The Journal of Historical Review

Volume Fourteen, Number 1 January / February, 1994

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Mark Weber

Germany's Imposed History: A Conversation with Prof. Nolte
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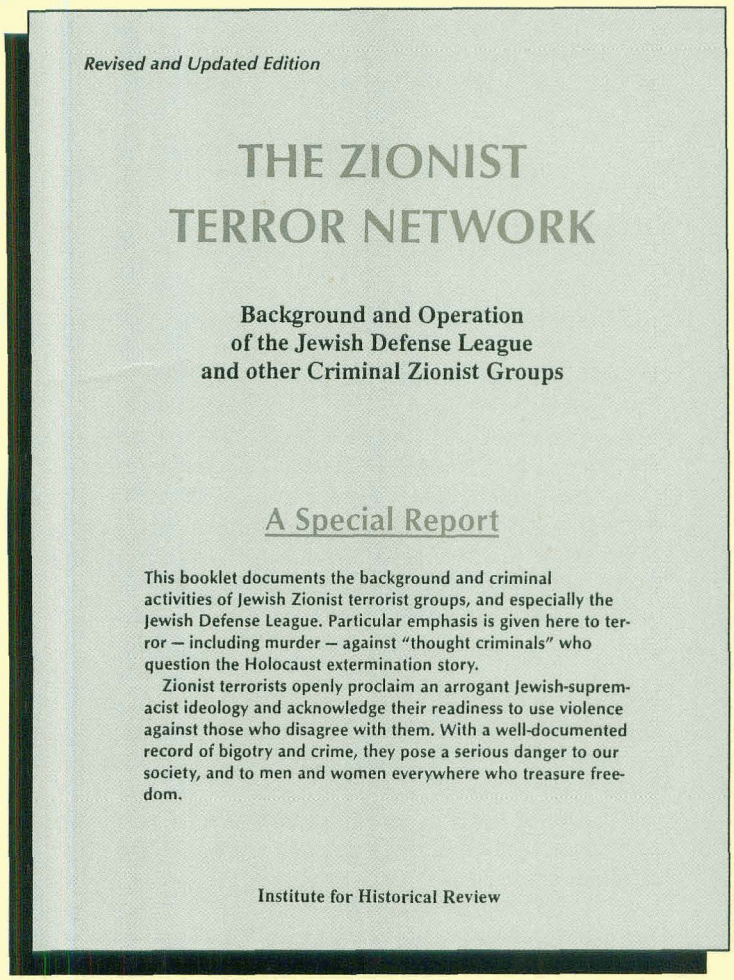

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Background and Operation of the Jewish Defense League and other Criminal Zionist Groups

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The Zionist Terror Network

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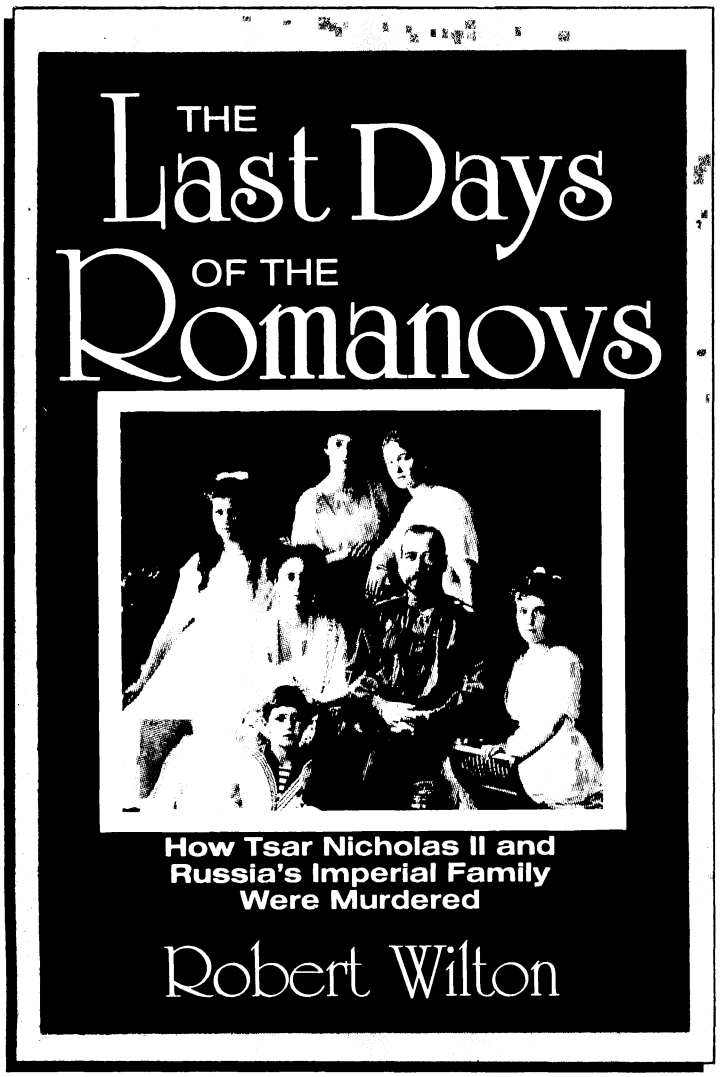

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The Journal of Historical Review

Volume 14, Number 1 January / February 1994

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On the Cover: The Russian Imperial Family. Left to Right: Olga, Marie, Nicholas, Alexandra, Anastasia, Alexis and Tatiana.

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. *The Journal of Historical Review* is published six times yearly by the **Institute for Historical Review,** P.O. Box 4296, Torrance, CA 90510, USA. Subscription price: $40 per year, $65 for two years, and $90 for three years. For foreign subscriptions, add $10 per year. For overseas airmail delivery, add $30 per year. Remittances for subscriptions must be payable in US dollars drawable on a US bank.

Single issues — Spring 1986 (Volume 7) to the present — are available for sale for $7.50 each, plus $1.05 shipping. Back issues of the *Journal* are also available for purchase in hardbound annual volumes for the years 1984, 1985, 1986, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991 and 1992, for $35.00 each. Please write for our booklist and prices. Quantity subscription and bulk issue rates are available upon request.

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From the Editor

MARK WEBER

Just as the historic handshake between Israeli premier Rabin and Palestinian leader Arafat on September 13 was all but unthinkable just a few months earlier, some of what has recently been appearing about the IHR and this *Journal* in prominent newspapers and magazines would have been unthinkable a year or two ago.

One or two swallows does not a Spring make. Still, the snow and ice of historical bigotry show signs of melting just a bit under the sunshine of facts and awareness. Along with the usual stream of hateful media coverage of the IHR and those who support us, gratifying indications of our growing impact have also been appearing.

Revisionist arguments, and this *Journal*, are given respectful consideration in a lengthy article about Auschwitz, "Evidence of Evil," in the November 15 issue of the prestigious weekly *New Yorker* magazine. In general, writer Timothy Ryback reports factually on the arguments of Holocaust revisionists. The persuasive videotape of Jewish revisionist David Cole (who addressed the 1992 IHR Conference) is discussed at some length, and Cole is accurately quoted. Ryback even accurately identifies and quotes me (on the often dubious nature of Holocaust survivor testimony).

Contrary to what the world has been told for decades, Ryback acknowledges, solid evidence of extermination at Auschwitz has proven just about impossible to find. "In the blueprints, construction documents and work orders that trace the construction and subsequent use of these [Auschwitz] buildings [where prisoners were allegedly gassed], which are now housed in Auschwitz Museum archives, there is not a single explicit reference to the use of gas chambers or Zyklon B for homicidal purposes."

Ryback also concedes that the crematorium and supposed "gas chamber" at the Auschwitz I main camp — which is displayed to tourists as an extermination facility in its "original" condition — is "indeed a 'reconstruction'." Still, he remains unconvinced of key revisionist arguments, and cites what he regards as compelling evidence of mass extermination by gas at Auschwitz.

First, there are the piles of human hair that are on permanent display for the tourists who visit Auschwitz. For decades, writes Ryback, this hair "has continued to bear witness." "There is nothing that speaks louder against the Nazi crimes than this hair," contends Ernest Michel, a wartime Jewish inmate of Auschwitz quoted by Ryback. The "human hair at Auschwitz," says Michel, is "the strongest evidence of what happened to us." (True enough, but not in the way that Michel and Ryback believe.)

Ryback makes quite a point of the fact (well-known for decades) that "traces of cyanide" were found in samples of the hair tested in 1945. This must mean, he suggests, that the hair was cut from the bodies of victims dragged from gas chambers.

Actually, this collected human hair is evidence of something quite different. As even prominent Holocaust historians have acknowledged, when prisoners arrived at the camp, their hair was normally cut very short as a part of a routine procedure against the spread of disease. The cut hair was then treated with Zyklon to kill typhus-bearing lice, which is why hydrogen cyanide was found in the samples analyzed in 1945. (See the Winter 1992-93 *Journal*, p. 484.)

Secondly, Ryback makes much of the recently-published — and much-ballyhooed — book by French pharmacist Jean-Claude Pressac, who provides "irrefutable proof" that Jews were gassed at Auschwitz. (For a brief, preliminary response to Pressac's new book, see Dr. Faurisson's essay in this issue of the *Journal*.)

"Historical revisionism is in the air these days," reports the December 1993 issue of *Vanity Fair*, an opulent New York monthly jam-packed with ads for expensive perfumes and other luxuries. In an essay on the growing impact of historical revisionism, British-born contributing editor Christopher Hitchens takes note, for example, of the recent assault against the reputation of Winston Churchill by the youthful British historian John Charmley. (For more on this, see the March-April 1993 *Journal*.)

Most eyebrow-raising, though, is what Hitchens has to say about the Holocaust story. On prominent display at the new US Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, DC, he notes, is a short signed statement by Auschwitz commandant Rudolf Höss, who "confesses" that, under his command, "two million Jews were put to death by gassing, and about one-half million by other means."

Citing a *Journal* article by Robert Faurisson

("How the British Obtained the Confession of Rudolf Höss," Winter 1986-87), and confused responses by prominent Holocaust historians Deborah Lipstadt and Christopher Browning, Hitchens concludes that, on this matter anyway, the revisionists are right. The Höss "confession" is not only factually wrong on key points, it was obtained by torture.

"An important piece of evidence in the Holocaust Memorial is not reliable," he informs readers.

Hitchens winds up his essay by quoting Nigel Hamilton, author of *JFK: Reckless Youth*, a disrespectful book about John Kennedy: "What was once considered revisionism is now considered biblical. And the revisionism endeavor is something that every generation must embark upon, whether it's the Holocaust or any other subject." Amen.

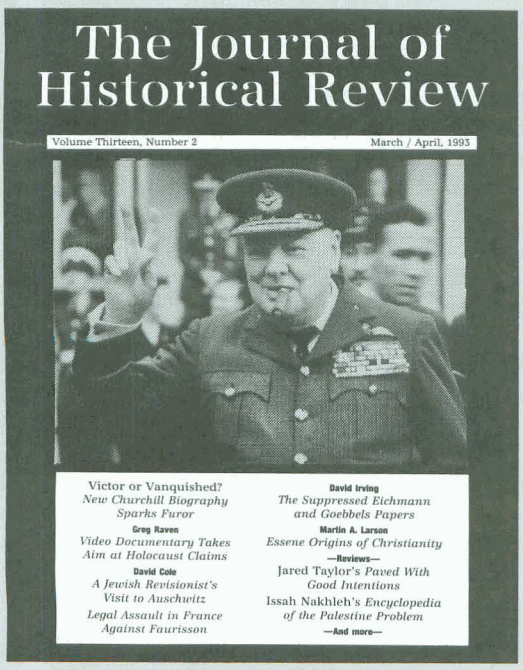
A rather sensational article in the Denver *Rocky Mountain News*, June 15, headlined "Denying the Holocaust," tells readers that:

> Once dismissed as anti-Semitic kooks, their [Revisionist] movement is taking on a frighteningly legitimate veneer, with slick-paper magazines, "scholarly" conventions, full-page newspaper ads and smooth-talking leaders. Their persona is the non-emotional skeptic raising unpopular but legitimate questions.

The Institute for Historical Review, *News* staff writer Rebecca Jones goes on to report, is a "California-based group around which much of the Holocaust revisionism movement revolves." (About me she writes: "When you talk to him, he's calm and rational. He doesn't sound spiteful or evil, just professional.") Accompanying Jones' article is a "For More Information" section that mentions several IHR books, along with the IHR address.

In the November 1993 issue of the leftist Boston monthly *Z Magazine*, writer Edward Herman takes aim at the recent anti-revisionist books of Deborah Lipstadt and Pierre Vidal-Naquet (which are reviewed in the Nov.-Dec. 1993 *Journal*). While betraying no sympathy for (or even understanding of) the arguments of Holocaust revisionists, Herman nevertheless finds Lipstadt and Vidal-Naquet "dishonest" and guilty of "falsifying evidence" and "falsification of history." Claiming to see a hidden motive behind the media attacks against revisionists, Herman goes on to write: "In explaining the periodic surges of attention to the deniers [that's

(Cont. on page 48)



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Behind the Murder of Russia's Imperial Family

The Jewish Role in the Bolshevik Revolution and Russia's Early Soviet Regime

Assessing the Grim Legacy of Soviet Communism

Mark Weber

In the night of July 16-17, 1918, a squad of Bolshevik secret police murdered Russia's last emperor, Tsar Nicholas II, along with his wife, Tsaritsa Alexandra, their 14-year-old son, Tsarevich Alexis, and their four daughters. They were cut down in a hail of gunfire in a half-cellar room of the house in Ekaterinburg, a city in the Ural mountain region, where they were being held prisoner. The daughters were finished off with bayonets. To prevent a cult for the dead Tsar, the bodies were carted away to the countryside and hastily buried in a secret grave.

Nicholas II and family shortly before the outbreak of the First World War. At his side, Empress Alexandra. The daughters, from left to right: Marie, Tatiana, Olga and Anastasia. In front, Tsarevich Alexis.

Bolshevik authorities at first reported that the Romanov emperor had been shot after the discovery of a plot to liberate him. For some time the deaths of the Empress and the children were kept secret. Soviet historians claimed for many years that local Bolsheviks had acted on their own in carrying out the killings, and that Lenin, founder of the Soviet state, had nothing to do with the crime.

In 1990, Moscow playwright and historian Edvard Radzinsky announced the result of his detailed investigation into the murders. He unearthed the reminiscences of Lenin's bodyguard, Alexei Akimov, who recounted how he personally delivered Lenin's execution order to the telegraph office. The telegram was also signed by Soviet government chief Yakov Sverdlov. Akimov had saved the original telegraph tape as a record of the secret order.[1]

Radzinsky's research confirmed what earlier evidence had already indicated. Leon Trotsky — one of Lenin's closest colleagues — had revealed years earlier that Lenin and Sverdlov had together made the decision to put the Tsar and his family to death. Recalling a conversation in 1918, Trotsky wrote:[2]

> My next visit to Moscow took place after the [temporary] fall of Ekaterinburg [to anti-Communist forces]. Speaking with Sverdlov, I asked in passing: "Oh yes, and where is the Tsar?"
>
> "Finished," he replied. "He has been shot."
>
> "And where is the family?"
>
> "The family along with him."
>
> "All of them?," I asked, apparently with a trace of surprise.
>
> "All of them," replied Sverdlov. "What about it?" He was waiting to see my reaction. I made no reply.
>
> "And who made the decision?," I asked.
>
> "We decided it here. Ilyich [Lenin] believed that we shouldn't leave the Whites a live banner to rally around, especially under the present difficult circumstances."
>
> I asked no further questions and considered the matter closed.

Recent research and investigation by Radzinsky and others also corroborates the account provided years earlier by Robert Wilton, correspondent of the London *Times* in Russia for 17 years. His account, *The Last Days of the Romanovs* — originally published in 1920, and recently reissued by the Institute for Historical Review — is based in large part on the findings of a detailed investigation carried

out in 1919 by Nikolai Sokolov under the authority of "White" (anti-Communist) leader Alexander Kolchak. Wilton's book remains one of the most accurate and complete accounts of the murder of Russia's imperial family.[3]

A solid understanding of history has long been the best guide to comprehending the present and anticipating the future. Accordingly, people are most interested in historical questions during times of crisis, when the future seems most uncertain. With the collapse of Communist rule in the Soviet Union, 1989-1991, and as Russians struggle to build a new order on the ruins of the old, historical issues have become very topical. For example, many ask: How did the Bolsheviks, a small movement guided by the teachings of German-Jewish social philosopher Karl Marx, succeed in taking control of Russia and imposing a cruel and despotic regime on its people?

Russian troops in the Galicia province surrender in mass to Austro-Hungarian forces, summer 1917. Within a year after the outbreak of war, nearly four million Russian soldiers had been killed, wounded, or taken prisoner. By mid-1917, discipline in the Russian armies had virtually collapsed. Thousands of soldiers deserted, while many of those who remained at the front often refused to fight or obey orders.

In recent years, Jews around the world have been voicing anxious concern over the specter of anti-Semitism in the lands of the former Soviet Union. In this new and uncertain era, we are told, suppressed feelings of hatred and rage against Jews are once again being expressed. According to one public opinion survey conducted in 1991, for example, most Russians wanted all Jews to leave the country.[4] But precisely why is anti-Jewish sentiment so widespread among the peoples of the former Soviet Union? Why do so many Russians, Ukrainians, Lithuanians and others blame "the Jews" for so much misfortune?

A Taboo Subject

Although officially Jews have never made up more than five percent of the country's total population,[5] they played a highly disproportionate and probably decisive role in the infant Bolshevik regime, effectively dominating the Soviet government during its early years. Soviet historians, along with most of their colleagues in the West, for decades preferred to ignore this subject. The facts, though, cannot be denied.

With the notable exception of Lenin (Vladimir Ulyanov), most of the leading Communists who took control of Russia in 1917-20 were Jews. Leon Trotsky (Lev Bronstein) headed the Red Army and, for a time, was chief of Soviet foreign affairs. Yakov Sverdlov (Solomon) was both the Bolshevik party's executive secretary and — as chairman of the Central Executive Committee — head of the Soviet government. Grigori Zinoviev (Radomyslsky) headed the Communist International (Comintern), the central agency for spreading revolution in foreign countries. Other prominent Jews included press commissar Karl Radek (Sobelsohn), foreign affairs commissar Maxim Litvinov (Wallach), Lev Kamenev (Rosenfeld) and Moisei Uritsky.[6]

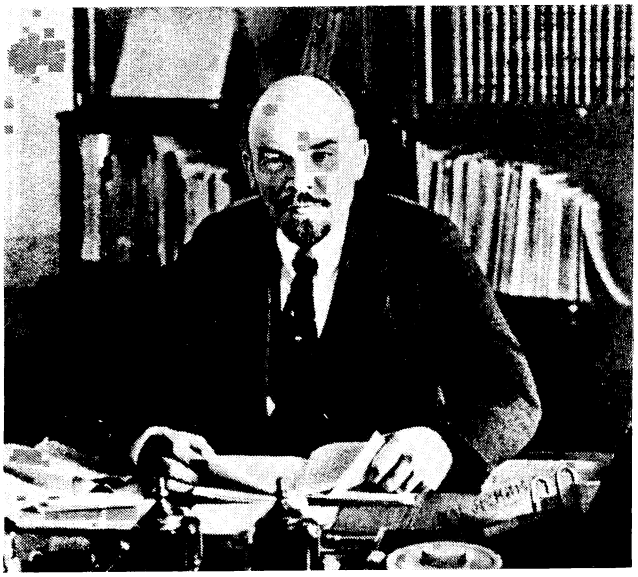
Bolshevik troops storm the Winter Palace in St. Petersburg, headquarters of the provisional government, November 7, 1917.

Lenin himself was of mostly Russian and Kalmuck ancestry, but he was also one-quarter Jewish. His maternal grandfather, Israel (Alexander) Blank, was a Ukrainian Jew who was later baptized into the Russian Orthodox Church.[7]

A thorough-going internationalist, Lenin viewed ethnic or cultural loyalties with contempt. He had little regard for his own countrymen. "An intelligent Russian," he once remarked, "is almost always a Jew or someone with Jewish blood in his veins."[8]

Critical Meetings

In the Communist seizure of power in Russia, the Jewish role was probably critical.



Lenin in his office in the Kremlin, 1918.

Two weeks prior to the Bolshevik "October Revolution" of 1917, Lenin convened a top secret meeting in St. Petersburg (Petrograd) at which the key leaders of the Bolshevik party's Central Committee made the fateful decision to seize power in a violent takeover. Of the twelve persons who took part in this decisive gathering, there were four Russians (including Lenin), one Georgian (Stalin), one Pole (Dzerzhinsky), and six Jews.[9]

To direct the takeover, a seven-man "Political Bureau" was chosen. It consisted of two Russians (Lenin and Bubnov), one Georgian (Stalin), and four Jews (Trotsky, Sokolnikov, Zinoviev, and Kamenev).[10] Meanwhile, the Petersburg (Petrograd) Soviet — whose chairman was Trotsky — established an 18-member "Military Revolutionary Committee" to actually carry out the seizure of power. It included eight (or nine) Russians, one Ukrainian, one Pole, one Caucasian, and six Jews.[11] Finally, to supervise the organization of the uprising, the Bolshevik Central Committee established a five-man "Revolutionary Military Center" as the Party's operations command. It consisted of one Russian (Bubnov), one Georgian (Stalin), one Pole (Dzerzhinsky), and two Jews (Sverdlov and Uritsky).[12]

Contemporary Voices of Warning

Well-informed observers, both inside and outside of Russia, took note at the time of the crucial Jewish role in Bolshevism. Winston Churchill, for one, warned in an article published in the February 8, 1920, issue of the London *Illustrated Sunday Herald* that Bolshevism is a "worldwide conspiracy for the overthrow of civilization and for the reconstitution of society on the basis of arrested development, of envious malevolence, and impossible equality." The eminent British political leader and historian went on to write:[13]

> There is no need to exaggerate the part played in the creation of Bolshevism and in the actual bringing about of the Russian Revolution by these international and for the most part atheistical Jews. It is certainly a very great one; it probably outweighs all others. With the notable exception of Lenin, the majority of the leading figures are Jews.
>
> Moreover, the principal inspiration and driving power comes from the Jewish leaders. Thus Tchitcherin, a pure Russian, is eclipsed by his nominal subordinate, Litvinoff, and the influence of Russians like Bukharin or Lunacharski cannot be compared with the power of Trotsky, or of Zinovieff, the Dictator of the Red Citadel (Petrograd), or of Krassin or Radek — all Jews.
>
> In the Soviet institutions the predominance of Jews is even more astonishing. And the prominent, if not indeed the principal, part in the system of terrorism applied by the Extraordinary Commissions for Combatting Counter-

Yakov Sverdlov, the first Soviet president

Revolution [the *Cheka*] has been taken by Jews, and in some notable cases by Jewesses ...

Needless to say, the most intense passions of revenge have been excited in the breasts of the Russian people.

David R. Francis, United States ambassador in Russia, warned in a January 1918 dispatch to

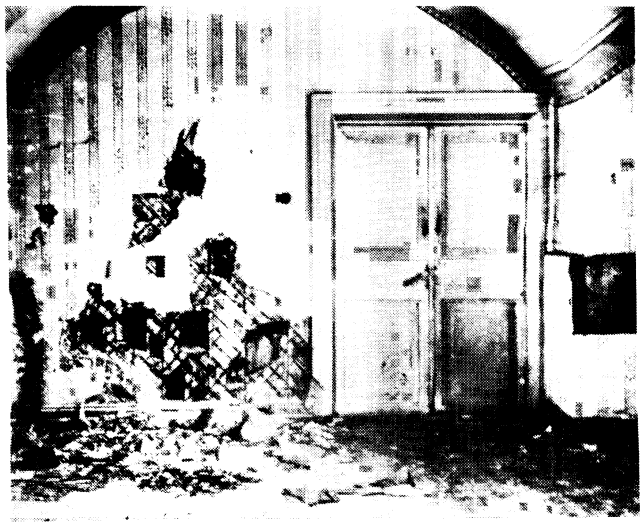
Nikolai Sokolov, center, head of the investigation commission, makes a point in the garden of the Ipatiev House. Listening are General Diterichs, seated, and M. Magnitsky, public prosecutor of the Ekaterinburg court.

Washington: "The Bolshevik leaders here, most of whom are Jews and 90 percent of whom are returned exiles, care little for Russia or any other country but are internationalists and they are trying to start a worldwide social revolution."[14]

The Netherlands' ambassador in Russia, Oudendyke, made much the same point a few months later: "Unless Bolshevism is nipped in the bud immediately, it is bound to spread in one form or another over Europe and the whole world as it is organized and worked by Jews who have no nationality, and whose one object is to destroy for their own ends the existing order of things."[15]

"The Bolshevik Revolution," declared a leading American Jewish community paper in 1920, "was largely the product of Jewish thinking, Jewish discontent, Jewish effort to reconstruct."[16]

As an expression of its radically anti-nationalist character, the fledgling Soviet government issued a decree a few months after taking power that made anti-Semitism a crime in Russia. The new Communist regime thus became the first in the world to severely punish all expressions of anti-Jewish sentiment.[17] Soviet officials apparently regarded such measures as indispensable. Based on careful observation during a lengthy stay in Russia, American-Jewish scholar Frank Golder reported in 1925 that "because so many of the Soviet leaders are Jews ... anti-Semitism is gaining [in Russia], particularly in



The half-cellar room in the Ipatiev house where the imperial family was murdered, photographed from the spot where the killers stood while firing their revolvers. The Emperor and his son sat in the center of the room. Behind them was the Empress, also seated. The other victims stood.

the army [and] among the old and new intelligentsia who are being crowded for positions by the sons of Israel."[18]

Historians' Views

Summing up the situation at that time, Israeli historian Louis Rapoport writes:[19]

> Immediately after the [Bolshevik] Revolution, many Jews were euphoric over their high representation in the new government. Lenin's first Politburo was dominated by men of Jewish origins ...
>
> Under Lenin, Jews became involved in all aspects of the Revolution, including its dirtiest work. Despite the Communists' vows to eradicate anti-Semitism, it spread rapidly after the Revolution — partly because of the prominence of so many Jews in the Soviet administration, as well as in the traumatic, inhuman Sovietization drives that followed. Historian Salo Baron has noted that an immensely disproportionate number of Jews joined the new Bolshevik secret police, the Cheka ... And many of those who fell afoul of the Cheka would be shot by Jewish investigators.

The collective leadership that emerged in Lenin's dying days was headed by the Jew Zinoviev, a loquacious, mean-spirited, curly-haired Adonis whose vanity knew no bounds.

Ipatiev House in Ekaterinburg. An arrow marks the semi-basement room where the imperial family was killed.

"Anyone who had the misfortune to fall into the hands of the Cheka," wrote Jewish historian Leonard Schapiro, "stood a very good chance of finding himself confronted with, and possibly shot by, a Jewish investigator."[20] In Ukraine, "Jews made up nearly 80 percent of the rank-and-file Cheka agents," reports W. Bruce Lincoln, an American professor of Russian history.[21] (Beginning as the *Cheka,* or *Vecheka*, the Soviet secret police was later known as the GPU, OGPU, NKVD, MVD and KGB.)

In light of all this, it should not be surprising that Yakov M. Yurovksy, the leader of the Bolshevik squad that carried out the murder of the Tsar and his family, was Jewish, as was Sverdlov, the Soviet chief who co-signed Lenin's execution order.[22]

Igor Shafarevich, a Russian mathematician of world stature, has sharply criticized the Jewish role in bringing down the Romanov monarchy and establishing Communist rule in his country. Shafarevich was a leading dissident during the final decades of Soviet rule. A prominent human rights activist, he was a founding member of the Committee on the Defense of Human Rights in the USSR.

In *Russophobia*, a book written ten years before the collapse of Communist rule, he noted that Jews were "amazingly" numerous among the personnel of the Bolshevik secret police. The characteristic Jewishness of the Bolshevik executioners, Shafarevich went on, is most conspicuous in the execution of Nicholas II:[23]

> This ritual action symbolized the end of centuries of Russian history, so that it can be compared only to the execution of Charles I in England or Louis XVI in France. It would seem that representatives of an insignificant ethnic minority should keep as far as possible from this painful action, which would reverberate in all history. Yet what names do we meet? The execution was personally overseen by Yakov Yurovsky who shot the Tsar; the president of the local Soviet was Beloborodov (Vaisbart); the person responsible for the general administration in Ekaterinburg was Shaya Goloshchekin. To round out the picture, on the wall of the room where the execution took place was a distich from a poem by Heine (written in German) about King Balthazar, who offended Jehovah and was killed for the offense.

At the site of the Ganina mine shaft, where the remains of the victims were buried. At the bottom of the shaft was a false floor, beneath which the ashes of the victims were concealed. The bodies had been cut up near the shaft and burned on two pyres, one next to this spot.

In his 1920 book, British veteran journalist Robert Wilton offered a similarly harsh assessment:[24]

> The whole record of Bolshevism in Russia is indelibly impressed with the stamp of alien invasion. The murder of the Tsar, deliberately planned by the Jew Sverdlov (who came to Russia as a paid agent of Germany) and carried out by the Jews Goloshchekin, Syromolotov, Safarov, Voikov and Yurovsky, is the act not of the Russian people, but of this hostile invader.

In the struggle for power that followed Lenin's death in 1924, Stalin emerged victorious over his rivals, eventually succeeding in putting to death nearly every one of the most prominent early Bolsheviks leaders — including Trotsky, Zinoviev, Radek, and Kamenev. With the passage of time, and particularly after 1928, the Jewish role in the top leadership of the Soviet state and its Communist

party diminished markedly.

Put To Death Without Trial

For a few months after taking power, Bolshevik leaders considered bringing "Nicholas Romanov"

Nikolai Sokolov

before a "Revolutionary Tribunal" that would publicize his "crimes against the people" before sentencing him to death. Historical precedent existed for this. Two European monarchs had lost their lives as a consequence of revolutionary upheaval: England's Charles I was beheaded in 1649, and France's Louis XVI was guillotined in 1793.

In these cases, the king was put to death after a lengthy public trial, during which he was allowed to present arguments in his defense. Nicholas II, though, was neither charged nor tried. He was secretly put to death — along with his family and staff — in the dead of night, in an act that resembled more a gangster-style massacre than a formal execution.

Why did Lenin and Sverdlov abandon plans for a show trial of the former Tsar? In Wilton's view, Nicholas and his family were murdered because the Bolshevik rulers knew quite well that they lacked genuine popular support, and rightly feared that the Russian people would never approve killing the Tsar, regardless of pretexts and legalistic formalities.

For his part, Trotsky defended the massacre as a useful and even necesssary measure. He wrote:[25]

> ... The decision [to kill the imperial family] was not only expedient but necessary. The severity of this punishment showed everyone that we would continue to fight on mercilessly, stopping at nothing. The execution of the Tsar's family was needed not only in order to frighten, horrify, and instill a sense of hopelessness in the enemy but also to shake up our own ranks, to show that there was no turning back, that ahead lay either total victory or total doom ... This Lenin sensed well.

Yakov Yurovsky

Historical Context

In the years leading up to the 1917 revolution, Jews were disproportionately represented in all of Russia's subversive leftist parties.[26] Jewish hatred of the Tsarist regime had a basis in objective conditions. Of the leading European powers of the day, imperial Russia was the most institutionally conservative and anti-Jewish. For example, Jews were normally not permitted to reside outside a large area in the west of the Empire known as the "Pale of Settlement."[27]

However understandable, and perhaps even defensible, Jewish hostility toward the imperial regime may have been, the remarkable Jewish role in the vastly more despotic Soviet regime is less easy to justify. In a recently published book about the Jews in Russia during the 20th century, Russian-born Jewish writer Sonya Margolina goes so far as to call the Jewish role in supporting the Bolshevik regime the "historic sin of the Jews."[28] She points, for example, to the prominent role of Jews as commandants of Soviet *Gulag* concentration and labor camps, and the role of Jewish Communists in the systematic destruction of Russian churches. Moreover, she goes on, "The Jews of the entire world supported Soviet power, and remained silent in the face of any criticism from the opposition." In light of this record, Margolina offers a grim prediction:

> The exaggeratedly enthusiastic participation of the Jewish Bolsheviks in the subjugation and destruction of Russia is a sin that will be avenged ... Soviet power will be equated with Jewish power, and the furious hatred against the Bolsheviks will become hatred against Jews.

If the past is any indication, it is unlikely that many Russians will seek the revenge that Mar-

golina prophecies. Anyway, to blame "the Jews" for the horrors of Communism seems no more justifiable than to blame "white people" for Negro slavery, or "the Germans" for the Second World War or "the Holocaust."

Robert Wilton

Words of Grim Portent

Nicholas and his family are only the best known of countless victims of a regime that openly proclaimed its ruthless purpose. A few weeks after the Ekaterinburg massacre, the newspaper of the fledgling Red Army declared:[29]

> Without mercy, without sparing, we will kill our enemies by the scores of hundreds, let them be thousands, let them drown themselves in their own blood. For the blood of Lenin and Uritskii ... let there be floods of blood of the bourgeoisie — more blood, as much as possible.

Grigori Zinoviev, speaking at a meeting of Communists in September 1918, effectively pronounced a death sentence on ten million human beings: "We must carry along with us 90 million out of the 100 million of Soviet Russia's inhabitants. As for the rest, we have nothing to say to them. They must be annihilated."[30]

"The Twenty Million"

As it turned out, the Soviet toll in human lives and suffering proved to be much higher than Zinoviev's murderous rhetoric suggested. Rarely, if ever, has a regime taken the lives of so many of its own people.[31]

Citing newly-available Soviet KGB documents, historian Dmitri Volkogonov, head of a special Russian parliamentary commission, recently concluded that "from 1929 to 1952 ... 21.5 million [Soviet] people were repressed. Of these a third were shot, the rest sentenced to imprisonment, where many also died."[32]

Olga Shatunovskaya, a member of the Soviet Commission of Party Control, and head of a special commission during the 1960s appointed by premier Khrushchev, has similarly concluded: "From January 1, 1935 to June 22, 1941, 19,840,000 enemies of the people were arrested. Of these, seven million were shot in prison, and a majority of the others died in camp." These figures were also found in the papers of Politburo member Anastas Mikoyan.[33]

Robert Conquest, the distinguished specialist of Soviet history, recently summed up the grim record of Soviet "repression" of it own people:[34]

> ... It is hard to avoid the conclusion that ...the post-1934 death toll was well over ten million. To this should be added the victims of the 1930-1933 famine, the kulak deportations, and other anti-peasant campaigns, amounting to another ten million plus. The total is thus in the range of what the Russians now refer to as 'The Twenty Million'."

A few other scholars have given significantly higher estimates.[35]

Grigori Zinoviev

The Tsarist Era in Retrospect

With the dramatic collapse of Soviet rule, many Russians are taking a new and more respectful look at their country's pre-Communist history, including the era of the last Romanov emperor. While the Soviets — along with many in the West — have stereotypically portrayed this era as little more than an age of arbitrary despotism, cruel suppression and mass poverty, the reality is rather different. While it is true that the power of the Tsar was absolute, that only a small minority had any significant political voice, and that the mass of the empire's citizens were peasants, it is worth noting that Russians during the reign of Nicholas II had freedom of press, religion, assembly and association, protection of private property, and free labor unions. Sworn enemies of the regime, such as Lenin, were treated with remarkable leniency.[36]

During the decades prior to the outbreak of the First World War, the Russian economy was booming. In fact, between 1890 and 1913, it was the fast-

est growing in the world. New rail lines were opened at an annual rate double that of the Soviet years. Between 1900 and 1913, iron production increased by 58 percent, while coal production more than doubled.[37] Exported Russian grain fed all of Europe. Finally, the last decades of Tsarist Russia witnessed a magnificent flowering of cultural life.

Leon Trotsky

Everything changed with the First World War, a catastrophe not only for Russia, but for the entire West.

Monarchist Sentiment

In spite of (or perhaps because of) the relentless official campaign during the entire Soviet era to stamp out every uncritical memory of the Romanovs and imperial Russia, a virtual cult of popular veneration for Nicholas II has been sweeping Russia in recent years.

People have been eagerly paying the equivalent of several hours' wages to purchase portraits of Nicholas from street vendors in Moscow, St. Petersburg and other Russian cities. His portrait now hangs in countless Russian homes and apartments. In late 1990, all 200,000 copies of a first printing of a 30-page pamphlet on the Romanovs quickly sold out. Said one street vendor: "I personally sold four thousand copies in no time at all. It's like a nuclear explosion. People really want to know about their Tsar and his family." Grass roots pro-Tsarist and monarchist organizations have sprung up in many cities.

A public opinion poll conducted in 1990 found that three out of four Soviet citizens surveyed regard the killing of the Tsar and his family as a

Lenin addresses troops in Moscow, May 1920. Trotksy is standing to the right and facing the camera. Behind him (partially obscured) is Kamenev.

despicable crime.[38] Many Russian Orthodox believers regard Nicholas as a martyr. The independent "Orthodox Church Abroad" canonized the imperial family in 1981, and the Moscow-based Russian Orthodox Church has been under popular pressure to take the same step, in spite of its long-standing reluctance to touch this official taboo. The Russian Orthodox Archbishop of Ekaterinburg announced plans in 1990 to build a grand church at the site of the killings. "The people loved Emperor Nicholas," he said. "His memory lives with the people, not as a saint but as someone executed without court verdict, unjustly, as a sufferer for his faith and for orthodoxy."[39]

On the 75th anniversary of the massacre (in July 1993), Russians recalled the life, death and legacy of their last Emperor. In Ekaterinburg, where a large white cross festooned with flowers now marks the spot where the family was killed, mourners wept as hymns were sung and prayers were said for the victims.[40]

Reflecting both popular sentiment and new social-political realities, the white, blue and red horizontal tricolor flag of Tsarist Russia was officially

adopted in 1991, replacing the red Soviet banner. And in 1993, the imperial two-headed eagle was restored as the nation's official emblem, replacing the Soviet hammer and sickle. Cities that had been

Young Russians at a recent demonstration in Moscow carry posters and portraits of the murdered Tsar Nicholas II.

re-named to honor Communist figures — such as Leningrad, Kuibyshev, Frunze, Kalinin, and Gorky — have re-acquired their Tsarist-era names. Ekaterinburg, which had been named Sverdlovsk by the Soviets in 1924 in honor of the Soviet-Jewish chief, in September 1991 restored its pre-Communist name, which honors Empress Catherine I.

Symbolic Meaning

In view of the millions that would be put to death by the Soviet rulers in the years to follow, the murder of the Romanov family might not seem of extraordinary importance. And yet, the event has deep symbolic meaning. In the apt words of Harvard University historian Richard Pipes:[41]

> The manner in which the massacre was prepared and carried out, at first denied and then justified, has something uniquely odious about it, something that radically distinguishes it from previous acts of regicide and brands it as a prelude to twentieth-century mass murder.

Another historian, Ivor Benson, characterized the killing of the Romanov family as symbolic of the tragic fate of Russia and, indeed, of the entire West, in this century of unprecedented agony and conflict.

The murder of the Tsar and his family is all the more deplorable because, whatever his failings as a monarch, Nicholas II was, by all accounts, a personally decent, generous, humane and honorable man.

The Massacre's Place in History

The mass slaughter and chaos of the First World War, and the revolutionary upheavals that swept Europe in 1917-1918, brought an end not only to the ancient Romanov dynasty in Russia, but to an entire continental social order. Swept away as well was the Hohenzollern dynasty in Germany, with its stable constitutional monarchy, and the ancient Habsburg dynasty of Austria-Hungary with its multinational central European empire. Europe's leading states shared not only the same Christian and Western cultural foundations, but most of the continent's reigning monarchs were related by blood. England's King George was, through his mother, a first cousin of Tsar Nicholas, and, through his father, a first cousin of Empress Alexandra. Germany's Kaiser Wilhelm was a first cousin of the German-born Alexandra, and a distant cousin of Nicholas.

More than was the case with the monarchies of western Europe, Russia's Tsar personally symbolized his land and nation. Thus, the murder of the last emperor of a dynasty that had ruled Russia for three centuries not only symbolically presaged the Communist mass slaughter that would claim so many Russian lives in the decades that followed, but was symbolic of the Communist effort to kill the soul and spirit of Russia itself.

Notes

1. Edvard Radzinksy, *The Last Tsar* (New York: Doubleday, 1992), pp. 327, 344-346.; Bill Keller, "Cult of the Last Czar," *The New York Times*, Nov. 21, 1990.
2. From an April 1935 entry in "Trotsky's Diary in Exile." Quoted in: Richard Pipes, *The Russian Revolution* (New York: Knopf, 1990), pp. 770, 787.; Robert K. Massie, *Nicholas and Alexandra* (New York: 1976), pp. 496-497.; E. Radzinksy, *The Last Tsar* (New York: Doubleday, 1992), pp. 325-326.; Ronald W. Clark, *Lenin* (New York: 1988), pp. 349-350.
3. On Wilton and his career in Russia, see: Phillip Knightley, *The First Casualty* (Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1976), pp. 141-142, 144-146, 151-152, 159, 162, 169, and, Anthony Summers and Tom Mangold, *The File on the Tsar* (New York: Harper & Row, 1976), pp. 102-104, 176.
4. AP dispatch from Moscow, *Toronto Star*, Sept. 26, 1991, p.

"Not Evil, But Love"

"... Father asks to have it passed on to all who have remained loyal to him and to those on whom they might have influence, that they not avenge him; he has forgiven and prays for everyone; and not to avenge themselves, but to remember that the evil which is now in the world will become yet more powerful, and that it is not evil which conquers evil, but love ..."

— Excerpt of a a letter by Grand Duchess Olga (eldest daughter of Nicholas and Alexandra), written in 1918 during exile in Tobolsk. From: *Letters of the Imperial Family from Confinement* (1974). Quoted in *The Orthodox Word* (Platina, Calif.), July-August 1990.

A2.; Similarly, a 1992 survey found that one-fourth of people in the republics of Belarus (White Russia) and Uzbekistan favored deporting all Jews to a special Jewish region in Russian Siberia. "Survey Finds Anti-Semitism on Rise in Ex-Soviet Lands," *Los Angeles Times*, June 12, 1992, p. A4.

5. At the turn of the century, Jews made up 4.2 percent of the population of the Russian Empire. Richard Pipes, *The Russian Revolution* (New York: 1990), p. 55 (fn.).

   By comparison, in the United States today, Jews make up less than three percent of the total population (according to the most authoritative estimates).

6. See individual entries in: H. Shukman, ed., *The Blackwell Encyclopedia of the Russian Revolution* (Oxford: 1988), and in: G. Wigoder, ed., *Dictionary of Jewish Biography* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1991).

   The prominent Jewish role in Russia's pre-1914 revolutionary underground, and in the early Soviet regime, is likewise confirmed in: Stanley Rothman and S. Robert Lichter, *Roots of Radicalism* (New York: Oxford, 1982), pp. 92-94.

   In 1918, the Bolshevik Party's Central Committee had 15 members. German scholar Herman Fehst — citing published Soviet records — reported in his useful 1934 study that of six of these 15 were Jews. Herman Fehst, *Bolschewismus und Judentum: Das jüdische Element in der Führerschaft des Bolschewismus* (Berlin: 1934), pp. 68-72.; Robert Wilton, though, reported that in 1918 the Central Committee of the Bolshevik party had twelve members, of whom nine were of Jewish origin and three were of Russian ancestry. R. Wilton, *The Last Days of the Romanovs* (IHR, 1993), p. 185.

7. After years of official suppression, this fact was acknowledged in 1991 in the Moscow weekly *Ogonyok*. See: *Jewish Chronicle* (London), July 16, 1991.; See also: Letter by L. Horwitz in *The New York Times*, Aug. 5, 1992, which cites information from the Russian journal "Native Land Archives."; "Lenin's Lineage?"'Jewish,' Claims Moscow News," *Forward* (New York City), Feb. 28, 1992, pp. 1, 3.; M. Checinski, *Jerusalem Post* (weekly international edition), Jan. 26, 1991, p. 9.

8. Richard Pipes, *The Russian Revolution* (New York: Knopf, 1990), p. 352.

9. Harrison E. Salisbury, *Black Night, White Snow: Russia's Revolutions, 1905-1917* (Doubleday, 1978), p. 475.; William H. Chamberlin, *The Russian Revolution* (Princeton Univ. Press, 1987), vol. 1, pp. 291-292.; Herman Fehst, *Bolschewismus und Judentum: Das jüdische Element in der Führerschaft des Bolschewismus* (Berlin: 1934), pp. 42-43.; P. N. Pospelov, ed., *Vladimir Ilyich Lenin: A Biography* (Moscow: Progress, 1966), pp. 318-319.

   This meeting was held on October 10 (old style, Julian calendar), and on October 23 (new style). The six Jews who took part were: Uritsky, Trotsky, Kamenev, Zinoviev, Sverdlov and Soklonikov.

   The Bolsheviks seized power in Petersburg on October 25 (old style) — hence the reference to the "Great October Revolution" — which is November 7 (new style).

10. William H. Chamberlin, *The Russian Revolution* (1987), vol. 1, p. 292.; H. E. Salisbury, *Black Night, White Snow: Russia's Revolutions, 1905-1917* (1978), p. 475.

11. W. H. Chamberlin, *The Russian Revolution*, vol. 1, pp. 274, 299, 302, 306.; Alan Moorehead, *The Russian Revolution* (New York: 1965), pp. 235, 238, 242, 243, 245.; H. Fehst, *Bolschewismus und Judentum* (Berlin: 1934), pp. 44, 45.

12. H. E. Salisbury, *Black Night, White Snow: Russia's Revolutions, 1905-1917* (1978), p. 479-480.; Dmitri Volkogonov, *Stalin: Triumph and Tragedy* (New York: Grove Weidenfeld, 1991), pp. 27-28, 32.; P. N. Pospelov, ed., *Vladimir Ilyich Lenin: A Biography* (Moscow: Progress, 1966), pp. 319-320.

13. "Zionism versus Bolshevism: A struggle for the soul of the Jewish people," *Illustrated Sunday Herald* (London), February 8, 1920. Facsimile reprint in: William Grimstad, *The Six Million Reconsidered* (1979), p. 124. (At the time this essay was published, Churchill was serving as minister of war and air.)

14. David R. Francis, *Russia from the American Embassy* (New York: 1921), p. 214.

15. *Foreign Relations of the United States - 1918 - Russia*, Vol. 1 (Washington, DC: 1931), pp. 678-679.

16. *American Hebrew* (New York), Sept. 1920. Quoted in: Nathan Glazer & Daniel Patrick Moynihan, *Beyond the Melting Pot* (Cambridge, Mass.: 1963), p. 268.

17. C. Jacobson, "Jews in the USSR" in: *American Review on the Soviet Union*, August 1945, p. 52.; Avtandil Rukhadze, *Jews in the USSR: Figures, Facts, Comment* (Moscow: Novosti, 1978), pp. 10-11.

18. T. Emmons and B. M. Patenaude, eds., *War, Revolution and Peace in Russia: The Passages of Frank Golder, 1913-1927* (Stanford: Hoover Institution, 1992), pp. 320, 139, 317.

19. Louis Rapoport, *Stalin's War Against the Jews* (New York: Free Press, 1990), pp. 30, 31, 37. See also pp. 43, 44, 45, 49, 50.

20. Quoted in: Salo Baron, *The Russian Jews Under Tsars and Soviets* (New York: 1976), pp. 170, 392 (n. 4).

21. *The Atlantic*, Sept. 1991, p. 14.;

    In 1919, three-quarters of the Cheka staff in Kiev were Jews, who were careful to spare fellow Jews. By order, the Cheka took few Jewish hostages. R. Pipes, *The Russian Revolution* (1990), p. 824.; Israeli historian Louis Rapoport also confirms the dominant role played by Jews in the Soviet secret police throughout the 1920s and 1930s. L. Rapoport, *Stalin's War Against the Jews* (New York: 1990), pp. 30-31, 43-45, 49-50.

22. E. Radzinsky, *The Last Tsar* (1992), pp. 244, 303-304.; Bill Keller, "Cult of the Last Czar," *The New York Times*, Nov. 21, 1990.; See also: W. H. Chamberlin, *The Russian Revolution*, vol. 2, p. 90.

23. Quoted in: *The New Republic*, Feb. 5, 1990, pp. 30 ff.; Because of the alleged anti-Semitism of *Russophobia*, in July 1992 Shafarevich was asked by the National Academy of Sciences (Washington, DC) to resign as an associate member of that prestigious body.

24. R. Wilton, *The Last Days of the Romanovs* (1993), p. 148.

25. Richard Pipes, *The Russian Revolution* (1990), p. 787.; Robert K. Massie, *Nicholas and Alexandra* (New York: 1976), pp. 496-497.

26. An article in a 1907 issue of the respected American journal *National Geographic* reported on the revolutionary situation brewing in Russia in the years before the First World War: "... The revolutionary leaders nearly all belong to the Jewish race, and the most effective revolutionary agency is the Jewish Bund ..." W. E. Curtis, "The Revolution in Russia," *The National Geographic Magazine*, May 1907, pp. 313-314.

    Piotr Stolypin, probably imperial Russia's greatest statesman, was murdered in 1911 by a Jewish assassin.

    In 1907, Jews made up about ten percent of Bolshevik party membership. In the Menshevik party, another faction of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party, the Jewish proportion was twice as high. R. Pipes, *The Russian Revolution* (1990), p. 365.; See also: R. Wilton, *The Last Days of the Romanovs* (1993), pp. 185-186.

27. Martin Gilbert, *Atlas of Jewish History* (1977), pp. 71, 74.; In spite of the restrictive "Pale" policy, in 1897 about 315,000 Jews were living outside the Pale, most of them illegally. In 1900 more than 20,000 were living in the capital of St. Petersburg, and another 9,000 in Moscow.

28. Sonja Margolina, *Das Ende der Lügen: Russland und die Juden im 20. Jahrhundert* (Berlin: 1992). Quoted in: "Ein ganz heisses Eisen angefasst," *Deutsche National-Zeitung* (Munich), July 21, 1992, p. 12.

29. *Krasnaia Gazetta* ("Red Gazette"), September 1, 1918. Quoted in: Richard Pipes, *The Russian Revolution* (1990), pp. 820, 912 (n. 88).
30. Richard Pipes, *The Russian Revolution* (New York: 1990), p. 820.
31. Contrary to what a number of western historians have for years suggested, Soviet terror and the *Gulag* camp system did not begin with Stalin. At the end of 1920, Soviet Russia already had 84 concentration camps with approximately 50,000 prisoners. By October 1923 the number had increased to 315 camps with 70,000 inmates. R. Pipes, *The Russian Revolution* (1990), p. 836.
32. Cited by historian Robert Conquest in a review/ article in *The New York Review of Books*, Sept. 23, 1993, p. 27.
33. *The New York Review of Books*, Sept. 23, 1993, p. 27.
34. Review/article by Robert Conquest in *The New York Review of Books*, Sept. 23, 1993, p. 27.;
    In the "Great Terror" years of 1937-1938 alone, Conquest has calculated, approximately one million were shot by the Soviet secret police, and another two million perished in Soviet camps. R. Conquest, *The Great Terror* (New York: Oxford, 1990), pp. 485-486.;
    Conquest has estimated that 13.5 to 14 million people perished in the collectivization ("dekulakization") campaign and forced famine of 1929-1933. R. Conquest, *The Harvest of Sorrow* (New York: Oxford, 1986), pp. 301-307.
35. Russian professor Igor Bestuzhev-Lada, writing in a 1988 issue of the Moscow weekly *Nedelya*, suggested that during the Stalin era alone (1935-1953), as many as 50 million people were killed, condemned to camps from which they never emerged, or lost their lives as a direct result of the brutal "dekulakization" campaign against the peasantry. "Soviets admit Stalin killed 50 million," *The Sunday Times*, London, April 17, 1988.;
    R. J. Rummel, a professor of political science at the University of Hawaii, has recently calculated that 61.9 million people were systematically killed by the Soviet Communist regime from 1917 to 1987. R. J. Rummel, *Lethal Politics: Soviet Genocide and Mass Murder Since 1917* (Transaction, 1990).
36. Because of his revolutionary activities, Lenin was sentenced in 1897 to three years exile in Siberia. During this period of "punishment," he got married, wrote some 30 works, made extensive use of a well-stocked local library, subscribed to numerous foreign periodicals, kept up a voluminous correspondence with supporters across Europe, and enjoyed numerous sport hunting and ice skating excursions, while all the time receiving a state stipend. See: Ronald W. Clark, *Lenin* (New York: 1988), pp. 42-57.; P. N. Pospelov, ed., *Vladimir Ilyich Lenin: A Biography* (Moscow: Progress, 1966), pp. 55-75.
37. R. Pipes, *The Russian Revolution* (1990), pp. 187-188.;
38. *The Nation*, June 24, 1991, p. 838.
39. Bill Keller, "Cult of the Last Czar," *The New York Times*, Nov. 21, 1990.
40. "Nostalgic for Nicholas, Russians Honor Their Last Czar," *Los Angeles Times*, July 18, 1993.; "Ceremony marks Russian czar's death," *Orange County Register*, July 17, 1993.
41. R. Pipes, *The Russian Revolution* (1990), p. 787.

Let us say humbly, but publicly, that we resent corruption in politics, dishonesty in business, faithlessness in morals, pornography in literature, coarseness in language, chaos in music, meaninglessness in art.

— Will Durant

Ingrid Weckert's

FLASHPOINT

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Throwing Off Germany's Imposed History

A Conversation with Professor Ernst Nolte

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Some thirteen years ago, a leading figure of German academic life, Professor Ernst Nolte of the Free University of Berlin, drew back the curtain from a forbidden topic of public discourse in his country. With a lecture delivered in Munich entitled, "Between Historical Legend and Revisionism? The Third Reich in the Perspective of 1980," the prominent historian fired a warning shot across the bow of Germany's intellectual establishment.[1]

Six years later, a provocative essay by Dr. Nolte touched off an unprecedented exchange of letters, essays and other polemics among leading scholars of modern German history. This "historians' dispute," or *Historikerstreit*, was marked — in the words of the editor of one American scholarly journal — by "an intensity unprecedented in the public life of the [German] Federal Republic." Moreover, "it soon evolved into a major intellectual conflict over the meaning of the Nazi past for contemporary West German political and cultural identity."[2]

A complex controversy, the *Historikerstreit* involves questions about the political uses of history, differences in the historical perspective of generations, historical research methods, and the limits of objectivity in dealing with major events in a nation's life. At the core of the dispute is a question with profound social-political ramifications for Germany and the Western world: how is the legacy of Hitler and the Third Reich to be integrated into a long-term view of German history? At stake here, obviously, are questions of importance not merely to academics, but issues of essential consequence for German national self-understanding and self-definition, and for Germany's place in the world.

The spark that set ablaze Germany's intellectual world was an essay by Nolte that appeared on June 6, 1986, in the prestigious German daily *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*.[3] In this short piece, entitled "The Past That Will Not Pass Away," Nolte argued that the current generation of Germans, forty years after the end of the Second World War, should be allowed to embrace its national past without a permanent sense of guilt. "Talk about 'the guilt of the Germans'," he observed, "all too blithely overlooks the similarity to the talk about 'the guilt of the Jews,' which was a main argument of the National Socialists.... All the attention devoted to the Final Solution simply diverts our attention from important facts about the National Socialist period ..." When dealing with the history of the Third Reich, he went on to note with regret, the most basic rules of historical scholarship seem to have been suspended. In fact, "every past is knowable in its complexity ... black-and-white images of politically involved contemporaries should be correctable; earlier histories should be subject to revision."[4]

As early as his 1980 lecture, "Historical Legend and Revisionism?," Nolte had warned:[5]

> The negative vitality of a historical phenomenon represents a great danger for the discipline of history. A permanent negative or positive image necessarily has the character of a myth, which is an actualized form of a legend. This is true because a myth like this can be made to found or support an ideology of state ...

Therefore, Nolte said, "subjecting the history of the Third Reich to revision ... seems to me to be a difficult and pressing task." He went on to propose "three postulates" as a basis for a future Third Reich historiography:

> 1. The Third Reich should be removed from the historical isolation in which it remains even when it is treated within the framework of an epoch of fascism. It must be studied in the context of the disruptions, crisis, fears, diagnoses, and therapies that were generated by the industrial revolution ...
>
> 2. The instrumentalization to which the Third Reich owes a good part of its continuing fascination should be prevented ...
>
> 3. The demonization of the Third Reich is unacceptable ... [Rather, it] must become an object of scholarship, of a scholarship that is not aloof from politics, but that is also not merely a handmaiden of politics.

Ian Warren is the pen name of a professor who teaches at a university in the Midwest. Although Prof. Nolte did not originally understand that this interview was to appear in the *Journal*, he assented to publication after reviewing the complete text.

What Nolte's many critics — both in Germany and abroad — found most distressing in his writings was, predictably, his iconoclastic discussion of the "Final Solution of the Jewish Question." Hitler's wartime treatment of the Jews, the historian seemed to suggest, might legitimately be regarded as a defensive response by the Führer to the threat of Bolshevik mass murder of the Germans. In his 1980 lecture, Nolte said:[6]

> ... It is hard to deny that Hitler had good reason to be convinced of his enemies' determination to annihilate long before the first information about the events in Auschwitz became public ... [Zionist leader] Chaim Weizmann's statement in the first days of September 1939, that in this war the Jews of all the world would fight on England's side ... could lay a foundation for the thesis that Hitler would have been justified in treating the German Jews as prisoners of war, and thus interning them.

In his 1986 essay, Nolte posed for consideration two questions, which have since been widely quoted, that he called "permissible, even unavoidable":[7]

> Did the National Socialists or Hitler perhaps commit an "Asiatic" deed [of mass killing] merely because they and their ilk considered themselves to be potential victims of an "Asiatic" deed [by the Soviets]? Was the [Soviet] Gulag Archipelago not primary to Auschwitz? Was the Bolshevik murder of an entire class not the logical and factual *prius* of the "racial murder" of National Socialism?

Reaction to such statements came quickly. A few weeks later, well-known leftist social theorist and political activist Jürgen Habermas responded in a detailed article, "A Kind of Settlement of Damages: The Apologetic Tendencies in German History Writing," which appeared in the liberal Hamburg weekly *Die Zeit*.[8] During the months that followed, many other scholars joined in the heated discussion. Reaction to Nolte's writings was not confined to mere rhetoric. In 1988 his automobile was destroyed in a terrorist fire-bombing attack carried out by an anarchist-leftist group.[9]

Few scholars speak with greater authority on Third Reich history than Professor Nolte. Over the years, his sometimes unconventional insights into twentieth century history and political philosophy — presented in several books and numerous articles — have earned him wide acclaim. Probably his best-known work is the 1963 study, *Der Faschismus in Seiner Epoche* — first published in English in 1965 under the title *Three Faces of Fascism* — which compares the phenomenon of "fascism" in France, Italy and Germany. Widely regarded as a path-breaking and classic work on the subject, it is still virtually required reading for every serious student of the matter.[10]

As even the most critical of his intellectual adversaries will concede, the often bitter controversy he touched off has been a landmark development in German awareness of twentieth-century European history. More than any other single person, he has encouraged a profound national self-examination of contemporary history, which in turn has engendered a new openness and maturity of thinking.

Prof. Nolte in his Berlin home.

Last May, this writer was afforded the opportunity of a comprehensive conversation with Professor Nolte at his Berlin home. During this meeting, this tall and distinguished-looking scholar offered a thoughtful assessment of the role of the historian, and of the critical function of historical revisionism in the context of national identity, within the context of the so-called *Historikerstreit*. As one whose scholarship and personal values are closely intertwined, Nolte's perspective during our conversation was analytical and yet not devoid of passionate commitment to the values of scholarly historical inquiry.

Q: It has been more than a dozen years since you first began warning about the creation of a historical legend or myth. In doing so, were you trying to resist a development that you saw happening, perhaps especially among German historians, perhaps even among world leaders? Let me also then ask about your motivation for undertaking such a dar-

ing and difficult, even dangerous task.

Nolte: I would say that every reigning opinion, every general conformism, has a tendency to become a myth. Let me offer the example of Marxism, which at its core contained factual observations but was then transformed into a legend/myth. Looking back, Leninism was the inevitable outcome of an entire world-historical development, the future of which was to be the Soviet Union — ultimately to be the central state, even what might be called a world state, where all the languages and all the nations would be melted together. This is a myth, to be connected with some very early myths in history. It was followed by the long undisputed dominance of what may be called "anti-fascism," an interpretation of history that has also became a myth.

I wanted to warn against this mythologizing because it is contrary to a major characteristic of scholarship: to make revisions, and to place knowledge and facts within new contexts. I am not speaking here about "revisionism" as based on revision for its own sake, although I am always referred to as a "revisionist." I am not a revisionist for revisionism's sake. In my opinion, one of the most necessary revisions, perhaps the most important single revision that must be made, is to rectify the practice of interpreting Germany history by looking only at German history, that is, to seek out only German sources for what happened in Germany, especially during the "Third Reich" period of 1933-1945. It is always a question of interpreting, of understanding National Socialism in its correct context.

I am of the opinion that what you may call epochal influences — which come out of the character of a certain epoch and not so much out of national origins — must be accentuated. In my book, *Three Faces of Fascism*, the term "fascism" refers to a broad European phenomenon and concept under which National Socialism is to be subsumed, although it has its own distinctive characteristics. In my view this means that this epochal character is more important than the national character. In the context of what we in Germany call *Gesellschaftgeschichte*, that is, "societal history," the concept of a national German *Sonderweg* ("special path") is most essential. For my part, I do not believe that the national character of "fascism" should be placed exclusively in the forefront.[11]

During the fifties there was the so-called theory of totalitarianism, which viewed this as an epochal idea. Modern totalitarianism is not to be confounded with despotism, for example, because it is quite a new phenomena, essentially connected with one single epochal event. Then came a tendency to examine the national roots of this world phenomenon. For my part, in 1963 I tried to accentuate its epochal characteristic, but with a difference: looking at theories of totalitarianism not so much in terms of the outward conformity or the formal similarity between two great non-liberal, anti-liberal totalitarian movements — namely National Socialism and Communism. Rather, I took the view that the enmity between these two movements needed to be taken very seriously. My book on fascism could therefore have been entitled "The European Civil War," a title I did use for a work published in 1987.[12] This idea was certainly implied in *Three Faces of Fascism*, for example in my definition of fascism as anti-Marxism — a political movement that sought to annihilate the enemy by establishing opposite aims, while often employing similar methods. This all supposes that there was an enemy *who did try to annihilate*. In this respect, the whole concept of a European civil war was already implied in my first book.

What was my motive for writing on German history and for getting involved in a public controversy? Certainly it was personal, but I reject the idea that it was to apologize for Germany. Many people say this, but I have always said that I would hope to say the same things if I were an American or if I were a Frenchman. It is not tolerable in scholarship, in science, to maintain forever such a one-sided picture of the world. It must be complemented by taking into consideration the forces that this ["fascist"] movement considered as the main enemy.

Let me make another point. We should not speak of the "specter of Communism." Lenin never regarded himself merely as a specter. He believed himself to be a world-historical figure. In my view, this notion of a violent World Communist Revolution was not just imaginary. So, in this respect, I wanted to draw a more even-handed picture of the world, even though it cannot be a truly complete picture, because the archives of the former Soviet Union are just now beginning to be opened.

It is a curious phenomenon that Socialist ideas, which were so very influential in Europe during the 19th century, never won a political victory. (The only exception was the Paris Commune of 1871, which lasted for just a few weeks.)

Then, in 1917, a Marxist state came into existence for the first time; a state that was to become the greatest in the world. This is a fact of tremendous importance. Not to take this seriously, not to take the enemies of this "fascist" phenomenon seriously, seems superficial. Above all, it prevents one from seeing what a curious fact it is that National Socialism, the most formidable enemy of this phenomenon of [Soviet] Socialism as a state power, had to copy its aspects to a certain extent. Thus, instead of being complete opposites, there were considerable similarities between the two.

Q: There is a good basis in biological studies of isomorphism for the view that in cases of conflict each side takes on the characteristics of the opponent. Is this applicable here?

Nolte: It is not only outward characteristics, for example, that are important when somebody has to defend himself from an enemy. But in this case, there is also inner similarity. And this is not so self-evident. One could, if people were not so eager to always detect supposed political aspects in my work, discern the paradox of the real victory of socialism against its enemies — but not in the way as the socialists themselves had imagined.

Perhaps if there were *real* National Socialists here in Germany, they would say that Mr. Nolte is a dangerous apologist for the Bolsheviks because he tries to show that they were powerful enough to win a victory that they themselves had not thought possible; indeed, one which was completely unanticipated, but nevertheless clearly-defined. But there are no real National Socialists. There are only, let us say, "nostalgic National Socialists," and so people always speak of "apologists."

Q: So perhaps your worst fault is that your arguments are too subtle, and can therefore be more easily attacked in a superficial but inaccurate way?

Nolte: Well, but on the other hand, my main point is very simple. Because if, in intellectual life, one side is completely victorious, as in the case of what is called the Left, then the result is a sterile conformism. The general conformism in this country is leftist, which is paradoxical because the Left was originally a movement of protest, a movement of those who do *not* conform with the general opinion. I said "no" to this prevailing sentiment.

I said that National Socialism has to be understood historically, that it is not to be mythologized in this sense. You have to look not only at the one side, but there are other sides to the question, for example, of whether National Socialism was not exclusively anti-modernist. This is a very important trait, which cannot be ignored. If one says this, a common rejoinder is to charge that "you are closer to this phenomenon than we, so you must be an apologist." As a scholar, one must try to find out the other side of any historical phenomenon that has been presented with a universal simplicity. Thus, in America, in the aftermath of the Civil War the prevailing view was, at first, only that of the righteous cause of the victor, but later historians tried to better understand the South, to find some good side to the Southern cause, to explore its politics and historical context.

Q: There is certainly a long revisionist tradition in America. But it seems to me that there are some important questions that have still not been dealt with in the *Historikerstreit*. For example, apparently no one has dealt with the implications of the important role of American historians in forming our understanding of Third Reich history. Perhaps there should be a debate between American and German historians on Third Reich history? And if differences emerge, would these be based on who the victors were?

THE TIMES WEDNESDAY SEPTEMBER 6 1939

JEWS TO FIGHT FOR DEMOCRACIES

DR. WEIZMANN'S LETTER TO MR. CHAMBERLAIN

The Jewish Agency for Palestine in London yesterday issued the text of correspondence between Dr. Chaim Weizmann, president of the agency, and the Prime Minister. Dr. Weizmann in his letter to Mr. Chamberlain, dated August 29, wrote: —

Dear Mr. Prime Minister,—In this hour of supreme crisis the consciousness that the Jews have a contribution to make to the defence of sacred values impels me to write this letter. I wish to confirm, in the most explicit manner, the declarations which I and my colleagues have made during the last month, and especially in the last week, that the Jews stand by Great Britain and will fight on the side of the democracies.

Our urgent desire is to give effect to these declarations. We wish to do so in a way entirely consonant with the general scheme of British action, and therefore would place ourselves, in matters big and small, under the coordinating direction of his Majesty's Government. The Jewish Agency is ready to enter into immediate arrangements for utilizing Jewish man-power, technical ability, resources, &c.

The Jewish Agency has recently had differences in the political field with the Mandatory Power. We would like these differences to give way before the greater and more pressing necessities of the time. We ask you to accept this declaration in the spirit in which it is made.

Shortly before the outbreak of war in September 1939, Chaim Weizmann, president of both the "Jewish Agency" and the World Zionist Organization (and later Israel's first president), pledged that "the Jews" would "stand by" Britain in the impending war against Germany. This historic declaration was published in the London *Times* of September 6, 1939, and is reproduced here in facsimile. Nolte cites Weizmann's letter in his 1980 lecture and in his most recent book, *Streitpunkte*.

Nolte: I would say that the first German historians to deal with the Third Reich were the old established historians, such as Gerhard Ritter (1888-1967). Ritter displayed a certain defensive caution and self-consciousness. National Socialism, he argued, was not a Prussian phenomenon; it was much more an Austrian phenomenon, and so on. Or consider the case of Friedrich Meinecke, who was a very fine and prominent historian even before the First World War. Meinecke said that in National Socialism the worst traits of German history came to the fore. I think that this older generation of German historians remained in the foreground until the beginning of the sixties.

Then came a younger generation of historians, many of them connected with the Institute for Contemporary History ("Institut für Zeitgeschichte") in Munich, which was established as a center for the study of the National Socialist epoch. These younger historians, such as Martin Broszat (1926-1989), brought a different point of view, one not connected with their own experience in the period prior to 1945.[13] This new generation was inclined to underline the conformity or compliance of the older generation with National Socialism and the Hitler regime. This tendency developed its most extreme form in connection with the 1968 revolt when, for the first time, it was Germany as such that was condemned. The outlook of this younger generation was essentially formed by the connection with the United States. They *all* had been in the United States. It was, so to speak, the appropriation of the American interpretation by the younger generation of Germans.

Q: This seems to me a most important point to make.

Nolte: Yes, if you conduct certain things to an extreme, you may become an enemy of your former friend. And this is what happened in Germany. For most of our common history, we have normally been on good terms with the Americans. But the more extreme of the new generation of German historians became so leftist that they fought against "American imperialism" and the ideas connected with it. The extreme wing of the generation of 1968 became anti-American, because it had such a strong dose of Americanism, of American television, and so forth. There were even a few who developed a positive view of National Socialism.

Consider the case of Armin Mohler, who is Swiss, and for this reason has a certain "bonus": he has been allowed to say many things that a German could not say.[14] It is this characteristic, a certain moral "higher standing," that permits him greater freedom to speak out.

Q: Because such a person is regarded as not self-interested; a certain objectivity of the outsider?

Nolte: No, because such a person is connected with people who were persecuted. In Germany, the most characteristic "bonus" in this in this sense is the Jewish advantage. Jews are permitted to say many things here that no German may say.

Q: As long as you are part of the victim class?

Nolte: Yes, then you have a considerable advantage.

Q: A certain legitimacy?

Nolte: A legitimacy that others do not have. In the case of Mohler, who is Swiss and therefore an outsider, he wrote a book on the conservative revolution in Germany during the Weimar Republic that, although it did not identify with Spengler and Carl Schmitt and so on, tried to evaluate them in a positive sense.[15]

There has always been a certain, let us say, "part" of the German Right that is connected with National Socialism; it has remained alive because it is so important. A good example is Richard Wagner, who was connected with National Socialism because of his views, and because of the National Socialist preference for him. In spite of this, Wagner was never totally rejected or discredited in the post-war era. In America, and in many other countries, there have always been Wagnerians, and his operas have always been performed. On the other hand, a writer like Ernst Jünger has, to a certain extent, been "implicated" because, during the twenties, he wrote many things that are very similar to what the National Socialists said.

We know that the whole of the so-called German resistance came from the former Right. Now, of course, they are naturally appreciated, which means that the rightist tradition was not totally destroyed. There have always been those who are sympathetic towards figures such as Carl Schmitt, Oswald Spengler, and so on. For example, the great poet Gottfried Benn "emigrated" into the *Wehrmacht*. It was a position that, for a short time during the early fifties, seemed to come into the foreground.

Against this tendency of a larger renaissance of the non-National Socialist intellectual right, an important movement of reaction established itself. This was the so-called "Group 47" ("*Gruppe 47*") of young writers, poets and so forth that met for the first time, I think, in 1953 or 1955, under the direction of Hans-Werner Richter, a former Communist. Among those who belonged to this circle was, for example, Günter Grass, who is today most important. Erich Kuby, for example, and others, fought strongly against German rearmament in 1955 and 1956. I myself belonged to the outer margins of this movement, something that is not known or remembered. These people were very much disturbed by what seemed to be a renaissance of National Socialism in connection with German rearmament. At

that time, you know, there was a dispute about how the former SS officers were to be treated. Should they be accepted into the *Bundeswehr*, West Germany's postwar armed forces? Those who were concerned about this development, and tried to oppose it, joined together in what was at that time called the *Grünwälderkreis*, an association of intellectuals that has been largely forgotten.[16]

A young German at a protest demonstration in May 1992 in Stuttgart. His sign reads: "Down with the lie of unique [German] guilt for the [Second World] war, and one-sided anti-German atrocity propaganda." Public opinion polls show that a majority of Germans want an end to the unceasing propaganda of special national guilt and atonement imposed by the victorious Allied powers in the aftermath of the Second World War. Particularly in recent years, the gulf between popular sentiment, on the one hand, and the policies and outlook of the German media and establishment, on the other, has been widening.

This "Group 47" came to dominate German intellectual life from the beginning of the sixties onward. As the student rebels came into the forefront during the mid-sixties, one may speak of Leftist conformism in Germany. In the beginning, I felt quite close to this movement, although at that time I was an unknown schoolteacher. During the period when the left seemed to be very isolated, when leftist ideas seemed to be in retreat, I sympathized with them. I never supported leftist conformism, though, and I have always considered the victory of conformity to be rather dangerous.

Q: What do you think has been the main effect or consequences of your raising of these issues?

Nolte: Well, I believe that it was indeed what it was called at that time, in 1986, a *Tabubruch* — a breaking of a taboo. To speak, in the same sentence, of Auschwitz and the Gulag [Soviet camp system] — that was really terrible. Today this has become a triviality. It has become quite common to speak of "as was the case with the Gulag and Auschwitz," while then making some distinctions. For that matter, I also made distinctions. Still, to name these two phenomena, and the two personalities — Stalin and Hitler — in the same sentence, was to break a taboo of the time.

What I did was no great achievement, though, because such a comparison had already been made during the fifties, with its emphasis on the theory of totalitarianism. It was more a matter of courage, let us say, than of insight.

Even before the *Historikerstreit* that resulted, I had the feeling that the predominance of Jürgen Habermas, who was my main antagonist, as you know, was already a little bit menaced. Moreover, his reaction to what I wrote had a certain nervous tone, as did that of other adversaries. If you re-read what Habermas and those like him wrote at that time, you will see that in most cases there is a certain defensiveness in their arguments.

With German reunification, of course, everything has changed, because one of the main points made by Habermas and his friends was that if you do not accept their way of interpreting German history, then you endanger peaceful coexistence [between the West and the USSR]. You also showed yourself to be a German nationalist who wanted to reunite the nation by annexing the communist "German Democratic Republic," a view that was regarded as the most dangerous one that could be taken, and which therefore had to be rejected unconditionally. As things have happened — and as none of us foresaw, least of all Habermas — this entire position is no longer valid. You can no longer say that if somebody speaks in the same sentence of the Gulag and Auschwitz, he is endangering world peace! And so there is a great dark silence.

Q: A resounding silence?

Nolte: Yes. So far no one has drawn up a balance sheet showing precisely what has happened. The very paradoxical thing is that these, let us say, more moderate leftist social historians, such as Habermas, have been assigned the gigantic task — paradoxically enough — of reorganizing higher education in the former East Germany, to define "Germanness" there. And their influence is very direct.

Those in East Germany who have presumably given up their Stalinist orthodoxy, and other Germans who have supposedly lost their fear of endan-

gering the world's peace by discussing these issues, are much closer to each other than those who, like me, are called "rightists." They simply do not speak about it. In this respect, one may speak of a certain renaissance of this leftist conformism. A consequence of this is that, to a great extent, the historians and political scientists in charge in the universities in East Germany are my silent but very active antagonists. This is a curious and paradoxical role, but an understandable situation.

Q: Let me ask you a hypothetical question. Seeing how things have gone, would you have done anything differently? What's to be done now? What is the most important thing to do now about this problem of legend-building?

Nolte: Well, if I had known what would happen, I probably would not have written that June 1986 article that was the starting-point of the *Historikerstreit* debate. Instead, I simply would have published my book on the European Civil War, which deals with the same subject as that article, but in which my arguments are much more fully explicated. In a newspaper article one is forced to write in a certain provocative way, and that article was, perhaps, too accentuated. So I may complain that in that case I was more publicist than scholar.

On the other hand, I had been invited by a rather leftist organization to give an address, and they had asked me to speak on this subject. It was not my initiative. Then the group rejected the topic and withdrew the invitation. I could not simply capitulate. Because I had already written the text, I gave it to the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*.

