mayer! Keegstra! Faurisson! Roques! Le Pen! The Germans! Faster and faster! Eastern Europe! Lithuania! The Muslims! Saddam Hussein! The Intifada!

And on and on it spins and stinks, this latest ADL hatchet job, shooting half-truths and lies, irrelevancies and mistakes, to the point where it becomes idle to track down and refute them one by one. A production like this is of a piece — either one great truth or one great lie. The big lie of Hitler's Apologists — that all revisionists are simply Nazis — is wearing ever thinner. Thus the insane energy of the liars and sneaks who basted it together.

Repression and Monopoly

Each of the books under examination here calls for or tolerates continued censorship of Revisionists — if not through judicial or police measures, then by systematically refusing Revisionists the right of the effective public forum — media, academia, advertising, and commercial distribution. Only grudgingly conceded is the right to assail the Holocaust hoax from a soapbox in a public park.

This intolerance of debate, this relish for repression, is the reverse of the counterfeit coin whose obverse is the gas chamber lie and the six million myth. Whatever the responsibilities of

the wartime propagandists and the postwar survivors, the minters of the false currency of Holocaust history cannot be excused for temporary opportunity, hot-blooded vengeance, or passing confusion. Through their jealously guarded monopoly of historical discussion of the "Holocaust," the Second World War, and ultimately the entire modern era of the West, they mean to silence all dissent, from the rantings of the most repulsive race-baiter to the researches of the most meticulous scholar. And they aim, through their hypostatized Holocaust, to raise their own filthy calumnies — of the Nazis, the Germans, the Axis, Europe, and ultimately America and the entire West throughout its history — to an obligatory state cult.

That is why the work of Holocaust Revisionism — including its sometimes peckish-seeming preoccupation with the innards of what Professor James J. Martin has called "Polish potato cellars," with the efficacy of insecticides, and the meaning of half-century

old invoices for light bulbs or showerheads — must continue. To use a military analogy, it is not enough that our scouts and our reconnaissance troops have won some skirmishes, not enough that General Rassinier's airborne troops have seized a bridgehead, not enough that Field Marshal Butz's panzer army has knifed deep into enemy territory. These victories must be confirmed and consolidated through further research and new findings, while the smallest and meanest of the Holocaust lies must be rooted out of the isolated intellectual bunkers in which they lurk, then destroyed.

Today, no matter how badly beleaguered by state censorship, by physical attacks, by economic pressure, Holocaust Revisionists are on the intellectual offensive. If the books reviewed above can't be much bettered by the Holocaust Lobby, both the lie and the lobby are in danger of definitive refutation and exposure before the decade is out.

Anti-Revisionist Work Takes Aim at Faurisson

Crossing Swords in France on the Holocaust Issue

Assassins of Memory: Essays on the Denial of the Holocaust, by Pierre Vidal-Naquet. Translated and with a foreword by Jeffrey Mehlman. New York: Columbia University Press, 1992. Hardcover. 205 (+ xxvi) pages. Notes. Index. ISBN: 0-231-07458-1.

Reviewed by Mark Weber

In no country has Holocaust revisionism gained greater ground than in France. Most of the blame or credit for this belongs to one man: Dr. Robert Faurisson. A victim of numerous costly legal battles, ten physical attacks (one of them nearly fatal), and an unrelenting media smear campaign, this specialist of French literature

and text and document analysis has had a profound impact solely because of the solidity and persuasiveness of his arguments — arguments bolstered with an astonishing mountain of documents and compiled in years of meticulous research in archives in at least four countries.

In the years since he first presented his arguments in two articles published in the influential Paris daily *Le Monde* (December 29, 1978, and January 16, 1979), few efforts have been made to confront the substance of his arguments. This book by French Jewish scholar Vidal-Naquet is the most serious try at it.

This is not a new work. It is a collection of four essays that

appeared first in France in 1980, 1981, 1985, 1987, and as a newspaper article in *Le Monde* in April 1981. The fact that this largely outdated work has been pressed into urgent service in 1992 — with considerable applause from America's intellectual establishment — suggests a feeling of urgency on the part of the powers that be in dealing with the revisionists.



Pierre Vidal-Naquet

Assassins of Memory has been given the most prestigious and flattering treatment that a book can receive in this country: a laudatory front page review (along with Lipstadt's *Denying the Holocaust*) in the nationally-distributed *New York Times Book Review* (July 11, 1993). And yet, the appearance of this book is no cause for rejoicing, as psychiatrist Walter Reich complains in his *Times* review. "...The Holocaust deniers," he writes, "have grown ever more successful in having their arguments presented — and heard with receptivity and respect — in high school classrooms, on college campuses and on television talk shows."

This unhappy mood verging on despair is further manifest in what is probably the most remarkable and interesting portion of this book: the 1992 foreword by Jeffrey Mehlman, a professor of French literature at Boston University. In five pages of Mehlman's foreword, one can find

these words about either his friend, Vidal-Naquet, or about his friend's work:

A tone between rage and pessimism . . . disenchanted . . . bizarrely pessimistic . . . aberrant . . . most intriguing [meant pejoratively] . . . forced . . . camp of the dogmatists . . . dispirited . . . oddly dispirited pseudo-conclusion . . . dispirited . . . depressing . . . refusal of open debate . . . having written a book about (and against) arguments which he claims to regard as beneath consideration . . . stridency and insult . . . a venting of outrage . . . his declaration in *Le Monde* [Feb. 23, 1972] seems both like a closing of establishment ranks and an a priori refusal of discussion . . .

For years now, Vidal-Naquet has been the Nemesis of Faurisson, even testifying against him in court. While he has repeatedly claimed that he does not believe that Faurisson should be brought to trial because of his views, he has belied this by his actions. In an English-language interview broadcast on American radio in mid-December 1992, Vidal-Naquet said that he opposes laws that criminalize revisionism, but also stated: "I hate Faurisson. If I could, I would kill him personally."

French officials have bestowed numerous honors on Pierre Vidal-Naquet. His appointment to the Légion d'honneur was announced in the July 14 (Bastille day) 1990 issue of France's official gazette of laws (*Journal officiel de la République française*). In the same issue of the *Journal officiel* also appeared the text of a remarkable law specifically designed to criminalize "denial" of the Holocaust, a statute that can rightly be called the "Lex Faurissonia."

The core of this book is the first essay; its title, "A Paper Eichmann," refers to Professor Faurisson. Unless the reader pays close attention to footnotes, he might

not realize that Faurisson had already replied in scrupulous detail to Vidal-Naquet's points in a lengthy essay published in France in 1982. This reply is mentioned here in just four footnotes, and no mention whatsoever is made of the 52-page English-language version, "Response to a Paper Historian" (a reference to Vidal-Naquet), which appeared in the Spring 1986 issue of this *Journal*.

In his "Response," Faurisson has done a magnificent job of answering every one of Vidal-Naquet's pertinent points and arguments. In his 56-point reply, Faurisson sought to leave no stone unturned. Reading this devastating counter-attack, it is not difficult to understand Vidal-Naquet's reluctance to let people know of its existence. (It would, of course, be redundant and impossible to duplicate here what Faurisson has already written: the reader interested in a scrupulous revisionist response to the specific points and charges made in this book is referred to the Spring 1986 *Journal*, pp. 21-72.)

For years the "party line" on dealing with revisionists was simply to ignore them. Confronted with the continued progress of revisionism, this tactic has given way to a campaign of misrepresentation, vilification, censorship, fines and violence. So clever and deceitful are the Holocaust revisionists (so the argument goes), that the public is unable to see through their specious arguments. Therefore, they must be attacked *ad hominem* and never permitted an opportunity to respond.

In his preface, Vidal-Naquet accordingly insists that: "One can and should enter into a discussion concerning the 'revisionists'. . . but one should not enter into debate *with* the 'revisionists'." Faurisson, in his essay, "My Life as a Revisionist" (published in the Spring 1989 issue of this *Journal*), provides a tart reply to this comment. After taking note of some of Vidal-Naquet's reluctant

but significant concessions to truth (pp. 53-55), Faurisson wrote:

To draw an analogy from sports, Vidal-Naquet thinks he is better than Faurisson at tennis; not only that, he claims that Faurisson cheats at tennis. Should the latter suggest a match, before a referee and in public, Vidal-Naquet would respond that he would certainly like to play, but only on the condition that there be no opponent. He would ask the judge to declare him the winner in advance; the public's job would simply be to confirm the decision.

In the opening sentence of his chapter "Theses on Revisionism," Vidal-Naquet writes: "I shall call 'revisionism' the doctrine according to which the genocide practiced by Nazi Germany against Jews and Gypsies did not exist . . ." This definition is dangerously ambiguous because he provides no definition of genocide. Every serious revisionist — including Faurisson — readily acknowledges that European Jews were victims of a cruel and harsh policy — one that could well be described as genocidal, but one not essentially different than the treatment many other peoples have endured through the ages.

A mistake that strikes closer to home is Vidal-Naquet's assertion that "In the United States, revisionism is above all the speciality of a Californian group, W. A. Carto's Liberty Lobby." (p. 90). Similarly untrue is Vidal-Naquet's assertion (p. 184) that "Carto finances the *Journal of Historical Review*."

This book's silly title is typical of the Holocaust literature of our day, even this supposedly serious work. It suggests that revisionists are intellectual criminals who are murdering the sacred "memory" of Holocaust survivors. Implicit here is the notion that it is a sin, a sacrilege, to question the "memory" of (Jewish) "martyrs."

Well, does this include the now-discredited "memory" of the five witnesses in the Demjanjuk trial who, under oath, identified John Demjanjuk as a mass murderer at Treblinka? Who are the "assassins" of those "memories"? And who "assassinated" the "memories" of those who talk about soap bars made from Jewish corpses?

Or what about the "memory" of the prominent former Auschwitz inmate Rudolf Vrba? In sworn testimony in the 1985 trial in Toronto of Ernst Zündel, Vrba calculated, based on personal observation, that at Auschwitz-Birkenau during a 25-month period (April 1942 to April 1944), the Germans had "gassed" 1,765,000 Jews, including 150,000 from France. Later, under rigorous questioning, this impostor admitted to having resorted to "poetic license" in making these claims. (See Faurisson's essay, "The Zündel Trial," Winter 1988-89 *Journal*, pp. 420-421.)

Similarly, who is guilty of "assassinating" the "memory" of those who once claimed to have witnessed mass killings by *electrocution* at Belzec and Auschwitz? And who "assassinated" the "memory" of those who once recounted executions at Treblinka in "steam chambers"?

Although Vidal-Naquet vows, in his preface, that "I have nothing to reply to them [revisionists] and will not do so," a good portion of this book is devoted precisely to that purpose. He also makes a few grudging concessions to revisionist arguments. He writes (p. 97) that

there was no gas chamber functioning at Dachau, that *The Diary of Anne Frank*, as it has been published in various languages, raises problems of coherence if not of authenticity, [and that] . . . Krema I, that of the Auschwitz [main] camp, was reconstructed after the war by the Poles.

In recent years, every serious

anti-revisionist has been obliged to make concession after concession to the revisionists in order to salvage what he believes is the core of the Holocaust story.

In the two *Le Monde* articles mentioned earlier, Faurisson insisted on the physical and chemical impossibilities of the "Nazi gas chambers." An alarmed French intellectual establishment responded to these articles with a statement — co-authored by Vidal-Naquet and signed by 34 scholars — that will certainly be long remembered as one of most shameful in that country's intellectual history. The declaration (published in *Le Monde*, Feb. 21, 1979, and cited by Mehlman in his foreword to this book), concludes with the words:

The question of how *technically* such a mass murder was possible should not be raised. It was technically possible because it occurred. This is the necessary starting point for all historical investigation on the subject. It has fallen to us to recall that point with due simplicity: there is not nor can there be a debate over the existence of the gas chambers.

It has proven necessary for the defenders of the Holocaust story to ignore even this injunction. Anti-revisionist researchers such as Jean-Claude Pressac have devoted considerable time and energy to an effort to show precisely "how *technically* such a mass murder was possible."

Another early retort to Faurisson was an article in *Le Monde*, fittingly headlined "An Abundance of Evidence," that claimed that proofs of execution gas chambers are plentiful. As Mehlman notes, even leading Holocaust historians must now admit that there is no such "abundance" — merely tortured interpretations of documentary evidence. Even once widely quoted "testimonies" of "survivors" and famed postwar "confessions" of German officials are being abandoned. As Mehl-

man goes on to inform the reader, even Princeton University professor Arno Mayer (himself Jewish) in his book 1989 book, *Why Did the Heavens Not Darken?: The "Final Solution" in History*, acknowledged that "Sources for the study of the gas chambers are at once rare and unreliable," and that more Jews perished at Auschwitz as victims of disease than were put to death — a view at odds with the "official" Auschwitz extermination story.

This book concludes with words of doubt: "Will truth have the last word? How one would like to be sure of it . . ." With sadness, Mehlman aptly comments on a striking contrast of moods:

Whereas Vidal-Naquet is left dispirited at the end of this volume as to the future prospects of truth, Zola's great slogan has fallen — diabolically — into the adversary camp. "Historical truth is on the march," writes Faurisson, and "one is hard put to see who might stop it."

"Be not intimidated, therefore, by any terrors, from publishing with the utmost freedom whatever can be warranted by the laws of your country; nor suffer yourselves to be wheedled out of your liberty by any pretenses of politeness, delicacy or decency. These, as they are often used, are but three different names for hypocrisy, chicanery and cowardice."

— John Adams

Memoir by Veteran ADL Official Provides Revelations

Square One, by Arnold Forster. New York: Donald I. Fine, 1988. Hardcover. 423 pages. Photographs. Index. ISBN: 1-55611-104-5.

Reviewed by John Cobden

By any objective standard, the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) of B'nai B'rith is one of the most influential organizations in America today. Its ability to cajole, intimidate and pressure politicians, newspapers and broadcasters is legendary. In recent years, it has devoted considerable effort to countering the growing impact of Holocaust Revisionism.

During the last several months, the ADL's nationwide "intelligence gathering" operations have come under critical scrutiny. Although the Gerard/Bullock "ADL spy scandal" is still unfolding, police officials have already charged the ADL with criminal conduct, and some of the ADL's many victims have filed a class action suit against the powerful Zionist organization.

For more than forty years Arnold Forster, the author of this memoir, served as General Counsel and Associate National Director of this misnamed organization. I say misnamed because any unbiased reader of this boastful work cannot help but conclude that defamation has been a hallmark of Forster's career.

He has written a dozen books, most of them polemical attacks against alleged anti-Semites, par-

ticularly in the conservative movement. In his work for the ADL, Forster (who changed his name from Fastenberg) has been quick to pin the anti-Semite label on just about anyone suspected of harboring less than total support for Israel and the Jewish people. While his accusations have doubtless often been correct, in many cases his charge of anti-Semitism — just about the most harmful thing any public figure can be called — has had little or no basis in reality, except in the tortured logic of a professional anti-anti-Semite.

Praise from Wiesel

In his fulsome foreword to *Square One*, Elie Wiesel makes clear that he, along with Forster, regards any critic of Israel as an enemy of the Jews and, by extension, of humanity. (pp. 17, 18). In praising Forster, Wiesel writes:

What is the anti-Zionist campaign, the anti-Israeli propaganda, if not the same archaic hatred [against Jews] in modern dress? . . . Here is a fearless man who refuses all compromise when it comes to defending the Jewish people, and through it, all of humanity. . . . He loves Israel, as I do, with all his heart.

This arrogant Jews=humanity equation doesn't work in reverse, though. Wiesel would never praise anyone as "a fearless man who refuses all compromise when it comes to defending the Palestinian (or German, or Spanish or . . .) people, and through it, all of humanity."

In an effort to justify a belief in Jewish moral superiority, Forster writes: "No other religion, it was pointed out, so celebrated the principle of freedom." (p. 138) Whatever the merits of this view, if the actions of Arnold Forster

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 Revisionniste*.

and the ADL — as recorded in this book — are any indication, he has fallen woefully short of this proclaimed ideal.

Suppressing Free Speech

Forster tells us that the ADL “was chartered to defend against defamation,” and that it has “a reputation for reliability and accuracy.” (p. 151) He suggests that his accusations are always based on solid evidence. As he acknowledges here, though, Forster has spent much of life working to suppress the free speech rights of those whose views he does not like. This book establishes that the only evidence Forster needs to accuse someone of anti-Semitism is his own say-so.

Mystical Insight

In his foreword, Wiesel warns us that we will break into tears when we read Forster’s account of how he responded to an attack against his son, Stubs. Forster’s account (pp. 179, 180) may not bring tears, but it does provide an enlightening insight into the workings of the mind of a professional anti-anti-Semite. (For no apparent reason, we are parenthetically told that Stubs is blond, and that he now also has a son who is blond.)

Arnold Forster describes an evening in December 1965 when he learned by telephone that Stubs had been found beaten and unconscious on a roadside, apparently the victim of an attack. The narration continues as he describes the drive to the hospital with his wife and daughter, Jayne:

Leaning forward, straining to see the road, I remember I kept muttering, “the sons of bitches, the sons of bitches.”

After a long silence, Jayne spoke up. “Dad, why’d they beat up Stubs? Did he do something wrong?”

“They went after him Jayne, because he’s my son, your brother.”

“Why, what’d you do?”

“I defend the Jews.”

Thus, without any evidence whatsoever, Arnold Forster claimed to know that his son was attacked because he “defend[s] the Jews.” (To this day, no one has ever been charged in the incident.) Forster’s instant accusation of anti-Semitic motivation was a reflex assumption based, apparently, on what might be called a mystical revelation.

Violence Against Nazis

The casual reader might easily assume that Forster is opposed to violence as a means of silencing political opponents. That would be an error. Early on, Forster recounts an incident in which he and a group of friends encountered some youths who, he says, were marching through the street chanting “Up with Hitler, down with the Jew.” (p. 40) Forster tells how he and his buddies responded:

When they got to where we were standing, without a word passing among the five of us we stepped off the sidewalk into their path. Fists, as they say, flew. Five young attorneys, we should probably have known better. But also healthy and outraged, ours was a spontaneous combustion. The sudden brawl turned out to be a short-lived free-for-all.

While Forster is outraged because of violence allegedly directed at his son because of his views, he is himself ready to engage in violence against those whose politics he finds offensive. As this memoir makes abundantly clear, this is hardly the only example of Forsters’ abiding hypocrisy.

He tells us (p. 43) of his “anti-Nazi street-corner speeches.” These

presentations were free-wheeling, not limited strictly to anti-Semitism; they ranged across the spectrum of what we thought was the

broader problem. Any danger signal was worth mentioning, and danger signs were all around. For example, the Smith Act was adopted, making it a crime to advocate or teach the need to overthrow the government, or belong to a group dedicated to such a purpose. Entirely opposed to Communism, we nevertheless had deep misgivings about the outlawing of mere advocacy. Democracy, we argued, was being eroded by methods intended to protect it.

As touching as these words might be, they are not sincere. In Forster’s view, the First Amendment protects Communists but not real or imagined Nazis, anti-Semites or other “hatemongers.” While proudly defending, in the name of “democracy,” his own right, and that of Communists, to speak freely, he doesn’t refrain from dubious legal actions and even fist-fights to squelch the free speech of those he hates.

Forster tells how he made use of the police in fighting his ideological battles. Any “Nazi” who dared speak in public was put under surveillance by Forster and his friends. In each case, at least two of them “were assigned to attend meetings along with one of our attorneys. If a speech or the situation warranted it, one was to make a complaint to a nearby policeman and request the immediate arrest of the speaker. The other layman would be a witness.” (p. 42) The only crime committed by these individuals was to make a speech of which Forster did not approve. “We got convictions . . .” he brags.

Shylockian Legal Pretexts

To this his one-sided interpretation of the Constitutional right of freedom of speech, Forster provides an unusual legal theory. After describing a stern lecture by a judge who chastised him for his opportunistic construction of the First Amendment (p. 45), Forster

relates:

The magistrate may have been well grounded in his interpretation of the First Amendment guarantee of free speech and assembly. But my research has persuaded me that the Constitution does not protect "fighting words" that incite immediate violence, even if the violence is immediately prevented by the attending police.

"Fighting words," in Forster's arrogant view, are only words that provoke violence by *him and his ideological friends*. As Forster interprets the Constitution, an individual's First Amendment rights depend on the subjective, emotional reactions of his opponents. (As we have repeatedly seen, professional anti-anti-Semites need little to provoke them to violence. For example, the mere presence of Ernst Zündel as he walked into a Toronto courtroom in 1985 to stand trial was enough to rouse a mob to fury enough to begin beating him.)

Forster's view of the First Amendment is dangerous because much language that is quite acceptable to most people can incite violence in a few. If his view were ever to become the prevailing legal norm, there would be no First Amendment left.

Forster tells of another special First Amendment legal theory, this one dealing with broadcasters. Some decades ago, a member of the Ku Klux Klan named Lycer-gus Spinks ran for governor of Mississippi. A campaign speech by Spinks delivered over a Mississippi radio station so enraged Forster and his ADL colleagues (p. 84) that they responded with open legal action along with press releases and refusal to sit still in the face of a klansman advocating his own election by defaming Jews. But the legal action was not directed at Spinks. It proceeded against the radio station that was involved, interpreting existing laws to mean that because broad-

casters were *licensed* by federal authorities they were not in the same category as newspapers, which were entitled to First Amendment protection.

In Forster's view, government licensing removes First Amendment rights for radio (and presumably television) stations. So pleased was he with his unique interpretation of the Constitution (p. 84) that he brought similar suits against other radio stations:

Additional complaints were filed with the FCC about other stations that permitted the Spinks style of inflammatory comment. We won a number of cases, lost more. In some situations station owners backed away from giving their microphones to professional bigots after we complained to the FCC. At other times they fought us even while learning that allowing hatemongers the use of their facilities was to risk their licenses.

What Forster calls a victory here was, in reality, a dangerous defeat for the First Amendment rights of all Americans.

Unfortunately, such shenanigans are not just unsavory episodes from the distant past. Just a few years ago the Anti-Defamation League, with Forster's active participation, successfully intimidated numerous radio stations into canceling their broadcasts of allegedly anti-Israel commentaries of Liberty Lobby — the populist organization based in Washington, DC. In addition to the tactics that had proven their worth in the Mississippi case, the ADL pressured businesses into withdrawing advertising from the offending stations.

Other Measures

One such station, WVOX of New Rochelle, New York, pointed out that while Liberty Lobby paid for its air time, Forster's own radio program, "Dateline Israel," was carried free of charge. Station president William O'Shaughnessy

told *The New York Times* that he and his station took pride in presenting a diverse range of opinions. Forster responded by insisting that the Liberty Lobby broadcast "is outside the spectrum of legitimate discussion and cannot be balanced by an equal number of programs on the 'pro' side." The only side of this issue that deserves First Amendment protection, Forster implicitly asserts, is the one that supports Israel. In Forster's view, the only legitimate "debate" about US support for Israel should be over *how much* aid American taxpayers should be giving. (For a fascinating narration of the ADL campaign to ban Liberty Lobby from the airwaves, read *Conspiracy Against Freedom*. This book includes many of the actual letters and internal documents used by the ADL in this campaign.)

Forster approvingly recounts other attacks against First Amendment rights. During the war, the Roosevelt administration charged 28 right-wing and isolationist leaders with "conspiracy to promote revolution in the US armed forces." (p. 81) After eight months the trial was suspended, and two years later the indictment was dismissed and the case closed. But Forster expresses no disapproval of this blatant attempt to suppress political opposition. To the contrary. "If the litigation did nothing else," he writes, "it at least interrupted some of the most divisive activities this nation has ever known." (pp. 81-82)

Another pernicious action that Forster finds entirely laudable was Franklin Roosevelt's shutting down of *Social Justice*, the magazine of the popular "radio priest," Father Charles Coughlin. (p. 82) As Forster notes:

Federal authorities revoked the paper's second-class mailing privilege, barred it from the U.S. mails and charged it with being in violation of the 1917 Espionage Act for "aiding the enemy" by

disseminating Nazi propaganda. President Roosevelt's making clear his attitude to cabinet members undoubtedly was the reason for the Post Office Department's action.

Anti-Anti-Communism

Further pointing up his own shameless hypocrisy, just a few years later Forster was hard at work defending Communists and other left-wingers from investigation by the US Congress. In the case of such "innocent people," he stridently argues, a person's political opinions must not be a factor in employment.

Forster claims (p. 170) the existence of a secret right-wing conspiracy of unnamed individuals who allegedly used a "blacklist" to keep Communists from getting jobs:

I said the blacklist, to my knowledge, was the creation of a cabal of extremist self-styled anti-communists using their cause to deny their victims the right to earn a living for having allegedly radical political views.