Today, clearly, there is no longer a Marxist danger, and there is, therefore, no need to fight against it. This was certainly one of my original intentions in raising the historical issues I did. Certainly, I was opposing a kind of unilateralism. At the same time, I was simply following the rules of scholarship. Thus, it is now necessary to write the history of the 20th century anew — particularly the period from 1917 to 1989 or 1991. And you must ask yourself if the histories that have been written during this period can stand the test of time and of subsequent events.

Of course, this same question applies to my own work as well, because it was created during this particular era. Recently I wrote an article for the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* entitled "The Fragility of Triumph." Recently there has been quite a lot of talk about the triumph of liberal democracy and the beginning of a "New World Order." In my view, though, this is not a solid, but rather a fragile triumph. I try to show that this fragility is necessarily connected with our system, the liberal [or liberal-democratic] system, and therefore cannot win such a total (or totalitarian) victory as that of the Bolsheviks in 1917.

I believe that new problems of historical interpretation have arisen since the fall of Communism. I hope still to be able to do something in that regard, although my main task remains that of a historian. My latest book recapitulates, to a certain extent, everything I've written. Paradoxically, and for the first time, National Socialism is the sole subject of the work, but on a higher dimension, so to speak. This work is not entitled "National Socialism: A History," or anything like that. Its title is *Streitpunkte: Heutige und künftige Kontroversen um den Nationalsozialismus* ("Points of Contention: Current and Future Controversies Concerning National Socialism"). It is a sort of 'literature on the literature,' in which I explain the various points of conflict. For example, was there more historical continuity or discontinuity in the phenomenon of National Socialism? There was both, of course, but which factor is more important? Or, can National Socialism be called anti-modern or modern, or both? These are the current controversies I try to explain. And, naturally, my own views are evident throughout the book. [*Streitpunkte* is reviewed elsewhere in this issue of the *Journal*.]

Because I seek to be objective where such a perspective is difficult to achieve, I imagine that the latter third of the book, in particular, will cause some people to again say this is the writing of an "apologist." However, this is *no* apology, but rather simply an effort to offer a many-sided picture based on some clearly acknowledged and universally valid maxims or guidelines. This means, for example, that the history of National Socialism must be subjected to same critical methods as every other historical phenomenon. This does not mean, of course, that this is exactly like other historical phenomena, but rather that, by applying the same methods, one will best discover the differences.

Because I have now entered my eighth decade, I think this will be my last work as an historian of fascism. In a general sense, this work which began in 1963, actually started with a small article on Mussolini I wrote three years earlier. Now, with the completion of *Streitpunkte*, I do not intend to write any more on this subject. I want to return — at least to a certain degree — to philosophy, which was my point of departure. I do not mean so-called "scientific philosophy." While it is not yet entirely clear in my mind what sort of philosophy this will be, I intend an approach that takes history more into account than is normally the case with philosophers.

NOTES

1. This lecture is published in English in: James Knowlton and Truett Cates, translators, *Forever in the Shadow of Hitler?* (New Jersey: Humanities Press, 1993), pp. 1-15.

   An adaptation of this 1980 address also appears in English under the title, "Between Myth and Revisionism? The Third Reich in the Perspective of the 1980s," in: H. W. Koch, ed., *Aspects of the Third Reich* (New York: St. Martin's

Press, 1985), pp. 17-38.

2. Anson Rabinbach writing in *New German Critique*, No. 44, Spring-Summer 1988, p. 3. This special issue is devoted to the *Historikerstreit*.
3. Nolte's article in the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, June 6, 1986, is entitled "Die Vergangenheit, die nicht vergehen will" ("The past that will not pass: A speech that could be written but not delivered'). An English-language translation appears in: *Forever in the Shadow of Hitler?* (1993), pp. 18-23.
4. *Forever in the Shadow of Hitler?*, pp. 19, 20.
5. From Nolte's 1980 lecture, in: *Forever in the Shadow of Hitler?* (1993), pp. 3-4, 9, 14-15.
   In his June 1986 *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* article, Nolte wrote: "Those who desire to envision history not as a mythologem but rather in its essential context are forced to a central conclusion: If history, in all its darkness and its horrors, but also in its confusing novelty, is to have meaning for coming generations, this meaning must be the liberation from collectivist thinking." (*Forever in the Shadow of Hitler?*, p. 22.)
6. *Forever in the Shadow of Hitler?*, p. 8.
7. *Forever in the Shadow of Hitler?*, p. 22.
   In his 1980 lecture, Nolte wrote that "Auschwitz is not primarily a result of traditional anti-Semitism and was not just one more case of 'genocide.' It was the fear-borne reaction to the acts of annihilation that took place during the Russian Revolution. The German copy was many times more irrational than the original ... but it fails to alter the fact that the so-called annihilation of the Jews by the Third Reich was a reaction or a distorted copy and not a first act or an original." (*Forever in the Shadow of Hitler?*, pp. 13-14.)
8. *Die Zeit*, July 11, 1986. Habermas' essay appears in English in: *Forever in the Shadow of Hitler?* (1993), pp. 34-44.
9. See: "Attack Against Auto of German 'Revisionist' Historian," *IHR Newsletter*, July 1988, p. 5.; Nolte mentioned the attack during his conversation with this writer, but seemed to treat it as a minor incident.
   On February 6, 1993, about 20 youths of this same anarchist-leftist group of "autonomists" (*Autonomen*) attacked and brutally beat Alain de Benoist, the noted French intellectual and editor, at a lecture in Berlin.
10. The English-language edition, entitled *Three Faces of Fascism*, was first published in London in 1965, and then, in 1966, in New York by Holt, Rinehart and Winston. In this study Nolte examines the phenomena of the French "Action Française," Italian Fascism and German National Socialism.
11. This is a reference to a long-standing argument among historians as to whether the emergence of a German national state in the 19th century followed a process of "normal" development similar to other Western nations, particularly in terms of democratic institutions, or whether it had a separate dynamic of its own. The latter notion of a German *Sonderweg* or "special path" implies a development without democratic values.
12. *Der europäische Bürgerkrieg, 1917-1945: Nationalsozialismus und Bolschewismus* (Proyläen, 1987).
13. This generation of historians, Nolte said to me, "accepted, to a certain degree at least, the reproaches made against this older generation that they had not been so innocent, that they had participated in the National Socialist regime. Take the case of Gerhard Ritter. He had obviously been persecuted. In 1944 he was arrested, and was jailed for his connection with the 20th of July plot to overthrow Hitler. Earlier, though, he had been a very pronounced German nationalist. Doubtless he had certain sympathies for the National Socialists as long as they appeared to be just German nationalists and anti-Communists. Later on, though, he became critical, and was then arrested."
14. Armin Mohler, a leading figure in the European intellectual movement known as the "New Right" (*Nouvelle Droite*), is the author of several books, including a major study of German intellectual conservatism during the Weimar Republic, *Die konservative Revolution in Deutschland, 1918-1932* (first edition published in 1950). In a more recent book, *Der Nasenring* (1989), Mohler deals sympathetically with the revisionist critique of the Holocaust story. An article based on this writer's recent interview with Mohler will appear in a forthcoming issue of the *Journal*.
15. Carl Schmitt (1888-1985) is a leading figure in the intellectual history of German conservatism. His work is a critical part of a revived focus on key ideas of national political institutions and the constitutional principles of government.
16. According to Nolte, "This *Gruppe 47* was connected to one of the leaders of the Social Democratic Party who was, for a short time, mayor of Berlin. I first met him in an assembly of this organization where, as a young attorney, he spoke and later on he had a great political career."

THE BALFOUR DECLARATION

Britain's Great War Promise

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.

Arthur Balfour's letter to Lord Rothschild — the culmination of years of intrigue — laid the foundation for the dramatic birth of Israel in 1948, for the dispossession of the Palestinians, for the five Israeli wars which followed, and for the gradual but ever deepening involvement of America in the Middle East morass.

Robert John's *Behind the Balfour Declaration* reveals the shadowy — and shocking — maneuverings which resulted in the British promise to the Zionists, and the secret document which exposes British perfidy. Dr. John, co-author of the monumental *The Palestine Diary*, and a specialist in Palestinian history, traces the moves by which Zionist negotiators like Chaim Weizmann and Louis Brandeis played off one empire against another to extract the guarantee that has changed the face of the Middle East and the world.

Behind the Balfour Declaration
The Hidden Origins of Today's Mideast Crisis
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Jean-Claude Pressac's New Auschwitz Book

A Brief Response to a Widely-Acclaimed Rebuttal of Holocaust Revisionism

Robert Faurisson

During the last several months, quite a lot of attention has been devoted to a new book on "The Crematoria of Auschwitz" by French pharmacist Jean-Claude Pressac. Published in late September by France's National Center for Scientific Research, it supposedly provides definitive proof that the "Holocaust deniers" are wrong. An Associated Press article that has appeared in a number of American newspapers, for example, tells readers that, according to "Holocaust experts," the new book "will provide irrefutable proof to combat those who claim the Holocaust ... didn't happen." Pressac himself says that his 210-page work provides "the definitive rebuttal of revisionist theories."

Such talk is a mark of progress. It confirms that a genuine debate about the supposed extermination gas chambers is underway. It further shows that the tempo of this debate is now being set by the revisionist skeptics, and that the defenders of the orthodox Holocaust story now feel obliged to respond to specific revisionist arguments. In the following essay, Dr. Faurisson provides a brief, preliminary critique of Pressac's new book, which itself is largely an effort to discredit the French revisionist scholar's meticulous research and findings. Much more about Pressac's book — by Faurisson and others — will appear in forthcoming issues of the Journal.

In 1989, French pharmacist Jean-Claude Pressac published in English a massive book deceptively entitled *Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers*. In my review of this book (published in the spring and summer 1991 issues of the *Journal*), I noted that it contains hundreds of details about the camp itself, the crematoria buildings, the ovens, the typhus epidemics, the disinfestation gas chambers (with Zyklon B or by other means), and even many details about the private life of the author.

Nothing About Execution Gas Chambers

But as I pointed out, there is nothing in this 564-page book about the alleged execution gas chambers, except what Pressac himself called, instead of "proofs," only "beginnings of proofs" or "criminal traces." The mountain had given birth to a mouse and, as a matter of fact, the mouse was Revisionist, because many of Pressac's statements were revisionist.

My Unanswered Challenge

Since 1978, I have repeated a challenge:

> Show me or draw me a Nazi gas chamber! Stop giving me words. Stop showing me a building, a door, a wall or, sometimes, only hair or shoes. I need a full picture of one of those fantastic chemical slaughterhouses. I need a physical representation of the extraordinary weapon of an unprecedented crime. If you dare to say that what tourists are shown in some camps is, or was, such a gas chamber, come on and say it ...

This challenge has never been answered. In Washington, DC, the "Holocaust" memorial museum shows visitors the door of something that Pressac himself describes in his 1989 book (pp. 555-557) as a non-homicidal disinfestation gas chamber in Majdanek. Pressac did not answer my challenge in 1989. Does he answer it in his new book, *Les Crématoires d'Auschwitz: La machinerie du meurtre de masse* ("The Crematoria of Auschwitz: The Machinery of Mass Killing")? The answer is definitely No.

One (Phony) Proof

Pressac's new book is, in essence, nothing but a summary of his 1989 English-language work. Of the 60 documents he cites, none really pertain to execution gas chambers, except one that Pressac describes as a proof (not more than one) of the existence of one execution gas chamber in Auschwitz. In fact, it is a simple letter, a commercial letter, with no mention of secrecy, from the German firm of Topf and Sons to the Auschwitz construction office ("*Bauleitung*"). It is about hydrocyanic acid (HCN) gas detectors in one of the crematoria. The engineer who signed the letter says that they have tried in vain to get from five different firms the ten required gas detectors and that, if they ever do, they will tell the construction office. Pressac contends that HCN gas detectors are of no use in a crematory except, if, in this case, it was used as an execution gas chamber.

This is an inadmissible conclusion. Zyklon B (which is essentially HCN) is a commercial pest control agent that has been used since 1922 in countries around the world. In Auschwitz it was used extensively in the disinfestation of all infected premises, especially to combat typhus. In the mortuaries of the crematoria there were plenty of infected corpses. These places sometimes needed fumigation. In 1980, I published a German document (classified by Allied officials as Nuremberg document NI-9912) about the fumigation process with Zyklon B: The word for fumigation was *Vergasung* ("gassing"), and the word for gas detector was "*Gasrestnach-*

Robert Faurisson, Europe's foremost Holocaust revisionist scholar, is a frequent *Journal* contributor.

weisgerät." This was quite common. In Auschwitz poison gas was used to kill lice, not people.

800,000 Dead?

In a famous 1955 film, "Night and Fog" ("*Nuit et Brouillard*"), which is shown in every school in France (and many in the United States), the figure of the dead in Auschwitz is said to have been nine million. The Nuremberg Tribunal established that it had been four million (Doc. USSR-008). On the Auschwitz-Birkenau monument it was also four million but, in 1990, they chiseled out this figure. In his 1989 English-language book, Pressac wrote (p. 553) that it was between one million and a million and a half. Now, in 1993, in his new French-language book, he says 775,000 dead, rounded out to 800,000. (Among those, he maintains, 630,000 Jews were gassed.) The actual figure of Auschwitz deaths between 1939 and 1945 is probably closer to 150,000, mostly because of epidemics, starvation and overwork.

Lanzmann Incensed

Claude Lanzmann, maker of the Holocaust film "Shoah," is incensed at Pressac. He says that the entire contents of this new book are already "tremendously well known," except for the gas detector document that, he adds, certainly will not convince the revisionists. He says that revisionism is a catastrophe, in both the common sense of the word as well as in the philosophical sense, that is, a change of era. He thinks that Pressac is in fact a revisionist who uses the material and physical arguments of a Faurisson. (See *Le Nouvel Observateur*, Sept. 30.)

An Expert Report

Pressac is in fact a con artist. This I showed in my 1991 review, and this I will show in a review that is to appear in a forthcoming issue of *The Journal of Historical Review*. But the value of Pressac's book is that the believers in the "Holocaust," at least in France, finally acknowledge that this "Holocaust" must now be treated as a scholarly or scientific matter. We only have to take them at their word, and to say:

> "Okay! Let's begin at the beginning. We need an expert report about the weapon of the crime. If you think that Fred Leuchter is wrong in his forensic expert report — as well as Germar Rudolf, Walter Lüftl and the Institute of Forensic Research in Krakow (what about your silence on this?) — there is an obvious solution: produce your own expert report, or commission an international committee to do so. In this way you will answer our challenge: you will show us or draw us a Nazi gas chamber."

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!

Holocaust survivor and author Albert Kawachi

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.

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.

Chapters include: At the Beginning • The Pacific • The Home Battleground • Hiroshima on August 6, 1945 • The Days After • The Surrender of Japan and Her Recovery • My America and "Pearl Harbor" • Hiroshima and Me • At the End

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Victory in a Grueling Ten-Year-Long Legal Battle

"Best Witness": Mel Mermelstein, Auschwitz and the IHR

Theodore J. O'Keefe

Fourteen years ago, over Labor Day weekend in 1979, the Institute for Historical Review held its very first conference at Northrop University in Los Angeles. At that time, the Institute announced its offer of a reward of $50,000 to the first person to prove that Jews were gassed at Auschwitz.

A little over a year later, in the spring of 1981, Mel Mermelstein, a southern California businessman and self-described Holocaust survivor, claimed that reward, and then sued the Institute for $17 million.

On October 9, 1981, in response to a motion by Mermelstein, Judge Thomas Johnson of the Superior Court of California in Los Angeles declared:

> Under Evidence Code Section 452(h), this court does take judicial notice of the fact that Jews were gassed to death at the Auschwitz Concentration Camp in Poland during the summer of 1944.... It is not reasonably subject to dispute, and it is capable of immediate and accurate determination by resort to sources of reasonably indisputable accuracy. It is simply a fact.

Because of the prejudicial effect of this action, the IHR decided not to proceed with the suit, and instead settled the matter by signing a formal letter of apology to Mermelstein on July 24, 1985, for the pain, anguish, and suffering he sustained relating to the $50,000 reward offer, and agreeing to pay him $90,000 to settle the case. (For details on the settlement, see the August 1985 *IHR Newsletter.*)

Encouraged by this success, Mermelstein later brought yet another suit for $11 million against the Institute charging malicious prosecution, defamation, conspiracy to inflict emotional distress, and intentional infliction of emotional distress. Yet on Thursday, September 19, 1991, in the Superior Court at Los Angeles, Mermelstein voluntarily dismissed most of his complaints. (Earlier that day, Judge Stephen Lachs had dismissed Mermelstein's complaint of "malicious prosecution.") This victory not only saved the Institute for Historical Review, but also substantially overturned the negative effects of the both the 1981 judicial notice and the 1985 settlement. (For more on this sweeping legal victory, see the October 1991 *IHR Newsletter.*)

The First Case

To appreciate the ramifications of this stunning reversal of fortunes, one must review the convoluted connection between Mermelstein and the IHR.

In the first ("reward") case — and despite absurdities in his reward claim obvious to any knowledgeable student of Auschwitz — Mermelstein was able to mount an aggressive attack against the IHR in the courts. He was well armed with first-rate legal assistance, much of it donated, not to mention overwhelming approval and support from the political establishment, the mass media, and southern California's influential Jewish community.

Meanwhile, the Institute had difficulty getting any legal counsel whatsoever, let alone the kind of skilled, dedicated, and fearless attorneys needed to withstand Mermelstein's publicity juggernaut and his blitz in the courtrooms. Recall the hurricane of libel and slander from the press, coming at a time when what Alfred Lilienthal has called Holocaustomania was at high tide in America. In an atmosphere of constant smears against the IHR and Revisionism, every survivor hallucination ("Nazi 'smiled' as dog ate Jew," to cite one headline of the day) gained instant currency in a corrupt media willing to accept such stories unquestionably and spread them as gospel.

Then recall the constant physical attacks that the enemies of truth and freedom aimed at IHR, its staff, and its supporters. In addition to harassment, including telephone threats, there was vandalism of IHR staff cars and homes, a physical beating of IHR founder Willis Carto, and attacks by gunfire and Molotov cocktail against the IHR office. Three separate firebombings culminated in the arson of July 4, 1984, which resulted in the total destruction of the IHR's office and warehouse. Let us also not forget the role of local Zionist thugs in carrying out much of this intimidation: I refer to the goonwork of that gang led by the revolting Irving Rubin, the so-called

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Theodore J. O'Keefe is an IHR editor. Educated at Harvard University, he has published numerous articles on historical and political subjects. This essay is slightly edited from his presentation at the Eleventh IHR Conference, October 1992.

national chairman of the Jewish Defense League — but whom I prefer to regard as the Grand Wizard, or, better, the Grand Dullard, of the Kosher Ku Klux Klan.

Judicial Notice

And so, with the help of high-priced lawyers, a corrupt media, and Jewish terrorists, Mermelstein seemingly laid to rest the historical issue by obtaining Judge Johnson's ridiculous judicial notice. His lawyers went on to concoct a massive $17 million assault for breach of contract, conspiracy, intentional infliction of emotional distress, and so forth, until IHR had virtually no choice but to capitulate by settling out of court in preference to losing a potentially ruinous trial.

The frustrating thing for all informed and conscientious Revisionists was that the IHR's researchers were aware from the beginning, thanks to the very affidavit Mermelstein presented to claim the $50,000 reward, that when he described watching his mother and sisters enter "gas chamber no. 5" through a tunnel, he was speaking of an impossibility, an absurdity that became even more absurd six months later, when, in sworn testimony, he said he'd seen them going down the stairs into the tunnel to the gas chamber. Why? Because even then it was well known to all students of Auschwitz that "gas chamber no. 5" — in fact, Auschwitz Krematorium building V — had no stairs descending from the outside, no tunnel, and no basement. It was entirely above ground!

As the IHR's staff and supporters gathered more evidence, in the months and years of the first trial, they learned more. In Mermelstein's own book, *By Bread Alone*, which offers a detailed account of the single night and day he spent at Birkenau (May 21-22, 1944), and which was published only two years before his sworn affidavit in application for the reward, Mermelstein wrote *nothing* of witnessing his mother and sisters enter any building at all, let alone any gas chamber — whether down the stairs, up the ladder, through the window, or down the chimney.

During the course of the long discovery phase, that is, the period in which the opposing parties gather evidence to support their case, researchers for the IHR, led by Louis A. Rollins, were able to gather much more information about what Mermelstein had said (or hadn't said), and was still saying, about his experiences in wartime Europe.

Working from a mass of statements, either direct or reported, made by Mermelstein about his past life (paying particular attention to his time at Auschwitz and other camps), Rollins was able to compile a list of instances in which, it seemed to him, Mermelstein had either:

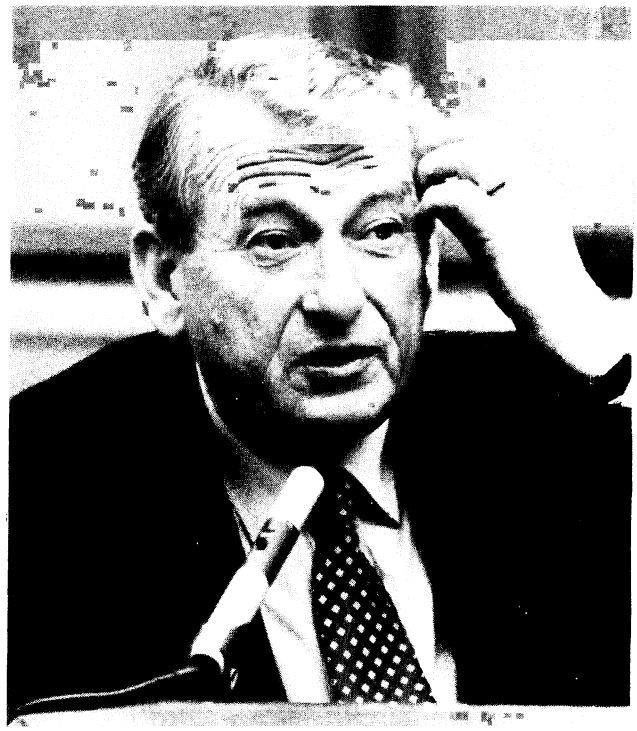
First, *contradicted himself* in his various statements on what he had seen or experienced during the Holocaust (for example, his several different accounts of how and where his father died), or;

Second, made *absurd* claims about what had happened to him and others during the Holocaust — for example, witnessing a non-existent tunnel leading to the imaginary cellar of Krematorium 5, or being ordered to wash with soap made from dead Jews.

Contradictions and absurdities — Lou Rollins compiled 33 of them on a list that ran to eleven pages. But because of the judicial notice, all of this research went to naught. How, then, did it prove important in the second case?

The IHR Fights Back

It happened like this: In 1984 an independent writer and journalist by the name of Bradley Smith approached the Institute seeking funding for a newsletter; Smith had decided to take on the thankless task of alerting America's journalists to the falsehood and fraud they were accepting and disseminating uncritically under the rubric of the Holocaust. Smith went on to publish some of the most flagrant instances of these claims in his newsletter *Prima Facie*, and not surprisingly, among the ripest contradictions and absurdities in the lore of the Holocaust were the testimony and statements of Mel Mermelstein, as researched by Lou Rollins and studied, with due diligence — remember that phrase, due diligence — by Bradley Smith.



Mel Mermelstein in the witness stand. (UPI/Bettmann photo)

Alas, Smith's trumpet calls in *Prima Facie* went unheeded by our nation's press corps. In July 1985

came the settlement and the triumph of Mermelstein, followed by his false gloating about how he had collected the reward, and his false claim, made during a radio broadcast from New York that August, that the IHR had signed the 1981 judicial notice, and thus accepted the "fact" of homicidal gassings of Jews at Auschwitz.

As had happened after the 1981 judicial notice, tributes and congratulations flowed in to the "survivor" from around the globe. How galling it was for Revisionists to see Mermelstein vaunt himself to the nation and the world as the man who proved the Holocaust, who had humbled IHR and the Revisionists!

Undaunted

In the wake of this bitter defeat, IHR had two tasks:

First, to explain the settlement to its subscribers and supporters around the world, to reassure them that IHR had accepted a compromise to avoid the expense and uncertainty of trial but — and in spite of what Mel Mermelstein and our other enemies were saying — had not abandoned its skepticism on the gas chambers, and had *not* accepted the judicial notice.

Second, to show the flag, to proclaim our defiance, to fight back.

In the September 1986 issue of the *IHR Newsletter* (then editor) Bradley Smith took direct aim, not at the so-called Holocaust, not at every one of its survivors, but at that minority he firmly believed, on the basis of a reasonably careful (or "duly diligent") study of the evidence, was actively engaged in spreading falsehoods about their experiences. Smith wrote of "the vainglorious prevaricators," "the false-tale spinners who claim to speak for the survivor community," and "such demonstrable frauds as Melvin Mermelstein and Elie Wiesel." Smith's good faith assertion that Mermelstein was a fraud was based on the previously mentioned list that Rollins had compiled for the first trial.

The sweet taste of victory had done nothing to mellow Mermelstein's disposition, and when he learned of Smith's short *IHR Newsletter* article, he sued for defamation.

The Second Case

After Mermelstein launched his second suit, the Institute, learning of his misrepresentation of the settlement of the reward case, filed a defamation suit of its own against Mermelstein in August 1986. The IHR never served this suit, and later voluntarily dismissed it. Thereupon Mermelstein sued the IHR for malicious prosecution, and with the help of his attorney, Jeffrey N. Mausner (formerly of the federal government's "Nazi-hunting" Office of Special Investigations), concocted an $11 million suit for four causes of action: libel, malicious prosecution, conspiracy to inflict emotional distress, and intentional infliction of emotional distress.

This suit was brought against four defendants: the Legion for the Survival of Freedom, the nonprofit corporation through which IHR functions; Liberty Lobby, the nationalist and populist institution based in Washington, DC; Willis Carto, founder of both IHR and the Liberty Lobby; and the southern California law firm of Robert Von Esch, Jr., which had defended Liberty Lobby in the reward case, and had filed the IHR's defamation suit against Mermelstein in 1986.

Pre-trial Shenanigans

The lead-up to trial was both protracted and eventful. After hearing of the defamation suit against him, Mermelstein demanded that the Hartford Insurance Company, where he had his homeowner's insurance, pay his legal costs. When Hartford refused, pointing out (reasonably enough) that Mermelstein had never been served, attorney Mausner represented the IHR's suit as a big threat to Mermelstein. Mausner was able to intimidate Hartford with his client's Holocaust-survivor status to the extent of securing $60 thousand for Mermelstein in a settlement, as well as obtaining very generous legal fees for himself. Apparently, Hartford was unaware that at this same time Mausner was maintaining in a California court that IHR's suit was entirely groundless and frivolous.

In February 1989, a process server seeking Willis Carto on behalf of Mermelstein mistook the IHR's former accountant, Robert Fenchel, for Carto at the Ninth Revisionist Conference at the Old World Shopping Center. That November, Judge John Zebrowski found that, in spite of the non-service, the IHR was delinquent in not notifying Mermelstein of his mistake: Zebrowski imposed sanctions of $3,000, which the Institute was obliged to pay before it could begin to defend itself.

This was followed by a number of unfavorable pretrial rulings: Mermelstein was allowed to add new legal theories to his libel suit, four years after it had been filed. The IHR was not allowed to make use of a California law which allows a newspaper to retract offending statements and thus avoid suit. The Institute's motion for summary judgment on whether the Institute had probable cause to sue Mermelstein for libel (and thus defeat his malicious prosecution complaint) was rejected. Finally, in January 1991 Mermelstein succeeded in obtaining a *second* judicial notice of gassing at Auschwitz.

Nevertheless, not everything went Mermelstein's way: two judges, both Jewish, who believed they might not be able to be impartial, did the decent thing and disqualified themselves.

The Best Defense

After nearly five years of pre-trial maneuvering and legal jousting, the trial at last loomed before us. The IHR was represented by William Hulsy of Irv-

ine. Liberty Lobby's attorney was Mark Lane, an experienced trial lawyer, a long-time fighter for civil rights, noted critic of the Warren Report, bestselling author, movie scriptwriter, and anti-Zionist Jew. Lane served as the defendants' lead attorney, dealing primarily with the conspiracy complaint. Hulsy was responsible for combating the defamation charges, and for formulating the overall trial strategy.

They were assisted by Charles Purdy of San Diego, who also represented Liberty Lobby, and by Willis Carto, who defended himself. Finally, the Von Esches (primarily Mark Von Esch, son of Robert, Jr.) defended their firm, and were to concentrate on dealing with the malicious prosecution complaint.

William Hulsy had been recommended to us by John Schmitz, the former US Congressman and very good friend of Revisionism and IHR. A successful attorney with experience in more than 200 jury trials, Hulsy finally agreed to take our case in spite of warnings from friends and colleagues, and his own apprehensions about possible damage to his career.

Hulsy firmly believed that the case could be fought and won on its legal merits, and that to make the main issue the Holocaust — as Mermelstein's attorneys were seeking to do — might very well result in an annihilating defeat. He decided to oppose the libel complaint by convincingly demonstrating to a jury, if possible, that everything Smith had written about Mermelstein was true. Failing that, he would show that Mermelstein was "a public figure," who had thrust himself to the forefront of participation in a public controversy in order to influence the resolution of the issues involved (his constitutional privilege, according to the ruling of the Supreme Court under Earl Warren, in the famous *New York Times* vs. Sullivan ruling of 1964). Hulsy would also seek to show that the question of Mermelstein's credibility as an eyewitness to the gassings and the Holocaust was a matter of public concern; that Brad Smith had exercised "due diligence," not reckless disregard for the truth, in his research for the offending article; that Brad's description of Mel was not based on personal malice; and that the IHR's *Newsletter* was not (as Mermelstein sought to argue) disseminated to the public at large, but was instead a periodical circulated to a limited readership that shared a specific interest in Revisionism. Establishing any or all of these things might suffice to defeat the libel complaint; failing that, to minimize damages.

Thanks to the evidence carefully compiled by Lou Rollins and others, we could show that what had appeared in the *IHR Newsletter* about Mermelstein was true. This alone should have been enough to defeat the libel complaint, but Hulsy believed that it might not be enough to convince a Los Angeles jury.

My Assignment

My first assignment was to demonstrate to Bill Hulsy that the IHR and revisionists were not "neo-Nazis" or cranky flat-earthers, but responsible researchers with a different viewpoint on modern history. After winning his confidence, he set me to work gathering, compiling and evaluating evidence to defend against Mermelstein's libel complaint, based on Hulsy's research and understanding of the law. Again and again, Hulsy stressed that he wanted evidence to win the trial, not to disprove the Holocaust. But I must confess that I cheated: I sought every bit of evidence I could lay my hands on about Mermelstein's actual experiences during the Second World War, and what he'd said about them over the years.

Aided by numerous volunteers who worked not only in California but across the United States, and in Germany, Poland, and Israel, we searched for whatever we could find about Mermelstein and his family. This included evidence about his mental soundness (Mermelstein had admitted to being under the care of a psychiatrist); information as to his litigation with persons other than the IHR; newspaper reports quoting Mermelstein on his Auschwitz experiences; and, of course, wartime documents from Auschwitz and elsewhere that would disprove his claims about witnessing atrocities, above all the alleged gassing of his mother and sisters at Auschwitz in May 1944.

My first step was to nail down the existing evidence, much of it from the first trial: Mermelstein's sworn statements in the form of transcribed depositions (of which there were eleven, running to some twelve hundred pages of close interrogation by IHR and Liberty Lobby lawyers), written responses to interrogatories, and the like; Mermelstein's writings, above all his autobiographical account of his concentration camp experiences, *By Bread Alone*; and his public statements on his Holocaust years, reported in more than a hundred different newspaper and magazine articles, and on several recordings of presentations by Mermelstein at synagogues or seminars as well as on radio broadcasts.

Further evidence came from history and reference books, such as Jewish encyclopedias; public documents and records, including statements made by Mermelstein to authorities at the Auschwitz State Museum and the German consulate in Los Angeles; wartime documents from the German camps; and Mermelstein's US Army medical records.

As this mass of paper and audiotape accumulated, I had to read and re-read, to analyze and evaluate, to extract and collate and tabulate the evidence that would serve our defense against Mermelstein's complaint that he was libeled by the IHR's description of him as "a vainglorious prevaricator," "a false-tale spinner," and "a demonstrable

fraud."

Contradictions and Absurdities

While Mermelstein was a rather difficult witness who had attempted (sometimes with success) to intimidate IHR attorneys during depositions by playing the Holocaust card, he was often boastful and extravagant, and provided many nuggets for analysis and comparison.

I began my compilation of contradictions and absurdities in Mermelstein's Holocaust claims with the list that Lou Rollins had put together. With much more evidence and a great deal more time than was available to Rollins, I compiled a new list, longer and more thorough than his original, but including many of the discrepancies and exaggerations that he had caught years earlier.

This listing had to be not only exhaustive, but reasonable and persuasive. Citing mere slips of the tongue, or mistakes attributable to sloppy journalists, would not only have been poor scholarship, it wouldn't have persuaded a jury.

Caught

In all, I discovered 30 absurdities, 22 contradictions, and a number of exaggerations. These examples went directly to the matter of Mermelstein as a "demonstrable fraud," a "vainglorious prevaricator," and a "false-tale spinner."

Among the absurdities were the nonexistent subterranean tunnel to the above-ground crematory, the soap made from Jewish bodies, a claim that Auschwitz camp "kapos" were rewarded for every prisoner they killed, and that there was a railroad track leading from the crematory to a pond for dumping ashes.

Contradictions

Since the summer of 1980, Mermelstein has repeatedly stated that he saw his mother and sisters go into a gas chamber, or into tunnel leading to it, from a distance of "a stone's throw away," a distance of "40, 50 feet," and that he watched the "gas chamber" building for "a couple of hours." Remarkably, though, Mermelstein made no mention of witnessing any of this in any account available prior to 1980, including his supposedly autobiographical book, *By Bread Alone*.

This is nothing compared to his varying versions of the fate that befell his father. In a declaration given in November 1969 at the German consulate in Los Angeles, Mermelstein said his father died during "evacuation marches to Blechhammer from other camps." According to the account given in *By Bread Alone*, though, Mermelstein's father died in bed after working himself to death, trading food for cigarettes. In a May 1981 deposition, his father had died of overwork and exhaustion, while in a June 1985 deposition, he died of "exhaustion, cruelty, starvation, and beatings." According to still other accounts given by Mel Mermelstein, his father was "gassed at Auschwitz."

Mermelstein has given similarly contradictory accounts of what he did while interned at Auschwitz (between approximately May 21 and July 1, 1944). In a statement given in November 1969 at the German consulate in Los Angeles, he had "no occupation." Similarly, in a May 1981 deposition, he declared that had done "practically nothing . . . just some detail work" and "no physical work."

In February 1987, a dramatically different account of Mermelstein's time in Auschwitz appeared. Ed Koch (who was then mayor of New York City) told of a meeting with Mermelstein during a tour of Auschwitz. Koch reported in a newspaper article that Mermelstein had told him: "I was part of the special detail which hauled the bodies from the gas chamber and took them to the crematoria."

Exaggerations

In claiming that Auschwitz camp kapos would kill an inmate if "they didn't like the shape of your nose," Mermelstein seemed to suggest that his own nose was not unattractive. Survival could be just as cruel as death, Mel implied on another occasion, because the bread given to Auschwitz inmates (during the period when he claimed to have done "practically nothing") was intended not for nourishment, but to kill inmates "as fast as they expected us to die." At Buchenwald, Mermelstein would have us believe, he went swimming "in blood," even though he and others had been transported to Buchenwald

Theodore J. O'Keefe

"only for one purpose" — to be disposed of in crematorium rather than "litter . . . the beautiful towns and cities with our bodies."

Fortunately, Mermelstein and many others like him miraculously survived. One of these friends, Dr. Miklos Nyiszli (who wrote his own book about his stay entitled, *Auschwitz: A Doctor's Eyewitness Account*), was a truly exceptional survivor. In a 1981 deposition, Mermelstein claimed that Dr. Nyiszli, whom he supposedly knew personally, would testify on Mermelstein's behalf about the alleged crimes of Dr. Josef Mengele at Auschwitz. At that time, though, Nyiszli had been dead for more than 25 years.

The evidence we were able to collect about Mermelstein's credibility not only persuaded our attorneys that this was a very unreliable witness, to say the least; it also, I believe, gave them additional confidence to challenge Mermelstein directly.

New Evidence

In addition to all the evidence cited above, we obtained yet another piece of potentially explosive evidence: a document that indicates that Mermelstein's sisters may have been alive nearly five months after he insisted they were killed. This secret German document, dated October 12, 1944, lists 500 Jewish females who were being transported from Auschwitz to Altenburg (a sub-camp of Buchenwald). Among those listed are Edith and Magda Mermelstein, names identical to those of Mermelstein's two sisters. This document is dated almost five months after the day in May 1994 when Mermelstein swears he saw them gassed. While the birth dates of Edith and Magda as typed on this document do not tally precisely with those given by Mermelstein for his two sisters in *By Bread Alone*, there is good reason to believe that the two women on the list were, in fact, his sisters.

Forewarned and Forearmed

From the volume of evidence we acquired, we learned two important things:

First, that Mermelstein is simply not a credible witness to gassings at Auschwitz, or to very much else involving concentration camps and the Holocaust. The contradictions, exaggerations, and absurdities lovingly noted and recorded by the IHR's researchers amply demonstrate this, not merely to Revisionists and others skeptical of "survivor" testimony, but any knowledgeable, intelligent, and fair-minded person. Whether Mermelstein is fibbing, to others or to himself; whether he has forgotten; or whether whatever he did experience has so deranged his mind as to render him incapable of rationally recounting the facts, his testimony proves nothing about the existence of Nazi gas chambers or a policy to exterminate Jews. If anything, careful analysis of his statements indicates the opposite: that there were no Auschwitz gas chambers or German policy to exterminate the Jews.

Second, there is no evidence that Mermelstein ever claimed to have witnessed the gassing of his mother and sisters until after he learned of the IHR's reward offer. He apparently first claimed to have personally seen them enter a so-called gas chamber in letters attacking the IHR that appeared in newspapers in southern California and Israel in the summer of 1980.

Neither his book, *By Bread Alone* (published in 1979), nor a statement made for the Auschwitz State Museum in 1967 about his wartime experiences in the camp, nor a sworn affidavit given at the German consulate in Los Angeles in 1969 about crimes he had witnessed during his time at Auschwitz, contains *a word about witnessing any gassing*.

Similarly, there is no mention whatsoever of Mermelstein having witnessed the entry of his mother and sisters into a gas chamber, or anything like that, in any of the several detailed press accounts about his industrious activity as a lecturer, exhibitor of artifacts, and museum proprietor published prior to the 1979 reward offer.

The Trial

After several postponements in the first half of 1991, the trial was upon us. It followed a new Mermelstein media propaganda blitz, the centerpiece of which was the made-for-television movie *Never Forget*. This lurid and false account of the "reward case" was broadcast nationwide over the Turner cable television network in April 1991 (or just before the original trial date).

To make things more interesting, shortly before trial the Von Esches, on whose shoulders virtually our entire defense of the malicious prosecution complaint rested, threw in the towel and capitulated. After already enduring years of vituperation as agents of a worldwide Nazi cabal, they gave in to fear that their law practice would be ruined.

The Von Esches settled with a payment to Mermelstein of $100,000, and a craven — I'm sorry to say — apology agreeing that, yes, Jews had been gassed at Auschwitz, and that millions more had perished in Auschwitz and other camps at the hands of the Germans.

Then we got a break. We learned that the trial judge, Stephen Lachs, was Jewish, a member of the liberal American Civil Liberties Union, and the first avowed homosexual to serve as a judge in California history. As it happened, Lachs turned out to be a conscientious and impartial judge, despite the sensitive nature of the case and the blatant attempts by Mermelstein's attorneys to appeal to his Jewish background.

The combination of Mark Lane's trial savvy and Bill Hulsy's careful strategy brought about, against all expectations (ours as well as theirs), an annihi-

lating victory for the forces of historical truth and freedom of inquiry. The 49 pretrial motions crafted by Hulsy to withstand and counter Mermelstein's case were like a mighty fortress protecting us and blocking the enemy's advance. Thus, even to get to a jury trial, Mermelstein's three lawyers — lead attorney Lawrence Heller, Peter Bersin, and Jeff Mausner — were forced to attack across legal mine fields, negotiate factual tank traps and concertina wire, dare procedural pill boxes and machine gun nests. The plaintiff's legal assault was contained at the outset, suffering heavy casualties during the close-in combat over the pre-trial motions. When Mermelstein's lawyers attempted a retreat it quickly turned into a rout. In the end, a downcast plaintiff and his (somewhat bedraggled) lawyers slunk from the courtroom, seemingly dazed by defeat.

Mermelstein Takes the Stand

This is not to say that Mel Mermelstein didn't have his day in court. He and his counsel had unwisely declined to stipulate that he was a "public figure," as we had tried to establish (mindful of the added protection against defamation suits by public figures provided by the Supreme Court in a landmark 1964 decision). He also contested our motion to sever the determination of that issue from the matters to be decided by the jury. (We had wanted Judge Lachs to rule on this.)

As a result, Mermelstein took the stand, allowing Mark Lane to examine him on the question of whether his activities qualified him as a public figure according to the standards of the court. Mermelstein attempted to argue that he was not a public figure, in spite of his admission on the stand that he is: a published author; the founder of the "Auschwitz Study Foundation"; the curator of a Holocaust museum (that was first a traveling Holocaust exhibition); the willing subject of scores of newspaper and magazine stories, radio and television interviews; an eager accumulator of plaudits and testimonials from state and local governments, and laurels from the likes of Israel's late Prime Minister Menachem Begin; and a lecturer who has spoken, over nearly two decades, at numerous colleges, high schools, synagogues, and so forth, across the United States.

Lane led him carefully through each of these damaging admissions. Evidently Mermelstein had believed that he could represent himself as someone who had been dragged *unwillingly* into the public arena by the IHR (even though most of his various public activities started before he'd ever heard of the Institute).

After establishing Mermelstein as an author, curator, founder of a non-profit educational organization, political honoree, and media star over the airwaves and in print, Lane zeroed on Mermelstein's activities as a lecturer. About how many lectures had he given on Auschwitz prior to 1985, Lane wanted to know. Here Mermelstein, uncommonly forthcoming so far, began to prevaricate. Despite ample testimony out of his own mouth and pen as to his numerous lectures over the years, testimony of which the defendants were very well aware, Mermelstein claimed that he had given only about as many talks as "the fingers on my hands."

Thereupon Lane flourished a typed list, signed by Mermelstein, of more than 30 lectures given by him in a period of just 18 months in 1981-1982. Mermelstein tried to be crafty: he allowed that he might have lectured more than once at the same place — not the most effective answer, but one that later might defuse the issue for an inattentive jury.

At this point I recalled that in one of his depositions Mermelstein had estimated giving an average of 20 lectures a year on Auschwitz since 1967. I quickly found the statement in a deposition given in 1985. After a break for lunch, Mark Lane confronted Mermelstein with his own words, and then, using a pencil and pad to multiply 18 by 20 (a calculation equalling 360), Lane asked Mermelstein if he hadn't just told the court that he had only given as many lectures as there are fingers on his hands. A vexed Mermelstein then blurted out, "I meant the fingers of my hands and *feet*!"

At that point, Judge Lachs was seen to roll his eyes heavenward. A few minutes later, Bersin rose to concede his client's status as a public figure.

Judge Lachs Rules

Several days later, after carefully considering the text of Mermelstein's characterization of the IHR's 1985 settlement (which the plaintiff had made on a New York City radio broadcast shortly after that settlement), Judge Lachs declared that Mermelstein's claim that IHR had "signed" the 1981 judicial notice of gassing at Auschwitz could indeed be interpreted by a reasonable man as defamatory. This meant, he ruled, that IHR had had probable cause to sue Mermelstein in 1986, and that thus he had no alternative but to grant the IHR's motion for dismissal of Mermelstein's malicious prosecution complaint.

Soon afterwards, Mermelstein dismissed his libel and conspiracy complaints, and he and his attorneys trundled wearily out of the courtroom, haggling over who would pay for the transcript, a requirement in any appeal.

As reported elsewhere in this issue of the *Journal*, Mermelstein's appeal of Judge Lachs's dismissal of his malicious prosecution complaint was unanimously rejected by the California Court of Appeal on October 28, which should serve to end the second Mermelstein suit and, perhaps, the long and costly Mermelstein affair.

Best Isn't Good Enough

At one point in a deposition, Mel Mermelstein

referred himself as his own "best witness." In spite of his evident failings as a credible eyewitness to the gas chambers and the Holocaust, I agree with this self-description. In a very real sense, Mermelstein is indeed the best witness to the gas chambers. He twice succeeded in getting judges in the state of California, a trendsetter in legal fashion as in so much else, to pronounce the Auschwitz gassings as indisputable fact.

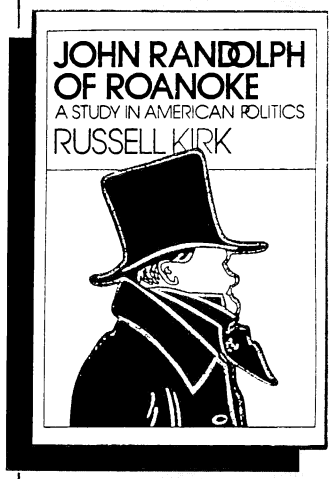
While sharing with the Elie Wiesels, the Rudolf Vrbas and the Filip Müllers the same knack for wild exaggerations, bizarre contradictions, and flat absurdities, Mermelstein is unlike them in having submitted his claims to careful scrutiny and relentless cross-examination. And so, while Mel Mermelstein is admittedly so far the best witness to the alleged gas chambers at Auschwitz, the best clearly isn't good enough.

If it were to end right here, this report on the great victory by the IHR and its co-defendants would be incomplete. This account — delivered before this Institute's loyal supporters and contributors, and some of the many researchers who gathered evidence across America and around the world — must appropriately conclude with an expression of our heartfelt thanks to them, and to all our subscribers and supporters. By contributing their time, their expertise, their money and their prayers, they have made this victory possible. With your loyal support, we pledge to carry on the fight for truth and freedom, for the honor of those who can no longer speak, for the enlightenment of those yet unborn, until the final victory.

More radical than Jefferson

Who Was John Randolph?

Here's an authoritative biographical treatment of a great American political maverick in the almost vanished tradition of rugged individualism. Described by Thomas Jefferson as "unrivaled as leader of the House," Randolph's influence was so great that Henry Clay once said "his acts came near shaking the Union to the centre, and desolating this fair land." In the view of historian Samuel Flagg Bemis, Randolph was an "extraordinary man, perhaps the most spectacular personality that ever sat in the Congress of the United States." "For a stimulating introduction to intellectual history," commented the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, "for acquaintance with a mental giant who rebelled against the trends of his times, **John Randolph of Roanoke** will move its reader pleasantly through a chapter of American history that too commonly is told only from the dominant, Jeffersonian, side of the record."



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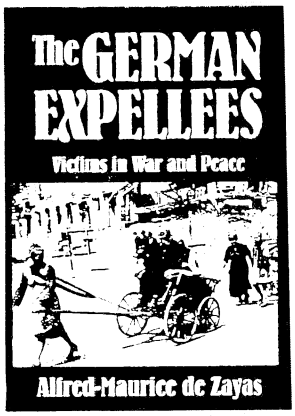
The Century's Greatest Wave of Ethnic Cleansing



At the end of World War Two some 15 million ethnic Germans in Central and Eastern Europe, caught between the Soviet armies to the east and the Anglo-American forces to the west, were driven from their ancestral homelands and in many cases slaughtered by Red Army troops and Polish civilians bent on revenge. It was a holocaust that claimed more than two million lives, the overwhelming majority of them civilians. Alfred de Zayas (**Nemesis at Potsdam**), a lawyer, historian and human rights expert specializing in refugees and minorities, brings to light testimony in German and American archives detailing these atrocities as he sketches the history of the many German communities scattered from the Baltic to the Danube. This carefully documented study adds a new, grim chapter to the annals of human cruelty.

The German Expellees
by Alfred de Zayas
Hardbound, 177pp., 24 Photos, Notes, Index, Bibliography, $35 + $2 postage from Institute for Historical Review

IN COLD BLOOD . . .

GRUESOME HARVEST: The Allies' Postwar War Against the German People, by Ralph F. Keeling, tells the grim, suppressed story of how the victorious Allies—after the end of the Second World War—carried on a brutal campaign against defeated Germany's civilian population. Completely reset attractive new IHR edition of a moving classic, with a new publisher's introduction by Ted O'Keefe. Bristling with contemporary documentation, burning with humanitarian and patriotic outrage, this informed, riveting classic dares to tell the shameful story of how American and other Allied policymakers undertook the political, economic and social destruction of the German people even as they presumed to instruct them in "justice" and "democracy." Softcover. 151 pp., $9.00 + $2 shipping.

Shaping American Thinking Through the Silver Screen

Screening History, by Gore Vidal. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard Univ. Press, 1992. Hardcover. 97 pages. Photographs. ISBN 0-674-79586-5.

Reviewed by Theodore J. O'Keefe

Few contemporary American writers pretending to serious literature have boasted as wide a range of concerns, poses, feuds and accomplishments as Gore Vidal. He's run the gamut from littérateur (novelist, playwright, essayist, screenwriter) to unsuccessful politician (Democratic candidate for Congress in New York, 1960, and Democratic candidate for senator in California, 1982), to television talk-show oracle (from his days as a fighting liberal on Jack Paar's "Tonight" show to his contemporary command performances, seemingly uncurtailed even by his much criticized public antipathy toward Israel).

Sometimes the stern classicist and defender of America's Old Republican polity, Vidal has been, just as often, the salacious gossip and subject of gossip, which only begins with Vidal's frank and long-standing affirmation of his own homosexuality.

Vidal has been slugged by Norman Mailer, traduced by Truman Capote, called a "goddamn queer" on television by William F. Buckley, Jr., excluded from Jack Kennedy's White House, and grappled with the politruks of American's English and Comparative Literature departments for thumbing his nose at what he calls in *Screening America* their "hacking away at the olive trees of Academe while seeding the Cephisus River with significant algae" (p. 4).

Vidal can offend and enlighten, often doing both at once. This slender book, which contains the William E. Massey Lectures in the History of American Civilization, is no exception. Catty stabs at antagonists and rivals, cutting vignettes of cherished personages (from Franklin Roosevelt to Frank Capra), snide slaps at cherished institutions (Vidal lets his long-standing war with Christianity seep into these pages) combine with sharp insights into American history, particularly as to how America's West Coast (Hollywood) establishment successfully supported the East Coast establishment's dragooning of a fundamentally anti-interventionist populace into the Second World, and subsequent, wars deleterious to the Republic.

The focal point of *Screening America* is the role of moving images (chiefly filmed, although Vidal hardly slights the influence of television "news" casting) on the popular perception of politics and history in America. Vidal, an author of numerous best-sellers, dismisses the import of literature in today's "Agora."

("Today the public seldom mentions a book, though people will often chatter about the screened versions of unread novels." [p. 3] Vidal would surely nod

A scene from the 1937 Hollywood production, "Fire Over England," starring Laurence Olivier and Vivian Leigh, with Flora Robson as Queen Elizabeth the First. Gore Vidal comments: "Will the young Olivier and Leigh be able to put out the flames for the sake of free men everywhere? Yes! They could and they did. The world was saved from the Spanish dictator Philip II, as it would be saved by Nelson from the French dictator Napoleon in the next century, as it would be saved by Churchill from the German Hitler in the twentieth century." In Vidal's view, such "British propaganda movies of the 1930s were making us all weirdly English."

approvingly at these lines of Goethe: "One can talk nonsense, write it too. It will die in his life and soul, everything will stay the same. Idiocy, however, placed before the eye, has a magic right: since it binds the senses, the spirit remains enslaved.")

Chapter One, "The Prince and the Pauper," defers direct comment on history and politics to interweave premise with plot, which largely concerns Vidal's precocious artistic maturation in an extraordinary, moveable household headed by his mother, Nina Gore Vidal Auchincloss Olds, and the succession of fathers, natural and step, designated by that lady's imposing train of married surnames. (For her risqué evaluation of her three mates, according to the author, see page 11.) Vidal's telling of the initial effects of such movies as "A Midsummer Night's Dream," "The Mummy," and "The Prince and the Pauper" on his personal consciousness and aesthetic vision may be of little interest to most readers. Intriguing, though, is his account of his extended family and "tribe," with its ramifications even into the Kennedy White House (through the Auchincloss connection to Jackie), the Carter White House (the author claims to be Jimmy's fifth-cousin), and even unto Bill Clinton's administration (Al Gore is a distant cousin).

Brought up in Washington, Vidal drank deep in the history and symbolism of the "American Republic." (He is one of the few writers honored in the New York-Hollywood agora who can write that last phrase unselfconsciously.) He had various preceptors. Perhaps more than his father, Eugene, who founded three airlines and served as Director of Air Commerce in FDR's first term, the man who placed his stamp on the young Vidal was his grandfather, Senator Thomas Gore of Oklahoma, who despised the pro-war policies of Woodrow Wilson and Franklin Roosevelt. As a boy, Gore Vidal spent many hours reading to the blind senator, and clearly imbibed much sense from the old man's aristocratic-populist American republican notions.

Of the first of his grandfather's two great enemies, Vidal writes (p. 34):

> It had been hard enough for Wilson to maneuver us into the First World War, as my grandfather believed that he had meant to do as early as 1916. We got nothing much of that war except an all-out assault on the Bill of Rights in 1919 and, of course, the prohibition of alcohol. The world was not even made safe for democracy, a form of government quite alien to the residents of our alabaster cities, much less to those occupants of our fruited plains.

Of the second great enemy of his grandfather (as of all decent men), Vidal recalls (p. 72) his learning of Franklin Roosevelt's death:

> I was delighted, of course. He had got us into the war; he had established a dictatorship; he had defeated my grandfather in the election of 1936. He was also the only president that I could remember, and I was bored to death with him.

Vidal devotes an entire chapter to British-made and -inspired films that, produced in the late 1930s, skillfully promoted British propaganda aims, above all the notion of a special American kinship with and duty to the "mother country" ("a phrase calculated to put on edge," the author writes, "my grandfather's Anglo-Irish false teeth"). Whether produced in America or England, such films as "Henry VIII," "Fire over England," and "That Hamilton Woman" revived the myth of the small, plucky island nation, gallantly striving for its own liberties and those of other countries against dictatorial oppressors. To the young Vidal, and to many other impressionable Americans of the time (p. 39),

On our screens, in the thirties, it seemed as if the only country on earth was England, and there were no great personages who were not English, or impersonated by English actors. I recall no popular films about Washington or Jefferson or Lincoln the president.

On the influence in those years of the large English colony in Hollywood, Vidal writes (p. 33):

> For those who find disagreeable today's Zionist propaganda, I can only say that gallant little Israel of today must have learned a great deal from the gallant little Englanders of the 1930s. The English kept up a propaganda barrage that was to permeate our entire culture, with all sorts of unexpected results. Since the movies were by now the principal means of getting swiftly to the masses, Hollywood was subtly and not so subtly influenced by British propagandists.

This propaganda offensive buttressed the interventionist forces and battered America's peace party, both then and now, as follows (p. 33):

> In the thirties — as in the teens — the country was divided over whether or not the United States should join England and France against Germany. But the division was not exactly right down the middle. I have not consulted any ancient poll, but it is my impression that something like two thirds of our people wanted to stay out of the European war. The so-called liberals — as they are always so-called — included Franklin Roosevelt. The so-called conservatives, like Senator Gore, were against war in general and any war to help the British Empire in particular. Today, when the

meanings of so many words have been reversed, the conservatives speak fiercely against the, so-called by them, isolationists on the left, while the left (also known as Paleolithic conservatives) speak of minding our own business and restoring a wrecked polity, thanks to forty years of profitless — for the people at large — imperialism.

(Vidal's strictures on the British cinema offensive should be read in conjunction with Clayton R. Koppes and Gregory D. Black's *Hollywood Goes to War*, which details the operations of FDR's wartime Office of War Information, including its recognition of widespread "Anglophobia" among the reactionary American masses, and the attempts by decidedly un-Anglo-Saxon functionaries working in the OWI's Bureau of Motion Pictures to combat English films as aristocratic propaganda that supposedly endangered Allied unity. (The view that such films scanted the sweating serfs of Uncle Joe's "worker's paradise," as well as the Joes and Rosies of FDR's "war effort," revealed a profound misunderstanding of the force of snob appeal to, above all, the wretchedest of the earth.)

In the third and concluding chapter of these lectures, Vidal turns to American history as enacted in Hollywood, above all in of movies about Abe Lincoln (notably John Ford's "The Young Mr. Lincoln," which starred Henry Fonda). The author finds these productions wanting, both for cementing the treacly myth of the "democratic," plastic saint, and for neglecting the all-important war years. Vidal himself has dealt with the Great Emancipator's war years in his historical novel, *Lincoln*, which offended professional keepers of the Lincoln flame by its depiction of a hard-headed, calculating Abe for whom freeing the slaves was just another move in the brutal chess game by which he ultimately saved the Union.

American nationalist that he is, Vidal despises the sanctimonious myth, although he accepts Mr. Lincoln's war, not even pausing to muse on the fearful toll in the best American blood it exacted. And this in spite of the fact that he gave the lectures that comprise this book at Harvard's Memorial Hall, a giant cenotaph to the university's Civil War dead, the names of hundreds and hundreds of whom line its walls. (The names of the Harvard fallen in Southeast Asia could easily be writ large on the roof of a rabbit hutch, although the university seems to have profited enormously from the Vietnam-era prosperity.) Hollywood's failure to present that the Civil War as rivetingly as, say, "Exodus," Vidal regards as a signal national loss, one arguably not unrelated to the lack of regard of America's present cultural elite for any US history before the New Deal, a disdain expressed most eloquently by Norman Podhoretz, who once horrified Vidal by sniffing to him, "Well, to me, the Civil war is as remote and as irrelevant as the War of the Roses."

At the close of *Screening America*, conscious of the inefficacy of almost everything that passes for "education" in the United States today, Vidal advocates a television- and movie-based curriculum that would inculcate pupils with world history. Not entirely irreligious, he urges "screening not only Lincoln but Confucius and the Buddha." (He'd better not let his friends in the Civil Liberties Union hear that one — or perhaps it's just Christianity that has to stay banned from our schools.)

For all the present impracticality of Vidal's schemes (Jefferson and Washington and Robert E. Lee and Patrick Henry and Stephen Decatur would be "screened" today by Hollywood either as hate-crazed, slavocratic, racist, sexist bigots or as deeply closeted homosexuals), his suggestion clearly has merit.

As to what sort of republic may remain to be enjoyed by a species of television watchers, Vidal considers this question realistically, and with his customary saturnine joviality. Musing over the various nations currently resident in what he calls "the lost republic and the eroding Bill of Rights," he entertains the solution of devolution, perhaps on the Swiss model, with separate enclaves for the Latino and Asian populations. (In such a set-up, one is allowed to think, there may even be a place for the European-derived American nation that founded, sustained and lost the first [or is it the second?] republic.)

One needn't accept Gore Vidal as the rebirth of Cicero to read, profit from, and snicker at his amusing stories (why Robert Lincoln, Abe's son, stopped seeing Senator Gore; why Eleanor looked so stern at FDR's funeral; how Frank Capra wanted Vidal's "Best Man" to be screened), his mordant insights into historiography, moviemaking, and how the two have been woven into a double propaganda whammy that has injected a far speedier and more potent fix of false history into the brains of more of our fellow citizens than any number of textbooks or dime-store novels. (What is it people say when we tell them we don't believe the Holocaust?: "What about the films?")

Even at $14.95 for 97 pages, *Screening History* is well worth buying. Apprentice Latinists will have fun correcting "in hoc signes" and "annum mirabilis" (pp. 37, 44) — doubtless let stand by the Harvard University Press entirely for that purpose — while nearly every reader will wince at "Cleo" for "Clio" (p. 78). Such imperfections aside, and its author's occasional Old-Left fetishism and (veiled) evocations of the joys of Sotadic sex disregarded, Vidal's essays are a valuable contribution to the common weal, particularly in this Augustulan Age of American letters. As the old adage has it, we may choose our friends and our enemies, but we can't choose our allies.

Anyway, who wouldn't wel-

come an ally who writes (p. 91) of the latest ex-president, and a couple of earlier icons:

> For George it is always 1939, the year of "The Wizard of Oz," "Gone with the Wind," and "Young Mr. Lincoln." It is the year that Hitler invaded Poland; that Japan was conquering China. It is the year when that magnificent windbag, Churchill, was speaking up for war, and that truly amoral and cynical politician, Roosevelt, was trying simultaneously to get us into the war while carefully staying out of the war. This sort of statesmanship deeply puzzles school teachers in Gettysburg, where one is either great and good and always right, or not.

Seasoned British Journalist Names Names in Account of Massacre of Russia's Imperial Family

The Last Days of the Romanovs, by Robert Wilton. Introduction by Mark Weber. Institute for Historical Review, 1993. Softcover. 194 (+ xvii) pages. Photographs. Map. Index. ISBN 0-939484-47-1. (Available from the IHR for $12.95, plus $2 shipping.)

Reviewed by Mary Ball Martinez

This tragic historical record was to become a treasure almost as soon as it was published in 1920. Even then, a few voices were already sounding the alert about the threat of Bolshevism, which had just recently taken power in Russia. This book was one of the first writings that attempted to tell the true story of how the Bolsheviks had come to power, and just who was behind the phenomenon.

Robert Wilton, *The Times* of London's man-in-Moscow from 1902 through 1919, in chronicling the cold-blooded murder in Ekaterinberg, Siberia, of the last Tsar, his wife, four daughters, son, physician, three servants and little pet dog, was fully aware of the true facts and faced them in a text he managed to get published in England and the United States. However, only a French edition carried appendices in which the author, citing Soviet sources, alleged the Jewish origin of 17 among 22 members of the Council of People's Commissars (furnishing their real, non-slavic names), of 23 among the 36-member Cheka (secret police), and 41 among the 62-member Central Executive Committee.

Wilton was not the only informed person to make such statements. Winston Churchill, then Britain's secretary of state for war and air, was likewise warning that the new regime in Moscow was largely the creation of "international and for the most part atheistical Jews." More than one western ambassador in Russia echoed similar concerns in reports to officials back home.

Wilton's insistence that the assassination order to murder Russia's imperial family was telegraphed to the Jewish tough, Yakov Yurovsky, by Yankel Sverdlov (né Solomon) — the "Red Tsar" who then wielded at least as much power as Lenin — helps to explain why *The Last Days of the Romanovs* was soon hounded off the shelves of bookstores and libraries. Now, 73 years afterward, the IHR is to be thanked for presenting us with a handsome new edition complete with a set of rare photographs and the elusive appendices.

Few foreigners were as close to the scene during the tumultuous early twentieth century years of Russian history as Robert Wilton. His long assignment took him through the country's shock-defeat in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-05, through all the ups and downs of internal Russian politics, the violent *Potemkin* and Bloody Sunday events of 1905, and the ominous rumblings, from exile and in the underground, of Trotsky and Lenin. As a leading journalist Wilton had already been chronicling the oncoming collapse of Imperial Russia for some years, and was thus eminently well prepared to follow objectively the country's hopeless role in the "Great War" of 1914-1918, the abdication of Nicholas II, his arrest and transfer to Siberia just as anti-Marxist "white" forces had begun to gather in significant strength, opening the tortured nation to civil war.

It was an ephemeral local victory by "white" forces that provided Wilton the bulk of material for his book. Pushing into Ekaterinberg just four days after the slaughter of the Romanovs was an old acquaintance, Ural-region army commander General Diterichs, who promptly opened a commission of judicial inquiry, bringing Wilton into each step of the process during the year the Whites held out there.

Because the protagonists of the crime had already fled to the Soviet zone and because, as Wilton says, "there had probably not been another instance in the whole history of crime of precautions to escape detection half as elaborate as in the Romanov case," much of the work done during the first months was wasted, and even in the end no real justice was achieved. However, the brilliant investigator, Nicolai Sokolov,

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had acquired telegrams proving the order to kill had come from Moscow, and Wilton had enough for his book. In addition, simple local folk — peasant farmers, villagers, sentries and servants — provided Sokolov and Wilton with a long stream of testimony that gives this book an unusual flavor of intimacy regarding the royal family. During the first months before the Bolsheviks solidified their takeover and the screws were steadily tightened on the family imprisoned in the villa in Ekaterinberg, we see the former ruler of All the Russias at a carpenter's bench fashioning a platform to make sitting in the garden more comfortable, his wife helping the children with religion and German lessons, the girls inventing theatricals in French and English, and the sick son, 14, studying history to prepare himself for ruling an empire.

As vigilance was stepped up, and most of the servants were dismissed and rations severely reduced, we admire the quiet courage of the victims. Coming to the last scene we see the family, their faithful physician, Dr. Botkin, and three servants, all roused from bed at midnight, gathered in the half-cellar-room, utterly silent, waiting for death. Yurovsky has announced it. Nestled quietly in the arms of Anastasia, the youngest daughter, is the tiny spaniel, Jemmy.

Despite his sensitivity, the author eschews sentimentality, something to be grateful for in light of the exaggerations that overtook the Romanov story as years passed. The wonderful ogling of Lionel Barrymore as Rasputin would have gone down poorly with Wilton, who describes the "mad monk" as a fairly pragmatic character, a willing tool in the hands of the Empress. Concludes Wilton: "Rasputin the monster is a fiction, bred in the busy brains of politicians and elaborated by the teeming imagination of sensational novelists. Rasputin the saint is the imaginary product of a woman's diseased mind."

As a Britisher who had just come through four years of First World War propaganda in an Allied country, Wilton is surprisingly mild in his Germany-bashing. This may be due to the fact that General Ludendorff's sobering war memoir came out in 1919, the year Wilton was writing this book. Noting correctly that Berlin's decision to ship Lenin from Switzerland to Petersburg (Petrograd) in a sealed train was of enormous help to the Red cause, he adds the little-known fact that the deal also included transporting more than a hundred Jews from the United States to Russia.

The last Empress of Russia was a Princess of Hesse, that ancient German house linking half the old nobility of Europe and some of the present-day "royals" as well (Queen Sofia of Spain, for instance). One prominent Hesse descendent is reported lately to have made a move which ties in with the Ekaterinberg story. Prince Philip (Battenberg turned Montbatten), husband of Queen Elizabeth (Saxe-Coburg-Gotha-turned-Windsor) eager to carry the Sokolov inquiry to a modern conclusion, arranged for specialists to see if DNA probes on the scarred remains of the Tsaritsa match tests on living members of the Hesse clan. They do. The murdered Empress was the sister of Victoria, wife of Ludwig von Battenberg (turned Marquess of Milford-Haven), and the grandmother of Prince Philip.

Prof. Nolte's Controversial New Book

A Prominent German Historian Tackles Taboos of Third Reich History

Streitpunkte: Heutige und künftige Kontroversen um den Nationalsozialismus ("Points of Contention: Current and Future Controversies about National Socialism"), by Ernst Nolte. Berlin and Frankfurt: Propyläen, 1993. Hardcover. 492 pages. Notes. Index. ISBN: 3-549-05234-0.

Reviewed by Mark Weber

Almost half a century after its dramatic demise, the Third Reich continues to fascinate millions and provoke heated discussion. Historians, sociologists, journalists and educated lay persons debate such questions as: How was German National Socialist regime possible? How deep was popular support for Hitler and his government? Was the National Socialist regime "reactionary" or "modern," or some combination of each? Did the Third Reich represent aberration or continuity in German history? What is the origin and precise nature of the wartime "final solution of the Jewish question"?

Few persons are as qualified to tackle such questions as Dr. Ernst Nolte, emeritus professor of history at Berlin's renowned Free University. Best known for his acclaimed study of the phenomenon of fascism — published in English as *Three Faces of Fascism* — Nolte is the author of numerous books and scholarly articles. (Three books by him have been published since 1990 alone.) No stranger to controversy, it was Prof. Nolte who touched off the furious intellectual debate during the late 1980s about the legacy of Hitler and German National Socialism known as the "historians' dispute" or *Historikerstreit*.

Nolte continues the discussion in this, his latest and most controversial book, a work packed with arresting observations and insights, and written in a readable narrative style meant for both the specialist and the educated lay reader. This attractively produced book is issued by one of Germany's most prominent and respected publishers.

"Radical Revisionism"

What is most strikingly new in this book is Nolte's informed and open-minded treatment of the work of what he calls the "radical revisionists." With candor that is very rare among prominent scholars, Nolte confesses (pp. 7-9) in the foreword:

> ... I must acknowledge that, without more closely examining them, I accepted as true the factuality of events, including the figure of six million [Jewish] victims and the primary importance of the gas chambers as an instrument of extermination, as claimed by the perpetrators and victims in the large-scale trials of the 1960s, and which were not questioned by the defendants' attorneys.
>
> Only much later, in the late 1970s, did I become aware of the doubts and counter-claims of a new school, that of the "revisionists." During this same period, the research of historians of contemporary history of the stature of Martin Broszat (who founded the so-called "functionalist" school), called into question the assumption that the extermination events were the result of an intention of Hitler, and thus of an ideolog.
>
> At the same time, the more radical thesis, most effectively expressed by Frenchmen such as Paul Rassinier and Robert Faurisson, that there never was a "final solution" in the sense of an ideologically based mass extermination, and that the deaths of hundreds of thousands in camps and ghettos, or as a result of shootings by the *Einsatzgruppen* [security police forces], must be viewed in the context of the demands and circumstances of the time and certain excessive desires on the part of the military leadership. This thesis can no longer be rejected as merely nonsensical or wicked.
>
> ... I soon came to the conviction that this [revisionist] school was being opposed in the establishment literature in an unscholarly way, that is, by simple rejection, by imputing the outlook of the authors, and, above all, by treating it with silence.
>
> But even a quick look is enough to show that the outlook of the left-wing Socialist and former member of the French National Assembly, Paul Rassinier, although anti-Zionist, is also humane. And no one can accuse Robert Faurisson or Carlo Mattogno of a lack of specialized knowledge.

In the chapter entitled "The 'Final Solution of the Jewish Question' in the View of the Radical Revisionists," Nolte deals at length with the writings of prominent Holocaust revisionists, including Rassinier, Faurisson, Carlo Mattogno and Arthur Butz. Nolte also reports — unpolemically and with some respect — on the work of the Institute for Historical Review and this *Journal*.

Defending the validity of the work of these scholars (p. 308), he writes:

> The widely held opinion that any doubts about the dominant view regarding the "Holocaust" and the Six Million must be treated, from the outset, as the expression of a wicked and inhumane outlook, and, if possible, banned ... is absolutely unacceptable, and indeed must be rejected as an attack against the principle of scholarly freedom.
>
> ... The questions [raised by revisionists] about the reliability of witnesses, the value of documents as evidence, the technical feasibility of certain operations, the credibility of statistical estimates, and the importance of circumstances are not only permissible, but, on scholarly grounds, are unavoidable. Moreover, every attempt to suppress [revisionist] arguments and evidence by ignoring or prohibiting them must be regarded as illegitimate.

Notwithstanding his serious and respectful attitude toward revisionist scholarship, and his rejection of a number of once widely accepted Holocaust claims, it would be a mistake to count Nolte as a "Holocaust revisionist."

He accepts, for example, that between five and six million Jews perished as victims of German wartime policy, and that hundreds of thousands of Jews were gassed at Auschwitz-Birkenau, Treblinka and other camps. (pp. 289-290)

Characteristic is his view of the well-known "confession" of Auschwitz commandant Rudolf Höss. While acknowledging that this key piece of Holocaust evidence was extracted by torture, and that key portions are "exaggerated," Nolte nevertheless accepts it as "qualitatively" valid. (pp. 293-294, 310)

Similarly, Nolte is skeptical of at least some portions of the widely quoted "testimony" of "gas chamber" witness Filip Müller, and he regards Elie Wiesel's "eyewitness report" (in his well-known book *Night*) as "not very credible." (pp. 311, 476) Still, Nolte contends, there must be a core of truth to the "gassing" story because it has been confirmed — in its essence, if not in its details — by several "witnesses."

Nolte accurately summarizes the findings of American engineer Fred Leuchter, who examined the supposed "gas chambers" of Auschwitz in 1988 — and concluded that they were never used to kill people as alleged. More recently, Nolte has commented favorably on the detailed report of German chemist Germar Rudolf, who likewise carried out a forensic examination of the purported

Auschwitz "gas chambers." (Rudolf re-affirmed the essential conclusions reached by Leuchter. See the Nov.-Dec. 1993 *Journal*, pp. 25-26.) In a January 1992 letter, Nolte praised the *Rudolf Gutachten* as "an important contribution to a very important issue," and expressed the hope that it will provoke wide discussion. "The final word in this exchange among the technical specialists," writes Nolte," has not yet been said." (p. 316)

With regard to documentary evidence, Nolte notes: "The fact that so many Nuremberg documents exist only as copies, and that the great majority of the 'originals' have never been made available is a further argument that cannot be lightly dismissed." (p. 314)

Hitler

As he makes repeatedly clear in this book, the Berlin professor is certainly no Nazi or "apologist for Hitler." (Nolte might best be characterized as a skeptical traditionalist.)

At the same time, though, he attempts, throughout this book, to come to grips with the meaning of Hitler, presenting a complex view of the German leader that contrasts sharply with the popular media image.

Contrary to the widespread view of Hitler as a person of no real education or deep understanding, the transcripts of the German leader's freewheeling "table talk" remarks to colleagues alone show him to have been a man of extraordinary intelligence, perception and wide-ranging knowledge. Hitler understood English and French, and some Italian. He read widely, and had an astonishing knowledge in many fields. A reading of the transcripts of his conversations with minister Albert Speer, for example, shows that Hitler had a specialist's understanding of armaments. (p. 163)

Nolte takes note of the work of Rainer Zitelmann, a young German historian who has assembled compelling evidence to show that Hitler was a remarkably more far-sighted, subtle, intelligent and "modern" leader than historians have understood or acknowledged. (pp. 131, 150)

As Nolte observes, English historian Alan Bullock argues that in the military field, Hitler's ideas and innovations were far more advanced and progressive than those of any other statesman of his time.

Far more accurately than Churchill, Stalin and Roosevelt, Hitler foresaw the shape of the world that would emerge in the aftermath of the Second World War. He rather clearly foresaw the Cold War rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union, and the place of Germany in the postwar world.

Achievements

A real understanding of the Third Reich, Nolte maintains, requires an acknowledgment not only of Hitler's failures, but also of his undeniable achievements as a political leader and statesman.

Perhaps Hitler's "greatest achievement" — in the view of one historian cited here — was his success in winning the support of the great majority of the German people.

This was due in no small part to another achievement: Hitler's success in bringing Germany out of the worldwide Great Depression, and in creating an "economic miracle" with full employment and prosperity with stable prices.

An "incredible achievement" was Hitler's success, within just five years, of transforming a forcibly demilitarized nation into Europe's strongest military power.

After a visit to Germany in 1936, David Lloyd George — who had been Britain's premier during the First World War — praised Hitler as "the greatest piece of luck that has come to your country since Bismarck, and personally I would say since Frederick the Great."

"Weak Dictatorship"

Hitler's Third Reich fostered an image of itself as a totalitarian, "monocratic," and authoritarian *Führerstaat* ("leadership state"). Regrettably, contends Nolte, too many historians have uncritically accepted this misleading image.

Echoing arguments that have been made by others, including British historian David Irving, Nolte points out that authority and power in the Third Reich was actually far more widely diffused than many realize.

With Hitler's indulgence, political leaders and a bewildering array of state and party agencies competed with one another, frequently working at cross purposes.

Commenting (perhaps with some exaggeration) on this state of affairs, a frustrated Joseph Goebbels confided to his diary in 1942: "Everyone does and permits whatever he wants because there's no strong authority anywhere ... The Party does its own thing, and won't permit itself to be influenced by anyone."

Entire Third Reich government ministries remained practically "Nazi free," notes Nolte, and while many younger officers were dedicated National Socialists, the German armed forces remained largely free of NS party influence.

Sir Neville Henderson, Britain's ambassador in Berlin in 1939, regarded Hitler as an essentially reasonable and moderate man, while German propaganda chief Dr. Goebbels complained during the war about Hitler's lack of decisiveness. As Nolte observes, historian Hans Mommsen has characterized Hitler as a "weak dictator." (p. 179)

In cultural and intellectual life, the numerous official rivalries contributed to fostering a surprising degree of "plurality." Church affairs minister Kerrl sharply criticized the "neo-pagan" views of party ideologue Rosenberg who, for his part, denounced the writings of education minister Rust as ideologically wrong-

headed. (p. 175)

Drawing parallels between the government style of Hitler's Third Reich and Roosevelt's New Deal, Nolte suggests that a degree of "chaos" of governmental authorities and agencies may be an integral feature of every modern liberal democratic state. (p. 384)

Reactionary or Modern?

Frequently portrayed as the quintessential "reactionary" regime, Nolte marshals considerable evidence here to show that the Third Reich was, in many regards, a pace-setting "modern" society. In recent years, Nolte and other (generally younger) German historians have more and more strongly emphasized the "modernistic" tendencies in the Third Reich, which presaged developments in the United States and other liberal-democratic societies. "In its essence," one female historian has recently concluded (p. 150), German National Socialism was "an anti-traditional, modernizing force."

Nolte takes note here of the Third Reich's innovative large-scale urban planning and environmental policies, its promotion of modern housing for the general population, education of gifted children from poor families in progressive but elite schools, a strong democratization process within the German armed forces, the character of the National Socialist party as a broad-based, non-sectarian "peoples party," and the elimination of mass unemployment and job creation through programs that can be called "Keynesian."

Even Dr. Goebbels' much-maligned propaganda machinery might more accurately be described (pp. 150 f.) as a

> modern instrument of government on an American model, through which the democracies seek to continue their rule in the post-bourgeois society and to perpetuate their technocratic system.

"European Civil War"

A central premise of this book is the author's view that the core of 20th-century European history is the era from 1914 to 1991 — that is, from the outbreak of the First World War to the collapse of the Soviet Union.

Nolte characterizes this period as a great European Civil War, a life and death struggle between the forces of Communism, on the one hand, and the rest of Europe and the West, on the other. He writes (p. 11):

> The great civil war of the 20th century was the life-and-death struggle between chiliastish [millennial] Communism, which first came to power in a large state [Russia] in 1917, and all other forces, which it was convinced were doomed to failure as "capitalist" or "bourgeois," but which were concentrated in surprising strength and decisiveness in German National Socialism...

The high point of this struggle was the titanic clash between the armies of Soviet Russia and National Socialist Germany.

Red Star or Swastika?

Turning to "future controversies," Nolte deals at length with the nature and impact of Soviet Communism (Bolshevism). Even more than has been the case with National Socialist Germany, he suggests, historians have too readily accepted the Soviet regime's propaganda image of itself. Far too many western historians have failed to appreciate the bloody reality of Soviet Communism, or the very real threat it posed to Europe.

At the time of his death in 1953, Nolte observes, Stalin was mourned by millions around the world, even though he had already put to death in peacetime more people than Hitler would later cause to be killed as civilians during war. Stalin imposed the greatest and bloodiest social revolution in history — the so-called "collectivization" of agriculture — which meant the extermination of millions of Soviet Russia's most productive farmers. (p. 158)

As Nolte points out, more and more evidence has come to light in recent years to show that Stalin was preparing to attack Germany and Europe in 1941, and that Hitler's "Barbarossa" attack of June 22, 1941, had the character of a preventive strike. This thesis, which if true demands a drastic revision of the generally accepted view of the entire Second World War, has been most persuasively presented by Russian historian V. Suvorov (Rezun) in his book *Icebreaker*. (pp. 269-271).

For millions of Europeans in the 1920s and 1930s, the Red Star and the Swastika represented the only realistic alternatives for the future of Germany, and indeed, of the entire West. Hitler was by no means the only European leader who took seriously the Soviet danger to European order, culture and civilization. Without the reality of this threat, the "fascist" response of Germany (and other European nations) is hardly imaginable.

Hitler, in Nolte's view, was an anti-Communist of "Communist" decisiveness and spiritual energy. Alone among his contemporaries, he fought Communism with radical, "non-bourgeois" ruthlessness. (pp. 349-367). Nolte writes (pp. 366 f.):

> Twentieth century world history is only understandable when one is willing to acknowledge the connection made by the enemies of Bolshevism between a fear of annihilation and an intention of annihilation, and to recognize the simple truth that the statements of anti-Communists about the misdeeds of Bolshevism were, in fact, well grounded. Since 1990, at the latest, these are facts that no longer be seriously disputed, and that

> even the propagandistic exaggerations [of anti-Communists] reflected a rational core ...
>
> One day the question of the hierarchy of motives of Hitler and National Socialism will become a matter of dispute in the scholarly literature, and the thesis of the primacy of anti-Communism is likely to be a main point.

The Jewish Taboo

Fully conscious that any frank discussion of the Jewish role in 20th century history is fraught with danger, Nolte nevertheless boldly grabs hold of this taboo-protected "hot iron." For example,

Prof. Ernst Nolte

he approvingly cites words of Israeli Holocaust scholar Yehuda Bauer: "The National Socialist view was accurate insofar as it regarded the Jews as a foreign element in European society, with a different religion and ancestry." (p. 376) At another point, Nolte writes: "For the Zionists, including Herzl and Weizmann, anti-Semitism was an entirely natural reaction of the 'host nations' to the abiding separateness and the aggressive activity of the Jews, which was based on intellectual superiority." (p. 419)

Taking note of the ancient Jewish tradition of zealous opposition to any regime that seems to threaten Jewish interests, Nolte points out that within weeks after Hitler's coming to power, influential Jewish leaders were already calling for economic warfare against Germany.

At the outbreak of the war in Europe in 1939, Zionist leader Chaim Weizmann issued a kind of declaration of war against Germany, and in August 1941 leading Soviet Jews issued a passionate appeal to the Jews of the world to join in the life-and-death struggle against National Socialist Germany. (p. 396)

While rejecting talk of "Jewish Bolshevism" as misleadingly simplistic, Nolte points out the "undeniable fact" that Jews played a highly disproportionate role in the Bolshevik revolution. "Nothing was more understandable than that Jews and members of other minority peoples would play a major role in the February and October [1917] revolutions [in Russia]: Of the ten men who met with Lenin on October 23, 1917, and agreed to launch the [Bolshevik] revolution, no fewer then six were Jews." Referring to the Jewish role in the critical early years of the Soviet state, Nolte comments: "It is indeed doubtful whether the Bolshevik regime could have survived the [Russian] civil war [of 1917-1920] without men such as Trotsky, Zinoviev, Sverdlov, Kamenev, Sokolnikov and Uritsky." (p. 418)

"Real thinking"

Consistent with the author's strong plea for a more thoughtful and objective look at the phenomenon of Hitler and National Socialism, Nolte presents his often highly unorthodox views without polemics, indeed with a certain reserve and tentativeness. Unlike those who incessantly insist that "we" must "never forget" the "lessons of the Holocaust," Nolte calls for an evaluation of the Hitler era as free as possible of strident, emotion-laden polemics and self-serving purposes. Any truly useful understanding of the Third Reich, Nolte argues persuasively, requires an informed awareness of the historical context.

While Nolte would not regard this book as any kind of final word on the "points of contention" dealt with here, he concludes (p. 431) with words of optimism:

> I confidently expect that in the future real *thinking* about the National Socialist era will play a greater role in the scholarly literature, and that the controversies to which the final portion of this book is dedicated will therefore become specific themes for discussion.

Although the skewed mass media image of 20th century history that currently predominates is certain to continue to influence many for years to come, books such as this one give reason for hope that truth and common sense can and will eventually prevail.

Life of a Much-Maligned Conductor Examined in New Biography

The Devil's Music Master: The Controversial Life and Career of Wilhelm Furtwängler, by Sam H. Shirakawa. New York: Oxford University Press, 1992. Hardcover. 506 pages. Photographs. Footnotes. Index. $35.00. ISBN: 0-19-506508-5.

Reviewed by Andrew Gray

Conductors in our time fall readily into two categories: Wilhelm Furtwängler and all the others. Among those who recognized this truth early on was Adolf Hitler, possessor of perhaps the best musical ear of any contemporary statesman — except for Ignaz Paderewski. Despite many importunities and provocations in later years, Hitler never wavered in this judgment. A photograph of the Führer reaching upward to the podium to shake the conduc-

Furtwängler conducts the Berlin Philharmonic in a performance of a Beethoven concerto during the lunch hour in a German armaments factory, 1944.

tor's hand after a 1935 concert of the Berlin Philharmonic is remarkable testimony — such expressions of respect by Hitler were rare.

This admiration — and Furtwängler's decision to remain in Germany to continue to lead the *Berliner Philharmoniker* as the nation's premier orchestra — has fostered a decades-long campaign of denigration of the conductor by a legion of self-indulgent scribblers, musicological and otherwise. In their view, Hitler's approval condemns him to a kind of eternal damnation. It's a wonder that shepherd dogs, vegetable soup and mineral water have been spared their opprobrium.

This work's title is misleading: it is not simply another exercise in diabolization. Indeed, Mr. Shirakawa intends this as an apologia, and is at pains to show that Furtwängler's denigrators are guilty of distortion and exaggeration. What Shirakawa seems incapable of grasping, though, is that Furtwängler had nothing whatever to apologize for.

At the heart of this book is a lengthy list, alphabetically arrayed, of some of the many politically and ancestrally persecutable individuals who were spared harassment by the National Socialist government as a consequence of Furtwängler's personal intervention. This includes a number of "full" Jews who spent the entire war within Germany, entirely unmolested. Indeed, thanks to the author's commendable digging, this volume is a lode of such nuggets.

Do the performing arts flourish best in times of dire stress and

Yehudi Menuhin with Wilhelm Furtwängler

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emergency? There is much evidence for this. One thinks, for example, of theatrical undertakings by German prisoners in Allied P.O.W. camps of *Faust*, reputedly among the most intense and forceful ever given. Or of the German entertainment troupes that performed right behind the front lines in Russia, even in the latter stages of the war when many were overrun and vanished virtually without trace. Or of the 1943-44 summer performances of *Die Meistersinger* at Bayreuth, with audiences comprised almost entirely of wounded soldiers. (One such performance, conducted by Furtwängler himself, has happily been preserved on tape.) Or best of all, the concerts under his baton of the Berlin Philharmonic from the years 1942-4 (tapes of which were stolen by the Soviets in 1945 and then returned, in the burgeoning spirit of Glasnost, in 1987).

In this sense, these wartime concerts constitute an apogee of the performing arts; the evidence for the ear, even without consideration of the extraordinary circumstances in which the musicians and the audiences found themselves, is unmistakable. That the next century is likely to appreciate the centrality of Furtwängler to our civilization, or what is left of it, most likely accounts for the recent renewal of attacks upon his memory — some of which have appeared in the form of reviews of this book. Mr. Shirakawa, it has been contended, is much too indulgent. Yes, he is — but not in the sense those propagandists assume. One of the privileges of being a revisionist is to decode such texts as this, to see through and beyond it, and to sense the hollow ring many of its judgments will have to future ears. Shirakawa means well, but he remains entangled in the metaphor of diabolism.

There are a few heroes in this story — Yehudi Menuhin chief among them. Furtwängler was never anti-Semitic, a fact his detractors obviously find embarrassing. The revolting behavior during the postwar period of such former colleagues as Bruno Walter makes excruciating reading, as do the lucubrations of that moralistic gasbag, Thomas Mann, to say nothing of his lunatic daughter Erika. (At times one has the feeling the whole Mann family was a bit *bekloppt*).

Furtwängler was not long on humor, but worth preserving is his tart comment about the postwar critics who condemned him for remaining in Germany after 1933: "They seem to feel all seventy million Germans should have decamped and left Hitler behind alone."

Mr. Shirakawa takes welcome and indignant aim at Delbert Clark's intentionally distorted reporting in the *New York Times* of the preposterous 1946 "de-nazification" proceedings endured by Furtwängler (which kept him from the podium for nearly two years). All the more heartening, then, was his return, in May 1947, to the podium of the Berlin Philharmonic, to conduct his first postwar concert. The author mentions cheering of 15 minutes duration at the close. No, the ovation lasted *an hour* and 15 minutes, and there were 47 curtain calls.

Soviet Atrocities in German Silesia

Silesian Inferno: War Crimes of the Red Army on its March into Silesia in 1945, by Karl Friedrich Grau. Introduction by Prof. Ernst Deuerlein. Valley Forge, Penn.: Landpost Press, 1992. Hardcover. 210 pages. Charts. Maps. Bibliography. ISBN 1-880881-09-8. (Available from the IHR for $19.95, plus $2.00 shipping.)

Reviewed by Theodore J. O'Keefe

This work — a re-issue of a 1970 English translation (from the 1966 German original) — limits itself to atrocities committed between January and August 1945 by Red Army troops and functionaries in the Silesian districts of Oppeln and Wohlau (although for comparative purposes a chapter on Soviet crimes reported from other Silesian districts is included). *Silesian Inferno* gathers and analyzes the evidence of sworn, signed statements by the German victims. Important contemporary documents are also presented here.

Considerable pains have been taken objectively to present and examine the testimonies. While the revisionist eye will note a certain amount of hearsay, nevertheless the abundance of convincing, and shattering, first-hand testimony to gruesome Soviet crimes, ranging from the vilest murders and rapes on down, against helpless non-combatants, will provoke shame or at least defensiveness among even the most hardened advocates of the myth of Allied rectitude. Supplementing the various testimonies, most of them excerpted, are helpful charts showing the extent of Red bestiality.

Professor Ernst Deuerlein's introduction places the systematic Soviet atrocities squarely in the context of Soviet policy toward Germany, demonstrating that the mass murders and rapes were the ineluctable consequence of a calculated and deliberate choice between alternative modes of dealing with the "German problem": whether to liberate the oppressed German masses from the rule of "the Ruhr magnates and Prussian junkers and their Hitlerite henchmen," or to heed the hate-drunk exhortations of Ilya Ehrenburg, Stalin's reigning *Literat*, to rape and kill the German "beasts." Citing Stalin's well-known interviews with the Yugoslav writer Milovan Djilas, Deuerlein also shows that kindly Uncle Joe was entirely cognizant of his troops' behavior, and took no action, rather rationalizing it with a logic that would do credit to his predecessors among the khans who ruled the vast steppes before him. (To his credit, Deuerlein,

writing at a time when German nationalist writers tended to be publicly more indulgent of the Western powers, nevertheless points to high-ranking British and American officials whose tirades against the Germans were scarcely less vicious than those of Ehrenburg.)

A minor weakness of *Silesian Inferno* are the author's several scattered references to German policies, attributed to the National Socialists, that he suggests paralleled, or even evoked, the Red war and peace crimes. Here it must be stated that whatever the numerous failings of Nazi (and German) wartime behavior, including the harsh conduct of the war in the East, no German crimes can match those of Stalin and his henchmen, against their own peoples and others, in war and in peace, nor the murderous bombing terror of the British and American air forces against hapless civilians from Amsterdam to Bucharest (not to forget Yokohama, Tokyo, Hiroshima, and Nagasaki). This may be for many a bitter pill to swallow, but it is based on historical fact, not mere propaganda.

Readers unfamiliar with Silesia and its history will learn of the civilizing mission of its German settlers, most notably in their peaceful peopling of that historic province following the 13th-century depredations of the Mongols.

The English translation of the text is generally first-rate, contrasting markedly with rather clumsy English of the dust jacket.

Anyone interested in a clinical presentation and analysis of World War II conduct of one of the "Big Four" that sat in judgment at Nuremberg, as well as anyone with an interest in the comparative evaluation of testimonies and reports as to the numerous atrocities of the Second World War (real and imagined), is urged to read *Silesian Inferno*.

Not Much to Repellent Holocaust Thriller

Born Guilty: Children of Nazi Families, by Peter Sichrovsky. Translated by Jean Steinberg. New York: Basic Books, 1988. Hardcover. 178 pages. $17.95. ISBN 0-465-00742-2.

Reviewed by Theodore J. O'Keefe

This book would be more offensive if it were less disgusting. As it is, reading *Born Guilty* is somewhat akin to finding dog droppings on the dinner table: a dismaying incident, to be sure, but not one unmasterable.

Author Peter Sichrovsky, who is billed as "a distinguished Austrian journalist" in the jacket flap blurb, has allegedly approached a dozen or so "children [and grandchildren!] of Nazi families" in the interests of profiting from the ongoing agitprop, Nuremberg trials-style bedevilment of everyone and everything German. His efforts here have been effusively endorsed on the dust jacket by a triad of male Muses from a Jewish Helicon (or is it Holo-con?): headshrinker Robert Jay Lifton, author of *The Nazi Doctors*; former Reaganite, Waldheim-baiting US ambassador to Austria Ronald Lauder (a candidate for inclusion in a book entitled *Born Rich: Children of Jewish Cosmetics Queens*); and Howard Fast, an ex-Communist who became the television mini-series Milton of New York's squalid garment district.

The journalistic, let alone scholarly, merits of Sichrovsky's book may be gleaned from the author's indiscriminate characterization of his subjects as the children of "perpetrators" (p. 6), "the sons and daughters of murderers" (p. 12), etc., while supplying no evidence of crimes. Indeed, he concedes that "the child of someone responsible for the deaths of thousands is not necessarily of greater interest than the child of a small-town mayor who may have merely put some Social Democrats in jail."

The bewilderment, confusion, self-pity, and despair that various of those contemporary Germans Sichrovsky claims to have interviewed is the entirely understandable result of the internalized, ritualistic self-hatred that the hirelings who have dominated postwar Germany, acting in accordance with their masters' commands, have inculcated in their own people.

One young German woman quoted at length, "Stefanie," "the proud one" (Chapter 2), is worth hearing for her indomitable, if unschooled, spirit, garnered from her "Nazi" grandpa. You can read it in five minutes at your local bookstore. So, unless you wish to peer voyeuristically at the self-flagellation that the author claims to have recorded from his several informants, there's no good reason to buy this book.

The Holocaust Story and the Lies of Ulysses

"You have to reckon with the complex of Ulysses' lie. . . Everyone hopes and wants to come out of this business with the halo of saint, a hero, or a martyr, and each one embroiders his own Odyssey without realizing that the reality is quite enough in itself."

These words, spoken to Frenchman Paul Rassinier by a fellow inmate at Buchenwald, became emblematic of Rassinier's own courageous odyssey. His devotion to truth, even about his former enemies, led him to undertake the first systematic study of the alleged Nazi "Holocaust" from a skeptical standpoint. *The Holocaust Story and the Lies of Ulysses* combines the major portions of Rassinier's most important writings on the camps, the "eyewitnesses," and the "Holocaust" literature.

Softcover • 447pp. • Index
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Letters

Lincoln: A "Clever Politician"?

Although Robert Morgan's look at Abraham Lincoln's negro policy [in the September-October 1993 *Journal*] is a thought-provoking example of revisionist writing, I believe the author has overlooked alternative explanations for Lincoln's decisions and policies.

Consider, for example, Morgan's portrayal of Lincoln's personal feelings about blacks. Morgan cites these words of Lincoln from the fourth Lincoln-Douglas debate: "I am not now, nor ever have been, in favor of bringing about in any way the social and political equality of the white and black races." As sweeping as this seems, I would attempt to put it into context by pointing out:

• Douglas' emphatic stand against political or social equality of the races obliged Lincoln to appear to be just as anti-negro in order to win votes, regardless of his real personal feelings on the matter.

• The "physical difference" alluded to by Lincoln in that same speech may have been a reference only to skin color. He may not have been referring to the many other and more profound physical differences between the two races.

• Lincoln apparently never expressed the view that the differences between the races are innate.

• During the debate in Ottawa, Lincoln agreed with Douglas that the negro "is not my equal in many respects." However, he went on to say that there is "no reason in the world why the negro is not entitled to all the natural rights in the Declaration of Independence, the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

• By the standards of the day, Lincoln's public stance on this issue could have been considered middle-of-the-road. The extreme views were represented by Douglas at one end, and by the abolitionists at the other.

In the view of some historians, Lincoln opposed slavery very early on. Because he realized that the Constitution stood in the way, though, he knew that he would have to proceed cautiously to abolish it.

Another reason for caution was that people in the Northern states, who were generally more willing to abolish slavery than those in the Southern states, might nevertheless have strongly opposed him if the slaves were freed all at once. Given this, Lincoln might therefore have taken pains to hide his true intentions.

If this view is correct, the Emancipation Proclamation takes on a new significance. Flawed as it was in terms of freeing slaves (although it did go much further than either Confiscation Act by eliminating extensive judicial procedures), it nevertheless acclimated people to the idea of eventual true emancipation, and did so without the messy reality of actually freeing any slaves. The "military necessity" cited Lincoln to justify the Proclamation was simply eyewash: he did not rescind the Proclamation after this so-called "necessity" vanished.

Lincoln apparently wavered only once in his opposition to slavery: in August 1864, when he briefly considered peace terms that did not include emancipation. By the next day, however, his doubts seem to have fled, and he vowed to fight through to unconditional surrender and to stick with emancipation no matter what.

In light of all this, Lincoln's position on resettlement (colonization) could have been little more than an expedient political ploy. That is, when confronted with the dilemma presented by slavery and the Constitution, he regarded colonization as a convenient straw at which to clutch. Later, as he perceived that slavery might be gotten rid of, he offered up colonization as a diversion before each anti-slavery move he made.

Support for this interpretation can be seen in Lincoln's appreciation for and understanding of economic factors. Resettling any significant portion of the negro population would have required staggering funds. When Lincoln had no feasible alternative, he was forced to turn a blind eye to the costs involved. But once he saw that slavery could be abolished, the eventual costs merely spurred him to prosecute the war.

If Lincoln truly had supported resettlement of the blacks, he would have continued to press for it after emancipation. While this is suggested by General Butler's report of his conversation with Lincoln in April 1865, some historians hold that this meeting could not have taken place when Butler said it did, and that the entire conversation therefore may have been an invention. If so, we are left to conclude that John Hay was correct in reporting that Lincoln had abandoned colonization by July 1864.

In my view, Lincoln was little more than a clever politician. Whenever he had to choose from among several different options, he always made the politically smart move. Perhaps not incidentally, he also always made the choice that resulted in greatly increasing the size and powers of the federal government.

Neil Martin
Los Angeles

Thank you for the formidable *Journal* piece on Lincoln's views on slavery. Were the "Great Emancipator's" actual reasoning known to the leaders of the Civil

Rights industry, they would revile Lincoln and tear down his memorial, warts and all.

C. H.
Troy, Michigan

Religion and Revisionism

Being a revisionist means putting question marks on supposedly established truths. Every new issue of the IHR *Journal* demonstrates beyond doubt that no "revealed truths" are free of error, whether simple mistakes or blatant lies.

M. C. of Pittsburgh [in the Sept.-Oct. issue, p. 48] warns you against the loss of Christian readers if you persist in supporting Dr. Larson's opinions about the Dead Sea Scrolls. In the view of this reader, whether Dr. Larson is right or wrong is irrelevant here: Larson's opinion is considered unacceptable (heretical?) by Christian readers.

If the *Journal* were to be submitted to Christian, Moslem, Jewish, and other censorship, it might please everyone, but what would be left worth reading?

To be a revisionist means, in my view, going beyond a non-conformist view of history. It is a cast of mind, a way of life, with no room for dogmas or imposed truths of any kind.

What revisionist would not agree with this definition of free thinking, provided by the French mathematician and philosopher Henri Poincarré (1854-1912):

Thinking may never be subjected to a dogma,
nor to a party,
nor to a passion,
nor to a concern,
nor to a prejudice,
nor to anything,
but to the facts themselves;
because being subjected means
the end of all thinking.

Keep up the good work!

J. Kelfkens
Brussels, Belgium

Awareness In Eastern Europe

I want to thank you very heartily for your letter and for the IHR catalog of Revisionist historical works. I am not particularly well informed about this special field, but I believe that your point of view is worthy of attention. I would be very glad to help you to circulate your *Journal* and books.

Of course, this is a rather dangerous undertaking in this society, which barely understands what is meant by genuine pluralism. Because of my non-conformist views, I was a victim of Communist persecution.

Even if your views may not be entirely correct, they deserve to be known and understood, even here in eastern Europe.

Dr. C. J.
Vilnius, Lithuania

We welcome letters from readers. We reserve the right to edit for style and space.

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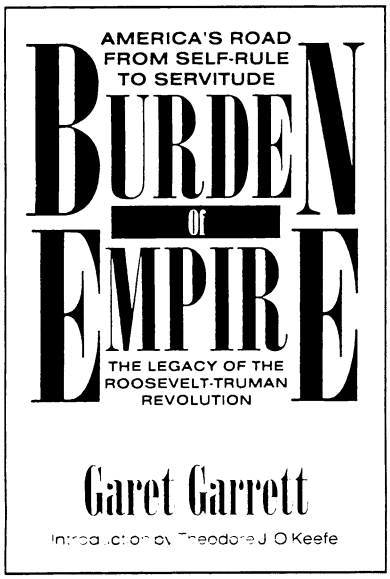

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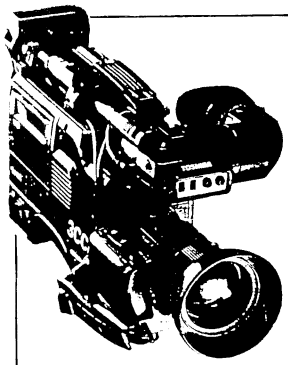


ON CAMERA
Against the Holocaust Lobby

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

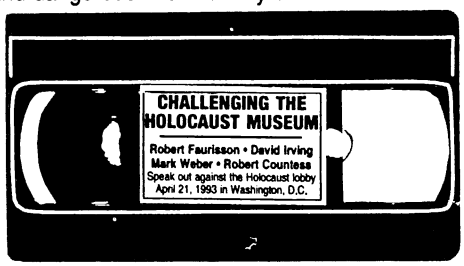
IRVING

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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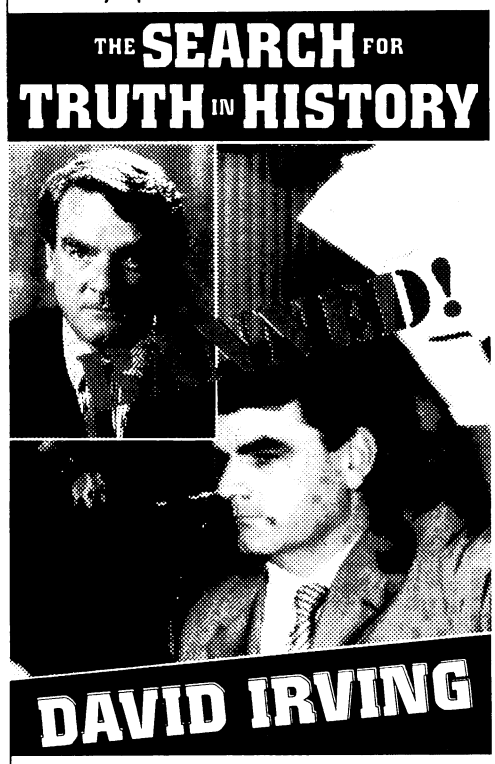
Barred From Australia

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 adverse publicity, **Isi Leibler**, President of the Executive Council of Australian Jewry, cautioned that Jewish interests would be better served if only Jewish groups would conceal their role in such cases.

Irving took offensive:

> *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?*

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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(Cont. from page 3)
us], the factor of service to the state of Israel is also important ... A focus on Jews as victims helps generate sympathy for Israel."

Historical revisionism is the subject of a lengthy feature article in a major newspaper of Karachi, Pakistan. "What they say happened, and what really happened: A revisionist perspective of history," appears prominently in the "weekend magazine" section" of *The News*, September 17, 1993.

S.A.H. Ahsani — identified as a former ambassador, and now an adjunct professor of history at the University of Texas at Arlington — deals with a range of historical issues, including the American Civil War, the assassination of President Kennedy, the origins of the First World War, and the May 1941 flight (and subsequent fate) of Rudolf Hess.

Ahsani favorably discusses the "researches by the American Institute of Historical Review," and reports approvingly on David Cole's videotape about Auschwitz. Ahsani concludes his lengthy article with the words: "It is high time that historians in developing countries started studying revisionist history. (Those interested can write to the Institute of Historical Review ... ", and then provides the IHR address.

Ahmed Rami, a Moroccan-born revisionist who now lives in exile in Sweden, spoke at the 1992 IHR Conference. Not long ago, he conducted interviews with two prominent revisionist activists for one of the most influential newspapers in the Arab world. An interview with Otto Ernst Remer (who spoke at the 1987 IHR Conference) was published in two parts in the July 20 and July 23 issues of the *Al Shaab* ("The People"), a twice-weekly Cairo newspaper. Along with the interview are prominently placed photographs of Rami, Remer, and the two of them together.

A month later, a lengthy interview by Rami with Robert Faurisson appeared in two parts, August 24 and 27. Accompanying the interview in the August 24 issue, which contains several favorable mentions of the IHR and this *Journal*, is a photograph of Faurisson together with Rami at Dachau. *Al Shaab* is apparently the world's most influential "islamist" newspaper, with a circulation estimated at 700,000 in Egypt, and 300,000 elsewhere in the Arab-speaking world.

A generally fair and remarkably balanced article about Holocaust revisionism appeared in the August 1993 issue of the glossy (and raunchily pornographic) monthly *Hustler*. In "Whitewashing Hitler: Taking the Gas Out of Nazi Infamy," writer Jim Redden — who is also publisher of the Portland (Oregon) "alternative" tabloid paper *PDXS* — straight-forwardly reports on numerous aspects of the Holocaust debate, including the *Leuchter Report*, David Cole's videotape, and the views of David Irving and Arthur Butz.

Bradley Smith's revisionist campus ad campaign continues to make waves, in spite of efforts by the Simon Wiesenthal Center and other influential Jewish-Zionist organizations to put him out of business. For a while it seemed as if such pressure might be having an effect. In recent months, though, Smith's ad campaign has come roaring back, as strong as ever. (See the Nov.-Dec. 1993 *Journal*, p. 22.)

A high point was the publication on December 7 of Smith's ad, "A Revisionist's View of the U.S. Holocaust Museum," in the weekly student newspaper at Brandeis University, a predominantly Jewish school. Several thousand copies of the offending issue were quickly stolen, and when further copies were distributed under police guard, about 250 students rallied in protest. Reports about the Brandeis campus uproar and Smith's ad campaign have appeared in newspapers around the country (such as *The New York Times*, Dec. 12).

Media coverage of our work has not been the only indication of growing impact. During the past nine months, *Journal* subscriptions have tripled; in one month alone nearly a thousand subscribers signed up. This growth is due in large part to several successful promotional mailings organized by IHR Director Tom Marcellus. (We like to think that the *Journal*'s contents and new format have also been factors.)

Our last IHR Conference was held in October 1992. After a regrettable delay, preparations are now underway for the next one, the Twelfth, which will be held in September in southern California. We'll keep you posted about details.

Georgi K. Zhukov

From Moscow to Berlin

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The greatest Soviet commander tells how he directed the Red Army's bitter last- ditch defense of Moscow, master-minded the encirclement and defeat of the German Sixth Army at Stalingrad, smashed the last great German counteroffensive of Kursk-Orel, and led the climatic assault on Hitler's Berlin. Must reading for every student of military history. Hardcover, 304 pp., photos, maps, $18.95, plus $3 for shipping.

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But ***Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace*** is more than just a history: it's a *case history* of how politicians like FDR use propaganda, outright lies, and suppression of the truth to scapegoat patriotic opposition to war, to incite hatred of the enemy (*before* they're the enemy!), and to lure foreign nations into diplomatic traps—all to serve, not America's national interest, but *international* interests.

Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace gives you:

- Matchless, careful debunking of all the arguments that led us into World War II;
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- Inspired insight into how future wars have sprung and will continue to spring from the internationalist impetus that led us from World War II, through the "Cold War" (and the hot wars we fought in Korea and Vietnam against our WWII Communist "allies") to the "New World Order"—until Americans, armed with the truth, force their leaders to return to our traditional non-interventionist foreign policy.

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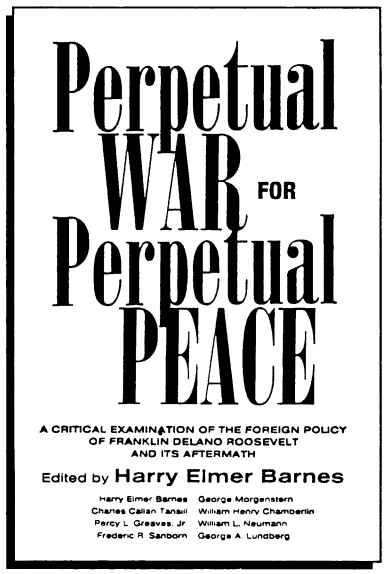
Classic... and Burningly Controversial

Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace, first published in 1953, represents Revisionist academic scholarship at its full and (to date) tragically final flowering in America's greatest universities—just before America's internationalist Establishment imposed a bigoted and chillingly effective blackout on Revisionism in academia.

Its republication by the Institute in 1983 was an event, and not merely because IHR's version included Harry Elmer Barnes' uncannily prophetic essay on "1984" trends in American policy and public life (considered too controversial for conservatives and anti-Communists in the early 50's). It was hailed by the international Revisionist community, led by Dr. James J. Martin, the Dean of living Historical Revisionists, who wrote:

> It is the republication of books such as *Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace* which does so much to discommode and annoy the beneficiaries of the New World Order.

Discommode and annoy the enemies of historical truth and freedom of research it did—virtually the entire stock of ***Perpetual War*** was destroyed in the terrorist arson attack on the Institute's offices and warehouse on the Orwellian date of July 4, 1984.



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Volume 14, Number 2 March / April 1994

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Robert Faurisson

The "Warsaw Ghetto Boy"
Mark Weber

Subhas Chandra Bose And India's Liberation Struggle
Andrew Montgomery

What is "Holocaust Denial"?

The "European New Right": An Interview with Alain de Benoist
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— Reviews —

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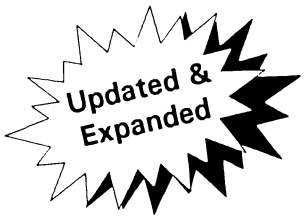

Background & Operations of the Jewish Defense League and Other Criminal Zionist Groups

Revised and Updated Edition

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Background and Operation
of the Jewish Defense League
and other Criminal Zionist Groups

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This booklet documents the background and criminal activities of Jewish Zionist terrorist groups, and especially the Jewish Defense League. Particular emphasis is given here to terror — including murder — against "thought criminals" who question the Holocaust extermination story.

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Institute for Historical Review

Racism, Bigotry, Hate Crimes, Incitement to Violence, Terrorism — You *Can't* Be Talking About *Jewish* Agendas?!

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The Journal of Historical Review

Volume 14, Number 2 March / April 1994

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The Journal of Historical Review (ISSN: 0195-6752) began publication in 1980. It upholds and continues the tradition of Historical Revisionism of scholars such as Harry Elmer Barnes, A.J.P. Taylor, William H. Chamberlin, Paul Rassinier and Charles Tansill. *The Journal of Historical Review* is published six times yearly by the **Institute for Historical Review,** P.O. Box 4296, Torrance, CA 90510, USA. Subscription price: $40 per year, $65 for two years, and $90 for three years. For foreign subscriptions, add $10 per year. For overseas airmail delivery, add $30 per year. Remittances for subscriptions must be payable in US dollars drawable on a US bank.

Single issues — Spring 1986 (Volume 7) to the present — are available for sale for $7.50 each, plus $1.05 shipping. Back issues of the *Journal* are also available for purchase in hardbound annual volumes for the years 1984, 1985, 1986, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991 and 1992, for $35.00 each. Please write for our booklist and prices. Quantity subscription and bulk issue rates are available upon request.

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The Journal of Historical Review is listed in standard periodical directories, and is a member of the Conference of Historical Journals. Contributions do not necessarily reflect the views of the Institute for Historical Review.

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The Warsaw Ghetto "Uprising":
Jewish Insurrection or German Police Operation?

ROBERT FAURISSON

Each year, around April 19, the media and politicians commemorate what they call the Warsaw ghetto "uprising," "revolt" or "insurrection."[1] In journalistic accounts the affair has taken on increasingly epic and symbolic proportions. At a Holocaust ceremony in New York in April 1993, American Vice President Al Gore declared: "The story of the Warsaw ghetto is sacred text for our time."[2] In fact, this "story" is a legend based only partially on historical reality.

"An insurrection never took place."[3] This remark is by Marek Edelman, who was a leader of one of the armed Jewish groups in the ghetto. He added: "We didn't even choose the day; the Germans set it by entering the ghetto to find the last Jews." Edelman also stated that the number of Jews who took up arms never exceeded 220. (Other estimates of the number of Jewish ghetto fighters range from several hundred to as many as 2,000. In any case, no more than a minute portion of the ghetto population took part in the fighting.)[4]

Edelman's view has been confirmed by Yitzhak Zuckerman, another leader of the main Jewish armed group in the ghetto. Zuckerman has defined the "war aims" of the Jewish fighters in these words: "For us it was a question of organizing a defense, not an uprising. In an uprising, the initiative is with the one rising up. We, we sought only to defend ourselves; the initiative was entirely on the side of the Germans."[5]

This was no uprising of an entire community to gain its freedom or to resist deportation. It was, rather, the reaction of only a relative handful of young Jews who, seeing German troops penetrate their sanctuary, first fought back, then on the third day tried unsuccessfully to flee, and then, finally, surrounded, put up sustained armed resistance.[6]

The whole thing should more accurately be called a German police operation rather than an "uprising" or "insurrection" by the Jews of Warsaw. By contrast, a real uprising was staged in Warsaw, August-October 1944, by the Polish Home Army, commanded by General "Bor" Komorowski. However, the media scarcely notes this heroic insurrection, which the Soviets allowed the Germans to crush at their leisure. The Poles fought with such courage that the Germans permitted them to surrender with full military honors, treating them as prisoners of war under the Geneva convention rather than as terrorist insurgents.

To understand what happened in the Warsaw ghetto in April-May 1943, it is important to know why the Germans decided to launch a police operation. In the city's "Jewish quarter" or "ghetto" were 36,000 officially registered residents, as well as, in all probability, more than 20,000 clandestine inhabitants.[7] The ghetto was, in a sense, a city within a city, administered by a "Jewish Council" (*Judenrat*), and a Jewish police force, which collaborated with the German occupation authorities, even against Jewish "terrorists." Many thousands of Jewish workers toiled in ghetto workshops and factories, supplying products vital to the German war effort.

Following the first Soviet air attack against central Warsaw on August 21, 1942, bomb shelters were built, on German orders, everywhere in the city, including the ghetto, for the protection of the residents. The Germans furnished the Jews with the cement and other necessary materials for these shelters, which legend has transformed into "blockhouses" and "bunkers."[8] So extensive was this "network of subterranean refuges and hiding places" that, according to one prominent Holocaust historian, "in the end, every Jew in the ghetto had his own spot in one of the shelters set up in the central part of the ghetto."[9]

Small armed Jewish groups, numbering no more than 220 persons, were active. The most important of these was the "Jewish Combat Organization" (JCO), whose members were mostly young men in their twenties. Its "general directives for combat" specified "acts of terror" against the Jewish police, the Jewish Council, and the *Werkschutz* (protection service for the factories and workshops). This JCO directive stated specifically: "The general staff works out the central plan of action — sabo-

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Robert Faurisson, Europe's foremost Holocaust revisionist scholar, is a frequent *Journal* contributor. He wishes to express his gratitude to Theodore J. O'Keefe for translating the original text, and to Mark Weber for providing much additional information that has been incorporated into this revised text.

SS General Jürgen Stroop (center) commanding the 1943 German police action against the Warsaw ghetto.

tage and terror — directed against the enemy."[10]

Accordingly, these "fighters" or terrorists" used "sabotage and terror" to shake down Jewish ghetto police, Jewish Council officials, and workshop guards.[11] The "terrorists" also profited from the ghetto's intensive industrial and commercial life, shaking down merchants and other residents by threat and blackmail, even holding them prisoner in their homes for ransom. They were able to buy weapons from soldiers stationed in Warsaw, who, like troops stationed elsewhere well behind the front lines, often served in patchwork units, ill-trained and poorly motivated. The ghetto "terrorists" even carried out murderous attacks against German troops and Jewish collaborators.

The ghetto became increasingly insecure. Because of this, the Polish population became more and more hostile to its existence, while the Germans, for their part, feared that it could become a threat to the city's important role as a rail nexus in the war economy and as a hub for transport of troops to the Eastern front. Himmler therefore decided to relocate the Jewish population, along with the workshops and factories, to the Lublin region, and to raze the ghetto, replacing it with a park. At first the Germans tried to convince the Jews to voluntarily accept relocation. But the "terrorists" refused to accept this, aware that such a transfer would mean for them losing, simultaneously, their financial base as well as their freedom of movement. They devoted all their efforts to opposing this, until on April 19, 1943, a police operation to forcibly evacuate the remaining Jews was begun on Himmler's order.

At 6:00 a.m. that morning, troops under the command of SS Colonel Ferdinand von Sammern-Frankenegg entered the ghetto, supported by a single tracked vehicle (captured during the invasion of France) and two armored cars. Initially the "terrorists" or guerrillas offered stiff resistance, wounding 16 German SS men, six Ukrainians (so-called "Askaris"), and two Polish policemen. One Polish policeman was killed.[12]

Himmler, eager to minimize casualties, was angered. That same morning, he relieved von Sammern-Frankenegg of command and replaced him with SS General Jürgen Stroop. Stroop, ordered to carry out the operation slowly to minimize casualties, did so in the following manner: each morning, the troops would enter the ghetto, clear buildings of their residents and use smoke candles (not poison gas) to drive out the Jews hiding in the air-raid shelters; the buildings were destroyed as they were evacuated. Each evening the troops sealed the

Jewish police of the Warsaw ghetto pass in review. A governing Jewish Council administered the city's Jewish residential district. "In practice," historian Emmanuel Ringelblum noted, "the ghetto was virtually an autonomous district with its own local city administration, police service, postal system, jail, and even an Office for Weights and Measures."

ghetto so that nobody could escape during the night.

Skirmishes lasted from April 19 to May 16, 1943, so that altogether the operation required 28 days. On the third day, many of the Jewish armed fighters tried to escape, most whom where shot or captured. Contrary to some reports, the German command never called for air support to destroy the ghetto, and the operation involved no aerial bombardment.

The number of Jewish dead is unknown.[13] An often-cited figure of 56,065 is, in fact, the number of Jews who were *apprehended*. The great majority of these were deported, many to the transit camp at Treblinka from where they were taken to Majdanek (Lublin).[14] German deaths in the operation totalled 16. (This included one Polish policeman.)

One should not doubt either the courage of the Jewish resistance in the ghetto or the tragic nature of the whole affair, with the civilian population trapped in the cross-fire between various heterogeneous German units and small groups of Jewish guerrillas scattered throughout the ghetto. Contrary to some grandiose propaganda claims, though, what took place was far from an "apocalyptic" revolt, as one writer has recently called it,[15] particularly when one is mindful of the tens of thousands of deaths, civilian and military, that occurred during those same 28 days, on battlefields around the globe and in the European cities bombarded by British and American air forces.[16]

NOTES

1. In the entry, "Warsaw Ghetto Uprising," in *Encyclopedia of the Holocaust* (New York: 1990), historian Israel Gutman writes: "The Warsaw ghetto uprising was the first instance in occupied Europe of an uprising by an urban population. Its unique feature was the fact that it was a general rebellion in which armed fighters took part together with masses of Jews hiding out in bunkers and refuges." (Vol. 4, p. 1631).
2. S. Birnbaum, JTA dispatch, *Jewish Bulletin of Northern California* (San Francisco), April 23, 1993, p. 9.
3. *Libération* (Paris), April 18, 1988, p. 27.; In an interview published in the Austrian news magazine *Profil*, April 19, 1993, p. 86, Edelman likewise referred to "our 200 fighters."

4. Israeli Holocaust historian Yehuda Bauer contends that altogether there were 750 Jewish ghetto fighters, organized in two combat organizations. See: Y. Bauer, *A History of the Holocaust* (New York: 1982), p. 262.

According to Jewish Holocaust specialist Israel Gutman, "the total Jewish fighting forces in the ghetto numbered 700 to 750." See: *Encyclopedia of the Holocaust* (New York, 1990), Vol. 4, p. 1628.

Holocaust historian Raul Hilberg likewise puts the "total armed strength" of the Jewish ghetto fighters at "about 750." See: R. Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews* (Holmes & Meier, 1985), p. 512.

Richard Lukas, a specialist of Polish history, cites estimates of between 1,000 and 2,000 Jewish ghetto fighters, noting that the combatants were thus only about three to five percent of the ghetto's population. See: Richard C. Lukas, *The Forgotten Holocaust: The Poles Under German Occupation, 1939-1944* (Lexington, Ky.: 1986), pp. 172, 178, 267 (n. 106).

Jewish historian Ber Mark contends that there were perhaps a thousand "organized" Jewish fighters, with many others helping in the struggle. See: Ber Mark, *Uprising in the Warsaw Ghetto* (New York: Schocken, 1975) p. 15, and, Ber Mark, "The Warsaw Ghetto Uprising," in: Yuri Suhl, ed., *They Fought Back* (1967), p. 93.

5. N. Weill, "L'Insurrection du ghetto de Varsovie," *Le Monde* (Paris), April 18-19, 1993, p. 2.; Zuckerman (1915-1981), whose name is sometimes spelled "Cukierman," was also known by his *nom de guerre*, "Antek." His memoir was published in 1993 under the title *A Surplus of Memory: Chronicle of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising* (Univ. of Calif. Press).

6. Forty survivors of the original group of 200 fighters, including Marek Edelman, succeeded in escaping from the ghetto, May 8-10, 1943. See: M. Edelman interview in *Profil* (Vienna), April 19, 1993, p. 86.

7. Even though it had a wall around it, the Warsaw ghetto was largely "open." In this sense, it deserved to be designated as a "residential district" or "quarter" rather than a "ghetto."

8. See: Leon Poliakov, *Harvest of Hate* (New York: 1979), p. 230.

9. Israel Gutman, "Warsaw Ghetto Uprising," *Encyclopedia of the Holocaust* (New York: 1990), p. 1628.

10. Cited by Adam Rutkowski in an article reprinted in a special issue of the French periodical, *Le Monde Juif*, April-August 1993, p. 162.; The "Jewish Combat Organization" (JCO) or "Jewish Fighting Organization," was known in Polish as the "Zydowska Organizacja Bojowa" (ZOB).;

Details about the methods employed by the JCO are provided by Yisrael Gutman in his book, *The Jews of Warsaw, 1939-1943: Ghetto, Underground, Revolt* (1982), pp. 344-349.

These methods scarcely differed from those of the Mafia. The Germans knew that they faced strong opposition. They sought to convince the Jews to allow themselves to be transferred to the Lublin region, along with the factories and workshops that served the German war effort. In March 1943 a strange "poster war" took place between the Jewish Combat Organization (JCO) and Walter C. Többens, who was responsible for evacuating the Jews. The JCO's notices called on the Jewish residents to refuse transfer to what it called the death camps. The Germans left these handbills in place, content to put up alongside them notices signed "Walter C. Többens," in which the claims of the JCO were refuted point by point.

Gutman acknowledges: "Többens told the truth about these transports; they weren't to death camps, and it is a fact that there were buildings for *integrating* the factories [in the Lublin region]. But at the time the resistance and the suspicions of the Jews were so strong that even the most ingenious tactics weren't able to overcome them." (pp. 334-335) It was only after determining that methods of persuasion had been stymied that the Germans decided on their police operation.

11. On these points, as well as many others, see, notably:

The Jews of Warsaw, 1939-1943: Ghetto, Underground, Revolt, by Yisrael Gutman, translated from the Hebrew by Ina Friedman (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982, 487+xxii pages), and, *Il y a 50 ans: le soulèvement du ghetto de Varsovie* ("Fifty Years Ago: The Warsaw Ghetto Uprising"), special edition of *Le Monde Juif*, April-August 1993, 336 pages.

The latter work includes a reprint of an article by Adam Rutkowski, published in 1969 under the title "Quelques documents sur la révolte du ghetto de Varsovie" ("Some Documents on the Warsaw Ghetto Revolt"), pp. 160-169. On page 162 appear the "general directives for combat of the Jewish Combat Organization."

12. The "Stroop Report," dated May 16, 1943, is entitled "Es gibt keinen jüdischen Wohnbezirk in Warschau mehr!" ("The Jewish Residential District in Warsaw Is No More!"). Text published as Nuremberg document PS-1061 (USA-275) in: International Military Tribunal, *Trial of the Major War Criminals Before the International Military Tribunal* ("blue series"), Vol. 26, pp. 628-694, followed by a selection of 18 photographs (of 52). A purported facsimile edition of the German original of this report, including Stroop's telex reports, along with an English-language translation, has been published in the US as: *The Stroop Report: The Jewish Quarter in Warsaw Is No More!* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1979), Translated from the German and annotated by Sybil Milton, Introduction by Andrzej Wirth.

13. In his telex report of May 24, 1943, General Stroop stated: "Of the total 56,065 Jews apprehended, about 7,000 were annihilated directly in the course of the large-scale operation in the former Jewish quarter. 6,929 Jews were destroyed through transport to T II [an apparent reference to the Treblinka II camp], making a total of 13,929 annihilated Jews. In addition to this figure of 56,065, an estimated 5,000 to 6,000 Jews were annihilated in explosions or fires." See: *The Stroop Report* (New York: 1979), [pages not numbered].

In the entry, "Warsaw Ghetto Uprising," in *Encyclopedia of the Holocaust* (p. 1630), Israel Gutman writes: "On May 16 Stroop announced that the fighting was over and that 'we succeeded in capturing altogether 56,065 Jews, that is, definitely destroying them'." The words ascribed here to Stroop are not accurate. What he actually wrote in his report of May 16 is this: "The total number of Jews apprehended or confirmed destroyed is 56,065."

14. "After the people had been taken out of the Ghetto — they numbered between 50,000 and 60,000 — they were brought to the railway station. The Security Police [*Sicherheitspolizei*] had complete supervision of these people and were in charge of the transport of these people to Lublin." From an affidavit of Jürgen Stroop, which was quoted as document 3841-PS (USA-804) by American prosecutor Col. Amen at the Nuremberg Tribunal on April 12, 1946. Text published in: International Military Tribunal, *Trial of the Major War Criminals Before the International Military Tribunal* ("blue series"), Vol. 11, pp. 354-355.

15. "The terrible, exemplary, and apocalyptic revolt of the inhabitants of the Warsaw ghetto is at once an act of despair and of heroism." See: D. Desthomas, *La Montagne*, April 17, 1993, p. 12.

16. Exaggerations about "the Warsaw ghetto uprising" appear regularly in the media around the world. A comparison of exaggerations and inventions in the Brazilian press on this subject with the facts recently appeared in a revisionist periodical in Brazil. See: S.E. Castan, "Documento: A Verdadeira História do Levante do Gueto de Varsóvia," *Boletim-EP (Esclarcimento ao Pais)*, June 1993, pp. 7-14. Address: *Boletim-EP*, Caixa Postal 11.011, Ag. Menino Deus, 90880-970 Porto Alegre, RS, Brazil.

The "Warsaw Ghetto Boy"

Mark Weber

It is probably the single most widely recognized and memorable Holocaust image of all: a frightened and apparently doomed young boy, his arms upraised, standing with other Warsaw ghetto Jews under the watch of an armed German soldier.

In a recent essay, Erwin Knoll, editor of the influential monthly *The Progressive*, aptly sums up the popular view of this photo:[1]

> It is the photograph that has come to symbolize the Holocaust: a small Jewish boy, frightened eyes downcast, hands raised above his shoulders, surrounded by Nazi troops. This is the final roundup of Jews scheduled for execution during the Warsaw Ghetto uprising of 1943. More Jews, hands raised, can be seen in the background. We know as we stare at the photo that soon they will all be dead.
>
> The photo appears in archives and exhibitions, in magazine and newspaper articles about the Holocaust, in television documentaries and history books. By now I must have seen it hundreds of times ...

This photograph is one of several dozen included in the official SS report on the April-May 1943 German police *Aktion* against the Warsaw ghetto.[2] In the decades since the end of the war, it

This photograph, perhaps the most familiar Holocaust image, shows seven-year-old Tsvi Nussbaum as he raises his hands in Warsaw in 1943. After the war, Nussbaum moved to Israel, and then to the United States, where he worked as a physician in New York City.

has been reproduced millions of times in countless books, magazines and films, serving as a kind of "all purpose" Holocaust illustration. Enlargements of it have appeared at Holocaust exhibitions and displays in countries around the world.

Millions of people have been led to believe that the bewildered boy in this poignant photo was murdered shortly after this memorable image was preserved on film. "The photograph wrenches the heart," *The Washington Post* has commented, "because it appears that the boy, like millions of Jews and others, is to die at the hands of the Nazis."[3]

In a 1979 advertisement for a set of sensationalized Holocaust story books published in a leading American weekly paper, this photo appears with a caption reading:[4]

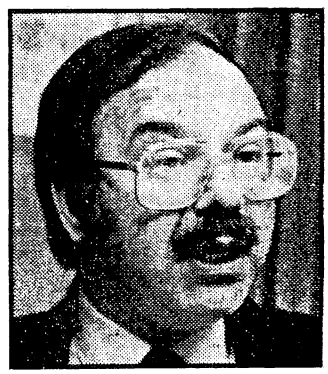
> His name was Arthur Chmiotak. He would be 42 this May, but he was gassed to death in a Nazi concentration camp before he was even ten years old. Why? Because he was an "undesirable," a weed in Hitler's garden of perfect Aryan flowers. Just one of more than six million that had to be eliminated . . .

In Germany, a widely used school textbook describes this photo to young readers with these words: "Warsaw, May 1943: Destruction of the Jewish ghetto and deportation of its residents to gassing in the Treblinka camp."[5]

Contrary to legend, though, the "ghetto boy" was not killed. He survived wartime internment in Warsaw and in a German concentration camp.

Several decades after it was taken, a New York physician, Tsvi C. Nussbaum, revealed that he was the lad in the famous photograph. "I remember there was a soldier in front of me, and he ordered me to raise my hands," Nussbaum later recalled. After his uncle intervened, the seven-year-old boy was allowed to join the rest of his family. Along with relatives, young Nussbaum was deported from Warsaw in 1943 to the Bergen-Belsen camp in western Germany. After liberation at war's end, he moved to Israel, from where he migrated to the United States in 1953. In 1990 he was living in Rockland County, New York.[6]

Nussbaum's story has held up under critical examination, and even decades later he still bore a striking resemblance to the boy in the photo.



Tsvi Nussbaum in 1982

Jewish Holocaust historians "who have long considered the photograph a sort of sacred document" were not pleased by Nussbaum's revelation, reported *The New York Times*, because they were "convinced that the symbolic power of the picture would be diminished were the boy shown to have

survived." Nussbaum himself was surprised by such concerns. "I never realized that everyone puts the entire weight of six million Jews on this photograph," he said. "To me it looked like an incident in which I was involved, and that was it."[7]

Dr. Lucjan Dobroszycki of the Yivo Institute, a Jewish history center in New York, warned that "this great photograph of the most dramatic event of the Holocaust requires a greater level of responsibility from historians than any other. It is too holy to let people do with it what they want."[8] In other words, Dobroszycki suggested, historical truth must not be permitted to diminish the picture's emotional impact and usefulness.

Widely regarded as one of this century's most emotionally powerful images, this photograph is indeed telling evidence of the tragic fate of Europe's Jews during the Second World War, but in a way quite different than many people believe.

NOTES

1. Erwin Knoll, "The Uses of the Holocaust," *The Progressive*, July 1993, p. 15.
2. The caption to this photo in the "Stroop Report reads: "Pulled from bunkers by force." The 1943 "Stroop report" was submitted as a prosecution exhibit at the Nuremberg Tribunal of 1945-1946, and was published in volume 26 of the official 42-volume IMT "blue series" record. Nuremberg document 1061-PS (USA-275). A facsimile edition of this report, with English-language translation and commentary, has been published under the title *The Stroop Report: The Jewish Quarter in Warsaw Is No More!* (New York: Pantheon, 1979).
3. C. Harris, "Warsaw Ghetto Boy: Symbol of the Holocaust," *The Washington Post*, Sept. 17, 1978, p. L 1.
4. Advertisement by the Pleasant Valley Press of Pittsburgh for a 13-volume set of books by Christian Bernada. *National Enquirer*, April 3, 1979.; A 1993 Associated Press caption describes this photograph: "A group of Jews, including a boy identified as Arthur Schmiontak, is escorted from the Warsaw ghetto by German soldiers in 1943." See: *Orange County Register*, April 18, 1993, p. 23, and, *Savananah News-Press*, April 18, 1993.
5. Quoted in: *D. National-Zeitung* (Munich), April 16, 1993, p. 11.
6. D. Margolick, "Rockland Physician Thinks He is Boy in Holocaust Photo on Street in Warsaw," *The New York Times*, May 28, 1982, pp. B1, B2.; P. Moses, "Haunting Reminder," *New York Post*, Feb. 20, 1990, p. 5.;

   In 1978 a London businessman named Israel (Issy) Rondel claimed to be the "Warsaw ghetto boy." See: J. Finkelstone, "'Ghetto boy' lives here," *Jewish Chronicle* (London), August 11, 1978, pp. 1, 2.; C. Harris, "Warsaw Ghetto Boy: Symbol of The Holocaust," *The Washington Post*, Sept. 17, 1978, pp. L1, L9. This claim later proved to be untrue. See: E. Kossoy, "The boy from the ghetto," *Jerusalem Post*, Sept. 1, 1978, p. 5.
7. D. Margolick, *The New York Times*, May 28, 1982, pp. B1, B2. (cited above).
8. *The New York Times*, May 28, 1982, pp. B1, B2.

Anyone who has the power to make you believe absurdities has the power to make you commit injustices.

— *Voltaire*

A Ghetto Fighter Recalls Her Capture

Young women fighters rounded up during the 1943 German action against the Warsaw ghetto are shown in this widely-reproduced photograph.

Like the famous "ghetto boy" photo, this was included in the 1943 "Stroop report." The original caption read: "Women of the He-halutz movement, captured with weapons." ("He-halutz" or "Hechalutz" ["pioneer"] was an important Zionist youth organization.)

The young woman at the right is Malka Zdorjewicz. Years later, she recalled the circumstance behind the taking of this photograph:

> We went to a neutral place in the ghetto area and climbed down into the underground sewers. Through them, we girls used to carry arms into the ghetto; we hid them in our boots. During the ghetto uprising, we hurled Molotov cocktails at the Germans.
>
> After the suppression of the uprising, we went into hiding, taking refuge in an underground shelter where a large quantity of arms was piled up. But the Germans detected us and forced us out. I happened to be there with Rachela and Bluma Wyszogrodzka (and that is how they took our picture). . .

Rachela and I, together with the others, were driven to the *Umschlagplatz*. They later took us to Majdanek from there.

Surviving internment in the Majdanek camp, Malka moved to Palestine in 1946, where she married (taking her husband's name of Hornstein), and had four children. In Jerusalem in July 1967, she recorded her wartime experiences. (Source: *Yad Vashem Bulletin* [Jerusalem], No. 22, May 1968, pp. 37-39.) — **M. W.**

Inaccurate *Time* Magazine Photo Caption Defames Ukrainians

GHETTO FIGHTERS HOUSE, ISRAEL

Traditions of atrocity: A Jewish girl raped by Ukrainians in Lvov, Poland, in 1945

The photograph shown here, with this factually untrue caption, appeared in *Time* magazine, February 22, 1993. In fact, this photo was taken by German photographers in the Ukrainian city of Lviv (Lvov) shortly after its capture by German forces on June 30, 1941. There is no evidence that the woman shown here was ever raped.

Many Ukrainian-Americans were understandably outraged at *Time* magazine's irresponsible and defamatory use of this graphic photo. A leading Ukrainian-American periodical commented: "The Ukrainian community deserves a genuine apology from *Time* for publishing an irrelevant photograph with a false caption, which violated historical truth and defamed the Ukrainian community." (*Ukrainian Weekly*, May 16.)

In response to numerous letters of complaint, *Time* magazine eventually published a sort of apology (April 19, 1993). "Except for the date," the influential weekly explained, "the information describing the events in the photo was obtained from an employee of a Holocaust museum in Israel."

The *Time* explanation continued:

> Chaos in the form of pogroms, rapes and killings swept the town at that time. The picture is one of a series showing women being stripped, harassed and chased by civilians. One school of thought holds that the women were Jewish victims of the pogroms in Lvov. . . . Other historians insist that the majority of the women pictured in the series of photographs were mistresses the Soviets abandoned when they fled Lvov to escape the Germans troops. The defenseless collaborators were then attacked by resentful residents for consorting with the Soviet enemy.

This same photo appears in the 1989 book *WWII: Time-Life Books History of the Second World War* (p. 141) with a caption reading: "A rape victim in the city of Lvov cries out in rage and anguish as an older woman comforts her."

Shortly before the German capture of the city on June 30, 1941, Soviet secret police summarily killed an estimated 2,300 men, women and children. When the Soviets abandoned the city, many enraged citizens vented their anger on those who had helped the hated oppressors. Many of the victims of this popular outrage were Jews, who had tended to support Soviet rule.

This photo, probably taken on July 1, 1941, almost certainly depicts a victim of this vengeful, pogrom-like outburst in which, according to some historians, several thousand Jews were killed.

Commenting on the circumstances of this photo, one Ukrainian-American writer has claimed that "the action was staged by the Nazis for the purpose of shooting a newsreel." (*Edmonton Jewish Life*, March 25, 1993, p. 7.) There is no evidence whatsoever to support this scurrilous contention. — **M.W.**

"A new scientific truth tends to prevail not because its opponents become convinced and announce their conversion, but far more because its opponents gradually die out, and are replaced by those of the upcoming generation, who are already familiar with that truth."

— **Max Planck**, German Physicist, 1858-1947, Nobel Prize laureate, in: *Wissenschaftliche Selbstbiographie: Physikalische Abhandlungen und Vorträge*, Band 3, (Braunschweig: 1958), p. 389.

Subhas Chandra Bose and India's Struggle for Independence

ANDREW MONTGOMERY

When one thinks of the Indian independence movement in the 1930s and early 1940s, two figures most readily come to mind: Mahatma Gandhi, the immensely popular and "saintly" frail pacifist, and his highly respected, Fabian Socialist acolyte, Jawaharlal Nehru.

Less familiar to Westerners is Subhas Chandra Bose, a man of comparable stature who admired Gandhi but despaired at his aims and methods, and who became a bitter rival of Nehru. Bose played a very active and prominent role in India's political life during most of the 1930s. For example, he was twice (1938 and 1939) elected President of the Indian National Congress, the country's most important political force for freedom from the *Raj*, or British rule.

While his memory is still held in high esteem in India, in the West Bose is much less revered, largely because of his wartime collaboration with the Axis powers. Both before and during the Second World War, Bose worked tirelessly to secure German and Japanese support in freeing his beloved homeland of foreign rule. During the final two years of the war, Bose — with considerable Japanese backing — led the forces of the Indian National Army into battle against the British.

Ideology of Fusion

As early as 1930 — in his inaugural speech as mayor of Calcutta — the fervent young Bose first expressed his support for a fusion of socialism and fascism:[1]

> . . . I would say we have here in this policy and program a synthesis of what modern Europe calls Socialism and Fascism. We have here the justice, the equality, the love, which is the basis of Socialism, and combined with that we have the efficiency and the discipline of Fascism as it stands in Europe today.

In years that followed, the brilliant, eclectic Bengali would occasionally modify this radical doctrine, but would never abandon it entirely. For example, in late 1944 — almost a decade and a half later — in a speech to students at Tokyo University, he asserted that India must have a political system "of an authoritarian character. . . . To repeat once again, our philosophy should be a synthesis between National Socialism and Communism."[2]

In the wake of the crushing defeat in 1945 of Hitler and Mussolini, "fascism" has arguably been the most despised of all political ideologies. Postwar western society recognizes no fascist heroics, and even considers "fascist" traits — particularly the authoritarian, charismatic, personal style of leadership, and the positive evaluation of violence and the willingness to use it for political purposes — to be decidedly unpalatable. In India, though, Bose is regarded as a national hero, in spite of his repeated praise (as will be shown) for autocratic leadership and authoritarian government, and admiration for the European fascist regimes with which he allied himself.

Like the leaders he admired in Italy and Germany, Bose was (and still is) popularly known as *Netaji*, or "revered leader." "His name," explains Mihir Bose (no relation), one of Subhas' many biographers, "is given [in India] to parks, roads, buildings, sports stadiums, artificial lakes; his statues stand in place of those of discarded British heroes and his photograph adorns thousands of calendars and millions of *pan* (betel-nut) shops." It is always the same portrait, continues the writer: Bose in his Indian National Army uniform, "exhorting his countrymen forward to one last glorious struggle."[3]

No less a figure than Gandhi paid tribute to Bose's remarkable courage and devotion. Six months after his death in an airplane crash on August 18, 1945, Gandhi declared: "The hypnotism of the Indian National Army has cast its spell upon us. Netaji's name is one to conjure with. His patriotism is second to none. . . . His bravery shines through all his actions. He aimed high and failed. But who has not failed."[4] On another occasion Gandhi eulogized: "Netaji will remain immortal for all

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time to come for his service to India."[5]

Many of Bose's admirers have been inclined to downplay or even ignore the fascist elements in his ideology, and even to pretend they never existed. For example, the text of Bose's inaugural speech as mayor of Calcutta, cited above, was reprinted in a laudatory 1970 "Netaji Birthday Supplement" of the *Calcutta Municipal Gazette*, but with all references to fascism, including his support for a synthesis of fascism and socialism, carefully deleted.[6] Several admiring biographers have found it easier to ignore the fascist elements in his ideology than to explain them. Their subjective accounts do not even inform the reader that Bose spoke positively about some features of fascism, or else, in an attempt to remove from their hero any possible taint, they qualify his remarks in ways that he himself did not.[7]

Subhas Chandra Bose in Berlin, 1941

"Fascist"?

During his lifetime, Bose was frequently denounced as a fascist or even a Nazi, particularly in the wake of the radical, revolutionary (as opposed to reformist) views he expressed in radio addresses broadcast to India from National Socialist Germany and, later, from quasi-fascist Japan.[8] For example, *The Statesman*, a highly influential Calcutta periodical, charged in November 1941: "Mr. Bose's views are those of the Nazis, and he makes no secret of it,"[9] while the BBC, Britain's worldwide radio voice, frequently accused him of "Fascism" and "Nazism."[10]

Additionally, historians and writers who do not admire Bose readily point up his "fascist" views. A.M. Nair, a historian who has written favorably of Indian revolutionary Rash Behari Bose (who had sought Japan's help during and after the First World War), found nothing to praise about Subhas Chandra Bose. After all, wrote Nair, he was clearly a fascist.[11]

Recognized Leadership

Bose, a patriot of almost fanatical zeal, first joined the Indian national movement in 1921, working under C.R. Das, whom he idolized. He was jailed for six months in 1921-1922 because of his political activities. Immediately upon his release, the 25-year-old Bose organized (and presided over) the All-Bengal Young Men's Conference. As a result of his remarkable leadership abilities and ambition, he advanced quickly through nationalist ranks. He was soon elected General Secretary of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee (BPCC). In 1924, at the age of 27, Bose was elected the Chief Executive Officer of the Calcutta Municipal Corporation, which effectively put him in charge of the second-largest city in the British empire. As a result of his close ties with nationalist terrorists, in late 1924 he was detained by British authorities and held, without trial, for three years in prison. In 1928, the 31-year-old Bose was elected president of the BPCC, and, at the Calcutta meeting of the Congress party held that December, he came to national prominence by pressing (unsuccessfully) for the adoption by his provincial committee of an independence resolution.

By 1930 Bose had formulated the broad strategy that he believed India must follow to throw off the yoke of British imperialism and assume its rightful place as a leader in Asia. During his years in Mandalay prison and another short term of imprisonment in Alipore jail in 1930, he read many works on political theory, including Francesco Nitti's *Bolshevism, Fascism and Democracy* and Ivanoe Bonomi's *From Socialism to Fascism*.[12] It is clear that these works on fascism influenced him, and caused an immediate modification of his long-held socialist views: as noted above, in his inaugural speech as mayor of Calcutta, given a day after his release from Alipore jail, he revealed his support for a seemingly contradictory ideological synthesis of socialism and fascism.

Until his death 15 years later, Bose would continue publicly to praise certain aspects of fascism and express his hope for a synthesis of that ideology and socialism. His detailed comments on the matter in his book *The Indian Struggle: 1920-1934*, which was first published in 1935, accurately represent

the views he held throughout most of his career. As such, the most important of them, along with Bose's own actions, will be analyzed here in some detail.

Program Outlined

Contending that the Indian National Congress was somewhat "out of date," and suffered from a lack of unity and strong leadership, Bose predicted in *The Indian Struggle* that out of a "Left-Wing revolt there will ultimately emerge a new full-fledged party with a clear ideology, program and plan of action."[13] The program and plan of action of this new party would, wrote Bose, follow this basic outline:[14]

1. The party will stand for the interests of the masses, that is, of the peasants, workers, etc., and not for the vested interests, that is, the landlords, capitalists and money-lending classes.

2. It will stand for the complete political and economic liberation of the Indian people.

3. It will stand for a Federal Government for India as the ultimate goal, but will believe in a strong Central Government with dictatorial powers for some years to come, in order to put India on her feet.

4. It will believe in a sound system of state-planning for the reorganization of the agricultural and industrial life of the country.

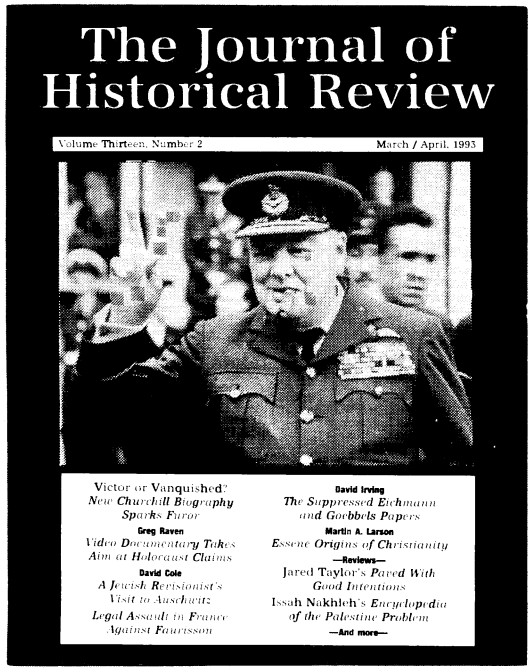
5. It will seek to build up a new social structure on the basis of the village communities of the past, that were ruled by the village "Panch" and will strive to break down the existing social barriers like caste.

6. It will seek to establish a new monetary and credit system in the light of the theories and the experiments that have been and are current in the modern world.

7. It will seek to abolish landlordism and introduce a uniform land-tenure system for the whole of India.

8. It will not stand for a democracy in the Mid-Victorian sense of the term, but will believe in government by a strong party bound together by military discipline, as the only means of holding India together and preventing a chaos, when Indians are free and are thrown entirely on their own resources.

9. It will not restrict itself to a campaign inside India but will resort to international propaganda also, in order to strengthen India's case



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for liberty, and will attempt to utilize the existing international organizations.

10. It will endeavor to unite all the radical organizations under a national executive so that whenever any action is taken, there will be simultaneous activity on many fronts.

Synthesis

Bose went on to note that Nehru had said in 1933: "I dislike Fascism intensely and indeed I do not think it is anything more than a crude and brutal effort of the present capitalist order to preserve itself at any cost." There is no middle road between Fascism and Communism, said Nehru, so one "had to choose between the two and I choose the Communist ideal."[15]

To this Bose responded:[16]

> The view expressed here is, according to the writer, fundamentally wrong. . . One is inclined to hold that the next phase in world-history will produce a synthesis between Communism and Fascism. And will it be a surprise if that synthesis in produced in India? . . . In spite of the antithesis between Communism and Fascism, there are certain traits in common. Both Communism and Fascism believe in the supremacy of the State over the individual. Both denounce parliamentary democracy. Both believe in party rule. Both believe in the dictatorship of the party and in the ruthless suppression of all dissenting minorities. Both believe in a planned industrial reorganization of the country. These common traits will form the basis of the new synthesis. That synthesis is called by the writer "Samyavada" — an Indian word, which means literally "the doctrine of synthesis or equality." It will be India's task to work out this synthesis. Before taking a closer look at these remarkable words, four points need to be made. First, Bose's fascist model was almost certainly Mussolini's Italy, not Hitler's Germany. In 1934 Bose made the first of several visits to Fascist Italy and found both the regime and its leader very agreeable. On that occasion he had a cordial (first) meeting with Mussolini — "a man who really counts in the politics of modern Europe."[17] After *The Indian Struggle* appeared in print in 1935, Bose made a special stop in Rome personally to present a copy to the *Duce*.[18]

Gandhi and Bose

Second, the book was completed a full year before the commencement of the Italian invasion of Ethiopia (Abyssinia), in October 1935. While Bose would, by the time he completed his book, have known about such violent incidents as "The Night of the Long Knives" — the SS killing of dozens of SA men on June 30, 1934 — he had no real reason to consider the European fascist regimes unusually violent, murderous or bellicose. "I should like to point out that when I was writing the book," he later explained,[19]

> Fascism had not started on its imperialistic expedition, and it appeared to me merely an aggressive form of nationalism. . . . What I really meant was that we in India wanted our national freedom, and having won it, we wanted to move in the direction of Socialism. This is what I meant when I referred to a "synthesis between Communism and Fascism." Perhaps the expression I used was not a happy one.

Third, despite Bose's claim to represent the political left, and that a party supporting a fusion of fascism and socialism would be ushered in by a "Left-Wing revolt," the ideology he expounded might more appropriately be regarded as right wing. Bose's ideology was radical and contained socialist elements — such as the desire to abolish the traditional class structure and create a society of equal opportunity, and the claim to represent the peasants and workers. To that extent it can be considered left wing. It is worth noting that Hitler's "right wing" political movement — the National Socialist German Workers' Party — shared many of Bose's "socialist" goals.[20] Nehru, a committed socialist, challenged Bose's characterization of himself and his followers as left wing: "It seems to me that many of the so-called Leftists are more Right than the so-called Rightists. Strong language and a capacity to attack the old Congress leadership is not a test of Leftism in politics."[21]

Lastly, it should be noted that Bose was willing to tone down his more radical political beliefs on those occasions when he considered it advantageous or necessary to do so. For example, in his February 1938 inaugural speech as President of the Indian National Congress, Bose — probably in a sincere attempt to placate the Gandhian faction — made statements that appear to represent almost an about face from the political views he had

expounded in *The Indian Struggle*. In a future independent India, he said,[22]

> the party itself will have a democratic basis, unlike, for instance, the Nazi party which is based on the "leader principle." The existence of more than one party and the democratic basis of the Congress party will prevent the future Indian State becoming a totalitarian one. Further, the democratic basis of the party will ensure that leaders are not thrust upon the people from above, but are elected from below.

It is possible that these statements reflect a temporary change of mind, but it is more likely that they reflect Bose's efforts during this period to gain further political respectability, to prove that he was more than just a radical and revolutionary Bengali. By doing so he apparently hoped to win wider acceptance of the policies he wanted to implement in his year as Congress President: policies which were not especially radical or revolutionary.[23] According to Nirad Chaudhuri, his former personal secretary, Bose tried very hard during this period to seek agreement with the Gandhian faction over the direction the Congress party should move, and even "showed something like tender filial piety towards Gandhi," of whom he had been very critical in *The Indian Struggle*.[24] It is against this political background that Bose's statements to the Congress party meeting in February 1938 should be seen.

A year later he successfully recontested the presidential election, but two months afterwards was forced to resign because of his inability to resolve his differences with Gandhi and the Gandhian faction. Probably believing that his earlier suspicions of democracy had been proven correct, and feeling that there was now no use in trying to win the favor or approval of more conservative elements in the Congress party, Bose once again proclaimed his belief in the efficacy of authoritarian government and a synthesis of fascism and socialism. Many similar examples can be cited to show how Bose outwardly (but probably not inwardly) modified his views to suit changing political contexts.