Forster reluctantly admits that some of those he defended did, in fact, work with Communist front groups. He concedes, for example, that John Garfield (originally Julius Garfinkel), a boyhood friend who was a popular movie actor during the 1940s, "had without question time and again, joined paths with some undoubted Communists." (p. 151) In his defense, Forster writes that Garfield "was an extraordinarily gullible liberal or at worst, a political fool" who "unwittingly allowed his name to be used by politically sophisticated, camouflaged Communist sharpshooters." (p. 154)

Forster devotes an entire chapter of this book to defending the "tragic" Garfield case. The ADL official has a special motive here because Garfield was a key speaker at the May 1948 ADL

Annual Dinner. (p. 109)

Forster approvingly notes an attack in the ADL bulletin against anti-Communist Senator Joseph McCarthy that expressed alarm at "the disturbing tendency sweeping across our country toward blind and indiscriminate hatred for those with whom one disagreed." (p. 160) This trend toward conformity, the ADL bulletin went on, was "stultifying" and could be "murderous." So upset was Forster that Communists were being investigated that he wrote an entire book to vent his outrage. Published in 1956, *Cross-Currents* is an attack against McCarthy.

A good clue to understanding Forster's mindset is his astonishing statement that "The civilized world was more revolted by McCarthyism than by Communism." (p. 171) In Forster's view, the millions of victims of Communism cannot compare to the trauma caused by asking a few dozen people if they had ever supported the Communist Party. What rational person, one must wonder, could really believe that the "civilized world" found the McCarthy hearings to be worse than several decades of mass murder! What can explain such a mentality?

Blacklisting

Whatever the reality of Forster's complaint of blacklisting by an unspecified group of unnamed anti-Communists, it's worth noting that others have been victims of this practice.

Lillian Gish, one of America's most acclaimed actresses, reported that she was blacklisted for a time from both screen and stage because of her support for the anti-interventionist America First Committee. She also related that she was promised a \$65,000 film contract if she would resign from the Committee (without, of course, revealing that she was being bribed to do so).

Ayn Rand, the libertarian novelist who had also worked in Hollywood as a script writer, pointed

out that during the Congressional investigations of Communists in the motion picture industry:

Everyone who has testified for the [Congressional] Committee — not the big stars, but the lesser-known actors and writers who were considered dispensable, and those who were free-lancing and were not under contract to a major studio — lost their jobs. Morrie Ryskind had more work than he could handle; he never again worked in Hollywood. Adolph Menjou, who was also free-lancing, got fewer and fewer jobs; after about a year, he could find no work at all. I was not victimized, because of *The Fountainhead*, and because I had a contract with Hal Wallis.

Interestingly, Rand (who was Jewish) used some of her time before the House Committee to lecture the lawmakers about why America should have avoided getting involved in war on the side of the Soviet Union, the regime she had fled. Forster, of course, is utterly unconcerned about the blacklisting of people like Gish, Ryskind or Menjou, apparently because they held views different than his own.

Hatred of Peace Activists

Forster reserves his most venomous words for the Americans who opposed US involvement in the Second World War. His portrayal of this mass movement is vicious and inaccurate. However much one might disagree with their view on this issue, the millions of Americans who opposed US intervention in the European war were unquestionably sincere in their conviction that this policy served the best interests of both the United States and humanity. Non-interventionists upheld a tradition that has a long and venerable place in American history.

By far the largest and most prominent anti-war group was the America First Committee.

During its 15 months of life in 1940 and 1941, it enrolled more than 800,000 members, attracted thousands to mass rallies, and distributed millions of pamphlets and leaflets. Its broad-based membership included conservatives, liberals like Chester Bowles, and socialists of the stature of Norman Thomas.

the central propaganda weapon for isolationists, pro-Nazis and anti-Semites." (pp. 75, 76).

Forster's characterization is a lie. The America First Committee included many who were pro-British and pro-Jewish, but who simply opposed direct United States involvement in war. The America First leadership scrupulously

were found in high places" (p. 56), Forster mentions as examples prominent anti-interventionists, including Montana Senator Burton K. Wheeler, North Dakota Senator Gerald P. Nye, and New York Congressman Hamilton Fish.

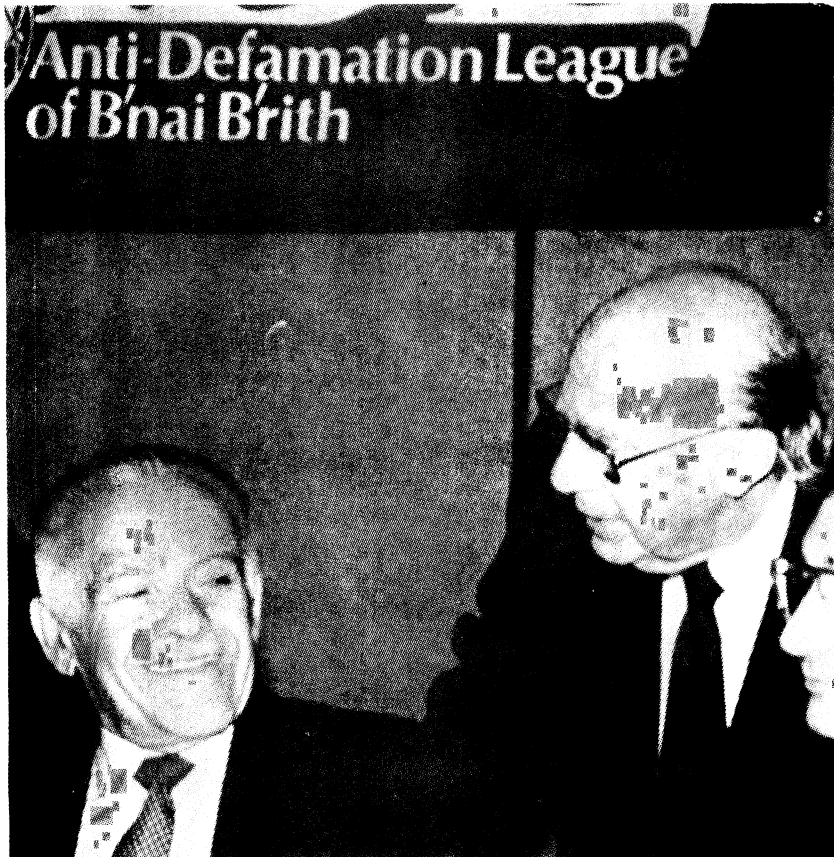
Charles Lindbergh

In his hateful attack against the anti-war movement, Forster takes special aim at Charles Lindbergh, the aviator who was the America First Committee's most popular speaker and prominent spokesperson. (pp. 75-76). Writes Forster:

Lindbergh blamed the Jews for most of America's foreign problems and described Franklin D. Roosevelt, the British and the Jews as enemy confederates in an international conspiracy. By his attack in a September 1941 Des Moines speech on Roosevelt, Jews, the British and internationalists for allegedly bringing on World War II, Lindbergh revealed the platform of the America First Committee.

If there were a contest for distorting as many facts as possible in a single paragraph, this one would be a top contender. Lindbergh never blamed "the Jews" for "most of America's foreign problems," nor did he claim that Roosevelt, the British and the Jews were "enemy confederates in an international conspiracy." To show how Forster distorts historical truth for his own polemical purposes, it is worth recalling Lindbergh's precise words in that speech of September 11, 1941:

The three most important groups who have been pressing this country toward war are the British, the Jewish, and the Roosevelt Administration. Behind these groups, but of lesser importance, are a number of capitalists, anglophiles, and intellectuals, who believe



Forster with Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir at an ADL meeting in New York City, June 1988. At the right, barely visible, is the current National Director of the ADL, Abraham Foxman.

But Forster, official of a supposed *anti*-defamation organization, slanderously equates such people with anti-Semites and Nazis. Opposition to Roosevelt's campaign for war, which included secret and plainly illegal measures, is castigated by Foster in the most vicious and simplistic way. "The pro-Nazi, anti-British, Roosevelt-hating, anti-Jewish propaganda was the same," he writes. (p. 47) America First "was ultimately an anti-British, pro-German, anti-Soviet, anti-Semitic" movement that "had become

strove to keep out anyone who obviously pro-Nazi or anti-Jewish. Members had to sign a pledge that they did not belong to a pro-Nazi or a Communist group. There is no evidence that the Committee, which counted Jews as members, was anti-Semitic. So scrupulous was the Committee that it refused a \$250,000 donation from Henry Ford because of his previous association with anti-Jewish publications, even though Ford had publicly repudiated those works.

After writing that "bigots often

that their future, and the future of mankind, depend upon the domination of the British Empire. Add to these the Communistic groups who were opposed to intervention until a few weeks ago, and I believe I have named the major war agitators in this country.

Not a single word of the statement is untrue, and not a word is anti-Jewish. While it is true that Jews did, as a whole, strongly support American involvement in the European conflict, Lindbergh made no mention of any "conspiracy." He never claimed that Roosevelt, the British or the Jews had started the war. Indeed, he made no mention whatsoever of the war's origins.

Further remarks by Lindbergh in this same speech that show admiration for the Jews, and sympathy for their plight, are invariably ignored by anti-anti-Semites such as Forster. Because they are essential to understanding the larger context, they are worth quoting here:

It is not difficult to understand why Jewish people desire the overthrow of Nazi Germany. The persecution they suffered in Germany would be sufficient to make bitter enemies of any race. No person with a sense of dignity of mankind can condone the persecution of the Jewish race in Germany. But no person of honesty and vision can look on their pro-war policy here today without seeing the dangers involved in such a policy, both for us and for them.

Instead of agitating for war, the Jewish groups on this country should be opposing it in every possible way, for they will be among the first to feel its consequences. Tolerance is a virtue that depends upon peace and strength. History shows that it cannot survive war and devastation. A few far-

sighted Jewish people realize this, and stand opposed to intervention. But the majority do not. Their greatest danger to this country lies in their large ownership and influence in our motion pictures, our press, our radio, and our government.

I am not attacking either the Jewish or the British people. Both races, I admire. But I am saying that the leaders of both the British and Jewish races, for reasons which are understandable from their viewpoint as they are inadvisable from ours, for reasons which are not American, wish to involve us in the war. We cannot blame them for looking out for what they believe to be their own interests, but we also must look out for ours. We cannot allow the natural passions and prejudices of other peoples to lead our country to destruction.

Although these are hardly the words of a Jew-hating Nazi, the propagandists of the pro-war movement immediately seized upon a small (and factual) portion of this speech, twisting what Lindbergh actually said, and distorting the truth so badly that much of the public was misled. Using techniques that Forster and his colleagues at the ADL have mastered, numerous newspapers and politicians lashed out at Lindbergh, largely succeeding in blackening his reputation.

Lindbergh actually anticipated the smear campaign that would come as a result of his words in this speech. He had prepared a paragraph concerning the attacks, but decided to delete it from the final speech:

I realize that tomorrow morning's headlines will say "Lindbergh attacks Jews." The ugly cry of anti-Semitism will be eagerly joyfully pounded upon and waved about my name. It is so much simpler to brand someone

with a bad label than to take the trouble to read what he says. I call you people before me tonight to witness that I am not anti-Semitic nor have I attacked the Jews.

Lindbergh's remark about those who find it "so much simpler to brand someone with a bad label than to take the trouble to read what he says" might well refer to Forster and the ADL crowd.

The Eichmann Case

More than ten percent of this book is devoted to a chapter on the Eichmann case. Forster takes pains to defend Israel's handling of the case, and to stoking the Holocaust flames.

During the Second World War, Adolf Eichmann had served as the SS officer responsible for co-ordinating the deportation of European Jews. He avoided capture at the end of the war, and escaped to Argentina. He lived quietly there until May 1960, when Israeli agents kidnapped him and took him to Israel where, after a highly-publicized trial, he was executed in 1962.

Even though Israel had an extradition treaty with Argentina, it made no effort to have Eichmann legally apprehended. Instead, Israeli secret agents seized him on the street, drugged him, and dispatched him to Israel in a waiting airplane. Eichmann had not committed any crimes in Israel, a country that did not exist when the acts for which he was tried took place. Consequently it had no legal jurisdiction in the case. But Israel claimed (and still claims) jurisdiction in such matters because it appropriates for itself the right to speak and act in the name of "the Jewish people," wherever they live.

In most civilized countries, a person is put on trial to determine his guilt or innocence. Not in this case. Forster explains (pp. 200, 211) the reason for this highly-publicized trial:

The purpose of the trial? Israel stated the trial's pur-

pose was to alert the world's conscience to the fearful consequences of totalitarianism. The most terrible, Israel said, is genocide. Its chief victims in modern history — although not the only ones — have been Jews. . . The hope is that the trial will serve as an effective educational weapon to assure that it never happens again.

One of the main reasons for this trial, which inevitably is tearing open so many deep wounds for so many people in Israel, is the government's wish to teach its own young and the youth of the world the evil of Nazism and to remind the rest of us what an incredible price has to be paid by humanity to rid the earth of Hitlerism...

the accusation that Eichmann was tried and executed on *ex post facto* charges:

Wasn't Israel trying Eichmann under an *ex post facto* law? An *ex post facto* statute is a law that makes an act criminal after the act itself was committed. True, it is outlawed in American jurisprudence. But the *ex post facto* concept is American, based on the idea that it is unfair to compel a man to stand trial for a deed which he could not have known was a violation of law when he committed it. Obviously, this concept cannot apply to murder; no one needs formal notice it is morally, legally and ethnically wrong to kill another person without jus-

Israelis, "four [were] based upon crimes against the Jewish people, seven for crimes against humanity, one for a war crime, and three for belonging to Nazi organizations." (p. 205) Does Forster seriously ask us to believe that being tried in Israel in 1961 for belonging to an *organization* in Europe during the 1940s is not an *ex post facto* case?

In a murder charge the defendant is normally accused of killing a specific person or persons, who are usually named (unless the victim cannot be identified). Evidence is then presented to directly link the defendant to the murder of the specified person. In the Eichmann case, this was not done.

Mossad "Source"

One of Forster's most startling revelations is his acknowledgment (p. 187), that in the Eichmann case he served as a "source" for Israel's foreign espionage agency:

Among other Israeli intelligence operations, the Mossad — an acronym for the Hebrew name of the undercover service assigned to operate abroad — constantly sought leads from reliable governments and from other contracts and sources. I was a source.

Unfortunately, that's all Forster tells us about this. He doesn't reveal the extent or the duration of his service to the Mossad, or if (or how much) he was paid. Still, the bit he does acknowledge here may already be enough to confirm that he acted in violation of US federal law.

Illegal Activities

Forster acknowledges with some pride that the ADL, with his approval, has used illegal and unethical methods to gain information about political enemies. One ADL target of such activities, Forster relates, was Joseph Kamp (who died in June 1993, at the age of 93). A well-to-do man with important "connections," Kamp's



Arnold Forster, right, with Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin in Jerusalem, June 1979.

Serving as judges in the trial (which is similar in some ways to the trial, many years later, of John Demjanjuk) were three Israelis "of German-Jewish background." As Forster admits, these men were "not, in the deepest recesses of their hearts, neutral. Impossible. Who can be neutral about the bestial murder of six million innocents?" (pp. 208, 209)

Forster responds (p. 203) to

tification.

There are several problems with Forster's glib explanation. For one thing, *ex post facto* is not merely an American concept; it was a principle, for example, of Roman law: No crime without a law.

Furthermore, Eichmann was not (at least not specifically) ever charged with murder. Of the 15 counts brought against him by the

work as head of the "Constitutional Education League" and as editor of *The Awakener* newsletter greatly annoyed Forster and the ADL. Kamp's great sin, Forster charges, was to endlessly repeat that America was threatened by Communists and foreigners, "especially those with Jewish names." He also sinned by calling the ADL a "low racket which promotes hate and breeds intolerance." (pp. 62, 63)

As a result, the ADL was eager

to know as much as possible about his work. Our investigator was adept enough to make himself a good "friend" of Kamp. He had worked for both British and French intelligence and at the outset of the World War Two had served as an instructor in an American intelligence school.

One day, while Kamp was away, the ADL agent illegally entered Kamp's Connecticut home, and made photographic copies of his files, particularly "material that divulged the identity of his financial contributors, network operations, and domestic and foreign connections utilized

in his propaganda work." (p. 63).

Although the agent was almost caught when Kamp returned home briefly to retrieve a few items, this mission in what Forster calls "the business of espionage" (p. 64) was a success. "... The Kamp caper was repeated by still another [ADL] field investigator under only slightly different circumstances," Forster reports.

Forster tells about another ADL agent named Marjorie Lane (p. 64), who had lied to obtain a job working for a right-wing women's organization. One night she and another ADL operative spent several hours in the office busy photographing all the documents they could lay hands on from the private files.

As revelations from the still-unfolding Gerard/Bullock case suggest, criminal "capers" are a long-standing tradition with the ADL. One is justified in assuming that the cases that have come to light are only the tip of the iceberg.

Valuable Exposé

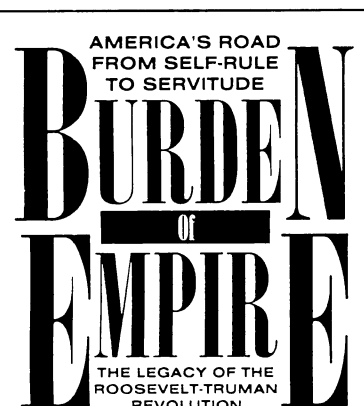
This memoir concludes with a solemn observation that, in spite of prodigious efforts, anti-Semit-

ism can still be found everywhere. (This is hardly surprising, because Forster "finds" anti-Semitism even where it does not exist.) But there is a silver lining in the cloud. "We may be back to Square One. Except for one player — Israel." (p. 412). Arguably, though, a major generator of anti-Jewish sentiment during the last four decades has been Israel itself — or rather the Zionist state's often outrageous activities.

Contrary to what the author intended, this revealing book by a high-ranking ADL official serves as valuable exposé of the moral character of a man who sanctions violence against political opponents, who spits on the First Amendment, uses illegal methods to obtain information about adversaries, and who served as an agent for a foreign spy agency.

Over the years, I have read several tracts and articles designed to discredit the Anti-Defamation League. None was able to persuade me of the illicit nature of this organization; it took the memoir of Arnold Forster to do that.

OUTRAGEOUS OPINION, TERRIFYING FACT, BRACING REALISM, FROM GARET GARRETT'S



BURDEN of EMPIRE

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Letters

No Hardship

I have suffered no hardship or embarrassment whatsoever [as a result of the publicity over the appearance of my letter in the *IHR Newsletter*. See the Sept.-Oct. *Journal*, p. 38], and I deem it a great honour to be mentioned in [the new anti-Revisionist book] *Holocaust Denial*.

You will appreciate that in our struggle to maintain our freedom and independence in a fatherland of our own, it is of great importance to maintain our contacts with the outside world.

Thank you for the new format of the *Journal*.

L. F. Stofberg
House of Assembly
Parliament of South Africa
Cape Town, South Africa

A Whopper?

. . . The photo of a supposed massacre of German troops by US soldiers of the 45th Division, on page 7 of the May-June *Journal*, and the accompanying text, upon reading the story . . . does not add up to my visualization of what a massacre would look like . . .

I contacted the Museum of the 45th Infantry Division in Oklahoma City, and spoke with the curator about this. He explained that the "massacre" never happened. . .

I think you fell for a whopper. You are entirely, as a matter of policy, too anti-US. This attitude was reflected previously in your condemnation of the A-bomb against the Japs . . .

Edward J. Toner, Jr.,
Howell, N.J.

Gut-Wrenching Photograph

Of the countless photographs that have been taken and published over the years, few stand out with greater emotional impact than the familiar images of the flag-raising by Marines on Iwo

Jima, Ruby's shooting of Oswald, or the explosion of the airship *Hindenburg*.

Another photograph with this same impact is the one showing German guards being summarily killed at Dachau, which appears in the May-June *Journal* (p. 7). Its impact is as gut-wrenching as the camera can make it. Do we know exactly who took it, why he took it, and how he got by with it. Who commanded the 157th Regiment, 45th Division? Have any of the US soldiers shown here been identified? How may we get a copy of this photo?

W. B.
Auburn, Wash.

Yes, we know the precise circumstances under which this photo was taken. This is US Army photograph No. SC 208765, and is on file in the Pentagon photo archives. Copies can be obtained either from the Pentagon or from the National Archives in Washington, DC. This photograph was taken by Arland B. Musser, a T/4 with the US Army Signal Corps. It was cleared by Army censors, although the official caption text is quite misleading.

The most detailed account of this massacre is *Dachau: The Hour of the Avenger*, a memoir and investigation by Howard Buechner. It is available from Thunderbird Press, 300 Cuddihy Dr., Metairie, LA 70005. As Buechner establishes, the person most responsible for the massacre is Jack Bushyhead (now deceased), who was then serving as a First Lieutenant with the 3rd Battalion, 157th Infantry Regiment, of the 45th US Army Division.

We also recommend the 54-page booklet, *Dachau: Reality and Myth*, by John Cobden. (It is available from the IHR for \$5.00, plus \$1.00 shipping.)

— The Editor

Terrific Pressure

When an attempt was made to show the new Irving video across Australia, Zionist and Jewish outfits threatened violence against the scheduled venues. All were

forced to shut down, except the Brisbane venue. Police at the Sheraton Hotel, Melbourne, were told of a bomb threat, which seems to have been a hoax, but the meeting was nevertheless shut down on their advice. So things in Australia seem to be at about the same level as those in Canada.

Nevertheless, despite terrific pressure, censors refused to ban or give a restricted rating to the Irving video ["The Search for Truth in History"], and that shows courage and integrity on their part.

Thanks for publishing [in the March-April *Journal*, p. 48] my warning about the pending "Racial Vilification" law. As yet, this bill has not been passed. I thank you for alerting readers.

Geoff. Muirden, Secretary
Australian Civil Liberties Union
283 Lygon St.
Carlton, Vic. 3053
Australia

Lipstadt's New Book

Deborah Lipstadt's new book, *Denying the Holocaust*, is appearing now in response to the considerable inroads that "Holocaust denial" has been making in recent years, particularly among educated Americans.

The author's main purpose, it seems, is to discourage still larger numbers of Americans from open-mindedly considering the arguments of Holocaust revisionists. Lipstadt tries hard to convince the reader that "Holocaust deniers" should never, under any conditions, be given a public or academic forum, particularly in the mass media, to present their views.

The "deniers," she argues, are really demonic racists and Nazis engaged in a grand conspiracy with a hidden anti-Jewish agenda. She dismisses revisionist

arguments as spurious but sometimes clever fabrications. Because they cannot be regarded as valid or legitimate "ideas," "positions" or "arguments," revisionist views must never be addressed in any respectful way.

Lipstadt seems to have little faith in democracy, the power of reason or the salutary role of open discussion in a free society. While not putting it so bluntly, she argues that the public is too stupid to understand history.

It is "naïve to believe that the 'light of day' can dispel lies, especially when they play on familiar stereotypes," writes Ms. Lipstadt (pp. 207-208). "Light is barely an antidote when people are unable, as was often the case in this investigation, to differentiate between reasoned arguments and blatant falsehoods. Most sobering was the failure of many of these student leaders and opinion makers to recognize Holocaust denial for what it was."

That this view is given respectful consideration in our society (to judge by the many laudatory reviews her book has received) is cause for grave concern. It is particularly troubling that even many scholars seem ready to despair of the power of right reason.

Lipstadt's essentially polemical work is filled with distortion and misrepresentation. I found that while she maintained a relatively sober tone for much of it, she seemed to come unglued when writing the chapter about Dr. Arthur Butz. While reading it, I was moved to write the word "lie" at six different places in the margin. Particularly glaring is her clumsy and dishonest attempt to portray Butz as a wild-eyed, irresponsible conspiracy theorist.

B. A.
Chicago

Lipstadt's "Fine Scholarship"

About half a page of Lipstadt's book, *Denying the Holocaust*, is devoted to historical revisionism in Australia (pages 12-13). Claims by Lipstadt that I am "the leader"

of the Australian League of Rights, that I have claimed that the Holocaust is a "gigantic lie," and that Fred Leuchter has visited Australia, are all incorrect, and amount to an "assault on truth."

I am not "the leader" of the Australian League of Rights, and am not now, and never have been even a member of the group. I understand that the League is a Christian group, that it promotes an economic theory of social credit, and that it believes in an international socialist conspiracy orchestrated by the left-wing Fabian Society. I am not a Christian, do not believe in social credit, and far from believing in a Fabian conspiracy theory, am a long-standing member of the Fabian Society, and a former member of its executive.