A Life for India

Throughout his political career, India's liberation from British rule remained Bose's foremost political goal; indeed, it was a lifelong obsession. As he explained in his most important work, *The Indian Struggle*, the political party he envisioned "will stand for the complete political and economic liberation of the Indian people." Speaking of Bose a few days after his death in August 1945, Jawaharlal Nehru said:[25]

> In the struggle for the cause of India's independence he has given his life and has escaped all those troubles which brave soldiers like him have to face in the end. He was not only brave but had deep love for freedom. He believed, rightly or wrongly, that whatever he did was for the independence of India. . . . Although I personally did not agree with him in many respects, and he left us and formed the Forward Bloc, nobody can doubt his sincerity. He struggled throughout his life for the independence of India, in his own way.

Along with his abiding love for his country, Bose held an equally passionate hatred of the imperial power that ruled it: Great Britain. In a radio address broadcast from Berlin on March 1, 1943, he exclaimed that Britain's demise was near, and predicted that it would be "India's privilege to end that Satanic empire."[26] The fundamental principle of his foreign policy, Bose declared in a May 1945 speech in Bangkok, is that "Britain's enemy is India's friend."[27] Although these two speeches are from his final years, they express views he had held since before his April 1921 resignation from the Indian Civil Service.[28] It was this principle of making friends with Britain's enemies in the hope that they would assist him in liberating India that brought him in 1941 to Germany and then, in 1943, to Japan.

Violence or Non-Violence?

Bose envisaged that "the complete political and economic liberation of the Indian people" would inevitably require the use of force. Just before resigning from the Indian Civil Service, he discussed with Dilip Kumar Roy, his closest friend, the subject of anti-British terrorism. "I admit is it regrettable," he said, "even ugly if you will, though it also has a terrible beauty of its own. But maybe that beauty does not unveil her face except for her devotees."[29]

Violence was not new to Bose, even at that early stage of his career. In 1916 he had been expelled from Presidency College in Calcutta for his part in the violent assault on Professor Edward Oaten, who had allegedly insulted Indian students.[30] Moreover, although he occasionally claimed to "detest" violence,[31] and criticized isolated acts of terrorism (which he considered ineffective and counterproductive),[32] he was never really committed to Gandhi's policy of non-violence.[33] He regarded the Gandhi-supported civil disobedience campaign as an effective means of paralyzing the administration, but regarded it as inadequate unless accompanied by a movement aimed at total revolution and prepared, if necessary, to use violence.[34]

Militarism

Related to Bose's willingness to use violence to gain political objective was his belief — expressed in *The Indian Struggle*, for example — that a government by a strong party should be "bound together by

military discipline." Indeed Bose was infatuated with military discipline, and later commented that his basic training in the University Unit of the India Defence Force (for which he volunteered in 1917, while a student at Scottish Church College in Cal-

Bose meets Hitler, May 1942

cutta) "gave me something which I needed or which I lacked. The feeling of strength and of self-confidence grew still further."[35]

Bose was able to give much grander expression to his "militarism" when, in 1930, he volunteered to form a guard of honor during the ceremonial functions at the Calcutta session of the Congress party. Such guards of honor were not uncommon, but the one Bose formed and commanded was unlike anything previously seen. More than 2,000 volunteers were given military training and organized into battalions. About half wore uniforms, with specially designed steel-chain epaulettes for the officers. Bose, in full dress uniform (peaked cap, standing collar, ornamental breast cords, and jodhpurs) even carried a Field Marshal's baton when he reviewed his "troops." Photographs taken at the conference show him looking entirely out of place in a sea of *khadi* (traditional Indian clothing). Gandhi and several other champions of Non-violence (*Ahimsa*) were uncomfortable with this display.[36]

The Indian National Army

A high point in Bose's "military career" came in July 1943 in Singapore. At a mass meeting there on July 4, Rash Behari Bose (no relation) handed over to him the leadership of the Indian Independence League. The next day, Subhas Bose reviewed for the first time the soldiers of the Indian National Army (INA), which then comprised 13,000 men. In his address to the troops, which is a good example of his speaking style, he cited George Washington and Giuseppi Garibaldi as examples of men who led armies that won independence for their respective countries. Bose went on:[37]

> Soldiers of India's army of liberation!. . .
>
> Every Indian must feel proud that this Army — his own Army — has been organized entirely under Indian leadership and that, when the historic moment arrives, under Indian leadership it will go to battle . . .
>
> Comrades! You have voluntarily accepted a mission that is the noblest that the human mind can conceive of. For the fulfillment of such a mission, no sacrifice is too great, not even the sacrifice of one's life . . .
>
> . . . Today is the proudest day of my life. For an enslaved people, there can be no greater pride, no higher honor, than to be the first soldier in the army of liberation. But this honor carries with it a corresponding responsibility, and I am deeply conscious of it. I assure you that I shall be with you in darkness and in sunshine, in sorrow and in joy, in suffering and in victory. For the present, I can offer you nothing except hunger, thirst, privation, forced marches and death. But if you follow me in life and in death, as I am confident you will, I shall lead you to victory and freedom. It does not matter who among us will live to see India free. It is enough that India shall be free, and that we shall give our all to make her free.
>
> May God now bless our Army and grant us victory in the coming fight!

This "Free India Army" ("*Azad Hind Fauj*") would not only "emancipate India from the British yoke," he told the soldiers, but would, under his command, become the standing national army of the liberated nation.

Choreography for Impact

As his staging at the 1930 Calcutta session of the Congress party suggests, Bose understood early on the importance of political choreography and the aesthetics of mass meetings. After his visits to Fascist Italy and National Socialist Germany, he was even more mindful of the importance for any successful broad-based political movement of mass meetings, marches, visual symbols, and ceremonial or liturgical rituals. For example, at the 51st session of the Congress party at Haripura in 1938, Bose made sure that his entrance as the new Congress President would be spectacular. Escorted by 51 girls in saffron saris (the number corresponding with the number of the Congress session), he was seated in an ancient chariot drawn by 51 white bullocks, and taken on a two hour procession through 51 specially-constructed gates, accompanied by 51 brass bands.[38] Political choreography of this type — although not to this extreme degree — was very evident at all mass rallies (which sometimes attracted crowds numbering as many as 200,000) of the Forward Bloc party that Bose formed in 1939. Carefully chosen symbols, slogans and songs, coupled with a flood of written propaganda, were used in an unsuc-

cessful attempt to make the Forward Bloc into a mass party.[39]

Even during the last years of the war, when he was in southeast Asia heading the Provisional Government of Free India and the INA, he continued to choreograph carefully all of his rallies, meetings and ceremonies, in order to maximize their impact. He also realized that his own role in this choreography was central. Even in the hottest tropical weather, for instance, he wore an imposing military uniform, including forage cap, khaki tunic and jodhpurs, and shiny, knee-length black boots. Moreover, whenever he travelled "he demanded all the rights and privileges of a head of state. On his road travels in Malaya, for example, he insisted on a full ceremonial escort; Japanese military jeeps mounted with sub-machine guns, a fleet of cars, and motorcycle outriders."[40] Historian Mihir Bose argues persuasively that such carefully planned actions were manifestations not of megalomania, but rather of Subhas Bose's effort to create a sense of unity transcending class, caste and origin among the large and diverse populations of Indians in Southeast Asia, to increase their political awareness, to arouse and inspire both them and his INA troops, and to show the world that he regarded himself as a political leader of substance and importance.[41]

This naturally raises the question of Bose's leadership style. In the passage from *The Indian Struggle* quoted above at length, he expressed his belief in what he called "the dictatorship of the party" (the party being the governing body of a free India), but he did not specify the precise nature of the party's leadership, or whether it, too, would be dictatorial. Most importantly, he did not state whether he saw himself as the party leader, or comment directly on what role he intended for himself in a free India. Nonetheless, clues about these details can be gleaned from other sections of *The Indian Struggle* and from the speeches and statements Bose made at various times throughout his career.

Determined Leadership

Bose clearly admired strong, vigorous, military-type leaders, and in *The Indian Struggle* he listed several whom he particularly respected. These included Hitler, Mussolini, Stalin and even a former British governor of Bengal, Sir Stanley Jackson.[42] Nowhere in this book is there any criticism of these individuals (three of them dictators) for having too much power, yet another man is chastised for this: Mahatma Gandhi. Bose admired Gandhi for many things, not least his ability to "exploit the mass psychology of the people, just as Lenin did the same thing in Russia, Mussolini in Italy and Hitler in Germany."[43] But he accused Gandhi of accepting too much power and responsibility, of becoming a "Dictator for the whole country" who issued "decrees" to the Congress.[44] According to Bose, Gandhi was a brilliant and gifted man, but, unlike Mussolini, Hitler and the others mentioned, a very ineffectual leader. Gandhi had failed to liberate India because of his frequent indecision and constant willingness to compromise with the Raj (something Bose said he would never do).[45]

It is clear that Bose — who believed from his youth that he was destined for greatness[46] — saw himself as a "strong" leader in the mold of those named above. "I ask those who have any doubts or suspicions in their minds to rely on me," he told the Indian Independence League Conference in Singapore on July 4, 1943. He continued:[47]

Soldiers of the Indian Legion, which served with the German armed forces during the Second World War. Altogether about 3,000 Indians joined the Legion, taking an oath to Hitler and Bose "in the fight for the freedom of India."

> I shall always be loyal to India alone. I will never deceive my motherland. I will live and die for India. . . . The British could not bring me to submission by inflicting hardships on me. British statesmen could neither induce me nor deceive me. There is no one who can divert me from the right path.

Bose was decisive, aggressive and ambitious, and even as a university student, these features of his personality attracted many devoted followers. Dilip Kumar Roy, his companion during his days as a student at Cambridge, referred to him as "strength-inspiring," and the absolute leader of the Indian student population.[48]

Bose's militarism, ambition and leadership traits do not necessarily indicate (contrary to popular opinion) that he was a leader in the fascist mold. If they did, one would have to consider all personal-

ities with similar traits — Winston Churchill, for example — as "fascist." In this regard, it is worth noting that during his many years as head of various councils, committees and offices, and during 15-month tenure as President of the Indian National Congress (February 1938 to May 1939), Bose never acted in an undemocratic manner, nor did he claim powers or responsibilities to which he was not constitutionally or customarily entitled. Neither did he attempt in any way to foster a cult of his own personality (as, it could be argued, Gandhi did).

However, after he assumed control of the INA in July-August 1943, Bose's leadership style underwent a transformation. First, he allowed a cult of his personality to flourish among the two million or so Indians living in southeast Asia. Prayers were regularly said on his behalf, and his birthday celebrations were — like Gandhi's in India — major festivals.[49] He was invincible, according to one Indian myth from this period, and could not be harmed by bombs or bullets.[50] An image of Bose that stressed his strength of character, military prowess, and willingness to sacrifice for a free India was intentionally promoted in propaganda broadcasts and printed material. With his approval, the title *Netaji* ("Revered Leader") was added to his name in all articles about him appearing in the newspapers of the Indian Independence League; even his staff officers were permitted to address him with this title.[51] By the end of the war, few Indians in south Asia still referred to him by name; he was always respectfully called *Netaji*.[52]

Authoritarian Rule

Second, in contrast to his statement at the 1938 Haripura session of the Congress party (quoted above) — that leaders would be elected from below — Bose proclaimed, on October 21, 1943, the formation of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind ("Free India"). While retaining his post as Supreme Commander of the Indian National Army, he announced that he was naming himself Head of State, Prime Minister, and Minister for War and Foreign Affairs.[53] (The most important of these positions — Head of State — he anticipated retaining in a free India.) These appointments involved no democratic process or voting of any kind. Further, the authority he exercised in these posts was dictatorial and often very harsh. He demanded total obedience and loyalty from the Indians in south Asia, and any who opposed him, his army or government faced imprisonment, torture, or even execution.[54]

Additionally, if wealthy Indians did not contribute sufficient funds to Bose's efforts, they risked confiscation of their property. Bose's threats were taken very seriously, and had the desired effect: funds did pour in.[55] His INA troops were obliged to swear an oath of loyalty to both the Provisional Government and to him personally. He ordered the summary execution of all INA deserters, and also prepared (but was never able to implement) law codes for the entire population of India. These laws, which stipulated the death penalty for a range of offenses, were to come into force when the INA, together with the Japanese Army, entered India to fight against the British[56]

With regard to his leadership style during this 1943-1945 period, in fairness to Bose is should be pointed out that the entire world was then engulfed in a horrendous war, and political and military leaders everywhere, on all sides, adapted extraordinarily authoritarian and repressive measures. Some of the measures and policies adapted by the wartime government of the United States, for instance, were as oppressive and as severe as any planned or implemented by Bose.[57]

A New India

Bose clearly anticipated that the British would be driven out of India in an armed struggle (under his leadership),[58] and that a social and political revolution would begin the moment the Indian people saw British rule under attack in India itself.[59] This revolution, he believed, would bring an end to the old caste system and traditional social hierarchy, which would be replaced by an egalitarian, casteless and classless society based on socialist models. This process would require very careful guidance, with a firm hand, to prevent anarchy and chaos.[60]

Bose had, in fact, held these beliefs since the early 1930s, as Mrs. Kitty Kurti, a close German friend of Bose, revealed in her anecdotal memoir. At a June 1933 meeting attended by Kurti, Bose explained that:[61]

> Besides a plan of action which will lead up to the conquest of power, we shall require a program for the new state when it comes into existence in India. Nothing can be left to chance. The group of men and women who will assume the leadership of the fight with Great Britain will also have to take up the task of controlling, guiding and developing the new state and, through the state, the entire Indian people. If our leaders are not trained for post-war leadership also there is every possibility that after the conquest of power a period of chaos will set in and incidents similar to those for the French Revolution of the 18th century may be repeated in India. . . . The generals of the war-time period in India will have to carry through the whole program of post-war reforms in order to justify to their countrymen the hopes and aspirations that they will have to rouse during the fight. The task of these leaders will not be over till a new generation of men and women are educated and trained after the establishment of the new state and this new generation are able to take complete charge of their country's affairs.

This explains what Bose meant in *The Indian Struggle* when he wrote (as quoted above) of the need for a strong, single-party government, "bound together by military discipline" with "dictatorial powers for some years to come, in order to put India on her feet." Only an very strong government, strict discipline, and dictatorial rule would, according to Bose, prevent the anticipated revolution from falling into chaos and anarchy. That is why the government would not — "in the first years after liberation" — "stand for a democracy in the Mid-Victorian sense of the term." It would use whatever military force was necessary to maintain law and order, and would not relinquish authority or re-establish more regular forms of government until it felt confident that "the work of post-war social reconstruction" had been completed and "a new generation of men and women in India, fully trained and equipped for the battle of life" had emerged.[62]

Bose clearly anticipated that authoritarian rule would not last beyond the period when social reconstruction was completed, and law and order were established — when India was "on its feet," as he often wrote. As he frequently stated, Bose aimed for nothing less than the formation of "a new India and a happy India on the basis of the eternal principles of liberty, democracy and socialism."[63] He rejected Communism (at least as it was practiced in the Soviet Union) principally because of its internationalism, and because he believed that the theoretical ideal found in the writings of Marx could not be applied, without modification, to India. Still, he maintained socialist views throughout his adult life, and, on very many occasions, expressed his hope for an egalitarian (especially classless and casteless) industrialized society in which the state would control the basic means of production.[64]

He was opposed to liberalism, believing that greater emphasis should be placed on social goals than on the needs or desires of individuals. Individual wishes, he reasoned, must be subordinated to the needs of the state, especially during the struggle for independence and the period of reconstruction immediately following liberation. Nonetheless, having himself been imprisoned eleven times and sent into exile three times, he was fully committed to upholding the rights of minority intellectual, religious, cultural and racial groups. He hoped for an "all-round freedom for the Indian people — that is, for social, economic and political freedom, and would wage a relentless war against bondage of every kind till the people can become really free."[65]

It could be argued that he was not as committed to the principle of democracy as he was to socialism and freedom (as he defined it). While he extoled democracy on numerous occasions, at other times his words suggest a belief that other parties would have a place, in a free India, only as long as they were "working towards the same end, in whole or in part," as his governing party.[66] Political pluralism did not appeal to him at all. He seems to have envisioned a free India that was more authoritarian than democratic. His own actions as head of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind illustrate a lack of regard for the democratic process.

Mass Mobilization

Bose was, nonetheless, a consistent advocate of total mobilization: the mustering of national resources on a scale normally associated with military-like action. Realizing that manpower was easily India's greatest resource (and arguably the only one available to the independence movement), he proclaimed that all Indians — male and female, urban and rural, rich and poor — should actively participate in the fight for freedom. From his earliest days in politics to his death in 1945, he sought to rouse the great Indian masses, and involve them directly in the political struggle. Their support for representatives at the provincial or national levels was not enough; they must themselves rise up and win independence.

During the 1930s, however, his political position was never strong enough to call for other resources than manpower, nor was India — under British control — able to offer other resources. Additionally, total mobilization during peace-time, without an impending war or revolution in the awareness of the masses, had never been achieved (not even by the Nazis) and, arguably, never could be achieved. Bose, an astute man, no doubt realized this. With the formation of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind, he was at last in a position to appeal directly for total mobilization to the mass of Indians — at least in Southeast Asia, and, less directly, to those in India itself. Along with his call for mass mobilization, he demanded that all available resources be provided for the cause of freedom. For example, he told a mass meeting in Singapore in July 9, 1943:[67]

> Friends! You will now realize that the time has come for the three million Indians living in East Asia to mobilize all their available resources, including money and man-power. Half-hearted measures will not do. I want Total Mobilization and nothing less, for we have been told repeatedly, even by our enemies, that this is a total war. . . . Out of this total mobilization I expect at least three hundred thousand soldiers and three crores of dollars [$30,000,000]. I want also a unit of brave women to form a death-defying regiment who will wield the sword which the brave Rani of Jhansi wielded . . .

Of course, Bose demanded not only the total mobilization of Indian resources in south Asia, but of Indian resources everywhere.[68] He called for mass mobilization not only in support of his army, but also for his dynamic new government, the various branches of which required financing and manpower.

Women's Equality

As can be seen from the passage quoted above, Bose called on both men *and* women for total support. Unlike the German National Socialists and the Italian Fascists, who stressed the masculine in almost all spheres of social and political activity, Bose believed that women were the equals of men, and should therefore be likewise prepared to fight and sacrifice for India's liberation. Throughout the 1920s and1930s he had campaigned in India to bring women more fully into the life of the nation.[69] After his return to Asia in 1943, he called on women to serve as soldiers in the Indian National Army — at the time a most radical view. "When I express my confidence that you are today prepared to fight and suffer for the sake of your motherland," he told the women's section of the Independence League in July 1943,[70]

> I do not mean only to cajole you with empty words. I know the capabilities of our womanhood well. I can, therefore, say with certainty that there is no task which our women cannot undertake and no sacrifice and suffering which our women cannot undergo. . . . To those who say that it will not be proper for our women to carry guns, my only request is that they look into the pages of our history. What brave deeds the Rani of Jhansi performed during the First War of Independence in 1857. . . Indians — both common people and members of the British Indian army — who are on the border areas of India, will, on seeing you march with guns on your shoulders, voluntarily come forward to receive the guns from you and carry on the struggle started by you.

A women's regiment was formed in 1943, and came to number about 1,000 women. It was named, appropriately, the "Rani of Jhansi Regiment," after a heroine of the Indian rebellion of 1857-58 against British rule. While those less suited to combat duties were employed as nurses and in other support roles, the majority were trained as soldiers. When the INA attacked British forces from Burma in east India in mid-1944, the women of the Jhansi Regiment fought alongside the men, suffering equally heavy casualties. When the army was forced to withdraw, the women were given no privileges. Along with the men, they marched for more than a thousand kilometers.[71]

Commitment to Youth

Lastly, Bose was also deeply committed to the youth movement, a devotion that featured prominently in his political ideology. Convinced that young people were by nature idealistic, restless and open to new ideas[72] — such his own radical and militant outlook — Bose accordingly devoted a great deal of time and effort to the new Youth Leagues that were formed in a number of provinces during the 1920s. Throughout his career he presided over far more youth conferences than any other all-India political figure, and his speeches to younger people he steadfastly urged a spirit of activism that contrasted sharply with the passivism preached by Gandhi and many of the older politicians. "One of the most hopeful signs of the time," he claimed at the 1928 Maharashtra Provincial Conference,[73]

> is the awakening among the youth of this country. . . . Friends! I would implore you to assist in the awakening of youth and in the organization of the youth movement. Self-conscious youth will not only act, but will also dream; will not only destroy, but will also build. It will succeed where even you may fail; it will create for you a new India — and a free India — out of the failures, trials and experiences of the past.

India's liberation would be achieved not by Gandhi and the leading politicians of his generation, whose conservative, reformist policies bred passivity and inactivity. It would, Bose believed, be achieved only through the efforts and sacrifices of the militant, revolutionary and politically conscious younger generation.

Economic Views

In contrast to the copious record of Bose's political ideology and actions, much less is available about other important elements of his outlook, such as his economic views and policies. For example, while he condemned capitalism and extoled socialism in the pages of *The Indian Struggle*, Bose was very vague about just what monetary or credit systems he foresaw in a free India. They would be set up, he simply wrote, "in the light of the theories and the experiments that have been and are current in the modern world." Throughout his career he never wrote or said anything more specific about such matters. He appears to have had no precise ideas about political economy, save that economics was not important in itself but must be subordinated to national political considerations. Any discussion here of what economic systems he favored, and when and how he intended to implement them, would thus be merely speculative.

Unique Political Ideology

While Bose's political ideology can reasonably be described as essentially "fascistic," two qualifying points need to be made here.

First, his ideology and actions were not the result of any extreme neurotic or pathological psychosocial impulses. He was not a megalomaniac, nor did he display any of the pathological traits often attributed (rightly or wrongly) to fascist leaders, such as hostile aggression, obsessive hatred or delusions. Moreover, while he was an ardent patriot and nationalist, Bose's nationalism was cultural, not

racialist.

Second, his radical political ideology was shaped by a consuming frustration with the unsuccessful efforts of others to gain independence for India. His "fascist" outlook did not come from a drive for personal power or social elevation. While he was ambitious, and clearly enjoyed the devotion of his followers, his obsession was not adulation or power, but rather freedom for his beloved Motherland — a goal for which he was willing to suffer and sacrifice, even at the cost of his life.

Bose was favorably impressed with the discipline and organizational strength of fascism as early as 1930, when he first expressed support for a synthesis of fascism and socialism. During his stays in Europe during the 1930s, he was deeply moved by the dynamism of the two major "fascist" powers, Italy and Germany. After observing these regimes first-hand, he developed a political ideology of his own that, he was convinced, could bring about the liberation of India and the total reconstruction of Indian society along vaguely authoritarian-socialist lines.

Bose's lack of success in his life-long effort to liberate India from alien rule was certainly not due to any lack of effort. From 1921, when he became the first Indian to resign formally from the Indian Civil Service, until his death in 1945 as leader of an Indian government in exile, Subhas Chandra Bose struggled ceaselessly to achieve freedom and prosperity for his beloved homeland.

Notes

1. From Bose's inaugural speech of Sept. 24, 1930. Quoted in: Leonard A. Gordon, *Brothers Against the Raj: A Biography of Indian Nationalists Sarat and Subhas Chandra Bose* (New York: 1990), p. 234.
2. Speech of November 22, 1944, in S.C. Bose, *Fundamental Questions of Indian Revolution* (Calcutta: Netaji Research Bureau, 1970), pp. 403-4.
3. Mihir Bose, *The Lost Hero: A Biography of Subhas Chandra Bose* (London/Melbourne/New York: Quartet Books, 1982), p. x.
4. *Harijan*, Feb. 24, 1946, in Mohandas K. Gandhi, *The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi* (Ahmedabad: The Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, Navajivan Trust, 1972-78), Volume LXXXIII, p. 135. Gandhi wrote in the present tense, because at the time he still felt that Bose was alive, but hiding somewhere so that he could appear at the right moment. (See: Speech at Prayer Meeting, Jan. 10, 1946, *The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi*, Volume LXXXII, p. 391.).
5. Talk with Deb Nath Das, Feb. 25, 1947, *The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi*, Volume LXXXVII, p. 19.
6. *Calcutta Municipal Gazette*, Jan. 24, 1970. Cited in: M. Bose, *The Lost Hero* (1982), p. 277, n. 76
7. See: T. Hayashida, *Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose: His Great Struggle and Martyrdom* (Bombay: Allied Publishers, 1970); K.P. Chaudhuri, *Netaji and India* (Shillong: Kali Prasanna Chaudhuri, 1956).
8. Japan's political system from the early-1930s to mid-1940s can be considered ideologically fascist, following as it did the theories of Kita Ikka, the leading radical nationalist ideologue. In practice, though, it was not truly fascist. No political movement arose to seize power, and formal Japanese constitutional and institutional authority remained essentially intact. Further, parliamentary pluralism continued to exist, and elections continued to take place.
9. *The Statesman* (Calcutta), Nov. 19, 1941. Quoted in: L.A. Gordon, *Brothers Against the Raj*: (1990), p. 454.
10. Bose believed that the BBC attacks ("the cheap method of British propaganda") were directed more against Free India Radio than against himself. He responded to BBC accusations by "reminding" listeners that "Free India Radio is the voice of freedom-loving India. It is the harbinger of the revolution which is fast approaching and which will soon strike a death blow at British power in India." From a "Free India Radio" broadcast of March 5, 1942, quoted in George Orwell [Eric Blair], *Orwell: The War Commentaries*, Edited with an introduction by W.J. West (London: Duckworth and the British Broadcasting Corporation, 1985), p. 222.

    From 1941 to 1943, George Orwell worked as a Talks Producer in the Indian Section of the BBC Eastern Service. He saw Bose as his principal foe in the war of propaganda and, while he chose not to mention him by name (thus denying him and his cause publicity), many of his broadcasts were made in direct response to those of Bose. See: George Orwell [Eric Blair], *Orwell: The War Broadcasts*, Edited with an introduction by W.J. West (London: Duckworth and the BBC, 1985), p. 14. These two volumes contain numerous references to Bose, as well as transcripts of many of his key radio broadcasts from Berlin.
11. A.M. Nair, *An Indian Freedom Fighter in Japan* (Bombay: Orient Longman, 1983), p. 250.
12. L. Gordon, *Brothers Against the Raj*, p. 235. Both Nitti and Bonomi were former Italian prime ministers, and both were critical of Mussolini's fascist regime. In both books, however, fascism was grudgingly praised for successfully reducing industrial and inter-class strife, and restoring order, discipline and patriotic sentiment. We know that Bose was reading these books in Alipore Jail in 1930, as he wrote on the inside cover of each, next to his signature, "Alipore Jail, 1930."
13. S.C. Bose, *The Indian Struggle 1920-1942*, Compiled by the Netaji Research Bureau (Bombay and other centers: Asia Publishing House, 1964), p. 312. In this edition a collection of letters, speeches and other documents covering the years 1935 to 1940 has been added. Hence the slight change in the title, as compared with the title when the work was first published in 1935.
14. S.C. Bose, *The Indian Struggle 1920-1942* (1964), pp. 312, 313. Text also given in: Hari Hara Das, *Subhas Chandra Bose and the Indian National Movement* (New Delhi: 1983), pp. 189-190.
15. S.C. Bose, *The Indian Struggle* (1964), p. 313.
16. S.C. Bose, *The Indian Struggle* (1964), pp. 313, 314.
17. S.C. Bose, *The Indian Struggle* (1964), p. 231.; L. Gordon, *Brothers Against the Raj*, pp. 278, 294 (and p. 690, n. 156).
18. L. Gordon, *Brothers Against the Raj*, p. 294.
19. Report of an interview with R. Palme Dutt, which appeared in the *Daily Worker* (London), Jan. 24, 1938, Republished in S.C. Bose, *The Indian Struggle* (1964), pp. 392-394. If authentic, Bose's statements in this interview constitute, to the present writer's knowledge, his only attempt to excuse his positive statements about fascism.
20. Without wishing to draw a parallel between the moral values, personalities and actions of the two men, it is worth pointing out that in *Mein Kampf* Hitler espoused a political ideology that was very similar (with the obvious exception of anti-Semitism and one or two less-central elements) to that espoused by Bose in *The Indian Struggle*: fervent nationalism and full social-political mobilization, coupled with non-Marxist socialism and authoritarian leadership. See: A. Hitler, *Mein Kampf* (Munich: F. Eher, Nachf. [Zen-

tralverlag der NSDAP], 1943 [Zwei Bände in einem Band. Ungekürzte Ausgabe]), pp. 409-517.

Bose had, unlike most prominent politicians in the pre-war period, studied *Mein Kampf* in some detail. Although he complained in 1936 of the Nazis' "selfishness and racial arrogance," he informed Hitler during their meeting in May 1942 that apart from his comments in Chapter 26 on the subject of Indian independence, he found *Mein Kampf* "most agreeable." See: Letter to Dr. Thierfelder, March 25, 1936, in Sisir K. Bose, et al., eds., *A Beacon Across Asia: A Biography of Subhas Chandra Bose* (1973), pp. 258-260.; The Bose-Hitler discussion is treated in this same book, esp. pp. 356, 357, 362.

21. Letter to S. C. Bose, Feb. 4, 1939, in Jawaharlal Nehru, *A Bunch of Old Letters* (London: Asia Publishing House, 1958 [1960 ed.]), p. 318. In this same book, see also Nehru's letter of April 3, 1939, to Bose, esp. pp. 356, 357, 362.
22. Presidential address at the 51st session of the Congress at Haripura, Feb. 19, 1938, in *Selected Speeches of Subhas Chandra Bose* (Delhi: 1962), p. 80. Several authors — such as Sisir Bose and Biduyt Chakrabarty — keen to present Bose in a favorable light, have mistakenly cited this speech as evidence that he had lost faith in fascism. Chakrabarty claimed, for example, that Bose "criticized strongly the Leadership Principle of the fascists as it eroded democracy from the party" and that his speech was a sign of his "growing disillusionment with fascism." See: B. Chakrabarty, *Subhas Chandra Bose and Middle Class Radicalism: A Study in Indian Nationalism, 1928-1940* (London/New York: I.B. Taurus, in association with The London School of Economics & Political Science, 1990), p. 37.

However, the only part of the speech that even mentioned fascism or the Leadership Principle is that quoted in the main body of this essay. It can hardly be considered a strong criticism either of fascism or of the Leadership Principle, especially in the light of the indelicate language sometimes used in public by Bose to strongly criticize other ideologies or regimes. Moreover, he continued to praise elements of Italian Fascism and National Socialism for many more years, as can be seen, for example, in the speech cited above in note 2.

23. Perhaps the most radical component of Bose's policy or program in the period from late 1937 to mid-1938 was his advocacy of an early resumption of the national struggle for independence, to be preceded by an ultimatum to the British government. Additionally, and much to the chagrin of Gandhi (who was opposed to industrialization), Bose launched a National Planning Committee (with Jawaharlal Nehru as Chairman and himself as Convener) for drawing up a comprehensive plan of industrialization and national development. See: S.C. Bose, "Forward Bloc: Its Justification," in *The Indian Struggle*, pp. 395-414.
24. Nirad C. Chaudhuri, *Thy Hand, Great Anarch!: India 1921-1952* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1987), p. 500.
25. Speech at Abbottabad, August 24, 1945, in J. Nehru, *Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru* (A Project of the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund; New Delhi: Orient Longman, 1979), volume 14, p. 336;

See also Nehru's statement in *The Hindu*, January 17, 1946, in *Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru*, p. 371: "Netaji Subhas has set an example of courage and passionate devotion to the cause of Indian freedom, which will live long in India's history."

Bose's close friend, Dilip Kumar Roy, more eloquently wrote: "he died dreaming not of his family or defeats, nor even of the clouds that so often blurred his vision, but of the sun he had dreamed of from his boyhood, of faith and courage that would free his great Goddess — his Motherland." D. K. Roy, *The Subhash I Knew* (Bombay: Nalanda Publications, 1946), p. 75.

26. Quoted in: *Selected Speeches of Subhas Chandra Bose*, p. 157.
27. Speech at Bangkok, May 21, 1945. Quoted in: *Selected Speeches of Subhas Chandra Bose*, p. 228.
28. See: Letter to his brother, Sarat Chandra Bose, April 23, 1921, in *Netaji: Collected Works* (Calcutta: Netaji Research Bureau, 1980/81 [in 3 volumes]), Volume 1, pp. 230-236.
29. D. K. Roy, *The Subhash I Knew*, p. 199. Quoted in: M. Bose, *The Lost Hero*, p. 48.
30. Years later, in *An Indian Pilgrim*, Bose claimed that he had merely been an "eyewitness" to the assault on the elderly Englishman, who was "beaten black and blue." (Netaji: *Collected Works*, Volume 1, p. 77). At the time, however, the College Committee was convinced that not only had he masterminded the attack, but that he had participated in it, something he never publicly admitted. In the above-cited letter of April 23, 1921, though, he made a confession of sorts when he said that "If I had stood up before James [the Principal] in 1916 and admitted that I had assaulted Oaten, I would have been a better and truer man."
31. See: L. Gordon, *Brothers Against the Raj*, p. 259.
32. See: L. Gordon, *Brothers Against the Raj*, p. 253.
33. As can be seen, for example, in his comments in *The Indian Struggle* (p. 114): "After all, what has brought about India's downfall in the material and political sphere? It is her inordinate belief in fate and in the supernatural — her indifference to modern scientific development — her backwardness in the science of modern warfare, the peaceful contentment engendered by her latter-day philosophy and adherence to Ahimsa (non-violence) carried to the most absurd length." (Also quoted in: L. Gordon, *Brothers*, p. 287.)
34. See Bose's anti-Ahimsa "1933 London Address," in S.C. Bose, *Fundamental Question of India's Revolution*, pp. 1-31. See also the Bose-Patel Manifesto of May 9, 1933, part of which reads: "a new party will have to be formed within the Congress, composed of all radical elements. Non-cooperation cannot be given up but the form of non-cooperation will have to be changed into a more militant one, and the fight for freedom to be waged in all fronts." Reproduced in *The Indian Struggle*, p. 357. Although written in 1943, when Bose was actively seeking Axis assistance against the British, his comments in "India Since 1857 — A Bird's Eye View" make this point very clearly: "While passive resistance can hold up or paralyze a foreign administration — it cannot overthrow or expel it, without the use of physical force. . . The last stage will come when active resistance will develop into an armed revolution. Then will come the end of British rule in India." Published in *The Indian Struggle*, p. 322.
35. S.C. Bose, *An Indian Pilgrim*, in *Netaji: Collected Works*, Volume 1, p. 92. Dilip Kumar Roy noted that even as a student Bose was infatuated with the military, and that "somehow he used, often enough, to cull his phrases from the military dictionary." (D. K. Roy, *The Subhash I Knew*, p. 50).
36. Nirad Chaudhuri, an associate of Bose, later recalled:

"Bose designated himself as its General-Officer-Commanding — G.O.C. for short — and his uniform was made by a firm of British tailors in Calcutta, Harman's. A telegram addressed to him as G.O.C. was delivered to the British General in Fort William, and this was the subject of a good deal of malicious comment in the Anglo-Indian press. Mahatma Gandhi, being a sincere pacifist [and] vowed to non-violence, did not like the strutting, clicking of boots and saluting, and he afterwards described the Calcutta session of the Congress as a Bertram Mills circus, which caused great indignation among the Bengalis." (Source: Nirad C. Chaudhuri, *Continent of Circe*, p. 114. Quoted in Mihir Bose, *The Lost Hero*, pp. 65-66.)

"Subhas Bose took this job seriously," writes Leonard Gordon. "The volunteers were to be well trained and to march in disciplined formation on ceremonial occasions. . . He rode — on a brown horse — in front of his unarmed troops, thinking of them, perhaps, as the kernel of a future army of mass struggle . . . the germ of an idea about an army

trained and commanded by him may have begun to sprout." (L. Gordon, *Brothers Against the Raj*, p. 191); Hugh Toye stated that Bose's militarism "impressed the pacifist Congressmen in spite of themselves." (Hugh Toye, *The Springing Tiger*, p. 34).

37. Speech at a military review of the Indian National Army, Singapore, July 5, 1943, *Selected Speeches of Subhas Chandra Bose*, p. 182. Also quoted in: Hari Hara Das, *Subhas Chandra Bose and the Indian National Movement*, pp. 278-279. See also Bose's Order of the Day, August 26, 1943 (the day he officially assumed command of the INA), in *Selected Speeches of Subhas Chandra Bose*, pp. 196-197.
38. Zaidi and Zaidi, *The Encyclopedia of the Indian National Congress*, Volume II, p. 346; A.N. Bose, *My Uncle Netaji*, p. 154. Both quoted in L. Gordon, *Brothers Against the Raj*, p. 350. See also: M. Bose, *The Lost Hero*, p. 120.
39. For a detailed account of Bose's Forward Bloc tour of 1939 and 1940, in which he addressed "about a thousand meetings in ten months," see S.C. Bose, *Crossroads* (Calcutta: Netaji Research Bureau, 1981), p. 216-226.
40. M. Bose, *The Lost Hero*, p. 210-211.
41. M. Bose, *The Lost Hero*, p. 211.
42. S. C. Bose, *The Indian Struggle*, pp. 114, 141, 229, 304.
43. S. C. Bose, *The Indian Struggle*, p. 114. Of Gandhi, Bose also wrote (p. 241): "I traveled with him, for some days, and was able to observe the unprecedented crowds that greeted him everywhere. I wonder if such a spontaneous ovation was ever given to a leader anywhere else."
44. S. C. Bose, *The Indian Struggle*, pp. 48, 68, 70, 73, 179.
45. Bose constantly condemned any form of compromise, considering it to be a sign of weakness. For example, see his letter to Sarat Bose, April 23, 1921: "I feel, very strongly, as a result of my past experience that compromise is a very unholy thing." (*Netaji: Collected Works*, Volume 1, pp. 230-236.)
46. See: Letter to Hemanta Kumar Sarkar, August 31, 1915. Bose (aged 18) wrote: "I am realizing more and more as time passes that I have a definite mission to fulfil in life and for which I have been born. . . . I must move about with the proud self-consciousness of one imbued with an idea." (*Netaji: Collected Works*, Volume 1, p. 166) See also Letter to Sarkar, July 18, 1915, same source, p. 164.
47. *Selected Speeches of Subhas Chandra Bose*, p. 180.
48. D. K. Roy, *The Subhash I Knew*, p. 85 ff.
49. When his birthday was celebrated in 1944, for instance, his devotees in Singapore actually weighed him in gold and jewelry, and gave the wealth as a donation to the Provisional Government of Azad Hind. (M. Bose, *The Lost Hero*, p. 238) See also H. Toye, *The Springing Tiger*, pp. 82, 162.
50. Bose is alleged to have liked this myth, and, according to Shah Nawaz, himself boasted "that no British bomb had been manufactured which could kill or maim a Subhas Chandra Bose." (D. K. Roy, *The Subhash I Knew*, p. 95).
51. M. Sivaram, *The Road to Delhi*, pp. 123, 134-4. Cited in M. Bose, *The Lost Hero*, p. 211.
52. It is worth noting that after Bose's death, Gandhi, Nehru and other leading Indian politicians, began calling him Netaji. See notes 4 and 5 above. Mihir Bose states that in India today, few call him anything but Netaji, and to call him Subhas Bose is to reveal that one has a low political opinion of the man. M. Bose, *The Lost Hero*, p. 211.
53. Proclamation of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind, October 21, 1943. Reproduced in H. Toye, *The Springing Tiger*, pp. 112, 113, 115, and in Hari Hara Das, *Subhas Chandra Bose and the Indian National Movement* (New Delhi: 1983), pp. 367-370.
54. Many Indians were tortured, imprisoned and executed, either on Bose's instructions or with his knowledge. See: H. Toye, *The Springing Tiger*, pp. 112, 113, 115.
55. See: M. Bose, *The Lost Hero*, p. 224.
56. See: INA Proclamation on Entering India. Reproduced in *The Springing Tiger* (Appendix II), pp. 208-210, and in, Hari Hara Das, *Subhas Chandra Bose and the Indian National Movement* (New Delhi: 1983), pp. 371-376.

    Part of this document states: "If any person fails to understand the intentions of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind and the Indian National Army, or of our Ally, the Nippon Army, and dares to commit such acts as are itemized hereunder which would hamper the sacred task of emancipating India, he shall be executed or severely punished in accordance with the Criminal Law of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind and the Indian National Army or with the Martial Law of the Nippon Army." These punishable acts include such things as spreading rumors "disturbing and misleading the minds of the inhabitants," spying, destroying material resources controlled by the Provisional Government, and all forms of rebellion against the Provisional Government or the Japanese Army.
57. Shortly after the attack on Pearl Harbor, for example, the US government — acting according to President Roosevelt's Executive Order 9066 of February 19, 1942 — forced 110,000 Japanese-Americans into ten camps, erected hastily by the War Relocation Agency, that could well be called concentration camps. During the following three and a half years, the US government also imprisoned 16,000 conscientious objectors, under the Selective Service Act of September 1940. The most severe case was that of Henry Weber, a conscientious objector who was sentenced to hang, but later had that sentence commuted to life imprisonment. (Weber was released at the end of the war, after serving five years.) During the war years, many Communists, socialists, anarchist intellectuals and key members of such societies as the German-American Bund were accused of sedition or espionage (under the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1939), and given long prison sentences. US wartime treatment of these prisoners was very bad. Many were interrogated and tortured by agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. A Detroit tavern keeper named Max Steven, to mention but one, gave sanctuary to a German POW who had escaped from Canada. For this crime he was tortured, tried, and sentenced to hang, but President Roosevelt commuted the sentence to life imprisonment. He served eleven years. See: R.J. Goldstein, *Political Repression in Modern America: From 1870 to the Present* (Cambridge: Schenkman, 1978); G. Perrett, *Days of Sadness, Years of Triumph: The American People, 1939-1945* (New York: Coward, McCann & Geoghegan, 1973).
58. See: Bose's speech to the Indian Independence League Conference in Singapore, July 4, 1943, Cited above. He made it clear that "the time to start an armed struggle for freedom has come," and that all Indians, "at home and those abroad, should gather together with arms under one leader and await the orders for the destruction of the British imperialists." He then explained why he was that "one leader." (See the quotation to which note 50 relates).
59. See also Bose's speech at a mass meeting in Singapore, July 9, 1943, *Selected Speeches of Subhas Chandra Bose*, pp. 185-188. In this speech, he said: "Indians outside India, particularly Indians in East Asia, are going to organize a fighting force which will be powerful enough to attack the British Army in India. When we do so, a revolution will break out, not only among the civil population but also among the Indian Army which is now standing under the British flag. When the British government is thus attacked from both sides — from inside India and from outside — it will collapse and the Indian people will then regain their liberty."
60. See: Presidential address at All-India Forward Bloc Conference, June 18, 1940, *Selected Speeches of Subhas Chandra Bose*, pp. 118-126: "It is not necessary that the Indian revolution should be a bloody one or that it should pass through a period of chaos. On the contrary, it is desirable that it

should be as peaceful as possible; and a peaceful transition can be ensured if the people are united are determined to have their freedom. . . . This effort will necessitate the setting up of a machinery which will preserve harmony and goodwill under all circumstances."

61. Kitty Kurti, *Subhas Chandra Bose As I Knew Him* (Calcutta: Firma K.L. Mukhopadhyay, 1966), pp. 22.
62. K. Kurti, *Subhas Chandra Bose As I Knew Him* (1966), pp. 22, 23, 28.
63. Presidential address to the All-India Forward Bloc Conference, Nagpur, June 18, 1940, *Selected Speeches of Subhas Chandra Bose*, p. 124. See also: *Subhas Chandra Bose As I Knew Him*, p. 29: Kurti quotes Bose stating on June 10, 1933, that the government of a free India would "stand for all-round freedom for the Indian people — that is, for social, economic and political freedom." It would, he continued, be created "on the basis of the eternal principles of justice, equality and freedom."
64. See: Presidential address at the Rangpur Political conference, March 30, 1929, *Selected Speeches of Subhas Chandra Bose*, pp. 49-50; Reply to the address of welcome presented by the Bombay Corporation, January 1938, same source, pp. 70-71; Speech at Shraddhanand Park, Calcutta, May 3, 1939, Same source, pp. 112-115; For industrialization and state ownership of industries, see: Inaugural speech to the All-India National Planning Committee at Bombay. Dec. 17, 1938, Same source, pp. 97-99.
65. K. Kurti, *Subhas Chandra Bose As I Knew Him*, p. 29; See also Presidential address at the Karachi conference of the All-India Naujawan Bharat Sabha, March 27, 1931, in *Selected Speeches of Subhas Chandra Bose*, pp. 62-64.
66. K. Kurti, *Subhas Chandra Bose As I Knew Him*, pp. 28, 29. See also letter to Hermanta Kumar Sarkar, September 26, 1915, *Netaji: Collected Works*, volume 1, pp. 171-172, and his comments in *The Indian Struggle*, pp. 312-313.
67. *Selected Speeches of Subhas Chandra Bose*, pp. 185-188.
68. Speech of July 4, 1944, in *Selected Speeches of Subhas Chandra Bose*, pp. 214-215.
69. See: Presidential address to the Maharashtra Provincial Conference, Poona, May 3, 1928, *Selected Speeches of Subhas Chandra Bose*, pp. 31-40.; *Liberty*, Dec. 9, 1930, Cited in L. Gordon, *Brothers Against the Raj*, p. 238.
70. Speech to the women's section of the Indian Independence League, Singapore, July 12, 1943, *Selected Speeches of Subhas Chandra Bose*, pp. 189-192.
71. See: S. K. Bose, ed., *A Beacon Across Asia* (1973), pp. 182, 219.; H. Toye, *The Springing Tiger*, pp. 86, 146.; L. Gordon, *Brothers Against the Raj*, pp. 497, 523, 535-36.
72. See: Bose's presidential address at the Students' Conference held at Lahore, October 19, 1929, *Selected Speeches of Subhas Chandra Bose*, pp. 51-59. He stated, *inter alia*: "You have summoned me from distant Calcutta to come and speak to you . . . is it because you and I have something in common — sharing the same thoughts and cherishing the same aspirations? . . . The youth movement of today is characterized by a feeling of restlessness, of impatience with the present order of things, and by an intense desire to usher in a new and better era."
73. Presidential address at the Maharashtra Provincial Conference, Poona, May 3, 1928, *Selected Speeches of Subhas Chandra Bose*, p. 36.

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The simple step of a courageous individual is not to take part in the lie. One word of truth outweighs the world.

— Aleksander Solzhenitsyn

Americans for Equal Justice

3722 South Fifty-Eighth Street, Milwaukee, WI 53220

Dear Friends and Concerned Citizens,

With urgency we draw your attention to the un-American activities of the Office of Special Investigation (OSI) of the U.S. Department of Justice. This agency wastes 3.6 million dollars each year of taxpayers' money on campaigns of revenge by systematically violating the human rights of German-Americans.

More than 50 years ago, during World War II, young German men were unwillingly taken from their homes and drafted into the German army. They were forcibly ordered to serve under threats of death or imprisonment.

After the war ended, many of those who survived came to the United States for a new beginning. U.S. agencies assisted most of these immigrants in obtaining employment and citizenship. Throughout their lives as American citizens they worked hard and raised families. They were model citizens.

Now, some 45 years later, the OSI is accusing these men of having lied or withheld information on their immigration papers regarding their military service. This is not the case. They did not withhold information. And they did not commit war crimes. Nevertheless, the OSI has filed civil lawsuits against many of them. They are stripped of their citizenship, deprived of their Social Security benefits, and deported.

The OSI received authority for such action under the 1978 "Holtzman Amendment" to the Immigration and Nationality Act. It was rammed through Congress when most lawmakers were away on recess. The Amendment was ***retroactive*** to 1933. The way it is written, OSI defendants do not have the normal guarantees of due process, such as trial by jury, equal access to evidence, or a court appointed attorney.

Since 1979 forty-four men have been stripped of their citizenship, 34 have been forced to leave the country, 20 cases are pending, and 500 United States citizens are currently under investigation.

The OSI openly states that, "The files will not close until we have a conviction, a deportation or a body." Indeed, the bodies of the victims are piling up. Impressive if the OSI were prosecuting war criminals; unfortunately, individual cases reveal a much different picture. A few of the more well-known:

JOHN DEMJANJUK, in an Israeli jail for more than five years, with OSI accused of withholding information since 1978 that would exonerate him.

ANDRIJA ARTUKOVIC, forcibly taken off life support and extradited to a Yugoslav jail; he died shortly thereafter. The Yugoslav government now publicly admits that the crimes for which he was extradited never occurred.

DR. ARTHUR RUDOLF, NASA Aerospace Engineer, largely responsible for the success of the U.S. space program, left the country in disgust over false charges, and was acquitted of all charges by the German government.

BRUNO BLACH, acquitted this year of all charges, with the German court stating, "The case should never have been brought," and specifically criticizing the OSI for its handling of the case.

Americans for Equal Justice is a multi-ethnic group of concerned American citizens committed to responsible government and preserving the rights guaranteed by the Constitution. Our mission is:

1. Demand that Congress place a moratorium on OSI activities and repeal the Holtzman Amendment.
2. Ask Attorney General Reno to assure that any OSI officials who knowingly participated in fraudulent and illegal activities while conducting their investigations be prosecuted.

As with all lobbying efforts, AEJ needs both the funds to drive it and the people to back it. WE NEED YOU AND YOUR CONCERNED FRIENDS to firmly convey to our government that we are UNITED IN DEMANDING THAT THE INJUSTICES OF OUR JUSTICE DEPARTMENT BE HALTED.

Please join AEJ. Your membership will ensure that we have the funds to make our voices heard in Congress. Also, please write to your representatives an senators. Be sure to include your signature and address.

AEJ plans to approach various sub-committees on immigration, international law, and appropriations. Please send us copies of your correspondence so we can monitor Congressional positions. We, in turn, can assist you, keep you posted on individual cases, court rulings, and their implications. Thank you for your support. Please let us hear from you.

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❑ Yes, I will join Americans for Equal Justice. I want to do my part in bringing to a halt the un-American activities of the OSI which persecute innocent American citizens an their families.

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the alleged gas chambers at Auschwitz, Birkenau and Majdanek to determine if they could have been used to kill people as claimed. After a careful study of the alleged killing facilities, Leuchter concluded that the sites were not used, and could not have been used, as homicidal gas chambers. Furthermore, an analysis of samples taken by Leuchter from the walls and floors of the alleged gas chambers showed either no or miniscule traces of cyanide compound, from the active ingredient of Zyklon B, the pesticide allegedly used to murder Jews at Auschwitz.[17]

A confidential forensic examination (and subsequent report) commissioned by the Auschwitz State Museum and conducted by Institute of Forensic Research in Krakow has confirmed Leuchter's finding that minimal or no traces of cyanide compound can be found in the sites alleged to have been gas chambers.[18]

The significance of this is evident when the results of the forensic examination of the alleged homicidal gas chambers are compared with the results of the examination of the Auschwitz disinfestation facilities, where Zyklon B was used to delouse mattresses and clothing. Whereas no or only trace amounts of cyanide were found in the alleged homicidal gas chambers, massive traces of cyanide were found in the walls and floor in the camp's disinfestation delousing chambers.

Another forensic study has been carried out by German chemist Germar Rudolf. On the basis of his on-site examination and analysis of samples, the certified chemist and doctoral candidate concluded: "For chemical-technical reasons, the claimed mass gassings with hydrocyanic acid in the alleged 'gas chambers' in Auschwitz did not take place . . . The supposed facilities for mass killing in Auschwitz and Birkenau were not suitable for this purpose . . ."[19]

Finally, there is the study of Austrian engineer Walter Lüftl, a respected expert witness in numerous court cases, and former president of Austria's professional association of engineers. In a 1992 report he called the alleged mass extermination of Jews in gas chambers "technically impossible."[20]

Discredited Perspective

So just what constitutes "Holocaust denial"? Those who advocate criminal persecution of "Holocaust deniers" seem to be still living in the world of 1946 where the Allied officials of the Nuremberg Tribunal have just pronounced their verdict. But the Tribunal's findings can no longer be assumed to be valid. Because it relied so heavily on such untrustworthy evidence as the Höss testimony, some of its most critical findings are now discredited.

Courts are not the proper place to resolve historical debates. Why should taxpayers be obliged to pay hundreds of thousands of dollars to finance historical debates in criminal courtrooms merely because a particular special interest group doesn't like someone else's opinion? Whether it is politically correct or not, there is a growing controversy over what actually happened to Europe's Jews during World War II. Let this matter be settled as all great historical controversies are resolved: through free and open inquiry and debate in our journals, newspapers and classrooms.

Notes

1. *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), Jan. 22, 1992.
2. *Trial of the Major War Criminals Before the International Military Tribunal* (IMT "blue series"), Vol. 22, p. 496.
3. IMT "blue series," Vol. 22, p. 496.
4. *Globe & Mail* (Toronto), April 25, 1990; See also: M. Weber, "Jewish Soap," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Summer 1991.
5. *Canadian Jewish News* (Toronto), Jan. 30, 1992.
6. See: Barbara Kulaszka, ed., *Did Six Million Really Die: Report of the Evidence in the Canadian "False News" Trial of Ernst Zündel* (Toronto: Samisdat, 1992), pp. 192, 300, 349.
7. "The Revised Hilberg," *Simon Wiesenthal Annual*, Vol. 3, 1986, p. 294.
8. B. Kulaszka, ed., *Did Six Million Really Die* (Toronto: 1992), pp. 24-25.
9. A. Mayer, *Why Did the Heavens Not Darken?: The "Final Solution" in History* (Pantheon, 1988), p. 365.
10. Nuremberg document 008-USSR.; IMT "blue series," Vol. 39, pp. 241, 261.
11. B. Kulaszka, ed., *Did Six Million Really Die* (Toronto: 1992), p. 441.
12. Y. Bauer, "Fighting the Distortions," *Jerusalem Post* (Israel), Sept. 22, 1989; Auschwitz Deaths Reduced to a Million," *Daily Telegraph* (London), July 17, 1990; "Poland Reduces Auschwitz Death Toll Estimate to 1 Million," *The Washington Times*, July 17, 1990.
13. J.-C. Pressac, *Les Crémetoires d'Auschwitz: La machinerie du meurtre de masse* (Paris: CNRS, 1993). See also: R. Faurisson, "Jean-Claude Pressac's New Auschwitz Book," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Jan.-Feb. 1994, p. 24.
14. IMT "blue series," Vol. 22, p. 485; Nuremberg document 3868-PS (USA-819), in IMT "blue series," Vol. 33, pp. 275-279.
15. Rupert Butler, *Legions of Death* (England: 1983), pp. 235-237.
16. See: R. Faurisson, "How the British Obtained the Confession of Rudolf Höss," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Winter 1986-87, pp. 389-403.
17. A deluxe edition of *The Leuchter Report* is available from the IHR for $20.00, plus $2.00 shipping.
18. The complete text of this report was published in English in *The Journal of Historical Review*, Summer 1991.
19. G. Rudolf, *Gutachten über die Bildung und Nachweisbarkeit von Cyanidverbindungen in den "Gaskammern" von Auschwitz* (London: 1993). See: *The Journal of Historical Review*, Nov.-Dec. 1993, pp. 25-26.
20. "The 'Lüftl Report'," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Winter 1992-93.

A man who seeks truth and loves it must be reckoned precious to any human society.
— Frederick the Great

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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.

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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, Académe Française

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INSTITUTE FOR HISTORICAL REVIEW

Charting Europe's Future in the "Post Postwar" Era

The "European New Right": Defining and Defending Europe's Heritage

An Interview with Alain de Benoist

Ian B. Warren

In the following essay and interview, Professor Warren takes a close look at the "European New Right," a cultural-intellectual movement that offers not only an unconventional view of the past, but a challenging perspective on the present and future. This piece admittedly represents a departure from the Journal's usual content and tone. All the same, we hope and trust that readers will appreciate this look at an influential movement that not only revives an often neglected European intellectual-cultural tradition, but which also — as French writer Alain de Benoist explains here — seeks to chart Europe's course into the 21st century. — The Editor

During the postwar era — approximately 1945-1990 — European intellectual life was dominated by Marxists (most of them admirers of the Soviet experiment), and by supporters of a liberal-democratic society modeled largely on the United States. Aside from important differences, each group shared common notions about the desirability and ultimate inevitability of a universal "one world" democratic order, into which individual cultures and nations would eventually be absorbed.

Not all European thinkers accepted this vision, though. Since the late 1960s, a relatively small but intense circle of youthful scholars, intellectuals, political theorists, activists, professors, and even a few elected parliamentarians, has been striving — quietly, but with steadily growing influence — to chart a future for Europe that rejects the universalism and egalitarianism of both the Soviet Marxist and American capitalist models.

This intellectual movement is known — not entirely accurately — as the European New Right, or *Nouvelle Droite*. (It should not be confused with any similarly named intellectual or political movement in Britain or the United States, such as American "neo-conservatism.") European New Right voices find expression in numerous books, articles, conferences and in the pages of such journals as *Eléments*, *Scorpion* and *Transgressioni*.

Ian B. Warren is the pen name of a professor who teaches at a university in the midwest. This interview/ article is the second of a series.

No one has played a more important role in this movement than Alain de Benoist, a prolific French writer born in 1943. As the chief philosopher of the *Nouvelle Droite*, he serves as a kind of contemporary Diogenes in European intellectual life. According to the critical *Biographical Dictionary of the Extreme Right*, de Benoist is "an excellent stylist, cultivated and highly intelligent."[1]

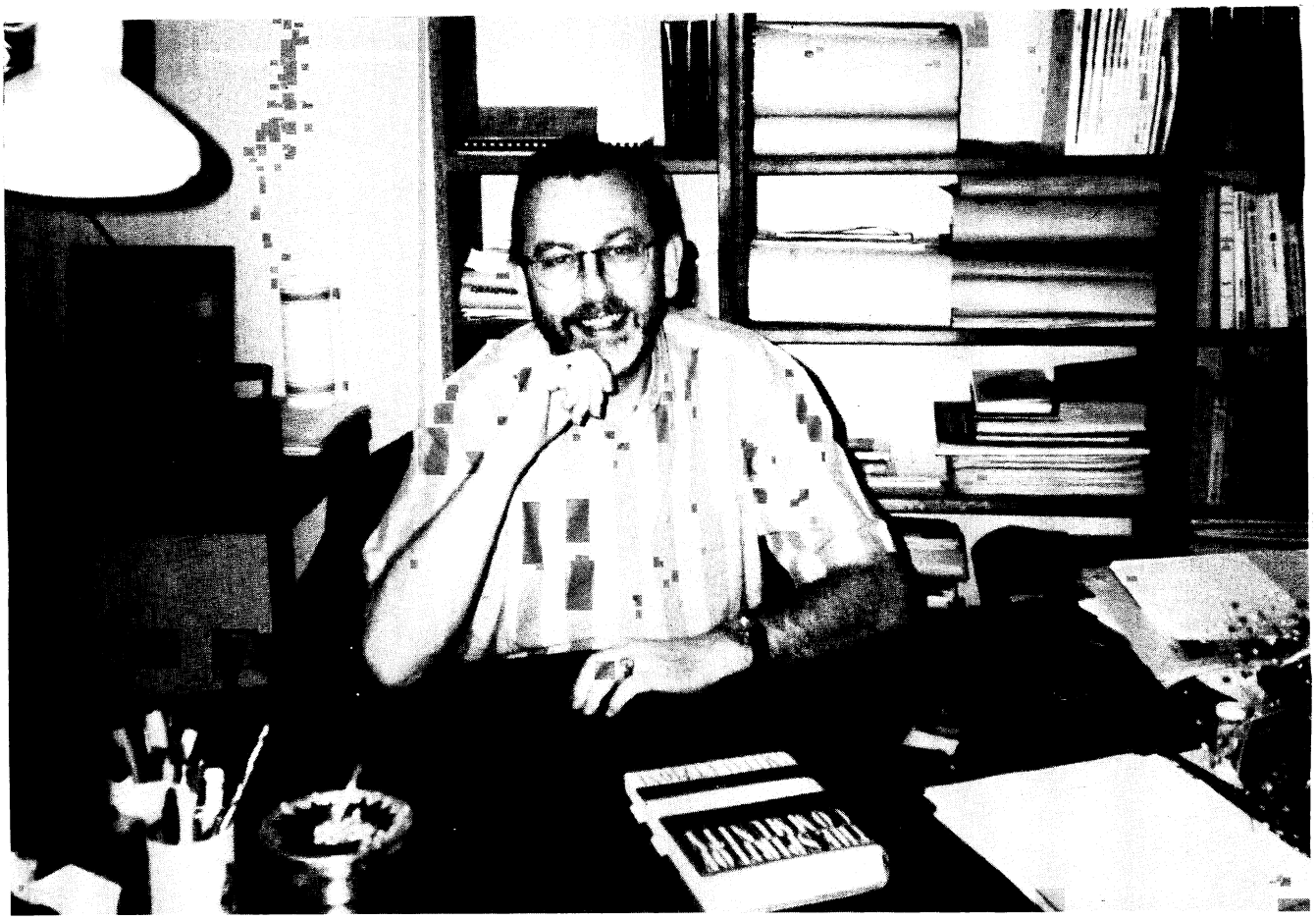
He has explained his worldview in a prodigious outpouring of essays and reviews, and in several books, including a brilliant 1977 work, *Vu de Droite* ("Seen from the Right"), which was awarded the coveted Grand Prix de l'Essai of the Académie Française. (His books have been translated into Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Greek, German, Dutch and Arabic, but none has yet appeared in English.)

For some years a regular contributor to the French weekly *Le Figaro Magazine*, de Benoist has served as editor of the quarterly *Nouvelle Ecole*, of the magazine *Eléments*, and, most recently, of a quarterly review, *Krisis*.[2] For some years he also played a leading role in the operation of the Paris-based group GRECE ("Research and Study Group for European Civilization"), which is sometimes described as an organizational expression of the *Nouvelle Droite*.[3]

De Benoist's fondest wish, he once said, would be to see the "peoples and cultures of the world again find their personality and identity." He believes that Europe has largely sold its soul for a mess of cheap "Made in the USA" pottage. American-style economic and cultural hegemony is a "soft" but insidious totalitarianism that erodes the character of individuals and the heritage of nations. To the peoples of Europe, de Benoist and the European New Right insistently pose this question: How can we preserve and sustain our diversity in the face a consumer-driven world based largely on a synthetic universalism and egalitarianism?

A dramatic indication of de Benoist's importance came during a visit to Berlin in February 1993, when he was attacked and beaten by about 20 young "anti-fascist" thugs.

Few people on this side of the Atlantic know much about de Benoist and the intellectual movement he represents. The most cogent and useful



Alain de Benoist in his Paris office

overview in English is a 200-page book, *Against Democracy and Equality: The European New Right*, by Tomislav Sunic, a Croatian-born American political scientist.[4]

The task of the European New Right, explains professor Sunic in his 1990 monograph, is to defend Europe — especially its rich cultural heritage — above all from the economic-cultural threat from the United States.[5] According to Sunic:[6]

> The originality of the [European] New Right lies precisely in recognizing the ethnic and historical dimensions of conservatism — a dimension considered negligible by the rather universalist and transnational credo of modern Western conservatives . . .
>
> The New Right characterizes itself as a revolt against formless politics, formless life, and formless values. The crisis of modern societies has resulted in incessant "uglification" whose main vectors are liberalism, Marxism and the "American way of life." Modern dominant ideologies, Marxism and liberalism, embedded in the Soviet Union and America respectively, are harmful to the social well-being of the peoples, because both reduce every aspect of life to the realm of economic utility and efficiency.
>
> The principle enemy of freedom, asserts the New Right, is not Marxism or liberalism per se, but rather common beliefs in egalitarianism.

In the intellectual climate of the postwar era, writes Sunic, "those who still cherished conservative ideas felt obliged to readapt themselves to new intellectual circumstances for fear of being ostracized as 'fellow travellers of fascism'."[7] The European New Right draws heavily from and builds upon the prewar intellectual tradition of such anti-liberal figures as the Italians Vilfredo Pareto and Roberto Michels, and the Germans Oswald Spengler and Carl Schmitt. Not surprisingly, then, *Nouvelle Droite* thinkers are sometimes dismissively castigated as "fascist."[8]

In the view of the European New Right, explains Sunic, "The continuing massification and anomie in modern liberal societies" is a symptom "of the modern refusal to acknowledge man's innate genetic, historical and national differences as well as his cultural and national particularities — the features that are increasingly being supplanted with a belief that human differences occur only as a result of different cultural environments."[9]

Real, "organic" democracy can only thrive, contends de Benoist, in a society in which people share a firm sense of historical and spiritual commitment to their community. In such an "organic" polity, the law derives less from abstract and preconceived principles, than from shared values and civil participation.[10] "A people," argues Benoist, "is not a transitory sum of individuals. It is not a chance aggregate," but is, instead, the "reunion of inheritors of a specific fraction of human history, who on the basis of the sense of common adherence, develop the will to pursue their own history and given themselves a common destiny."[11]

New Right thinkers warn of what they regard as the dangers inherent in multi-racial and multicultural societies. In their view, explains Sunic,[12]

> A large nation coexisting with a small ethnic group within the same body politic, will gradually come to fear that its own historical and national identity will be obliterated by a foreign and alien body unable or unwilling to share the same national, racial, and historical consciousness.

Sharply rejecting the dogma of human equality that currently prevails in liberal democratic societies, these New Right thinkers cite the work of scientists such as Hans Eysenck and Konrad Lorenz.[13] At the same time, the European New Right rejects all determinisms, whether historical, economic or biological. Contends de Benoist: "In the capacity of human being, for man, culture has primacy over nature, history has primacy over biology. Man *becomes* by creating from what he already is. He is the *creator himself*."[14]

Consistent with its categorical rejection of universalism, the European New Right rejects the social ideology of Christianity. In de Benoist's view, the Christian impact on Europe has been catastrophic. Christian universalism, he contends, was the "Bolshevism" of antiquity.[15]

In spite of the formidable resistance of an entrenched liberal-Marxist ideology, the impact of the European New Right has been considerable. While its views have so far failed to win mass following, it has had considerable success in eroding the once almost total leftist-liberal intellectual hegemony in Europe, and in restoring a measure of credibility and respect to Europe's prewar conservative intellectual heritage. In Sunic's opinion, the merit of the European New Right has been to warn us that "totalitarianism need not necessarily appear under the sign of the swastika or the hammer and sickle," and to "draw our attention" to the defects of contemporary liberal (and communist) societies.[16]

With the collapse of the Soviet Union, the collapse of the Iron Curtain (perhaps most dramatically symbolized by the tearing down of the Berlin wall), the end of USA-USSR Cold War rivalry, as well as mounting political, economic and ethnic problems in Europe, a new age has dawned across the continent — an era not only of new problems and danger, but also of new opportunities. In this new age, the struggle of the European New Right takes on enormously greater relevance and importance.

One evening in June 1993, this writer had the opportunity to meet at length with Alain de Benoist in his Paris office. Amid a prodigious clutter of accumulated books, journals, and pamphlets, this prolific philosopher and influential intellectual "agitator" provided insights and observations in reply to a series of questions. (Our meeting had been arranged by Professor Sunic, who sat in on the discussion.)

* * * * *

Q: Let me first ask you how it happened that you became, in effect, the founder of a new intellectual movement. Exactly how did this come about?

B: I did not set out to do this. In 1968, when I was 25 years old, I had the idea of creating a new journal — a more or less academic or, better yet, a theoretical journal, which was given the name *Nouvelle Ecole* ["New School"]. At first it was not even printed, merely photocopied in a very primitive way. Still, it achieved a certain success, and after a while some friends wanted to try to organize the readership into a cultural association. So that was the beginning. This association later took the name of GRECE. I was not involved in actually founding GRECE, because I am not so much a man of organizations or movements, even cultural. I'm more what you might call a "closet intellectual." Since that beginning more than 25 years ago, there have been many conferences, colloquia, books, booklets, papers, and journals. This movement has never been directly connected with politics; rather it has been cultural, philosophical, and theoretical. Of course, we are interested in politics, but, like all those who see themselves as intellectuals, only as spectators.

Q: What do see as the future of the movement? Do you see any particular end in view?

B: No, I have no intention of changing myself or to change what I do. But your question is, what is the destiny of ideas. Oh, sometimes it's nothing at all, but you never know. It's impossible to know. What you can say is that in world history, especially in the recent world history, in my opinion, there can be no political revolution, or even a major political event, if there had not already occurred some kind of change in the minds of the people. So I believe that the cultural revolution comes first, and the political revolution comes after that. But that does not mean that when you make something cultural, it is because you want, in the end, to make something political. This is not done by the same people, you see. If I can give an example, the French Revolution probably would not have been possible without the work of the Enlightenment philosophers.

Yet, it was not these philosophers who actually made the revolution. Quite probably they had no idea of that possibility. But it came. So it's very hard to know the destiny of what you do. I do it because I like what I do, and because I am interested in ideas and the history of ideas. I am not a utilitarian, so I don't care to know if it is useful or useless; this is not my concern.

Q: Have you seen your ideas change, or have they remained the same?

De Benoist addresses an audience

B: They are always undergoing change. When we started this school of thought or trend, we had no literal catechism. It was not dogma, but rather it was a mixture of conviction and empiricism. So we have changed on some points. Some of the ideas we have developed have revealed themselves to be not very good, or perhaps what might be called "dead ends."

Q: Can you give an example of a "dead end?"

B: Yes. For example, 20 or 25 years ago I was much more of a positivist than I am today. I remember that I devoted an issue of *Nouvelle Ecole* to the philosophy of Bertrand Russell, for example. And there appeared plenty of things against such strange people as Martin Heidegger and so on. But 20 years later I devoted an issue of *Nouvelle Ecole* to Heidegger, one that was very favorable to his philosophy.[17] This is, of course, just one example. That doesn't mean that we have changed everything; that would be stupid, of course. But it's a living school, like a living organism. You have to retain something and to work deeper on those things, but some things you have to abandon because they are simply false. Well, we don't want to repeat variations around the same theme year after year.

Q: How would you assess the significance of the *Nouvelle Droite*?

B: Well, first I have to spell out my concerns with some words — the very name: the New Right. I don't like it for several reasons. First, you should know that we did not invent this name. It was given to us. About ten years after the first appearance of journals such as *Nouvelle Ecole* and *Eléments*, there was a very large-scale mass media campaign in which the expression, "The New Right," was produced by people who were quite outsiders from our circle. We attempted to change it. We tried to say that it's not "The New Right" but, "A New Culture." Yet "new culture" is not a very clear term. And, in our modern society, when you have been given a wrong label, it just sticks.

I don't like this term because, first of all, it gives us a very political image, because "right" is a political term. Therefore, when you speak about "the New Right," the people who do know nothing about it immediately believe it is some kind of political party. Of course, it is not. We are a theoretical and cultural movement.

At the same time, there is something that is clearly political — particularly in America — with this "New Right" name. Even though it is in different countries, people thus start to believe that this is the same thing. Based on everything I know about it, the so-called New Right in America is completely different from ours. I don't see even a single point with which I could agree with this so-called New Right. Unfortunately, the name we now have gives rise to many misunderstandings.

While I cannot say that, after these many years, the [European] New Right is accepted everywhere — that is obvious — I can say that, in ever wider circles, it is accepted in France as a part of the cultural-political landscape. Debate and discussion here during the last two decades could not be thought of without the contribution of the New Right. Moreover, it is because the New Right has taken up particular themes that particular debates have taken place at all. I refer, for example, to discussions about the Indo-European legacy in Europe, the Conservative Revolution in Germany, about polytheism and monotheism, or about I.Q. — heredity or environment (which is partly a rather false dichotomy), participatory democracy, federalism and communitarian ideas, criticism of the market

ideology, and so forth. Well, we were involved in all these issues. As a result, I think, the situation in France today is a bit different.

When the New Right first appeared in France in 1968, the times were completely different. For me, the ideology of the extreme left was a kind of model or standard. Marxism, Freudianism and so on, were everywhere. In the years since then, all of those "ideological churches" have fallen apart. Very few people in France today would describe themselves as Marxists. Jean-Paul Sartre, a very famous philosopher, died [in 1980] without any particular ideological legacy. The landscape had already completely changed. I would say that there are no longer are any ready-made ideas. All of the grand ideologies or ideological characters have more or less disappeared. More and more the intellectuals have to look for something new; something original and beyond the ready-made solutions of the past.

We must accept, first of all, the fact that we are out of the post-World War II period, and that we have entered a new world epoch — that there are new frontiers, both in political and ideological terms. And we don't want to impeach people simply because they come from different ideological starting points. So it is clear that the times have changed. And always when the times are changing, some people want to keep things as they were. Opposition to the New Right is often "wet" or undogmatic, which means more liberty for everyone. I mean, for example, that there are people in the leftist circles who are willing to discuss issues with me, or to be published in *Krisis*, the journal I started in 1988. (Of course, there are other leftists who absolutely refuse to do so).[18]

In the last several years, the New Right has produced numerous articles rejecting the ideal of the economy as the destiny of society and criticizing alike conservatism, liberalism, socialism, and Marxism — in short, all of the "productivistic" ideologies that see earning money and possessing wealth as the key to human meaning and happiness. All these ideologies fail to confront the main issue of individual and collective meaning: What are we doing here on earth? So we have published numerous books and articles against consumerism, the commodity-driven life, or the *idéologie de la marchandise*. Of course, such themes are more or less a bridge between people coming from the Right and coming from the Left. So you have also the new phenomenon of the "Greens," which, again, is a bit different in France and America. For example, we have in France a "green" ecology movement — a political party, in fact — that describes itself as neither Right or Left.

Thus we have today in Europe numerous new political parties — ecological, cultural identity and region-oriented. While these are, of course, different options, each of them goes beyond the idea of Right versus Left. Each reflects the consequences of the decay of the traditional nation-state. Each is trying to find, beyond individualism, some kind of community. While each has a different base, of course, there is also a common idea, because we can no longer continue to live in an age of narcissism, consumerism, individualism, and utilitarianism.

Q: What would you say is the political importance today of the so-called New Right? Does it have any direct or tangible political significance?

B: No, I could not say that. I know people in probably every political party in France, ranging from the *Front National* to the Communist Party. The New Right does not have a *direct* influence. The influence that the New Right has had is clearly in terms of the theoretical and cultural. The discussions we have generated have had an impact on the new social-political movements. But you know, it is very difficult even to try to isolate these influences. Most of the time, I think, the ideas go underground. Nietzsche once said that ideas come "sur des pattes de colombe" — on the feet of a dove.

All the same, one can tell that there is currently some kind of influence by us on the new social or political movements in Europe, such as the identity parties, the regional parties, and the Green parties. Many of these people read what we produce, but it is hard to say just what they do with it. You never know not only just what influences your ideas have, but what becomes of ideas between their origin and their manifestation [in action]; they are always twisted. Even when you have people who say, "I agree with you, I like what you do," the use they make of your ideas is, of course, sometimes not exactly what you had in mind.

Q: Can you give an example of where you feel the ideas of the movement have been misused? Does this bother you?

B: In a way. Yes. I could say the Le Pen movement [of the French *Front National*]. This doesn't mean that the Le Pen movement grew primarily from New Right ideas, but it is clear that when the New Right spoke about the necessity of retaining collective identity, for example, this had an impact. So it might be confused a bit with quite a different philosophy, which is more xenophobic against immigrants, and so on. But this is not the position of the New Right. Our national identity is not in danger because of the identity of others. We say, instead, "Here we are. We have to fight together against the people who are against any form of any identity." You see what I mean? Criticizing uncontrolled immigration doesn't mean criticizing immigrants.

Q: So it is not so much a question of one identity in conflict with another, but a more fundamental question of whether it is possible to have *any* kind of identity?

B: Yes, I think it is possible to make a coalition of all kinds of people who want to retain identity against a world trend that dissolves every form of identity, through technology, the economy, a uni-

form way of life and consumerism around the world. People such as Le Pen say that, either way, we are losing our identity because of the immigrants. I believe that we are not losing our identity because of the immigrants. We have already lost our identity, and it is because we have already lost it that we cannot face the problem of immigrants. You see, that is quite a great difference of views.

Q: Isn't this idea of forming a coalition a philosophical one? In reality, doesn't the nation-state demand that one have citizenship and through this one is granted an identity? If you do away with the nation-state, your idea is possible, but is it possible within the nation-state? Doesn't the nation-state require a competition or conflict between identities?

B: I think that the nation-state is slowly disappearing. It exists, of course, formally — I don't want to say that France or Germany or Spain is going to disappear. But it is it not the same kind of society. First, you can see that every Western society lives in more or less the same way, whether it is a republic, a democracy, a constitutional monarchy, and so on. Second, we have unification through the media, television, and consumerism; so that's the same way of life. After that you have the building of the so-called European Community or European Union. So the nation-state is slowly disappearing. This process is very complex, of course, because the nation-state retains authority in many fields. And sometimes it is good that it retains some authority. Still, it is clear to us that, to use a popular expression, the nation-state is too big for the little problems, and too little for the big problems.

Q: Are you saying that the nation-state is obsolete as a basis for responding to problems and for creating identity. Are you saying that it cannot exist in a healthy form?

B: You can't retain a commonplace or, vulgar — as it were — attitude, or a mere identity on paper. It is necessary to really live organically, not in some theater. Thus, in France today, we need more small-scale organic units and regions. Historically, you must not forget, France is the very model of the nation-state. And the French nation-state was organized first through the kings, and then through Revolution [1789-1792], that is, through Jacobinism. (Of course this process existed before the Revolution; de Toqueville saw this very clearly.)

French unity was made on the ruins of the local traditions of local languages. In France today you have only one official language: French. In fact, though, eight different languages are still spoken, even if not by very many people, including Corsican, Flemish, German, Basque, and Breton.

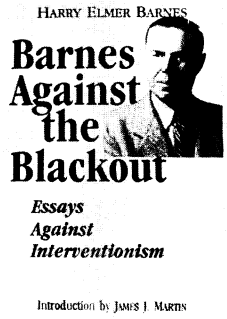
Q: Are you saying that the idea of the nation-state today is an idea of decadence? What is the source of this decadence? Is it the nation-state itself?

B: No. I think the nation-state is just a by-product. You can have the same decadence in countries that are supposed to be more federal, such as the United States. It is not just a matter of the nation-state of the French model. I think that the decay began very early, quite probably at the end of the Middle Ages or even earlier. Of course you can always go back to some earlier roots. But it is the birth of modernity. Modernity was also the beginning of individualism; the rejection of traditions; the ideology of progress; the idea that tomorrow will be better than yesterday just because it is tomorrow; that is, something that is new is better just because it is new; and then the ideal of a finalized history; that all humankind is doomed to go in the same direction.

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 snares 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.

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Along with this is the theory of "steps": that some people are a bit advanced while others are a bit late, so that the people who are advanced have to help those who are not. The "backward" people are supposed to be "lifted up" in order to arrive at the same step. This is the Rostows' theory of "development."

With this comes an ever more materialistic attitude, with the goal of all people becoming affluent. This in turn means failure to build a socially organic relationship, of losing the more natural links between people, and mass anonymity, with everyone in the big cities, where nobody helps anybody; where you have to go back in your home to know the world, because the world comes through the TV. So this is the situation of decay. Political, economic and technological forces try to make a "One World" today in much the same way that the French state was built on the ruins of the local regional cultures. This "One World" civilization is being built on the ruins of the local peoples' cultures. So it is that, in the wake of the fall of Communism, the so-called "Free World" realizes this, and that it is not so "free" after all. We seemed free when compared to the Communist system, but with the disappearance of that system, we no longer have a basis by which to compare ourselves.

In addition, to be "free" can mean different things: to be free *for* doing something, for instance, is quite different than to be free *not* to do something.

Q: In your writings you have mentioned that it is important to have an enemy. Were you implying that with the fall of Communism, because there is no longer a clear enemy, there can be no clear identity?

B: Not exactly. It's clear that you can have an identity without an enemy; but you cannot have an identity without somebody else having another identity. That doesn't mean that the others are your enemies, but the fact of the otherness can become in certain circumstances, either an enemy or an ally. I mean that if we are all alike — that we if there is just "One World" — we no longer have any identity because we are no longer able to differentiate ourselves from others. So the idea of identity is not directly connected to an enemy; the idea of an enemy is connected with the collective independence; that is, collective liberty.

There are many definitions of "the enemy," of course. Traditionally, the enemy is a people that makes war against you. But today's wars are not always armed conflicts. There can be cultural wars or economic wars, which are conducted by people who say they are your friends. You could say that a basic definition of the enemy is any force that threatens or curtails your liberty. Each nation must define this for itself. What is a good basis for determining this today? I think this must be done on the level of Europe itself, because the nation-states are too small for this. When Soviet Communism disappeared, it seemed to give way to a worldwide wave of liberalism. In the view of some, it means the "end of history." I do not believe that history is finished. I believe that history is just at the point of a new beginning.

We have to organize the world, not on the basis of a "One World" logic, but in very large zones or areas, each more or less "self-centered" or self-sufficient. The United States has already understood this, I think, in creating a free trade zone with Canada and Mexico. Japan already has zones of influence in Southeast Asia. Here in Europe we must have our own way of life, which is not the way of life of the Japanese or the Americans, but is rather the European ways of life. I don't think that these ways of life have to be hostile towards others. Hopefully not. But it has to be aggressive against those who intend to keep Europeans from living their our own way of life.

Q: Does Europe have the strength or the ability to resist such forces?

B: The ability, yes. But the will? In today's world, you first of all have to resist from both an economic and a cultural point of view. By cultural I mean very popular mass media and its powers. Today, if you turn on your radio in France, nine times out of ten you will hear American music. In America, when you turn on your radio you will hear only American music. This problem, which is also true for the cinema, is a kind of monopoly; culture always from the same source, and so consistent. You may ask if it is possible to resist this kind of invasion. Considering the enormous budgets of these American films, to counter this we may have to act together, rather than in a single country.

Now I am not suggesting that in France we should hear only French music. This would be ridiculous. We have to be open to others. The problem is that there are more countries in the world besides France and America; I would also enjoy hearing other varieties as well. I am not for a closed society. I would be very *malheureux* — unhappy — to get only French films, French sounds. I very much enjoy foreign products. But I wonder why we do not see Danish, Spanish, Russian or Dutch cultural products in France, though those countries are quite close by. Instead we always have the same American imports. Sometimes they are good, but most of the time I would say that they are not. So what happens, for example, when the Japanese and the French, the people in South Africa and the villagers in Kansas, all receive the same Rambo message? Is that good for civilization or not? This is the question: the quality of the product.

Q: I have heard that in France one week is set aside each year when American films cannot be shown. Is that true?

B: No, you are referring to something quite different: by law in France, TV channels cannot broadcast too many films on Saturday night. This law is

supposed to help the French film industry, even though it has absolutely nothing to do with the origin of the films. This is a situation peculiar to France, even though we still have a good French film industry, which is greatly appreciated in other European countries. This means that television has not entirely killed the French cinema. The situation is quite different in Italy and Germany, which is very dramatic when you consider the former quality of the Italian or German films.

In another way, though, I think that "popular [mass] culture" in France is probably worse than in Italy, Spain, Germany, or other lands. I travel a great deal. I think that there is an Italian people, a German people, and that even with many foreign films, they are not affected in the same way as the French. When you are in Germany, or Italy, or Spain, or England, people in each country live a bit differently.

This is not so true in France, I think. The main reason is that so many more people live in large cities. Eighty-five per cent of the French people live in the main cities now. So the French countryside is a desert, a social desert.

Q: Are you saying then that France is more vulnerable to this cultural invasion from America then, for example, Italy or Germany?

B: I understand very well the market decision of the Disney company people to locate "Eurodisney" in France (even though this has proven to be a financial failure). The threat is that today every decision is a market decision. This is Americanism. A country has a right to make a decision that is not a market decision, and even against the market, because the laws of the market are not the laws of life.

Q: Although you have already indicated that this is not your primary concern, let me now go back for a moment to a question of practical politics. I want to know your ideas about how to strengthen resistance in this cultural war. What can be done that is not now being done?

B: In history you have always two kinds of factors. The first is the conscious will of the people to do something. I must say that in Europe this will is very weak today, and lacking in intensity. The second factor is that things happen outside of the will of anybody. Consider the fall of the Berlin Wall. Of course, the Russians had the will to say "Okay, you can tear it down now." But in Germany, until that moment, nobody was really *willing* to tear down the wall. Some Germans hoped to see it come down, and others said that maybe after five, ten or 15 years a confederation [of the two German states] would arise. So if you consider the trend throughout Europe, it is more or less the same: the people and their governments talk and talk, and do nothing! The war in the former Yugoslavia is the best example of this I see.

A principle of conflicting interests is also involved here. Most European governments want to conclude a free trade agreement, based on the United States model. It is a fact, of course, that the interests of Europe, America, and Japan are no longer convergent. But there are common interests of each with regard to the Third World countries, where the people are paid so low that they can produce everything for almost nothing. If it is possible to manufacture a pair of shoes in the Third World for one franc, it is done. As a result, we now have all the problems of unemployment here. Experts predict that within two years there will be 24 million jobless people in the countries of the European Community. Never in the entire world history of capitalism have we seen that. In such a situation you cannot calmly sit in your chair and say, "Well, let's wait a bit more." You have to react, because the need to deal with such a situation becomes so great. Each nation must protect its own interests. Free trade agreements must be limited. It is the same, of course, for America, which protects its own industries while denying this same right to Europe.

I think that these forces will more likely produce a world of large-scale competing units than one in which each nation is preserved. I do not think this trend reflects the will of the people. I mean that the process seems to be going on as a result of cer-

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tain factors that have nothing to do with what people want.

Q: This process of forming these new and larger entities is not just a natural accident of history. Doesn't it require conscious organization of some kind? Or do you think it is a sort of natural historical development?

B: I don't believe there is much natural development in history. You have to will something, and yet, will alone is not sufficient, of course. You must have the necessary pre-conditions; so it is an equilibrium between what is wanted and what is possible. Politics is, as the saying goes, "the realm of what is possible," that is, between what is a necessity and what is a possibility. So, it is not natural. But of course, when you have a certain situation like today, you can predict that things are likely to take this or that direction. Change can also be reversed, of course.

For example, the main characteristic of the current state of world politics is that, in the minds of most politicians, that Berlin Wall has still not fallen. They still analyze the world on the basis of former conceptions, former ideas, because that view worked in the past. We have a new state of the world, but we haven't yet adapted to it. So we continue to reason on the basis of the world order created in 1945 — as if that political, economic and cultural order will last forever. So, I think that while world conditions have begun to change, our mind-set and perceptions have not changed.

Q: Some analysts predict the overthrow of an obsolete "political class." Do you see a new awareness regarding the need to replace the ruling class?

B: One thing that is quite new in the present period is this: in former times, when the people disagreed massively with the ruling powers, they would overthrow them, and there would be an explosion. Today, though, in the Western world we are in a period not of social or political explosion, but more in an epoch of *implosion*. The people disagree with the political class, but they do not try to overthrow it; they don't try to change the regime. They merely turn away.

So this is a time of retreat, of flight, of withdrawal. People try to live and organize their own lives. They don't participate in elections. That's why you see so many new self-assertive social movements, which we in France sometimes call the "new tribes." This term often has a pejorative meaning, but in general there is something positive here.

Before the emergence of the nation-state, people were, of course, organized into tribes. Tribes are now returning in the name of communities, or something akin to that. In France we do not have this phenomenon on the political level to the degree that it has been occurring in Italy, notably with the regionalist *Lega Nord*. Here in France, what you can see is that fewer people are voting. Now more than one-third of the electorate has stopped going to the polls. (The exception is presidential elections, because these are more personalized.) And another third of the electorate votes for non-conformist parties — the ecologists, *Front National*, regionalists, and so on — while only one-third still votes for the older, "classical" parties.

A problem in France is that our representative system provides no legal place for opposition political forces. Today we have a more or less conservative majority, which got 40 percent of the vote in the general election. But with 40 percent of the vote, they gained more than 80 percent of the parliament seats. The *Front National*, with three million votes, got zero seats, and the ecologists, with two million votes, likewise got zero seats. When you arrive at a point of such distortion, you realize that the political system no longer works. Of course, this is one major reason why people don't bother to vote anymore. Why go to vote when you are sure that you will get no say at all?

Q: It appears to be very much the same in the United States.

B: For me, as a European observer, the American two major-party system always makes it difficult for any third party to arise. It is very strange. In Europe we have evolved a broader spectrum of options, I think. While it is sometimes difficult even for Americans to see any real difference between the Republican and Democratic parties, for me it is almost impossible. Each is really interested only in more business and economic efficiency — frankly, I don't see any difference. For me it is a one-party system with two different factions.

Q. So you see this American monopoly or hegemony as the key problem? Are you implying that it is not so much the contact as such, which may have some good elements, but mainly that there is no choice?

B: These are two different problems. Of course, there is the problem of monopoly — that's clear — but if the products were quite good — after all I like quality, too, even if it comes from the outside. The Romans took everything from classical Greece and it was not so bad, after all.

I enjoy visiting the United States, because it is always very interesting. Although I am very critical, of course, of the content of capitalist values, there are some things in America that I like very much: everything works much better than here in Europe! But is efficiency an ideal? And what price do you have to pay for this efficiency? You can be rich, but also have an empty life. Another problem, I think, is that American society — for us, America is more a society than a nation or a people — is to a large extent a product of its Puritan origins. This idea that all people are born free and equal, that America is a new promised land, with people quoting the Bible, can be seen in the spirit of the American Declaration of Independence and the US Constitution.

Q: Why don't you consider America a nation?

B: It's a special kind of nation, if you will. There

is a very strong American patriotism, of course — and we have seen many examples of that in history. But because it is more a mixture of such different cultural and ethnic stocks, the United States of America is not what we in Europe regard as a traditional nation.

* * * * *

Throughout our conversation, de Benoist's remarks left me with a certain ambivalence. He was identifying my own nation as the enemy of the very civilization from which America derived. Even when he tried to re-assure me that there was nothing personal in his critique of American culture, it was clear that he was marking out a battleground of antagonistic ideas. Those who value the cultural heritage of Europe would have to look beyond day-to-day political and economic disputes between the European Community and the United States to understand that much more is at stake here. Our discussion had touched on some of most critical issues of social identity and organization, with profound implications for cultural and collective survival.

Notes

1. Philip Rees, *Biographical Dictionary of the Extreme Right* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1990), p. 30.
2. *Krisis*, 5 impasse Carrière-Mainguet, 75011 Paris, France.
3. GRECE is an acronym of "Groupement de recherche et d'études pour la civilisation européenne. ("Research and Study Group for European Civilization."). Address: GRECE, B.P. 300, 75 265 Paris Cedex 06, France.

   Established in May 1968, GRECE was formally organized in January 1969. It characterizes itself as "an association of thought with intellectual vocation." Its avowed goals, writes Sunic (p. 12), "are to establish an association of thinkers and erudites sharing the same ideals, as well as organize its membership into the form of an organic and spiritual working community."

   The name is not accidental. It suggests the French name for Greece — "Grèce" — calling to mind Europe's Hellenic and pre-Christian cultural heritage.
4. *Against Democracy and Equality* (196 + xii pages), by Tomislav Sunic, with a preface by Paul Gottfried, was published by Peter Lang of New York in 1990.
5. See the preface by P. Gottfried in T. Sunic, *Against Democracy and Equality* (1990), p. ix.
6. T. Sunic, *Against Democracy and Equality* (1990), pp. 19, 20.
7. T. Sunic (1990), p. 7
8. Sunic comments (p. 99) that "The New Right contends that due to the legacy of fascism, many theories critical of egalitarianism have not received adequate attention on the grounds of their alleged 'anti-democratic character'."
9. T. Sunic (1990), pp. 104-105.
10. Sunic writes (p. 120): "Faced with immense wealth which surrounds him, a deracinated and atomized individual is henceforth unable to rid himself of the fear of economic insecurity, irrespective of the degree his guaranteed political and legal equality. . . . Now, in a society which had broken those organic and hierarchical ties and supplanted them with the anonymous market, man belongs nowhere."
11. Quoted in: T. Sunic (1990), p. 107; In Benoist's view, "People exist, but a man by himself, the abstract man, the universal, that type of man does not exist." Moreover, contends Benoist, man acquires his full rights only as a citizen within his own community and by adhering to his cultural memory. (T. Sunic, p. 107); De Benoist also asserts that man can define his liberty and his individual rights only as long as he is not divorced from his culture, environment, and temporal heritage. (T. Sunic, p. 111.)
12. T. Sunic (1990), p. 103.
13. T. Sunic, pp. 103-105; From the perspective of the New Right, observes Sunic (p. 107), "Culture and history are the 'identity card' of each people. Once the period of the assimilation or integration begins to occur a people will be threatened by extinction — extinction that according to Benoist does not necessarily have to be carried out by physical force or by absorption into a stronger and larger national unity, but very often, as in the case today, by the voluntary and involuntary adoption of the Western Eurocentric or "Americano-centric" liberal model. . . . To counter this Westernization of nations, the New Right . . . opposes all universalisms."
14. Quoted in: T. Sunic (1990), pp. 105, 106, 174 (n. 41).
15. T. Sunic (1990), pp. 65-70, 72.
16. T. Sunic (1990), pp. 153, 155-156.
17. Martin Heidegger (1889-1976) is one of this century's most important philosophers. In several major works — especially *Sein und Zeit* ["Being and Time"] (1927) — he grappled with the spiritual basis of human experience, mounting a fundamental attack on what he termed "nihilistic rationalism," which he saw as a product of an ever-advancing and dehumanizing technology. Because of his probing of the metaphysical issues of human existence, Heidegger is regarded as a major shaper of "post-modernism," with its probing of the unconscious meaning and nature of human experience.

    Heidegger was a member of the National Socialist party from 1933 to 1945, while at the same time highly critical of National Socialist philosophy. The extent of his sympathy and support for the Hitler regime has been a subject of much debate.
18. In a much-discussed "Call to Vigilance" issued last summer, 40 French and Italian intellectuals warned of the growing acceptance of "right wing" views, particularly in European intellectual life. (*Le Monde*, July 13, 1993.) It was signed by such prominent figures as the "deconstructionist" Jacques Derrida. While it did not name names, this call was clearly aimed, at least in large part, at Alain de Benoist and the European New Right. It asserted the existence of a virtual conspiracy — "the extreme right's current strategy of legitimation" — in which "the alleged resurgence of ideas concerning the nation and cultural identity" are promoted as a means of uniting the left and the right. "This strategy," contend the signers, "also feeds on the latest fashionable theory that denounces anti-racism as both 'outmoded' and dangerous." Many leftist intellectuals, it should be noted, publicly opposed this "Call to Vigilance," regarding it as a new kind of "McCarthyism," and ultimately this summer campaign proved utterly ineffectual.

Errata

In the November-December 1993 issue, page 23, column one, the paragraph that begins "This case is particularly . . ." should be indented.

In the November-December 1993 issue, page 67, column one, item No. 585, the author of *Stalin's Apologist* is not correctly identified. It should be simply S. J. Taylor.

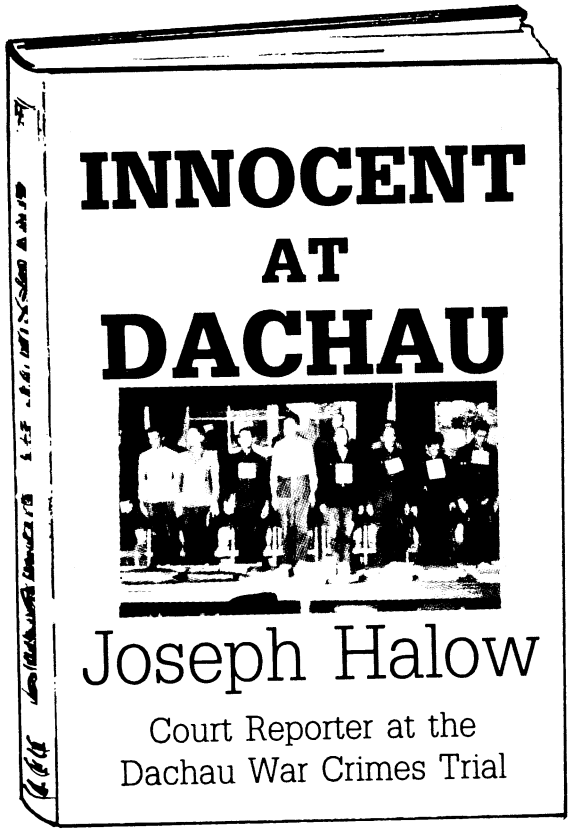
In the January-February 1994 issue, page 30, column one, line 31, "May 1994" should read "May 1944."

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 trusties); and of German villagers who attacked and murdered downed American fliers in the last phase of the Allies' terrifying air war.



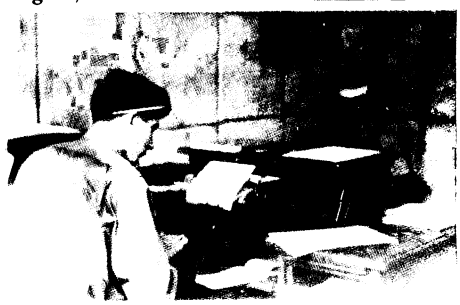
Armed with an ironclad faith in American righteousness when he arrived, young Halow soon saw the flaws and abuses in the trials: reliance on *ex post facto* law and broad conspiracy theories; abuse of prisoners during interrogation; and the shocking tolerance, even encouragement, of perjured testimony 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.



TOP: The author at publisher's 1990 historical conference. **INSET**: Germany, 1946: The author transcribing his courtroom "take" for the record.

INNOCENT AT DACHAU

By Joseph Halow

Clothbound, 337 pages, Photos, Index

$15.95 plus $2.50 postage

Published by

The Institute for Historical Review

Post Office Box 2739 • Newport Beach, CA 92659

Reviews

American Historian Looks At "Ethnic Cleansing" of Germans

The German Expellees: Victims in War and Peace, by Alfred-Maurice de Zayas. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993. 200 pages. 24 Photographs. Map. Notes. Bibliography. Index. ISBN 0-312-09097-8. (Available from the IHR for $35.00, plus $2.00 shipping.)

Reviewed by Robert Clive

The grim fate of the 15 million German civilians who found themselves trapped in the path of the Red Army in the closing months of World War II, or on the wrong side of the re-drawn postwar borders, is not a topic that has tended to excite the interest of historians. And the general public, which is subjected to constant reminders about wartime Nazi brutality, is certainly not aware that at least two million Germans lost their lives in the course of flight and mass expulsion from their ancestral homes in Eastern Europe.

Alfred de Zayas, a graduate of Harvard Law School who earned a doctorate in history at the University of Göttingen in Germany, has devoted much of his professional career to setting the record straight. His earlier books, *Nemesis at Potsdam* (which detailed Allied responsibility for the brutal mass expulsion of Germans at the end of the war), and *The Wehrmacht War Crimes Bureau*, met with critical acclaim on both sides of the Atlantic.

First published in German in 1986, *The German Expellees* is based on extensive research in European and American archives. This American edition is updated with new material not included in the German version.

Chapter One sketches the history of the Germans living throughout East Central Europe. Even students of history are generally unaware of the fact that, starting in the twelfth century, German artisans, farmers, soldiers, and churchmen were invited by reigning princes, kings, and emperors to settle in their domains. The essentially peaceful character of the so-called "*Drang nach Osten*," which witnessed the establishment of a German presence in East Prussia, Pomerania, East Brandenburg, Silesia, Bohemia, Moravia, Slovenia, Croatia, Serbia, Transylvania and Russia, has long been misrepresented as some sort of "march of conquest."

The author then turns to the Paris Peace conference, where President Wilson's lofty pledge to secure "self-determination" did not, it turned out, apply to Germans, Austrians, and Hungarians. The Treaty of Versailles also denied the right of self-determination to German citizens who resided in areas to be separated from pre-war Germany, including those living in Danzig, Posen, and West Prussia. De Zayas recounts that the inter-war Czech and Polish governments discriminated against their German minorities. Polish atrocities against ethnic Germans (*Volksdeutsche*) were, unfortunately, not a fiction of Goebbels' propaganda office, but were all too true. Soviet atrocities against the German civilian populations of East Prussia, Pomerania, and Silesia have been recounted before, even if they are still not widely known.

Alfred-Maurice de Zayas

De Zayas reviews these grim events, drawing specific attention to the fate of Nemmersdorf, East Prussia, which fell to the Red Army in October 1944 and was then recaptured a short time later by the *Wehrmacht*. Women and children were gang raped and then murdered in the most brutal fashion.

In the words of American historian and diplomat George Kennan:

> The disaster that befell this area with the entry of the Soviet forces has no parallel in modern European experience. There were considerable sections of it where, to judge by all existing evidence, scarcely a man, woman or child of the indigenous population was left alive after the initial passage of Soviet forces. . . . The Russians . . . swept the native population clean in a manner that has no parallel since the days of the Asiatic hordes.

Allied decisions for "resettlement" are considered in Chapter Four. Although the 1941 "Atlantic Charter" proclaimed by Roosevelt and Churchill expressly rejected territorial changes that did not

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Robert Clive is the pen name of an American specialist of the political, diplomatic and military history of modern Europe. He holds a doctorate in history.

meet the desires of the affected people, this did not discourage the British and American leaders from later supporting the forcible mass expulsion of ethnic Germans from Eastern and Central Europe. As early as August 1942, the Allied leaders accepted the principle of forcible expulsion, which they reaffirmed at the Teheran Conference in 1943. At the February 1945 Yalta Conference, Churchill and Roosevelt further agreed to permit Stalin to use Germans as slave labor after the war, a practice that the diplomats dubbed "reparations in kind." An estimated 874,000 German civilians were abducted to Soviet Russia, of whom 45 percent perished in captivity.

German civilian refugees trek across the ice of the "Frisches Haff" on the Baltic Sea during the Winter of January-February 1945. These are a few of the 14-15 million Germans who fled or were expelled from their homelands, 1945-1948, in this century's greatest act of "ethnic cleansing."

The expulsion and deportation of millions of ethnic German civilians from Czecho-Slovakia, Poland, Hungary, Romania and Yugoslavia is detailed by the author, who remarks that "hitherto it would seem that the blackout on this period of history had been complete." While the Allied leaders at the Potsdam Conference called for the "orderly" and "humane" resettlement of the hapless Germans, in practice it was anything but.

As de Zayas further points out, mass deportations were designated as "war crimes" and "crimes against humanity" by the Nuremberg Tribunal. But even as the Allied court was sentencing Germany's wartime political and military leaders to death for such acts, millions of Germans were being brutally driven from their homes.

The German Expellees is a well-written, concise introduction to a chapter of what James J. Martin has characterized as "inconvenient history." These horrific events were not haphazard or spontaneous. Rather, this mass "ethnic cleansing" of German civilians was official Allied policy. For too long, the victims of this relatively unknown holocaust have remained largely forgotten and unmourned.

Novel Traces Wartime Exodus of German Mennonites

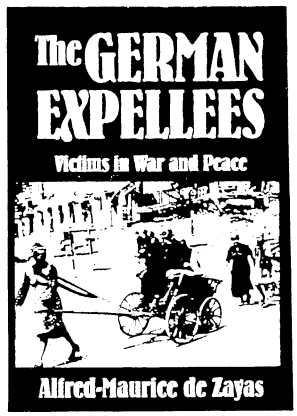
The Wanderers, by Ingrid Rimland. Stockton, Calif.: Crystal Books (2731 Lost Creek Court, Stockton, CA 95207), 1988. Softcover. 304 pages.

Reviewed by Theodore J. O'Keefe

Most *Journal* readers are at least sketchily aware of the vast and criminal expulsions of more than 14 million Germans from their ancestral homes in the heart of Europe, planned, ordered, and facilitated by American, British, and Russian leaders sitting in baronial luxury amid barbaric plunder as infant and grandmother died miserably, in the millions, by road and railside. Not so many readers, though, are aware of the longer but scarcely less agonizing Calvary endured by the sizable number of Germans who have lived in the Russian and Soviet empires from the times of the tsars to the present day.

Ingrid Rimland's novel *The Wanderers*, recently republished in a new edition after winning the California Literature medal in 1977, tells the epic of one group of these, a family of German Mennonites who endured the brutal chaos of Red revolution and

The Century's Greatest Wave of Ethnic Cleansing



At the end of World War Two some 15 million ethnic Germans in Central and Eastern Europe, caught between the Soviet armies to the east and the Anglo-American forces to the west, were driven from their ancestral homelands and in many cases slaughtered by Red Army troops and Polish civilians bent on revenge. It was a holocaust that claimed more than two million lives, the overwhelming majority of them civilians. Alfred de Zayas (**Nemesis at Potsdam**), a lawyer, historian and human rights expert specializing in refugees and minorities, brings to light testimony in German and American archives detailing these atrocities as he sketches the history of the many German communities scattered from the Baltic to the Danube. This carefully documented study adds a new, grim chapter to the annals of human cruelty.

The German Expellees
by Alfred de Zayas
Hardbound, 177pp., 24 Photos, Notes, Index, Bibliography, $35 + $2 postage
from Institute for Historical Review

civil war, then famine and persecution in Stalin and Kaganovich's Ukraine until liberated by the victorious Wehrmacht. Forsaking the villages and farms they had worked and lived in from the time of Catherine the Great, Katya Klassen Wall's extended family makes its agonizing way back to the land of their ancestors, northern Germany, barely surviving the fiery hell of a Berlin prostrated, at last, beneath the bombs and boots of Stalin's brutal conquerors. These stern-willed Mennonites turn their backs on their homeland in the *Jahr Null* to resettle on Paraguay's remorseless Gran Chaco, where their tireless industry recreates, so far as possible, the flourishing landscape of the Ukrainian steppe.

Ingrid Rimland's telling of this saga concentrates on two characters: the simple, sturdy, enduring matriarch, Katya, and her granddaughter, a misfit among the dour Mennonites who is driven from them by the quest for a beauty and meaning in life beyond the bare bones Biblical faith she has been bred on. These two women are well drawn, as are a host of subsidiary characters who figure in *The Wanderers*: Jasch, the eternal opportunist, who veers with aplomb from commissar to functionary in the German occupation, militant atheist to fiery preacher; Johannes Klassen, elder and patriarch whose bedrock faith has molded Katya; Sara, Katya's daughter, whose strange and violent heritage stamps her daughter Karin; and numerous other kinfolk, as well as the odd Ukrainian or Paraguayan among the carefully shunned "*Hiesigen*" ("locals" or natives).

The Wanderers has been recently rewritten to restore most of the ten percent that had been edited out by a publisher in 1977. In the absence of the original version, put out by Concordia in 1977 and Bantam in 1978, the reader may speculate as to whether the earlier editor's blue pencil eliminated such passages as the following, included in the latest edition:

> The Germans wept for Dresden as they had never wept for any city yet. Dresden had no strategic importance at all — filled as it was, stuffed to the seams, with weakened, helpless refugees, a city of women and children, known to the world for its exquisite beauty and charm. There was no reason to slay Dresden but the baseness of a vindictive West — an enemy past comprehension in its lack of understanding of the necessary German shield against the barbarism of the East.

The Wanderers is a readable tale of the conflict between the duties of community and the demands of freedom. Readers unfamiliar with the German Mennonites (who, by the way, were the first German settlers of America, in 1683) will be interested in Rimland's portrayal of their intense loyalty to their language and fatherland, which has sustained their German ways wherever they have wandered, despite their exposure to a never-ending *Kulturkampf* waged more effectively, because more insidiously, by such "democracies" as Canada than by authoritarian or "totalitarian" regimes.

While not exactly the equal of Hans Grimm's classic *Volk ohne Raum*, *The Wanderers* may be read with profit and enjoyment. Chronicling the mortal joys and woes of what its author calls "one of the quietest epics of colonization of all times," this novel reveals truths about man and woman, men and women not to be found in mass-market potboilers.

IN COLD BLOOD . . .

GRUESOME HARVEST: The Allies' Postwar War Against the German People, by Ralph F. Keeling, tells the grim, suppressed story of how the victorious Allies—after the end of the Second World War—carried on a brutal campaign against defeated Germany's civilian population. Completely reset attractive new IHR edition of a moving classic, with a new publisher's introduction by Ted O'Keefe. Bristling with contemporary documentation, burning with humanitarian and patriotic outrage, this informed, riveting classic dares to tell the shameful story of how American and other Allied policymakers undertook the political, economic and social destruction of the German people even as they presumed to instruct them in "justice" and "democracy." Softcover. 151 pp., $9.00 + $2 shipping.

"God's Chosen"

". . . The Holocaust is something different. It is a singular event. It is not simply one example of genocide but a near successful attempt on the life of God's chosen children and, thus, on God Himself. It is an event that is the antithesis of Creation as recorded in the Bible; and like its direct opposite, which is relived weekly with the Sabbath and yearly with the Torah, it must be remembered from generation to generation."

— Abraham H. Foxman, National Director, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith (New York), in *ADL On the Frontline*, January 1994, p. 2

Comprehensive Biography Examines Lives of Indian Nationalist Leaders

Brothers Against the Raj: A Biography of Indian Nationalists Sarat and Subhas Chandra Bose, by Leonard A. Gordon. New York: Columbia University Press, 1990. Softcover. 807 pages. Photographs. Notes. Bibliography. Index. $25.00. ISBN 0-231-07443-3.

Reviewed by Srinidhi Anantharamiah

January 23, 1994, marked the ninety-seventh birthday of India's dynamic nationalist leader, Subhas Chandra Bose. In the modern history of the world's second most populous country, only Mohandas Gandhi and Jawarlhal Nehru have made an equal or greater contribution to India's independence movement.

In terms of his courageous determination and the broad scope of his effort, probably no one did more to free India from British colonial bondage than Bose, who was affectionately known by his followers as *Netaji* (Hindi: "respected leader"). In his effort to deliver self-rule to India through armed struggle, Bose risked everything during the Second World War by forming a political and military alliance with the Axis powers.

In this carefully researched and well documented 807-page biography, Leonard Gordon, a professor of history at Brooklyn College, examines the lives of Subhas Chandra Bose and his elder brother, Sarat Bose. While not as charismatic or as well-known as his younger brother, Sarat nevertheless played an important role in the Indian nationalist movement. He worked for his country's freedom mainly as a skilled parliamentarian and a lawyer in his native Bengal state. While Subhas Chandra Bose was active outside of the homeland, Sarat was his brother's chief supporter and defender in India.

This book's first two chapters trace the Bose family history, and detail the educational and career training of the Bose brothers. In the third chapter Gordon introduces the political setting in which the brothers would work and make their mark. Subhas emerged as an outspoken political activist whose participation in Gandhi's "non-cooperation movement" resulted in his first jail sentence, in 1921. Gordon shows how this jail experience made Subhas Bose even more dedicated and uncompromising in his work. Gordon traces his evolution from a supporter of nonviolent agitation to a champion of armed struggle in pursuit of Indian independence. Sarat, by contrast, remained committed to legislative action, although he defended his younger brother's course.

Beginning with chapter seven and continuing through the rest of the book, Gordon tells the reader about the Indian national struggle. During the years 1932-1936, Subhas Bose visited several European countries, pleading India's case in meetings with leaders of all shades of political opinion, from fascist to communist. Gordon documents Bose's meetings and friendships with leading Europeans such as Eamon de Valera of Ireland, Benito Mussolini of Italy, and Dr. Eduard Benes of Czechoslovakia. It was National Socialist Germany, though, that most profoundly impressed Bose.

Although not in agreement with Hitler's racist views, he admired the Third Reich's discipline and nationalism. Bose was highly skeptical of the Nazi goal of European military supremacy, Gordon explains, but he saw German might as a potentially useful tool that could serve the interests of his beloved homeland by breaking the power of British imperialism.

While Subhas Bose continued to argue India's case from abroad, Sarat remained at home, acting as a soft-spoken pragmatist who fought for freedom through the legal system of British India. Sarat saw merit in Gandhi's civil disobedience strategy, and even though he identified with his brother's efforts, he never openly called for liberation by violent means. Nevertheless, Sarat defended militant nationalists and secured financial assistance for those labeled "terrorists" by the British authorities. Sarat's arrest by the British because of his younger brother's revolutionary activities did nothing to lessen his nationalist ardor. The brothers maintained a close attachment, and served as mutual mentors.

Chapters 10 and 11 deal with the story of Subhas Bose's wartime collaboration with Germany and Japan. These chapters splendidly document the role of the Axis powers in providing aid and comfort to Asian nationalists during the Second World War.

Encouraged by German military successes, and the humiliations inflicted on Britain by the Wehrmacht, Subhas Bose pinned great hope on winning German support for the cause of India's freedom. Gordon meticulously traces Bose's relationship with the Nazi leadership, and his tireless work in Germany, 1941-1943. With encouragement and support from statesmen such as Joachim von Ribbentrop, Wilhelm Keppler, and Alexander Werth, Bose established the *Azad Hind* ("Free India") center in Berlin. Over Azad Hind Radio, he broadcast eloquent and effective appeals from Europe to his countrymen in India, calling for resistance to British rule.

Many soldiers from the Indian subcontinent who had been serving with British forces in northern

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Srinidhi Anantharamiah was born in 1967 in Bombay, India. He holds a bachelor's degree from Rutgers University (business, 1989), and a master's degree from New Mexico State University (economics, 1990). He is currently a graduate research assistant and doctoral candidate (economics) at Utah State University (Logan).

Africa and Europe were taken prisoner by the Germans. From among this group, Bose raised a small army of volunteers. The soldiers of the "Indian Legion," wearing German uniforms with swastika and eagle, took an oath to Hitler and Bose "in the fight for the freedom of India." Well trained by German officers, the Legion's soldiers served with the Wehrmacht for the honor of India. Indo-German relations were excellent. [For more about this, see "Subhas Chandra Bose, the Indian National Army, and the War of India's Liberation," by Ranjan Borra, in *The Journal of Historical Review*, Winter 1982.]

After a dramatic submarine journey from Germany to Sumatra in early 1943, Bose shifted the center of his work to Asia, where — in collaboration with the Japanese — he could more directly carry on the struggle. As Gordon explains, Bose strongly admired and respected the Japanese, and was convinced that, as fellow Asians, they could provide better help in freeing the continent of Western domination.

Bose with officers of the Indian Legion, Berlin, 1942.

In October 1943, Subhas Bose proclaimed the establishment of a "Free India Provisional Government." The Singapore-based government headed by Bose received diplomatic recognition from nine Axis governments, while Irish premier Eamon de Valera sent personal congratulations.

The military arm of Bose's government in exile was the Indian National Army (INA). Its soldiers were recruited from among Indian troops captured by the Japanese who had been serving under British command, and from among the large Indian population living in Southeast Asia. Altogether about 40,000 joined the INA. Perhaps the most remarkable detachment was the all-women "Rani of Jhansi Regiment," which eventually numbered about a thousand.

The INA faced its most important challenge in 1944 when, along with a large Japanese contingent, about 8,000 INA troops advanced from Burma into northeastern India. Although the combined INA-Japanese army was eventually turned back, it succeeded in establishing an identity as India's army of liberation. For the first time ever, an army of Indian soldiers commanded by Indian officers fought on Indian soil and under the Indian flag for the freedom of their homeland — a fact that had a powerful psychological impact in India itself.

Gordon details the circumstances surrounding Bose's death. On August 17, 1945, a Japanese plane carrying Bose and several colleagues succumbed to engine trouble and crashed shortly after takeoff from an airfield in Taiwan. According to Japanese military sources, Bose's body was recovered with severe burns, and he died a short time later in a military hospital. The records of his death were apparently destroyed by Japanese military authorities, and Bose's remains were secretly cremated. Because the precise circumstances of his death were not immediately or authoritatively clarified, for many years popular legends and myths about Bose circulated in India, including supposed sightings of him. For many in India, particularly in his native Bengal province, Bose has become a mythic figure, revered in the tradition of Hindu divinities.

While sharply rejecting Bose's tactics, Mahatma Gandhi in early 1946 paid a fulsome tribute to "Netaji" and his struggle:

> The hypnotism of the Indian National Army has cast its spell on us. Netaji's name is one to conjure with. His patriotism is second to none. His bravery shines through all his actions. He aimed high but failed. Who has not failed? Ours is to aim high and to aim well ... The lesson that Netaji and his army brings to us is one of self-sacrifice, unity irrespective of class and community, and discipline. If our adoration will be wise and discriminating, we will rigidly copy this trinity of virtues, but we will as rigidly abjure violence . . .

While Subhas was active outside India, the British authorities detained his brother Sarat under house arrest. Throughout this four-year period, Gordon relates, the brothers sent and received coded messages to each other through Indian intermediaries. The two brothers thus remained together in spirit throughout this turbulent period. After his release at the end of the war, Sarat Bose resumed his legal work.

By this time, the Indian masses regarded Subhas Chandra Bose and the former soldiers and officers of the Indian National Army as national heroes. Sarat Bose played an important role in rousing the political leadership of the Indian National Congress, particularly Gandhi and Nehru, to support the former soldiers and officers of the INA. Gordon supports the view that the example and legacy of Subhas Bose and the INA served to hasten the end of British rule in India ("the Raj").

Independence finally came on August 15, 1947, but at the cost of partitioning the subcontinent into

two states, India and Pakistan — something that both Subhas and Sarat, along with Gandhi and Nehru, had dreaded. Sarat lived to see the early years of independent India, carrying on the spirit and memory of his younger brother. (He died peacefully in 1950 in Calcutta.)

Gordon sums up (pp. 612, 618) the legacy and continuing appeal of these remarkable brothers:

> For those to whom martial values are meaningful, Subhas Bose was *the* hero. He left India craftily, contacted foreign powers, helped raise funds and an army of Indians. He said that it was necessary to have martyrs in order to have freedom. Indians had to prove that they were worthy of freedom. He offered his own life. He braved bombs and bullets rather recklessly. He died a martyr's death, retreating so that he could fight for freedom another day.
>
> The Boses now live in the historical imagination of their countrymen. Bound by love and common cause, they struggled against imperialism with great perseverance and courage. They had their successes and failures as they worked for what they thought was the central political concern of India in the first half of the twentieth century: complete independence from the British Raj. They should be remembered for the zest and devotion they gave to their country as they tried to fulfill their own and India's destiny.

Brothers Against the Raj is a thorough examination of the lives of two brothers who made significant contributions to the liberation of their country. With substantial notes and references, supplemented with numerous little-known photographs, this well-researched and documented book is unquestionably the most important English-language work on this chapter of history.

"In these days of fear and confusion, let us remember that the endless repetition of a lie or the multiplication of an empty promise does not make a truth. Truth is something more than the greatest common denominator of mass ignorance and greed. It is never determined or demonstrated by majorities or pluralities or popular error and appetite. Ultimately, with God's aid, it always emerges and finally prevails, supreme in its power over the destiny of mankind, and terrible in its retribution for those who deny, defy or betray it."

— Virgil Jordan

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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Dr. FRANCISZEK PIPER

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Letters

Best Money

Your new *Journal of Historical Review* is perfect. Well written and with a layout with lots of "air" and photos, it makes people interested. The best money I ever spent was to begin my subscription. I can't give you enough credit for it. Keep up the good work.

H. L.
Landskrona, Sweden

Some Style

I must say that you have taken out the "old style" *Journal* in some kind of style. The Winter 1992-93 issue is a great finale.

Combining the older style *Journal* with the *Newsletter* does not seem to be such a bad idea at all, and one may hope that the input of the readers grows in both volume and quality. I can't see how you can go wrong if you continue in the direction the first two numbers of the new series points. Still, I wonder how you are going to keep coming up with glamorous front cover photos!

In the commentary on Churchill in the March-April 1993 issue, you mentioned Francis Neilson's *Churchill Legend*, but omitted mentioning Emrys Hughes' *Winston Churchill, British Bulldog* (1955), a marvelous extension of what Neilson wrote about Winnie. Somebody ought to see if this could be resurrected and reprinted. In the meantime, I will stack my essay on Britain in *Hog Island* against anyone else's product of similar length.

I have read a friend's copy of Vidal-Naquet's *Assassins of Memory*. It struck me as a pretty sad excuse for a book.

James J. Martin
Colorado Springs, Col.

Serious Opponent

I warmly endorse the new form in which the IHR *Journal* is appearing: it is sincere, balanced, objective and devoid of polemics. It presents the enemies of the truth for the first time with a serious opponent. Having said that, it is clear that I also have confidence in each and every member of the current team behind this achievement: long may they, and the *Journal*, stay unchanged — staunch and unflinching soldiers in what our brave comrade Robert Faurisson has called "this great adventure."

David Irving
London, England

Feeling of Optimism

I thoroughly enjoyed Mr. O'Keefe's tongue-in-cheek review [in the Nov.-Dec. *Journal*] of Deborah Lipstadt's anti-revisionist book, *Denying the Holocaust*. He barely scratched the surface in identifying the slop in this failed opus. O'Keefe summed it up very well when he wrote that it does not deserve a review, but an epitaph. It seems a public confession of failure by Lipstadt. I finished her book with a new feeling of optimism for the future of Holocaust revisionism. If this is the best they can muster, all I can say is keep up the good work, for victory is at hand.

J. W.
Overland Park, Kansas

Former Scoffer

Three years ago I would have scoffed — did scoff in fact — at the ideas of revisionist historians — without, of course, having read their work. A couple of years ago, and with much trepidation, I ordered a small batch of IHR books. The timing could not have been better. The daily operations of the media and the political elites have confirmed to me the pattern of disinformation, distortion and ostracism that revisionist historians discovered in the actions of the architects of the Allied world order. Media blitzkriegs, Orwellian rewriting of history, professional reprisals against those who question any part of the post-World War II *apparat*, all leave little doubt that the history of World War II as we were taught it in the '60s and '70s is largely mythic. In short, I wish I had subscribed to *The Journal of Historical Review* a year earlier.

J. H.
Scottsdale, Ariz.

More Vocal

Just a short note to tell you folks how grateful I am to have received an offer to subscribe to the *Journal*. I had heard about it and the Institute. I, for one, am sickened and fed up with the mass media's lies and one-sidedness. Here in Cleveland we have been saturated with false propaganda from the controlled media about John Demjanjuk. Even after he was acquitted, Jewish-Zionist radicals still wanted him lynched. What used to be faint whispers of skepticism about the so-called Holocaust are now a little more vocal in every gathering place and coffee shop in and around Cleveland. The average person is fed up with the Six Million lie shoved down his throat at every opportunity. The day will come when all those who seek the truth will discover it.

A. A.
Cleveland, Ohio

Crucial Times

Enclosed please find a contribution for the cause served so well by *The Journal of Historical Review*. I regret it can't be more, since our own struggle demands so much of us in these crucial times.

L. F. Stofberg
House of Assembly
Parliament of South Africa
Cape Town, South Africa

An "Abominable" Book

The Last Days of the Romanovs by Robert Wilton [reviewed in the Jan.-Feb. 1994 *Journal*] is not merely a bad book, it is an abominable one. The story of the murder of the Russian Tsar and his family, and of the attendant circumstances, has been told better, more than once. Similarly, the influence of Jews in the Bolshevist revolution has been pointed out many times. This book's only novelty is its resuscitation of British First World War anti-German hate propaganda. The caveat in Weber's introduction (p. xiii) about page 153 of Wilton's text is feeble and inadequate.

When it comes to identifying those who conceived, instigated, and carried out the murder of the Romanov family, Wilton declares, correctly, that they were Jewish Bolshevists, from top to bottom. This was widely known even in 1920. Wilton, like Churchill, hated Jews and Bolshevists. But he (also like Churchill) hated Germans even more, and for no reason, insensately.

Consequently, this British history twister introduces a previously — and, I believe, subsequently — unheard of group that, along with the Bolshevist Jews who led it, is supposed to have actually pulled the triggers. These were Letts [Latvians], or, rather "Letts," since they weren't actually Letts, but rather Germans. But it was not only a few German "Letts" who killed the Tsar and his family, according to Wilton; it was Germany itself, and at its head, the Kaiser, that was ultimately responsible for the crime!

Wilton's Germanophobia causes him to see events from a strictly British perspective that

"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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has nothing to do with reality or truth. According to him, Germany was the prime mover in the Russian Revolution, and thus in the murder of the Imperial family.

The "Red Kaiser" (Wilhelm II) and the "Red Tsar" (Solomon/Sverdlov) worked together toward both ends, Wilton argues. Sverdlov was supposedly on the lush payroll of "German bankers," and the entire Jewish-Bolshevist apparatus was controlled by Germany through its satrap in Petrograd, Ambassador Mirbach. That Mirbach was promptly murdered by Jewish Bolshevists didn't unsettle Wilton's argument. In an effort to bolster it, Wilton quotes a brief passage, not precisely to the point, and out of context, from Ludendorff's memoirs.

Wilton is outraged because Germany, after fighting for three years on two fronts, and then with the Americans helping to bludgeon her, should decline to commit suicide for the benefit of those who had precipitated a war of aggression against her.

He alludes repeatedly to the much publicized "German sealed train" — which wasn't sealed at all — that facilitated Lenin's return to Petrograd. Wilton doesn't tell his readers that this rail journey came after the Russian armies had been defeated in the field, Nicholas had abdicated, and the revolution was under way.

In 1914 the Tsar had been so stupid as to allow himself and his country to be sucked into the Anglo-French aggression against Germany. What had Russia to gain from attacking Germany? An ephemeral internal political breathing spell? Nicholas II was too stupid to see that continued friendship with Germany would have given Russia a more durable breathing spell. Nicholas compounded this stupidity when, in 1916, while there was still time, the Duke of Hesse-Darmstadt, Alexandra's brother, left his headquarters on the Western Front and crossed the lines to offer Nicholas generous terms to make peace. Nicholas II refused them. Wilton praises this disastrous folly as "loyalty to his Allies" — who abandoned him to his murderers.

Wilton talks much about the [March 1918] Treaty of Brest-Litovsk [between the Soviet government and the Central Powers]. He doesn't cite its provisions. These were, notably, independence for Finland and the three Baltic countries, restoration of the integrity of Poland, and independence for Ukraine. Precisely the "self-determination of peoples" loudly and sanctimoniously proclaimed by Woodrow Wilson, then shamelessly scuttled by the Allied powers at Versailles. Wilton's twaddle about the "need," by the Bolsheviks, or the Germans, for Nicholas to "approve" the Brest-Litovsk Treaty is just that. By 1918 he was already an un-person.

Another part of the history withheld by Wilton is that after Britain was unable to move the Bolshevists to denounce the Brest-Litovsk peace treaty, and to resume the war against Germany, Churchill, in another of his "masterful" strategic strokes (like Gallipoli) landed a British-cum-Canadian army in Russia, but at a prudent distance from Petrograd and Moscow. The Americans, naturally, also had to meddle. After muddling about the countryside, losing men and materiel, the British and the Americans took their licking and departed. Only Pilsudski, and his Poles, beat back the Soviets, in 1920-21.

Wilton is silent about the shabby role of British King George V in the Ekaterinburg murder story. George V was then the only person in the world with the power and the means to free his first cousin, Nicholas II, and his family. He was urged to do so. He refused to make even a gesture in that direction, and left Nicholas, his wife, and his children, in the hands of their butchers.

Wilton's concoction is insidious and dangerous. It can be perceived, far too readily as offering "evidence" — endorsed by the IHR — of German "guilt" in matters, and in ways, the reader hardly would have imagined.

Carl Hottelet
Toms River, N.J.

Enemy Outflanked

The IHR is doing a great job. You are reaching more people than ever. In the war against untruth, you are gaining ever more troop-sappers. The enemy will continue to find themselves outflanked and "out-gunned."

M. B.
Gold Hill, Oreg.

Significant

Congratulations on your article, "The Jewish Role in the Bolshevik Revolution and Russia's Early Soviet Regime," in the January-February 1994 issue. I found it one of the most significant articles I have ever read in the *JHR*.

(Dr.) Charles Weber
Tulsa, Okla.

Outstanding

I have just this minute finished reading your feature article about the Bolshevik Revolution. Congratulations! It's outstanding.

Y. F.
Paris, France

Readable

Mark Weber has done it again. In "Zionism and the Third Reich" (July-August issue), he has taken a complex topic and presented it in a concise, cogent and very readable fashion. A pleasure to read.

John Mortl
Toronto, Canada

Effective Photos

The article on the Spanish-American War era (in the July-August 1993 issue) was very well done. In recent years engineers have determined that the destruction of the US warship "Maine" in Havana harbor in 1898 resulted from an internal rather than an external explosion. This suggests either an accident or deliberate sabotage by the US to create a pretext for war with Spain.

The new *Journal* format is excellent. I am very glad that you are now using photographs. These often carry a point much more effectively than prose.

T. K.
Hornell, N.Y.

Vatican Orders

Having been raised a Catholic, I particularly appreciate the article by Mary Ball Martinez on Pius XII [in the Sept.-Oct. issue]. I would like to add the additional fact that when Rev. Charles Coughlin, the great populist "radio priest" of the prewar era, was "silenced" in 1942, it was not FDR who forbade him from further speaking out, but rather, according to Coughlin's bishop, the order came from the "highest authority in the Vatican," that is, Pius XII.

M. B.
Los Angeles

Earliest Claims of Nazi Gassings?

Recently I have been engaged in a project of collecting newspaper and magazine accounts of early wartime claims of homicidal gassings by the German National Socialist government. While doing so I re-read the feature in the September-October 1993 *Journal* (p. 43), "How Fake War Propaganda Stories are Manufactured." The article reproduces in facsimile an October 1941 document from the British War Cabinet's Joint Intelligence Committee on "suggestions for rumours of a military nature." Of particular interest is the Committee's proposal to spread rumors that German officials were killing their own wounded soldiers with poison gas.

I believe that this rumor may indeed have been put into circulation by British propagandists, and might also have been the source of the very earliest claims of homicidal gassings by the Nazis.

Two months after these British Intelligence Committee suggestions were made, Thomas Mann, the German novelist and expatriate, broadcast a speech in German on British radio to the German public. In this speech he said: "Collapse is near. Your troops in Russia lack doctors, nurses, medical supplies. In German hospitals the severely wounded, the old and feeble are killed with poison gas — in one single institution, two to three thousand, a German doctor said."

The full text of Mann's speech was published in *The New York Times*, December 7, 1941, p. 45. This is the earliest public claim of homicidal gassing by the Nazis that I have found. Are there any earlier claims of such World War II German gassings? If not, then the machinations of the British Joint Intelligence Committee appear to represent the origin of the myth of homicidal gassings by the German National Socialist regime.

Revisionist arguments refuting claims of alleged German extermination programs are more likely to gain public acceptance if it can be shown precisely how the Holocaust story evolved from wartime propaganda and disinformation. The Joint Intelligence Committee document and Thomas Mann's speech are valuable evidence in this regard.

Jack Wikoff
Aurora, N.Y.

Mania of Anti-Anti-Communism

The statement by Anti-Defamation League official Arnold Forster [quoted in the Nov.-Dec. *Journal*, p. 42] that "The civilized world was more revolted by McCarthyism than by Communism," while astounding, is unfortunately true, if by "civilized world" one means the liberal political establishment and its press organs. Senator Joe McCarthy disturbed the "respectable" citizens far more than "Uncle Joe" Stalin ever did. The "anti-anti-Communism" mania of the media is exceeded only by its Holocaust propaganda.

W.W.
Walnut Creek, Calif.

A Good Year

Revisionism has had a good year, and the elites don't quite know what to do about it. The more they attack the revisionists, the more than give it a platform for ideas they wish they did not have to face.

T. K.
Homer, Alaska

Intellectual Revolution

Revisionism is the intellectual revolution of the 21st century. I want to join this revolution, and to contribute to the search for historical truth.

P. B.
Freilassing, Bavaria
Germany

Khazars and "Anti-Semitism"

The term "Anti-Semitic" is something of a misnomer. Most Jews living in the world today are not of Hebrew ancestry, and are therefore not Semites. The largest group of Semites are Arabs.

As Arthur Koestler explains in his book, *The Thirteenth Tribe*, European Jews had their origin in the empire of the Khazars, a Turkic people that was powerful in the Caspian sea region of southern Russia from about 600 A.D. to 1000 A.D. Jewish merchants became powerful, and in the year 740 succeeded in converting the Khazar rulers to Judaism. A century later incoming Slavic tribes broke the power of the Khazars, eventually scattering these people over eastern and central Europe, where they were known as Jews. Today, most Jews of Eastern and Central European origin, so-called "Ashkenazi" Jews, are descended from the converted Khazars, and therefore are not Semites.

G. C.
Carencro, La.

We welcome letters from readers. We reserve the right to edit for style and space.

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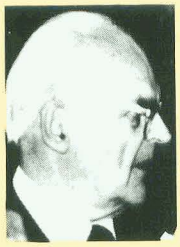
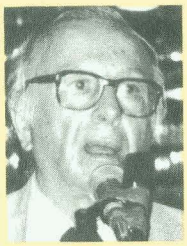
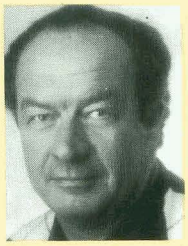
Powerful Revisionism on Video
Highlights From the Eleventh IHR Conference

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 juicier 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 "Battleship Auschwitz," **Ivor Benson** on the Bolshevik Revolution, **Joseph Halow** 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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The Journal of Historical Review

Volume 14, Number 3 May / June 1994

Twelfth IHR Conference Set for September

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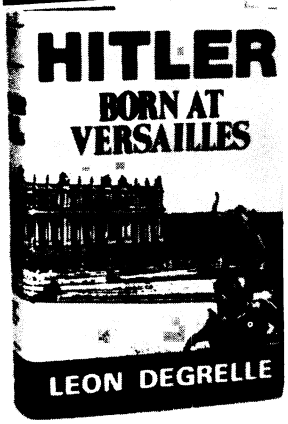

To understand the Genesis of the Second World War, you need a straightforward History of the First World War and its Consequences.

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by Leon Degrelle — 568 pages, Hardcover, 37 photos, ISBN 0-939484-25-0. $24.95 + $3 postage. Calif. residents add 7.75% sales tax.

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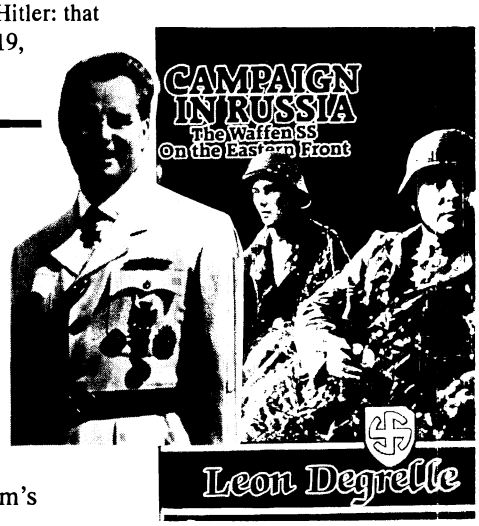
Author Leon Degrelle, a highly decorated combat veteran and a former confidante of the German Fuehrer at the height of his power, has exploited long-neglected documents in this comprehensive history of the war that ignited what he calls "The Hitler Century," the modern Iron Age of total war and fragile peace. His findings smash once and for all the myth of German war guilt. Degrelle argues with passion and eloquence that the corrupt leaders of France's Third Republic, the power-hungry intriguers of Pan-Slavism, the buccaneers of British imperialism, and the shadowy eminences of international finance and world Zionism unleashed and prolonged the carnage. He also unveils the sordid postwar maneuvers of the West's intellectually and morally bankrupt leaders, as they carved up a prostrate central Europe wracked by the alien contagion of Bolshevism.

The reader will learn the sinister secret of Sarajevo and the real culprits who sent the *Lusitania* to its doom: he'll penetrate the gloom that shrouds the *real* origins of today's Mideast conflict; he'll discover the hidden forces that brought Communism to Russia. He'll slog with British Tommies, French Poilus and German Landsers through the muck of Passchendaele and Verdun: ride with Lawrence through Arabia's sun-dazzled sands: plot with Lenin and a handful of conspirators in Zurich and St. Petersburg: battle Bolsheviks in furious street fights in Munich and Berlin. And the reader will grasp the key to the secret origins of Adolf Hitler: that the Third Reich's leader was born, not in Austria in 1889, but in 1919, at Versailles.

AN ELECTRIFYING BATTLEFIELD SAGA UNLIKE ANYTHING YOU'VE EVER READ! Leon Degrelle's
CAMPAIGN IN RUSSIA: The Waffen SS on the Eastern Front



***Through the epic of the Belgian volunteers—one unit among a hundred others—it is the entire Russian front which is going to come into view once more . . . Out there in the endless steppes, men lived. You, reader, friend or enemy—watch them come back to life; for we are living in a period when one must look very hard to find real men, and they were that to the very marrow of their bones, as you are going to see.*— LEON DEGRELLE**

At the outbreak of the Second World War, Leon Degrelle was the youthful leader of Belgium's most dynamic political movement.

When Germany and her Axis allies attacked the Soviet Union in June 1941, Degrelle enthusiastically joined what he and millions of others saw as a pan-European crusade to crush Communism. His proposal to raise a volunteer battalion of fellow French-speaking Walloons to win a place of honor for Belgium in Hitler's new Europe was quickly accepted by the Germans.

Turning down an invitation to begin as an officer in the newly formed combat unit, he instead chose to start as a private, sharing all the burdens of his comrades. When he departed for military service at the age of 35, he had never fired a weapon. Cynics predicted that he would return on the next train. Instead, he rose through the ranks to become commander of the unit known as the 28th SS Division "Wallonia."

As a result of the extraordinary courage and leadership he showed on the Narva front in Estonia, he became the first non-German to be awarded the coveted Oak Leaves to the Knight's Cross. Hitler personally bestowed the honor.

Of the first 800 Walloon volunteers who left for the Eastern front, only three survived the war, one of them Degrelle, who was wounded seven times during the course of his three and a half years of combat. All told, some 2,500 Walloons fell against the Soviets.

A gifted writer, Degrelle's account of his comrades' experiences in the bloody, freezing hell that was the eastern front is told with graphic and astringent force. First published in French, *Campaign in Russia* is an important eyewitness memoir of the most titanic military clash in history. This gripping saga of duty, death and fierce combat against numerically superior Soviet forces has won enthusiastic acclaim from readers around the world.

CAMPAIGN IN RUSSIA: The Waffen SS on the Eastern Front by Leon Degrelle has an introduction by Theodore O'Keefe. Clothbound, 360 pages, $17.95 + $2.00 postage. Calif. residents please add 7.75% sales tax. ISBN 0-939484-18-8

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On the Cover: In a scene from Steven Spielberg's new movie, "Schindler's List," German businessman Oskar Schindler (played by Liam Neeson, left) and Jewish accountant Itzhak Stern (played by Ben Kingsley) assemble the list of more than a thousand Jews to be placed under Schindler's protection.

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. *The Journal of Historical Review* is published six times yearly by the **Institute for Historical Review**, P.O. Box 4296, Torrance, CA 90510, USA. Subscription price: $40 per year, $65 for two years, and $90 for three years. For foreign subscriptions, add $10 per year. For overseas airmail delivery, add $30 per year. Remittances for subscriptions must be payable in US dollars drawable on a US bank.

Single issues — Spring 1986 (Volume 7) to the present — are available for sale for $7.50 each, plus $1.05 shipping. Back issues of the *Journal* are also available for purchase in hardbound annual volumes for the years 1984, 1985, 1986, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991 and 1992, for $35.00 each. Please write for our booklist and prices. Quantity subscription and bulk issue rates are available upon request.

Appropriate manuscripts are welcomed by the Editor. They should be double-spaced and accompanied by return postage. Especially welcome are submissions on IBM-compatible or Macintosh computer diskette. Please address all correspondence to P.O. Box 2739, Newport Beach, CA 92659

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Twelfth IHR Conference Set for September

Leading Revisionist Historians and Activists To Meet in Southern California Over Labor Day Weekend

Scholars, activists and friends of the Institute for Historical Review are scheduled to meet over Labor Day weekend, September 3–5, in southern California for the IHR's Twelfth International Revisionist Conference. Highlighting the roster of speakers will be bestselling historian **David Irving**, French revisionist scholar **Robert Faurisson**, and German-Canadian revisionist activist **Ernst Zündel**.

Closer Cooperation

This forthcoming Conference highlights the ever closer cooperation between revisionist scholars, activists, publicists and supporters. No one better personifies this spirit than the German-born, Toronto-based **Ernst Zündel**. There's scarcely a revisionist who's accomplished as much — through his publishing efforts as chief of Samisdat Publishers; through his longtime media activism in Canada, Germany, and now, through his ambitious television and radio network, around the globe; and above all through his two trials in Toronto under Canada's repressive "false news" statute, which ended with Canada's highest court throwing out as unconstitutional the strange law under which he was twice convicted.

Zündel's two "Holocaust trials" (1985 and 1988) generated storms of publicity for the revisionist view, and brought breakthroughs for historical revisionism and free speech. In courageously choosing to defend himself by forthrightly attacking the historicity of the Holocaust story, Zündel organized a mountain of evidence and expert testimony. Much of this was presented for the first time at his trials, including that of Fred Leuchter (whose forensic study of the Auschwitz "gas chambers" was commissioned by Zündel).

Zündel's appearance at an IHR conference has been long awaited: after speaking at the inaugural Conference in 1979, he was scheduled as a guest at both the Eighth (1987) and the Eleventh (1992) conferences, only to be turned back at the border each time by US customs officials. (Because he has had no trouble recently visiting the US, including a brief stay at the IHR's offices, we are confident that he will appear as scheduled in September.)

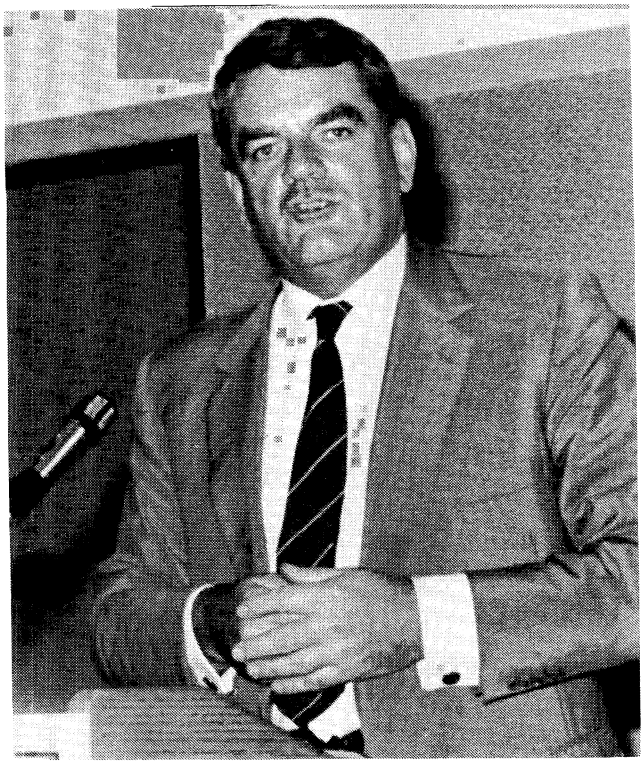
Robert Faurisson, a university professor with an established reputation in French literature, has for several decades now carried out research on every aspect of the Holocaust story. His numerous meticulously researched articles on aspects of the Holocaust issue have led to a series of draining trials and physical attacks in France, including a nearly fatal beating in 1990. More than anyone, he inspired France's repressive July 1990 law criminalizing challenges to the factuality of the Holocaust story. He has audaciously challenged the Holocaust lobby in Sweden, Canada, and in French courts.

Dr. Faurisson will lecture on the significance of the documents on Auschwitz and other German camps that have recently emerged after years of suppression from Moscow archives. He will explain how French researcher Jean-Claude Pressac has misrepresented many of these documents in his much-discussed recent book.

English historian **David Irving** will bring attendees up to date on his startling discoveries about the "Final Solution" and other key historical issues from the complete diaries of Hitler's propaganda chief Joseph Goebbels. Irving, who played a major role in bringing these long-suppressed diaries to light, will also brief attendees on the increasingly

Dr. Robert Faurisson (left) and Dr. Robert Countess at the special IHR meeting in suburban Washington, DC, April 21, 1993.

frantic global campaign to muzzle him (and other Holocaust revisionists), whether by attempting to deny him entry to Australia and Italy, by convicting



David Irving

him for his revisionist views in Germany, or by pressuring bookstores in Britain that sell his works by vandalism and boycott. Irving, one of the world's most prolific and bestselling historians, is author of such acclaimed works as *The Destruction of Dresden*, *Hitler's War*, *The Trail of the Fox*, and *Uprising!*.

Scholars

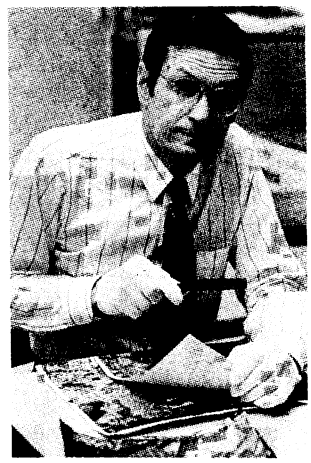
Professor **H. W. Koch**, an internationally recognized specialist of German history who teaches at the University of York (England), will speak on the origins of the Second World War. He is the author of numerous scholarly articles and several books, including *A History of Prussia*, *Hitler Youth: Origins and Development 1922–1945* and *A Constitutional History of Germany in the 19th and 20th Centuries*. He is also editor of and contributor to *Aspects of the Third Reich*, a 611–page quasi-revisionist anthology (published in 1985 by St. Martin's Press). With his impressive mastery of German history and his courageous engagement for historical truth, Dr. Koch's lecture should be particularly memorable.

Anthony Martin, Professor of Africana studies at Wellesley College (Massachusetts), will describe the storm of controversy that was set off because he included readings on the Jewish involvement in the trans-Atlantic slave trade in his survey course on African-American history. His "response to the unprincipled attacks, defamatory statements, assaults on my livelihood and physical threats" was a book, *The Jewish Onslaught: Despatches from the Wellesley Battlefront*, which has been selling briskly. A widely recognized specialist of African American history, Dr. Martin has authored or compiled and edited eleven books.

Michael Shermer, Adjunct Assistant Professor of History of Science at Occidental College in Los Angeles, appeared with David Cole on the recent "Donahue Show" broadcast devoted to Holocaust revisionism. Shermer is editor of *Skeptic* magazine, which counts prominent historians and educators among its readership. In an editorial in issue No. 2, 1993, he wrote: "I believe that skeptics should investigate the Holocaust revisionists. By 'investigate' I mean doing a rational skeptical analysis of their claims and the evidence for them. . . . It is time to move beyond name calling and lay the evidence out on the table." Shermer plans to devote considerable space to Holocaust revisionism in forthcoming issues of *Skeptic*.

Because Shermer has been critical of the revisionist view, his proposal to speak at the IHR Conference was accepted with some hesitation. It was felt, though, that attendees would appreciate an opportunity to hear this non-revisionist present his case, and perhaps witness a lively exchange of thoughtful views.

John Ball, a mineral exploration geologist from British Columbia, will speak about his research and professional evaluation of wartime aerial photography, providing devastating new insights into the suppressed history of Auschwitz and other alleged German death camps. Ball has gathered, studied, and published scores of long suppressed aerial reconnaissance photographs of Auschwitz, Treblinka, Belzec, Majdanek, Sobibor, and other German camps. His expert analysis of these wartime photos sheds new light on what actually did and didn't happen at these camps, providing valuable new data and insights against the Holocaust extermination story. Ball will illustrate his presentation with slides of wartime aerial photos, including some of the Plaszow camp, which featured prominently in Spielberg's "Schindler's List." Ball will expose numerous factual lies of the widely-acclaimed movie.



John Ball

Fred Leuchter is America's foremost expert on the design and operation of execution hardware, and the author of the history-making technical study that demolishes the Auschwitz gassing myth. He will update conference guests on his ordeal last fall at the hands of German "justice," and on the trial that awaits him in Germany for daring to speak openly about his history-making forensic investigation of alleged "gas chambers."

No American has suffered more as a result of his dissident views on the Holocaust story. Because he has refused to lie under oath about his professional on-site investigation of the Auschwitz "gas chambers," he lost his livelihood and was dragged to court to face criminal charges in the United States, and then was arrested last fall and cast into jail for a month in Germany for violating that nation's absurd law criminalizing dissenting views about the Auschwitz extermination story.

Activists

Bradley Smith, longtime head of IHR's Media Project and director of the Committee for Open Debate on the Holocaust (CODOH), will share his experiences in defying ADL censorship to bring revisionist facts and arguments to hundreds of thousands of students and professors as part of his highly successful Campus Project. He will speak about his headline-making campaign to place revisionist advertisements in scores of student papers across America.

Since the IHR's last Conference, Smith has become something of a national media celebrity. In addition to numerous appearances as a guest on radio talk shows, Smith has appeared as a guest on the "Donahue Show," was featured on CBS's "48 Hours" and appeared on "60 Minutes." Moreover, he was the subject of nationally broadcast discussions by the likes of Pat Buchanan and Gordon Liddy, and of major articles in *Time*, *The New York Times*, and of *Newsday* and of columns by journalists such as syndicated columnist William Buckley and the *Washington Post*'s Richard Cohen.

Prof. Tony Martin

And why not? As attendees at past conferences know, Bradley is as personable as he is effective, and the public appearance of this playwright, memoirist, former merchant seaman, deputy sheriff, and combat infantryman are always rich in anecdote, insight and information.

David Cole, an increasingly effective voice for Holocaust revisionism, returns to preview his promising second video on alleged wartime German killing facilities, "The Gas Chambers: A Look at the Physical Evidence." Last year, in association with Smith, he produced the blockbuster video "Cole Interviews Dr. Franciszek Piper," in which the curator of the Auschwitz State Museum admits on film that the "gas chamber" shown to tourists there is actually a postwar reconstruction. (So effective is this video that Israeli Holocaust historian Yehuda Bauer described it as "powerful.")

This youthful Jewish filmmaker has also proven himself an effective spokesman for the revisionist view in television appearances on the "Donahue," "Montel Williams," and "Morton Downey" shows, as well as a memorable speaker, as he proved at IHR's Eleventh Conference.

David Cole (left) with Michael Shermer, during their recent appearances on the "Donahue" show.

IHR Editorial Advisor **Dr. Robert Countess,** an ordained minister as well as a former college-level instructor in history, will update attendees on his wide-ranging activism since the Eleventh Conference.

For security reasons, we cannot yet reveal the identity of this year's **Mystery Speaker**, except to state that he is a highly qualified technician from Europe whose study of the alleged mass-murder "gas chambers" at Auschwitz confirms that these facilities were not and could not have been used to kill people as claimed. His dramatic findings corroborate and strengthen the findings of the Institute of Forensic Research in Krakow (Poland) and of Leuchter and other qualified investigators.

"Mystery speakers" at previous IHR conferences have included Pulitzer prize-winning American historian John Toland, German combat veteran and historian General Otto Ernst Remer, and Wolf-Rüdiger Hess, son of the Third Reich's Deputy Führer.

IHR Staff

As usual, IHR staff members will feature prominently on the rostrum.

Serving as Master of Ceremonies this year will be **Greg Raven**, Associate Editor of the IHR *Journal*. He has devoted his considerable writing, editing, and computer skills to virtually every aspect of the IHR's work since he began work here in September 1992.

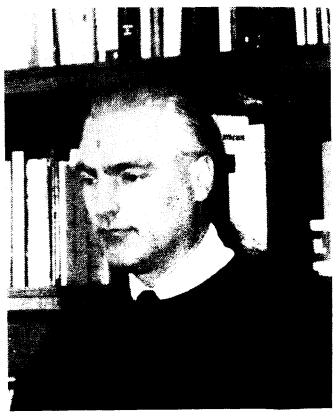
Journal Editor **Mark Weber** will once again deliver the keynote address, summing up IHR and revisionism's achievements since the previous conference, and outlining present and future challenges. Weber will share with attendees his own considerable recent experiences.