The only organisations I belong to, apart from the Fabian Society, are the Society of Labor Lawyers, Amnesty, the Free Speech Committee, the Voltaire (Free Speech) Institute, and the Australian Civil Liberties Union, of which I am President. It was because of my interest in freedom of speech, and my opposition to censorship, including censorship of history, that I became interested in historical revisionism. While I agree with the growing number of Jewish writers that the extent of the Jewish Holocaust has been exaggerated, I have never said it is a "gigantic lie."

The claim that Fred Leuchter has visited Australia is simply factually incorrect.

Lipstadt's "assault on truth" continues in the footnote relating to the half page of text on revisionism in Australia (footnote 49 on page 239). The seven sentences in the footnote relating to Dr. Amice Morsey contain three errors of fact.

On the dust jacket of Lipstadt's book, Michael Berenbaum, an official of the US Holocaust Memorial Council, praises this work as "fine scholarship." After reading what Lipstadt writes about Australia, I cannot be both-

ered checking the "fine scholarship" of the rest of her book.

John Bennett, President
Australian Civil Liberties Union
St. Carlton, Vic.
Australia

Good Work

Very good work on the article about the Nuremberg trials [Summer 1992 *Journal*]. I plan to re-read it often. Information about this subject should be brought up to date every few years. The article about Treblinka [in the same issue] was highly informative.

C. M.
Parma, Ohio

George Will's Polemic

In his recent syndicated column attacking Holocaust revisionism, George Will shows — once again — that he is a cynical liar who prospers as an obedient servant of those who control our media.

As contemptible and as unfair as it is, the column at least informs many readers for the first time of the existence of our views.

E. C.
Tulsa, Oklahoma

The primitive quality of Will's column is its own rebuttal. He must be desperate. Prominent journalists like Will are in trouble because they are (supposedly) committed to a standard of integrity. They enjoy ridiculing opponents for ignoring or distorting evidence. Will's own failure with regard to revisionist arguments should be pointed up.

G. P.
Washington, D.C.

Unable to offer valid arguments, George Will resorts to name-calling. He smears Weber as a "lunatic" and a "sinister cynic." Well, what else would one expect from such an entrenched Establishment figure?

Will takes a cheap shot against *The Journal of Historical Review* for an advertisement of *Flashpoint*, Ingrid Weckert's book about the 1938 "Crystal Night." Accord-

ing to Will, the thesis of this book is that "the Jews" benefited from the "Nov. 6, 1938, anti-Jewish rioting." This, he goes on, is the "drift of Holocaust 'revisionism'."

While he chides one young reporter for failing to read Lipsadt's book, it is obvious that Will has not read Weckert's study, nor does he have a grasp of the historical events of "Crystal Night" — which took place not on the 6th, but rather on the 9th of November. Neither does Weckert so crudely claim that "the Jews" benefited from this outburst of violence. She wrote instead of "certain Zionist elements" which may have benefited.

"Revisionism," asserts Will, "is a term of scholarship hijacked by pseudo-scholarship in the service of antisemitism." Just who can rightfully lay claim to this term, Will does not say. Would he grant that Harry Elmer Barnes — widely acknowledged as a leader of revisionist scholarship — fits the definition? If so, is Will aware of Barnes' expressions of doubt about the orthodox Holocaust story, or of his help in publishing the works of Paul Rassinier in English?

Do the "anti-Semitic hijackers" referred to by Will include Jewish "deniers" like Joseph Burg and David Cole?

*D. H.
Oldbridge, N.J.*

The enemy has his hatred, and only his hatred.

*R. K.
Milwaukee, Wisc.*

Tudjman and Holocaust Revisionism

It has been brought to our attention that you are under the illusion that the President of Croatia, Franjo Tudjman, is in some way a supporter or sympathizer of your organization. Consistent with the claims your institute expounds, quite the reverse is true. As a historian and a decorated WWII Partisan who himself lost a brother to the Nazis, President Tudjman is fully aware of the evils of fascism . . .

Subsequent to Dr. Tudjman's election as president, several Serbian scholars issued a highly selective and distorted translation of his historical study *Wastelands of Historical Reality* as part of a deliberate smear campaign against Croatia intended to justify their aggression throughout the former Yugoslavia. Several reporters mistakenly and uncritically took the mistranslation at face value, resulting in the articles you cite in your July-August newsletter . . .

The claim that President Tudjman believes that only 900,000 Jews died in the Holocaust is without foundation, and derives from a selective mistranslation of a section of the book. . .

*Marijan Gubic
Information Office
Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Zagreb, Croatia*

Maintain Standard

As a practising Roman Catholic and an intellectual follower of Socrates — who urged "Follow the argument wherever it leads" — I am fully aware of the real dangers of seeking truth through controversy. It is always possible that one may be proved wrong!

I am a retired journalist, my last post being that of Deputy Editor and Chief Reporter on the *Catholic Pictorial*, the official newspaper of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Liverpool. As a journalist, I repeatedly witnessed the problems that arise — even in Church circles, sadly — when one offers a view contrary to the prevailing wisdom of the age, especially if it seems to involve criticism of Jews or Blacks.

On occasions when I have spoken at public meetings, I experienced first-hand the blindness and deafness of Christians who are nominally committed to the search for truth, but who draw back when what they discover appears to conflict with what they are told by those who control the media and politics.

It takes great courage to tread the scholarly, as opposed to the

propaganda, way. With this thought in mind, I reiterate the words in the concluding paragraph of the letter by I.H. in the July-August *Journal*: "The IHR has had a formidable impact because of its factual presentation of historical evidence and its scholarly analysis." I concur with this writer's appeal to always maintain a high standard.

*Frank Brookes
Billinge, Wigan
Lanc., England*

Praise for Docudrama Portrayal

A recent episode of the ABC television series "The Young Indiana Jones Chronicles" (broadcast July 24) deserves praise. I was pleasantly astonished to see this docudrama's generally accurate portrayal of the 1919 peace conference of Versailles, in which the victorious allied powers imposed their peace terms on Europe, the Middle East and part of Asia.

The Germans, who had agreed to an armistice in 1918 on the basis of Wilson's "14 points," were subjected to punitive and humiliating terms that violated solemn pledges. Even President Wilson was not spared in this episode, which points out his complicity. Arnold Toynbee, the distinguished British historian, was shown predicting that the Versailles settlement would mean another war within 20 years.

Also faithfully depicted is the deceit of Britain and France in their violation of wartime promises of independence made to the Arabs, and to Lawrence of Arabia. British greed for oil in Iraq was also brought out.

This episode is all the more gratifying because others in this series have contained common historical distortions.

*Robert John
New York City*

Lessons from a Toronto Holocaust Class

Reading about the Penn State "Holocaust History" course (Sept.-Oct. *Journal*, p. 45), reminded me of my own experience in the win-

ter of 1986-87 when my wife, Lynda, and I, along with another couple, decided to attend a night course on the Holocaust at a Toronto High School. The first Zündel ["Holocaust"] trial had ended in the spring of 1985, and we were curious to know how this subject was being taught to high school students. As we very quickly learned, those in charge assumed that no one would dare break the hushed tone of reverence by asking inconvenient questions. It seems that we were expected merely to pay respectful homage to the Holocaust, and not actually study or, heaven forbid, critically examine it.

We had planned to keep a low profile, asking questions only at crucial points. But this was not to be. On the first evening instructor Frank Bialystok — who described himself as a child of "survivors" even though his parents, like many others, had left Poland in 1939 before the outbreak of war — wanted straightaway to probe our inner-most feelings on mankind's most "horrendous tragedy." He drew us into a tight circle and proceeded to ask each of us individually why we had decided to take this course. Not wishing to feign mindless adherence, we told him that we were looking for credible supporting evidence for Holocaust claims. Mr. Bialystok was further shocked when another student volunteered that her boyfriend didn't believe in the Holocaust. Thus ended the "inner feeling" session.

For the rest of the evening we were subjected to slides of Mr. Bialystok's recent visit to Auschwitz. When he came to a slide of the camp's alleged execution gas chamber, without comment he quickly flipped to the next slide. When I asked Bialystok what that slide had been, he evaded the question. He left class that night in a state of virtual shock.

On the second evening Bialystok came well-prepared to respond to our simple request for proof. There, to our surprise, was

Peter Griffith, Crown Prosecutor in the first Zündel trial, and Alan Shefman of the League for Human Rights of the B'nai B'rith (the Canadian counterpart of the ADL). At the back of the class sat a guilt-ridden Anglican minister, along with an official from the government agency euphemistically known as the "Human Rights Commission." With the original course itinerary now completely discarded, the classroom had become a kind of intellectual battle field. That ostensibly independent officials could be trotted out on such short notice for our modest little group speaks volumes. To the surprise of those in charge, we weren't at all intimidated.

After Shefman was introduced, we were informed that tape recorders would not be permitted, even though Bialystok had specifically welcomed them on the first evening's class (when he was looking forward to a Holocaust love-in). Ignored were our queries of what they were afraid or even ashamed of. Shortly into Shefman's talk it became apparent why he didn't want his words recorded. He vehemently lit into the Institute for Historical Review, maligning — in a most mendacious manner — not only it but individually each member of the IHR *Journal's* Editorial Advisory Committee as well. We were given no satisfactory answers to our requests for evidence of his malicious claims.

Griffith told us that the "definitive" new edition of Raul Hilberg's book, *The Destruction of the European Jews*, contained conclusive proof of mass gassing. Unable to give any such evidence himself, he simply told us to read Hilberg's book. When I asked Griffith if he believed that hearsay evidence should be admissible in court, he declared in a sanctimonious monolog that not only did he believe that the use of hearsay evidence was counter-productive to a fair trial, but that our society's judicial rules of evidence did not permit it. When I pointed out

that hearsay testimony had been permitted by the Nuremberg Tribunal, his tone changed to one of evasive rationalization. Griffith implied that the Tribunal was an omniscient body with correspondingly appropriate rules that were indispensable in dealing with such grotesque crimes. My retort that the Nuremberg courts were nothing more than victor-formulated bodies designed to convict the vanquished so unnerved him that he shouted at me to "shut up." With Griffith and Bialystok trying to put the best light on their non answers, and Shefman sniping from the side lines with his ad hominem attacks, the evening passed quickly.

As we arrived for the next session, we were startled to find the classroom overflowing with people. What had begun as a small class of nine students — barely enough to justify a course — had grown into a gathering of 45 or 50, with not enough desks for everyone. Earlier that day, it turned out, Ernst Zündel had enquired about the course. Surrounded by a gaggle of media people, he was trying to register. In an effort to thwart his effort by claiming that the course was already fully booked, they had packed the classroom, mostly with other teachers and some volunteers from Jewish organizations. During that evening's session the guilt-ridden Anglican minister explained to the class just how thoroughly anti-Semitic the Bible was, and how this had set the climate that permitted the Holocaust to happen. I asked if he had studied the [Jewish] Talmud. He said that he had. To my question of whether there were anti-Christian or anti-Gentile passages in the Talmud, he embarrassingly retorted: "Nowhere near the anti-Semitic hate that is in the Bible."

At the next class the following week, the room was once again full. This time, though, the teachers were gone, replaced by Jewish volunteers. They hoped to overwhelm us. When the intimidating shouts and insults failed to stem

the inconvenient questions, whole evenings were taken up with dog-madrama video tapes that allowed no time for questions and discussion. Those in charge even tried to intimidate us one evening by having two plain-clothes detectives from the so-called ethnic squad sit at the back of the room. We recognized them from the Zündel trial. During the eight week course, unregistered people wandered in and out of the classroom as if this was a Holocaust remembrance social club or a kind of changing of the Holocaust defense guard.

Frustrated that nothing they tried seemed able to stem our blasphemous questions, Mr. Bialystok resorted to a kind of censor's "final solution." Forbidding any further questions during instruction sessions, he announced that there would be a half-hour period for questions at the end of each evening's session. In practice we were lucky to get ten minutes; usually it was five. And with so many dedicated "seekers of truth" running interference, we were fortunate if we got in even a single skeptical question. More to the point, we never got even one cogent answer.

Typical was the performance of Harold Tropper, the author of *None is Too Many*, a book decrying Canada's refusal to take a boatload of Jewish refugees. His not so subtle message — of Canadian guilt and complicity in the Holocaust for sending refugees back to what he claimed was certain death — was expected to be humbly accepted as gospel. "Why should Canadians feel guilty about refusing a boatload of aliens," I impertinently asked, "when Israel is presently preventing hundreds of thousands of Palestinians from returning to their own homeland?" At that point all hell broke loose, with everyone shouting at once. Irrational statements, such as "don't bring Israel into this," were made. Tropper proclaimed (inaccurately) that "this wasn't true," and then refused to discuss the matter any

further.

After the course had concluded, my wife tried for several weeks to arrange a meeting with the school principal. When she finally spoke with him, he seemed nervous and embarrassed, giving some pretty lame excuses for some of what had happened. He explained, for example, that the teachers who had packed the class had been invited for "educational" purposes. He was surprised and seemingly upset to learn about the two detectives who had been in the classroom. As a result of his meeting with my wife, he also learned that quite ordinary, middle class Canadians — and not trouble makers as Bialystok would have described us — could have trouble believing all the Holocaust stories.

While we didn't learn anything new about Holocaust history, we did learn something about how the guardians of the cult think, and to what lengths they will go to foster and protect their creed. We also had the satisfaction of seeing the course dropped altogether from the night school curriculum.

John Mortl
Toronto, Canada

Life Profoundly Altered

Over the years I have really appreciated *The Journal of Historical Review*. A number of Journal articles have been of absolutely outstanding quality, and I have no doubt that this trend will continue.

Holocaust Revisionism has profoundly altered my life. Apart from the fascination it engenders by revealing that things may not be what they seem, there is also the purely ethical and moral issue it tackles: were — and by implication are — the German people so beastly that they could commit crimes so horrible that they do not bear thinking about?

In such a climate of intense irrationality — for what else is the absence of thought on such an emotional issue? — one is forced against any better judgment to take sides: one becomes either

pro- or anti-Jewish.

It is nonsensical to believe that when History proves, on closer examination, to be different from what we have been told, that this will only result in more prejudice. The opposite is true, as the late [Jewish, revisionist author] Joseph Burg saw so clearly. What is bound to cause anti-Semitism are the blind efforts of a section of organised Jewry and their allies to stamp out all debate on this burning issue, mostly by foul means — slander, banning, monopolisation of history, promulgation of anti-revisionist laws, and even violence. How different is the enlightened attitude of Alfred M. Lilienthal, who can see the real need to discuss openly and frankly even the very question of "anti-Semitism."

A very strong point in favour of the Revisionists is the emphasis they place on material as well as wartime documentary evidence, as opposed to the "official" historians who over-rely on "eyewitnesses." In this regard, one should single out Martin Gilbert who makes use of the latter kind of evidence with abandon, it would appear, in his book *The Holocaust*. By insisting on "what concretely took place?," Revisionists enable us to look at the past in the cold light of day, and so diminish that impulse to irrationality. Many disturbing questions remain, but the truth will make us free, even if the emerging picture is not to our liking.

It was a pleasant surprise to see my February 1992 letter to *The Natal Witness* reproduced in facsimile in the *IHR Newsletter* No. 88 [July-August 1992, p. 4]. The enclosed letter by me was published (in part) in *The Weekly Mail*, July 3-9, 1992. This paper is somewhat left-wing, and is read countrywide mainly (I am told) by the better educated, and in particular academics.

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The Journal of Historical Review, A Look Back

GREG RAVEN

"Perhaps ten years ago, surely twenty years ago, one could justifiably argue that there was no need to teach Holocaust revisionism in Holocaust courses, as revisionism was nothing more than a smattering of articles by unknown and scattered people. The story today is quite different."

— Dr. Carlos Huerta, Touro College, Jerusalem, writing in *Martyrdom and Resistance*, October 1991.

In 1978 while President Jimmy Carter was hosting the Camp David peace talks to great fanfare, the Institute of Historical Review was being founded in almost total silence. Yet the purpose of the Institute was not much different from that of the Camp David confab, that being world peace, albeit from a radically different approach — bringing history into accord with the facts to identify the true roots of conflicts and thus the possibilities for their peaceable resolutions.

Inspired by revisionist historians such as Harry Elmer Barnes and James Martin, the Institute began its existence with modest plans. To further revisionist history, the Institute would hold conferences, later publishing the papers presented at such conferences along with any other writings deemed sufficiently interesting and scholarly.

Thus it was that over Labor Day weekend of 1979, a small group gathered at the first-ever Revisionist Conference at Northrup University in Los Angeles, California. Speakers spoke. Papers were presented. And virtually no one outside a small circle took any note whatsoever.

That was soon to change. By the Spring of 1980, the first issue of the quarterly *Journal of Historical Review* was in the mail, containing six of the papers presented at the Conference, a book review, and a list of some 40 books for sale. With no more than 94 pages — 9 inches by 5-3/4 inches in size — soft-bound in gray stock, volume one, number one did not look like the spark that would ignite a worldwide controversy.

It was not the physical appearance of the *Journal* that was to inflame passions on a global scale, but the contents. Inside were addresses about the "Holocaust" by Dr. Arthur R. Butz, Robert Faurisson, Austin J. App, and Ditlieb Felderer. The first issue also contained Louis FitzGibbon's views on the Katyn Massacre, and an article by Udo Walendy about fake atrocity photographs. The Letters section of

the issues that followed showed the intensity of feelings those in the "establishment" hold against revisionism.

Of course the material contained in the *Journal* did not spring up overnight. Many of the books offered had been available for some time, slowly making the rounds. Bradley Smith tells in his book, *Confessions of a Holocaust Revisionist, Part I*, of being introduced to Holocaust revisionism in 1979 when a stranger handed him a photocopy of an article by Robert Faurisson that originally appeared in *Le Monde*. Arthur Butz' pathbreaking book, *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, had already been published in 1976. And articles in dissident periodicals such as *The Spotlight* made many aware that there was another side to history as taught.

The new Institute served to focus all the previously scattered work in this area. People interested in the work of App, Barnes, Butz, Faurisson, Felderer, Greaves, Irving, Larson, Martin, Rassinier, and others now found them readily available, and the appearance of a body of revisionist works all in one place proved synergistic.

Revisionists not only wrote about history, they were making it as well. News about the activities of the IHR and revisionists around the world was covered in the *IHR Newsletter*, which *Journal* subscribers received automatically. Newsy where the *Journal* was studious, and irreverent where the *Journal* was serious, the *IHR Newsletter* provided revisionist information in a more timely manner than the quarterly *Journal* schedule allowed.

The *Journal's* first editor was David McCalden, a native of Belfast, Northern Ireland, who played a decisive role in the founding of the IHR, and wrote under the name of "Lewis Brandon." Longer on enthusiasm than on attention to detail, from 1978 until his departure in 1981, he was instrumental in the genesis of the revisionist movement.

From McCalden's departure in 1981 until 1982, Tom Marcellus served as editor. Marcellus started at the bottom at the IHR and worked his way up to become director, a position he assumed in 1981 and still holds.

From 1982 through 1984, the *Journal* was edited by Keith Stimely, a gifted young writer who was astonishingly well-read, as can be seen by the number of book reviews he wrote during his tenure.

In 1986, the helm was assumed by Robert Berkel, a dedicated revisionist who served until publication of the *Journal* was suspended in 1987.

In 1988 it returned with the brilliant Theodore J. O'Keefe as editor. For the next four years, O'Keefe was virtually *the* voice of the IHR.

In 1992, O'Keefe passed the torch to our current editor, Mark Weber, who over the years had established himself as one of the most prolific contributors to the *Journal*, and a major contributor to the *IHR Newsletter* as well.

Under the stewardship of these capable individuals, the *Journal* not only grew, it also evolved into a nearly unassailable source of historical information, by virtue of the increasingly rigorous treatment of topics covered. At the same time, the *Journal* contained many articles that were original not only in the sense that they had never appeared elsewhere before, but also original in concept. The English translation of Hitler's declaration of war against the United States (Winter, 1988), the first English translation of Premier Tojo's prison diary (Spring, 1992), aerial photos of Treblinka (Summer, 1992), and the Auschwitz camp death certificates (Fall, 1992) are examples of the former, while virtually everything by Arthur Butz and Robert Fauris-sen are examples of the latter.

As a result, the *Journal* came to be read by lay persons and academics around the world, and numerous *Journal* articles have been translated into other languages, and disseminated even more widely.

The maturation evident in the *Journal* from year to year is partially due to forces from within the revisionist community: the rest comes from responding to the inevitable criticism from the bulk of the historical community and others with a vested interest in preserving the status quo, in which political agendas determine what the accepted view of history will be.

Through all these attacks, whether physical, legal, personal, or (infrequently) scholarly, it can well and truly be said that critics have rarely been able to land any telling blows. Our most powerful enemies, armed with all their conventional historiography, are — when they deal with *Journal* articles at all — forced to misquote and mischaracterize our position to make their cases. More often, of course, they simply attack the author of the piece in hopes that others will not notice they are ignoring the facts.

Occasionally, as in the case of Jean-Claude Pressac or Kenneth Stern, an attempt is made to answer revisionist claims. In the case of Stern (whose book, *Holocaust Denial*, is reviewed elsewhere in this issue), revisionist claims are oversimplified and not directly answered.

In Pressac's works, on the other hand, revisionists have found a wealth of information that bolsters the revisionist position. In any event, even the strongest attacks now include admissions, either expressed or implied, that certain portions of the revisionist position are correct.

The main front on which the revisionist battle is being fought is to correct the Holocaust story. Here, the years since the publication of the first *Journal* have seen remarkable retreats from the standard Holocaust story, which used to include soap made from Jewish corpses, gas chambers at Dachau, and all manner of fiendish methods of murder (including nuclear devices). Revisionists have convincingly demonstrated virtually every facet of the traditional Holocaust tale to be untrue, or at least wildly exaggerated, resulting in an inexorable whittling down of the "accepted" Holocaust story to a tiny fraction of what it once was. Even so, the "six million" figure remains, indicating that there is yet more work to be done.

As readers know, the *Journal* is not wholly consumed with the Holocaust issue. In addition to the stated goal of re-examining the period surrounding the Second World War (because of the important social-political role it has had, and continues to have), the *Journal* has also examined key aspects of United States history, politics, race, culture, religion, current events, and personalities from around the world.

By any standard, the *Journal* has been influential far beyond its circulation, its budget, and what could be expected of an otherwise nondescript publication devoted to history. What has made the *Journal* successful, we believe, is this: In every area of study — in revisionism no less than in chemistry or math — while each new generation of scholars in turn questions the generation before it, there must also be a knowledge and a certainty that that which has gone before presents a solid foundation upon which new studies can be based. Where this certainty is lacking, there can be little progress.

In the treatment of twentieth century history, though, establishment historians have utterly failed in their responsibility to present and future generations. By demonstrating more sensitivity for short-term social-political considerations than for truth and historical accuracy, they have made themselves vulnerable to telling critique.

Until our current flawed view of the recent past is corrected via historical revisionism, there can be no truth, and where there is no truth, there can be no peace.

This, then, is the purpose of the *Journal*. The transition from a plain-cover, academic format to color covers, more photographs, and a magazine format we hope will both reflect the prominence we have thus far achieved, as well as garner new readers. In any case, the *Journal* will continue to offer the same high quality of subject matter and content that has elevated us to our current position.

The Journal of Historical Review index, 1980 to 1993

COMPILED BY GREG RAVEN

To mark the publication of our first thirteen volumes of the *Journal*, we have compiled a listing of all items that have appeared in the *Journal* over the years, and are providing it here as a supplement to this issue.

The main listing is arranged chronologically by volume and number, with individual entries arranged alphabetically by author and title within these classifications. Items with no author are arranged by title before the other listings. Each listing shows the page number where the item starts.

At the beginning of each entry is a reference number. This number is for identification purposes, and is used with the topic and author indexes.

To use the topic and author indexes, locate the topic or author in which you are interested and note the numbers that follow the index listing. These numbers correspond to the numbers at the beginning of the entries in the main listing.

Volume 1 (1980)

Vol. 1, no. 1 (Spring 1980)

1. App, Austin. "The 'Holocaust' put in perspective." Spring, 1980; Vol. 1, No. 1, p. 43.
2. Butz, Arthur R. "The international 'Holocaust' controversy." Spring, 1980; Vol. 1, No. 1, p. 5.
3. Diwald, Hellmut. *Geschichte der Deutschen*. Reviewed by Weber, Charles E. Spring, 1980; Vol. 1, No. 1, p. 81.
4. Faurisson, Robert. "The mechanics of gassing." Spring, 1980; Vol. 1, No. 1, p. 23.
5. Felderer, Ditlieb. "Auschwitz notebook: Certain impossibilities of the 'Gerstein Statement'." Spring, 1980; Vol. 1, No. 1, p. 69.
6. FitzGibbon, Louis. "Hidden aspects of the Katyn massacre: 'The lost 10,000'." Spring, 1980; Vol. 1, No. 1, p. 31.
7. Walendy, Udo. "The fake photograph problem." Spring, 1980; Vol. 1, No. 1, p. 59.