IHR editor **Ted O'Keefe** will dedicate the Twelfth Conference to the memory of the late American historian and journalist, William Henry Chamberlin. Chamberlin is perhaps best known to contemporary revisionists for his *America's Second Crusade*, a critical history of America's involvement and role in the Second World War. His three-volume history of the Russian Revolution is still a standard work. As a reporter for the *Christian Science Monitor* in the 1930s, Chamberlin was one of the few journalists to accurately report on the contrived Soviet famine in Russia and Ukraine.

Institute Director **Tom Marcellus** will report to conference attendees on IHR business and organizational development since the Eleventh Conference in 1992, including the background and current situation arising from the termination last September of the IHR's association with Willis Carto.

Growing Impact

In the period since the IHR's very successful Eleventh Conference in October 1992, historical revisionism — and in particular the branch that seeks to determine the facts about the so-called "Holocaust" — has become widely known across America and around the world. Spearheaded by the Institute for Historical Review, the persistent efforts of revisionists around the world to research and publicize suppressed facts about key chapters of twentieth century history — often at great personal cost, as readers of this *Journal* well know — have at last established a permanent media beachhead.



Greg Raven

Television, radio, the print media are now coming to *us* — and while their coverage continues to be overwhelmingly hostile and often grotesquely distorted, the fact of Holocaust revisionism has lodged itself irrevocably in the public consciousness. And, as recent opinion polls suggest, a large and growing number of Americans have begun to doubt the orthodox Holocaust extermination story — in spite of a relentless Holocaust media campaign.

Tom Marcellus

The courage and perseverance of revisionist scholars and publicists in achieving this recent breakthrough has brought an important policy change within the Holocaust Lobby. After years of superciliously pretending to ignore revisionists' scholarly findings, while entrusting the job of destroying revisionism to Zionist watchdogs such as the ADL in the United States, and to courts and police abroad, the Lobby's spokesmen have at long last been forced to attempt to answer revisionist arguments directly. One sign of this development has been the appearance, to predictable media hosannas, of Deborah Lipstadt's *Denying the Holocaust* (reviewed in the Nov.–Dec. 1993 *Journal*), as well as of Jean-Claude Pressac's book-length responses to revisionist research. This shift — from blackout to "exposure" to attempted refutation — is also manifest in many of the recent newspaper and magazine articles dealing with various aspects of the Holocaust story, including much of the publicity for the US Holocaust Memorial Museum, and for Spielberg's "Schindler's List."

Smears and Legal Repression

Despite the success of the IHR and its allies in publicizing the results of revisionist scholarship, and in pressing the Holocaust Lobby onto the defensive, revisionists remain the targets of a formidable array of repressive laws and practices in several countries. Laws preventing revisionists' freedom of speech and expression, their exclusion from various countries, and the failure of authorities to punish physical attacks against of revisionists — all these remain a hard, oppressive reality with which revisionist researchers and publicists abroad must cope at great expense in time, money, and sometimes personal liberty. And yet, this persecution is a sure sign of progress because it underscores the essential weakness of the Holocaust edifice, and points up the fearful desperation of the traditional enemies of truth.

A Unique Opportunity

As attendees of previous gatherings can attest, an IHR Conference is a unique event: uplifting, informative, and enjoyable. Nothing matches the opportunity to not only see and hear, but to meet personally and chat with revisionist scholars and activists from around the world, the men and women who, often at great personal cost, have led and continue to lead the world-wide crusade for truth about the most tabooed aspects of twentieth century history.

If you'd like to experience the thrill of historical discovery, the inspiration of selfless combat for historical truth, and the camaraderie of revisionists from around the world, plan to be there for IHR's Twelfth Conference.

Register Today!

The Twelfth IHR Conference will be held over Labor Day weekend — Saturday through Monday, September 3–5, 1994 — in the greater Los Angeles area. The precise site will be announced later to attendees.

The regular registration fee (after July 15) is $355 per person, and $275 per additional family member. (Earlybird registration is $325 per person, and $250 per additional family member.) Previous IHR Conference attendees can reserve their place simply by remitting the registration fee (payable by personal check, money order, Visa or Mastercard).

Those who have not previously attended an IHR Conference should first fill out and submit a Conference application form. (A form is being mailed out with this issue of the *Journal*. Additional forms can be obtained from the IHR office.)

Sponsored by the Institute for Historical Review, the Conference is a private meeting. We reserve the right to refuse admission to anyone.

Space is limited, so reserve your place now!

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!

Holocaust survivor and author Albert Kawachi

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Published by INSTITUTE FOR HISTORICAL REVIEW

Spielberg's "Schindler's List"

"Schindler's List." Based on the novel by Thomas Keneally. Screenplay by Steven Zaillian. Director of Photography, Janusz Kaminski. Music by John Williams. Produced by Steven Spielberg, Gerald R. Molen and Branko Lustig. Directed by Steven Spielberg. Universal Pictures. An Amblin Entertainment production. MPAA rating "R." Running time: 185 minutes.

Reviewed by Greg Raven

Even before its release, reports in the media called "Schindler's List" a shoo-in for any number of awards. Later, after a pre-release screening of this latest Steven Spielberg movie, Holocaust survivors (some of whom claimed to have been on the list to which the movie's title refers) proclaimed that the film exactly depicted how things had been nearly 50 years ago in Eastern Europe.

In the months since its release in December 1993, "Schindler's List" has indeed garnered many awards, and hundreds — if not thousands — of others have joined in citing this film as being so true to life that anyone could learn from watching. Here, we are told, is the final answer to those who "deny the Holocaust."

Once its veneer of political-correctness is stripped away, however, "Schindler's List" can be seen for what it is — a failure both as a movie and as a record of a historical event. What is surprising is the extent to which it fails.

Director/producer Spielberg worked on "Schindler's List" for ten years, starting soon after finishing "E.T.: The Extraterrestrial" in 1983. Spielberg learned about the Holocaust from his grandparents, who, according to Spielberg, "constantly spoke about the Holocaust" even though they were not affected by it personally. He now says, "I've been preparing for this film my whole life," although he alternately claims to have discovered his Jewishness during the making of the film.

While Spielberg has made a few films that did not catch the public's imagination ("1941," "Color Purple," "Empire of the Sun," "Hook"), he still rates as one of the most successful directors of all times: "Jurassic Park," "E.T.," "Jaws," "Close Encounters of the Third Kind," "Raiders of the Last Ark" (another film with Nazi bad guys), the "Back to the Future" trilogy, and "Who Framed Roger Rabbit?". His films have out-grossed even those of his contemporary, George Lucas. If any director could make a film about the Holocaust and manage to combine realism and popular appeal, it should have been Spielberg. Spielberg, who also put his own money into its production, is a filmmaker at the top of his form, dealing with a topic near to his heart. Rather than telling a story with universal meaning, however, Spielberg has instead made what can only be called a "Jewish" film; that is, a film by Jews, about Jews, and for Jews to use against non-Jews.

Technique and Artistry

"Schindler's List" claims to portray the story of German businessman Oskar Schindler (played by Liam Neeson). Schindler is less interested in why the war is being fought and who is winning than he is in the enormous profits to be made. To increase profits even further, he hires only Jews from the nearby Krakow ghetto, the cheapest labor available. Because of his lack of aptitude for the nuts-and-bolts of running a business, Schindler relies on a Jewish accountant, Itzhak Stern (played by Ben Kingsley, who also played the title role in HBO's "Murderers Among Us: The Simon Wiesenthal Story"). As time goes by, Schindler becomes protective of "his" Jews, so much so that when the order is given for the Jews to be deported to camps (which will mean the removal of his, he spends virtually every penny of his by-then tremendous fortune to save "his" Jews from being sent to Auschwitz and elsewhere, even going to the extent of relocating his factory and bribing officials to retain possession of his Jews. In the end, Schindler has little left but his car and the clothes on his back. (He even gives his clothes to one of his workers before driving off to escape the advancing Red army.)

Spielberg peoples his story with Nazis who drink to excess, whore and womanize at every opportunity, offer and accept bribes as a natural part of life during wartime, follow orders without question, and cut every corner that will make their lives easier. The really bad Nazis — that is, those who give the orders rather than merely carry them out — are just as likely to kill a Jew as look at him. While it is normal for filmmakers to caricature individuals, and to portray peripheral groups in a monochromatic way, Spielberg presents all Nazis in a more perfunctory fashion than a biker gang in a B movie. Virtually the only time German is spoken in the film is when someone is barking orders. Schindler's character speaks only English (with a British accent).

A small break in this monotonous racial landscape comes during the clearing of the ghetto, when a German soldier sits at an abandoned piano, playing Mozart beautifully as his comrades seek out and slaughter Jews who hide to avoid relocation. The

message is the same, though: no matter how cultured they may appear, non-Jews cannot be trusted.

The completely amoral mold in which Spielberg forms his Nazis gives rise to a scene in which Schindler, taking pity on the Jewish maid of Plaszow camp commandant Amon Goeth (the film's Evil Nazi), tells her that, in spite of her fears, she will not be killed because Goeth gets pleasure from her presence; the others are killed because they neither please nor displease him.

Spielberg's treatment of Nazis (and, by extension, Germans) is only marginally less masterful than his portrayal of other groups, notably the Jews. While Spielberg goes to great lengths to expose the audience to Jews — including flashing close-ups of Jewish faces on screen while calling out Jewish names — there are few clues as to what motivates anyone to do anything. Stern has a few anxious moments now and again, but usually he simply works at whatever task is at hand. In many ways the best-understood of Spielberg's characters is Goeth's Jewish housekeeper, Helen Hirsch. Even here, we come to know her predominantly through her fright, which seems to be her only emotion.

So flat are Spielberg's characterizations that

In a scene form "Schindler's List," Plaszow camp commandant Amon Goeth (left, played by Ralph Fiennes) converses over glasses of brandy with businessman Oskar Schindler (played by Liam Neeson).

even his protagonist, who it might be argued we are supposed to understand better than most others in the film, is never clearly delineated. As the film begins, Schindler gives every appearance of being an ardent Nazi who is never without his swastika party lapel pin, albeit one whose only motivation is to make suitcases full of money in the wartime economy. As the film progresses, his character undergoes a change of some kind for reasons that are never adequately explained, so that while his outward appearance and mannerisms remain much the same, he gradually comes first to view his Jews as more than interchangeable ciphers, and eventually as equals. Toward the end of the film Schindler goes so far as to admonish a rabbi for not beginning preparations for the Sabbath on a Friday evening, something his Jews have not been allowed to do since they left the ghetto.

At the end, Schindler's character is spending money to save Jews with a fanaticism at which we can only wonder. One is left thinking that this new behavior was part of Schindler's basic character, and would have taken place without any external influences. The Jews themselves do little or nothing to effect the change, just as they do next to nothing to save themselves. Thus, although the theme of the film is "Jews must be saved," the plot is "this Catholic (Schindler) saved some Jews from the Holocaust." The subtext, then, is that the Jews themselves were helpless. In comparison, George Bailey in "It's a Wonderful Life" is a piker next to Oskar Schindler; Bailey learns nothing more than to appreciate and celebrate his own life, while Schindler gets to appreciate and celebrate *Jewish* life. To gild the lily, in the end Schindler torments himself by recalling how much more he could have done to save Jews.

What caused the Schindler character to change so extensively and so quickly? In the absence of other information from Spielberg, one is left to contemplate the possibility that Schindler has gone mad, risking everything (including his life) to save people he barely seems to acknowledge for much of the film.

Spielberg's portrayals of German atrocities against Jews are as unvarying as his characterizations. For Spielberg, Germans are people who shoot Jews. Nazi soldiers line up Jews seven deep so that one rifle bullet will kill them all at once (when the bullet kills "only" the first five, two more pistol bullets are used to dispatch the last in line), then when clearing the ghetto, Nazi soldiers spray bullets around as if they cost nothing. Goeth shoots Jews with his scoped rifle if they move too slowly around his Plaszow camp, or at close range with a pistol to the head. At some level, Spielberg must have realized that all this shooting was too much to be believed, so for "comic relief" he includes a scene in which a Jew is hauled out of a building to be shot. His executioner, Goeth, who seems perfectly capable with weapons in other scenes in the film, cannot get his pistol to fire and seems befuddled as to how it operates. While his two assistants gawk at the pistol as if they had never handled a real one before, Goeth switches to his backup pistol, which also misfires. This brief interlude thus serves as the film's miracle, as well.

Nearly half of the movie was filmed with handheld cameras, to heighten the sense that "Schindler's List" is *cinema verité*. Likewise, virtually the entire film is in black and white, which lends it a "documentary" quality. It is also an effective device

for presenting the story; the film starts in color, then, as the lot of the Jews deteriorates, the colors disappear, not to reappear until the end of the movie when we see that Jews have survived their ordeal.

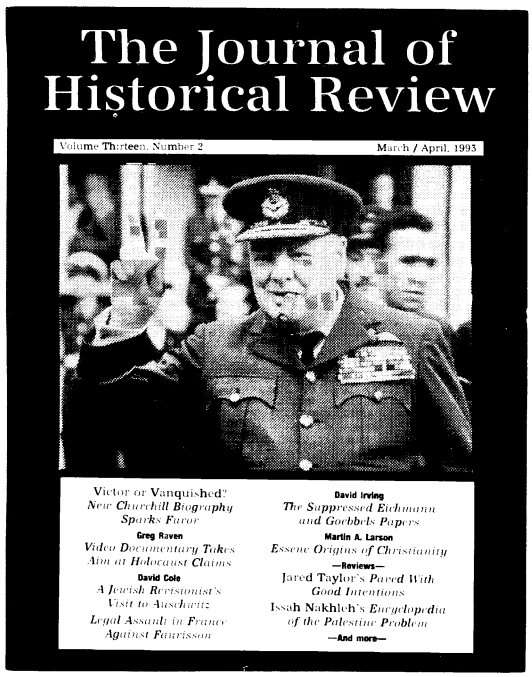
It might be said that for a high-budget director such as Spielberg to use black and white was a gutsy move, except for the fact that once seemingly committed to the black-and-white screen, Spielberg loses his nerve, apparently losing his faith in the audience, and part-way through the film resorts to colorizing the overcoat of a young girl as the camera follows her lonely journey through the Krakow ghetto during its evacuation. Later, we see the same colorized coat on the girl's small corpse, being carried away. For Spielberg to utilize such a trick in attempting to steer the audience's emotions betrays both an insecurity about his subject, and a cynicism about how audiences will react to it.

Spielberg also shows his lack of faith in the audience by including gratuitous nudity. Lots of it. There are enough bare, young female breasts decorating German boudoirs to satisfy most modern moviegoers. Spielberg leaves nothing to chance, however, and in what otherwise could have been one of the films most gripping scenes, has the camera linger voyeuristically on Helen Hirsch, as she pulls off her blouse in the undressing room before entering the shower at Birkenau. In addition, there is a large "selection" scene at the Plaszow concentration camp at which dozens of men and women run around naked. In spite of the film's R rating, Spielberg is pushing to have high school students view it.

Portraying History

Hollywood is not known for its accurate depictions of historical events. "Schindler's List" is no exception. Only someone with a twisted worldview or some sort of mental disability would expect a Hollywood production to be faithful to events as they occurred. Thus, we do not expect Spielberg to deal with questions such as whether or not Schindler was working as a Zionist agent. (Mark Weber will deal with this in a forthcoming issue.) Likewise, we do not expect Spielberg to introduce any ambiguities into his examination of Schindler's character by dwelling on his postwar behavior, including the shabby way he treated his wife. Avoiding issues such as these make it easier to tell the story, but they do nothing to enhance the film's historical accuracy.

"Schindler's List" the movie is based on Thomas Keneally's book of the same name, which is clearly presented as a work of fiction, and indexed by the Library of Congress as such. From this novel, writer Steven Zaillian created the screenplay from which Spielberg shot the movie — which we are now told



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is virtually a documentary of what actually happened. To its credit, Universal Pictures goes no farther than advertising the film as "based on a true story."

This is correct, up to a point. There really was an Oskar Schindler who was married to a woman named Emilie. There was also an Amon Goeth, a factory by the name of *Deutsche Emailwaren Fabrik*, and a camp by the name of Plaszow. Most everything else is made up, or altered to fit the needs of the story. One good example is that whereas the film's Schindler is penniless at the end of the war, in reality he had piles of money when he went into hiding.

Regardless of whether "Schindler's List" is fact or fiction, there are a number of scenes that cannot be explained, and indeed, Spielberg makes little effort to do so. During the relocation of the Jews to the Krakow ghetto, for example, Spielberg introduces a bag of gold-inlaid teeth into the area where the luggage and belongings are being sorted. How and why this collection found its way to the heart of the city is a mystery unless we are to believe that one of the Jews had it in his luggage, but that is clearly not what Spielberg intended to imply. Later, at the Plaszow camp, Spielberg shows a pile of burning corpses so large that a conveyor belt is required to add new bodies to the top, the implication being that bodies burn like cord wood, which of course they do not. Also at Plaszow, a team of German doctors, their white coats accessorized with stethoscopes, conduct a "selection" to see who is healthy enough to live and who is to die, only they are so incompetent that they did not know to keep the healthy inmates and "select" the unhealthy. After such scenes, Spielberg demolishes any remaining pretensions he had to technical accuracy by depicting a crematory chimney at Auschwitz spewing smoke and flame, which crematories are specially constructed *not* to do.

Spielberg also blurs the line between fact and fiction by referring to factual matters in a fictional way. For example, he has Stern use the phrase "special treatment" as if it could only mean "death," even though Schindler has previously used the word in a completely benign context. Lice and typhus are also mentioned as if they were minor inconveniences, and not the life-threatening scourge they are.

Spielberg the Revisionist

On the three-hour-long canvas on which Spielberg presents what is being called the latest in a string of "ultimate" answers to the "deniers," the larger story of an overall policy to exterminate Europe's Jews is relegated no more than a few moments toward the end of the film, almost as an afterthought. In "Schindler's List," a Birkenau shower room turns out to be a shower room after all, and not the gas chamber it is rumored to be in an earlier scene in the women's barracks (in the movie, Birkenau is referred to as Auschwitz). Director Spielberg, who can make spaceships, aliens, and dinosaurs seem real and even lifelike, not only fails to show us a credible Nazi gas chamber, he seems to suggest that the wartime rumors of gas chambers were just that — rumors.

Spielberg presents his version of the extermination of Europe's Jews obliquely in the closing minutes of the film through two transparent contrivances. The first is an impassioned but uncharacteristic speech by Schindler to his workers, in which he alludes to the fact that many of their friends and family have been killed. (This scene comes after the scene in which Schindler seems unaware of the ominous "secret" meaning of the term, "special treatment.") The second is a question by Stern, put to the lone Soviet soldier who "liberates" the factory in Czechoslovakia where Schindler's Jews have been working: out of nowhere, Stern asks the Soviet officer if there are any Jews left in Poland. There is no explanation as to why he would ask such a question, but the implication is that the only way a Polish Jew could have survived was if he had been one of Schindler's Jews. More to the point, the audience is expected not to question why Spielberg had to employ these awkward expositions to deal with a subject that is claimed to be the most documented event in history.

At the same time, Spielberg avoids repeating other common Holocaust claims: Germans do not use babies for target practice or throw them out of windows for fun, people are not forced to stand for hours naked in freezing weather, people are not tortured, there are no medical experiments, and no one throws himself on the electrified fencing to commit suicide.

"Schindler's List" also contains several surprising scenes: Jews are shown before the war as being prosperous, so much so that Schindler, a man who prides himself on being accustomed to the better things in life, is impressed at the finery he inherits by taking over the apartment of a Jewish family after they are relocated to the ghetto; in the Plaszow camp, men and women routinely commingle, and the inmates conduct a Jewish wedding one night after work; Jews are shown cooperating at virtually every level in the process of oppressing their own people; young Jewish men engage in black-market activities (in a Catholic church!); and in the ghetto and the camp, Jews unaccountably have hundreds of previously prepared hiding places when soldiers come to round them up.

Best "Holocaust" film ever?

It is clear that "Schindler's List" has won its acclaim not because of its artistry but because of its politically-correct content and message. Spielberg has used the publicity surrounding it to set himself up as a kind of guardian of the Holocaust story.

Events have shown, however, that the more light is thrown on the Holocaust story, the more people will ask questions about it — questions that neither Spielberg nor this film can answer.

"Swindler's List"

Doug Collins

A Prophecy

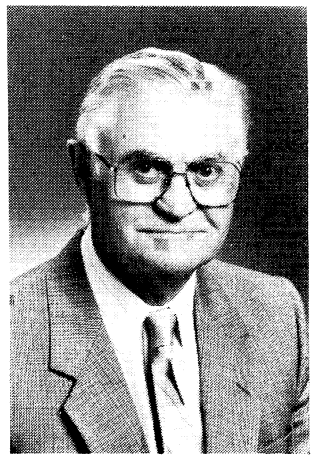
Prophecy is risky. But today [March 9] I prophesy that the Steven Spielberg movie "Schindler's List" will run away with the Academy Awards. I make that forecast without having seen it and without having any intention of doing so, since it must be the 555th movie or TV program on the "holocaust."

Fifty years after the war one tires of hate literature in the form of films. British Columbia schoolchildren are being trooped in to see this effort. In the name of piety, of course. But wasn't it Elie Wiesel, a major holocaust propagandist, who said the world should never stop hating the Germans? Such indoctrination goes on even though Germans born after 1925 or so are no more responsible for the Hitler period than are the Eskimos.

Why we are getting such an overdoes of a bad thing? One reason is that it is profitable in more ways than one. Billions of dollars are still being paid out in compensation to Israel and "survivors," of whom there seem to be an endless number — paid out by those same Germans who were not responsible for Hitler. Anyway, "Swindler's List" will hit the Academy bell because Hollywood is Hollywood and what happened to the Jews during the Second World War is not only the longest lasting but also the most effective propaganda exercise ever. It is so effective that the mere mention of Auschwitz makes even babes feel guilty. Dr. Goebbels himself couldn't have done any better. And didn't. From his seat in hell he must be envious.

Hardly a day goes by but that press, radio and television don't mention something about the six million. The figure is nonsense, but media folk go on parroting what everyone "knows." I used to do the same. That's the safe way, too, for as a recent [Dec. 1993] article in *Vanity Fair* magazine put it, if you question the official version you can expect trouble. But that's an understatement. You will be damned as "anti-Semitic," racist and even Nazi. After half a century of this the moguls of the movie world reckoned the time was right to cash in a big way. And Spielberg reckoned it was time for him to cash in, too.

"Movie of the year! Spielberg takes on the Holocaust!" screamed the cover-page in *Newsweek* magazine [Dec. 20]. You would have thought the war had just ended and that the film was the biggest event since the Battle of Britain. Critics have fawned on it, especially in the US, where many of them work for Jewish-owned media and know how to adjust their safety belts. Others simply reflect what they have been programmed to reflect. Only one critic has described Spielberg's effort as three hours of propaganda. He was with the Jewish-owned *New York Times*. Good for him. And them. The exception that proves the rule.



Doug Collins

In time of war, propaganda is justified. Fifty years on, it's a bit much. But it comes about because the Jewish influence is the most powerful in Hollywood. One is not supposed to say that, of course. It's the ultimate in political incorrectness. But would it be out of order to say such a thing if the Catholics ran Hollywood and we got a stream of Catholic propaganda? I don't think so.

There have been many holocausts but most of them had hardly warranted a paragraph, let alone movies. Has anyone ever made a film about the two million Armenians killed by the Turks? Or the slaughter of 500,000 Indonesians? How about the uprooting of ten million Germans from their homes in East Prussia and Silesia, the murdering of tens of thousands of them by the Red Army and the raping of their women, young and old? In August 1945, Winston Churchill warned that terrible things were happening. I myself watched masses of desperate refugees steaming into the British Zone of Occupation. (And yes, I know what the Germans did to the Russians.)

The Japanese were also skilled in the killing game. Didn't they murder countless Chinese? And Brits and Aussies remember how prisoners were worked and starved to death. And beheaded. But there has been only one movie on the miseries of life and death in South East Asia — "Bridge on the

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Doug Collins, a native of the United Kingdom, served with the British army during the Second World War, and then with the British control commission in postwar occupied Germany. An award-winning journalist, he has worked for several Canadian daily newspapers. His career has also included work in television and radio. He is the author of several books. Collins' presentation at the Tenth IHR Conference was published in the Fall 1991 *Journal*. The two essays published here are reprinted with permission from his columns in the *North Shore News* (North Vancouver, British Columbia) of March 9 and March 23.

River Kwai." Certainly, there has been no constant propaganda barrage. So now it's all licky-licky for the Japanese. But not for the Germans.

Am I suggesting that Hitler wasn't Hitler or that hundreds of thousands of Jews didn't die in the camps and elsewhere, as did many non-Jews? No. But propaganda is selective and Hollywood propaganda is the most selective of all. So I won't be watching the Academy Awards. Let me know if my little prediction is wrong.

"Crossing the Bounds"

Regular readers may remember that I did a column recently on the movie "Schindler's List," in which I hewed to the view that I was tired of holocaust propaganda. I called it Swindler's List, since even the wife of the dead hero has said that he was a scoundrel. But right away, the Canadian Jewish Congress was on its feet calling for blood. My blood. In Toronto, the CJC's Bernie Farber said I had "clearly crossed the bounds of decency." Well, I'm damned. Nearer home, Michael Elterman of the Pacific Region of the CJC said the Congress was "pondering legal action."

Once mustn't criticize their favorite movie, you see. Still less must you question the six million story. Not that mine was a movie criticism per se. As I pointed out, I had no intention of seeing it. What I was criticizing was Hollywood's ever-flowing stream, this being about the 555th film on the same topic.

So I fear I am now listed as an anti-Semite, a description designed to put the evil eye on critics and shut them up. I am in distinguished company. President George Bush was an anti-Semite when he failed to deliver a $10 billion loan to Israel quickly enough. (Israeli cabinet minister calls Bush liar, anti-Semite — news story of Sept. 16, 1991.)

Presidential candidate Pat Buchanan came in for it, too, when he referred to the American capital as "Israeli-occupied territory." And he is another "holocaust denier." Columnist Joseph Sobran is also a villain. His stuff goes to 70 US newspapers, and he has dared to say that there is NO particular "holocaust." This had been a century of holocausts. "We are kidding ourselves," he wrote, "if we talk as it there was anything unique about what the Nazis did." And Sobran has a definition of anti-Semitism that is different from Elterman's. He says an anti-Semite used to be someone who hated Jews. Now it is anyone who is hated BY Jews.

Let me stress that there are plenty of Jews who might be considered to be "anti-Semites" in that they don't wholly hew to the party line. How about Rabbi Eli Hecht, who reviewed the film for the *Los Angeles Times*? His article [Jan. 2] was headed, "When will Jews let it rest?"

Michael N. Dobkowski is a professor of religious studies and has had this to say [quoted in the Jan.-Feb. 1993 *Journal*, p. 11], long before the film was made:

> Too many books are written on the Holocaust. There are too many films and television plays that exploit the subject . . . There may be, in fact, be "no business like Shoah [holocaust] business." . . . The popularization and commercialization of the Holocaust is not only unhistorical but anti-historical.

Frank Rich, movie critic for the *New York Times*, and a Jew, accepts the six million story but wasn't too keen on the Spielberg movie. He mentioned [*New York Times*, Jan 2] the "pseudo-documentary camera work" and said that "'Schindler's List' is the (Jewish) culture's new Messiah: the antidote to the terrifying 1993 Roper Organization poll in which 22 percent of the American public expressed doubt that the Nazi extermination of the Jews actually happened." In this case "antidote" is another word for propaganda.

The propaganda is relentless, and includes the "Holocaust Museum" in Washington. And what did other Jews have to say about that? Writing in *The Washington Post* [April 18, 1993] when the Museum was opened, Melvin J. Bukiet stated:

> It's not Jewish tragedy that's remembered on the Mall this week; it's Jewish power to which homage is paid.

Quite. For the Jews who died in the camps and were persecuted in Europe were not Americans. They were foreigners. By that measure, there should be about ten "Holocaust museums" in the American capital.

In today's press, the power referred to by Bukiet is reflected in the silence of the media lambs and the lambs of academe. You have to look to relatively small publications for much of the countervailing material. Consider the comment by associate professor Daniel Vining in the highbrow US magazine *Chronicles* [Sept. 1993] on the situation in the universities:

> Six million is a number like any other number; you would expect to find an exhaustive analysis of it in the statistical and demographical literatures, but you don't. The reason is that it is a taboo subject . . . If you try to find out about the number, your colleagues will shun you. Worse, you might lose your job.

I wish the CJC good luck with its pondering. As you can see, I do a lot of pondering, too. But no pandering.

Incidentally, didn't I predict that "Schindler's List" would sweep the Academy Awards? And didn't I tell you why? Take a bow, Doug.

"There is always hope when people are forced to listen to both sides." — John Stuart Mill

Spielberg's Nazis

JOSEPH SOBRAN

"Cartoon Nazis"

Richard Cohen of *The Washington Post* writes that he is "written-out on the Holocaust. I can think of nothing new to say, no fresh angle.". . . Unlike Señor Cohen, Spielberg has found something fresh to say about the Holocaust. But then Spielberg is a genius, who even finds fresh ways of imagining dinosaurs. Why should we have assumed that his imagination was confined to children's stories?

The new film's hero, Oskar Schindler, was, in real life, a Christian, albeit a lapsed Catholic. Spielberg has come under attack by some Jewish groups for making a Holocaust movie with a Christian hero. He himself is an Orthodox Jew. But his artistic instinct told him that the most moving of virtues is charity, just as the most dramatic is courage: Schindler's rescue of his Jewish workers combined both virtues.

The film may serve as something of an antidote to the short film shown at the Holocaust Museum that recently opened in Washington, which blames anti-Semitism and ultimately the Holocaust itself on Christianity. The theme that Christianity is the cause of the Holocaust has been adopted by some Jews; essays making this argument can be found in back issues of *Commentary* magazine, for example.

The thesis that Christianity is the cause of the Holocaust would have more immediate plausibility of Hitler and his circle had been believing or observant Christians, instead of stunted Wagnerians. They subscribed, rather spectacularly, to the cults of race and state. But why were they able to enlist the support of so many people who didn't fully share their eccentric enthusiasms?

No doubt there were many factors, including the widespread belief in eugenics and "racial science." But one factor that mustn't be overlooked was Communism — or, as it was widely called, "Jewish Bolshevism" (or "Judeo-Bolshevism"). Europe had a good idea of what was going on under the Communists, a recent study, *Lethal Politics* by R.J. Rummel, puts the number of dead in the Soviet Union at about 17 million by 1935 — a record Hitler was never to approach. (Rummel conservatively estimates the total from 1917 to 1987 at 61,911,000.)

Though most Jews had nothing to do with this, Jews were highly visible as both leaders and supporters of Communist movements everywhere. Red revolutions erupted, with varying success, in Germany, Hungary, and Romania. Europe was terrified, and many blamed "the Jews" *tout court*.

So when the German state began rounding Jews up, without, of course, announcing their destiny, ordinary Germans accepted the mass incarceration of people they saw as enemies, real or potential, in the same way ordinary Americans, a few years later, accepted the mass incarceration of Japanese-Americans they saw as potential traitors.

Morally, the murder of 17 million Christians doesn't justify the arrest, let along the murder, of a single innocent Jew. But the point is not to justify, but to explain, just as a detective looks for the motive in a murder without wishing to excuse the murderer. The discovery that the murdered woman was a nag or an adulteress may make everything fall into place, implicating her husband, but hardly vindicates him.

Joseph Sobran

In the Holocaust, we know who the murderers and their accessories were. But what was their motive? Were they, *in their own minds*, avenging the crucifixion, or responding to something more contemporary? It seems overwhelmingly obvious that the latter was the case.

On the one hand, we are told that the Holocaust was a central event in history; on the other hand, it is so often taken out of history and present abstractly, even sentimentally. We are given to understand that very bad people did very bad things, for no particular reason, and that they enjoyed popular support when they did them! So one of the colossal crimes of history is made to sound like the most *unmotivated* act of all time. Spielberg's earlier movies were accused of showing "cartoon Nazis." Well, what other kind of Nazis do we ever see? Even the most sophisticated films tend to represent Nazism as puppy-kicking raised to the nth power — a sin of sheer cruelty that could never have tempted ordinarily decent people. The scary thing is that it did. So did Communism. Even monsters need lots of little helpers.

A Somber Escape Flick

I regret to say that I found Steven Spielberg's acclaimed "Schindler's List," the story of the Nazi industrialist who saved the lives of a thousand Jews who worked for him, disappointing. First, the obtrusive obscenity. Not much, but enough to stain the movie. Second, the Nazis are just standard movie Nazis. The chief Nazi officer, Amon Goeth (brilliantly played by Ralph Fiennes), is given a few

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Joseph Sobran is a lecturer, nationally-syndicated columnist and former *National Review* senior editor and critic-at-large. This commentary is taken from columns that originally appeared in the Dec. 23, Feb. 3, and April 7 issues of *The Wanderer*, a traditionalist Roman Catholic weekly.

kinky quirks, and even the hint of a soft side, but this only underlines the sense that the movie's view is just as polemical as Hollywood movies produced during World War II. The moral seems to be that Nazis were cruel men with cruel dogs, and that part of the reason they were cruel (the men, that is) is that they couldn't get in touch with their feelings.

A really original movie might have shown how ordinary people could be drawn into a fanatical movement and induced to cooperate in horrible, systematic atrocities. It might have shown Nazis when they weren't just being Nazis.

Spielberg has tried to move outside the adventure movie, the genre in which he has no rival. But the result is just another kind of adventure movie. To be sure, there are many wonderful touches; the action scenes banish any suspicion the Spielberg's real genius has deserted him. All the same, it's a somber escape flick, a Holocaust epic for the silver screen. In the end it's simply inert. It says nothing in three hours that couldn't be said in two, and the last hour is punishing to sit through.

But having said all that, I want to stress something else. The film is pro-Christian. Schindler is twice, and pointedly, shown in church. He isn't made out to be a devout Catholic, but we are left in no doubt that his religion is ultimately part of what makes him behave heroically in the crisis of his life. Even more stunningly, at the end of the war we see him leading his Jewish workers in prayer, and he crosses himself. As he makes the Sign of the Cross, his hand passes over his Nazi Party button, which he then removes. The good cross triumphs over the bad one.

In this respect "Schindler's List" is almost the opposite of "Shadowlands," the story of C.S. Lewis' marriage to Joy Davidman. Though Lewis was probably the greatest Christian apologist of his generation, the movie, directed by Richard Attenborough, plays down his religion, treating it as a kind of private hobby, and barely mentions that Joy was a Christian too.

Both movies are beautifully filmed. But both are too long, and both seem to push us into feeling emotions for the sake of feeling emotions. Spielberg wants to horrify us, and then to make us feel good together, like earthlings and Martians at the end of some of his children's movies. Attenborough wants us to have a good cry. But though deep feeling is a fine thing, it has to be earned by some serious way of addressing the human estate. Neither film, alas, tells us anything we haven't heard many times before.

"Holocaust Mystique"

"Schindler's List," Oscar winner for Best Picture of 1993, wasn't even Steven Spielberg's best picture of 1993. "Jurassic Park" was. Part of the reason is that the dinosaurs in *Jurassic* were more plausibly motivated than Schindler's Nazis. The dinosaurs were hungry. Anyone can understand that. But what drove the Nazis? Just puppy-kicking cussedness raised to the nth power?

The Holocaust mystique has gotten way out of control. And it's not harmless. John Demjanjuk was nearly executed by the state of Israel for crimes he didn't commit, under legal procedures no civilized country would countenance. Baruch Goldstein, the Israeli doctor who went on a murderous rampage in February, had convinced himself that praying Muslim Arabs were virtual "Nazis," against whom any violence was justified. And he is by no means the only one who thinks that way.

When you reflect on it, all this Holocaust-harping — as if it could happen again at any time — implicitly insults Jews as well as Christians. It suggests that it's natural for Christians to hate Jews, and that Jews have value only for other Jews.

A film shown at the National Holocaust Museum in Washington blames Christianity for anti-Semitism. Thomas Keneally, author of the novel *Schindler's List*, has written in *The New York Post* that anti-Semitism is due to the belief that the Jews still bear the guilt of killing Christ.

But Hitler, not the most pious of men, didn't much care who had killed Christ. The Nazi war on Jewry had more immediate reasons and causes. Europe was in terror of Communism, which was often referred to as "Jewish Bolshevism." In Russia millions of Christians, including tens of thousands of priests, had been killed, while anti-Semitism had been declared a crime. Jewish-led Communist movements had erupted in Hungary, Romania, and Germany itself.

The prominence of Jews in not only Communism but various other fields, from finance to the fine arts, became the excuse for a war without distinction. Not only their vices but their virtues were held against them. Abolished in the category of innocence, Nazism became the mirror-image of Communism, rounding up whole classes of people for the crime of involuntary membership. Children were punished not for their parents' crimes, but for their parents' genes.

To explain the specific nature of Nazism is in no way to excuse it. There is no possible excuse for stripping innocent people of their rights, their dignity, their lives. But it is to resist the spreading smear of Christendom (which, to its credit, "Schindler's List" avoids).

There is a larger point that seems to be forgotten. The Jews who were murdered were not just a loss to the Jews. Europe was also robbed of them. Thinks of it this way. A similar roundup of American Jews at that time would have deprived us of Jonas Salk, George Gershwin, Richard Rodgers, Aaron Copland, Milton Friedman, Jack Benny, and countless others, including, ultimately Steven Spielberg. We would never have fully known what we had lost, since the names of Salk and Spielberg didn't yet

mean anything to the public.

This is not sentimentalism; it's a hard calculation. And it doesn't even take into account innumerable personal friendships and affections between Jews and Christians. It doesn't take into account the many doctors, scientists, and inventors who enrich and prolong our lives even though we never stop to ask who they are.

If you want a haunting thought, imagine Mozart being drafted and dying at Verdun. The equivalent may have happened. Modern states and their wars have wiped out tens of millions of people, including many who might have endowed all our lives with beauty and eloquence. The Shakespeare of the 20th century may have been killed at Buchenwald, or Dresden, or Kolyma, or Tokyo. We will never know.

No matter how just the cause may seem, war destroys more precious things than we can ever measure, aborting possibilities that only God can see. The trouble with "Schindler's List" is that it never gets inside the real horror of the 20th century. It reduces tragedy to melodrama. Its black-and-white vision is exquisite, but it remains black and white.

Correction:

In the March–April 1994 issue, page six, column one, the last word of the photo caption should be "state" rather than "City," so that it concludes ". . . where he worked as a physician in New York state."

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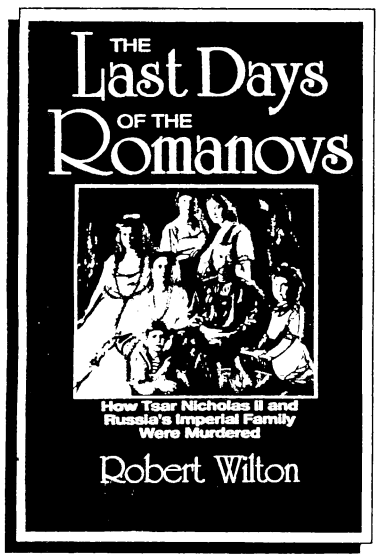

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"60 Minutes" Takes Aim at Holocaust Revisionism

Zündel, Smith, Weber, Cole Appear on Popular Public Affairs Television Show

"60 Minutes," America's single most widely viewed television program and by far the most influential public affairs program, devoted the lead segment of its March 20 broadcast to Holocaust revisionism.[1] In spite of its clearly hostile bias and deceitful omissions and distortions, this popular, primetime CBS News broadcast was a major media advance for historical revisionism.

Entitled "Who Says It Never Happened?," the rather unfocused segment was narrated by Mike Wallace, one of America's most recognized and experienced journalists. It began with Wallace asserting that revisionists claim "that the Holocaust never happened." In fact, revisionist scholars have gone to considerable length to carefully explain that they do not "deny" the Holocaust, or say that it "never happened."

German-Canadian publisher Ernst Zündel was the only revisionist who was interviewed specifically for this broadcast (although several others were shown on screen from file footage). However, from an interview with him that lasted about an hour and a half, only about four minutes were shown. Many telling points made by Zündel to Wallace were not aired.

Mark Weber, editor of this *Journal*, and David Cole, the youthful, Jewish-born revisionist filmmaker, were shown from clips of their April 1992 appearance on the nationally-syndicated "Montel Williams Show."[2] Weber was shown explaining that every Jew who died during the Second World War, "of whatever cause, is [misleadingly] considered, quote, 'a victim of the Holocaust.' That is, [even] Jews who died in Allied bombing attacks . . ."

Weber was identified, inaccurately, as "a white supremacist who now heads up something called the Institute for Historical Review." (A letter to "60 Minutes" from the IHR correcting this error was never broadcast, or even acknowledged.) *The Journal of Historical Review* was introduced to millions of viewers as the front cover of the Nov.-Dec. 1993 issue was shown on screen.

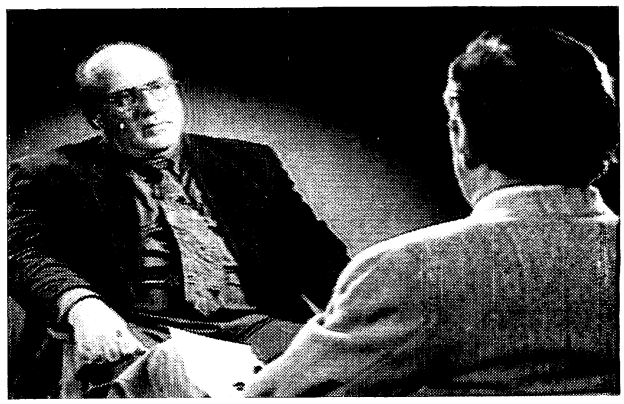
Cole said that "the building at Auschwitz that you go to that is said to be the gas chamber was, in fact, the morgue." He went on to explain that, on the basis of his own investigation, he now believes that "the evidence saying that there were no gas chambers is a lot stronger than any of the evidence that can be presented saying there were." A brief clip showing Cole and Zündel together at Auschwitz was shown.

Bradley Smith, chairman of the "Committee for Open Debate on the Holocaust" (CODOH) and director of the IHR's Media Project, was shown in his California home as he explained, "My job is to bring about open debate on the only historical event of the West that's taboo."

Fearful that this "60 Minutes" broadcast would turn out to be little more than a hostile "hatchet job," Smith and Cole finally decided — after considerable negotiation and in spite of personal assurances from Wallace of fair treatment — not be interviewed for this show. As it turned out, their concerns were well justified.

Introducing the segment, Wallace told viewers that "no serious historians give them [revisionists] credence." To help sustain this lie, "60 Minutes" took care not to invite French professor Robert Faurisson, British historian David Irving, or any other revisionist scholar to be interviewed for the segment, even though associate producers had earlier conducted preliminary interviews with both Irving and Weber.

Although Zündel was portrayed as the most representative spokesman for the "deniers," viewers were not told that revisionist scholars such as Fau-



Ernst Zündel with host Mike Wallace during their appearance on "60 Minutes," March 20.

risson and Irving do not share all of the German-Canadian publicist's views on the Holocaust issue. For example, Zündel estimated that "the number of Jews who died under the Nazis" is "at the lower 300,000 range." Faurisson and Irving have given considerably higher estimates.

Dispute About Himmler

A seemingly effective strike against the revisionist case was scored in citing an October 4, 1943, speech by SS chief Heinrich Himmler, who was quoted as saying: "The Jewish race is being exterminated. . . . We have the duty towards our people to destroy those people that wanted to destroy us. . ." Understandably, this passage has been widely cited as particularly damning evidence of a German wartime policy to kill Europe's Jews.

Zündel suggested to Wallace that this speech, or at least this portion of it, is forged — a skepticism shared by Arthur Butz and Wilhelm Stäglich. (Other revisionists, including Faurisson and Irving, tend to accept it as genuine.) "60 Minutes" then presented, from the National Archives in Washington, DC, a recording of the original speech, along with Himmler's notes for it. Genuine or not, revisionist scholars are in agreement that brief passage quoted on "60 Minutes" is misleadingly translated and taken out of context.[3] The word used here that is rendered as "exterminate" ("ausrotten") more accurately means "root out," eradicate, "wipe out," or "eliminate."

In spite of the harshness of his language, what Himmler was referring to here was not a program of extermination, but rather a policy of brutal suppression, particularly in Poland and the occupied Soviet territories. He made this clear, for example, in a similar speech he gave a few weeks later. Speaking frankly on December 16, 1943 to a meeting of German officers in Weimar, Himmler explained the context of his ruthless policy towards the Jews.[4] Other comments made by Himmler throughout this period likewise show that he was not carrying out a policy of extermination.

Campus Furor

Much of the "60 Minutes" segment dealt with the furor on campuses across the country set off by Smith's campaign to place advertisements in student papers calling for open debate on the Holocaust issue. Smith's CODOH ad has appeared, in one form or another, in 31 student newspapers across the country, Wallace reported. "60 Minutes" focused on the uproar provoked by the ad at Queen's College in New York.

After Holocaust revisionism was sensationally described as "a kind of glue that holds the radical right together," Deborah Lipstadt, an Emory University professor and author of the anti-revisionist polemic *Denying the Holocaust*, was shown saying that student papers must not accept Smith's ads.[5] Along with her ideological comrades in the Anti-Defamation League, the Simon Wiesenthal Center and other Zionist pressure groups, Liptstadt contemptuously insists that while she is intelligent and perceptive enough to detect the supposedly dangerous errors in Smith's ad, university students and professors are not.

Fraudulent "Evidence"

As Wallace took care to specify, revisionists challenge claims of mass killings of Jews in wartime gas chambers. To counter revisionist arguments, and "prove" that Jews were indeed gassed as alleged, viewers were shown a film clip of the infamous "gas chamber" (labeled "Brausebad" or shower) at the Dachau concentration camp. This same film footage was shown at the 1945-46 Nuremberg Trial, where it was cited to prove German "gassings" of prisoners. What "60 Minutes" declined to explain to its millions of viewers is that, as every serious and reputable historian of the subject now acknowledges, no one was ever "gassed" at Dachau, and the room shown here was never used to kill anyone.

Mark Weber stresses a point. This segment, shown on "60 Minutes," was re-broadcast from his April 1992 appearance on the "Montel Williams" show.

As further "proof" for the Holocaust extermination story, viewers were shown familiar film taken by Allied photographers at just-liberated German camps, especially Bergen-Belsen. "60 Minutes" viewers were not told that it is now well established that the dead and dying inmates shown in these horrific film clips were victims not of "gassing," but of disease and malnutrition that were direct consequences of the war. If the German policy had been to kill these people, none of them would have survived to be liberated by Allied troops.

Michael Berenbaum, research director of the US Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, DC, was shown citing "the systematic bills of lading for Zyklon B [and] the instructions for the use of

Zyklon B in gassing" as evidence that "the Germans" used this widely available commercial pesticide to kill millions of Jews. What neither Berenbaum nor "60 Minutes" bothered to tell viewers is that precisely such evidence clearly establishes the widespread use of Zyklon for *non*-homicidal disinfestation and delousing purposes.

In fact, not a single wartime document exists to show that Zyklon was used to kill human beings. (And according to prominent anti-revisionist Holocaust researcher Jean-Claude Pressac, 95 percent of the Zyklon supplied to Auschwitz was in delousing and disinfestation — that is, for purposes of *saving* human lives.)

Persecution Not Mentioned

For some years now, Holocaust revisionists have been victims of an often vicious campaign of persecution that includes legal suppression, terror and physical violence. That no mention whatsoever of this sustained campaign was made by "60 Minutes" underscores the deliberately slanted nature of this CBS News production.[6]

On January 22, 1992, for example, thugs of the Jewish Defense League assaulted David Cole during a meeting at the University of California at Los Angeles, hitting him in the face and bloodying his nose. JDL leader Irv Rubin also tried to push Cole down a flight of stairs. Even though a CBS News crew (along with camera crews of two Los Angeles television stations) recorded the tumult on video, not a minute of it has ever been broadcast.[7]

An American GI opens the door of the bogus "gas chamber" at the Dachau concentration camp. This portion of a 1945 US propaganda film was shown to millions of "60 Minutes" and "Donahue" viewers as "proof" that the Germans killed Jews in gas chambers.

Defamation

Referring to Holocaust killings of Jews, Berenbaum said to Wallace: "In a very real way, the Germans were proud of what they were doing . . . because they thought they were doing the world a favor in getting rid of the Jews. . ." Of course, similarly defamatory and stereotypical talk about "the Jews," or virtually any other group, simply would not be permitted on "60 Minutes" without clear and immediate condemnation. That such offensive language — by a US government official no less — is permitted to appear without challenge on a prime-time public affairs television program points up the extent to which Americans have been conditioned to accept such talk as entirely normal.

Important Milestone

In spite of its predictable bias, this "60 Minutes" broadcast represents another important milestone for Holocaust revisionism. Because of it, millions of American learned, many of them for the first time, of the existence of a dedicated, articulate and rather broad-based movement that rejects the Six Million extermination story.

Notes

1. For a transcript of this "60 Minutes" broadcast, call 1-800-777 TEXT. For a videocassette, call 1-800-848 3256.
2. For more on this, see the Jan.–Feb. 1993 *Journal*, p. 45.
3. "Das jüdische Volk wird ausgerottet. . . . Wir hatten die Pflicht gegenüber unserem Volk, dieses Volk, das uns umbringen wollte, umzubringen."
4. For more on the significance and background of these Himmler speeches, see: Wilhelm Stäglich, *Auschwitz: A Judge Looks at the Evidence* (IHR, 1990), pp. 63-76; Barbara Kulaszka, ed., *Did Six Million Really Die?* (Toronto: 1992), pp. 93, 208, 344, 369, 405; Robert Faurisson, "Response to a Paper Historian," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Spring 1986, pp. 28–29.
5. Lipstadt's *Denying the Holocaust* is reviewed by Ted O'Keefe in the Nov.–Dec. 1993 *Journal*, pp. 28–36.
6. See *The Zionist Terror Network* (IHR, 1993).
7. For more about this attack, see the Feb. 1992 *IHR Newsletter*, p. 5.

It is not the critic who counts; not the man who points out how the strong man stumbles, or where the doer of deeds could have done them better. The credit belongs to the man who is actually in the arena, whose face is marred by dust and sweat and blood; who strives valiantly; who errs, and comes short again and again; because there is no effort without error and shortcoming; but who does actually strive to do the deeds; who knows the great enthusiasms, the great devotions; who spends himself in a worthy cause, who at the best knows in the end the triumphs of high achievement and who at the worst, if he fails, at least fails while daring greatly, so that his place shall never be with those cold and timid souls who know neither victory nor defeat.

— Theodore Roosevelt

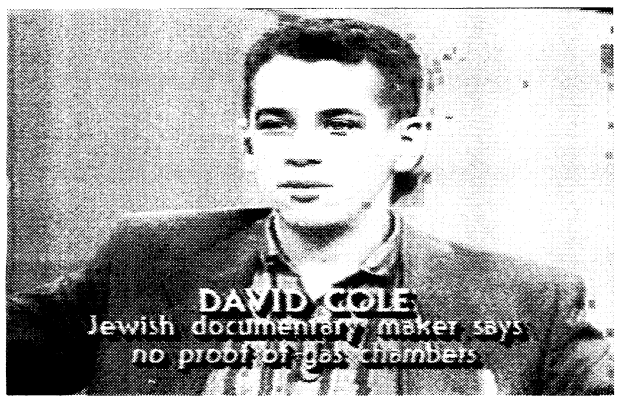
Smith and Cole Appear on "Donahue" Show In Major Media Breakthrough for Revisionism

With an estimated eight to eleven million viewers, "Donahue" is one of America's most popular television talk shows. Thus, the recent appearance of revisionist activists Bradley Smith and David Cole on this show, each of whom made some very effective points, is a major media breakthrough for Holocaust revisionism.

The session was taped on March 14, and broadcast in some places that same day. In many large cities, including Los Angeles, New York and Chicago, it was aired on March 21.

As viewers were shown archival film footage of German wartime concentration camps, headlines from American campus newspapers, and scenes from the movie "Schindler's List," the show was introduced with a pre-recorded report, narrated by Donahue. He announced:

> In just the last six months, 15 college newspapers across the country have run advertisement that call for a, quote, open debate of the Holocaust, unquote. The ad claims that the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, DC, has no proof whatever of homicidal gassing chambers, and no proof that even one individual was gassed in a German program of genocide. The ads have caused an uproar everywhere, sparking protests from students and boycotts of the papers.
>
> The man who placed all the ads, Bradley Smith, has been called anti-Semitic and a neo-Nazi because of the challenges of the Holocaust. Smith claims he simply wants the truth to be told, that Jews were never placed in gas chambers and that the figure of six million Jewish deaths is an irresponsible exaggeration.



David Cole on the "Donahue" Show

Then came a misrepresentation that is, unfortunately, all too typical of the American media: an on-screen caption identified Smith as a person who

Bradley Smith, David Cole, Michael Shermer and Phil Donahue on the "Donahue" show.

"places ads in college newspapers calling Holocaust a hoax." Even after he protested this characterization — and explained that "nobody says the Holocaust never happened," and that the text of his ad begins by specifically declaring "this ad does not claim 'the Holocaust never happened'" — Donahue neither apologized nor addressed Smith's objection.

Donahue repeatedly tried to involve Smith in a discussion of anti-Semitism, stressing the suffering of Jews during the Second World War. Smith responded by attempting to return to the subject of his campus ad campaign, and then added, with some exasperation: "There's a moral issue here. Are Jews more important in the murder and chaos that went on during World War II than all other human beings in Europe?"

Probably the most striking and substantive portion of the broadcast was David Cole's presentation, with apt commentary, of video film he recorded during visits to the former German camps of Auschwitz-Birkenau, Mauthausen and Majdanek.

As Cole's video tape clearly shows, the door of the alleged execution "gas chamber" at Majdanek — where the Nuremberg Tribunal declared that 1.5 million people had been killed — "latches only from the inside," and "opens *into* the chamber." Cole went on to observe:

> If you're going to pack a thousand people in a room and kill them, you can't have a door that then opens into the room because they will be piled up against the door, where they died. And I am now showing that the latches of this door, they latch inside. You cannot lock somebody into this room.

Donahue's only response to this footage, which will be included in his forthcoming second video production, was a dismissive comment: "Okay. Well,

you're a real Columbo, David."

In an effort to discredit him, Donahue made much of fact that Cole had met Ernst Zündel, who was called a "neo-Nazi." With a remark that provoked one the show's rare moments of humor, Cole responded: "I'm sorry, Phil. This is not about who I've *met* in my life. I just met you. Does that mean I'm Marlo Thomas [Donahue's wife]?"

Dr. Michael Shermer, adjunct professor at Occidental College in Los Angeles and editor-publisher of *Skeptic* magazine, appeared a little later in the broadcast. Although he was characterized as a "Holocaust historian," he actually has no special knowledge or expertise on this subject. His job, as far as Donahue was concerned, was to "vigorously" refute Smith and Cole. He didn't succeed.

As part of his attempt to defend the Holocaust gas chamber story, Shermer referred to "all the evidence that we have. For example, why do we have so many huge orders of Zyklon B?" This comment entirely ignores the fact that the detailed records of orders for Zyklon B show that the widely-available commercial pesticide was delivered to camps where it is universally acknowledged that no homicidal gassings ever took place in quantities just as large as for camps where it is claimed that hundreds of thousands of Jews were gassed.

As "proof" that Jews were "gassed," viewers were shown a film clip of the infamous "gas chamber" at the Dachau concentration camp. (This was the very same footage that was shown to millions of "60 Minutes" viewers.) Cole quickly pointed out that this film footage is fraudulent because, as every serious historian of the subject now acknowledges, no one was ever "gassed" at Dachau. Prodded by Cole, Shermer acknowledged (to Donahue's obvious consternation) that this "gas chamber" was never used to kill anyone. However, Shermer attempted to negate the significance of this fraud by asserting that "it doesn't matter."

"Human Soap"

Another moment of embarrassment came when a "Holocaust survivor" in the audience loudly insisted that the Germans manufactured lamp shades and bars of soap from the bodies of murdered Jews. "It was true!," she exclaimed. Even after Cole and Smith were able to get Shermer to acknowledge that the often-repeated "human soap" tale (supposedly "proven" at the Nuremberg Trial) is not true, rude "survivors" in the audience continued to insist on it. Rebuking Shermer, who clearly didn't know how to handle this awkward situation, two elderly "survivors" shouted: "He wasn't there!" It was at about this point that an obviously embarrassed Donahue decided that this would be an appropriate moment to cut for a commercial break.

"Intellectual Freedom"

To his credit, Donahue affirmed that Holocaust revisionism can no longer ignored, but must be dealt with seriously, and in a spirit of intellectual freedom. "In my opinion," he said, the media can "no longer continue to ignore" Smith and his revisionist campaign. Donahue called for "a stand-up debate with this man," and said to Smith: "I believe there should be intellectual freedom on this issue. That's why you're on the program."

The generally effective appearance of Cole and Smith on "Donahue," along with the treatment of Holocaust revisionism on other widely-viewed television programs, affirms that this intellectual movement has, at last, become an acknowledged feature of America's social-cultural landscape.

— M. W.

Leon Degrelle

Leon Degrelle, combat hero of the Second World War, political leader, author and friend of the Institute for Historical Review, died March 31 in the southern Spanish city of Malaga. He was 87.

Degrelle was born on June 15, 1906, into a prosperous Catholic family in Bouillon, Belgium. As a young man, he was strongly influenced by the ideas of French writer Charles Marraus.

After study of philosophy, literature and law at the University of Louvain, this gifted publicist and charismatic public speaker turned to journalism and politics. In eloquent addresses to large rallies, several books and numerous booklets, and through his newspaper, *Le Pays réel*, he quickly made a mark on his country's political life. At the age of 29, his Catholic "Rex" movement — which demanded radical political reform and the establishment of an authoritative "corporative" state of social justice and national unity — captured 11.5 percent of the vote, and 21 parliamentary seats, in Belgium's 1936 elections.

Although his party's share of the vote fell to 4.4 percent in the 1939 election, Degrelle himself was reelected to the parliament with the largest majority of any deputy.

In the wake of Germany's June 1941 attack against the Soviet Union, Degrelle enthusiastically joined what he regarded as a pan-European crusade to crush Communism. His proposal to raise a volunteer battalion of fellow French-speaking Walloons to ensure a place of honor for Belgium in Hitler's new Europe was quickly accepted by the Germans.

Turning down an invitation to begin as a officer in the newly formed combat unit, he instead chose to start as a private, sharing all the burdens of his comrades. When he left his homeland in August 1941 to begin military service at the age of 35, he had never fired a gun. Nevertheless, he rose through the ranks to become commander of the unit that finally came to be known as the 28th SS Divi-

sion "Wallonia."

As a result of the extraordinary courage and leadership he showed on the Narva front in Estonia, he became the first non-German to be awarded the coveted Oak Leaves to the Knight's Cross of the Iron Cross. Hitler personally bestowed the honor on August 27, 1944.

Of the first 800 Walloon volunteers who left for the Eastern Front, only three survived the war, one of them Degrelle, who was wounded seven times during the course of his three and a half years of combat. All told, some 2,500 Walloons fell against the Soviets.

Degrelle's gripping account of duty, death and fierce combat on the eastern Front against numerically superior Soviet forces has won enthusiastic acclaim from readers around the world. The English-language edition, entitled *Campaign in Russia*, was first published by the IHR in 1985. It earned praise from US Army Brigadier General John C. Bahnsen in a review appearing in an official US Army Department magazine: ". . . The pace of the writing is fast; the action is graphic, and a warrior can learn things from reading this book. I recommend its reading by students of the art of war. It is well worth the price."

To escape death at the hands of the victorious Allies at the end of the war, he made a daring 1,500-mile flight in a small plane from Norway across Europe to Spain, crash landing on the beach at San Sebastian. Critically wounded, he somehow survived, and then built a new and successful life in exile in Spain, which granted him refuge.

Over the years, numerous lies have been told about Degrelle. For example, a Jewish Telegraphic Agency (JTA) report on his death that appeared recently in American Jewish community papers, while mentioning nothing of his remarkable wartime combat record, told readers that Degrelle "was responsible for the deportations and deaths of about 35,000 Jews in Belgium between 1941 and 1944." This claim has absolutely no basis in fact.

In spite of the catastrophic military defeat of the cause to which he had been so devoted, until his death Degrelle remained defiantly unrepentant. He made this clear in numerous interviews, essays and in a 300-page autobiography, which appeared (in German) in 1992.

During the final years of his life, Degrelle was working on a multi-volume series of books for the IHR detailing the personality, policies, impact and legacy of Adolf Hitler. *Hitler: Born at Versailles*, the first volume in this projected 13-volume series, was published by the IHR in 1987. In this 535-page book Degrelle traces the origins, course and impact of the First World War. A German edition was published in 1992. A portion of volume two appeared as an essay, "How Hitler Consolidated Power in Germany and Launched a Social Revolution," in the Fall 1992 *Journal of Historical Review*.

Unfortunately, Degrelle had been able to complete only a small part of this massive project by the time of his death. The IHR is now considering how best to put the completed portion into publishable form. — M. W.

SS officer Leon Degrelle addresses a large outdoor audience in Brussels, Belgium, 1944.

The following works by Leon Degrelle are available from the IHR:

Campaign in Russia: The Waffen SS on the Eastern Front. Degrelle's gripping memoir of combat against the Soviet army. Hardcover. 350 pages. Stock # 0625. $17.95 + $2.00 shipping.

Hitler: Born at Versailles. Fascinating in-depth examination of the origins, course and impact of the First World War. Hardcover. 535 pages. Photos. Stock # 0664. $24.95 + $3.00 shipping.

Epic: The Story of the Waffen SS. Attractive easy-to-read 72-page booklet, with 22 pages of photos. Includes text of Degrelle's lecture on the Waffen SS at the IHR's 1982 Conference, with an essay by Theodore J. O'Keefe, "Leon Degrelle and the Crusade for Europe." Softcover. Stock # 395. $6.00 + $1.50 shipping.

Videotape version: **Epic: The Story of the Waffen SS.** IHR conference lecture. Professionally overdubbed English translation. Limited quantity available. Videotape. Picture fair, sound good. Color. Stock # V001. $35.00 + $2.00 shipping.

Audiotape version: **Epic: The Story of the Waffen SS.** IHR Conference lecture. Stock # A034. $9.95 + $1.50 shipping.

Letter to the Pope on Auschwitz. Softcover. 14 pages. $3.50 + $1.50 shipping.

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The Enigma of Hitler

Leon Degrelle

In the following essay Leon Degrelle provides a good example of his writing style and historical perspective. He writes about Adolf Hitler — a man he knew personally and to whom he had sworn an unconditional oath of obedience — not as a dispassionate historian, but as a devoted admirer. Himself one of this century's most remarkable personalities, Degrelle makes no secret of his almost reverential esteem for the German leader. As partisan and as unabashedly laudatory as this view of Hitler certainly is, this essay — which is adapted from the introduction to volume two of Degrelle's uncompleted multi-volume series on the life and legacy of Hitler — nonetheless provides a useful antidote to the mean-spirited and no less partisan treatments of Hitler that prevail on American book shelves and television screens. — The Editor

Hitler — you knew him — what was he like?" I have been asked that question a thousand times since 1945, and nothing is more difficult to answer.

Approximately two hundred thousand books have dealt with the Second World War and with its central figure, Adolf Hitler. But has the real Hitler been discovered in any of them? "The enigma of Hitler is beyond all human comprehension," the left-wing German weekly *Die Zeit* once put it.

Salvador Dali, art's unique genius, sought to penetrate the mystery in one of his most intensely dramatic paintings. Towering mountain landscapes all but fill the canvas, leaving only a few luminous meters of seashore dotted with delicately miniaturized human figures: the last witnesses to a dying peace. A huge telephone receiver dripping tears of blood hangs from the branch of a dead tree; and here and there hang umbrellas and bats whose portent is visibly the same. As Dali tells it, "Chamberlain's umbrella appeared in this painting in a sinister light, made evident by the bat, and it struck me when I painted it as a thing of enormous anguish."

He then confided: "I felt this painting to be deeply prophetic. But I confess that I haven't yet figured out the Hitler enigma either. He attracted me only as an object of my mad imaginings and because I saw him as a man uniquely capable of turning things completely upside down."

What a lesson in humility for the braying critics who have rushed into print since 1945 with their thousands of "definitive" books, most of them scornful, about this man who so troubled the introspective Dali that forty years later he still felt anguished and uncertain in the presence of his own hallucinatory painting. Apart from Dali, who else has ever tried to present an objective portrayal of this extraordinary man whom Dali labeled the most explosive figure in human history?

* * *

The mountains of Hitler books based on blind hatred and ignorance do little to describe or explain the most powerful man the world has ever seen. How, I ponder, do these thousands of disparate portraits of Hitler in any way resemble the man I knew? The Hitler seated beside me, standing up, talking, listening. It has become impossible to explain to people fed fantastic tales for decades that what they have read or have heard on television just does not correspond to the truth.

People have come to accept fiction, repeated a thousand times over, as reality. Yet they have never seen Hitler, never spoken to him, never heard a word from his mouth. The very name of Hitler immediately conjures up a grimacing devil, the fount of all one's negative emotions. Like Pavlov's bell, the mention of Hitler is meant to dispense with substance and reality. In time, however, history will demand more than these summary judgments.

* * *

Hitler is always present before my eyes: as a man of peace in 1936, as a man of war in 1944. It is not possible to have been a personal witness to the life of such an extraordinary man without being marked by it forever. Not a day goes by but Hitler rises again in my memory, not as a man long dead, but as a real being who paces his office floor, seats himself in his chair, pokes the burning logs in his fireplace.

The first thing anyone noticed when he came into view was his small mustache. Countless times he had been advised to shave it off, but he always refused: people were used to him the way he was.

He was not tall — no more than was Napoleon

or Alexander the Great.

Hitler had deep blue eyes that many found bewitching, although I did not find them so. Nor did I detect the electric current his hands were said to give off. I gripped them quite a few times and was never struck by his lightning.

His face showed emotion or indifference according to the passion or apathy of the moment. At times he was as though benumbed, saying not a word,

Leon Degrelle with Hitler, 1944.

while his jaws moved in the meanwhile as if they were grinding an obstacle to smithereens in the void. Then he would come suddenly alive and launch into a speech directed at you alone, as though he were addressing a crowd of hundreds of thousands at Berlin's Tempelhof airfield. Then he became as if transfigured. Even his complexion, otherwise rather dull, lit up as he spoke. And at such time, to be sure, Hitler was strangely attractive and as if possessed of magic powers.

* * *

Anything that might have seemed too solemn in his remarks, he quickly tempered with a touch of humor. The picturesque word, the biting phrase were at his command. In a flash he would paint a word-picture that brought a smile, or come up with an unexpected and disarming comparison. He could be harsh and even implacable in his judgments and yet almost at the same time be surprisingly conciliatory, sensitive and warm.

After 1945 Hitler was accused of every cruelty, but it was not in his nature to be cruel. He loved children. It was an entirely natural thing for him to stop his car and share his food with young cyclists along the road. Once he gave his raincoat to a derelict plodding in the rain. At midnight he would interrupt his work and prepare the food for his dog Blondi.

He could not bear to eat meat, because it meant the death of a living creature. He refused to have so much as a rabbit or a trout sacrificed to provide his food. He would allow only eggs on his table, because egg-laying meant that the hen had been spared rather than killed.

Hitler's eating habits were a constant source of amazement to me. How could someone on such a rigorous schedule, who had taken part in tens of thousands of exhausting mass meetings from which he emerged bathed with sweat, often losing two to four pounds in the process; who slept only three to four hours a night; and who, from 1940 to 1945, carried the whole world on his shoulders while ruling over 380 million Europeans: how, I wondered, could he physically survive on just a boiled egg, a few tomatoes, two or three pancakes, and a plate of noodles? But he actually gained weight!

He drank only water. He did not smoke and would not tolerate smoking in his presence. At one or two o'clock in the morning he would still be talking, untroubled, close to his fireplace, lively, often amusing. He never showed any sign of weariness. Dead tired his audience might be, but not Hitler.

He was depicted as a tired old man. Nothing was further from the truth. In September of 1944, when he was reported to be fairly doddering, I spent a week with him. His mental and physical vigor were still exceptional. The attempt made on his life on July 20th had, if anything, recharged him. He took tea in his quarters as tranquilly as if we had been in his small private apartment at the chancellery before the war, or enjoying the view of snow and bright blue sky through his great bay window at Berchtesgaden.

* * *

At the very end of his life, to be sure, his back had become bent, but his mind remained as clear as a flash of lightning. The testament he dictated with extraordinary composure on the eve of his death, at three in the morning of April 29, 1945, provides us a lasting testimony. Napoleon at Fontainebleau was not without his moments of panic before his abdication. Hitler simply shook hands with his associates in silence, breakfasted as on any other day, then went to his death as if he were going for a stroll. When has history ever witnessed so enormous a tragedy brought to its end with such iron self control?

Hitler's most notable characteristic was ever his simplicity. The most complex of problems resolved itself in his mind into a few basic principles. His actions were geared to ideas and decisions that could be understood by anyone. The laborer from Essen, the isolated farmer, the Ruhr industrialist, and the university professor could all easily follow his line of thought. The very clarity of his reasoning made everything obvious.

His behavior and his life style never changed even when he became the ruler of Germany. He dressed and lived frugally. During his early days in Munich, he spent no more than a mark per day for

food. At no stage in his life did he spend anything on himself. Throughout his 13 years in the chancellery he never carried a wallet or ever had money of his own.

* * *

Hitler was self-taught and made no attempt to hide the fact. The smug conceit of intellectuals, their shiny ideas packaged like so many flashlight batteries, irritated him at times. His own knowledge he had acquired through selective and unremitting study, and he knew far more than thousands of diploma-decorated academics.

I don't think anyone ever read as much as he did. He normally read one book every day, always first reading the conclusion and the index in order to gauge the work's interest for him. He had the power to extract the essence of each book and then store it in his computer-like mind. I have heard him talk about complicated scientific books with faultless precision, even at the height of the war.

His intellectual curiosity was limitless. He was readily familiar with the writings of the most diverse authors, and nothing was too complex for his comprehension. He had a deep knowledge and understanding of Buddha, Confucius and Jesus Christ, as well as Luther, Calvin, and Savonarola; of literary giants such as Dante, Schiller, Shakespeare and Goethe; and analytical writers such as Renan and Gobineau, Chamberlain and Sorel.

* * *

He had trained himself in philosophy by studying Aristotle and Plato. Although the latter did not fit into his system, Hitler was nevertheless able to extract what he deemed of value. He could quote entire paragraphs of Schopenhauer from memory, and for a long time carried a pocket edition of Schopenhauer with him. Nietzsche taught him much about willpower.

His thirst for knowledge was unquenchable. He spent hundreds of hours studying the works of Tacitus and Mommsen, military strategists such as Clausewitz, and empire builders such as Bismarck. Nothing escaped him: world history or the history of civilizations, the study of the Bible and the Talmud, Thomistic philosophy and all the masterpieces of Homer, Sophocles, Horace, Ovid, Titus Livius and Cicero. He knew Julian the Apostate as if he had been his contemporary.

His knowledge also extended to mechanics. He knew how engines worked; he understood the ballistics of various weapons; and he astonished the best medical scientists with his knowledge of medicine and biology.

The universality of Hitler's knowledge may surprise or displease those unaware of it, but it is nonetheless a historical fact: Hitler was one of the most cultivated men of this century. Many times more so than Churchill, an intellectual mediocrity; or than Pierre Laval, with his mere cursory knowledge of history; or than Roosevelt; or Eisenhower, who never got beyond detective novels.

* * *

Even during his earliest years, Hitler was different than other children. He had an inner strength and was guided by his spirit and his instincts.

He could draw skilfully when he was only eleven years old. His sketches made at that age show a remarkable firmness and liveliness. His first paintings and watercolors, created at age 15, are full of poetry and sensitivity. One of his most striking early works, "Fortress Utopia," also shows him to have been an artist of rare imagination.

His artistic orientation took many forms. He wrote poetry from the time he was a lad. He dictated a complete play to his sister Paula, who was amazed at his presumption. At the age of 16, in Vienna, he launched into the creation of an opera. He even designed the stage settings, as well as all the costumes; and, of course, the characters were Wagnerian heroes.

More than just an artist, Hitler was above all an

Degrelle in 1992 at his home in Spain

architect. Hundreds of his works are notable as much for the architecture as for the painting. From memory alone he could reproduce in every detail the onion dome of a church or the intricate curves of wrought iron. Indeed, it was to fulfill his dream of becoming an architect that Hitler went to Vienna at the beginning of the century.

When one sees the hundreds of paintings, sketches and drawings he created at the time, which reveal his mastery of three dimensional figures, it is astounding that his examiners at the Fine Arts Academy failed him in two successive examinations. German historian Werner Maser, no friend of Hitler, castigated those examiners: "All of his works revealed extraordinary architectural gifts and knowledge. The builder of the Third Reich gives the former Fine Arts Academy of Vienna cause for shame."

* * *

Impressed by the beauty of the church in a Benedictine monastery where he was part of the choir and served as an altar boy, Hitler dreamt fleetingly of becoming a Benedictine monk. And it was at that time, too, interestingly enough, that whenever he attended mass, he always had to pass beneath the first swastika he had ever seen: it was graven in the stone escutcheon of the abbey portal.

Hitler's father, a customs officer, hoped the boy would follow in his footsteps and become a civil servant. His tutor encouraged him to become a monk. Instead the young Hitler went, or rather he fled, to Vienna. And there, thwarted in his artistic aspirations by the bureaucratic mediocrities of academia, he turned to isolation and meditation. Lost in the great capital of Austria-Hungary, he searched for his destiny.

* * *

During the first 30 years of Hitler's life, the date April 20, 1889, meant nothing to anyone. He was born on that day in Braunau, a small town in the Inn valley. During his exile in Vienna, he often thought of his modest home, and particularly of his mother. When she fell ill, he returned home from Vienna to look after her. For weeks he nursed her, did all the household chores, and supported her as the most loving of sons. When she finally died, on Christmas eve, his pain was immense. Wracked with grief, he buried his mother in the little country cemetery. "I have never seen anyone so prostrate with grief," said his mother's doctor, who happened to be Jewish.

In his room Hitler always displayed an old photograph of his mother. The memory of the mother he loved was with him until the day he died. Before leaving this earth, on April 30, 1945, he placed his mother's photograph in front of him. She had blue eyes like his and a similar face. Her maternal intuition told her that her son was different from other children. She acted almost as if she knew her son's destiny. When she died, she felt anguished by the immense mystery surrounding her son.

* * *

Throughout the years of his youth, Hitler lived the life of a virtual recluse. His greatest wish was to withdraw from the world. At heart a loner, he wandered about, ate meager meals, but devoured the books of three public libraries. He abstained from conversation and had few friends.

It is almost impossible to imagine another such destiny where a man started with so little and reached such heights. Alexander the Great was the son of a king. Napoleon, from a well-to-do family, was a general at 24. Fifteen years after Vienna, Hitler would still be an unknown corporal. Thousands of others had a thousand times more opportunity to leave their mark on the world.

Hitler had not yet focused on politics, but without his rightly knowing it, that was the career to which he was most strongly called. Politics would ultimately blend with his passion for art. People, the masses, would be the clay the sculptor shapes into an immortal form. That human clay would become for him a beautiful work of art like one of Myron's marble sculptures, a Hans Makart painting, or Wagner's Ring Trilogy.

His love of music, art and architecture had not removed him from the political life and social concerns of Vienna. In order to survive, he worked as a common laborer side by side with other workers. He was a silent spectator, but nothing escaped him: not the vanity and egoism of the bourgeoisie, nor the moral and material misery of the people, nor yet the hundreds of thousands of workers who surged down the wide avenues of Vienna with anger in their hearts.

He had also been taken aback by the growing presence in Vienna of bearded Jews wearing caftans, a sight unknown in Linz. "How can they be Germans?" he asked himself. He read the statistics: in 1860 there were 69 Jewish families in Vienna; 40 years later there were 200,000. They were everywhere. He observed their invasion of the universities and the legal and medical professions, and their takeover of the newspapers.