Vol. 1, no. 2 (Summer 1980)

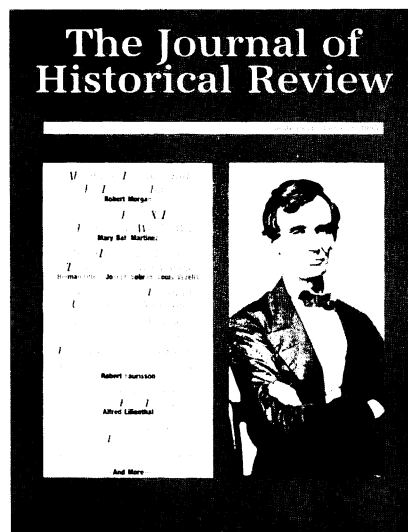
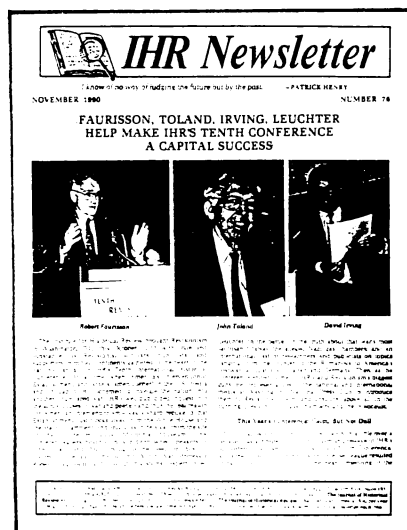
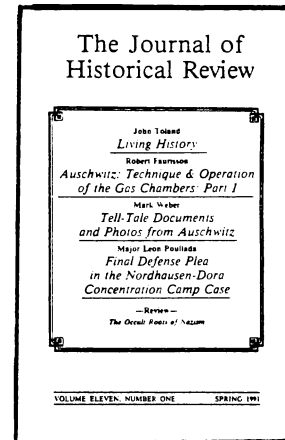
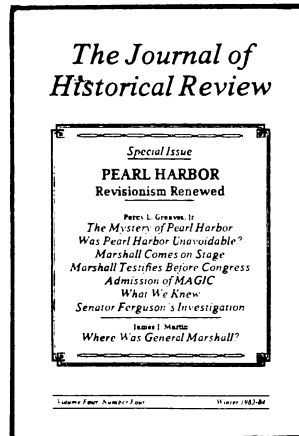
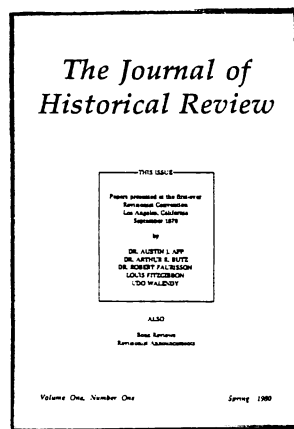
8. Barnes, Harry Elmer. *The Barnes Trilogy*. Reviewed by Brandon, Lewis. Summer, 1980; Vol. 1, No. 2, p. 183.
9. Barnes, Harry Elmer. "Winston Spencer Churchill: A tribute." Summer, 1980; Vol. 1, No. 2, p. 163.
10. Bennett, John. "In the matter of Robert Faurisson." Summer, 1980; Vol. 1, No. 2, p. 115.
11. Brandon, Lewis. "The mendacity of Zion." Summer, 1980; Vol. 1, No. 2, p. 147.
12. Brandon, Lewis. "A note from the editor." Summer, 1980; Vol. 1, No. 2, p. 101.
13. Butz, Arthur R. "Letter to *The New Statesman*, Nov. 18, 1979." Summer, 1980; Vol. 1, No. 2, p. 153.
14. Butz, Arthur R. "Letter to *The New Statesman*, Jan. 17, 1980." Summer, 1980; Vol. 1, No. 2, p. 162.
15. Connors, Michael. *Dealing in Hate*. Reviewed by Brandon, Lewis. Summer, 1980; Vol. 1, No. 2, p. 184.

16. de Zayas, Alfred M. *Nemesis at Potsdam*. Reviewed by Brandon, Lewis. Summer, 1980; Vol. 1, No. 2, p. 181.
17. Eggleston, George. *Roosevelt, Churchill & the World War Two Opposition*. Reviewed by Brandon, Lewis. Summer, 1980; Vol. 1, No. 2, p. 184.
18. Ennes, James. *Assault on the Liberty*. Reviewed by Brandon, Lewis. Summer, 1980; Vol. 1, No. 2, p. 184.
19. Faurisson, Robert. "Letter to *The New Statesman*, Nov. 30, 1979." Summer, 1980; Vol. 1, No. 2, p. 157.
20. Faurisson, Robert. "The 'problem of the gas chambers'." Summer, 1980; Vol. 1, No. 2, p. 103.
21. Felderer, Ditlieb. "Auschwitz notebook: More impossibilities of the 'Gerstein statement'." Summer, 1980; Vol. 1, No. 2, p. 169.
22. Ferencz, Benjamin. *Less than Slaves*. Reviewed by Brandon, Lewis. Summer, 1980; Vol. 1, No. 2, p. 179.
23. Gilbert, Martin. *The Holocaust*. Reviewed by Brandon, Lewis. Summer, 1980; Vol. 1, No. 2, p. 182.
24. Grieb, Conrad, editor. *American Manifest Destiny and the Holocausts*. Reviewed by Brandon, Lewis. Summer, 1980; Vol. 1, No. 2, p. 183.
25. Harwood, Richard; Felderer, Ditlieb. "Human soap." Summer, 1980; Vol. 1, No. 2, p. 131.
26. Kanold, Otto; Weber, Mark. "Letter from Berlin." Summer, 1980; Vol. 1, No. 2, p. 141.
27. Maser, Werner. *Nuremberg: A Nation on Trial*. Reviewed by Brandon, Lewis. Summer, 1980; Vol. 1, No. 2, p. 173.
28. Page, Bruce. "Letter to Arthur Butz, Jan. 24, 1980." Summer, 1980; Vol. 1, No. 2, p. 162.
29. Ponsonby, Arthur. "The corpse factory." Summer, 1980; Vol. 1, No. 2, p. 121.
30. Schonfeld, Moshe. *The Holocaust Victims Accuse*. Reviewed by Brandon, Lewis. Summer, 1980; Vol. 1, No. 2, p. 178.
31. Verrall, Richard. "Letter to *The New Statesman*, Nov. 10, 1979." Summer, 1980; Vol. 1, No. 2, p. 155.
32. Wiesel, Elie. *Report to the President: President's Commission on the Holocaust*. Reviewed by Brandon, Lewis. Summer, 1980; Vol. 1, No. 2, p. 174.

Vol. 1, no. 3 (Fall 1980)

33. Alpern, Sara. "Letter to the editor." Fall, 1980; Vol. 1, No. 3, p. 199.
34. Bailey, Thomas; Ryan, Paul. *Hitler vs. Roosevelt*. Reviewed by Marcellus, Thomas J. Fall, 1980; Vol. 1, No. 3, p. 278.
35. Barnes, Harry Elmer. "The public stake in revisionism." Fall, 1980; Vol. 1, No. 3, p. 205.
36. Beck, Philip. *Oradour: Village of the Dead*. Reviewed by Brandon, Lewis. Fall, 1980; Vol. 1, No. 3, p. 276.
37. Berger, Elmer. *Memoirs of an Anti-Zionist Jew*. Reviewed by Brandon, Lewis. Fall, 1980; Vol. 1, No. 3, p. 283.
38. Brandon, Lewis. "A note from the editor." Fall, 1980;

- Vol. 1, No. 3, p. 197.
39. Chaim, Bezalel. "Letter to the editor." Fall, 1980; Vol. 1, No. 3, p. 202.
40. Dobson, Christopher; Miller, John; Payne, Ronald. *The Cruellest Night*. Reviewed by Brandon, Lewis. Fall, 1980; Vol. 1, No. 3, p. 282.
41. Felderer, Ditleb. "Auschwitz notebook: Lids and openings." Fall, 1980; Vol. 1, No. 3, p. 255.
42. Fénelon, Fania. *Playing for Time*. Reviewed by Brandon, Lewis. Fall, 1980; Vol. 1, No. 3, p. 267.
43. FitzGibbon, Louis. "Khatyn — another hoax." Fall, 1980; Vol. 1, No. 3, p. 231.
44. Gold, David. "Letter to the editor." Fall, 1980; Vol. 1, No. 3, p. 200.
45. Hastings, Max. *Bomber Command: The myths and reality of the strategic bombing* [Death From On High]. Reviewed by Lutton, Charles. Fall, 1980; Vol. 1, No. 3, p. 247.
46. Lapides, Fred. "Letter to the editor." Fall, 1980; Vol. 1, No. 3, p. 202.
47. Menuhin, Moshe. *The Decadence of Judaism in Our Time*. Reviewed by Brandon, Lewis. Fall, 1980; Vol. 1, No. 3, p. 283.
48. Mirchuk, Petro. *In the German Mills of Death 1941-1945*. Reviewed by Brandon, Lewis. Fall, 1980; Vol. 1, No. 3, p. 267.
49. Müller, Filip. *Eyewitness Auschwitz: Three Years in the Gas Chambers*. Reviewed by Brandon, Lewis. Fall, 1980; Vol. 1, No. 3, p. 267.
50. Stuart, Karen. "Letter to the editor." Fall, 1980; Vol. 1, No. 3, p. 200.
51. Unterberger, Betty. "Letter to the editor." Fall, 1980; Vol. 1, No. 3, p. 199.
52. Vernon, Eric. "Letter to the editor." Fall, 1980; Vol. 1, No. 3, p. 201.
53. Weber, Mark. "The Boer War remembered." Fall, 1980;



From top left to lower right:
 Front cover of the premier issue of *The Journal of Historical Review*, Spring 1980; the cover of the Winter 1983-84 *Journal*, a special "Pearl Harbor" issue; the cover of the Spring 1991 *Journal*; the front page of the November 1990 *IHR Newsletter*; the cover of the September-October 1993 *Journal*.

Vol. 1, no. 4 (Winter 1980)

54. Armstrong, Mason. "Letter to the editor." Winter, 1980; Vol. 1, No. 4, p. 297.
55. Baumhaft, Joe. "Letter to the editor." Winter, 1980; Vol. 1, No. 4, p. 299.
56. Bliss, Robert M. "Letter to the editor." Winter, 1980; Vol. 1, No. 4, p. 300.
57. Brandon, Lewis. "A note from the editor." Winter, 1980; Vol. 1, No. 4, p. 292.
58. Chaim, Bezalel. "Letter to the editor." Winter, 1980; Vol. 1, No. 4, p. 298.
59. Felderer, Ditlieb. "Auschwitz notebook: doors and portholes." Winter, 1980; Vol. 1, No. 4, p. 365.
60. Hagen, John Holte. "Letter to the editor." Winter, 1980; Vol. 1, No. 4, p. 302.
61. Hagen, John Holte. "Letter to the editor." Winter, 1980; Vol. 1, No. 4, p. 300.
62. Konkin, Samuel Edward III. "Palestine: Liberty and justice." Winter, 1980; Vol. 1, No. 4, p. 349.
63. Lawson, Richard. "Nationalism, racialism, and early British socialism." Winter, 1980; Vol. 1, No. 4, p. 355.
64. Schonfeld, Moshe. *Genocide in the Holy Land*. Reviewed by Chaim, Bezalel. Winter, 1980; Vol. 1, No. 4, p. 377.
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Volume 2 (1981)

Vol. 2, no. 1 (Spring 1981)

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75. Bennett, John. "The Holocaust debate." Spring, 1981; Vol. 2, No. 1, p. 11.
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Vol. 2, no. 2 (Summer 1981)

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92. Wainwright, Peter. "Fire in the Reichstag." Summer, 1981; Vol. 2, No. 2, p. 177.
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Vol. 2, no. 3 (Fall 1981)

95. Brandon, Lewis. "Letter to *The New Statesman*, Aug. 26, 1980." Fall, 1981; Vol. 2, No. 3, p. 197.
96. Brandon, Lewis. "Letter to the *West Palm Beach Post*, Sep. 15, 1980." Fall, 1981; Vol. 2, No. 3, p. 198.
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Vol. 2, no. 4 (Winter 1981)

112. Beck, Philip. "The burning of Saint Malo." Winter, 1981; Vol. 2, No. 4, p. 301.
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 124. Rassinier, Paul. "Letter to *The Nation*, Oct. 1, 1962." Winter, 1981; Vol. 2, No. 4, p. 305.
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 127. Wesslerle, Andreas R. "Letter to PBS Television, Mar. 16, 1981." Winter, 1981; Vol. 2, No. 4, p. 381.

Volume 3 (1982)

Vol. 3, no. 1 (Spring 1982)

128. "Facts, allegations, and judicial notice." Spring, 1982; Vol. 3, No. 1, p. 47.
 129. Barnes, Harry Elmer. "Revisionism and the promotion of peace." Spring, 1982; Vol. 3, No. 1, p. 53.
 130. Buchner, Reinhard K. "Errata." Spring, 1982; Vol. 3, No. 1, p. 14.
 131. Carto, Willis A. "On the uses of history." Spring, 1982; Vol. 3, No. 1, p. 27.
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 133. Clarke, Thurston. *By Blood and Fire*. Reviewed by Silberstein, W. R. Spring, 1982; Vol. 3, No. 1, p. 88.
 134. Dawidowicz, Lucy. *The Holocaust and the Historians*. Reviewed by Chaim, Bezalel. Spring, 1982; Vol. 3, No. 1, p. 85.
 135. Doenecke, Justus. *Not to the Swift: The Old Isolationists in the Cold War*. Reviewed by Chaim, Bezalel. Spring, 1982; Vol. 3, No. 1, p. 95.
 136. Emry, Sheldon. "Making it all simpler." Spring, 1982;

- Vol. 3, No. 1, p. 12.
 137. Fischer, R. H. "We're blushing." Spring, 1982; Vol. 3, No. 1, p. 13.
 138. Gerke, Hermann A. "Moral support." Spring, 1982; Vol. 3, No. 1, p. 13.
 139. Kalvoda, Josef. *Czechoslovakia's Role in Soviet Strategy*. Reviewed by Schuldes, W. K. F. Spring, 1982; Vol. 3, No. 1, p. 89.
 140. Landwehr, Richard. "More on 'Oradour'." Spring, 1982; Vol. 3, No. 1, p. 7.
 141. MacDonough, H. R. "Monument-building for fun and profit." Spring, 1982; Vol. 3, No. 1, p. 9.
 142. Marcellus, Thomas J. "Letter to NBC, Dec. 16, 1981." Spring, 1982; Vol. 3, No. 1, p. 13.
 143. Marcellus, Thomas J. "A note from the editor." Spring, 1982; Vol. 3, No. 1, p. 4.
 144. Martin, James J. "Peacetime registration for conscription — forty years ago." Spring, 1982; Vol. 3, No. 1, p. 15.
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 147. Sterner, Theodore G., Jr. "Comments on the legal proceedings." Spring, 1982; Vol. 3, No. 1, p. 10.
 148. Thompson, H. Keith; Strutz, Henry, editors. *Dönitz at Nuremberg: A Re-appraisal*. Reviewed by Hendry, T. D. Spring, 1982; Vol. 3, No. 1, p. 93.
 149. Thorwald, Jürgen. *Defeat in the East*. Reviewed by Lutton, Charles. Spring, 1982; Vol. 3, No. 1, p. 91.
 150. Weber, Mark. "Declaration of Mark Edward Weber." Spring, 1982; Vol. 3, No. 1, p. 31.
 151. Wicks, L. E. "Ditto?." Spring, 1982; Vol. 3, No. 1, p. 6.

Vol. 3, no. 2 (Summer 1982)

152. Andronescu, Serban C. "Romanians and the Holocaust." Summer, 1982; Vol. 3, No. 2, p. 211.
 153. Chaim, Bezalel. "Seeds of war." Summer, 1982; Vol. 3, No. 2, p. 104.
 154. Clark, Barbara B. "Why cremate?." Summer, 1982; Vol. 3, No. 2, p. 103.
 155. Dudley, W. E. "Judicial bamboozle." Summer, 1982; Vol. 3, No. 2, p. 103.
 156. Faurisson, Robert. "Is the diary of Anne Frank genuine?" Summer, 1982; Vol. 3, No. 2, p. 147.
 157. Felderer, Thomas J. "Miracle at Majdanek?." Summer, 1982; Vol. 3, No. 2, p. 101.
 158. Klett, Ronald. "Comments on the last issue." Summer, 1982; Vol. 3, No. 2, p. 102.
 159. Konkin, Samuel Edward III. "El Salvador: The war to come." Summer, 1982; Vol. 3, No. 2, p. 129.
 160. Larson, Martin A. "Whatever happened to the Dead Sea Scrolls?" Summer, 1982; Vol. 3, No. 2, p. 119.
 161. Marcellus, Thomas J. "A note from the editor." Summer, 1982; Vol. 3, No. 2, p. 100.
 162. Weber, Charles E. "*Cui Bono?* An American veteran's views on non-Jewish toleration and propagation of the extermination thesis." Summer, 1982; Vol. 3, No. 2, p. 105.

Vol. 3, no. 3 (Fall 1982)

163. Andronescu, Serban C. "Letter to Mark Weber, May 15, 1982." Fall, 1982; Vol. 3, No. 3, p. 235.
 164. Anonymous. "The inside story of the Hess flight." Fall, 1982; Vol. 3, No. 3, p. 291.
 165. Botha, Roderick. "Frank comments." Fall, 1982; Vol.

- 3, No. 3, p. 237.
166. Clerkin, Donald V. "Book collectors." Fall, 1982; Vol. 3, No. 3, p. 232.
167. Cohn-Bendit, Jean-Gabriel. *Intolerable Intolerance*. Reviewed by Butz, Arthur R. Fall, 1982; Vol. 3, No. 3, p. 341.
168. Corners, George F. II. "The Holocaust and its religious roots." Fall, 1982; Vol. 3, No. 3, p. 229.
169. Costello, John. *The Pacific War*. Reviewed by Greaves, Percy L. Jr. Fall, 1982; Vol. 3, No. 3, p. 319.
170. Faurisson, Robert. *Memoire en Defense*. Reviewed by Butz, Arthur R. Fall, 1982; Vol. 3, No. 3, p. 341.
171. Irwin, Thomas. "Thomas E. Watson revisited." Fall, 1982; Vol. 3, No. 3, p. 301.
172. Marcellus, Thomas J. "A note from the editor." Fall, 1982; Vol. 3, No. 3, p. 228.
173. Martin, James J. "Charles Beard: A tribute." Fall, 1982; Vol. 3, No. 3, p. 239.
174. Nakhleh, Issah. "Memorandum to the president." Fall, 1982; Vol. 3, No. 3, p. 259.
175. Prange, Gordon W. *At Dawn We Slept: The untold story of Pearl Harbor*. Reviewed by Greaves, Percy L. Jr. Fall, 1982; Vol. 3, No. 3, p. 319.
176. Toland, John. *Infamy*. Reviewed by Greaves, Percy L. Jr. Fall, 1982; Vol. 3, No. 3, p. 319.
177. Weber, Mark. "Letter to Dr. Serban Andronescu, May 8, 1982." Fall, 1982; Vol. 3, No. 3, p. 233.
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Vol. 3, no. 4 (Winter 1982)

179. Andronescu, Serban C. "More on the Romanian Jews." Winter, 1982; Vol. 3, No. 4, p. 357.
180. Borra, Ranjan. "Subhas Chandra Bose, the Indian National Army, and the war of India's liberation." Winter, 1982; Vol. 3, No. 4, p. 407.
181. Buck, Pitman Jr. "Middle East revisionism." Winter, 1982; Vol. 3, No. 4, p. 479.
182. Butz, Arthur R. "Context and perspective in the 'Holocaust' controversy." Winter, 1982; Vol. 3, No. 4, p. 371.
183. Chaim, Bezalel. "The Watson phenomenon." Winter, 1982; Vol. 3, No. 4, p. 479.
184. Degrelle, Leon. "Epic: The story of the Waffen-SS." Winter, 1982; Vol. 3, No. 4, p. 441.
185. Marcellus, Thomas J. "A note from the editor." Winter, 1982; Vol. 3, No. 4, p. 356.
186. Volkman, Ernest. *A Legacy of Hate: Anti-Semitism in America*. Reviewed by Rollins, L. A. Winter, 1982; Vol. 3, No. 4, p. 469.
187. Wesserle, Andreas R. "Yalta: Fact or fate? A brief characterization." Winter, 1982; Vol. 3, No. 4, p. 359.

Volume 4 (1983)

Vol. 4, no. 1 (Spring 1983)

188. Barnes, Harry Elmer. *Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace: A critical examination of the foreign policy of Franklin Delano Roosevelt and its aftermath*. Reviewed by Martin, James J. Spring, 1983; Vol. 4, No. 1, p. 83.
189. Eisenberg, Azriel. *Witness to the Holocaust*. Reviewed by Rollins, L. A. Spring, 1983; Vol. 4, No. 1, p. 108.
190. Gilbert, Martin. *Auschwitz and the Allies*. Reviewed by Rollins, L. A. Spring, 1983; Vol. 4, No. 1, p. 93.
191. Hadawi, Sami. "Who are the Palestinians?" Spring, 1983; Vol. 4, No. 1, p. 43.

192. Hankins, Frank. "How many Jews were eliminated by the Nazis?" Spring, 1983; Vol. 4, No. 1, p. 61.
193. Hess, Ilse; Hess, Rudolf. *Rudolf Hess: Prisoner of peace*. Reviewed by Smith, Wayland D. Spring, 1983; Vol. 4, No. 1, p. 119.
194. Laqueur, Walter. *The Terrible Secret: Suppression of the truth about Hitler's 'Final Solution'*. Reviewed by Rollins, L. A. Spring, 1983; Vol. 4, No. 1, p. 93.
195. Rollins, L. A. "The 'Holocaust' as sacred cow." Spring, 1983; Vol. 4, No. 1, p. 29.
196. *Failure at Nuremberg: An analysis of the trial, evidence, and verdict*. Reviewed by Smith, Wayland D. Spring, 1983; Vol. 4, No. 1, p. 119.
197. Stimely, Keith. "A note from the editor." Spring, 1983; Vol. 4, No. 1, p. 4.
198. Weckert, Ingrid. *Feuerzeichen: Die 'Reichskristallnacht': Anstifter und Brandstifter — Opfer und Nutzniesser*. Reviewed by Weber, Mark. Spring, 1983; Vol. 4, No. 1, p. 125.
199. Whisker, James B. "Italian fascism: An interpretation." Spring, 1983; Vol. 4, No. 1, p. 5.

Vol. 4, no. 2 (Summer 1983)

200. Hoggan, David. "President Roosevelt and the origins of the 1939 war." Summer, 1983; Vol. 4, No. 2, p. 205.
201. Kent, Tyler. "The Roosevelt legacy and the Kent case." Summer, 1983; Vol. 4, No. 2, p. 173.
202. Stimely, Keith. "A note from the editor." Summer, 1983; Vol. 4, No. 2, p. 132.
203. Weber, Mark. "President Roosevelt's campaign to incite war in Europe: The secret Polish documents." Summer, 1983; Vol. 4, No. 2, p. 135.

Vol. 4, no. 3 (Fall 1983)

204. Bauer, Yehuda. *A History of the Holocaust*. Reviewed by Rollins, L. A. Fall, 1983; Vol. 4, No. 3, p. 357.
205. Kluge, Dankwart. *Das Hossbach-Protokoll: Die Zerstörung einer legende*. Reviewed by Weber, Mark. Fall, 1983; Vol. 4, No. 3, p. 372.
206. Lindsey, William B. "Zyklon B, Auschwitz, and the trial of Dr. Bruno Tesch." Fall, 1983; Vol. 4, No. 3, p. 261.
207. Pryce-Jones, David. *Paris in the Third Reich: A history of the German Occupation 1940-1944*. Reviewed by Lutton, Charles. Fall, 1983; Vol. 4, No. 3, p. 376.
208. Stimely, Keith. "A note from the editor." Fall, 1983; Vol. 4, No. 3, p. 260.
209. Thompson, H. Keith. "Grand Admiral Karl Dönitz: Last president of a united Germany." Fall, 1983; Vol. 4, No. 3, p. 305.
210. Weber, Mark. "Erich von dem Bach-Zelewski and the 'Holocaust'." Fall, 1983; Vol. 4, No. 3, p. 382.
211. Weber, Mark. "Sebastian Haffner's 1942 call for mass murder." Fall, 1983; Vol. 4, No. 3, p. 380.
212. Weber, Mark. "Swiss historian exposes anti-Hitler Rauschnig memoir as fraudulent." Fall, 1983; Vol. 4, No. 3, p. 378.
213. Whisker, James B. "Gnostic origins of Alfred Rosenberg's thought." Fall, 1983; Vol. 4, No. 3, p. 335.

Vol. 4, no. 4 (Winter 1983)

214. Greaves, Percy L. Jr. "Admission of MAGIC demolishes FDR's claim of surprise." Winter, 1983; Vol. 4, No. 4, p. 453.
215. Greaves, Percy L. Jr. "Marshall comes on stage." Winter, 1983; Vol. 4, No. 4, p. 425.

216. Greaves, Percy L. Jr. "Marshall before the Joint Congressional Committee." Winter, 1983; Vol. 4, No. 4, p. 437.
217. Greaves, Percy L. Jr. "The mystery of Pearl Harbor." Winter, 1983; Vol. 4, No. 4, p. 397.
218. Greaves, Percy L. Jr. "Senator Homer Ferguson and the Pearl Harbor Congressional investigation." Winter, 1983; Vol. 4, No. 4, p. 405.
219. Greaves, Percy L. Jr. "Was Pearl Harbor unavoidable?" Winter, 1983; Vol. 4, No. 4, p. 391.
220. Greaves, Percy L. Jr. "What we knew." Winter, 1983; Vol. 4, No. 4, p. 467.
221. Martin, James J. "Where was General Marshall?" Winter, 1983; Vol. 4, No. 4, p. 475.
222. Stimely, Keith. "A note from the editor." Winter, 1983; Vol. 4, No. 4, p. 388.

Volume 5 (1984)

Vol. 5, no. 1 (Spring 1984)

223. Berg, Friedrich Paul. "The diesel gas chambers: Myth within a myth." Spring, 1984; Vol. 5, No. 1, p. 15.
224. Buck, Gerhard. *Das Führerhauptquartier 1939-1945*. Reviewed by Stimely, Keith. Spring, 1984; Vol. 5, No. 1, p. 95.
225. Carto, Willis A. "Toward history." Spring, 1984; Vol. 5, No. 1, p. 7.
226. Elliott, Mark R. *Pawns of Yalta: Soviet refugees and America's role in their repatriation*. Reviewed by Lutton, Charles. Spring, 1984; Vol. 5, No. 1, p. 84.
227. Jordan, Rudolf. "Hitler, the unemployed and autarky: Some observations after 50 years." Spring, 1984; Vol. 5, No. 1, p. 77.
228. Klett, Ronald. "Commentary: Hitler, the unemployed and autarky." Spring, 1984; Vol. 5, No. 1, p. 80.
229. Pavel, Ion. *The Priority of N.C. Paulescu in the Discovery of Insulin*. Reviewed by Weber, Mark. Spring, 1984; Vol. 5, No. 1, p. 101.
230. Sakkara, Michele. *Die Grosse Zeit Des Deutschen Films 1933-1945*. Reviewed by Stimely, Keith. Spring, 1984; Vol. 5, No. 1, p. 95.
231. Stäglich, Wilhelm. "'Der Auschwitz Mythos': A book and its fate in the German Federal Republic." Spring, 1984; Vol. 5, No. 1, p. 47.
232. Stimely, Keith. "A note from the editor." Spring, 1984; Vol. 5, No. 1, p. 4.
233. Stimely, Keith. "The torture of Julius Streicher." Spring, 1984; Vol. 5, No. 1, p. 106.
234. Tolstoy, Nikolai. *Stalin's Secret War*. Reviewed by Lutton, Charles. Spring, 1984; Vol. 5, No. 1, p. 84.
235. Weber, Mark. "In memoriam: Ranjan Borra." Spring, 1984; Vol. 5, No. 1, p. 126.
236. Weber, Mark. "Jesse Owens: Myth and reality." Spring, 1984; Vol. 5, No. 1, p. 123.
237. Weber, Mark; Stimely, Keith. "The sleight-of-hand of Simon Wiesenthal ('Falso in uno, falso in omnibus')." Spring, 1984; Vol. 5, No. 1, p. 120.
238. Whisker, James B. "Karl Marx: Anti-semitite." Spring, 1984; Vol. 5, No. 1, p. 69.

Vol. 5, no. 2, 3, 4 (Winter 1984)

239. Alman, Karl. *Grossadmiral Karl Dönitz: Vom U-Bootkommandanten zum Staatsoberhaupt*. Reviewed by Stimely, Keith. Winter, 1984; Vol. 5, No. 2, 3, 4, p. 420.
240. Alman, Karl. *Günther Prien: Der 'Wolf' und sein Ad-*

- miral*. Reviewed by Stimely, Keith. Winter, 1984; Vol. 5, No. 2, 3, 4, p. 421.
241. Aschenauer, Rudolf, editor. *Ich, Adolf Eichmann: Ein Historischer Zeugenbericht*. Reviewed by Stimely, Keith. Winter, 1984; Vol. 5, No. 2, 3, 4, p. 423.
242. Aschenauer, Rudolf. *Krieg ohne Grenzen: Der Partisanenkampf gegen Deutschland 1939-1945*. Reviewed by Stimely, Keith. Winter, 1984; Vol. 5, No. 2, 3, 4, p. 423.
243. Aycoberry, Pierre. *The Nazi Question: An essay on the interpretations of National Socialism 1922-1975*. Reviewed by Stimely, Keith. Winter, 1984; Vol. 5, No. 2, 3, 4, p. 415.
244. Barnes, James; Barnes, Patience. *Hitler's 'Mein Kampf' in Britain and America: A publishing history 1930-1939*. Reviewed by Stimely, Keith. Winter, 1984; Vol. 5, No. 2, 3, 4, p. 183.
245. Bendersky, Joseph. *Carl Schmitt: Theorist for the Reich*. Reviewed by Stimely, Keith. Winter, 1984; Vol. 5, No. 2, 3, 4, p. 415.
246. Braun, Karl Otto. "American policy toward Europe: The fateful change." Winter, 1984; Vol. 5, No. 2, 3, 4, p. 241.
247. Cassels, Alan. *Fascism*. Reviewed by Stimely, Keith. Winter, 1984; Vol. 5, No. 2, 3, 4, p. 428.
248. Conot, Robert E. *Justice at Nuremberg*. Reviewed by Stimely, Keith. Winter, 1984; Vol. 5, No. 2, 3, 4, p. 424.
249. De Felice, Renzo. *Fascism: An informal introduction to its theory and practice*. Reviewed by Stimely, Keith. Winter, 1984; Vol. 5, No. 2, 3, 4, p. 427.
250. De Felice, Renzo. *Interpretations of Fascism*. Reviewed by Stimely, Keith. Winter, 1984; Vol. 5, No. 2, 3, 4, p. 427.
251. Deschner, Günther. *Reinhard Heydrich: A biography*. Reviewed by Stimely, Keith. Winter, 1984; Vol. 5, No. 2, 3, 4, p. 423.
252. Diwald, Hellmut. "An interview with Hellmut Diwald." Winter, 1984; Vol. 5, No. 2, 3, 4, p. 434.
253. Dornberg, John. *Munich 1923: The inside story of Hitler's first grab for power*. Reviewed by Stimely, Keith. Winter, 1984; Vol. 5, No. 2, 3, 4, p. 419.
254. Drechsler, Robert. *Rudolf Hess: Der Deutsche Martyr*. Reviewed by Stimely, Keith. Winter, 1984; Vol. 5, No. 2, 3, 4, p. 421.
255. Drechsler, Robert. *Walter Reder: Der Gefangene von Gaeta*. Reviewed by Stimely, Keith. Winter, 1984; Vol. 5, No. 2, 3, 4, p. 422.
256. Evert, Hans-Jürgen. *Aus Deutscher Sicht: Erlebte Zeitgeschichte*. Reviewed by Stimely, Keith. Winter, 1984; Vol. 5, No. 2, 3, 4, p. 419.
257. Faurisson, Robert. "A challenge to David Irving." Winter, 1984; Vol. 5, No. 2, 3, 4, p. 289.
258. Feig, Konnilyn. *Hitler's Death Camps: The sanity of madness*. Reviewed by Stimely, Keith. Winter, 1984; Vol. 5, No. 2, 3, 4, p. 424.
259. Fleming, Gerald. *Hitler and the Final Solution*. Reviewed by Stimely, Keith. Winter, 1984; Vol. 5, No. 2, 3, 4, p. 423.
260. Franz-Willing, Georg. *1933: Die Nationale Erhebung*. Reviewed by Stimely, Keith. Winter, 1984; Vol. 5, No. 2, 3, 4, p. 419.
261. Franz-Willing, Georg. *Der Zweite Weltkrieg: Ursachen und Anlass*. Reviewed by Granata, Russ. Winter, 1984; Vol. 5, No. 2, 3, 4, p. 408.
262. Fritzsche, Hildegard. *Vor dem Tribunal der Sieger: Gesetzlose Justiz in Nuernberg*. Reviewed by Stimely,

- Keith. Winter, 1984; Vol. 5, No. 2, 3, 4, p. 424.
263. Galante, Pierre. *Operation Valkyrie: The German general's plot against Hitler*. Reviewed by Stimely, Keith. Winter, 1984; Vol. 5, No. 2, 3, 4, p. 422.
264. Giesler, Hermann. *Ein Anderer Hitler: Erlebnisse, Gespraeche, Reflexionen*. Reviewed by Stimely, Keith. Winter, 1984; Vol. 5, No. 2, 3, 4, p. 418.
265. Gleason, K. C. "The 'Holocaust' and the failure of Allied and Jewish responses." Winter, 1984; Vol. 5, No. 2, 3, 4, p. 215.
266. Gordon, Sarah. *Hitler, Germans, and the 'Jewish Question'*. Reviewed by Stimely, Keith. Winter, 1984; Vol. 5, No. 2, 3, 4, p. 424.
267. Göring, Hermann. *Germany Reborn*. Reviewed by Stimely, Keith. Winter, 1984; Vol. 5, No. 2, 3, 4, p. 421.
268. Gregor, A. James. *Italian Fascism and Developmental Dictatorship*. Reviewed by Stimely, Keith. Winter, 1984; Vol. 5, No. 2, 3, 4, p. 425.
269. Gregor, A. James. *Young Mussolini and the Intellectual Origins of Fascism*. Reviewed by Stimely, Keith. Winter, 1984; Vol. 5, No. 2, 3, 4, p. 425.
270. Hamilton, Charles. *Leaders and Personalities of the Third Reich: Their biographies, portraits, and autographs*. Reviewed by Stimely, Keith. Winter, 1984; Vol. 5, No. 2, 3, 4, p. 417.
271. Harbison, Robert. *Deliberate Regression: The disastrous history of romantic individualism in thought and art, from Jean-Jacques Rousseau to twentieth century fascism*. Reviewed by Stimely, Keith. Winter, 1984; Vol. 5, No. 2, 3, 4, p. 429.
272. Hastings, Max. *Overlord: D-Day and the battle for Normandy*. Reviewed by Lutton, Charles. Winter, 1984; Vol. 5, No. 2, 3, 4, p. 397.
273. Hattenhauer, Darryl. "Ronald Reagan's political and cultural world view." Winter, 1984; Vol. 5, No. 2, 3, 4, p. 325.
274. Herzstein, Robert. *When Nazi Dreams Come True: The Third Reich's internal struggle over the future of Europe after a German victory*. Reviewed by Stimely, Keith. Winter, 1984; Vol. 5, No. 2, 3, 4, p. 416.
275. Hessen, Robert. *Berlin Alert: The memoirs and reports of Truman Smith*. Reviewed by Stimely, Keith. Winter, 1984; Vol. 5, No. 2, 3, 4, p. 416.
276. Heston, Leonard; Heston, Renate. *The Medical Casebook of Adolf Hitler*. Reviewed by Stimely, Keith. Winter, 1984; Vol. 5, No. 2, 3, 4, p. 418.
277. Hiden, John; Farquharson, John. *Explaining Hitler's Germany: Historians and the Third Reich*. Reviewed by Stimely, Keith. Winter, 1984; Vol. 5, No. 2, 3, 4, p. 415.
278. Hillgruber, Andreas. *Germany and the Two World Wars*. Reviewed by Stimely, Keith. Winter, 1984; Vol. 5, No. 2, 3, 4, p. 420.
279. Hitler, Adolf. *Hitler's Secret Book*. Reviewed by Stimely, Keith. Winter, 1984; Vol. 5, No. 2, 3, 4, p. 417.
280. Hoffman, Peter. *Hitler's Personal Security*. Reviewed by Stimely, Keith. Winter, 1984; Vol. 5, No. 2, 3, 4, p. 418.
281. Infield, Glenn. *Hitler's Secret Life: The mysteries of the Eagle's Nest*. Reviewed by Stimely, Keith. Winter, 1984; Vol. 5, No. 2, 3, 4, p. 418.
282. Infield, Glenn. *Secrets of the SS*. Reviewed by Stimely, Keith. Winter, 1984; Vol. 5, No. 2, 3, 4, p. 423.
283. Irving, David. "On contemporary history and historiography." Winter, 1984; Vol. 5, No. 2, 3, 4, p. 251.
284. Irving, David. *The Secret Diaries of Hitler's Doctor*. Reviewed by Stimely, Keith. Winter, 1984; Vol. 5, No. 2, 3, 4, p. 418.
285. Irving, David. *Uprising! One Nation's Nightmare: Hungary 1956*. Reviewed by Lutton, Charles. Winter, 1984; Vol. 5, No. 2, 3, 4, p. 411.
286. Irving, David. *The War Between the Generals*. Reviewed by Lutton, Charles. Winter, 1984; Vol. 5, No. 2, 3, 4, p. 397.
287. Jaeckel, Eberhard. *Hitler's World View: A blueprint for power*. Reviewed by Stimely, Keith. Winter, 1984; Vol. 5, No. 2, 3, 4, p. 417.
288. Jameson, Fredric. *Fables of Aggression: Wyndham Lewis, the modernist as Fascist*. Reviewed by Stimely, Keith. Winter, 1984; Vol. 5, No. 2, 3, 4, p. 429.
289. Joes, Anthony James. *Fascism in the Contemporary World: Ideology, evolution, resurgence*. Reviewed by Stimely, Keith. Winter, 1984; Vol. 5, No. 2, 3, 4, p. 427.
290. Joes, Anthony James. *Mussolini*. Reviewed by Stimely, Keith. Winter, 1984; Vol. 5, No. 2, 3, 4, p. 425.
291. Jones, Sydney. *Hitler in Vienna 1907-1913: Clues to the future*. Reviewed by Stimely, Keith. Winter, 1984; Vol. 5, No. 2, 3, 4, p. 418.
292. Kehr, Helen; Langmaid, Janet, compilers. *The Nazi Era 1919-1945: A selected bibliography of published works from the early roots to 1980*. Reviewed by Stimely, Keith. Winter, 1984; Vol. 5, No. 2, 3, 4, p. 425.
293. Kish, George. *To the Heart of Asia: The life of Sven Hedin*. Reviewed by Stimely, Keith. Winter, 1984; Vol. 5, No. 2, 3, 4, p. 416.
294. Kluever, Max. *Den Sieg Verspielt: Musste Deutschland den Zweiten Weltkrieg verlieren?* Reviewed by Stimely, Keith. Winter, 1984; Vol. 5, No. 2, 3, 4, p. 420.
295. Knox, MacGregor. *Mussolini Unleashed: 1939-1941*. Reviewed by Stimely, Keith. Winter, 1984; Vol. 5, No. 2, 3, 4, p. 426.
296. Kuesters, Elisabeth. "Encountering the revisionists." Winter, 1984; Vol. 5, No. 2, 3, 4, p. 307.
297. Kurowski, Franz. *Bedingungslose Kapitulation: Inferno in Deutschland 1945*. Reviewed by Stimely, Keith. Winter, 1984; Vol. 5, No. 2, 3, 4, p. 420.
298. Lang, Jochen von, editor. *Eichmann Interrogated: Transcripts from the archives of the Israeli police*. Reviewed by Stimely, Keith. Winter, 1984; Vol. 5, No. 2, 3, 4, p. 423.
299. Lang, Jochen von. *The Secretary: Martin Bormann — The man who manipulated Hitler*. Reviewed by Stimely, Keith. Winter, 1984; Vol. 5, No. 2, 3, 4, p. 422.
300. Larsen, Stein Ugelvik; Hagtvet, Bernt; Myklebust, Jan Peter, editors. *Who Were the Fascists? Social roots of European fascism*. Reviewed by Stimely, Keith. Winter, 1984; Vol. 5, No. 2, 3, 4, p. 427.
301. Ledeen, Michael. *The First Duce: D'Annunzio at Fiume*. Reviewed by Stimely, Keith. Winter, 1984; Vol. 5, No. 2, 3, 4, p. 426.
302. Luedde-Neurath, Walter. *Regierung Dönitz: Die letzten Tage des Dritten Reiches*. Reviewed by Stimely, Keith. Winter, 1984; Vol. 5, No. 2, 3, 4, p. 420.
303. Lutton, Charles. "The 'Atlantic Charter' smoke-screen: History as a press release." Winter, 1984; Vol. 5, No. 2, 3, 4, p. 203.
304. Lutton, Charles. "His master's voice: Air Chief Marshal Sir Arthur Travers Harris, 1892-1984." Winter, 1984; Vol. 5, No. 2, 3, 4, p. 431.
305. Manning, Paul. *Martin Bormann: Nazi in exile*. Reviewed by Stimely, Keith. Winter, 1984; Vol. 5, No. 2, 3, 4, p. 422.
306. Marcellus, Thomas J. "Percy L. Greaves, Jr., 1906-

- 1984." Winter, 1984; Vol. 5, No. 2, 3, 4, p. 444.
307. Martin, James J. "Beyond year zero: The pursuit of peace through war." Winter, 1984; Vol. 5, No. 2, 3, 4, p. 349.
308. Martin, James J. *The Man Who Invented 'Genocide': The public career and consequences of Raphael Lemkin*. Reviewed by Konkin, Samuel Edward, III. Winter, 1984; Vol. 5, No. 2, 3, 4, p. 388.
309. McKale, Donald. *Hitler: The survival myth*. Reviewed by Stimely, Keith. Winter, 1984; Vol. 5, No. 2, 3, 4, p. 419.
310. Meissner, Hans-Otto. *Magda Goebbels: The First Lady of the Third Reich*. Reviewed by Stimely, Keith. Winter, 1984; Vol. 5, No. 2, 3, 4, p. 421.
311. Morris, Warren. *The Revisionist Historians and German War Guilt*. Reviewed by Stimely, Keith. Winter, 1984; Vol. 5, No. 2, 3, 4, p. 415.
312. Mosse, George. *Nazism: A historical and comparative analysis of National Socialism*. Reviewed by Stimely, Keith. Winter, 1984; Vol. 5, No. 2, 3, 4, p. 417.
313. Oven, Wilfred von. *Finale Furioso: Mit Goebbels bis zum Ende*. Reviewed by Stimely, Keith. Winter, 1984; Vol. 5, No. 2, 3, 4, p. 421.
314. Padfield, Peter. *Dönitz: The last Führer*. Reviewed by Thompson, H. Keith. Winter, 1984; Vol. 5, No. 2, 3, 4, p. 405.
315. Payne, Stanley. *Fascism: Comparison and definition*. Reviewed by Stimely, Keith. Winter, 1984; Vol. 5, No. 2, 3, 4, p. 428.
316. Prager, Dennis; Telushkin, Joseph. *Why the Jews? The reason for anti-Semitism*. Reviewed by Rollins, L. A. Winter, 1984; Vol. 5, No. 2, 3, 4, p. 375.
317. Reitlinger, Gerald. *The SS: Alibi of a nation*. Reviewed by Stimely, Keith. Winter, 1984; Vol. 5, No. 2, 3, 4, p. 423.
318. Rhodes, James. *The Hitler Movement: A modern millenarian revolution*. Reviewed by Stimely, Keith. Winter, 1984; Vol. 5, No. 2, 3, 4, p. 417.
319. Roberts, David D. *The Syndicalist Tradition and Italian Fascism*. Reviewed by Stimely, Keith. Winter, 1984; Vol. 5, No. 2, 3, 4, p. 426.
320. Robinson, R. A. H. *Fascism in Europe 1919-1945*. Reviewed by Stimely, Keith. Winter, 1984; Vol. 5, No. 2, 3, 4, p. 428.
321. Rosenberg, Alfred. *The Myth of the Twentieth Century*. Reviewed by Stimely, Keith. Winter, 1984; Vol. 5, No. 2, 3, 4, p. 416.
322. Row, Robert. "Sir Oswald Mosley: Briton, fascist, European." Winter, 1984; Vol. 5, No. 2, 3, 4, p. 139.
323. Rubenstein, W. D.; Sanning, Walter; Butz, Arthur R. "The Dissolution of Eastern European Jewry": An exchange." Winter, 1984; Vol. 5, No. 2, 3, 4, p. 367.
324. Sanning, Walter. *The Dissolution of Eastern European Jewry*. Reviewed by Stimely, Keith. Winter, 1984; Vol. 5, No. 2, 3, 4, p. 424.
325. Schaulen, Joachim von. *Hasso von Manteuffel: Panzerkampf im Zweiten Weltkrieg*. Reviewed by Stimely, Keith. Winter, 1984; Vol. 5, No. 2, 3, 4, p. 422.
326. Schmidt, Matthias. *Albert Speer: The end of a myth*. Reviewed by Stimely, Keith. Winter, 1984; Vol. 5, No. 2, 3, 4, p. 422.
327. Shirer, William. *The Nightmare Years 1930-1940*. Reviewed by Stimely, Keith. Winter, 1984; Vol. 5, No. 2, 3, 4, p. 416.
328. Smith, Dennis Mack. *Mussolini*. Reviewed by Stimely, Keith. Winter, 1984; Vol. 5, No. 2, 3, 4, p. 426.
329. Soucy, Robert. *Fascist Intellectual: Drieu La Rochelle*. Reviewed by Stimely, Keith. Winter, 1984; Vol. 5, No. 2, 3, 4, p. 429.
330. Southworth, Herbert. *Guernica! Guernica! Diplomacy, propaganda, and the press*. Reviewed by Stimely, Keith. Winter, 1984; Vol. 5, No. 2, 3, 4, p. 419.
331. Speer, Albert. *Infiltration: How Heinrich Himmler schemed to build an SS industrial empire*. Reviewed by Stimely, Keith. Winter, 1984; Vol. 5, No. 2, 3, 4, p. 422.
332. Stimely, Keith. "Austin J. App, 1902-1984." Winter, 1984; Vol. 5, No. 2, 3, 4, p. 446.
333. Stimely, Keith. "A bibliography of works on and relating to Oswald Mosley and British fascism." Winter, 1984; Vol. 5, No. 2, 3, 4, p. 175.
334. Stimely, Keith. "A note from the editor: Oswald Mosley reconsidered." Winter, 1984; Vol. 5, No. 2, 3, 4, p. 134.
335. Stimely, Keith. "Uproar in Clio's library: The case of Dr. David Abraham and *The collapse of the Weimar Republic*." Winter, 1984; Vol. 5, No. 2, 3, 4, p. 440.
336. Sündermann, Helmut. *Mut zur Wahrheit: Beiträge zur Geschichte unserer Zeit*. Reviewed by Stimely, Keith. Winter, 1984; Vol. 5, No. 2, 3, 4, p. 419.
337. Taylor, Fred, editor. *The Goebbels Diaries 1939-1941*. Reviewed by Stimely, Keith. Winter, 1984; Vol. 5, No. 2, 3, 4, p. 421.
338. Thadden, Adolf von. *Guernica: Greuelpropaganda oder Kriegsverbrechen?* Reviewed by Stimely, Keith. Winter, 1984; Vol. 5, No. 2, 3, 4, p. 419.
339. Thomas, Hugh. *The Murder of Rudolf Hess*. Reviewed by Stimely, Keith. Winter, 1984; Vol. 5, No. 2, 3, 4, p. 421.
340. Thompson, H. Keith; Strutz, Henry, editors. *Dönitz at Nuremberg: A Re-appraisal*. Reviewed by Stimely, Keith. Winter, 1984; Vol. 5, No. 2, 3, 4, p. 420.
341. Trevor-Roper, Hugh, editor. *Final Entries 1945: The diaries of Joseph Goebbels*. Reviewed by Stimely, Keith. Winter, 1984; Vol. 5, No. 2, 3, 4, p. 421.
342. Turner, Henry A. Jr., editor. *Reappraisals of Fascism*. Reviewed by Stimely, Keith. Winter, 1984; Vol. 5, No. 2, 3, 4, p. 428.
343. Tusa, Anne; Tusa, John. *The Nuremberg Trial*. Reviewed by Stimely, Keith. Winter, 1984; Vol. 5, No. 2, 3, 4, p. 424.
344. Unger, Michael. *The Memoirs of Bridget Hitler*. Reviewed by Stimely, Keith. Winter, 1984; Vol. 5, No. 2, 3, 4, p. 418.
345. Weber, Mark. "Albert Speer and the 'Holocaust'." Winter, 1984; Vol. 5, No. 2, 3, 4, p. 439.
346. Whisker, James B. *National Socialist Ideology: Concepts and ideas*. Reviewed by Stimely, Keith. Winter, 1984; Vol. 5, No. 2, 3, 4, p. 415.
347. Whisker, James B. *The Social, Political, and Religious Thought of Alfred Rosenberg: An interpretive essay*. Reviewed by Stimely, Keith. Winter, 1984; Vol. 5, No. 2, 3, 4, p. 415.
348. Wistrich, Robert. *Who's Who in Nazi Germany*. Reviewed by Stimely, Keith. Winter, 1984; Vol. 5, No. 2, 3, 4, p. 416.