Hitler was exposed to the passionate reactions of workers to this influx, but the workers were not alone in their unhappiness. There were many prominent persons in both Austria and Hungary who did not hide their resentment at what they believed was an alien invasion of their country. The mayor of Vienna, a Christian-Democrat and a powerful orator, was eagerly listened to by Hitler.

Hitler was also concerned with the fate of the eight million Austrian Germans kept apart from Germany, and thus deprived of their rightful German nationhood. He saw Emperor Franz Josef as a bitter and petty old man unable to cope with the

problems of the day and the aspirations of the future.

* * *

Quietly, the young Hitler was summing things up in his mind.

First: Austrians were part of Germany, the common fatherland.

Second: The Jews were aliens within the German community.

Third: Patriotism was only valid if it was shared by all classes. The common people with whom Hitler had shared grief and humiliation were just as much a part of the fatherland as the millionaires of high society.

Fourth: Class war would sooner or later condemn both workers and bosses to ruin in any country. No country can survive class war; only cooperation between workers and bosses can benefit the country. Workers must be respected and live with decency and honor. Creativity must never be stifled.

When Hitler later said that he had formed his social and political doctrine in Vienna, he told the truth. Ten years later his observations made in Vienna would become the order of the day.

* * *

Thus Hitler was to live for several years in the crowded city of Vienna as a virtual outcast, yet quietly observing everything around him. His strength came from within. He did not rely on anyone to do his thinking for him. Exceptional human beings always feel lonely amid the vast human throng. Hitler saw his solitude as a wonderful opportunity to meditate and not feel submerged in a mindless sea. In order not to be lost in the wastes of a sterile desert, a strong soul seeks refuge within himself. Hitler was such a soul.

* * *

The lightning in Hitler's life would come from the Word.

All his artistic talent would be channeled into his mastery of communication and eloquence. Hitler would never conceive of popular conquests without the power of the Word. He would enchant and be enchanted by it. He would find total fulfillment when the magic of his words inspired the hearts and minds of the masses he communed with.

He would feel reborn each time he conveyed with mystical beauty the knowledge he had acquired in his lifetime.

Hitler's incantatory eloquence will remain, for a very long time, a vast field of study for the psychoanalyst. The power of Hitler's word is the key. Without it there would never have been a Hitler era.

* * *

Did Hitler believe in God? He believed deeply in God. He called God the Almighty, master of all that is known and unknown.

Propagandists portrayed Hitler as an atheist. He was not. He had contempt for hypocritical and materialistic clerics, but he was not alone in that. He believed in the necessity of standards and theological dogmas, without which, he repeatedly said, the great institution of the Christian church would collapse. These dogmas clashed with his intelligence, but he also recognized that it was hard for the human mind to encompass all the problems of creation, its limitless scope and breathtaking beauty. He acknowledged that every human being has spiritual needs.

The song of the nightingale, the pattern and color of a flower, continually brought him back to the great problems of creation. No one in the world has spoken to me so eloquently about the existence of God. He held this view not because he was brought up as a Christian, but because his analytical mind bound him to the concept of God.

Hitler's faith transcended formulas and contingencies. God was for him the basis of everything, the ordainer of all things, of his destiny and that of all others.

* * *

Hitler was not much concerned with his private life. In Vienna he had lived in shabby, cramped lodgings. But for all that he rented a piano that took up half of his room, and concentrated on composing his opera.

He lived on bread, milk, and vegetable soup. His poverty was real. He did not even own an overcoat. He shoveled streets on snowy days. He carried luggage at the railway station. He spent many weeks in shelters for the homeless. But he never stopped painting or reading.

Despite his dire poverty, Hitler somehow managed to maintain a clean appearance. Landlords and landladies in Vienna and Munich all remembered him for his civility and pleasant disposition. His behavior was impeccable. His room was always spotless, his meager belongings meticulously arranged, and his clothes neatly hung or folded. He washed and ironed his own clothes, something which in those days few men did. He needed almost nothing to survive, and money from the sale of a few paintings was sufficient to provide for all his needs.

* * *

The First World War was a turning point in his life. He regarded it as the hand of destiny.

"My Patient, Hitler"
A Memoir of Hitler's Jewish Physician

Dr. Eduard Bloch

"My Patient, Hitler," by Dr. Eduard Bloch "as told to J. D. Ratcliff," originally appeared in two parts in the March 15 and March 22, 1941, issues of Collier's magazine. In those pre-television days, Collier's was one of the most influential and widely-read periodicals in the United States. Regarded by serious historians as an important primary historical source about Hitler's youth, this essay is cited, for example, in the bibliography and reference notes of John Toland's acclaimed biography, Adolf Hitler *(Doubleday, 1976). It is also cited as a source in Robert Payne's study,* The Life and Death of Adolf Hitler *(Praeger, 1973) and in Louis Snyder's* Encyclopedia of the Third Reich *(McGraw Hill, 1976). While frankly describing the devastating impact of Hitler's anti-Jewish measures on his own life and career, Dr. Bloch also writes about the teenage Hitler with an honesty and sensitivity that would be almost unthinkable in any large-circulation American magazine today. The complete text of the original two-part essay, including original subtitles, is reprinted here, with only a few minor additions in brackets.*

— The Editor

We were three days out of Lisbon bound west for New York. The storm on Saturday had been bad, but on Sunday the sea had subsided. A little before eleven o'clock that night our ship, the small Spanish liner Marques de Comillas, got orders to stop. British control officers aboard a trawler wanted to examine the passengers. Everyone was told to line up in the main lounge.

Four British officers, wearing life jackets, entered. Without comment they worked their way down the line, scrutinizing passports. There was a feeling of tenseness. Many of those aboard the ship were fleeing; they thought they had made good their escape from Europe once anchor was hoisted in Lisbon. Now? No one knew. Perhaps some of us would be taken off the ship.

Finally it was my turn. The officer in charge took my passport, glanced at it and looked up, smiling. "You were Hitler's physician, weren't you?" he asked. This was correct. It would also have been correct for him to add that I am a Jew.

I knew Adolf Hitler as a boy and as a young man. I treated him many times and was intimately familiar with the modest surroundings in which he grew to manhood. I attended, in her final illness, the person nearer and dearer to him than all others — his mother.

Most biographers — both sympathetic and unsympathetic — have avoided the youth of Adolf Hitler. The unsympathetic ones have done this of necessity. They could lay their hands on only the most meager facts. The official party biographies have skipped over this period because of the dictator's wishes. Why this abnormal sensitivity about his youth? I do not know. There are no scandalous chapters which Hitler might wish to hide, unless one goes back over a hundred years to the birth of his father. Some biographers say that Alois Hitler was an illegitimate child. I cannot speak for the accuracy of this statement.

What of those early years in Linz, Austria, where Hitler spent his formative years? What kind of boy was he? What kind of a life did he lead? It is of these things that we shall speak here.

When Adolf Hitler was Thirteen

First, I might introduce myself. I was born in Frauenburg, a tiny village in southern Bohemia which, in the course of my lifetime, had been under three flags: Austrian, Czechoslovakian and German. I am sixty-nine years old. I studied medicine in Prague, then joined the Austrian army as a military doctor. In 1899 I was ordered to Linz, capital of Upper Austria, and the third largest city in the country. When I completed my army service in 1901 I decided to remain in Linz and practice medicine.

As a city, Linz has always been as quiet and reserved as Vienna was gay and noisy. In the period of which we are about to speak — when Adolf Hitler was a boy of 13 [actually, 14] — Linz was a city of 80,000 people. My consultation rooms and home were in the same house, an ancient baroque structure on Landstrasse, the main thoroughfare of the city.

The Hitler family moved to Linz in 1903, because, I believe, of the good schools there. The family background is well known. Alois Schicklgruber Hitler was the son of a poor peasant girl. When he was old enough to work he got a job as a cobbler's apprentice, worked his way into the government

service and became a customs inspector at Braunau, a tiny frontier town between Bavaria and Austria. Braunau is fifty miles from Linz. At fifty-six Alois Hitler became eligible for a pension and retired. Proud of his own success, he was anxious for his son to enter government service. Young Adolf violently opposed the idea. He would be an artist. Father and son fought over this while the mother, Klara Hitler, tried to maintain peace.

As long as he lived Alois Hitler persevered in trying to shape his son's destiny to his own desires. His son would have the education which had been denied him; an education which would secure him a good government job. So Father Alois prepared to leave the hamlet of Braunau for the city of Linz. Because of his government service, he would not be required to pay the full tuition for his son at the *Realschule*. With all this in mind he bought a small farm in Leonding, a Linz suburb.

The family was rather large. In later life Adolf has so overshadowed the others that they are, for the better part, forgotten. There was half-brother Alois, whom I never met. He left home at an early age, got a job as a waiter in London and later opened his own restaurant in Berlin. He was never friendly with his younger brother.

Then there was Paula, the oldest of the girls. She later married Herr Rubal, an official in the tax bureau in Linz. Later still, after her husband's death and her brother's rise to power, she went to Berchtesgaden to become house-keeper at Hitler's villa. Sister Klara for a while managed a restaurant for Jewish students at the University of Vienna; and sister Angela, youngest of the girls, married a Professor Hamitsch at Dresden, where she still lives.

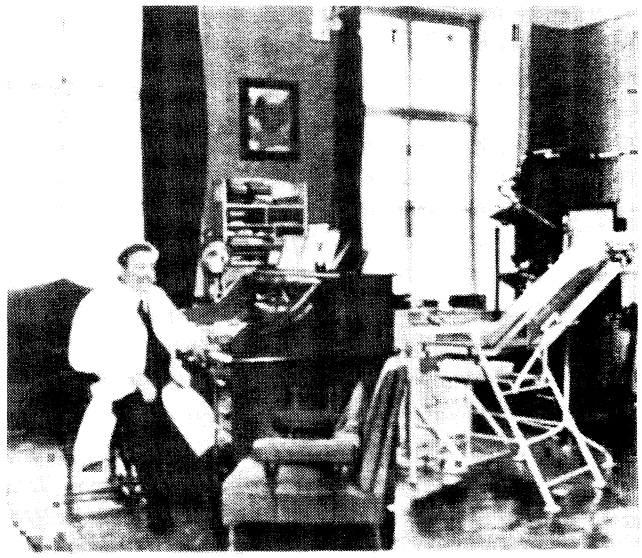
A Job for Frau Hitler

The family had barely settled in their new home outside of Linz when Alois, the father, died suddenly from an apoplectic stroke.

At the time Frau Hitler was in her early forties. She was a simple, modest, kindly women. She was tall, had brownish hair which she kept neatly plaited, and a long, oval face with beautifully expressive gray-blue eyes. She was desperately worried about the responsibilities thrust upon her by her husband's death. Alois, twenty-three years her senior, had always managed the family. Now the job was hers.

It was readily apparent that son Adolf was too young and altogether too fragile to become a farmer. So her best move seemed to be to sell the place and rent a small apartment. This she did, soon after her husband's death. With the proceeds of this sale and the small pension which came to her because of her husband's government position, she managed to hold her family together.

In a small town in Austria poverty doesn't force upon one the indignities that it does in a large city. There are no slums and no serious overcrowding. I do not know the exact income of the Hitler family, but being familiar with the scale of government pensions I should estimate it at $25 a month. This small sum allowed them to live quietly and decently — unnoticed little people in an out-of-the-way town.



Dr. Eduard Bloch, who was Jewish, treated Hitler as a young man, along with his mother and other members of the Hitler family. This picture of Dr. Bloch in his office in Linz was taken in 1938 on order of Martin Bormann for Hitler's "personal film file." The inscription reads: "The Führer often sat on the chair beside the desk." (Source: Bundesarchiv [Koblenz]. From: John Toland, *Adolf Hitler.*)

Their apartment consisted of three small rooms in the two-story house at No. 9 Bluetenstrasse, which is across the Danube from the main portion of Linz. Its windows gave an excellent view of the mountains.

My predominant impression of the simple furnished apartment was its cleanliness. It glistened; not a speck of dust on the chairs or tables, not a stray fleck of mud on the scrubbed floor, not a smudge on the panes in the windows. Frau Hitler was a superb housekeeper.

The Hitlers had only a few friends. One stood out above the others; the widow of the postmaster who lived in the same house.

The limited budget allowed not even the smallest extravagance. We had the usual provincial opera in Linz: not good, and not bad. Those who would hear the best went to Vienna. Seats in the gallery of our theater, the *Schauspielhaus*, sold for the equivalent of 10 to 15 cents in American money. Yet occupying one of these seats to hear an indifferent troupe sing Lohengrin was such a memorable occasion that Hitler records it in *Mein Kampf*!

For the most part the boy's recreations were

limited to those things which were free: walks in the mountains, a swim in the Danube, a free band concert. He read extensively and was particularly fascinated by stories about American Indians. He devoured the books of James Fenimore Cooper, and the German writer Karl May — who never visited America and never saw an Indian.

The family diet was, of necessity, simple and rugged. Food was cheap and plentiful in Linz; and the Hitler family ate much the same diet as other people in their circumstance. Meat would be served perhaps twice a week. Most of the meals they sat down to consisted of cabbage or potato soup, bread, dumplings and a pitcher of pear and apple cider.

For clothing, they wore the rough woolen cloth we call *Loden*. Adolf, of course, dressed in the uniform of all small boys: leather shorts, embroidered suspenders, a small green hat with a feather in its band.

A Remarkable Mother Love

What kind of boy was Adolf Hitler? Many biographers have put him down as harsh-voiced, defiant, untidy; as a young ruffian who personified all that is unattractive. This simply is not true. As a youth he was quiet, well-mannered and neatly dressed.

He records that at the age of fifteen he regarded himself as a political revolutionary. Possibly. But let us look at Adolf Hitler as he impressed people about him, not as he impressed himself.

He was tall, sallow, old for his age. He was neither robust nor sickly. Perhaps "frail looking" would best describe him. His eyes — inherited from his mother — were large, melancholy and thoughtful. To a very large extent this boy lived within himself. What dreams he dreamed I do not know.

Outwardly, his love for his mother was his most striking feature. While he was not a "mother's boy" in the usual sense, I have never witnessed a closer attachment. Some insist that this love verged on the pathological. As a former intimate of the family, I do not believe this is true.

Klara Hitler adored her son, the youngest of the family. She allowed him his own way wherever possible. His father had insisted that he become an official. He rebelled and won his mother to his side. He soon tired of school, so his mother allowed him to drop his studies.

All friends of the family know how Frau Hitler encouraged his boyish efforts to become an artist; at what cost to herself one may guess. Despite their poverty, she permitted him to reject a job which was offered in the post office, so that he could continue his painting. She admired his water colors and his sketches of the countryside. Whether this was honest admiration or whether it was merely an effort to encourage his talent I do not know.

She did her best to raise her boy well. She saw that he was neat, clean and as well fed as her purse would permit. Whenever he came to my consultation room this strange boy would sit among the other patients, awaiting his turn.

There was never anything seriously wrong. Possibly his tonsils would be inflamed. He would stand obedient and unflinching while I depressed his tongue and swabbed the trouble spots. Or, possibly, he would be suffering with a cold. I would treat him and send him on his way. Like any well-bred boy of fourteen or fifteen he would bow and thank me courteously.

I, of course, know of the stomach trouble that beset him later in life, largely as a result of bad diet while working as a common laborer in Vienna. I cannot understand the many references to his lung trouble as a youth. I was the only doctor treating him during the period in which he is supposed to have suffered from this. My records show nothing of the sort. To be sure, he didn't have the rosy cheeks and the robust good health of most of the other youngsters; but at the same time he was not sickly.

At the *Realschule* young Adolf's work was anything but brilliant. As authority for this, I have the word of his former teacher, Dr. Karl Huemer, an old acquaintance of mine. I was Frau Huemer's physician. In *Mein Kampf*, Hitler records that he was an indifferent student in most subjects, but that he loved history. This agrees with the recollections of Professor Huemer.

Desiring additional training in painting, Hitler decided he would go to Vienna to study at the Academy. This was a momentous decision for a member of a poor family. His mother worried about how he would get along. I understand that she even suggested pinching the family budget a little tighter to enable her to send him a tiny allowance. Credit to the boy, he refused. He even went further: he signed his minute inheritance over to his sisters. He was eighteen at the time.

I am not sure of the exact details of what happened on that trip to Vienna. Some contend that he was not admitted to the Academy because of his unsatisfactory art work. Others accept Hitler's statement that his rejection was due to his failure to graduate from the *Realschule* — the equivalent of an American high school. In any case he was home again within a few weeks. It was later in this year — 1908 [1907, according to some sources] — that it became my duty to give Hitler what was perhaps the saddest news of his life.

One day Frau Hitler came to visit me during my morning office hours. She complained of a pain in her chest. She spoke in a quiet, hushed voice; almost a whisper. The pain, she said, had been great; enough to deep her awake nights on end. She had been busy with her household so had neglected to seek medical aid. Besides, she thought the pain would pass away. When a physician hears such a story he almost automatically thinks of cancer. An examination showed that Frau Hitler had an exten-

sive tumor of the breast. I did not tell her of my diagnosis.

The Family Decides

I summoned the children to my office next day and stated the case frankly. Their mother, I told them, was a gravely ill woman. A malignant tumor is serious enough today, but it was even more serious thirty years ago. Surgical techniques were not so advanced and knowledge of cancer not so extensive.

Without surgery, I explained, there was absolutely no hope of recovery. Even with surgery there was but the slightest chance that she would live. In family council they must decide what was to be done.

Adolf Hitler's reaction to this news was touching. His long, sallow face was contorted. Tears flowed from his eyes. Did his mother, he asked, have no chance? Only then did I realize the magnitude of the attachment that existed between mother and son. I explained that she did have a chance; but a small one. Even this shred of hope gave him some comfort.

The children carried my message to their mother. She accepted the verdict as I was sure she would — with fortitude. Deeply religious, she assumed that her fate was God's will. It would never have occurred to her to complain. She would submit to the operation as soon as I could make preparations.

I explained the case to Dr. Karl Urban, the chief of the surgical staff at the Hospital of the Sisters of Mercy in Linz. Urban was one of the best-known surgeons in Upper Austria. He was — and is — a generous man, a credit to his profession. He willingly agreed to undertake the operation on any basis I suggested. After examination he concurred in my belief that Frau Hitler had very little chance of surviving but that surgery offered the only hope.

It is interesting to note what happened to this generous man nearly three decades later — after *Anschluss* [union] with Germany. Because of his political connections he was forced to abandon his position at the hospital. His son, who pioneered in brain surgery, was likewise forced from several offices.

Frau Hitler arrived at the hospital one evening in the early summer of 1908 [1907?]. I do not have the exact date, for my records of the case were placed in the archives of the Nazi party in Munich. In any case, Frau Hitler spent the night in the hospital and was operated on the following morning. At the request of this gentle, harried soul I remained beside the operating table while Dr. Urban and his assistant performed the surgery.

Two hours later I drove in my carriage across the Danube to the little house at No. 9 Bluetenstrasse, in the section of the city known as Urfahr. There the children awaited me.

The girls received the word I brought with calm and reserve. The face of the boy was streaked with tears, and his eyes were tired and red. He listened until I had finished speaking. He has but one question. In a choked voice he asked: "Does my mother suffer?"

Hitler's Worst Moment

As weeks and months passed after the operation Frau Hitler's strength began visibly to fail. At most she could be out of bed for an hour or two a day. During this period Adolf spent most of his time around the house, to which his mother had returned.

He slept in the tiny bedroom adjoining that of his mother so that he could be summoned at any time during the night. During the day he hovered about the large bed in which she lay.

In illness such as that suffered by Frau Hitler, there is usually a great amount of pain. She bore her burden well; unflinching and uncomplaining. But it seemed to torture her son. An anguished grimace would come over him when he saw pain contract her face. There was little that could be done. An injection of morphine from time to time would give temporary relief; but nothing lasting. Yet Adolf seemed enormously grateful even for these short periods of release.

I shall never forget Klara Hitler during those days. She was forty-eight at the time; tall, slender and rather handsome, yet wasted by disease. She was soft-spoken, patient; more concerned about what would happen to her family than she was about her approaching death. She made no secret of these worries; or about the fact that most of her thoughts were for her son. "Adolf is still so young," she said repeatedly.

On the day of December 20, 1908 [or 1907], I made two calls. The end was approaching and I wanted this good woman to be as comfortable as I could make her. I didn't know whether she would live another week, or another month; or whether death would come in a matter of hours.

So, the word that Angela Hitler brought me the following morning came as no surprise. Her mother had died quietly in the night. The children had decided not to disturb me, knowing that their mother was beyond all medical aid. But, she asked, could I come now? Someone in an official position would have to sign the death certificate. I put on my coat and drove with her to the grief-stricken cottage.

The postmaster's widow, their closest friend, was with the children, having more or less taken charge of things. Adolf, his face showing the weariness of a sleepless night, sat beside his mother. In order to preserve a last impression, he had sketched her as she lay on her deathbed.

I sat with the family for a while, trying to ease their grief. I explained that in this case death had been a savior. They understood.

In the practice of my profession it is natural that I should have witnessed many scenes such as this one, yet none of them left me with quite the same impression. In all my career I have never seen anyone so prostrate with grief as Adolf Hitler.

I did not attend Klara Hitler's funeral, which was held on Christmas Eve. The body was taken from Urfahr to Leonding, only a few miles distant. Klara Hitler was buried beside her husband in the Catholic cemetery, behind the small, yellow stucco church. After the others — the girls, and the postmaster's widow — had left, Adolf remained behind; unable to tear himself away from the freshly filled grave.

And so this gaunt, pale young man stood alone in the cold. Alone with his thoughts on Christmas Eve while the rest of the world was gay and happy.

A few days after the funeral the family came to my office. They wished to thank me for the help I had given them. There was Paula, fair and stocky; Angela, slender, pretty but rather anemic; Klara and Adolf. The girls spoke what was in their hearts while Adolf remained silent. I recall this particular scene as vividly as I might recall something that took place last week.

Adolf wore a dark suit and a loosely knotted cravat. Then, as now, a shock of hair tumbled over his forehead. His eyes were on the floor while his sisters were talking. Then came his turn. He stepped forward and took my hand. Looking into my eyes, he said: "I shall be grateful to you forever." That was all. Then he bowed. I wonder if today he recalls this scene. I am quite sure that he does, for in a sparing sense Adolf Hitler had kept to his promise of gratitude. Favors were granted me which I feel sure were accorded no other Jew in all Germany or Austria.

Part II

Almost immediately after his mother's funeral Hitler left for Vienna, to attempt once more a career as an artist. His growth to manhood had been a painful experience for this boy who lived within himself. But ever more trying days were coming. Poor as the family was, he had at least been assured food and shelter while living at home. This couldn't be said of the days in Vienna. Hitler was entirely engrossed with the business of keeping body and soul together.

We all know something of his life there — how he worked as a hodcarrier on building-construction jobs until workmen threatened to push him off a scaffold. And we know that he shoveled snow and took any other job he could find. During this period, for three years in fact, Hitler lived in a man's hostel, the equivalent of a flophouse in any large American city. It was here that he began to dream of a world remade to his pattern.

While living in the hostel, surrounded by the human dregs of the large city, Hitler says, "I became dissatisfied with myself for the first time in my life." This dissatisfaction with himself was followed by dissatisfaction with everything about him — and the desire to alter things to his own liking.

Hitler's mother, Klara, at about the time of her marriage in 1885.

The vitriol of hate began to creep through his body. The grim realities of the life he lived encouraged him to hate the government, labor unions, the very men he lived with. But he had not yet begun to hate the Jews.

During this period he took time out to send me a penny postcard. On the back was a message: "From Vienna I send you my greetings. Yours, always faithfully, Adolf Hitler." It was a small thing, yet I appreciated it. I had spent a great deal of time treating the Hitler family and it was nice to know that this effort on my part had not been forgotten.

Official Nazi publications also record that I received one of Hitler's paintings — a small landscape. If I did I am not aware of it. But it is quite possible that he sent me one and that I have forgotten the matter. In Austria patients frequently send paintings or other gifts to their physicians as a mark of gratitude. Even now I have half a dozen of these oils and water colors which I have saved; but none painted by Hitler among them.

I did, however, preserve one piece of Hitler's art work. This came during the period in Vienna when

he was painting post cards, posters, etc., making enough money to support himself. This was the one time in his life that Hitler was able to make successful use of his talent.

He would paint these cards and dry them in front of a hot fire, which would give them a rather pleasing antique quality. Then other inmates of the hostel would peddle them. Today in Germany the few remaining samples of this work are more highly prized and sought after than the works of Picasso, Gauguin and Cézanne!

Hitler sent me one of these cards. It showed a hooded Capuchin monk hoisting a glass of bubbling champagne. Under the picture was a caption: "Prosit Neujahr — A toast to the New Year." On the reverse side he had written a message: "The Hitler family sends you the best wishes for a Happy New Year. In everlasting thankfulness, Adolf Hitler."

Why I put these cards aside to be saved, I do not know. Possibly it was because of the impression made upon me by that unhappy boy. Even today I cannot help thinking of him in terms of his grief and not in terms of what he has done to the world.

Those postal cards had a curious history. They indicated the extent to which Hitler has captured the imagination of some people. A rich Viennese industrialist — I do not know his name because he dealt through an intermediary — later made me an astonishing offer. He wanted to buy those two cards and was willing to pay 20,000 marks for them! I rejected the offer on the ground that I could not ethically make such a sale.

There is still another story in those two cards. Seventeen days after the collapse of the Schuschnigg government and the occupation of Austria by German troops, an agent of the Gestapo called at my home. At the time I was making a professional call, but my wife received him.

"Retained for Safekeeping"

"I am informed," he said, "that you have some souvenirs of the Fuehrer. I should like to see them." Acting sensibly, my wife made no protest. She didn't wish to have her home torn apart as so many Jewish homes had been. She found the two cards and handed them over. The agent scribbled a receipt which read: "Certificate for the safekeeping of two post cards (one of them painted by the hand of Adolf Hitler) confiscated in the house of Dr. Eduard Bloch." It was signed by the agent, named Groemer, who was previously unknown to us. He said I was to come to headquarters the following morning.

Almost as soon as the Nazis entered the city the Gestapo took over the small hotel in Gesellenhausstrasse formally patronized by traveling clergymen. I went to this place and was received almost immediately. I was greeted courteously by Dr. Rasch, head of the local bureau. I asked him why these bits of property had been taken.

Those were busy days for the Gestapo. There were many things to be looked after in a town of 120,000 people. It developed that Dr. Rasch was not familiar with my case. He asked if I were under suspicion for any political activity unfavorable to the Nazis. I replied that I was not; that I was a professional man with no political connections.

Apparently as an afterthought, he asked if I were a non-Aryan. I answered without compromise: "I am a 100 percent Jew." The change that came over him was instantaneous. Previously he had been businesslike but courteous. Now he became distant.

The cards, he said, would be retained for safekeeping. Then he dismissed me, neither rising nor shaking hands as he had when I entered. So far as I know the cards are still in the hands of the Gestapo. I never saw them again.

When he left for Vienna, Adolf Hitler was destined to disappear from our lives for a great many years. He had no friends in Linz to whom he might return to visit and few with whom he might exchange correspondence. So, it was much later that we learned of his wretched poverty on those days, and of his subsequent moving to Munich in 1912 [actually, in May 1913].

No news came back of the way in which he fell on his knees and thanked God when war was declared in 1914; and no news of his war service as a corporal with the 16th Bavarian Reserve Infantry. We heard nothing of his being wounded and gassed. Not until the beginning of his political career in 1920 were we again to get news of this quiet, polite boy who grew up among us.

Could This Be Adolf?

Occasionally the local newspapers would run items about the group of political supporters that Hitler was gathering about himself in Munich; stories of their hatred of the Jews, of the Versailles Peace, of nearly everything else. But no particular importance was attached to these activities. Not until twenty people died in the beer-hall putsch of November 8, 1923, did Hitler achieve local notoriety. Was it possible, I asked myself, that the man behind these things was the quiet boy I had known — the son of the gentle Klara Hitler?

Eventually even the mention of Hitler's name in the Austrian press was prohibited; still we continued to get word-of-mouth news of our former townsman: stories of the persecutions he had launched; of German rearmament; of war to come. This smuggled news reached responsive ears. A local Nazi party sprang up.

In theory such a party could not exist; it had been outlawed by the government. In practice authorities gave it their blessings. Denied uniforms, local Nazis adopted methods of identifying themselves to everyone. They wore white stockings. On their coats they wore a small wild flower, very much like the American daisy, and at Christmas time they

burned blue candles in their homes.

We all knew these things, but nothing was done. From time to time local authorities would find a Nazi flag on Klara Hitler's grave in Leonding, and would remove it without ceremony. Still, the gathering storm in Germany seemed remote. It was quite a while before I got any firsthand word from Adolf Hitler. Then, in 1937, a number of local Nazis attended the party conference at Nuremberg. After the conference Hitler invited several of these people to come with him to his mountain villa at Berchtesgaden. The Fuehrer asked for news of Linz. How was the town? Were people there supporting him? He asked for news of me. Was I still alive, still practicing? Then he made a statement irritating to local Nazis. "Dr. Bloch," said Hitler, "is an *Edeljude* — a noble Jew. If all Jews were like him, there would be no Jewish question." It was strange, and in a way flattering, that Adolf Hitler could see good in at least one member of my race.

It is curious now to look back on the feeling of security that we had by virtue of living on the right side of an imaginary line, the international boundary. Surely Germany would not chance invading Austria. France was friendly. Occupation of Austria would be inimical to the interests of Italy. Oh, but we were blind, in those days! Then we were caught up in a breathless rush of events. It was with hope that we read of [Austrian chancellor] Schuschnigg's trip to Berchtesgaden; his plebiscite; his inclusion of Seyss-Inquart in his cabinet. Possibly we would ride through this crisis untouched. But hope was doomed to death within a very few hours. As soon as Seyss-Inquart was taken into the cabinet, buttons sprouted in every lapel: "One People, One Realm, One Leader."

While Austria Died

On Friday, March 11, 1938, the Vienna radio was broadcasting a program of light music. It was 7:45 at night. Suddenly the announcer broke in. The chancellor would speak. Schuschnigg came on the air and said that to prevent bloodshed he was capitulating to the wishes of Hitler. The frontiers would be opened, he ended his address with the words: "*Gott schütze Oesterreich*" — may God protect Austria. Hitler was coming home to Linz.

In the sleepless days that followed we clung to our radios. Troops were pouring over the border at Passau, Kufstein, Mittenwalde and elsewhere. Hitler himself was crossing the Inn River at Braunau, his birthplace. Breathlessly, the announcer told us the story of the march. The Fuehrer himself would pause in Linz. The town went mad with joy. The reader should have no doubts about the popularity of *Anschluss* with Germany. The people favored it. They greeted the onrushing tide of German troops with flowers, cheers and songs. Church bells rang. Austrian troops and police fraternized with the invaders and there was general rejoicing.

The public square in Linz, a block from my home, was a turmoil. All afternoon it rang with the Horst Wessel song and *Deutschland über Alles*. Planes droned overhead, and advance units of the German army were given deafening cheers. Finally the radio announced that Hitler was in Linz.

Advance instructions had been given to the townspeople. All windows along the procession route were to be closed. Each should be lighted. I stood at the window of my home facing Landstrasse. Hitler would pass before me.

The Hero Returns

Soon the procession arrived — the great, black Mercedes car, a six-wheeled affair, flanked by motorcycles. The frail boy I had treated so often, and whom I had not seen for thirty years — stood in the car. I had accorded him only kindness; what was he now to do to the people I loved? I peered over the heads of the crowd at Adolf Hitler.

It was a moment of tense excitement. For years Hitler had been denied the right to visit the country of his birth. Now that country belonged to him. The elation that he felt was written on his features. He smiled, waved, gave the Nazi salute to the people that crowded the street. Then, for a moment he glanced up at my window. I doubt that he saw me, but he must have had a moment of reflection. Here was the home of the *Edeljude* who had diagnosed his mother's fatal cancer; here was the consultation room of the man who had treated his sisters; here was the place he had gone as a boy to have his minor ailments attended.

It was a brief moment. Then the procession was gone. It moved slowly into the town square — once Franz Josef Platz, soon to be renamed Adolf Hitler Platz. He spoke from the balcony of the town hall. I listened on the radio. Historic words: Germany and Austria were now one.

Hitler established himself in the Weinzinger Hotel, particularly requesting an apartment with a view of the Poestling Mountain. This scene had been visible from the windows of the modest apartment where he spent his boyhood.

The following day he called in a few old acquaintances: Oberhummer, a local party functionary; Kubitschek [Kubizek], the musician; Liedel, the watchmaker; Dr. Huemer, his former history teacher. It was understandable that he couldn't ask me, a Jew, to such a meeting; yet he did inquire after me. For a while I thought of asking for an audience, then decided this would be unwise.

Hitler arrived Saturday evening. Sunday he visited his mother's grave, and reviewed local Nazis as they marched before him. Not equipped with uniforms, they wore knickerbockers, ski pants or leather shorts. On Monday Hitler departed for Vienna.

Soon we were brought to a sharp realization of how different things were to be. There were 700

Jews in Linz. Shops, homes and offices of all these people were marked with the yellow-paper banners now visible throughout Germany, *JUDE* — Jew.

The first suggestion that I was to receive special

A sketch of the 16-year-old Hitler, drawn by a schoolmate.

favors came one day when the local Gestapo telephoned. I was to remove the yellow signs from my office and home. Then a second thing happened: My landlord, an Aryan, went to Gestapo headquarters to ask if I were to be allowed to remain in my apartment. "We wouldn't dare touch that matter," he was told. "It will be handled by Berlin." Hitler, apparently, had remembered. Then something happened that made me doubt.

For no reason whatsoever my son-in-law, a young physician, was jailed. No one was allowed to see him, and we received no news of him. My daughter went to the Gestapo. "Would the Leader like to know that the son-in-law of his old physician had been sent to prison?" she asked. She was treated rudely and brusquely for her temerity. Hadn't the signs been removed from her father's house? Wasn't that enough? Yet her visit must have had some effect. Within three weeks her husband was released.

My practice, which I believe was one of the largest in Linz, had begun to dwindle as long as a year before the arrival of Hitler. In this I might have seen a portent of things to come. Faithful older patients were quite frank in their explanations. The hatred preached by the Nazis was taking hold with the younger people. They would no longer patronize a Jew.

By decree, my active practice was limited to Jewish patients. This was another way of saying that I was to cease work altogether. For plans were in the making for ridding the town of all Jews. On November 10, 1938, the ruling was issued that all Jews were to leave Linz within forty-eight hours. They were to go to Vienna. The shock that attended this edict may be imagined. People who had lived all their lives in Linz were to sell their property, pack and depart in the space of two days.

I called at the Gestapo. Was I to leave? I was informed that an exception had been made in my case. I could remain. My daughter and her husband? Since they had already signified their intention of emigrating to America, they also could stay. But they would have to vacate their house. If there was room in my apartment they would be permitted to move there.

No More Favors

After thirty-seven years of active work my practice was at an end. I was permitted to treat only Jews. After the evacuation order there were but seven members of this race left in Linz. All were over eighty years of age.

It is understandable that my daughter and her husband would wish to take their life savings with them when they departed for America. So would I when my turn came to depart. Getting any local ruling on such a matter was out of the question. I knew that I couldn't see Adolf Hitler. Yet I felt that if I could get a message to him he would perhaps give us some help.

If Hitler himself was inaccessible perhaps one of his sisters would aid us. Klara was the nearest; she lived in Vienna. Her husband had died and she lived alone in a modest apartment in a quiet residential district. Plans were made for my daughter, Gertrude, to make the trip to Vienna to see her. She went to the apartment, knocked, but got no answer. Yet she was sure that there was someone at home.

She sought the aid of a neighbor. Frau Wolf — Klara Hitler — received no one, the neighbor said, except a few intimate friends. But this kind woman agreed to carry a message and report Frau Wolf's reply. My daughter waited. Soon the answer came back. Frau Wolf sent greetings and would do whatever she could. By good fortune Hitler was in Vienna that night for one of his frequent but unheralded visits to the opera. Frau Wolf saw him and, I feel sure, gave him the message. But no exception was

made in our case. When our turn came we were forced to go penniless, like so many thousands of others.

How has Hitler treated an old friend — one who cared for his family with patience, consideration and charity? Let's sum up the favors:

I don't believe that another Jew in all Austria was allowed to keep his passport. No J was stamped on my ration card, once food became scarce. This was most helpful because Jews today are allowed to shop only during restricted hours which are often inconvenient. Without the J on my card I could buy at any time. I was even given a ration card for clothes — something generally denied Jews.

If my relations with the Gestapo were not precisely cordial, I at least didn't suffer at their hands as did so many others. I was told on good authority, and I can well believe it, that the bureau in Linz had received special instructions from the chancellery in Berlin that I was to be accorded any reasonable favor.

It is possible, but unlikely, that my war record was particularly responsible for these small considerations. During the war I had charge of a 1,000–bed military hospital, and my wife supervised welfare work among the sick. I was twice decorated for this service.

Hitler Rebuilds His Home City

Hitler still regards Linz as his true home, and the changes he has wrought are astonishing. The once quiet, sleepy town had been transformed by its "godfather" — an honorary title particularly dear to Hitler. Whole blocks of old houses have been pulled down to make way for modern apartment houses; thereby causing an acute but temporary housing shortage. A new theater has gone up and a new bridge has been built over the Danube. The bridge, according to local legend, was designed by Hitler himself and plans were already completed at the time of *Anschluss*. The vast Hermann Goering Iron Works, built in the past two years, is just starting operations. To carry on this program of reconstruction whole trainloads of laborers have been imported: Czechs, Poles, Belgians.

Hitler has visited the city twice since the *Anschluss*, once at the time of the election which was to approve union with Germany; a second time secretly to see how reconstruction of the town was progressing. Each time had has stayed at the Weinzinger Hotel.

On the second visit the proprietor of the hotel was informed that Hitler's presence in town was not to be announced; that he would make his inspection tour in the morning. Delighted at having such an important personage in his house, the proprietor could not resist boasting. He telephoned several friends to give them the news. For this breach of discipline he paid heavily. His hotel was confiscated.

Many times I have been approached by Hitler biographers for notes on his youth. In most instances I have refused to speak. But I did talk to one of these men. He was a pleasant middle-aged gentleman from Vienna, who came from the government department headed by Rudolf Hess, of the Nazi inner circle. He was writing an official biography. I gave him such details as I could recall, and my medical records which he subsequently sent to Nazi party headquarters in Munich. He stayed in Linz and Braunau for several weeks; then the project terminated abruptly. I was told he had been sent to the silence of the concentration camp. Why, I do not know.

When it finally became my turn to leave Linz for America I knew that it would be impossible for me to take my savings with me. But the Gestapo had one more favor for me. I was to be allowed to take sixteen marks from the country instead of the customary ten!

The Nazi organization of physicians gave me a letter, of what value I do not know, which states that I was "worthy of recommendation." It went on to say that, because of my "character, medical knowledge and readiness to help the sick," I had won "the appreciation and esteem of my fellow men."

A party official suggested that I was expected to show some gratitude for all these favors. Perhaps a letter to the Fuehrer? Before I left Linz on a cold, foggy November morning, I wrote it. I wonder if it was ever received. It read:

> Your Excellency:
>
> Before passing the border I want to express my thanks for the protection which I have received. In material poverty I am now leaving the town where I have lived for forty-one years; but I leave conscious of having lived in the most exact fulfillment of my duty. At sixty-nine I will start my life anew in a strange country where my daughter is working hard to support her family.
>
> Yours faithfully,
> Eduard Bloch

"When public virtue is gone, when the national spirit is fled, when a party is substituted for the nation and faction for a party, when venality lurks and sulks in secret and, much more, when it impudently braves the public censure . . . the republic is lost in essence, though it may still exist in form."

— John Adams, to Benjamin Rush, Sept. 27, 1808

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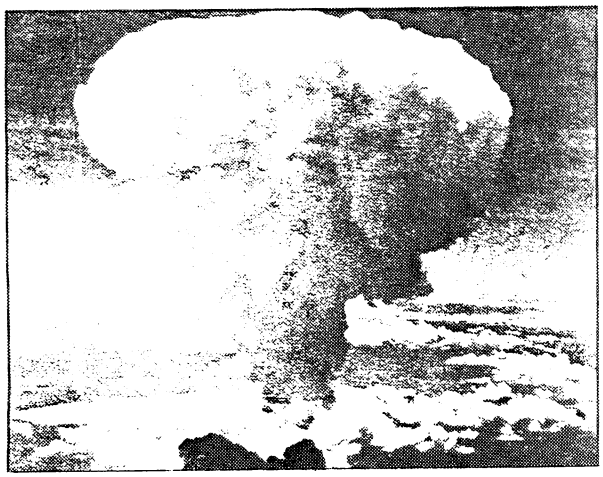

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A Dangerous Cult of Novelty

ALEKSANDR SOLZHENITSYN

One of the most influential historians of our age, Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn has done as much as anyone to promote international awareness of the brutality of the great Soviet experiment in creating a classless, egalitarian world. In January 1993, the Russian Nobel prize laureate was awarded the medal of honor for literature of the National Arts Club in New York City. His wife, Natalya Solzhenitsyn, accepted the medal on his behalf, and his son Ignat read his acceptance remarks. The text of Solzhenitsyn's address follows, translated by his sons, Ignat and Stephan.

There is a long-accepted truth about art that "style is the man" ("*le style est l'homme*"). This means that every work of a skilled musician, artist or writer is shaped by an absolutely unique combination of personality traits, creative abilities and individual, as well as national, experience. And since such a combination can never be repeated, art (but I shall here speak primarily of literature) possesses infinite variety across the ages and among different peoples. The divine plan is such that there is no limit to the appearance of ever new and dazzling creative talents, none of whom, however, negate in any way the works of their outstanding predecessors, even though they may be 500 or 2,000 years removed. The unending quest for what is new and fresh is never closed to us, but this does not deprive our grateful memory of all that came before.

No new work of art comes into existence (whether consciously or unconsciously) without an organic link to what was created earlier. But it is equally true that a healthy conservatism must be flexible both in terms of creation and perception, remaining equally sensitive to the old and to the new, to venerable and worthy traditions, and to the freedom to explore, without which no future can ever be born. At the same time the artist must not forget that creative *freedom* can be dangerous, for the fewer artistic limitations he imposes on his own work, the less chance he has for artistic success. The loss of a responsible organizing force weakens or even ruins the structure, the meaning and the ultimate value of a work of art.

Every age and every form of creative endeavor owes much to those outstanding artists whose untiring labors brought forth new meanings and new rhythms. But in the 20th century the necessary equilibrium between tradition and the search for the unending quest for what is new and fresh is never closed to us, but this does not deprive our grateful memory of all that came before.

No new work of art comes into existence (whether consciously or unconsciously) without an organic link to what was created earlier. But it is equally true that a healthy conservatism must be flexible both in terms of creation and perception, remaining equally sensitive to the old and to the new, to venerable and worthy traditions, and to the freedom to explore, without which no future can ever be born. At the same time the artist must not forget that creative *freedom* can be dangerous, for the fewer artistic limitations he imposes on his own work, the less chance he has for artistic success. The loss of a responsible organizing force weakens or even ruins the structure, the meaning and the ultimate value of a work of art.

Every age and every form of creative endeavor owes much to those outstanding artists whose untiring labors brought forth new meanings and new rhythms. But in the 20th century the necessary equilibrium between tradition and the search for the new has been repeatedly upset by a falsely understood "avant-gardism" — a raucous, impatient "avant-gardism" at any cost. Dating from before World War I, this movement undertook to destroy all commonly accepted art — its forms, language, features and properties — in its drive to build a kind of "superart," which would then supposedly spawn the New Life itself. It was suggested that literature should start anew "on a blank sheet of paper." (Indeed, some never went much beyond this stage.) Destruction, thus, became the apotheosis of this belligerent avant-gardism. It aimed to tear down the entire centuries-long cultural tradition, to break and disrupt the natural flow of artistic development by a sudden leap forward. This goal was to be achieved through an empty pursuit of novel forms as an end in itself, all the while lowering the standards of craftsmanship for oneself to the point of slovenliness and artistic crudity, at times combined with a meaning so obscured as to shade into unintelligibility.

This aggressive impulse might be interpreted as a mere product of personal ambition, were it not for the fact that in Russia (and I apologize to those gathered here for speaking mostly of Russia, but in our time it is impossible to bypass the harsh and extensive experience of my country), in Russia this impulse and its manifestations preceded and foretold the most *physically* destructive revolution of the 20th century. Before erupting on the streets of Petrograd, this cataclysmic revolution erupted on the pages of the artistic and literary journals of the capital's bohemian circles. It is there that we first heard scathing imprecations against the entire Russian and European way of life, the calls to sweep away all religions or ethical codes, to tear down, overthrow, and trample all existing traditional culture, along with the self-extolment of the desperate innovators themselves, innovators who never did succeed in producing anything of worth. Some of these appeals literally called for the destruction of the Racines, the Murillos and the Raphaels, "so that bullets would bounce off museum walls." As for the classics of Russian literature, they were to be "thrown overboard from the ship of modernity." Cultural history would have to begin anew. The cry was "Forward, forward!" — its authors already called themselves "futurists," as though they had now stepped over and beyond the present, and were bestowing upon us what was undoubtedly the genuine art of the Future.

But no sooner did the revolution explode in the streets, than those "futurists" who only recently, in their manifesto entitled "A Slap in the Face of Public Taste," had preached an "insurmountable hatred toward the existing language" — these same "futurists" changed their name to the "Left Front," now directly joining the revolution at its leftmost flank. It thus became clear that the earlier outbursts of this "avant-gardism" were no mere literary froth, but had very real embodiment in life. Beyond their intent to overturn the entire culture, they aimed to uproot life itself. And when the Communists gained unlimited power (their own battle cry called for tearing the existing world "down to its foundations," so as to build a new Unknown Beautiful World in its stead, with equally unlimited brutality) they not only opened wide the gates of publicity and popularity to this horde of so-called "avant-gardists," but even gave some of them, as to faithful allies, power to administrate over culture.

Granted, neither the raging of this pseudo-"avant-garde" nor its power over culture lasted long; there followed a general coma of all culture. We in the USSR began to trudge, downcast, through a 70-year-long ice age, under whose heavy glacial cover one could barely discern the secret heartbeat of a handful of great poets and writers. These were almost entirely unknown to their own country, not to mention the rest of the world, until much later. With the ossification of the totalitarian Soviet regime, its inflated pseudoculture ossified as well, turning into the loathsome ceremonial forms of so-called "socialist realism." Some individuals have been eager to devote numerous critical analyses to the essence and significance of this phenomenon. I would not have written a single one, for it is outside the bounds of art altogether: the *object* of study, the style of "socialist realism," never existed. One does not need to be an expert to see that it consisted of nothing more than servility, a style defined by "What would you care for?" or "Write whatever the Party commands." What scholarly discussion can possibly take place here?

And now, having lived though these 70 lethal years inside Communism's iron shell, we are crawling out, though barely alive. A new age has clearly begun both for Russia and for the whole world. Russia lies utterly ravaged and poisoned; its people are in a state of unprecedented humiliation, and are on the brink of perishing physically, perhaps even biologically. Given the current conditions of national life, and the sudden exposure and ulceration of the wounds amassed over the years, it is only natural that literature should experience a pause. The voices that bring forth the nation's literature need time before they can begin to sound once again.

Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn

However, some writers have emerged who appreciate the removal of censorship and the new, unlimited artistic freedom mostly in one sense: for allowing uninhibited "self-expression." The point is to *express* one's own perception of one's surroundings, often with no sensitivity toward today's ills and scars, and with a visible emptiness of heart; to express the personality of an author, whether it is significant or not; to express it with no sense of responsibility toward the morals of the public, and especially of the young; and at times thickly lacing the language with obscenities which for hundreds of years were considered unthinkable to put in print, but now seem to be almost in vogue.

The confusion of minds after 70 years of total oppression is more than understandable. The artistic perception of the younger generations finds itself in shock, humiliation, resentment, amnesia. Unable to find in themselves the strength fully to withstand and refute Soviet dogma in the past, many young writers have now given in to the more accessible path of pessimistic relativism. Yes, they say, Communist doctrines were a great lie; but then again, absolute truths do not exist anyhow, and trying to find them is pointless. Nor is it worth the trouble to strive for some kind of higher meaning.

And in one sweeping gesture of vexation, classical Russian literature — which never disdained reality and sought the truth — is dismissed as next to worthless. Denigrating the past is deemed to be the key to progress. And so it had once again become fashionable in Russia to ridicule, debunk, and toss overboard the great Russian literature, steeped as it is in love and compassion toward all human beings and especially toward those who suffer. And in order to facilitate this operation of discarding, it is announced that the lifeless and servile "socialist realism" had in fact been an organic continuation of full-blooded Russian literature.

Thus we witness, through history's various thresholds, a recurrence of one and the same perilous anti-cultural phenomenon, with its rejection of and contempt for all foregoing tradition, and with its mandatory hostility toward whatever is universally accepted. Before, it burst in upon us with the fanfares and gaudy flag of "futurism"; today the term "post-modernism" is applied. (Whatever the meaning intended for this term, its lexical makeup involves an incongruity: the seeming claim that a person can think and experience *after* the period in which he is destined to live.)

For a post-modernist, the world does not possess values that have reality. He even has an expression for this: "the world as text," as something secondary, as the text of an author's work, wherein the primary object of interest is the author himself in his relationship to the work, his own introspection. Culture, in this view, ought to be directed inward at itself (which is why these works are so full of reminiscences, to the point of tastelessness); it alone is valuable and real. For this reason the concept of play acquires a heightened importance — not the Mozartian playfulness of a Universe overflowing with joy, but an forced playing upon the strings of emptiness, where an author need have no responsibility to anyone. A denial of any and all ideals is considered courageous. And in this voluntary self-delusion, "post-modernism" sees itself as the crowning achievement of all previous culture, the final link in its chain. (A rash hope, for already there is talk of a birth of "conceptualism," a term that has yet to be convincingly defend in terms of its relationship to art, though no doubt this too will duly be attempted. And then there is already *post-avant-gardism*; and it would be no surprise if we were to witness the appearance of a "post-post-modernism," or of a "post-futurism.") We could have sympathy for this constant searching, but only as we have sympathy for the suffering of a sick man. The search is doomed by its theoretical premises to forever remaining a secondary or ternary exercise, devoid of life or of a future.

But let us shift our attention to the more complex flow of this process. Even though the 20th century has seen the more bitter and disheartening lot fall to the peoples under Communist domination, our whole world is living though a century of spiritual illness, which could not but give rise to a similar ubiquitous illness in art. Although for other reasons, a similar "post-modernist" sense of confusion about the world has also arisen in the West.

Alas, at a time of an unprecedented rise in the material benefits of civilization and ever-improving standards of living, the West, too, has been undergoing an erosion and obscuring of high moral and ethical ideals. The spiritual axis of life has grown dim, and to some lost artists the world had now appeared in seeming senselessness, as an absurd conglomeration of debris.

Yes, world culture today is of course in crisis, a crisis of great severity. The newest directions in art seek to outpace this crisis on the wooden horse of clever stratagems — on the assumption that if one invents deft, resourceful new methods, it will be as though the crisis never was. Vain hopes. Nothing worthy can be built on a neglect of higher meanings and on a relativistic view of concepts and culture as a whole. Indeed, something greater than a phenomenon confined to art can be discerned shimmering here beneath the surface — shimmering not with light but with an ominous crimson glow.

Looking intently, we can see that behind these ubiquitous and seemingly innocent experiments of rejecting "antiquated" tradition there lies a deep-seated hostility toward any spirituality. This relentless cult of novelty, with its assertion that art need not be good or pure, just so long as it is new, newer, and newer still, conceals an unyielding and long-sustained attempt to undermine, ridicule and uproot all moral precepts. There is no God, there is

no truth, the universe is chaotic, all is relative, "the world as text," a text any post-modernist is willing to compose. How clamorous it all is, but also — how helpless.

For several decades now, world literature, music, painting and sculpture have exhibited a stubborn tendency to grow not higher but to the side, not toward the highest achievements of craftsmanship and of the human spirit but toward their disintegration into a frantic and insidious "novelty." To decorate public spaces we put up sculptures that estheticize pure ugliness — but we no longer register surprise. And if visitors from outer space were to pick up our music over the airwaves, how could they ever guess that earthlings once had a Bach, a Beethoven and a Schubert, now abandoned as out of date and obsolete?

If we, the creators of art, will obediently submit to this downward slide, if we cease to hold dear the great cultural tradition of the foregoing centuries together with the spiritual foundations from which it grew — we will be contributing to a highly dangerous fall of the human spirit on earth, to a degeneration of mankind into some kind of lower state, closer to the animal world.

And yet, it is hard to believe that we will allow this to occur. Even in Russia, so terribly ill right now, we wait and hope that after the coma and a period of silence, we shall feel the breath of a reawakening Russian literature, and that we shall witness the arrival of fresh new forces — of our younger brothers.

A Holocaust Debate

Only rarely do those who detest Doug Collins' audacious skepticism about the Holocaust story ever bother to respond to the substance of his arguments. Normally his detractors react with blind invective. In a rare exception, two University of British Columbia historians replied to Collins' August 18 column — reprinted in the Nov.–Dec. 1993 Journal *(pp. 10–11) — with a more or less thoughtful letter. That letter is reprinted here, along with follow-up letters by Collins and Robert Faurisson (and with the original headlines), from the* North Shore News *of Nov. 7, Dec. 3, and Nov. 19.*

Holocaust Scrutiny To Refute Falsifiers

Dear Editor:

In his column of Aug. 18 Doug Collins doubted that five or six million Jews were killed in the Holocaust by citing the names of a number of utterly discredited supporters of his position.

The claims of David Irving, Paul Rassinier, Robert Faurisson, Fred Leuchter, and Arthur Butz collapsed during cross-examination at Zündel's trials or under the scrutiny of historians outside the courtroom. The answer to Collins' own question why they continue their campaign can be found in Deborah Lipstadt's book, *Denying the Holocaust: The Growing Assault on Truth and Memory* (1993).

Short work can be made of Collins' other citations. That Churchill hardly mentioned the Holocaust only demonstrates a deficiency as an historian. Scholars have proven that the Red Cross never provided a figure of 300,000 [deaths] after the war.

Yehuda Bauer and Raul Hilberg, who were selectively quoted or slandered by Collins in his column, as well as other admirable writers on the subject such as Martin Gilbert, Leni Yahil, Lucy Dawidowicz, Michael Marrus and Christopher Browning, are agreed on a number higher than five million even if less than six.

The German historian H. Krausnick overwhelmingly documented the murder of approximately 2.2 million Jews by the Einsatzgruppen, referred to obliquely by Collins, and the figures for the extermination camps are 3,550,000, even allowing a low number for Auschwitz (Chelmno, 150,000; Belzec, 600,000; Sobibor, 200,000; Majdanek, 200,000; Treblinka, 900,000; Auschwitz, 1,500,000). By this widely accepted reckoning the total is 5,750,000.

Any doubter of mass gassings at Auschwitz should examine the extraordinary documentary assembled by Jean-Claude Pressac, *Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers* (1989).

After the dissolution of the Soviet Union, Russia released a vast number of captured German documents from Auschwitz and scholars have microfilmed the archives of German and collaborationist governments in eastern Europe.

We will soon have more precise (probably also higher) numbers, and many gaps in the history will be filled, but certainly not in support of the falsifiers cited in obstinate ignorance by Collins.

Leonidas E. Hill
John S. Conway
Dept. of History,
University of British Columbia
Vancouver

The Story Keeps Changing

Dear Editor:

Leonidas E. Hill of UBC accuses me of "selectivity" and "slandering" Professor Yehuda Bauer and others in my column of Aug. 18 on the "Holocaust" ("The story keeps changing").

Bauer is director of Holocaust studies at Hebrew University in Israel, and was reported in the *New York Times* of Nov. 12, 1989, as saying that the four million figure for all deaths at Auschwitz

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Holocaust Revisionism is on the march, and the hard-pressed defenders of the orthodox Holocaust story are retreating. The forensic investigations conducted at Auschwitz by Leuchter and others, the drastic reduction in the official Auschwitz death toll, the release of previously-suppressed Auschwitz camp death records—all these developments signal the collapse of this century's most pernicious—and most politically exploited—myth.

These books—the most important works of Revisionist scholarship—remain as vital and as powerful as ever. That's why they are considered so dangerous by the enemies of free inquiry and historical truth, and have been banned in several countries. If you've read them already, why not make a gift of one or more of them to someone who hasn't?

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was "patently false," and that the true figure as far as Jews were concerned was 1.35 million.

"The larger figures have been dismissed for years," he continued, "except that it hasn't reached the public and I think it's about time it did." The Polish communists and nationalists [Bauer added] "promoted the larger figures to serve a political purpose."

According to Hill, "scholars have proven that the Red Cross never provided a figure of 300,000 (who died in the camps)." But a Red Cross report dated May 11, 1979, states that the total was 271,304, plus a further 90,069 who died elsewhere. The numbers do indeed keep changing.

Hill's snooty remark on Winston Churchill demands comment. That Churchill made no reference to the holocaust in his six-volume war history he puts down to Churchill's "inadequacy" as a historian. Really? Churchill may not have had a degree in history from UBC, but the author of *The World Crisis*, *A History of the English Speaking Peoples*, *The Life of Marlborough*, *The Second World War* and many other works, is not to be sneezed at. What has Hill done?

Hill needs a lesson in English, too. One can libel a person in print, but not slander him.

Doug Collins
West Vancouver

Faurisson Still Waiting For "Exterminationists"

Dear Editor:

In his letter of Nov. 7, Mr. Leonidas Hill of UBC took issue with a column on the Holocaust written by Doug Collins.

In doing so, he claimed that evidence given by me and other defence witnesses at the second Zündel trial "collapsed under the scrutiny of historians." That is nonsense, and so is his further claim that 5,750,000 Jews were exterminated.

A reading of the transcript of the trial suffices to show that there was no order to exterminate the Jews, no plan (not even at Wannsee), no budget, no expert report stating "this was a homicidal gas chamber" and no autopsy report stating "this was the body of an inmate killed by poison gas."

On the contrary, proof was delivered that the alleged homicidal Nazi gas chambers, could not have existed. After the trial, Arno Mayer, history professor at Princeton and of Jewish origin, wrote:

> Sources for the study of the gas chambers are at once rare and unreliable . . . Besides, certainly at Auschwitz but probably overall, more Jews were killed by "natural causes" than "unnatural" ones. (See the book *Why Did The Heavens Not Darken?*, Pantheon, 1988.)

Hill mentioned Jean-Claude Pressac's 1989 book *Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the*

Gas Chambers. That title is misleading. According to the author himself, the book contains no "proofs" of the crime, but what he calls "criminal traces."

Recently, Pressac published a second book, *Les Crématoires d'Auschwitz*. There is nothing new in it except that he no longer puts the number of deaths at four million (Nuremberg trial) or 1,500,000 (L. E. Hill), but 775,000 rounded up to 800,000. The real Auschwitz figure might be about 150,000 deaths, due especially to typhus and typhoid.

I am still waiting for the "exterminationists" to respond to my challenge: "Show me or draw me a Nazi gas chamber."

Prof. Robert Faurisson
Vichy, France

Martin Larson

Dr. Martin A. Larson, a good friend of the Institute for Historical Review since its founding, died on January 16 in Arizona at the age of 96.

He spoke at the first IHR conference, held at Northrop University in Los Angeles in 1979, dedicating this first-ever International Revisionist Conference to the memory of his friend of many years, historian Harry Elmer Barnes. Larson concluded his dedication address with the words: "Let this convention be a memorial to this great and courageous man, and let his great spirit, which never was daunted by obstacles or threats, permeate our own work while we are here." Dr. Larson also spoke at the IHR conferences of 1980, 1981, 1982, 1983, 1986 and 1987.

He served as a member of this *Journal*'s Editorial Advisory Committee from the very first (Spring 1980) issue until his recent death, and four articles by him appeared in the *Journal* over the years.

Larson was born in Whitehall, Michigan, in 1897. Following service in the US Navy, he attended and graduated from Kalamazoo College, where he distinguished himself in track, forensics and scholarship. With a state fellowship, he went on to study at the University of Michigan, which awarded him a Ph.D. in English literature in 1927 for his research into the sources of Milton's theology. For a number of years he taught at what are now Eastern Michigan University and the University of Idaho.

After a period of running his own business in Detroit, he retired at the age of 53 to devote himself to research and writing. He took a particularly keen interest in comparative religions, taxation and the monetary system.

Dr. Larson was the author of more than 20 books. His first, *The Modernity of Milton*, was based on his doctoral dissertation. Another, *The Religion of the Occident*, was first published in 1959 and appeared later in a revised edition under the title of *The Story of Christian Origins*. Other books included *Jefferson: Magnificent Populist* and *The Essene Christian Faith*, the latter re-published in 1989 by the Noontide Press. (Both are available from the IHR.)

Martin Larson

Dr. Larson was a guest on countless radio and television programs, and his writing appeared in numerous periodicals, including *Fortune* and *Reader's Digest*. During the final years of his life, he and his wife, Emma, made their home in Arizona.

Along with his many friends and admirers in America and around the world, we are saddened by his passing. We here at the IHR will remember this gentleman and scholar as one of our most steadfast friends.

Remer Evades Imprisonment for "Thought Crime"

German courts have ordered an 82-year-old man in poor health to serve a 22-month prison sentence because he published articles rejecting claims of wartime mass killings in Auschwitz gas chambers.

In November 1993, the Federal High Court in Karlsruhe upheld the 1992 sentence of a district court, which found Otto Ernst Remer guilty of "popular incitement" and "incitement to racial hatred" because of statements disputing gas chamber claims that appeared in five issues of the widely circulated tabloid paper that bears his name, *Remer Depesche* ("Remer Dispatch").

Scores of young Germans signed petitions demanding the right to take Remer's place behind bars. "I am proud that there are young men today who share my convictions," commented Remer.

Remer, who is in poor health, was scheduled to begin serving his sentence on February 7. Rather than go to prison, though, he went into hiding. According to some unconfirmed reports, Remer is now living in Russia. (For years he had been an outspoken advocate of cordial relations between Germany and Russia.)

In Germany today, to dispute claims of mass killings in wartime concentration camps is regarded as a criminal attack against all Jews, who enjoy a privileged status there.

Remer's "crime" was a non-violent expression of opinion. In most of the world, including the United States, his "criminal" statements are entirely permissible and legal expressions of views. Like other such so-called "Auschwitz Lie" cases, the Remer

conviction points up Germany's special status among the world's nations. As one writer has put it, Germany remains on permanent probation.

Remer at the Eighth IHR Conference, 1987

The judges in the October 1992 trial in Schweinfurt flatly refused to consider *any* of the extensive evidence presented by Remer's attorneys. (For more on this case, see the March-April 1993 *Journal*, pp. 29-30.)

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 putting down the ill-fated attempt by conspirators to kill Hitler and seize power in a violent coup.

Remer was promoted, eventually to General, and at the end of the war was serving as a commander in Pomerania. For his extraordinary courage and daring in combat, he was awarded numerous military decorations, including the Knight's Cross with Oak Leaves. (Remer's essay, "My Role in Berlin on July 20, 1944," was published in the Spring 1988 *Journal*. His presentation at the 1987 IHR conference is available on both audio- and videotape from the IHR.)

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Behind *Khrushchev Remembers*

Victor Marchetti

One of the more interesting escapades of the Cold War was the publication in the early 1970s of the book *Khrushchev Remembers*. The circumstance surrounding the publication of the memoirs of [then-retired former Soviet premier] Nikita Khrushchev under the guidance of Time, Inc., were mysterious and mystifying. Khrushchev's thoughts had been secretly taped in the Soviet Union and then miraculously transported to the United States to be transcribed and published, indicating that a special deal had been worked out between the US and the USSR — with the CIA and the KGB acting as the agents in the transaction.

The Soviet leader in those days was Leonid Brezhnev, and he was having trouble with the unreconstructed Stalinists in the Communist Party. He needed to do something dramatic to blunt the challenge to his power by these diehard reactionaries. So, a scheme was hatched whereby Khrushchev, who was still popular with the masses, would secretly dictate his memoirs and strongly criticize Stalin and his policies, particularly those favored by Brezhnev's opponents.

But in the tightly controlled Soviet society, there was no way that Khrushchev's views could be published. There was no such thing as freedom of speech in the Communist empire. However, if the tapes, after being reviewed by Brezhnev's people, were to be smuggled out of the USSR to the US, they could be published there as a best-selling book — and later smuggled back into the Soviet Union for distribution to the public by the underground network. The Kremlin would then be able to feign helplessness and shrug its shoulders.

Meanwhile, the Stalinists would be dealt a serous set back, which would be underscored by the Kremlin's lack of punishment to Khrushchev. And in the United States, the Nixon-Kissinger team would be happy with the proof that Stalinist Russia was a thing of the past and the Brezhnev regime was one Americans could live with. Although Soviet people might understand what had really transpired, the gullible American public would accept *Khrushchev Remembers* as genuine — especially if the media went along with the plan. And that is precisely what happened. The Khrushchev tapes were "smuggled" out of the Soviet Union, right under the nose of the KGB, by a young correspondent at the *Time* news bureau in Moscow. Months later, after the book had been edited and put in bound galleys in New York, this same daring journalist traveled to Helsinki to give the KGB one last look at *Khrushchev Remembers* before it was published.

The name of the young *Time* correspondent and

the CIA's helping hand: Strobe Talbott [who recently became President Clinton's Deputy Secretary of State].

Victor Marchetti served for 14 years with the Central Intelligence Agency, where he rose to be executive assistant to the deputy director. He is co-author of *The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence*, published in 1974. Marchetti's address to the Ninth IHR Conference (1989), "Propaganda and Disinformation: How the CIA Manufactures History," appeared in the Fall 1989 *Journal*. He is presently editor-publisher of the newsletter *New American View*, P.O. Box 999, Herndon, VA 22070. This item is reprinted, by permission, from the March 1, 1994, issue of *New American View*.

A Confession

It is a fact that more than half of the membership of the tiny pre-Soviet Lithuanian Communist Party, about eight hundred people, were Jews. It is also a fact that these Jewish Communists in 1940 and 1941 played prominent roles in the Soviet occupation administration of Lithuania. The most notorious interrogators of the Lithuanian branch of the Soviet security police, the NKVD, were Lithuanian Jewish Communists, and many such Jewish Communists manned the NKVD detachments, which randomly arrested and deported to Siberia the alleged class enemies and other so-called "anti-Soviet elements" of Lithuania.

. . . No wonder then that as soon as the Lithuanians got rid of the Soviets (this they did in a national uprising on the first day of the Soviet-German war [June 22, 1941], taking control of the country long before the German troops were able to occupy it), a series of wild Jewish pogroms broke out in the country, the first Jewish pogroms on Lithuanian soil in the whole 600-year-old history of Lithuanian-Jewish cohabitation. It is believed that in Kaunas alone 3,800 Jews were killed during these pogroms. Along with these spontaneous acts of violence the Lithuanian rebel troops started indiscriminately arresting Jews for their "collaboration with the Soviets" in a more organized but not less random fashion. In Kaunas, the thus-arrested alleged Jewish collaborators of the Soviets were assembled in a huge garage and cruelly massacred there the next day. My father was one of the victims of that Lietukis garage massacre. The German troops marched into Kaunas on the day of this massacre only to witness the last instants of that bloody orgy.

. . . As a Jew, I must reject the assumption that we Jews forever were just the faultless and powerless victims of other peoples' abuse and injustices, and must admit our own faults, such as, for example: our certain insensitivity to some of the grave problems facing our gentile landsmen; our self-centeredness that only too often urged some of us to seek our particular goals without giving much consideration to how the achievement of these goals would affect the interests of others; the frivolousness that more than once led quite a number of us to assume that what is good for Jews must be even better for the gentiles. Too many of us, led by such considerations, were more than ready to engage ourselves thoughtlessly in all kinds of subversive and revolutionary activities threatening the integrity and even survival of our host countries. For this we have to confess our guilt.

— From an essay by Aleksandras Shtromas, a professor of political science at Hillsdale College (Michigan) who was interned during the Second World War in the Kaunas (Lithuania) ghetto. Published in *The World & I* (Washington, DC), February 1992, pp. 572, 577.

Stalingrad and Dachau

"The scale of the defeat of the Sixth Army at Stalingrad was unprecedented in German history. Of the 250,000 soldiers of the Sixth Army who battled their way to Stalingrad in the fall of 1942, nearly 150,000 had been killed or wounded by January of 1943. Of the 91,000 who were captured by the Russians, fewer than 6,000 ever returned to Germany. The chances of surviving Dachau, one German has told me, were more than five times as great as the chances of surviving Stalingrad."

— Timothy W. Ryback, in *The New Yorker*, Feb. 1, 1993, p. 60.

Rewriting History

"The Holocaust was [once] regarded as a side story of the much larger story of World War II. Now one thinks of World War II as a background story and the Holocaust as a foreground story."

— Michael Berenbaum, Project Director of the US Holocaust Memorial Museum and Georgetown University theology professor. Quoted in *The Washington Times*, Jan. 10, 1991.

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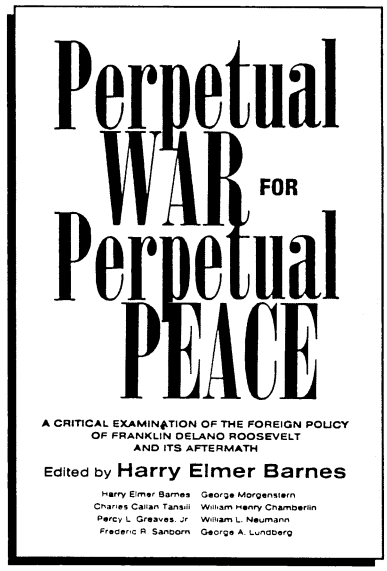
Its republication by the Institute in 1983 was an event, and not merely because IHR's version included Harry Elmer Barnes' uncannily prophetic essay on "1984" trends in American policy and public life (considered too controversial for conservatives and anti-Communists in the early 50's). It was hailed by the international Revisionist community, led by Dr. James J. Martin, the Dean of living Historical Revisionists, who wrote:

> It is the republication of books such as *Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace* which does so much to discommode and annoy the beneficiaries of the New World Order.

Discommode and annoy the enemies of historical truth and freedom of research it did—virtually the entire stock of ***Perpetual War*** was destroyed in the terrorist arson attack on the Institute's offices and warehouse on the Orwellian date of July 4, 1984.



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Letters

Consistently Outstanding

I have read every issue of the "new" *Journal* since the change in format that began with the issue of January-February 1993. From the beginning I have been very pleased with the new directions in which the editors have taken the magazine, but I did not want to write an early letter of congratulations only to find that the "new" *Journal* was unable to maintain the high standards set in the first issue.

Now, a year and a half later, it is clear that the magazine goes only from strength to strength. Every issue is unfailingly informative, provocative and well-researched.

I especially applaud your willingness to broaden the *Journal*'s coverage to include American as well as European history, and am delighted to find that your writers are as familiar with the former as they are with the latter.

Please accept my thanks for a consistently outstanding magazine and my best wishes for ever-greater success in your important work.

T. J.
Louisville, Ky.

History Comes Alive

Reading Leon Degrelle's *Hitler, Born at Versailles*, I was really astonished by the author's grasp of the details of European history, which verges on the encyclopedic. Even more I was impressed by his uncanny ability to make history come alive. I compare his prose style with Barbara Tuchman's in *The Guns of August*. Three cheers for both Degrelle and his translator.

For a book of this sort, some maps would have been very helpful. For example, I know where Silesia is but am a bit vague about "Upper Silesia."

Reading Degrelle's book changed certainly changed some of my ideas, but not all:

• He managed to convince me that both France and Russia were far more blame*worthy* for the outbreak of World War I than is generally supposed, but he failed to convince me that Germany was entirely blame*less*. He makes no mention whatever of the strident and threatening quality of the rhetoric that was coming out of Germany prior to 1914. It was such talk that drove France into making its fateful alliance with Russia.

• Contrary to everything I had been told, Degrelle persuasively points out that the provinces of Alsace and Lorraine — contested for years between France and Germany — were in fact mainly German in both language and sentiment. (Could this condition perhaps have been result of a period of deliberate colonization by Germans?)

• One of the drawbacks of a democracy is that, in order to mobilize its people for a stupendous enterprise like a world war, only the most emotion-charged of war aims will suffice. Prosaic slogans about "maintaining the balance of power in Europe," for example, would never do. It had to be a Crusade against Evil. As the propagandistic atrocity stories of World War I show, we had to expect that the truth would be bent and stretched to mobilize people to action. It takes a lot of time and cooling down before the truth surfaces.

• While I had always known that the Versailles Treaty was pretty severe, I had no idea just how harsh it really was, or how vindictive was the spirit that motivated it. Realistically, though, what would one expect after a horrible four-year convulsion like the Great War? Reason? Moderation? A long-term view of matters? Not after so much blood and suffering, not after passions had been inflamed to white heat. Degrelle argues that if the Allied powers had not been so beastly to defeated Germany in 1918-1919, it would not have struck back so furiously 20 years later. He could be right, but I am inclined to think he is not.

• While the treatment meted out to Hungary by the Allies in the aftermath of World War I — including severe dismemberment — was very harsh, it was not entirely undeserved. Hungary's pre-1914 record of oppressing its national minorities was a very bad one. One should also remember that its victims included both Slovaks and Croats, peoples for whom Degrelle showed great sympathy (provided their oppressors were Czechs or Serbs). With regard to Degrelle's claims of "injustices" inflicted by the redrawn boundaries, there is no way to draw the political boundaries of Central/Eastern Europe *without* inflicting grave injustices. The various nationalities are just too mish-mashed together.

• Until reading *Hitler, Born at Versailles*, I had supposed — having reached my mid-60s — that I had no illusions left to be shattered. I saw my mistake when Degrelle stripped several coats of whitewash from interwar Poland and Czechoslovakia — countries we had been trained to regard as "model democracies." When considering the interwar phenomena of "Greater Serbia," "Greater Poland," and "Greater Czechoslovakia," I am not so sure that Europe's states during the 1930s can be divided into "good guy" and "bad guy" categories. They all begin to look as though cut from pretty much the same cloth.

• Most Americans regarded Hitler's rantings against the Czechs and Poles in 1938 and

1939 as nothing more than baseless and self-serving propaganda rhetoric. After reading Degrelle, I now have to admit that Germany *did* have genuine grievances against both.

• In response to the article on "The Jewish Role in the Bolshevik Revolution" in the Jan.-Feb. 1994 *Journal*, I wrote a letter in which I attempted to mitigate the extent of Jewish responsibility for what happened in Russia. Degrelle's account of the short-lived Communist takeovers in Bavaria and Hungary in 1919 has shown me that I was almost certainly wrong; not only wrong but naive as well. Those horrific events certainly do much to explain why people in Central (and especially Eastern) Europe turned so fiercely against the Jews in the 1930s and 1940s. European memories are long ones.

Richard G. Phillips
Pepperell, Mass.

Enlightening

Congratulations on your excellent article about the Jewish role in Soviet Communism (*JHR*, Jan.-Feb. 1994). I have shown it to numerous scientists and college professors, and all were impressed and enlightened.

Paul Grubach
Lyndhurst, Ohio

Dire Threat

Your piece on George Will [in the Nov.-Dec. 1993 issue] was excellent. He, along with the rest of the "Amen Corner," are a dire threat to freedom in the United States.

(Dr.) Alfred Lilienthal
Washington, D.C.

Minor Weaknesses

Thank you for sending me the Jan.-Feb. issue of the *Journal*, which includes Weber's review of my book *Streitpunkte* as well as Prof. Warren's interview with me. I wonder if the *Journal* has ever published so much about and by an "exterminationist"? It's a good sign of objectivity.

Weber's review is quite good. There are only minor weaknesses, the most striking of which is that he does not always make a clear distinction between my representations of what other authors have written, and my own views (which are perhaps not always clear). For example, I do not agree with Hans Mommsen's opinion of Hitler as a "weak dictator," and it is not my view that a degree of administrative chaos may be an integral feature of "every modern liberal democratic state." Rather, this may be a feature of *all* states in times of emergency, *including* liberal democratic ones.