Volume 6 (1985)

Vol. 6, no. 1 (Spring 1985)

349. Baxter, David. "The Great Sedition Trial of 1944: A personal memoir." Spring, 1985; Vol. 6, No. 1, p. 23.

350. Bennett, John. "Orwell's '1984': Was Orwell right?" Spring, 1985; Vol. 6, No. 1, p. 9.
351. Braun, Karl Otto. "Reflections on German and American foreign policy, 1933-1945." Spring, 1985; Vol. 6, No. 1, p. 41.
352. Christophersen, Thies. "Reflections on Auschwitz and West German justice." Spring, 1985; Vol. 6, No. 1, p. 117.
353. Dennis, Lawrence; St. George, Maximilian. *A Trial on Trial: The Great Sedition Trial of 1944*. Reviewed by Rollins, L. A. Spring, 1985; Vol. 6, No. 1, p. 123.
354. Hoggan, David. "Plato's dialectic vs. Hegel and Marx: An evaluation of five revolutions." Spring, 1985; Vol. 6, No. 1, p. 67.
355. Sanning, Walter. "Soviet scorched-earth warfare." Spring, 1985; Vol. 6, No. 1, p. 91.
356. Weber, Mark. "Editorial note: Historical revisionism and the legacy of George Orwell." Spring, 1985; Vol. 6, No. 1, p. 4.
357. Weber, Mark. "Roosevelt's 'secret map' speech." Spring, 1985; Vol. 6, No. 1, p. 125.

Vol. 6, no. 2 (Summer 1985)

358. Chapman, Robert J. "A challenge to thought control: The historiography of Leon Degrelle." Summer, 1985; Vol. 6, No. 2, p. 221.
359. Chomsky, Noam. *The Fateful Triangle: The United States, Israel, & the Palestinians*. Reviewed by Rollins, L. A. Summer, 1985; Vol. 6, No. 2, p. 240.
360. Faurisson, Robert. "Revisionism on trial: Developments in France, 1979-1983." Summer, 1985; Vol. 6, No. 2, p. 133.
361. Lang, Jochen von, editor. *Eichmann Interrogated: Transcripts from the archives of the Israeli police*. Reviewed by O'Keefe, Theodore J. Summer, 1985; Vol. 6, No. 2, p. 237.
362. Levy, Primo. *The Periodic Table*. Reviewed by Lindsey, William B. Summer, 1985; Vol. 6, No. 2, p. 252.
363. McKee, Alexander. *Dresden 1945: The devil's tinderbox*. Reviewed by Lutton, Charles. Summer, 1985; Vol. 6, No. 2, p. 247.
364. Moroz, Valentyn. "Nationalism and genocide: The origin of the artificial famine of 1932-1933 in Ukraine." Summer, 1985; Vol. 6, No. 2, p. 207.
365. Ryan, Alan. *Quiet Neighbors: Prosecuting Nazi war criminals in America*. Reviewed by O'Keefe, Theodore J. Summer, 1985; Vol. 6, No. 2, p. 231.
366. Saggs, H. W. F. *The Might that Was Assyria*. Reviewed by Lutton, Charles. Summer, 1985; Vol. 6, No. 2, p. 250.
367. Weckert, Ingrid. "'Crystal Night' 1938: The great anti-German spectacle." Summer, 1985; Vol. 6, No. 2, p. 183.
368. Westwood, J. N. *The Eastern Front: The Soviet-German war, 1941-1945*. Reviewed by Lutton, Charles. Summer, 1985; Vol. 6, No. 2, p. 244.

Vol. 6, no. 3 (Fall 1985)

369. Brown, Robert. *Elie Wiesel: Messenger to all humanity*. Reviewed by Rollins, L. A. Fall, 1985; Vol. 6, No. 3, p. 373.
370. Martin, James J. "The pro-Red orchestra starts tuning up in the U.S.A., 1941." Fall, 1985; Vol. 6, No. 3, p. 261.
371. Weber, Mark. "Lessons of the Mengele affair." Fall, 1985; Vol. 6, No. 3, p. 377.

372. Wyman, David S. *The Abandonment of the Jews: America and the Holocaust*. Reviewed by Weber, Mark. Fall, 1985; Vol. 6, No. 3, p. 369.

Vol. 6, no. 4 (Witner 1985)

373. Eisenberg, Azriel. *The Lost Generation: Children in the Holocaust*. Reviewed by Rollins, L. A. Winter, 1985; Vol. 6, No. 4, p. 479.
374. Hasegawa, Michiko. "A postwar view of the Greater East Asia War." Winter, 1985; Vol. 6, No. 4, p. 451.
375. Hoffman, Michael A. II. "Chicago *Tribune* history." Winter, 1985; Vol. 6, No. 4, p. 508.
376. Hoffman, Michael A. II. "The psychology and epistemology of 'Holocaust' newspeak." Winter, 1985; Vol. 6, No. 4, p. 467.
377. John, Robert. "Behind the Balfour Declaration: Britain's great war pledge to Lord Rothschild." Winter, 1985; Vol. 6, No. 4, p. 389.
378. Rollins, L. A. "California subsidizes Japanese-American museum." Winter, 1985; Vol. 6, No. 4, p. 507.
379. Rollins, L. A. "Los Angeles 'Museum of Tolerance' to cost \$30 million." Winter, 1985; Vol. 6, No. 4, p. 504.
380. Weber, Mark. "National Holocaust Museum to cost \$100 million." Winter, 1985; Vol. 6, No. 4, p. 503.
381. Weber, Mark. "Rauschning's phony 'Conversations with Hitler' — an update." Winter, 1985; Vol. 6, No. 4, p. 499.

Volume 7 (1986)

Vol. 7, no. 1 (Spring 1986)

382. Abrams, Alan. *Special Treatment: The untold story of Hitler's third race*. Reviewed by O'Keefe, Theodore J. Spring, 1986; Vol. 7, No. 1, p. 121.
383. Beesly, Patrick. *Room 40: British Naval Intelligence*. Reviewed by Ward, Arthur S. Spring, 1986; Vol. 7, No. 1, p. 119.
384. Benson, Ivor. "The siege of South Africa." Spring, 1986; Vol. 7, No. 1, p. 5.
385. Berg, Friedrich Paul. "The German delousing chambers." Spring, 1986; Vol. 7, No. 1, p. 73.
386. Berkel, Robert Karl. "Editorial note: A new cycle." Spring, 1986; Vol. 7, No. 1, p. 4.
387. Chomsky, Noam. "All denials of free speech undercut a democratic society." Spring, 1986; Vol. 7, No. 1, p. 123.
388. Faurisson, Robert. "Response to a paper historian." Spring, 1986; Vol. 7, No. 1, p. 21.
389. Franz-Willing, Georg. "The origins of the Second World War." Spring, 1986; Vol. 7, No. 1, p. 95.
390. Mattogno, Carlo. *Il Rapporto Gerstein: Anatomia di un Falso*. Reviewed by Hall, Robert A., Jr. Spring, 1986; Vol. 7, No. 1, p. 115.

Vol. 7, no. 2 (Summer 1986)

391. Black, Robert C. "Politics, prejudice, and procedure: The impeachment trial of Andrew Jackson." Summer, 1986; Vol. 7, No. 2, p. 175.
392. Dolot, Miron. *Execution by Hunger: The hidden holocaust*. Reviewed by Ward, Arthur S. Summer, 1986; Vol. 7, No. 2, p. 229.
393. Oppenheimer, Peter H. "From the Spanish Civil War to the fall of France: Luftwaffe lessons learned and applied." Summer, 1986; Vol. 7, No. 2, p. 133.
394. Ronnett, Alexander E.; Bradescu, Faust. "The Legionary movement in Romania." Summer, 1986; Vol. 7,

- No. 2, p. 193.
395. Smith, Bradley R. "Shoah: Abraham Bomba, the barber." Summer, 1986; Vol. 7, No. 2, p. 244.
396. Stäglich, Wilhelm. "Historians wrangle over the destruction of European Jewry." Summer, 1986; Vol. 7, No. 2, p. 239.
397. Treadway, John D. *The Falcon and the Eagle: Montenegro and Austria, 1908-1914*. Reviewed by U.-Ziechmann, W. K. von. Summer, 1986; Vol. 7, No. 2, p. 236.
398. Vincent, C. Paul. *The Politics of Hunger: The Allied blockade of Germany, 1915-1919*. Reviewed by Hall, Robert A., Jr. Summer, 1986; Vol. 7, No. 2, p. 231.

Vol. 7, no. 3 (Fall 1986)

399. Conway, John. "History, Hitler, and the Holocaust." Fall, 1986; Vol. 7, No. 3, p. 379.
400. Desjardins, Dan. "Critique of John S. Conway's review of Walter Sanning's 'Dissolution of Eastern European Jewry,' from 'The International History Review,' August, 1985." Fall, 1986; Vol. 7, No. 3, p. 375.
401. Dickson, Sam. "Shattering the icon of Abraham Lincoln." Fall, 1986; Vol. 7, No. 3, p. 319.
402. Green, Stephen. *Taking Sides: America's secret relations with a militant Israel*. Reviewed by Atelier, Robert. Fall, 1986; Vol. 7, No. 3, p. 360.
403. Hall, Robert A. Jr. "The persecution of P.G. Wodehouse." Fall, 1986; Vol. 7, No. 3, p. 345.
404. Hummel, Jeffrey. "Not just Japanese Americans: The untold story of U.S. repression during 'The Good War'." Fall, 1986; Vol. 7, No. 3, p. 285.
405. Nomberg-Przytyk, Sara. *Auschwitz: True tales from a grotesque land*. Reviewed by O'Keefe, Theodore J. Fall, 1986; Vol. 7, No. 3, p. 369.
406. Oppenheimer, Peter H. "The Sudetendeutsche Landsmannschaft." Fall, 1986; Vol. 7, No. 3, p. 261.
407. Phillips, John. *It Happened In Our Lifetime*. Reviewed by Thompson, H. Keith. Fall, 1986; Vol. 7, No. 3, p. 361.
408. Weber, Mark. "Joseph Sobran and historical revisionism." Fall, 1986; Vol. 7, No. 3, p. 373.
409. West, W. J., editor. *Orwell: The War Commentaries*. Reviewed by Rigenbach, Jeff. Fall, 1986; Vol. 7, No. 3, p. 353.
410. Westwood, J. N. *Russia Against Japan, 1904-05: A new look at the Russo-Japanese War*. Reviewed by Konkin, Samuel Edward, III. Fall, 1986; Vol. 7, No. 3, p. 363.

Vol. 7, no. 4 (Winter 1986)

411. Dower, John W. *War without Mercy: Race and power in the Pacific War*. Reviewed by Wikoff, Jack. Winter, 1986; Vol. 7, No. 4, p. 483.
412. Eisner, Jack. *The Survivor; Moshe Mizrahi, Director, War and Love*. Reviewed by Butz, Arthur R. Winter, 1986; Vol. 7, No. 4, p. 469.
413. Faurisson, Robert. "How the British obtained the confessions of Rudolf Höss." Winter, 1986; Vol. 7, No. 4, p. 389.
414. Gollert, Friedrich. *Warschau unter Deutscher Herrschaft*. Reviewed by Lang, R. Clarence. Winter, 1986; Vol. 7, No. 4, p. 461.
415. Hall, Robert A. Jr. "Deceptive linguistic structures in the phrase 'the Holocaust'." Winter, 1986; Vol. 7, No. 4, p. 495.
416. Halsell, Grace. *Prophecy and Politics: Militant evangelists on the road to nuclear war*. Reviewed by

- Johnson, Edward. Winter, 1986; Vol. 7, No. 4, p. 488.
417. Harris, Robert. *Selling Hitler*. Reviewed by Thompson, H. Keith. Winter, 1986; Vol. 7, No. 4, p. 474.
418. O'Keefe, Theodore J. "Irving on Churchill." Winter, 1986; Vol. 7, No. 4, p. 498.
419. O'Keefe, Theodore J. "A secret report by Jan Karski." Winter, 1986; Vol. 7, No. 4, p. 504.
420. Peel, Peter H. "The great brown scare: The Amerika-Deutscher Bund in the thirties and the hounding of Fritz Julius Kuhn." Winter, 1986; Vol. 7, No. 4, p. 419.
421. Spiegelman, Art. *Maus: A survivor's tale*. Reviewed by Reilly, Janet. Winter, 1986; Vol. 7, No. 4, p. 478.
422. Weber, Mark. "Buchenwald: Legend and reality." Winter, 1986; Vol. 7, No. 4, p. 405.
423. Wesseler, Andreas R. "Death and rebirth: European political observations." Winter, 1986; Vol. 7, No. 4, p. 443.

Volume 8 (1988)

Vol. 8, no. 1 (Spring 1988)

424. Adams, Henry M.; Adams, Robin K. *Rebel Patriot: A biography of Franz von Papen*. Reviewed by Franz-Willing, Georg. Spring, 1988; Vol. 8, No. 1, p. 95.
425. Berkis, Alexander. "Soviet Russia's persecution of Latvia, 1918 to the present." Spring, 1988; Vol. 8, No. 1, p. 25.
426. Faurisson, Robert. "The Müller document." Spring, 1988; Vol. 8, No. 1, p. 117.
427. Koppes, Clayton R.; Black, Gregory D. *Hollywood Goes to War: How politics, profits, & propaganda shaped World War II movies*. Reviewed by Wikoff, Jack. Spring, 1988; Vol. 8, No. 1, p. 104.
428. Lang, R. Clarence. "Imposed German guilt: The Stuttgart Declaration of 1945." Spring, 1988; Vol. 8, No. 1, p. 55.
429. Lanzmann, Claude. *Shoah* [film]. Reviewed by Faurisson, Robert. Spring, 1988; Vol. 8, No. 1, p. 85.
430. Lanzmann, Claude. *Shoah* [book]. Reviewed by O'Keefe, Theodore J. Spring, 1988; Vol. 8, No. 1, p. 92.
431. Larson, Martin A. "An update on the Dead Sea Scrolls." Spring, 1988; Vol. 8, No. 1, p. 79.
432. O'Keefe, Theodore J. "From the editor." Spring, 1988; Vol. 8, No. 1, p. 4.
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Vol. 8, no. 2 (Summer 1988)

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439. Drinnon, Richard. *Keeper of Concentration Camps: Dillon S. Meyer and American racism*. Reviewed by Strang, John P. Summer, 1988; Vol. 8, No. 2, p. 234.

440. Franklin, Thomas. *An American in Exile: The story of Arthur Rudolph*. Reviewed by Countess, Robert H. Summer, 1988; Vol. 8, No. 2, p. 224.
441. Grubach, Paul. "A critique of the charge of anti-Semitism: The moral and political legitimacy of criticizing Jewry." Summer, 1988; Vol. 8, No. 2, p. 185.
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443. Merson, Martin. "Pearl Harbor Survivors Association honors Kimmel and Short." Summer, 1988; Vol. 8, No. 2, p. 250.
444. O'Keefe, Theodore J. "From the editor." Summer, 1988; Vol. 8, No. 2, p. 132.
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Vol. 8, no. 3 (Fall 1988)

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453. Knightley, Phillip. *The Second Oldest Profession: Spies and spying in the twentieth century*. Reviewed by Martin, James J. Fall, 1988; Vol. 8, No. 3, p. 359.
454. Lebailly, Jacques. "Interview with Michel de Bouard on the 'Thesis of Nantes'." Fall, 1988; Vol. 8, No. 3, p. 381.
455. Mattogno, Carlo. "The myth of the extermination of the Jews: Part II." Fall, 1988; Vol. 8, No. 3, p. 261.
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458. Turner, Henry A. Jr. *German Big Business and the Rise of Hitler*. Reviewed by Ries, John M. Fall, 1988; Vol. 8, No. 3, p. 369.

Vol. 8, no. 4 (Winter 1988)

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460. Faurisson, Robert. "The Zündel Trials (1985 and 1988)." Winter, 1988; Vol. 8, No. 4, p. 417.
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465. Weber, Mark. "Dr. Karl Otto Braun: A memorial tribute." Winter, 1988; Vol. 8, No. 4, p. 504.
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467. Weber, Mark. "The strange life of Ilya Ehrenburg." Winter, 1988; Vol. 8, No. 4, p. 507.
468. Weckert, Ingrid. *Feuerzeichen: Die 'Reichskristallnacht': Anstifter und Brandstifter — Opfer und Nutzniesser*. Reviewed by Weber, Charles E. Winter, 1988; Vol. 8, No. 4, p. 483.

Volume 9 (1989)

Vol. 9, no. 1 (Spring 1989)

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470. Faurisson, Robert. "My life as a revisionist (September 1983 to September 1987)." Spring, 1989; Vol. 9, No. 1, p. 5.
471. Hesselstine, William B. "Atrocities, then and now." Spring, 1989; Vol. 9, No. 1, p. 65.
472. Koshar, Rudy. *Social Life, Local Politics, and Nazism: Marburg, 1880-1935*. Reviewed by Ries, John M. Spring, 1989; Vol. 9, No. 1, p. 92.
473. Lang, R. Clarence. "Red Cross humanitarianism in Greece, 1940-1945." Spring, 1989; Vol. 9, No. 1, p. 71.
474. Lang, R. Clarence. "Wartime German Catholic leaders and the 'extermination of the Jews'." Spring, 1989; Vol. 9, No. 1, p. 101.
475. Marcellus, Thomas J. "Circuitous suppression." Spring, 1989; Vol. 9, No. 1, p. 116.
476. Muirden, Geoff. "Conspiracy theory and the French Revolution." Spring, 1989; Vol. 9, No. 1, p. 109.
477. O'Keefe, Theodore J. "From the editor." Spring, 1989; Vol. 9, No. 1, p. 4.
478. Porter, Carlos W. *Made in Russia: The Holocaust*. Reviewed by O'Keefe, Theodore J. Spring, 1989; Vol. 9, No. 1, p. 89.

Vol. 9, no. 2 (Summer 1989)

479. Benson, Ivor. "Iran: Some angles on the Islamic revolution." Summer, 1989; Vol. 9, No. 2, p. 141.
480. Curtis, Michael. *Anti-Semitism in the Contemporary World*. Reviewed by Grubach, Paul. Summer, 1989; Vol. 9, No. 2, p. 233.
481. Gabler, Neal. *An Empire of Their Own: How the Jews invented Hollywood*. Reviewed by Wikoff, Jack. Summer, 1989; Vol. 9, No. 2, p. 243.
482. Leuchter, Fred A. Jr. "The Leuchter Report: The how and the why." Summer, 1989; Vol. 9, No. 2, p. 133.
483. Martin, James J. "George Morgenstern, 1906-1988." Summer, 1989; Vol. 9, No. 2, p. 247.
484. Mattogno, Carlo. "The first gassing at Auschwitz: Genesis of a myth." Summer, 1989; Vol. 9, No. 2, p. 193.
485. Miki, Hideo. "Thoughts on a military history of the occupation of Japan." Summer, 1989; Vol. 9, No. 2, p. 177.

486. O'Keefe, Theodore J. "From the editor." Summer, 1989; Vol. 9, No. 2, p. 132.
487. Rokach, Livia. *Israel's Sacred Terrorism*. Reviewed by Grimstad, William. Summer, 1989; Vol. 9, No. 2, p. 223.

Vol. 9, no. 3 (Fall 1989)

488. Buckey, Evan Burr. *Hitler's Hometown: Linz Austria*. Reviewed by Ries, John M. Fall, 1989; Vol. 9, No. 3, p. 380.
489. Fernandez-Armesto, Felipe. *The Spanish Armada*. Reviewed by Hawkins, James. Fall, 1989; Vol. 9, No. 3, p. 363.
490. Herzstein, Robert. *Roosevelt and Hitler*. Reviewed by Clive, Robert. Fall, 1989; Vol. 9, No. 3, p. 357.
491. Irving, David. "Churchill and U.S. entry into World War II." Fall, 1989; Vol. 9, No. 3, p. 261.
492. Keegan, John. *The Second World War*. Reviewed by Ward, Arthur S. Fall, 1989; Vol. 9, No. 3, p. 360.
493. Kubek, Anthony. "The Morgenthau plan and the problem of policy perversion." Fall, 1989; Vol. 9, No. 3, p. 287.
494. Marchetti, Victor. "Propaganda and disinformation (How the CIA manufactures history)." Fall, 1989; Vol. 9, No. 3, p. 305.
495. Mayer, Arno J. *Why Did the Heavens Not Darken? The 'Final Solution' in history*. Reviewed by Butz, Arthur R. Fall, 1989; Vol. 9, No. 3, p. 361.
496. Mayer, Arno J. *Why Did the Heavens Not Darken? The 'Final Solution' in history*. Reviewed by Faurisson, Robert. Fall, 1989; Vol. 9, No. 3, p. 375.
497. O'Keefe, Theodore J. "From the editor." Fall, 1989; Vol. 9, No. 3, p. 260.
498. Otten, Herman. "Christianity, truth, and fantasy." Fall, 1989; Vol. 9, No. 3, p. 321.
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Vol. 9, no. 4 (Winter 1989)

500. Berben, Paul. *Dachau: 1933-1945, The Official History*. Reviewed by Cobden, John. Winter, 1989; Vol. 9, No. 4, p. 485.
501. Halow, Joseph. "Innocent in Dachau: The trial and punishment of Franz Kofler et al." Winter, 1989; Vol. 9, No. 4, p. 453.
502. Irving, David. *Göring: A biography*. Reviewed by Adams, Henry M. Winter, 1989; Vol. 9, No. 4, p. 505.
503. O'Keefe, Theodore J. "From the editor." Winter, 1989; Vol. 9, No. 4, p. 388.
504. Rost van Tonningen, F. "For Holland and for Europe: The life and death of Dr. M.M. Rost van Tonningen." Winter, 1989; Vol. 9, No. 4, p. 427.
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506. Weber, Mark. "Simon Wiesenthal: Bogus 'Nazi hunter'." Winter, 1989; Vol. 9, No. 4, p. 439.

Volume 10 (1990)

Vol. 10, no. 1 (Spring 1990)

507. Davies, Ray (British Broadcasting Corporation). *Sacrifice at Pearl Harbor*. Reviewed by Grimstad, William. Spring, 1990; Vol. 10, No. 1, p. 85.
508. Eknes, Enrique Aynat. "A visit to Auschwitz." Spring, 1990; Vol. 10, No. 1, p. 99.

509. Fussell, Paul. *War Time: Understanding and behavior in the Second World War*. Reviewed by Martin, James J. Spring, 1990; Vol. 10, No. 1, p. 59.
510. Grimstad, William. "Autopsying the Communist cadaver." Spring, 1990; Vol. 10, No. 1, p. 59.
511. Kaufman, Jonathan. *Broken Alliance: The turbulent times between blacks and Jews in America*. Reviewed by Grubach, Paul. Spring, 1990; Vol. 10, No. 1, p. 91.
512. Kohchi, Akira. *Why I Survived the A-Bomb*. Reviewed by Jackson, Thomas. Spring, 1990; Vol. 10, No. 1, p. 81.
513. Mattogno, Carlo. "Auschwitz: A case of plagiarism." Spring, 1990; Vol. 10, No. 1, p. 5.
514. Mattogno, Carlo. "Two false testimonies from Auschwitz." Spring, 1990; Vol. 10, No. 1, p. 25.
515. Nawratil, Heinz. "A 'diatribe' in honor of Dr. Alfred Schickel." Spring, 1990; Vol. 10, No. 1, p. 118.
516. O'Keefe, Theodore J. "From the editor." Spring, 1990; Vol. 10, No. 1, p. 4.
517. Schoeman, Stephanie. "A interview with General Otto Ernst Remer." Spring, 1990; Vol. 10, No. 1, p. 108.
518. Weber, Mark. "Alois Brunner talks about his past." Spring, 1990; Vol. 10, No. 1, p. 123.

Vol. 10, no. 2 (Summer 1990)

519. Bacque, James. *Other Losses*. Reviewed by Ward, Arthur S. Summer, 1990; Vol. 10, No. 2, p. 227.
520. Barnett, Correlli, editor. *Hitler's Generals*. Reviewed by Clive, Robert. Summer, 1990; Vol. 10, No. 2, p. 248.
521. Brech, Martin. "A U.S. prison guard's story (In 'Eisenhower's death camps': Part I)." Summer, 1990; Vol. 10, No. 2, p. 161.
522. de Zayas, Alfred M. *The Wehrmacht War Crimes Bureau*. Reviewed by Clive, Robert. Summer, 1990; Vol. 10, No. 2, p. 237.
523. Dibert, A. "Our established religion." Summer, 1990; Vol. 10, No. 2, p. 211.
524. Faurisson, Robert. "A revised preface to *Auschwitz: A judge looks at the evidence*." Summer, 1990; Vol. 10, No. 2, p. 187.
525. Heide, Hans von der. "From the Allied camps to the revisionist camp (In 'Eisenhower's death camps': Part I)." Summer, 1990; Vol. 10, No. 2, p. 177.
526. Keegan, John. *The Price of Admiralty: The evolution of naval warfare*. Reviewed by Hawkins, James. Summer, 1990; Vol. 10, No. 2, p. 251.
527. Koch, H. W. *Aspects of the Third Reich*. Reviewed by Weber, Charles E. Summer, 1990; Vol. 10, No. 2, p. 242.
528. Laska, Werner. "In a U.S. death camp — 1945 (In 'Eisenhower's death camps': Part I)." Summer, 1990; Vol. 10, No. 2, p. 166.
529. Martin, James J. "Other days, other ways: American book censorship 1918-1945." Summer, 1990; Vol. 10, No. 2, p. 133.
530. Nordling, Carl. "The Jewish establishment under Nazi threat and domination 1938-1945." Summer, 1990; Vol. 10, No. 2, p. 195.
531. O'Keefe, Theodore J. "From the editor." Summer, 1990; Vol. 10, No. 2, p. 132.
532. Pressac, Jean-Claude. *Auschwitz: Technique and operation of the gas chambers*. Reviewed by Weber, Mark. Summer, 1990; Vol. 10, No. 2, p. 231(7).
533. Roques, Henri. *The 'Confessions' of Kurt Gerstein*. Reviewed by Dibert, A. Summer, 1990; Vol. 10, No. 2, p. 223.
534. Williams, Robert H. "The end of the Romanoffs." Summer, 1990; Vol. 10, No. 2, p. 149.

535. Yockey, Francis Parker. "On propaganda in America." Summer, 1990; Vol. 10, No. 2, p. 143.

Vol. 10, no. 3 (Fall 1990)

536. "The Notin affair." Fall, 1990; Vol. 10, No. 3, p. 367.
537. Benson, Ivor. "Russia 1917-1918: A key to the riddle of an age of conflict." Fall, 1990; Vol. 10, No. 3, p. 323.
538. Leuchter, Fred A. Jr.; Faurisson, Robert. "The second Leuchter report." Fall, 1990; Vol. 10, No. 3, p. 261.
539. O'Keefe, Theodore J. "From the editor." Fall, 1990; Vol. 10, No. 3, p. 260.
540. Porter, Carlos W. "If you can't eat 'em, beat 'em (or, How I killed thousands with my bare hands)." Fall, 1990; Vol. 10, No. 3, p. 379.
541. Roques, Henri. "How fares the Roques thesis?" Fall, 1990; Vol. 10, No. 3, p. 371.
542. Stiglich, Wilhelm. "An open letter to the president of West Germany." Fall, 1990; Vol. 10, No. 3, p. 373.

Vol. 10, no. 4 (Winter 1990)

543. Irving, David. "Battleship Auschwitz." Winter, 1990; Vol. 10, No. 4, p. 490.
544. Irving, David. "Hitler's War: An introduction to the new edition." Winter, 1990; Vol. 10, No. 4, p. 389.
545. Irving, David. "The Trail of the Desert Fox: Rommel revised." Winter, 1990; Vol. 10, No. 4, p. 417.
546. Keen, Sam. *Faces of the Enemy: Reflections of the hostile imagination*. Reviewed by Wikoff, Jack. Winter, 1990; Vol. 10, No. 4, p. 487.
547. Konkin, Samuel Edward III. "The last liberal historian: A.J.P. Taylor, March 25, 1906—Sept. 7, 1990." Winter, 1990; Vol. 10, No. 4, p. 509.
548. Leuchter, Fred A. Jr. "Witch hunt in Boston." Winter, 1990; Vol. 10, No. 4, p. 453.
549. Mattogno, Carlo. "Jean-Claude Pressac and the War Refugee Board Report." Winter, 1990; Vol. 10, No. 4, p. 461.
550. O'Keefe, Theodore J. "From the editor." Winter, 1990; Vol. 10, No. 4, p. 388.
551. Weber, Mark. "Reviewing a year of progress." Winter, 1990; Vol. 10, No. 4, p. 439.

Volume 11 (1991)

Vol. 11, no. 1 (Spring 1991)

552. Goodrick-Clarke, Nicholas. *The Occult Roots of Nazism*. Reviewed by Grimstad, William. Spring, 1991; Vol. 11, No. 1, p. 121.
553. O'Keefe, Theodore J. "From the editor." Spring, 1991; Vol. 11, No. 1, p. 4.
554. Poullada, Leon. "Major Poullada's final defense plea in the Nordhausen-Dora concentration camp case." Spring, 1991; Vol. 11, No. 1, p. 81.
555. Pressac, Jean-Claude. *Auschwitz: Technique and operation of the gas chambers* [part 1]. Reviewed by Faurisson, Robert. Spring, 1991; Vol. 11, No. 1, p. 25(42).
556. Toland, John. "Living history." Spring, 1991; Vol. 11, No. 1, p. 5.
557. Weber, Mark. "Tell-tale documents & photos from Auschwitz." Spring, 1991; Vol. 11, No. 1, p. 67(14).

Vol. 11, no. 2 (Summer 1991)

558. "An official Polish report on the Auschwitz 'gas chambers'." Summer, 1991; Vol. 11, No. 2, p. 207.
559. Butz, Arthur R. "A brief introduction to Holocaust re-

visionism." Summer, 1991; Vol. 11, No. 2, p. 251.

560. Eknes, Enrique Aynat. "Neither trace nor proof: The seven Auschwitz 'gassing' sites." Summer, 1991; Vol. 11, No. 2, p. 177(30).
561. Faurisson, Robert. "A request for additional information on the myth of the 'gassing' of the Serbs in the First World War." Summer, 1991; Vol. 11, No. 2, p. 254.
562. Loftus, Elizabeth; Ketcham, Katherine. *Witness for the Defense*. Reviewed by Cobden, John. Summer, 1991; Vol. 11, No. 2, p. 238.
563. O'Keefe, Theodore J. "From the editor." Summer, 1991; Vol. 11, No. 2, p. 132.
564. Pressac, Jean-Claude. *Auschwitz: Technique and operation of the gas chambers* [part 2]. Reviewed by Faurisson, Robert. Summer, 1991; Vol. 11, No. 2, p. 133(43).
565. Radnitz, Robert, producer. *Never Forget* [movie]. Reviewed by Marcellus, Thomas J. Summer, 1991; Vol. 11, No. 2, p. 229.
566. Weber, Mark. "Jewish soap." Summer, 1991; Vol. 11, No. 2, p. 217.

Vol. 11, no. 3 (Fall 1991)

567. Almog, Shmuel. *Nationalism & Antisemitism in Modern Europe 1815-1945*. Reviewed by Kerr, Frederick. Fall, 1991; Vol. 11, No. 3, p. 345.
568. Bennett, John. "Revisionism and censorship down under." Fall, 1991; Vol. 11, No. 3, p. 365.
569. Collins, Doug. "Reflections on the Second World War, free speech, and revisionism." Fall, 1991; Vol. 11, No. 3, p. 321.
570. Desjardins, Dan. "The murder of Rudolf Hess: A call for a congressional investigation." Fall, 1991; Vol. 11, No. 3, p. 360.
571. Eknes, Enrique Aynat. "Auschwitz and the exile government of Poland according to the 'Polish Fortnightly Review' 1940-1945." Fall, 1991; Vol. 11, No. 3, p. 281.
572. Fleming, Gerald, Emeritus reader in German (Department of Linguistic and International Studies, University of Surrey). *Damning Documentary Evidence?* [Letter to the editor]. Response by Weber, Mark. Fall, 1991; Vol. 11, No. 3, p. 375.
573. Lang, R. Clarence. "Swedish professors defend revisionism on trial." Fall, 1991; Vol. 11, No. 3, p. 371.
574. Martin, David. *The Web of Disinformation: Churchill's Yugoslav Blunder*. Reviewed by Clive, Robert. Fall, 1991; Vol. 11, No. 3, p. 348.
575. Nordling, Carl. "How many Jews died in the German concentration camps?" Fall, 1991; Vol. 11, No. 3, p. 335.
576. O'Keefe, Theodore J. "From the editor." Fall, 1991; Vol. 11, No. 3, p. 260.
577. Renk, Brian. "The Franke-Gricksch 'Resettlement Action Report': Anatomy of a fabrication." Fall, 1991; Vol. 11, No. 3, p. 261.
578. Weber, Mark. "A prominent Holocaust historian wrestles with a rising revisionism." Fall, 1991; Vol. 11, No. 3, p. 353.

Vol. 11, no. 4 (Winter 1991)

579. "Mercy for Japs: Letters from Yank." Winter, 1991; Vol. 11, No. 4, p. 491.
580. Hottelet, Carl. "Holocaust education: Cui bono?" Winter, 1991; Vol. 11, No. 4, p. 500.
581. Lenski, Robert. *The Holocaust on Trial*. Reviewed by Weber, Mark. Winter, 1991; Vol. 11, No. 4, p. 469.
582. Lutton, Charles. "Pearl Harbor: Fifty years of controversy." Winter, 1991; Vol. 11, No. 4, p. 431.

583. Manion, Clarence. "In interview with Admiral Kimmel." Winter, 1991; Vol. 11, No. 4, p. 495.
584. O'Keefe, Theodore J. "From the editor." Winter, 1991; Vol. 11, No. 4, p. 388.
585. Taylor, Samuel Jared. *Stalin's Apologist, Walter Duranty: The New York Times' man in Moscow*. Reviewed by Wikoff, Jack. Winter, 1991; Vol. 11, No. 4, p. 479.
586. Weber, Mark. "Roosevelt's secret pre-war plan to bomb Japan." Winter, 1991; Vol. 11, No. 4, p. 503.
587. Wesslerle, Andreas R. "The new world disorder." Winter, 1991; Vol. 11, No. 4, p. 389.

Volume 12 (1992)

Vol. 12, no. 1 (Spring 1992)

588. "Hoover-era American plan for war against Britain and Canada uncovered." Spring, 1992; Vol. 12, No. 1, p. 121.
589. Dershowitz, Alan. *Chutzpah*. Reviewed by Cobden, John. Spring, 1992; Vol. 12, No. 1, p. 109.
590. Faurisson, Robert. "A dry chronicle of the purge." Spring, 1992; Vol. 12, No. 1, p. 5.
591. Fischer, David Hackett. *Albion's Seed: Four British folkways in America*. Reviewed by Rosit, Nelson. Spring, 1992; Vol. 12, No. 1, p. 114.
592. Lindbergh, Charles A. "War and peace: Two historic speeches." Spring, 1992; Vol. 12, No. 1, p. 87.
593. O'Keefe, Theodore J. "Why Holocaust revisionism?" Spring, 1992; Vol. 12, No. 1, p. 99.
594. Rassinier, Paul. "The Holocaust in perspective." Spring, 1992; Vol. 12, No. 1, p. 123.
595. Stolley, Roger. "Pearl Harbor attack no surprise." Spring, 1992; Vol. 12, No. 1, p. 119.
596. Tojo, Hideki. "Prison diary." Spring, 1992; Vol. 12, No. 1, p. 31.
597. Weber, Mark. "Editorial note." Spring, 1992; Vol. 12, No. 1, p. 4.

Vol. 12, no. 2 (Summer 1992)

598. "War atrocity propaganda exposed." Summer, 1992; Vol. 12, No. 2, p. 243.
599. Dan, Jaromir. "Remembering Auschwitz." Summer, 1992; Vol. 12, No. 2, p. 247.
600. Ellis, Mark. *Beyond Innocence and Redemption*. Reviewed by Countess, Robert H. Summer, 1992; Vol. 12, No. 2, p. 215.
601. Grubach, Paul. "A double standard." Summer, 1992; Vol. 12, No. 2, p. 248.
602. Martin, James J. "Reflections on a death." Summer, 1992; Vol. 12, No. 2, p. 251.
603. McLaren, John. "'Pappy' Boyington and the 'Flying Tigers' episode." Summer, 1992; Vol. 12, No. 2, p. 245.
604. Muirden, Geoff. "New threat against free speech in Australia." Summer, 1992; Vol. 12, No. 2, p. 245.
605. Stofberg, Louis. "The Holocaust issue in changing South Africa." Summer, 1992; Vol. 12, No. 2, p. 246.
606. Taylor, Samuel Jared. "The challenge of 'multiculturalism' in how Americans view the past and the future." Summer, 1992; Vol. 12, No. 2, p. 159.
607. Wahls, Hans. "The fate of an Auschwitz resistant." Summer, 1992; Vol. 12, No. 2, p. 248.
608. Weber, Mark. "Croatia's president rejects 'six million' story." Summer, 1992; Vol. 12, No. 2, p. 241.
609. Weber, Mark. "From the editor." Summer, 1992; Vol. 12, No. 2, p. 132.

610. Weber, Mark. "The Nuremberg trials and the Holocaust." Summer, 1992; Vol. 12, No. 2, p. 167.
611. Weber, Mark. "Reviews of IHR books show greater acceptance of revisionism." Summer, 1992; Vol. 12, No. 2, p. 231.
612. Weber, Mark. "War atrocity propaganda exposed." Summer, 1992; Vol. 12, No. 2, p. 243.
613. Weber, Mark; Allen, Andrew. "Treblinka." Summer, 1992; Vol. 12, No. 2, p. 133.

Vol. 12, no. 3 (Fall 1992)

614. Degrelle, Leon. "How Hitler consolidated power in Germany and launched a social revolution." Fall, 1992; Vol. 12, No. 3, p. 299.
615. Ries, John M. "History's greatest naval disaster." Fall, 1992; Vol. 12, No. 3, p. 371.
616. Weber, Mark. "From the editor." Fall, 1992; Vol. 12, No. 3, p. 260.
617. Weber, Mark. "Pages from the Auschwitz Death Registry volumes." Fall, 1992; Vol. 12, No. 3, p. 265.

Vol. 12, no. 4 (Winter 1992)

618. Franz-Willing, Georg. *Umerziehung*. Reviewed by Granata, Russ; O'Keefe, Theodore J. Winter, 1992; Vol. 12, No. 4, p. 493.
619. Grubach, Paul. "The Leuchter Report vindicated." Winter, 1992; Vol. 12, No. 4, p. 445.
620. Leuchter, Fred A. Jr. "Is there life after persecution?" Winter, 1992; Vol. 12, No. 4, p. 429.
621. Lüftl, Walter. "The Lüftl Report." Winter, 1992; Vol. 12, No. 4, p. 391.
622. Shapiro, Shelly (Holocaust Survivors & Friends in Pursuit of Justice). *Truth Prevails: Demolishing Holocaust denial (the end of the Leuchter Report)*. Reviewed by Weber, Mark. Winter, 1992; Vol. 12, No. 4, p. 485.
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Volume 13 (1993)

Vol. 13, no. 1 (Jan./Feb. 1993)

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Vol. 13, no. 2 (Mar./Apr. 1993)

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Vol. 13, no. 3 (May/Jun. 1993)

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660. Weber, Mark. "Irving barred from Australia." May/June, 1993; Vol. 13, No. 3, p. 13.
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Vol. 13, no. 4 (Jul./Aug. 1993)

664. "A bit worried." July/August, 1993; Vol. 13, No. 4, p. 46.
665. "Danger of racist subjectivism." July/August, 1993; Vol. 13, No. 4, p. 46.
666. "'Democracy?'" July/August, 1993; Vol. 13, No. 4, p. 47.
667. "Epic struggle." July/August, 1993; Vol. 13, No. 4, p. 47.
668. "Neither of the right nor of the left." July/August, 1993; Vol. 13, No. 4, p. 46.
669. "Open mind on Holocaust." July/August, 1993; Vol. 13, No. 4, p. 47.
670. "War-time internment." July/August, 1993; Vol. 13, No. 4, p. 47.
671. "Word for word." July/August, 1993; Vol. 13, No. 4, p. 47.
672. "Work appreciated." July/August, 1993; Vol. 13, No. 4, p. 47.
673. "Work appreciated." July/August, 1993; Vol. 13, No. 4, p. 47.
674. "Work appreciated." July/August, 1993; Vol. 13, No. 4, p. 47.
675. "Work appreciated." July/August, 1993; Vol. 13, No. 4, p. 47.
676. "Work appreciated." July/August, 1993; Vol. 13, No. 4, p. 47.
677. "Work appreciated." July/August, 1993; Vol. 13, No. 4, p. 47.
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681. Hess, Rudolf. "July 1934 appeal to fellow soldiers of the First World War." July/August, 1993; Vol. 13, No. 4, p. 38.
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Vol. 13, no. 5 (Sep./Oct. 1993)

694. "Barbarian western notion." September/October, 1993; Vol. 13, No. 5, p. 46.
695. "Defining moment." September/October, 1993; Vol. 13, No. 5, p. 46.
696. "Devotion appreciated." September/October, 1993; Vol. 13, No. 5, p. 47.
697. "Genocide against indians." September/October, 1993; Vol. 13, No. 5, p. 48.
698. "Good diversity." September/October, 1993; Vol. 13, No. 5, p. 46.
699. "Good ammunition." September/October, 1993; Vol. 13, No. 5, p. 47.
700. "Hess, Churchill, Irving." September/October, 1993; Vol. 13, No. 5, p. 46.
701. "Little hope." September/October, 1993; Vol. 13, No. 5, p. 47.
702. "New historians' associated needed?." September/October, 1993; Vol. 13, No. 5, p. 46.
703. "Origins of Christianity." September/October, 1993; Vol. 13, No. 5, p. 48.
704. "Origins of Christianity." September/October, 1993; Vol. 13, No. 5, p. 48.
705. "Plans put on hold." September/October, 1993; Vol. 13, No. 5, p. 46.
706. "Prefers old format." September/October, 1993; Vol. 13, No. 5, p. 48.
707. "A salute." September/October, 1993; Vol. 13, No. 5, p. 48.
708. "Splendid speech." September/October, 1993; Vol. 13, No. 5, p. 47.
709. "Takes issue." September/October, 1993; Vol. 13, No. 5, p. 47.
710. "Time has come." September/October, 1993; Vol. 13, No. 5, p. 48.
711. Artemis, G. "Patriarchal distortion." September/October, 1993; Vol. 13, No. 5, p. 47.
712. Backwords, Ace. "ADL on the defensive." September/October, 1993; Vol. 13, No. 5, p. 47.
713. Faurisson, Robert. "The adventure of revisionism." September/October, 1993; Vol. 13, No. 5, p. 42.
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715. Lilienthal, Alfred M. "The Holocaust issue and Middle East policy." September/October, 1993; Vol. 13, No. 5, p. 44.
716. Martinez, Mary Ball. "Pope Pius XII during the Second World War." September/October, 1993; Vol. 13, No. 5, p. 26.
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718. Moynihan, Daniel Patrick. "Who reads the *Journal*?." September/October, 1993; Vol. 13, No. 5, p. 38.
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Vol. 13, no. 6 (Nov./Dec. 1993)

730. Bauer, Yehuda. "Symbol of our culture." November/December, 1993; Vol. 13, No. 6, p. 27.
731. Bennett, John. "Lipstadt's 'fine scholarship'." November/December, 1993; Vol. 13, No. 6, p. 47.
732. Brentar, Jerome A. "My campaign for justice for John Demjanjuk." November/December, 1993; Vol. 13, No. 6, p. 2.
733. Brookes, Frank. "Maintain standards." November/December, 1993; Vol. 13, No. 6, p. 49.
734. Collins, Doug. "The story keeps changing." November/December, 1993; Vol. 13, No. 6, p. 10.
735. Forster, Arnold. *Square One*. Reviewed by Cobden, John. November/December, 1993; Vol. 13, No. 6, p. 32.
736. Gubic, Marijan. "Tudjman and Holocaust revisionism." November/December, 1993; Vol. 13, No. 6, p. 49.
737. John, Robert. "Praise for docudrama portrayal." November/December, 1993; Vol. 13, No. 6, p. 49.
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746. Stern, Kenneth S. (American Jewish Committee). *Holocaust Denial*. Reviewed by O'Keefe, Theodore J. November/December, 1993; Vol. 13, No. 6, p. 28.
747. Stofberg, L. F. "No hardship." November/December, 1993; Vol. 13, No. 6, p. 47.
748. Toner, Edward J. Jr. "A whopper?" November/December, 1993; Vol. 13, No. 6, p. 47.
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752. Weber, Mark. "Fred Leuchter arrested in Germany." November/December, 1993; Vol. 13, No. 6, p. 22.
753. Weber, Mark. "Hellmut Diwald, German professor." November/December, 1993; Vol. 13, No. 6, p. 16.
754. Weber, Mark. "Holocaust lies: Bergen-Belsen gasings." November/December, 1993; Vol. 13, No. 6, p. 24.
755. Weber, Mark. "How an influential journalist twists the truth." November/December, 1993; Vol. 13, No. 6, p. 18.
756. Weber, Mark. "IHR activist puts Cole video on local television." November/December, 1993; Vol. 13, No. 6, p. 23.
757. Weber, Mark. "Sarajevo worse than Auschwitz, says former inmate." November/December, 1993; Vol. 13, No. 6, p. 24.
758. Weber, Mark. "Smith steps up CODOH ad campaign." November/December, 1993; Vol. 13, No. 6, p. 22.
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Topics

- Atrocities**
6, 36, 65, 67, 69, 113, 119, 140, 211, 330, 338, 363, 471, 519, 521, 525, 528, 590
- Auschwitz**
59, 87, 206, 231, 352, 484, 508, 513, 514, 557, 558, 560, 571, 599, 607, 617, 640, 645
- Camps**
5, 53, 80, 81, 86, 93, 157, 258, 404, 422, 439, 451, 500, 501, 560, 569, 571, 577, 613, 640, 645, 661, 662, 663, 754, 757
- Censorship**
10, 98, 101, 102, 167, 170, 231, 350, 360, 387, 435, 475, 529, 536, 541, 543, 548, 568, 569, 573, 578, 604, 620, 627, 631, 649, 651, 653, 656, 657, 659, 660, 666, 678, 680, 686, 687, 689, 690, 691, 715, 725, 728, 729, 743, 752
- Communism**
139, 234, 238, 285, 364, 370, 425, 438, 510, 534, 537, 585
- Documents**
7, 156, 212, 284, 337, 341, 381, 390, 461, 469, 533, 541, 549, 571, 577, 596, 641, 721
- Editorials**
12, 38, 57, 78, 110, 122, 143, 161, 172, 185, 197, 202, 208, 222, 232, 334, 356, 386, 432, 444, 457, 463, 477, 486, 497, 503, 516, 531, 539, 550, 553, 563, 576, 584, 597, 609, 616, 625, 634, 650, 658, 687, 724
- Gas chambers and crematories**
4, 20, 21, 41, 80, 97, 106, 115, 116, 130, 157, 206, 223, 257, 385, 390, 451, 482, 484, 532, 533, 538, 541, 555, 558, 560, 561, 564, 572, 578, 619, 621, 622, 626, 640, 645
- Historiography**
3, 8, 35, 68, 129, 131, 134, 146, 190, 225, 277, 283, 296, 311, 335, 358, 396, 408, 556, 593, 606, 611, 623, 665, 671, 684, 688, 689, 694, 698, 702, 711, 713, 728, 739, 744, 746, 749, 751, 759
- Holocaust**
1, 2, 22, 23, 25, 32, 42, 48, 49, 66, 73, 75, 80, 105, 152, 162, 163, 168, 177, 178, 179, 182, 189, 192, 194, 195, 204, 210, 237, 259, 265, 266, 323, 324, 345, 362, 372, 373, 376, 378, 379, 380, 388, 395, 396, 399, 400, 405, 415, 419, 421, 426, 429, 430, 436, 442, 448, 452, 455, 459, 464, 474, 495, 496, 523, 524, 530, 543, 559, 562, 566, 569, 575, 580, 594, 605, 608, 635, 663, 664, 667, 669, 679, 686, 688, 692, 701, 714, 716, 719, 720, 721, 722, 726, 734, 754
- Judaica**
30, 37, 39, 47, 58, 66, 88, 90, 91, 98, 114, 125, 186, 238, 316, 335, 367, 419, 441, 449, 468, 480, 481, 567, 578, 589, 600, 601, 637, 648, 693, 712, 735
- Letters**
13, 14, 19, 28, 31, 33, 39, 44, 46, 50, 51, 52, 54, 55, 56, 58, 60, 61, 71, 72, 74, 76, 79, 82, 85, 90, 91, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 107, 108, 113, 114, 118, 119, 120, 121, 123, 124, 125, 127, 132, 136, 137, 138, 140, 141, 142, 145, 146, 147, 151, 153, 154, 155, 157, 158, 163, 165, 166, 168, 177, 178, 179, 181, 183, 448, 462, 542, 599, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 607, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 684, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 721, 731, 733, 736, 737, 740, 747, 748, 760

Middle East
62, 64, 191, 359, 377, 402, 456,
487, 639, 644, 715

Miscellaneous
13, 14, 16, 18, 19, 28, 31, 33, 44,
46, 50, 51, 52, 53, 60, 71, 72, 78,
84, 95, 96, 99, 100, 103, 104, 107,
108, 111, 112, 124, 133, 150, 159,
171, 174, 205, 229, 230, 256, 261,
264, 271, 275, 292, 294, 307, 318,
325, 329, 331, 336, 366, 375, 383,
392, 394, 397, 406, 407, 410, 412,
414, 416, 417, 434, 453, 454, 462,
476, 479, 489, 526, 527, 542, 551,
591, 695, 700, 718, 723, 730, 738,
741, 742, 750, 755, 756, 758

Personalities, Allied
9, 34, 201, 221, 304, 418, 439, 443,
445, 467, 490, 491, 521, 525, 574,
583, 586, 603, 655

Personalities, Axis
34, 70, 148, 164, 193, 209, 213,
224, 227, 228, 233, 236, 239, 240,
241, 244, 245, 251, 254, 255, 263,
269, 270, 276, 279, 280, 281, 284,
287, 290, 291, 295, 298, 299, 302,
305, 309, 310, 313, 314, 317, 326,
328, 337, 339, 340, 341, 344, 345,
347, 348, 358, 361, 371, 413, 424,
433, 440, 465, 488, 490, 502, 504,
515, 517, 518, 520, 545, 570, 577,
596, 614, 628, 636, 641, 653

Personalities, other
102, 109, 126, 180, 235, 236, 252,
288, 293, 308, 322, 333, 369, 401,
403, 409, 446, 506, 572, 578, 602,
654, 753

Personalities, revisionist
167, 170, 173, 306, 332, 399, 460,
470, 483, 547, 569, 572, 578, 581,
620, 624, 627, 629, 631, 633, 649,
651, 658, 659, 660

Politics
63, 199, 243, 245, 247, 249, 250,
268, 269, 273, 274, 289, 300, 312,
315, 319, 320, 321, 333, 342, 346,
423, 472, 552, 587, 614

Propaganda
11, 15, 26, 29, 43, 77, 330, 338,
427, 450, 494, 535, 546, 598, 612,
618, 727

Race, culture, and religion
24, 160, 213, 321, 347, 354, 382,
384, 431, 479, 498, 623, 642, 643,
646, 652, 665, 668, 684, 697, 703,
704, 709, 714, 716, 717, 760

Reviews
3, 8, 15, 16, 17, 18, 22, 23, 24, 27,
30, 32, 34, 36, 37, 40, 42, 45, 47,
48, 49, 64, 67, 68, 69, 70, 73, 80,
117, 133, 134, 135, 139, 148, 149,
167, 170, 186, 188, 189, 190, 193,
194, 196, 198, 204, 205, 207, 224,
226, 229, 230, 234, 239, 240, 241,
242, 243, 244, 245, 247, 248, 249,
250, 251, 253, 254, 255, 256, 258,

259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 266,
267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 274,
275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281,
282, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289,
290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 297,
298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 305, 308,
309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315,
316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 324,
325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331,
336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342,
343, 344, 346, 347, 348, 353, 359,
361, 362, 363, 365, 366, 368, 369,
372, 373, 382, 383, 390, 392, 397,
398, 402, 405, 407, 409, 410, 411,
412, 414, 416, 417, 421, 424, 427,
429, 430, 434, 436, 438, 439, 440,
445, 446, 447, 450, 453, 456, 458,
468, 472, 478, 480, 481, 487, 488,
489, 490, 492, 495, 496, 499, 502,
507, 509, 511, 512, 519, 520, 522,
526, 527, 532, 533, 546, 549, 552,
555, 562, 564, 565, 567, 574, 581,
585, 589, 591, 600, 618, 622, 639,
644, 646, 731, 735, 739, 744, 746,
749, 759

Trials
27, 89, 94, 128, 147, 148, 196, 206,
248, 262, 340, 343, 349, 352, 353,
360, 365, 391, 437, 460, 478, 499,
501, 505, 522, 540, 554, 565, 581,
610, 627, 632, 647, 685, 691, 724,
732, 745

United States
88, 93, 144, 188, 246, 273, 351,
391, 401, 402, 404, 420, 481, 511,
535, 588, 630, 637, 638, 648, 664,
679, 682, 687, 692, 697, 717, 726,
760

World War I and inter-war
92, 198, 253, 260, 267, 278, 301,
327, 335, 351, 367, 398, 458, 592,
681

World War II and cold war
17, 40, 45, 83, 117, 127, 135, 149,
169, 175, 176, 184, 187, 200, 201,
203, 207, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218,
219, 220, 221, 226, 242, 272, 278,
282, 286, 297, 303, 351, 355, 357,
363, 368, 374, 389, 393, 404, 411,
428, 445, 447, 449, 461, 466, 473,
485, 491, 492, 493, 507, 509, 512,
544, 579, 582, 583, 586, 595, 596,
603, 615, 670, 683, 693, 705

Authors

Abrams, Alan
382

Adams, Henry M.
424, 502

Adams, Phillip
656

Adams, Robin K.
424

Allen, Andrew
613

Alman, Karl
239, 240

Almog, Shmuel
567

Alpern, Sara
33

Andronesco, Serban C.
152, 163, 179

Anonymous
164

App, Austin
1

Armstrong, Mason
54

Artemis, G.
711

Aschenauer, Rudolf
241, 242

Ash, James K.
74

Atelier, Robert
402

Aycoberry, Pierre
243

Backwords, Ace
712

Bacon, Isabelle
639

Bacque, James
519

Bailey, Thomas
34

Barnes, Harry Elmer
8, 9, 35, 129, 188

Barnes, James
244

Barnes, Patience
244

Barnett, Correlli
520

Bauer, Yehuda
204, 730

Baumhaft, Joe
55

Baxter, David
349

Beck, Philip
36, 112, 113

Beesly, Patrick
383

Bendersky, Joseph
245

Bennett, John
10, 75, 350, 568, 731

Bensman, Marvin
76

Benson, Ivor
384, 479, 537

Berben, Paul
500

Berg, Friedrich Paul
223, 385, 459

Berger, Elmer
37

Berkel, Robert Karl
386

- Berkis, Alexander
425
- Black, Gregory D.
427
- Black, Robert C.
391
- Bliss, Robert M.
56
- Borra, Ranjan
180
- Botha, Rederick
165
- Bradescu, Faust
394
- Brandon, Lewis
8, 11, 12, 15, 16, 17, 18, 22, 23, 24,
27, 30, 32, 36, 37, 38, 40, 42, 47,
48, 49, 57, 67, 73, 77, 78, 95, 96,
97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104,
105
- Braun, Karl Otto
246, 351
- Brech, Martin
521
- Brecht, Karl
499
- Brentar, Jerome A.
732
- Brookes, Frank
733
- Brown, Robert
369
- Buchner, Reinhard K.
106, 130
- Buck, Gerhard
224
- Buck, Pitman Jr.
181
- Buckey, Evan Burr
488
- Buhle, Paul
438
- Butz, Arthur R.
2, 13, 14, 68, 107, 167, 170, 182,
323, 412, 495, 559
- Carto, Willis A.
131, 225
- Cassels, Alan
247
- Chaim, Bezalel
39, 58, 64, 70, 108, 114, 132, 134,
135, 153, 183
- Chapman, Robert J.
358
- Chomsky, Noam
359, 387
- Christophersen, Thies
352
- Clark, Barbara B.
154
- Clarke, Thurston
133
- Clerkin, Donald V.
166
- Clive, Robert
490, 520, 522, 574
- Cobden, John
500, 562, 589, 735
- Cohen, Bernard
446
- Cohn-Bendit, Jean-Gabriel
167
- Cole, David
640
- Collins, Doug
569, 627, 734
- Connors, Michael
15
- Conot, Robert E.
248
- Conway, John
399
- Corners, George F. II
168
- Costello, John
169
- Countess, Robert H.
440, 600
- Curtis, Michael
480
- Dan, Jaromir
599
- Davies, Ray
507
- Dawidowicz, Lucy
134
- De Felice, Renzo
249, 250
- de Zayas, Alfred M.
16, 522
- Degrelle, Leon
184, 614
- Dennis, Lawrence
353
- Dershowitz, Alan
589
- Deschner, Günther
251
- Desjardins, Dan
400, 570
- Dibert, A.
523, 533
- DiCenzo, R.J.
79
- Dickson, Sam
401
- Diwald, Hellmut
3, 252
- Dobson, Christopher
40
- Doenecke, Justus
135
- Dolot, Miron
392
- Donat, Alexander
80
- Dornberg, John
253
- Dower, John W.
411
- Drechsler, Robert
254, 255
- Drinnon, Richard
439
- Dudley, W.E.
155
- Dyer, George C.
445
- Egerton, Douglas R.
678
- Eggleston, George
17
- Eisenberg, Azriel
189, 373
- Eisner, Jack
412
- Eknes, Enrique Aynat
451, 508, 560, 571
- Elliott, Mark R.
226
- Ellis, Mark
600
- Emry, Sheldon
136
- Ennes, James
18
- Evert, Hans-Jürgen
256
- Farquharson, John
277
- Faurisson, Robert
4, 19, 20, 87, 115, 116, 156, 170,
257, 360, 388, 413, 426, 429, 452,
460, 469, 470, 496, 524, 538, 555,
561, 564, 590, 679, 680, 713
- Feig, Konnilyn
258
- Felderer, Ditlieb
5, 21, 25, 41, 59
- Felderer, Thomas J.
157
- Fénelon, Fania
42
- Ferencz, Benjamin
22
- Fernandez-Armesto, Felipe
489
- Fischer, David Hackett
591
- Fischer, R.H.
137
- FitzGibbon, Louis
6, 43
- Fleming, Gerald
259, 572
- Forster, Arnold
735
- Franklin, Thomas
440
- Franz-Willing, Georg
260, 261, 389, 424, 618
- Friedrich, Leonhard
81
- Fritzsche, Hildegard
262
- Fulton, Maureen
82
- Fussell, Paul

509	Harwood, Richard	291
Gabler, Neal	25	Jordan, Rudolf
481	Hasegawa, Michiko	227
Galante, Pierre	374	Kalvoda, Josef
263	Hastings, Max	139
Gerke, Hermann A.	45, 272	Kanold, Otto
138	Hattenhauer, Darryl	26
Giesler, Hermann	273	Kaufman, Jonathan
264	Hawkins, James	511
Gilbert, Martin	489, 526	Keegan, John
23, 190	Heide, Hans von der	492, 526
Gleason, K.C.	118, 525	Keen, Sam
265	Hendry, T.D.	546
Gold, David	148	Kehl, Horst
44	Herzstein, Robert	80
Gollert, Friedrich	274, 490	Kehr, Helen
414	Hess, Ilse	292
Goodrick-Clarke, Nicholas	193	Kent, Tyler
552	Hess, Rudolf	201
Gordon, Sarah	193, 681	Kerr, Frederick
266	Hess, Wolf R.	567
Göring, Hermann	628	Ketcham, Katherine
267	Hesseltine, William B.	562
Granata, Russ	471	King, Robert
261, 618, 714	Hessen, Robert	738
Gray, Andrew	275	Kish, George
685	Heston, Leonard	293
Greaves, Percy L. Jr.	276	Klett, Ronald
169, 175, 176, 214, 215, 216, 217,	Heston, Renate	158, 228, 462
218, 219, 220	276	Cluever, Max
Green, Stephen	Hiden, John	294
402	277	Kluge, Dankwart
Gregor, A. James	Hillgruber, Andreas	205
268, 269	278	Knightley, Phillip
Grieb, Conrad	Hitler, Adolf	453
24	279, 461	Knox, MacGregor
Grimstad, William	Hoffman, Michael A. II	295
487, 507, 510, 552	375, 376	Koch, H.W.
Grubach, Paul	Hoffman, Peter	527
441, 480, 511, 601, 619	280	Kohchi, Akira
Gubic, Marijan	Hoggan, David	512
736	200, 354	Konkin, Samuel Edward III
Hadawi, Sami	Hottelet, Carl	62, 159, 308, 410, 438, 547
191	580	Koppes, Clayton R.
Hagen, John Holte	Hummel, Jeffrey	427
60, 61	404	Koshar, Rudy
Hagtvet, Bernt	Infield, Glenn	472
300	281, 282	Kubek, Anthony
Hall, Robert A., Jr.	Irving, David	493
390, 398, 403, 415	283, 284, 285, 286, 491, 502, 543,	Kuesters, Elisabeth
Halow, Joseph	544, 545, 629, 641	296
501	Irwin, Thomas	Kurowski, Franz
Halsell, Grace	171	297
416	Jackson, Thomas	Landwehr, Richard
Hamilton, Charles	512	83, 119, 140
270	Jaeckel, Eberhard	Lane, Terry
Hankins, Frank	287	656
192	Jameson, Fredric	Lang, Jochen von
Hansen, Desmond	288	298, 299, 361
109	Joes, Anthony James	Lang, R. Clarence
Harbison, Robert	289, 290	414, 428, 473, 474, 573
271	John, Robert	Langford, Edward
Harmon, Nicholas	377, 639, 644, 737	642
117	Johnson, Edward	Langmaid, Janet
Harris, Robert	416	292
417	Jones, Sydney	Lanzmann, Claude

- 429, 430
Lapides, Fred
46
Laqueur, Walter
194
Larsen, Stein Ugelvik
300
Larson, Martin A.
160, 431, 630, 643
Laska, Werner
528
Lawson, Richard
63
Lebailly, Jacques
454
Ledeen, Michael
301
Lenski, Robert
581
Leuchter, Fred A. Jr.
482, 538, 548, 620
Levy, Primo
362
Lilienthal, Alfred M.
88, 715
Lindbergh, Charles A.
592
Lindsey, William B.
206, 362
Lipstadt, Deborah
739
Loftus, Elizabeth
562
Luedde-Neurath, Walter
302
Lüftl, Walter
621
Lutton, Charles
45, 69, 117, 149, 207, 226, 234,
272, 285, 286, 303, 304, 363, 366,
368, 582
MacDonough, H.R.
141
Maiolin, Ezio M.
120
Manion, Clarence
583
Manning, Paul
305
Marcellus, Thomas J.
34, 110, 121, 122, 142, 143, 161,
172, 185, 306, 475, 565
Marchetti, Victor
494
Martin, David
574
Martin, James J.
84, 144, 173, 188, 221, 307, 308,
370, 453, 483, 509, 529, 602
Martin, Neil
760
Martinez, Mary Ball
716
Maser, Werner
27
Mattogno, Carlo
390, 442, 455, 484, 513, 514, 549
Mayer, Arno J.
495, 496
McDavitt, George
123
McKale, Donald
309
McKee, Alexander
363
McLaren, John
603
Meissner, Hans-Otto
310
Menuhin, Moshe
47
Merriam, Ray
89
Merson, Martin
443, 445
Miki, Hideo
485
Miller, John
40
Mirchuk, Petro
48
Morgan, Robert
717
Moroz, Valentyn
364
Morris, Warren
311
Mosse, George
312
Moynihan, Daniel Patrick
718
Muirden, Geoff
476, 604, 740
Müller, Filip
49
Myklebust, Jan Peter
300
Nakhleh, Issah
174, 644
Nawratil, Heinz
515
Nicosia, Francis R.
456
Nomberg-Przytyk, Sara
405
Nordling, Carl
530, 575
O'Keefe, Peter
85
O'Keefe, Theodore J.
361, 365, 382, 405, 418, 419, 430,
432, 436, 444, 457, 463, 464, 477,
478, 486, 497, 503, 516, 531, 539,
550, 553, 563, 576, 584, 593, 618,
657, 739, 744, 746
Oppenheimer, Peter H.
393, 406
Otten, Herman
498, 719
Oven, Wilfred von
313
Padfield, Peter
314
Page, Bruce
28
Pavel, Ion
229
Payne, Ronald
40
Payne, Stanley
315
Peel, Peter H.
420
Phillips, John
407
Pitamitz, Antonio
116
Ponsonby, Arthur
29
Porter, Carlos W.
478, 499, 540
Poullada, Leon
554
Prager, Dennis
316
Prange, Gordon W.
175
Pressac, Jean-Claude
532, 555, 564
Pryce-Jones, David
207
Radnitz, Robert
565
Rassinier, Paul
124, 594
Raven, Greg
631, 645, 655, 662, 663, 683, 741,
742, 743
Reilly, Janet
421
Reitlinger, Gerald
317
Remer, Otto Ernst
433, 434
Renk, Brian
577
Rhodes, James
318
Richardson, James O.
445
Ries, John M.
446, 456, 458, 472, 488, 615, 682
Riggenbach, Jeff
409
Roberts, David D.
319
Robinson, R.A.H.
320
Rokach, Livia
487
Rollins, L.A.
186, 189, 190, 194, 195, 204, 316,
353, 359, 369, 373, 378, 379
Ronnett, Alexander E.
394
Roques, Henri
435, 533, 541
Rosenberg, Alfred

- 321
 Rosenzweig, Luc
 446
 Rosit, Nelson
 591
 Ross, Sandra
 90
 Rost van Tonningen, F.
 504
 Row, Robert
 322
 Rubenstein, W.D.
 323
 Ryan, Alan
 365
 Ryan, Paul
 34
 Saggs, H.W.F.
 366
 Sakkara, Michele
 230
 Sanning, Walter
 323, 324, 355
 Schaulen, Joachim von
 325
 Schmidt, Matthias
 326
 Schoeman, Stephanie
 517
 Schonfeld, Moshe
 30, 64
 Schuldes, W.K.F.
 139
 Schwartz, Alan M.
 744
 Seleshko, M.
 65
 Shapiro, Shelly
 622
 Shaw, Warren
 683
 Shirer, William
 327
 Silberstein, W.R.
 133
 Smith, Bradley R.
 395, 436, 623
 Smith, Dennis Mack
 328
 Smith, Dennis Nayland
 447
 Smith, Paul G.
 145
 Smith, Wayland D.
 91, 146, 193, 196
 Sobran, Joseph
 720, 745
 Soucy, Robert
 329
 Southworth, Herbert
 330
 Speer, Albert
 331
 Spiegelman, Art
 421
 St. George, Maximilian
 353
 Stäglich, Wilhelm
 111, 231, 396, 437, 542
 Stanwood, Charles
 646
 Stein, Howard F.
 66, 125
 Stern, Kenneth S.
 746
 Sterner, Theodore G., Jr.
 147
 Stewart, John
 67
 Stimely, Keith
 197, 202, 208, 222, 224, 230, 232,
 233, 237, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243,
 244, 245, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251,
 253, 254, 255, 256, 258, 259, 260,
 262, 263, 264, 266, 267, 268, 269,
 270, 271, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278,
 279, 280, 281, 282, 284, 287, 288,
 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295,
 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 305,
 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 315, 317,
 318, 319, 320, 321, 324, 325, 326,
 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333,
 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340,
 341, 342, 343, 344, 346, 347, 348
 Stofberg, L.F.
 747
 Stofberg, Louis
 605
 Stolley, Roger
 595
 Strang, John P.
 439
 Strutz, Henry
 148, 340
 Stuart, Karen
 50
 Sündermann, Helmut
 336
 Taylor, Fred
 337
 Taylor, James
 683
 Taylor, Samuel Jared
 585, 606, 646, 684
 Taylor, Telford
 685
 Telushkin, Joseph
 316
 Thadden, Adolf von
 338
 Thion, Serge
 68
 Thomas, Hugh
 339
 Thompson, H. Keith
 148, 209, 314, 340, 407, 417, 434
 Thorwald, Jürgen
 149
 Tojo, Hideki
 596
 Toland, John
 176, 556
 Tolstoy, Nikolai
 69, 234
 Toner, Edward J. Jr.
 748
 Topitsch, Ernst
 447
 Treadway, John D.
 397
 Trevor-Roper, Hugh
 341, 721
 Tucker, William
 70
 Turner, Henry A. Jr.
 342, 458
 Tusa, Anne
 343
 Tusa, John
 343
 Unger, Michael
 344
 Unterberger, Betty
 51
 U.-Ziechmann, W.K. von
 397
 Vernon, Eric
 52
 Verrall, Richard
 31
 Vezelis, Louis
 722
 Vidal-Naquet, Pierre
 749
 Vincent, C. Paul
 398
 Volkman, Ernest
 186
 Wahls, Hans
 607
 Wainwright, Peter
 92
 Waldheim, Kurt
 723
 Walendy, Udo
 7
 Ward, Arthur S.
 383, 392, 492, 519
 Weber, Charles E.
 3, 71, 162, 468, 527
 Weber, Mark
 26, 53, 72, 86, 93, 126, 150, 177,
 178, 198, 203, 205, 210, 211, 212,
 229, 235, 236, 237, 345, 356, 357,
 371, 372, 380, 381, 408, 422, 448,
 449, 465, 466, 467, 505, 506, 518,
 532, 551, 557, 566, 572, 578, 581,
 586, 597, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612,
 613, 616, 617, 622, 624, 625, 626,
 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638,
 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653,
 654, 655, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662,
 663, 680, 682, 683, 686, 687, 688,
 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 724, 725,
 726, 727, 728, 729, 749, 750, 751,
 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758,
 759
 Weckert, Ingrid

West, W.J.
409
Westwood, J.N.
368, 410
Whisker, James B.
199, 213, 238, 346, 347
Wicks, L.E.
151

Wiesel, Elie
32
Wikoff, Jack
411, 427, 450, 481, 546, 585
Williams, Robert H.
534
Wistrich, Robert
348

Wyman, David S.
372
Wytwycky, Bohdan
73
Yockey, Francis Parker
535
Zeman, Zbynek
450

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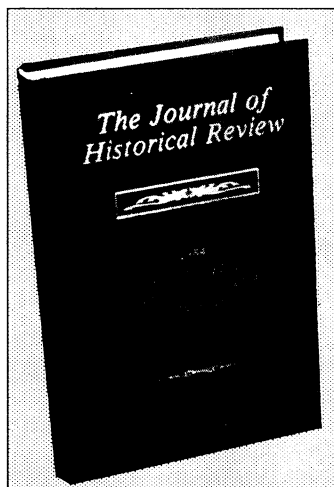
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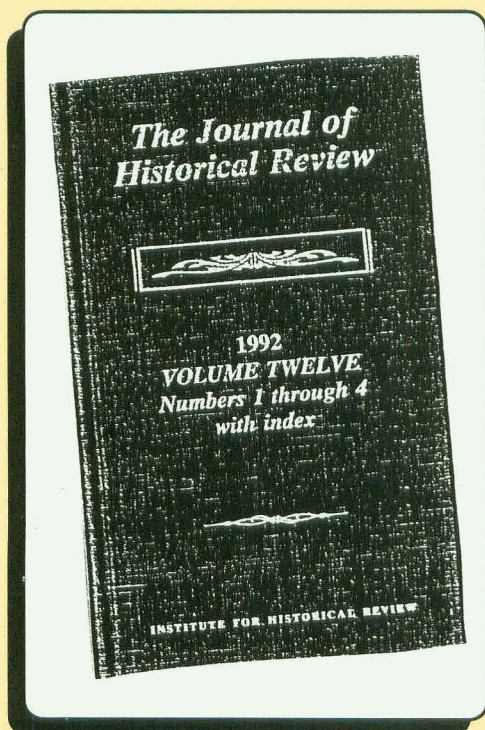
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