Prof. Warren's interview is also very good, although there are some minor misunderstandings that I must have overlooked: younger historians such as Martin Broszat had no experience during the period before 1933 (not 1945), and Armin Mohler is not be counted among those who came from the Left. It is not true that the "*whole* of the so-called German [wartime] resistance" belonged to the former Right, but rather only *that part* which was able to act in a relevant way. But these are rather minor points, and there is hardly an interview that is entirely free of such misunderstandings.

(Prof.) Ernst Nolte
Berlin, Germany

Durable Myths

The unhappiness evidenced by Carl Hottelet in his critical comments about Wilton's book, *The Last Days of the Romanovs* (letter, March-April 1994 *Journal*, pp. 46-47), stems, I believe, from frustration that the myths of German guilt for the First World War still live on, while the guilt of France, Russia and England continues to be ignored.

Especially galling is the durability of the tales of German atrocities during that war. Although these stories are 180 degrees contrary to historical fact, they continue to smear and libel a great people.

During the Franco-Prussian War of 1870, a French newspaper sadly noted the sharp contrast between the behavior of the thoroughly disciplined Prussian troops, and that of "our own drunken hordes." In 1914, a group of newspaper war correspondents traveling with German General von Kluck's Army Group commented on the severity of the punishment meted out to his troops for even slight breaches of discipline.

While the vilification of Germany and the German people continues with no letup, Marxism — the most evil and destructive form of government in history — continues be promoted by avowed Marxists in our universities.

Russia's Tsar may well have been stupid, as Hottelet writes, to "allow himself and his country to be sucked into the Anglo-French aggression against Germany." But what the Tsar hoped to gain was the destruction, once-and-for-all, of the rival Ottoman Empire and control of Constantinople and the Straits — Russia's centuries-old dream. France and England had equally "good" reasons for their unprovoked aggression against Germany.

P. H.
Norwalk, Calif.

Fundamental Contribution

Your exposition of Auschwitz in the Fall 1992 *Journal*, in the context of the "*Sterbebücher*" (camp death certificate volumes) is a fundamental contribution to this episode in history. I had no idea that some 86 percent of Auschwitz' Jewish inmates were officially designated as "*Arbeitsunfähig*" (unemployable). That being so, Auschwitz could not be called a labor camp. And the relatively high proportion of inmates who died of "weakness of old age." What, then, was Auschwitz? A detention camp were some work was done? And yet, with the Auschwitz III (Monowitz) works, it was part of a great chemical manufacturing complex.

Leon Degrelle's retrospective in the same issue, "How Hitler Consolidated Power in Germany

and Launched a Social Revolution," is superb.

Finally, John Ries' article, "History's Greatest Naval Disasters," on the 1945 sinkings of three German refugee ships, is of profound interest.

Carl Hottelet
Toms River, N.J.

New ADL Campaign?

I was glad to see the amazing quote by Abraham Foxman, national director of the Anti-Defamation League, reproduced in the March-April *Journal* (p. 41). It might be observed that this is the Jewish equivalent of the "deicide" charge (i.e. "Christ killers") traditionally leveled against Jews.

The January issue of *ADL On the Frontline* — the ADL newsletter from which the Foxman quote is taken — also confirmed my suspicion that there is now an ADL operation to link revisionism with vandalism and violence. The first sign I noted was the article in the *Chicago Tribune* (Feb. 3) by Jon Hilkevitch and Emily Gurnon, quoting ADL functionary Richard Hirschhaut as blaming some Chicago arsons of Jewish institutions on our "followers." Then there was the Feb. 5 airing of Joel Weisman's "Chicago Week in Review" panel discussion in which Hilkevitch said:

> Bradley Smith, who's a white supremacist, up till now has been able to travel around the country and go to college campuses, such places as Berkeley . . . and garner large audiences . . . these people aren't getting that soapbox anymore — it's starting to change and there are statistics showing that they are moving from rhetoric to vandalism to actually personal attacks.

I got in touch with Bradley about this. As for the arsons, three Palestinians were subsequently arrested for one of them.

This January issue of *ADL On the Frontline* (p. 3) claims a "growing connection between Holocaust denial and anti-Semitic vandalism," giving as examples cemetery desecration in Stockholm, which is blamed ("leaders fighting anti-Semitism link") on Ahmed Rami [who spoke at the 1992 IHR Conference], and arsons and vandalism in Australia, blamed on "Holocaust deniers and Nazi apologists." Yes, this appears to be the start of a premeditated propaganda campaign.

Enclosed are recent (April 7 & 8) items clipped from the *Daily Northwestern* [student paper of Northwestern University, where Dr. Butz teaches]. Even here one finds a suggestion that revisionism has something to do with "anti-Semitic incidents on college campuses."

(Dr.) Arthur R. Butz
Evanston, Ill.

Reflections of a Former German Soldier

I saw one of the films in the famed "Why We Fight" wartime series for the first time at an IHR conference some years ago. This series of official US armed forces documentary-style propaganda films was designed to promote feelings of hatred against the German and Japanese enemies. During the Second World War I was a German soldier and a "Fahnenjunker" trained to become an officer. I do not remember even a single German movie to match the hatefulness of those in Frank Capra's "Why We Fight" series.

Nor did the regular German cinema show such hatefilled movies. German wartime propagandistic films, such as "Ohm Krueger," "The Titanic," "Kolberg," "Fox of Glenarvon," "A Life For Ireland," and "Refugees," were directed rather against the enemies' political systems. Only three of the twelve hundred movies released during the twelve-year Third Reich were anti-Jewish: "The Eternal Jew," "The Rothschilds," and "The Jew Suess."

During this same period, and in the years since, Hollywood has turned out oodles of anti-German films. One might suppose that because they are so embarrassingly hateful and simplistic, such movies would be locked up and shown only to scholars researching the insanities of our age. But even the wartime movies are still being shown on American television, apparently to influence attitudes and behavior even today. The other evening, for example, I saw "Hitler's Children," a particularly grotesque wartime Hollywood production. Supposedly depicting life in my boyhood hometown of Berlin, it portrayed young boys like me and my schoolmates as cruel, mindless automatons. We were shown beating up American kids attending the American school, and, of course, chanting "Today Germany, Tomorrow the World."

To another matter: I have doubts about the very high death-rate figures given by James Bacque in his book, *Other Losses*. As a German prisoner of war, I spent nearly a year at Central Continental Prisoner of War Enclosure No. 15, Attichy, France. I first worked for about four months for Sam Gordon, a US Army mail sergeant who changed my status in September 1945 from DEF ("Disarmed Enemy Forces") to regular POW ("Prisoner of War"). I then worked as a telephone switchboard operator from December 1945 to June 1946. Although food in the holding cages amounted to very, very little, I recall that the death rate was low.

Dieter W. Schmidt
La Mesa, Calif.

Appreciation

Wishing you all the best, with appreciation for destroying the unwarranted faith I had in the mendacious agitprop of "respectable" historians.

M. A. H.
Port Orchard, Wash.

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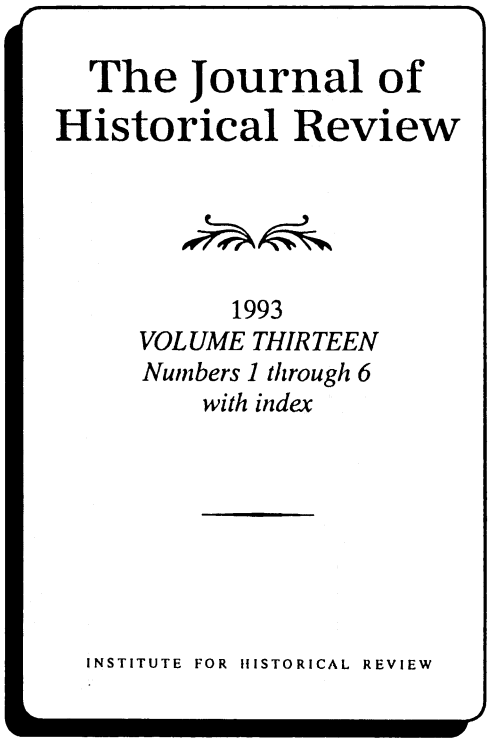

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The Journal of Historical Review

Volume 14, Number 4 July / August 1994

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A Pervasive Fear
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Revisionist Activism

— Reviews —

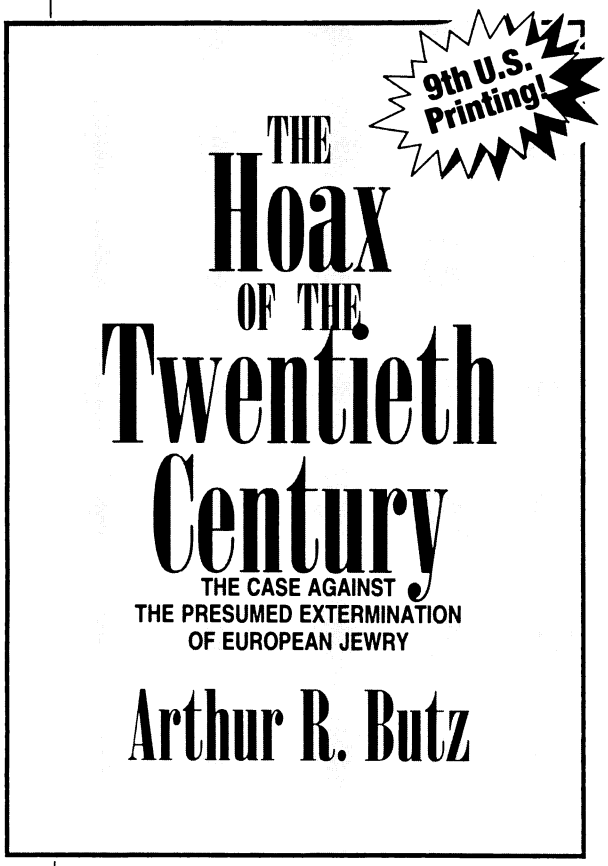
Powers' Heisenberg's War
Andrew Gray

— And More —

The Unsurpassed Standard Refutation

THE HOAX OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

THE CASE AGAINST THE PRESUMED EXTERMINATION OF EUROPEAN JEWRY



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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On the Cover: Soviet prisoners of war captured during the 1941 campaign are marched to German camps behind the lines.

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. *The Journal of Historical Review* is published six times yearly by the **Institute for Historical Review**, P.O. Box 4296, Torrance, CA 90510, USA. Subscription price: $40 per year, $65 for two years, and $90 for three years. For foreign subscriptions, add $10 per year. For overseas airmail delivery, add $30 per year. Remittances for subscriptions must be payable in US dollars drawable on a US bank.

Single issues — Spring 1986 (Volume 7) to the present — are available for sale for $7.50 each, plus $1.05 shipping. Back issues of the *Journal* are also available for purchase in hardbound annual volumes for the years 1984, 1985, 1986, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991 and 1992, for $35.00 each. Please write for our booklist and prices. Quantity subscription and bulk issue rates are available upon request.

Appropriate manuscripts are welcomed by the Editor. They should be double-spaced and accompanied by return postage. Especially welcome are submissions on IBM-compatible or Macintosh computer diskette. Please address all correspondence to P.O. Box 2739, Newport Beach, CA 92659

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From the Editor

Ten years ago — on the Fourth of July 1984 — unknown terrorists firebombed our office-warehouse complex in an attempt to destroy the Institute for Historical Review and forever silence *The Journal of Historical Review.*

These criminals nearly succeeded. (For more about this, see *The Zionist Terror Network*, a 20-page booklet available from the IHR.) In an emergency letter to supporters following the attack, IHR Director Thomas Marcellus reported:

> As a physical entity, the Institute for Historical Review has virtually ceased to exist. Ninety percent of our book and tape inventory — the largest collection of revisionist literature to be found anywhere — has been wiped out. Every last piece of office equipment and machinery — including desks, chairs, files and shelves — lay in charred heaps of useless, twisted scrap.
>
> Manuscripts, documents, artwork, galleys and film negatives — products of more than six long years of a tough, dedicated effort to bring suppressed historical data to people the world over — no longer exist. Tens of thousands of books . . . estimated at over $300,000 in value, are gone . . . More than 2,500 square feet of space that was once the world's most controversial publisher lies blackened in chaos and total ruin.

As everyone knows, of course, the attack failed to finish off the IHR. Under Marcellus' directorship, and with the generous support of friends across America and in many foreign lands, we were able to rebuild.

Today — ten years later — the Institute for Historical Review is more influential, more professionally managed, and more responsibly organized than ever. Particularly during the last two years — and in spite of an unceasing barrage of media smears and lies — the IHR and its work have become widely known across America and around the world.

While media coverage of our work continues to be overwhelming hostile, historical revisionism and the IHR are now grudgingly accepted as a established part of the American social-cultural landscape. Just recently *The Los Angeles Times* described the IHR as a "think tank that critics call the 'spine of the international Holocaust denial movement'." Indeed, the IHR is at the center of a worldwide network of scholars and activists who are working — sometimes at great personal sacrifice — to separate historical fact from propaganda fiction by researching and publicizing suppressed facts about key chapters of twentieth century history.

Along with growing effectiveness comes, inevitably, ever more fevered opposition from formidable enemies. As our influence grows, and the great social-cultural struggle of the Western world intensifies, so also does the fury and desperation of our adversaries.

In some countries, the traditional enemies of intellectual freedom and free inquiry use repressive laws to punish revisionists who express dissident views about twentieth century history. While it is true that "our" government lays out millions of taxpayer dollars annually to counter the work of the IHR and other revisionists, we are nevertheless very grateful to live in a country where the First Amendment protects our right to work and publish.

In the daily struggle, we are proud to employ our modest financial resources cost-effectively. For every dollar we lay out, enemies such as the Anti-Defamation League are obliged to spend a hundred.

Although my work here as editor of *The Journal of Historical Review* is often very demanding, it is also emotionally and intellectually satisfying. To be able to write freely and forthrightly about the most important, and most taboo-laden, social-historical issues of our time is source of great satisfaction. It is a pleasure to be able to help provide a forum for important writing by others whose words might otherwise never be read. There's plenty to worry about as editor, but being fired for offending some Politically Correct icon is, happily, not one of them.

Every day, it seems, brings a fascinating new challenge. It might be responding to an insistent fax message from a colleague in Europe who needs, immediately, a copy of an important background report from our archives; arranging an radio interview with a producer; participating in a hastily called office meeting to decide how best to respond to a just-published press attack; working out the content and layout of the next issue of this *Journal*; carefully considering a newly-arrived book manuscript for possible publication; dealing with a reporter who wants a quote for an article he's writing about revisionism; meeting for lunch with an important supporter who is visiting from out of state; composing an encouraging letter to a profes-

sor in an Asian country who is an enthusiastic but still fearful supporter; conversing with a high school student who is preparing a class paper; or, detailed late-night work on a lengthy manuscript to put it into publishable form.

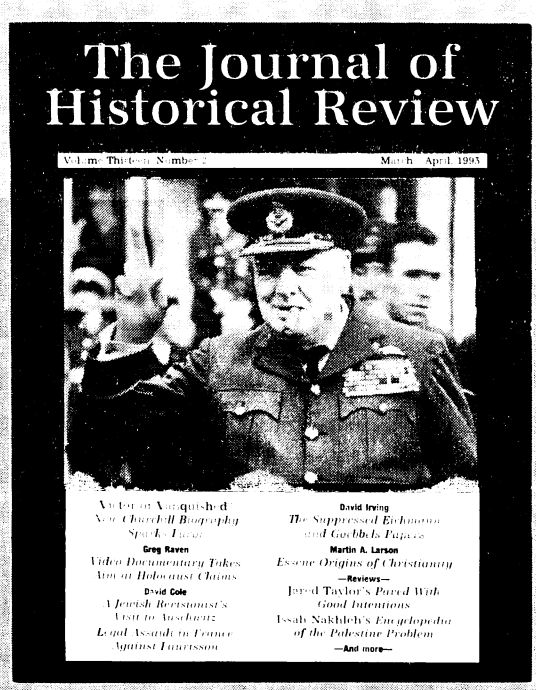
There is no "typical" IHR supporter. He or she might be a store manager in Missouri, a retired school teacher in Australia, an accountant in western Canada, a student in Sweden, a truck driver in Connecticut, a housewife in South Africa, a professor in New York, an airline pilot in Connecticut, a salesman in Georgia, or a real estate agent in Montana. At the same time, IHR supporters and *Journal* subscribers do share some things in common. For one thing, they tend to be considerably more thoughtful, socially conscious, and intelligent than average.

A *Journal* subscriber typically has a keen interest in understanding how and why the world has become what it is today. He is fed up with recycled wartime propaganda being passed off as "history." He is tired of socially destructive lies and bigotry, and puts a premium on truth and honesty. He wants a sane and healthy future for himself, his family and his country, indeed for all humanity, and realizes that it can only be achieved through an understanding of history and the world based on truth and reality.

Nearly every day we receive letters and cards — sometimes touchingly written — expressing appreciation for our work. This support is not only profoundly gratifying, it imposes on us a solemn obligation to keep faith with the men and women around the world who are counting on us, particularly those who have really suffered and sacrificed as a consequence of their support for the IHR and its mission. This means a duty to uphold high editorial and ethical standards, to act responsibly for the best long-term interests of the Institute and the cause it represents.

In a world so saturated with historical lies and self-serving propaganda, the Institute for Historical Review stands as a precious beacon. Nothing quite like it exists anywhere else in the world. Once, referring to the remarkable team of men and women who work together here, French Professor Robert Faurisson aptly described the IHR as a minor miracle.

With a profound sense of gratitude to all those who have made our success possible, and a sense of solemn obligation to uphold the standards of the IHR, we pledge to carry on to help make this a better world for us all. With your continued support, we will see to it that the next ten years will be our most successful ever.



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Stalin's War Against His Own Troops

The Tragic Fate of Soviet Prisoners of War in German Captivity

Yuri Teplyakov

At dawn on June 22, 1941, began the mightiest military offensive in history: the German-led Axis attack against the Soviet Union. During the first 18 months of the campaign, about three million Soviet soldiers were taken prisoner. By the end of the conflict four years later, more than five million Soviet troops are estimated to have fallen into German hands. Most of these unfortunate men died in German captivity.

A major reason for this was the unusual nature of the war on the eastern front, particularly during the first year — June 1941–June 1942 — when vastly greater numbers of prisoners fell into German hands than could possibly be accommodated adequately. However, and as Russian journalist Teplyakov explains in the following article, much of the blame for the terrible fate of the Soviet soldiers in German captivity was due to the inflexibly cruel policy of Soviet dictator Stalin.

During the war, the Germans made repeated attempts through neutral countries and the International Committee of the Red Cross to reach mutual agreement on the treatment of prisoners by Germany and the USSR. As British historian Robert Conquest explains in his book Stalin: Breaker of Nations, *the Soviets adamantly refused to cooperate:*

> *When the Germans approached the Soviets, through Sweden, to negotiate observance of the provisions of the Geneva Convention on prisoners of war, Stalin refused. The Soviet soldiers in German hands were thus unprotected even in theory. Millions of them died in captivity, through malnutrition or maltreatment. If Stalin had adhered to the convention (to which the USSR had not been a party) would the Germans have behaved better? To judge by their treatment of other "Slav submen" POWs (like the Poles, even surrendering after the [1944] Warsaw Rising), the answer seems to be yes. (Stalin's own behavior to [Polish] prisoners captured by the Red Army had already been demonstrated at Katyn and elsewhere [where they were shot].*

Another historian, Nikolai Tolstoy, affirms in The Secret Betrayal:

> *Hitler himself urged Red Cross inspection of [German] camps [holding Soviet prisoners of war]. But an appeal to Stalin for prisoners' postal services received a reply that clinched the matter: "There are no Soviet prisoners of war. The Soviet soldier fights on till death. If he chooses to become a prisoner, he is automatically excluded from the Russian community. We are not interested in a postal service only for Germans."*

Given this situation, the German leaders resolved to treat Soviet prisoners no better than the Soviet leaders were treating the German soldiers they held. As can be imagined, Soviet treatment of German prisoners was harsh. Of an estimated three million German soldiers who fell into Soviet hands, more than two million perished in captivity. Of the 91,000 German troops captured in the Battle of Stalingrad, fewer than 6,000 ever returned to Germany.

As Teplyakov also explains here, Red Army "liberation" of the surviving Soviet prisoners in German camps brought no end to the suffering of these hapless men. It wasn't until recently, when long-suppressed Soviet wartime records began to come to light and long-silenced voices could at last speak out, that the full story of Stalin's treatment of Soviet prisoners became known. It wasn't until 1989, for example, that Stalin's grim Order No. 270 of August 16, 1941 — cited below — was first published.

"What is the most horrible thing about war?"

Marshal Ivan Bagramyan, three-time Hero of the Soviet Union Alexander Pokryshkin, and Private Nikolai Romanov, who has no battle orders or titles, all replied with just one word: "Captivity."

Yuri Teplyakov, born in 1937, studied journalism at Moscow State University. He worked as a journalist for the Moscow daily newspapers *Izvestia* and *Komsomolskaya Pravda*, and for the APN information agency. From 1980 to 1993 he worked for the weekly *Moscow News*. In writing this article, he expresses thanks to Mikhail Semir-yaga, D.Sc. (History), "who provided me with considerable material, which he found in German archives. As for the documents of Soviet filtering camps, I shall go on with my searches." This article originally appeared in *Moscow News*, No. 19, 1990, and is reprinted here by special arrangement.

"Is it more horrible than death?" I was asking soldier Nikolai Romanov a quarter of a century ago when, on the sacred day of May 9 [anniversary of the end of the war against Germany in 1945], we were drinking bitter vodka together to commemorate the souls of the Russian muzhiks who would never return to that orphaned village on the bank of the Volga.

"It's more horrible," he replied. "Death is your own lot. But if it's captivity, it spells trouble for many . . ."

Captured during the great military victories in the first months of Hitler's "Barbarossa" offensive against the Soviet Union, seemingly endless columns of Red Army prisoners such as these are marched to captivity in German camps.

At that time, in 1965, I could not even vaguely imagine the extent of the tragedy which had befallen millions upon millions, nor did I know that that tragedy had been triggered by just a few lines from the Interior Service Regulations of the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army: a Soviet soldier must not be taken prisoner against his will. And if he has been, he is a traitor to the Motherland.

How many of them were there — those "traitors"?

"During the war years," I was told by Colonel Ivan Yaroshenko, Deputy Chief of the Central Archives of the USSR Ministry of Defense, in Podolsk near Moscow, "as many as 32 million people were soldiers, and 5,734,528 of them were taken prisoner by the enemy."

Later I learned where this happened and when. Thus, the Red Army suffered the most tragic losses in terms of prisoners of war in the following battles: Belostok-Minsk, August 1941, 323,000; Uman, August 1941, 103,000; Smolensk-Roslavl, August 1941, 348,000; Gomel, August 1941, 30,000; Demyansk, September 1941, 35,000; Kiev, September 1941, 665,000; Luga-Leningrad, September 1941, 20,000; Melitopol, October 1941, 100,000; Vyazma, October 1941, 662,000; Kerch, November 1941, 100,000; Izyum-Kharkov, May 1942, 207,000. People were taken prisoner even in February 1945 (Hungary), 100,000.

The same archives in Podolsk hold another 2.5 million cards "missing in action" — two and a half million who never returned home. Experts believe: two million of them are still lying in Russia's forests and marshes. And about 200,000 must be added to the list of POWs. Proof? From time to time the Podolsk archives receive a letter from somewhere in Australia or the United States: "I was taken prisoner. Request confirmation that I took part in battles against fascism."

This person was lucky — he survived. The majority, however, had a different lot. German statistics put it on record: 280,000 person died at deportation camps and 1,030,157 were executed when trying to escape or died at factories or mines in Germany.

Many of our officers and men were killed by famine before they reached the camps. Nearly 400,000 men died in November–December 1941 alone. During the entire war there were 235,473 British and American prisoners of war in Germany — 8,348 of them died. Were our men weaker? Hardly. The reasons were different. In the West it is believed that the millions of our POWs who died in captivity fell victim not only to fascism but also to the Stalinist system itself. At least half of those who died from hunger could have been saved had Stalin not called them traitors and refused to send food parcels to them via the International Red Cross.

It can be argued how many would have survived, but it's a fact that we left our POWs to the mercy of fate. The Soviet Union did not sign the Geneva Convention concerning the legal status of prisoners of war. Refusing to sign it was consistent with the Jesuitical nature of the "leader of the peoples."

From Stalin's point of view, several provisions of the Convention were incompatible with the moral and economic institutions which were inherent in the world's "freest country." The Convention, it

turns out, did not guarantee the right to POWs as working people: low wages, no days off, no fixed working hours. Exception was also taken to the privileges fixed for some groups of POWs. In other words it should be more humane. But greater hypocrisy can hardly be imagined. What privileges were enjoyed at that very same time by millions in [Soviet] GULAG prison camps? What guarantees existed there and how many days off did they have?

In August 1941 Hitler permitted a Red Cross delegation to visit the camp for Soviet POWs in Hammerstadt. It is these contacts that resulted in an appeal to the Soviet government, requesting that it should send food parcels for our officers and men. We are prepared to fulfill and comply with the norms of the Geneva convention, Moscow said in its reply, but sending food in the given situation and under fascist control is the same as making presents to the enemy.

The reply came as a surprise. The Red Cross representatives had not read Stalin's Order of the Day — Order No. 270, signed on August 16, 1941. Otherwise they would have understood how naive their requests and offers were, and how great was Stalin's hatred for those who had found themselves behind enemy lines.

It made no difference: who, where, how and why? Even the dead were considered to be criminals. Lt.-Gen. Vladimir Kachalov, we read in the order, "being in encirclement together with the headquarters of a body of troops, displayed cowardice and surrendered to the German fascists. The headquarters of Kachalov's groups broke out of the encirclement, the units of Kachalov's group battled their way out of the encirclement, but Lt.-Gen. Kachalov preferred to desert to the enemy."

General Vladimir Kachalov had been lying for 12 days in a burned out tank at the Starinka village near Smolensk, and never managed to break out to reach friendly forces. Yet this was of no concern for anyone. They were busy with something else — looking for scapegoats whom they could dump all of their anger on, looking for enemies of the people whose treachery and cowardice had again subverted the will of the great military leader.

We had to be "convinced" again and again: the top echelons of authority, the leaders, have no relation whatsoever to any tragedy, to any failure — be it the collapse of the first Five-Year Plan or the death of hundreds of thousands of soldiers on the Dnieper. Moreover, these misfortunes cannot have objective reasons either, being due solely to the intrigues of saboteurs and the enemies of the progressive system. For decades, ever since the 1930s, we have been permanently looking for scapegoats in the wrong place, but finding them nevertheless. At that time, in the first summer of the war, plenty of them were found. And the more the better. On June 4, 1940, the rank of general was re-established in the Red Army. They were awarded to 966 persons. More than 50 were taken prisoner in the very first year of the war. Very many of them would envy their colleagues — those 150 generals who would later die on the battlefields. The torments of captivity proved to be darker than the grave. At any rate the destinies of Generals Pavel Ponedelin and Nikolai Kirillov, mentioned in the same Order No. 270, prove that this is so. They staunchly withstood their years in the German camps. In April 1945 the [western] Allies set them free and turned them over to the Soviet side. It seemed that everything had been left behind, but they were not forgiven for August 1941. They were arrested after a "state check-up": five years in the Lefortovo jail for political prisoners and execution by a firing squad on August 25, 1950.

"Stalin's last tragic acts in his purging of the military were the accusations of betrayal and treachery he advanced in the summer of 1941 against the Western Front commanders, Pavlov and Klimovskikh, and several other generals among whom, as it became clear later, there were also people who behaved in an uncompromising way to the end when in captivity." This assessment is by the famous chronicler of the war, Konstantin Simonov. It appeared in the 1960s, but during the wartime ordeals there was indomitable faith: the prisoners of war (both generals and soldiers) were guilty. No other yardstick existed.

International law states that military captivity is not a crime, "a prisoner of war must be as inviolable as the sovereignty of a people, and as sacred as a misfortune." This is for others, whereas for us there was a different law — Stalin's Order No. 270.

> If . . . "instead of organizing resistance to the enemy, some Red Army men prefer to surrender, they shall be destroyed by all possible means, both ground-based and from the air, whereas the families of the Red Army men who have been taken prisoner shall be deprived of the state allowance [that is, rations] and relief."
>
> The commanders and political officers . . . "who surrender to the enemy shall be considered malicious deserters, whose families are liable to be arrested [just] as the families of deserters who have violated the oath and betrayed their Motherland."

Just a few lines, but they stand for the hundreds of thousands of children and old folks who died from hunger only because their father or son happened to be taken prisoner.

Just a few lines, but they amount to a verdict on those who never even thought of a crime, who were only waiting for a letter from the front.

Having read these lines, I came to understand the amount of grief they carried for absolutely innocent people, just as I understood the secret sorrow of the words Private Nikolai Romanov told me a quarter of a century ago: "Your own captivity spells trouble for many."

I understood why the most horrible thing for our soldiers was not to be killed, but to be reported "missing in action," and why before each battle, especially before the assault crossing of rivers, they asked one another: "Buddy, if I get drowned, say that you saw me die."

Setting their feet on a shaky pontoon and admitting, as it were, that they could be taken prisoner solely through their own fault, they mentally glanced back not out of fear for their own lives — they were tormented and worried over the lives of those who had stayed back at home.

Soviet prisoners of war in a German POW camp. This photograph was found by Red Army troops among the belongings of dead German soldiers.

But what was the fault of the hundreds of thousands of soldiers encircled near Vyazma when Hitler launched Operation *Taifun* — his advance on Moscow? "The most important thing is not to surrender your positions," the General Headquarters of the Supreme Commander-in-Chief ordered them. And the army was feverishly digging trenches facing the west, when panzer wedges were already enveloping them from the east.

General Franz Halder, Chief of Staff of the Wehrmacht's ground forces, made the following entry in his diary on this occasion: "October 4 — 105 days of the war. The enemy has continued everywhere holding the unattacked sectors of the front, with the result that deep envelopment of these enemy groups looms in the long term."

Who was supposed to see these wedges? A soldier from his tiny foxhole or Stalin from the GHQ? And what was the result? Who was taken prisoner? Who betrayed the Motherland? The soldier did.

In May 1942, as many as 207,047 officers and men (the latest figure) found themselves encircled at Kharkov. When Khrushchev held power, it was Stalin who was considered to be guilty of this. When Brezhnev took over, the blame was again put on Khrushchev who, incidentally, had been merely warned by Stalin for that defeat which opened the road for the Germans to the Volga. But who then betrayed the Motherland, who was taken prisoner? The soldier.

May 19, 1942, is the date of our army's catastrophe in the Crimea. "The Kerch Operation may be considered finished: 150,000 POWs and a large quantity of captured equipment." This is a document from the German side. And here is a document from the Soviet side cited by Konstantin Simonov: "I happened to be on the Kerch Peninsula in 1942. The reason for the humiliating defeat is clear to me. Complete mistrust of the army and front commanders, Mekhlis' stupid willfulness and arbitrary actions. He ordered that no trenches be dug, so as not to sap the soldiers' offensive spirit."

Stalin's closest aide and then Chief of the Main Political Administration (GPU), Lev Mekhlis, the first Commissar of the Army and Navy, returned to Moscow after that defeat. And what did the soldier do? The soldier stayed in captivity.

There is no denying that no war can do without treachery and traitors. They could also be found among POWs. But if compared with the millions of their brothers in captivity, they amounted to no more than a drop in the ocean. Yet this drop existed. There is no escaping this. Some were convinced by leaflets like this one:

> The Murderous Balance of Bolshevism:
>
> Killed during the years of the Revolution and Civil War — 2,200,000 persons.
>
> Died from famine and epidemics in 1918 – 1921 and in 1932–1933 — 14,500,000 persons.
>
> Perished in forced labor camps — 10,000,000 persons.

Some even put it this way: I am not going into action against my people, I am going into action against Stalin. But the majority joined fascist armed formations with only one hope: as soon as the first fighting starts, I'll cross the line to join friendly troops. Not everyone managed to do this, although the following fact is also well known. On September 14, 1943, when the results of the Kursk Battle were summed up, Hitler explained the defeat by the "treachery of auxiliary units": indeed, at that time 1,300 men — practically a whole regiment — deserted to the Red Army's side on the southern sector. "But now I am fed up with this," Hitler said. "I order these units to be disarmed immediately and this whole gang to be sent to the mines in France."

It has to be admitted that it was Hitler who rejected longer than all others the proposals to form military units from among Soviet POWs, although as early as September 1941 Colonel von Tresckow had drawn up a plan for building up a 200,000-strong Russian anti-Soviet army. It was only on the eve of the Stalingrad Battle, when prisoners of war already numbered millions, that the Führer gave his consent at last.

All in all, it became possible to form more than 180 units. Among them the number of Russian formations was 75; those formed from among Kuban,

Don and Terek Cossacks — 216; Turkistan and Tatar (from Tataria and the Crimean Tatars) — 42; Georgian — 11; peoples of the Northern Caucasus — 12; Azerbaijani — 13; Armenian — 8.

The numerical strength of these battalions by their national affiliation (data as of January 24, 1945) was the following: Latvians — 104,000; Tatars (Tataria) — 12,500, Crimean Tatars — 10,000; Estonians — 10,000; Armenians — 7,000; Kalmyks — 5,000. And the Russians? According to the official figures of Admiral Karl Dönitz's "government," as of May 20, 1945, there were the 599th Russian Brigade — 13,000, the 600th — 12,000, and the 650th — 18,000 men.

If all of this is put together (as we are doing now), it would seem that there were many who served on the other side. But if we remember that only 20 percent of these forces took part in hostilities, that they were recruited from among millions of POWs, that thousands upon thousands crossed the front line to return to friendly troops, the brilliance of the figures will clearly fade.

One detail — the Reich's special services displayed special concern over forming non-Russian battalions as if they knew that they would be required, especially after the war when whole peoples, from babies to senile old men, came to be accused of treachery. And it made no difference — whether you were kept in a prison camp or served in the army — all the same you were an enemy.

But the POWs themselves were not yet aware of this — everything still lay ahead. The hangover after liberation would set in a little later. Both for those who themselves escaped from the camps (500,000 in 1944, according to the estimate of Germany's Armaments Minister Speer) and for those who after liberation by Red Army units (more than a million officers and men) again fought in its ranks.

For too long a time we used to judge the spring of 1945 solely by the humane instructions issued by our formidable marshals — allot milk for Berlin's children, feed women and old men. It was strange reading those documents, and at the same time chewing steamed rye instead of bread, and eating soup made of dog meat (only shortly before her death did my grandmother confess she had slaughtered dogs to save us from hunger). Reading those orders, I was prepared to cry from tender emotions: how noble it was to think that way and to show such concern for the German people.

And who of us knew that at the same time the marshals received different orders from the Kremlin with respect to their own people?

> [To the] Commanders of the troops of the First and Second Byelorussian Fronts [Army Groups], and the First, Second, Third and Fourth Ukrainian Fronts . . .
>
> The Military Councils of the Fronts shall form camps in [rear-zone] service areas for the accommodation and maintenance of former prisoners of war and repatriated Soviet citizens — each camp for 10,000 persons. All in all, there shall be formed: at the Second Byelorussian Front — 15 [camps]; at the First Byelorussian Front — 30; at the First Ukrainian Front — 30; at the Fourth Ukrainian Front — 5; at the Second Ukrainian Front — 10; at the Third Ukrainian Front — 10 camps . . .
>
> The check-up [of the former prisoners of war and repatriated citizens] shall be entrusted as follows: former Red Army servicemen — to the bodies of SMERSH counter-intelligence; civilians — to the commissions of the NKVD, NKGB, SMERSH . . .
>
> J. Stalin

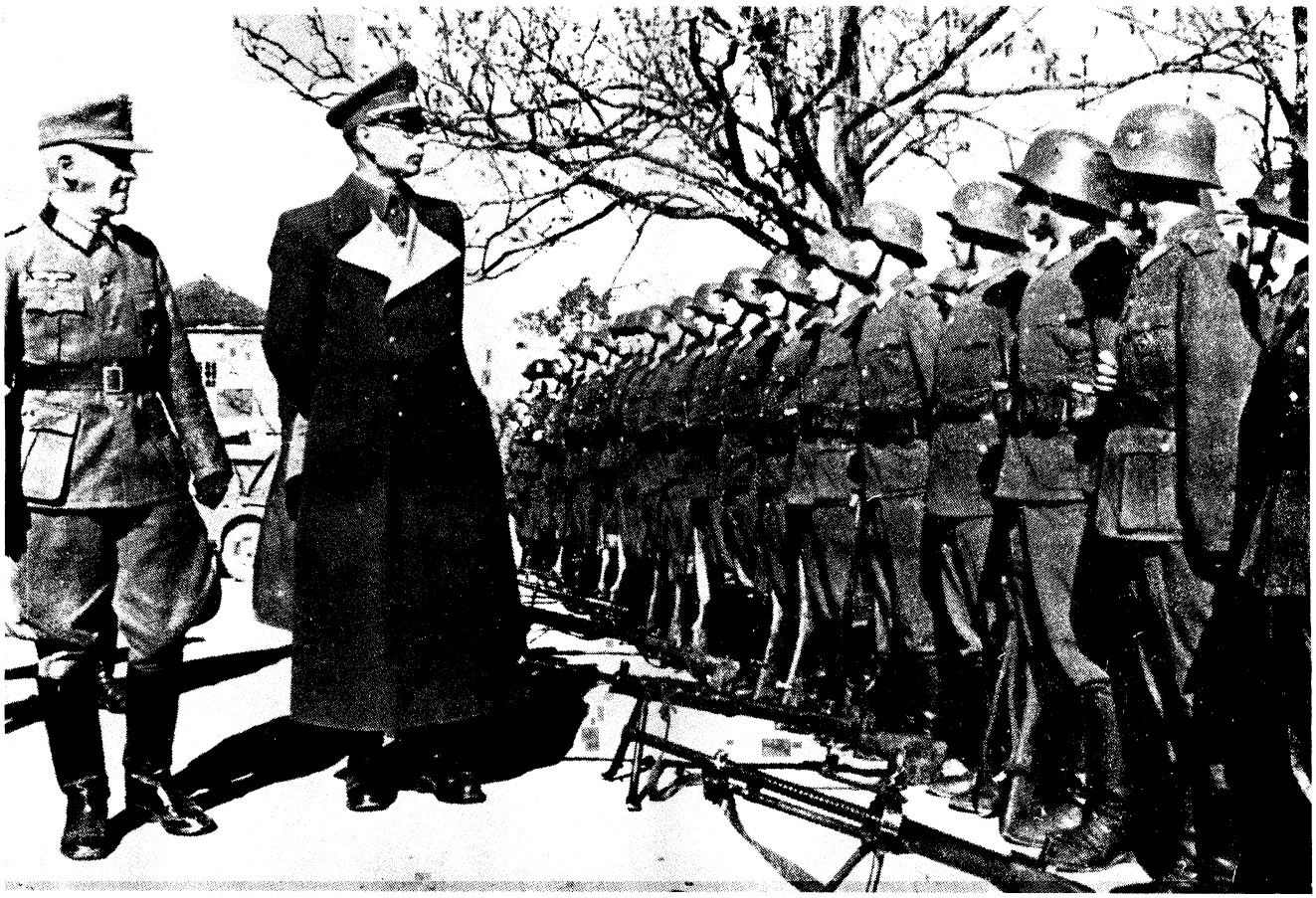
I phoned Col.-Gen. Dmitri Volkogonov, Chief of the Institute of Military History under the USSR Ministry of Defense [and author of *Stalin: Triumph and Tragedy*]: "Where did you find that order? Both at the State Security Committee and at the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs they told me that they had nothing of the kind."

"This one is from Stalin's personal archives. The camps existed, which means that there are also papers from which it is possible to learn everything: who, where, what they were fed, what they thought about. Most likely, the documents are in the system of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. The convoy troops were subordinate to this government department. It included the Administration for the Affairs of Former Prisoners of War. Make a search."

And search I did. Maj.-Gen. Pyotr Mishchenkov, First Deputy Chief of the present-day Main Administration for Corrective Affairs (GUID) at the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, was sincerely surprised: "This is the first I heard about this. I would be glad to help, but there is nothing I can do about it. I know that there was a colony in the Chunsky district of the Irkutsk Region. People got there after being checked up at the filtering camps mentioned in Stalin's order. They were all convicted under Article 58 — high treason."

One colony . . . Where are the others, what happened to their inmates? After all, as many as 100 camps were at work. The only thing I managed to find out — by October 1, 1945, they had "filtered" 5,200,000 Soviet citizens; 2,034,000 were turned over by the Allies — 98 percent of those who stayed in Germany's western occupation zones, mostly POWs. How many of them returned home? And how many went, in accordance with Order No. 270, into Soviet concentration camps? I don't yet have any authentic documents in my possession. Again only Western estimates and some eyewitness accounts.

I spoke to one such eyewitness on the Kolyma. A former "traitor to the Motherland," but then the accountant general of the Srednekan gold field, Viktor Masol, told me how in June 1942 in the Don



Many of the Soviet soldiers taken prisoner by the Germans during the 1941–1945 war volunteered to serve with the Germans in an ill-fated effort to liberate their homeland from Soviet tyranny. Altogether about a million Soviets volunteered to aid the Germans in overthrowing the regime that ruled their country — an act of disloyalty by a people toward its rulers without precedent in history.

In this photograph, Lt.-General Andrei A. Vlasov reviews troops of the German-sponsored "Russian Liberation Army." By the end of the war about 300,000 RLA soldiers were under Vlasov's command. Hundreds of thousands of other former Soviet soldiers of non-Russian nationality served in other German-sponsored anti-Communist military units. Vlasov was also chairman of the German-backed "Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia," which was proclaimed at a conference in Prague in 1944.

Before his capture by the Germans in July 1942, Vlasov was regarded as one of the most brilliant Red Army commanders. At the end of the war he surrendered to the Americans, who turned him over the Soviets. He was put to death in Moscow in 1946.

steppes after the Kharkov catastrophe they — unarmed, hungry, ragged Red Army men — were herded like sheep by German tanks into crowds of many thousands. Freight cars took them to Germany, where he mixed concrete for the Reich, and three years later they were sent in freight cars from Germany across the whole Soviet Union — as far as the Pacific Ocean. In the port of Vanino they were loaded into the holds of the *Felix Dzerzhinsky* steamship [named after the founder of the Soviet secret police], which had previously borne the name of *Nikolai Yezhov*, [a former] People's Commissar of Internal Affairs [that is, the NKVD or secret police], bound for Magadan. During the week they were on their way, they were given food only once — barrels with gray flour, covered with boiling water, were lowered through the hatch. And they, burning their hands and crushing one another, snatched this mess and stuffed it, choking, into their mouths: most often people go crazy with hunger. Those who died on the way were thrown overboard in the Nagayev Bay, the survivors marched into the taiga, again behind the barbed wire of — now — their native prison camps.

Just a few survived and returned. But even they were like lepers. Outcasts. How many times they heard: "Better a bullet through your head . . ."

Many former POWs thought about a bullet in

the 1940s–1950s. Both when they were reminded from the militia office — "you are two days overdue" (all the POWs were kept on a special register with mandatory reports on strictly definite days), and when people told them: "Keep silent. You whiled away your time in captivity on fascist grub . . ."

And they did keep silent.

In 1956, after Khrushchev's report, it became possible to speak about Stalin. Former POWs were no longer automatically enemies of the people, but not quite yet defenders of the Motherland. Something in between. On paper it was one way, but in life everything was different.

Two years ago, on the eve of V-Day, I interviewed Col.-Gen. Alexei Zheltov, Chairman of the Soviet War Veterans' Committee. As befits the occasion, he was telling me with tears in his eyes about the holiday, about a Soviet soldier, an accordion in his hands, in the streets of spring-time Vienna. And I don't know what made me ask him, well, and former prisoners of war, are they war veterans?

"No, they are not veterans. Don't you have anything else to write about? Look how many real soldiers we have . . ."

If Alexei Zheltov, the tried and tested veteran commissar, were the only one to think that way, that wouldn't be so bad. The trouble is that this philosophy is preached by the majority of the top brass. Both those who have long retired on pensions and who still hold command positions. For nearly 40 years we have been "orphaned," have lived without "the father of the peoples," but we sacredly revere his behests, sometimes not even noticing this ourselves.

Human blood is not water. But is has also proved to be a perfect conserving agent for Stalin's morality. It has become even thicker. It has not disappeared even after several generations. It lives on. And not infrequently it triumphs. Try and raise the problem of prisoners of war (even before me this theme was taken up on more than one occasion, so I'm no discoverer here) — the reaction is always the same: better talk about something else. And if you fail to heed a "piece of good advice," they may even start to threaten: "Don't you dare!"

To whom should one address his requests? To the government or the Supreme Soviet? What beautiful walls of the Kremlin should one knock on to demand that soldierly dignity be returned to former POWs, that their good name be restored?

Suppose your knocking has been heard. They will ask: what are you complaining about? What resolution do you take exception to? Oh, not a resolution. You are only worried over the past? How strange . . .

But it's even more strange that we still have real soldiers, real heros and real people, meaning that there are also those who are not real. To this day our life is still like a battle front: by force of habit, we continue putting people in slots — these on this side, others over there. There seems to be neither law nor Order No. 270 any longer, like there is no one and nothing to fight against, but all the same whatever was once called black may at best become only gray. But by no means white.

. . . May 9: the whole country cries and rejoices. Veterans don their medals and pour out wine, remembering their buddies. But even in this circle a former POW is the last to hold out his glass and the last to take the floor.

What then is to be done? What should we do to squeeze the Stalinoid slave out of ourselves?

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 microphone, 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, *devastating*. Cole not only documents on tape the falsehoods told Auschwitz visitors every day by unknowing tour guides, he shows that the very people who run the museum aren't at all sure about their main attraction—the "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. For those who cannot afford the trip to Europe to see all this for themselves, this video brings Auschwitz, as well as *The Leuchter Report*, to life right in your living room.

Most devastating of all is Cole's interview with Dr. Piper, in which the director of the Auschwitz Museum casually admits to postwar alterations of the room that for decades has been shown to tourists as an unaltered, "original state" gas chamber.

Professionally produced in full color and crisp sound, the tape runs just under an hour. If you've been waiting for a concise, intelligent, and persuasive presentation on the Holocaust that you can comfortably show to friends and family, *that video is here*! For those with no access to a video player, the soundtrack is available on C-60 audio cassette.

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Reflections of an American World War II Veteran on the Fiftieth Anniversary of the D-Day Invasion

CHARLES E. WEBER

Television stations throughout the United States recently devoted many hours to the events of the bloody "D-Day" battle half a century ago, broadcasting gruesome scenes recorded on thousands of feet of motion picture film. But what did that pain and sacrifice on the beaches of Normandy really bring for Americans?

I am an American veteran of the Second World War, born in 1922. I was sworn into the Army of the United States on January 13, 1943, and discharged from military service on a pleasant spring day in Heidelberg, April 13, 1946. During those three and a quarter years I went to places as I was ordered, and did what I was ordered to do. Since my overseas service was in Europe, my reflections of June 6, 1944, are mostly concerned with the American military role in Europe. When I view the film footage of American "D-Day" military action, I realize how fortunate I am not to have been on the "Omaha" beachhead sector that day.

After the end of military action in 1945, I became involved in the process usually called "Denazification," which afforded me the unusual opportunity to hear views from both sides of the war. My training had been in military intelligence, and my Military Occupational Specialty Number was 631, that of an intelligence non-commissioned officer.

Opposing the American military forces that invaded Europe in June 1944 were men of my race, in fact exclusively of my race, from various parts of Europe, a Europe that had been exhausted by nearly five years of war. At the time the United States was closely allied with the most destructive tyranny that has ever existed in the history of mankind. Men from many lands were opposing the advance of Communism into Europe: Finns, Germans, Hungarians, Italians, Romanians, Slovaks and Croatians, as well as nearly a million volunteers from the Netherlands, Belgium, France, Denmark, Norway, and other countries. These volunteers included some of the finest and most courageous men of all the combatants, not only in terms of their military feats, but also because in many cases their governments, some of which had fled into exile, disowned them and later tried many of them as traitors for idealistically defending Europe against the armed forces of Communism.

In the years since the end of the Second World War, a number of courageous historians have been reevaluating the history of that conflict, including the American role. A notable, early example is the 1951 book by American intelligence officer Col. John Beaty, *The Iron Curtain Over America* [available through the IHR]. A recent and quite disturbing book by Canadian journalist James Bacque, *Other Losses* (1989) [available from the IHR], deals with the ruthless American treatment of Germans who laid down their arms in 1945. Scores of other important books in this category have also been published. In spite of a flood of continuing propaganda by the mass media, which present the history of American involvement in that conflict as the "Good War," historians such as Beaty and Bacque have had the courage and intellectual integrity to delve objectively into the darker realities of America's role in the conflict.

On September 1, 1939, German forces, wisely or not, attempted to regain by arms parts of Germany that had been forcibly taken by Poland in 1919–1920. Three days later this conflict between Germany and an overconfident Poland was expanded into a world war when a heavily armed and overconfident Britain, together with a somewhat hesitant France (which considered itself well protected behind an impressive line of modern fortifications) declared war against Germany.

While the motives for these fateful declarations were complex, British fear of German competition for export markets, at a time of lingering massive unemployment in Britain, was unquestionably a prominent factor. On that same day — September 3,

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British premier Churchill, American President Roosevelt and Soviet premier Stalin, along with high-ranking military officers, meet at the February 1945 Yalta Conference of Allied coalition leaders.

1939 — another significant event took place about which nearly all Americans are ignorant: a mass murder of civilian ethnic Germans by Poles, known as the "Bromberg Bloody Sunday." This event, which the German government quickly publicized in newspapers and other publications, complete with grim photographs, lent the conflict a grim and desperate atmosphere from the outset.

From Polish Foreign Office documents captured in Warsaw in 1939 by invading German forces, we know that President Franklin Roosevelt had been ordering his diplomats in Europe to help incite war in Europe, motivated at least in part by a desire to solve with war the still pressing problem of massive unemployment in the United States — even after six years in office. [See: M. Weber, "President Roosevelt's Campaign to Incite War In Europe," *JHR*, Summer 1983, pp. 135–172.] Well aware that the vast majority of Americans wanted no involvement in the war that raged in Europe (particularly after the outbreak of hostilities between Germany and the USSR in June 1941), the shrewdly duplicitous occupant of the White House assured the American people that he had no intention of sending their sons to fight on foreign battlefields. Among the citizens who played prominent roles in the popular campaign against American involvement in the war were Charles Lindbergh and Walt Disney.

On the basis of newly published histories of Soviet military units and secret documents, we know today that Stalin was planning a Soviet Russian invasion of central and western Europe in 1941. [See, in particular, the book *Icebreaker* by V. Suvorov.] Ordered into offensive positions in the spring and early summer of 1941 were massed Soviet armies that had powerful, modern tanks in numbers far greater than those under German command.

Following arrogant demands to German officials by Soviet diplomats in the autumn of 1940 (which previewed what Germany and indeed all of Europe could expect from a militarily victorious Soviet Union), and after Germany's political and military leaders became convinced that time and further delay were putting their nation at ever greater military disadvantage, Hitler ordered a mighty military offensive against the Soviet Union. This great strike, code-named "Operation Barbarossa," began on the morning of June 22, 1941. It met with astonishing initial successes against the Soviet forces that had been massed on the frontier for offensive (and not defensive) operations —

another instance of overconfidence. These initial German military victories took place in spite of inadequate preparations for a sustained offensive (including a shortage of clothing suitable for winter warfare).

Roosevelt had an intense personal hatred of Hitler, who had, in some important ways, been far more successful in solving the great economic problems that afflicted both the United States and Germany. In contrast to Adolf Hitler, who had come from modest circumstances and who had served his nation in its armed forces as a front-line soldier who witnessed, first-hand, the horrors of war, Franklin Roosevelt had come from a very wealthy family and never served in combat. During 1940–41, and in spite of the overwhelming sentiment of the American people against military involvement in another European war, the United States, under Roosevelt's leadership, increasingly committed US armed forces and war supplies to military actions against Germany.

In a lengthy speech delivered on December 11, 1941 — just a few days after the Japanese attack on Hawaii — Hitler finally recognized that Roosevelt's duplicitous efforts had won out, and declared the existence of a state of war with the United States. [Complete text of Hitler's speech published in the *JHR*, Winter 1988, pp. 389–416.] Without such a formal declaration by Hitler, the full force of American military and industrial power against Germany might have been delayed for months or even years. Hitler had underestimated the sentiment of the American people to keep out of the European war. When one reads the text of this speech today, it becomes apparent that the German leader had become emotionally moved by American military attacks against German naval forces in the Atlantic. Japan's attack against Pearl Harbor several days earlier served to realize Roosevelt's desire for full American involvement in war, and made his political position virtually unassailable.

Soaked with the blood of young American men, the Normandy beaches are a symbol of American sacrifices in a war that produced results that caused many thoughtful Americans to later ask themselves what the bitter sacrifices had really brought. For more than four decades eastern and much of central Europe suffered under a brutal, exploitative Soviet occupation. During 1945–1946, brutal expulsions of millions of ethnic Germans from areas that had been part of Germany for centuries resulted in the deaths of many hundreds of thousands. By the start of the Soviet blockade of Berlin in June 1948, many Americans were asking themselves what we had done as a nation.

I was still in Europe during the summer of 1948, having taken a position with the War Department following my discharge from the Army. That summer was a time of great tension and fear that a new war might break out, this time in a military vacuum that likely would have resulted in the rather sudden defeat of whatever western military forces were still left in Europe, and the subsequent Soviet occupation of the portion of Europe that had not already been occupied by Soviet forces.

We Americans can be proud that our Constitution forbids "ex post facto" laws, in keeping with thousands of years of European legal tradition expressed, for example, in the ancient Latin legal dictum, "nulla poena sine lege" ("no punishment without a law"). One day in the summer of 1946 I attended the protracted show trials in Nuremberg of German leaders who had been obeying the laws of their country, and defending it against ruthless foes who had made genocidal threats — such as the notorious "Morgenthau Plan" — against the German nation. [See: A. Kubek, "The Morgenthau Plan and the Problem of Policy Perversion," *JHR*, Fall 1989.] The Nuremberg trials were a cynical repudiation of American legal principles, against which some courageous Americans — including Senators Robert Taft and Joseph McCarthy — raised their voices at the time.

These trials, with their cynical disregard of American and European legal principles (similar to present efforts in some European countries to suppress open inquiry into some taboo historical questions), can be seen as a sort of psychological necessity for many Americans, who had come to realize what their country had done in Europe. The trials served to help rationalize or morally justify our conduct of the war, including the merciless and largely unnecessary bombing of German and other civilian populations (such as the fire-bombing of Dresden in February 1945). Largely unknown to most Americans at the time was the disgraceful American postwar treatment of German prisoners of war, and the barbaric "Operation Keelhaul" treatment of eastern Europeans. Such actions were not worthy of a nation that claimed to be guided by Christian moral principles. But war seems to have the ability to "hallow any cause," to use Nietzsche's phrase.

The Second World War also served as the perfect pretext for the establishment of Big Government, with its gigantic and intrusive federal bureaucracy. (For example, the payroll deduction system that was introduced as a temporary "war measure" has remained permanent.)

The young men who served in the air forces of Britain, Germany and the United States during the Second World War were, physically and mentally, the finest examples of their race. Fighting each other, they died by the scores of thousands in the gun fire of aerial combat and in the flaming wreckage of downed aircraft. In most cases their genes were lost forever — a striking example of the dysgenic effect of modern warfare.

Far more insidious and perhaps far more damaging, I believe, has been the psychological conse-

quence of America's involvement in the Second World War. The well-calculated propaganda image of America's "victory" in 1945 and the subsequent Nuremberg trials, along with the "Holocaust" campaign, have served to help poison and debilitate the psyche and even the will to survive of Americans of European ancestry. In one law after the other, in one judicial decree after the other, and in one foreign policy decision after the other, this poison and debilitation have manifested themselves. During the past few decades the political and cultural standing of European-Americans has been steadily declining.

However great his faults, or misguided his actions, Hitler's basic aim — the welfare of his own people, race and culture — was, I think, valid. A consequence of the constant denigration in the American popular media of Hitler and his regime is to discredit the pursuit of any similar aim by European-Americans. Any defense of European-American interests has become not only unfashionable, but is now widely regarded as immoral.

It seems especially ironic that a man who slyly and selfishly evaded military service during the war in Vietnam, and whose past personal behavior is a source of shame to our country, should be the one to represent the United States in commemorating the sacrifices made by American soldiers on the beaches of Normandy and in central Italy.

It is proper that we honor the well-intended sacrifices of American soldiers who were killed and wounded during the Second World War. At the same time, though, we must also keep the results of these sacrifices in proper perspective, especially with regard to the long-range results of the war.

Bitter Retrospective after Fifty Years

Open Letter from a Young Frenchman to a Former French Resistance Fighter

First of all, I hope you were not one of those who waited until every German had fled before putting on the insignia of the French Forces of the Interior [the resistance movement]. If you really fought the Germans I respect you because I oppose all occupation forces. I can well imagine how those grey-green uniforms, that accent from beyond the Rhine, and those virile marching songs would have been intolerable to you. You may well even tell me that you despise the music of Wagner, that you hate sauerkraut and everything about German culture. You did what you felt you had to do to resist the imposition of an alien presence and an alien culture.

But you, who resisted the other because he was

Because their lovers had been Germans, these young French woman were publicly humiliated by having their heads shaved.

German, who refused the "enrichment" of Teutonic ideas, who fought and suffered so that France would remain French, tell me this: How can you accept the waves of Africans and Asians now washing up on our shores? They leave their spray-paint spoor on our walls and on our trains and buses. Where they have become the majority, their habits make life intolerable for Frenchmen — Frenchmen who watch their neighborhoods decay and then flee.

With the help of their collaborators in the government and the media, these newcomers are trying to impose their culture on us. Today we see mosques rising everywhere and instead of the German music of your era, we hear such tropical brayings as rap, the Lambada, and Saga Africa. You — who shaved the heads of French women who succumbed to the charms of German soldiers — what do you think today when you see white women walking hand and hand with blacks and Arabs?

Every day you are harangued by radio and television about the joys of racial mixing. You hear the government-sponsored calls to childless French couples to adopt third-world children. And all the while, your taxes rise because you must pay your part of a 240 billion [French Francs] social welfare budget that is really the annual cost of occupation.

You risked your life to rid France of German culture, but I ask you candidly: Was it worth the trouble? What have we gained, now that those field-grey uniforms have been replaced with saris, djellabahs [the costume of Morocco] and boubous [traditional African costume]?

You were lucky in a way. If today's "anti-racist" laws had been in effect in July 1940, you could have been indicted and imprisoned for "inciting hatred

against Germans" with the very first tract you handed out.

What Was the Point?

What was the point of killing so many people only to get where we are now? It could all have been avoided. Around 1942, François Mitterand [former resistance leader, now President of France] could have said "The Germans are at home in our homes" [a phrase widely promoted today about immigrants], and Pierre Laval [vice-premier of France's wartime pro-German Vichy government, and executed in 1945] would have agreed. If you and Mitterand hadn't been so intolerant and Germanophobic we could have easily assimilated the million or so Germans who were camping on our soil.

Couldn't they have been naturalized, given the vote, and made into good little Frenchmen like you and me? Wouldn't that have been an earlier version of the "cultural enrichment," "tolerance," and "openness to others," about which we hear so much these days? You may not like to admit it, but I know you prefer Bavarian polkas to that execrable rap "music."

Poor old boy, the people who sent you off to the wars in 1940 have certainly made a monkey out of you. Since then, neither Gaullists nor Communists have done much to preserve our people or our culture, have they? Your silence is the silence of a cuckold, but I feel your quiet rage at having been so cruelly deceived.

At your age perhaps we cannot expect to find you at our side in the fight against this generation's occupation. But surely you will not be displeased to see the rising power of the anti-immigration movement and of those who wish to preserve the France for which you fought. For it is we who now fight to justify your sacrifice, whose victory will ensure that the comrades you left upon the field of honor did not die in vain.

This essay is reprinted from the July 1994 issue of American Renaissance *newsletter (P. O. Box 1674, Louisville, KY 40201). It originally appeared in issue No. 19 of the French periodical,* l'Empire Invisible.

If history were an exact science, we would be able to foretell the future of nations. We cannot, though, because the science of history always clashes with the mystery of personality. It is men, personalities, who make history.

— Heinrich von Treitschke

American Troops Liberate Dachau, April 1945

DACHAU
Reality and Myth

When American GIs liberated the infamous Dachau concentration camp on April 29, 1945, they were horrified by the corpses they found there, and readily believed stories of mass killings in a camp "gas chamber." As John Cobden explains in this easy to read overview, the real story of the camp is quite different than the widely accepted legend.

Few know, for example, that even after the American's took over Dachau, prisoners continued to die in large numbers–nearly ten percent of all deaths at the camp took place after liberation.

Over the years, former Dachau inmates have told "eyewitness" stories of terrible atrocities committed in the camp, including "gas chamber" killings of thousands of prisoners.

In ***Dachau: Reality and Myth***, however, these tales disintegrate under close examination. Cutting through a fog of confusion, deception and politics, here is the true story of Dachau, including how the "official" history of the Third Reich's first and best-known concentration camp has changed dramatically over the years. Written with passionate devotion to truth and sensitivity for the suffering of the camp's victims, ***Dachau: Reality and Myth*** systematically debunks a major historical legend.

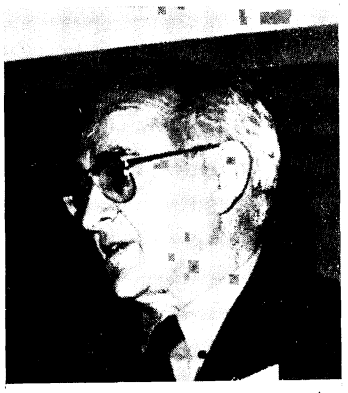
Dachau: Reality and Myth
by John Cobden
52 pages • Photos • ISBN: 0-939484-49-8
$6 postpaid
Two or more copies $4.50 each postpaid
—Published by—
Institute for Historical Review
P.O. Box 2739 • Newport Beach, CA 92659

Revisionist Historians and Activists To Meet for Twelfth IHR Conference

From across the United States and several foreign countries, scholars, activists and friends of the Institute for Historical Review will meet over the September 3–5 weekend in southern California for the IHR's Twelfth International Revisionist Conference.

As announced in the May-June *Journal*, this forthcoming Conference will feature some of the most prominent figures in the growing international revisionist movement. A lot has happened since the Eleventh IHR Conference in October 1990, and leading activists will be on hand to provide attendees with the exciting inside story about the major breakthroughs, as well as the formidable new efforts of our enemies, in the international campaign for greater historical awareness about the most hyped and taboo-laden chapter of history. In addition, leading revisionist scholars will report on the new documentary and investigatory discoveries that further shatter the icons of "official" history.

In his typically riveting and entertaining style, best-selling British historian **David Irving** will present startling new facts and insights about Joseph Goebbels, based in part on his headline-making investigation in Russian archives of the Third Reich propaganda chief's long-hidden personal diaries. Irving, one of the world's most prolific historians, will also update attendees on the ever more frantic international campaign to muzzle him — and all others who dare to defy the powerful worldwide Holocaust lobby.



Dr. Robert Faurisson

From Canada, German-born publicist and civil rights activist **Ernst Zündel** will report on his courageous international campaign for greater awareness of suppressed history, and to restore the honor and good reputation of the German people. He'll talk about his publishing work and media activism, including the inside story on his March appearance on the popular "60 Minutes" public affairs television show, and his newly organized international television and radio broadcast outreach campaign. Zündel will review the impact and significance of his two widely publicized "Holocaust trials" (1985 and 1988), which brought major breakthroughs for historical revisionism and an important victory for free speech in Canada.

Robert Faurisson, Europe's leading Holocaust revisionist scholar and a much-appreciated IHR Conference speaker, will return to delight attendees with another fascinating and witty presentation. He will speak about the significance of revealing documents about Auschwitz and other German camps unearthed after years of suppression from Russian archives.

It was this French university professor (and frequent *Journal* contributor) who first dug up and published key documents from the Auschwitz construction department archives. After attempting for years to ignore this evidence, Faurisson's hard-pressed enemies are now obliged to offer confused responses. He will also report on the very oppressive situation in his native France, where it is a crime publicly to challenge the currently fashionable view of the Holocaust extermination story.

Carlo Mattogno

Carlo Mattogno, Italy's foremost revisionist scholar, will speak about his recent eye-opening research into the Holocaust story, emphasizing what newly uncovered records show about fraudulent Auschwitz extermination claims. A meticulous researcher with an impressive command of languages, Mattogno is the author of several books in Italian, and of numerous scholarly essays in English that have appeared over the years in this *Journal* — including the text of his presentation the Ninth IHR Conference (1989). Copies of *Auschwitz: The End of a Legend: A Critique of J. C. Pressac*, an impressive and detailed study just published by the IHR, will be available for sale. The author will gladly autograph copies.

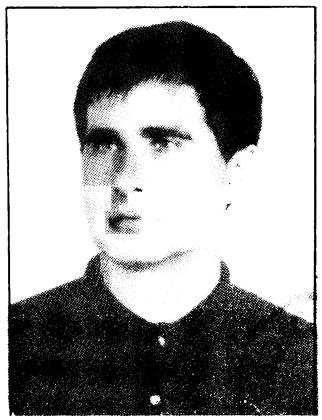
Jürgen Graf, a Swiss educator and author of several carefully researched revisionist books on the Holocaust story, will speak about the perverse role that the Holocaust story has come to play in Western society.

In March 1993, following the publication of his 112-page book *Der Holocaust auf dem Prüfstand* ("The Holocaust on the Test Stand"), Graf was summarily dismissed from his post as a secondary school teacher of Latin and French, in spite of support from his students and colleagues. His firing came on orders of high-level Swiss authorities. Graf is also author of *Der Holocaust-Schwindel* (in German), *L'Holocaust au Scanner* (in French), and, most

recently, *Auschwitz: Tätergeständnisse und Augenzeugen des Holocaust* ("Auschwitz: Admissions by perpetrators and eyewitnesses of the Holocaust"). For more about Graf, see the Sept.-Oct. 1993 *Journal*, pp. 36–37.

John Ball will speak about his research and evaluation of little-known wartime aerial photography, providing devastating new insights into the suppressed history of Auschwitz and other alleged German death camps. Ball, a mineral exploration geologist from western Canada, has gathered, studied, and published scores of long suppressed aerial reconnaissance photographs of German camps. His analysis of these photos sheds new light on what actually did and didn't happen at these camps, providing valuable new data and insights against the Holocaust extermination story. He will illustrate his presentation with slides of wartime aerial photos.

IHR editor **Ted O'Keefe** will dedicate the Twelfth IHR Conference to the memory of American historian and journalist William Henry Chamberlin. **Greg Raven**, Associate Editor of the *Journal*, will serve as this year's Master of Ceremonies. *Journal* Editor **Mark Weber** will deliver the keynote address, summing up IHR and revisionism's achievements since the previous conference, and outlining present and future challenges. Institute Director **Tom Marcellus** will report to attendees on IHR business and organizational development since the Eleventh Conference in 1992.



Jürgen Graf

This year's **Mystery Speaker** is a highly qualified technician from Europe whose study of the alleged mass-murder "gas chambers" at Auschwitz confirms that these facilities were not and could not have been used to kill people as claimed. His findings corroborate and strengthen the results of earlier investigations, including those of American gas chamber expert Fred Leuchter.

David Cole, the youthful Jewish filmmaker who has proven himself an effective spokesman for the revisionist view in several nationally-broadcast television appearances, and who delighted attendees at the IHR's Eleventh Conference, will preview his promising second video about alleged wartime German killing facilities. In his first blockbuster revisionist video, the curator of the Auschwitz State Museum admitted to Cole on film that the "gas chamber" shown to tourists there is actually a postwar reconstruction.

Bradley Smith, America's most prominent revisionist activist, will report on his successful headline-making campaign, in defiance of malicious smears and ADL censorship, to bring revisionist facts and arguments to students and professors by placing advertisements in student papers across the United States. Smith — who is Director of the Committee for Open Debate on the Holocaust (CODOH), and longtime head of the IHR's Media Project — will also report on his recent national media breakthroughs, including an appearance (with David Cole) in March as a guest on the "Donahue Show." **Dr. Robert Countess,** a former college-level instructor in history and an IHR Editorial Advisor, will update attendees on his revisionist activities since the last Conference.

Schedule Changes

Regrettably, several persons who had been announced as Conference speakers in the May-June *Journal* will not be able to participate after all. These are: Fred Leuchter, Prof. H. W. Koch, Prof. Tony Martin and Michael Shermer. Two speakers — Carlo Mattogno and Jürgen Graf — have not been previously announced.

A Memorable Occasion

As those who have attended previous gatherings can attest, an IHR Conference is an informative, inspiring and enjoyable occasion. This Twelfth IHR Conference promises to be one of the most memorable ever.

While audio tapes and videotapes of this forthcoming IHR Conference will be available for sale, as usual, nothing matches the opportunity to see, hear, and meet personally with revisionist scholars and activists from around the world, the courageous individuals who lead the international crusade for truth about the most distorted aspects of twentieth century history.

Bradley Smith (left) and Phil Donahue (right) listen as David Cole makes a point during their March appearance on the widely viewed "Donahue" television show.

Bradley Smith's "Campus Project" Generates Nationwide Publicity for Holocaust Revisionism

Unprecedented Media Coverage of Holocaust "Open Debate" Campaign

During the past year Bradley Smith — America's most prominent revisionist activist, and a good friend of the Institute for Historical Review — has succeeded in generating unprecedented nationwide publicity for Holocaust revisionism as part of his "Campus Project." Defying a well-organized campaign of threats, intimidation and smears, he and his Committee for Open Debate on the Holocaust (CODOH) have placed more advertisements in student newspapers across the United States than during any other school year. On campus after campus, the ads have provoked enormous publicity, while the resulting furor has generated news reports and commentary in newspapers, magazines and television and radio broadcasts across the country.

Smith had already attracted nationwide notoriety during the 1991-92 school year by placing advertisements or statements calling for open debate on the Holocaust issue in 17 student newspapers, several at major universities. After something of a lapse during the 1992-93 school year — which prompted adversaries to boast that he had been permanently silenced — Smith came back, more effective than ever. During the 1993-94 school year, his ad — the most recent version of which is headed "A Revisionist Challenge to the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum" — was published, in one form or another, in at least 35 college and university student papers, as well as in one major metropolitan daily.

Brandeis University Uproar

Nowhere was the reaction to the appearance of Smith's CODOH advertisement more intense than at Brandeis University (Waltham, Mass.). Hundreds of members of the school's predominantly Jewish student body rallied to protest the ad, which appeared in the December 7 issue of the weekly *Justice*. Some 2,000 copies of the student paper were stolen as they were about to be distributed. Two days later, 4,000 replacement copies were delivered under protection of campus police.

Brandeis Professor and Holocaust historian Antony Polonsky told participants at a Dec. 9 campus rally: "Holocaust denial is not a serious scholarly debate. This is a new form of hate propaganda. This is not a First Amendment issue." Echoing this view was the *Boston Globe* (editorial, Dec. 14), and Kenneth S. Stern and Jeffrey Ross of the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) in a letter published in *The New York Times* (Dec. 23).

At a panel discussion on "Holocaust Revision, Holocaust Denial," Brandeis Professor Jerry Cohen took a somewhat different view. (*Justice*, Feb. 15) Said Cohen:

> To simply stipulate facts and insist upon them with an attitude of "I shall not debate, I shall not confront, I shall not discuss lest I give dignity to absurd arguments in a world of absurd arguments" is, I think, a failed strategy . . . All historical events are subject to reinterpretation. As we move further and further away from these events, our perspective changes . . . not only because our interpretation changes, but also because more evidence comes to light.

As a result of his decision to run Smith's ad, *Justice* editor David Turner "became a pariah on campus." His car was defaced, he received hateful phone calls around the clock, and he was threatened with bodily harm. (*Time* magazine, Dec. 27.)

Queens College Bigotry

The text of the Smith's ad appeared in the student paper of Queens College (Flushing, New York) along with a barrage of smears and bigoted commentary. The ad text was printed on the front page of the *QC Quad*, February 21, under the heading "An Illustration of Hate." (Smith's check was returned, and the CODOH address was deleted from the ad.)

Right next to Smith's text appeared a viciously critical front-page editorial entitled "Revising Revisionism," which told readers that "the *Quad* wants to warn you that the adjoining material is hazardous to your head." Page two of this same issue was entirely devoted to a full-page letter from Queens College president Shirley Strum Kenny, which likewise attacked Smith while not citing even a single instance of what she called his "disregard for truth."

A second *Quad* editorial in this same issue, headed "A Man and His Lies," sought to discredit Smith by attributing to him racist statements sup-

posedly made in a 1989 interview with the University of Nebraska *Sower*. For example, Smith was quoted as expressing concern that America is becoming a "Mexicanized" country. In fact, Smith never made the statements attributed to him by the *Quad*, and was never even interviewed by the *Sower*. Smith's wife of 16 years is an immigrant from Mexico.

Further attacks against Smith appeared on five other pages of this same Feb. 21 issue of the *QC Quad*, as well as in the two succeeding issues of Feb. 28 and March 7.

All this generated reports and commentary in off-campus media, including a rather detailed article in the Feb. 10 Long Island *Newsday*, an editorial in the Feb. 12 *New York Post*, and an item in the *Jewish Week* of Feb. 18-24. Moreover, *Quad* executive editor Dave Konig was on hand for the March taping of the "Phil Donahue Show," on which revi-

Bradley Smith reports on his work at the Eleventh IHR Conference.

sionists Smith and David Cole were guests, when he was permitted by the host to disparage Smith in person.

Humboldt State University

The publication of Smith's ad in the March 16 issue of the Humboldt State University (Arcata, Calif.) *Lumberjack* generated letters arguing each side of the issue, which appeared through the April 13 issue. Some of the letters protesting the ad were written by HSU professors, to which geology senior Stephen Tillinghast responded (April 13): "I was disappointed to see these types of letters from professors on campus; surely they see the dangers of intolerance." The local daily *Eureka Times Standard* (March 24) also covered the controversy.

Miami University

At Miami University (Coral Gables, Florida), the publication of Smith's CODOH advertisement in the April 12 issue of *The Miami Hurricane* set off a furor that received national media attention. A wealthy Jewish businessman — Sanford L. Ziff, founder of the Sunglass Hut chain — was so upset by the ad's appearance there that he cancelled a scheduled $1 million donation to the school's Lowe Art Museum expansion project, and a $1 million gift to the school's Sylvester Cancer Research Center. Ziff reportedly was also having doubts about naming the University in his will as beneficiary for several additional millions of dollars.

Florida's leading daily, *The Miami Herald*, devoted considerable attention to the ad controversy at Miami University. (Its coverage began even before the ad appeared in the student paper there.) Reports about the Miami University uproar also appeared in the Palm Beach *Post*, the St. Petersburg *Times*, the *Tampa Tribune*, *USA Today* (April 13), the *New York Post*, and *The Washington Post*.

An Unusual Punishment

At Georgetown University (Washington, DC), Smith's ad appeared in the student paper, the *Georgetown Voice*, on October 14. University officials decided to treat publication of the ad as a serious transgression. The University's media board required the *Voice* to print an apology and donate the $200 paid for the ad to the federal government's US Holocaust Memorial Museum. Finally, the board ordered the three paper's top editors to tour the Holocaust Museum, escorted by a Georgetown professor of theology.

Other Papers

A report on the success of Smith's CODOH campaign between September and early November appeared in the Nov.-Dec. 1993 *Journal* (p. 22). In addition to the papers and schools noted in that article and elsewhere in this one, Smith's ad appeared in student papers at Wright State University (Dayton, Ohio) Oct. 28; Mount Hood Community College (Portland, Ore.), Oct. 29; Roosevelt High School (Portland, Ore.), in October; University of Notre Dame, Nov. 18; Bowling Green University (Ohio), Nov. 18; Boston College, Dec. 6; the University of Maryland, Jan. 27; Pennsylvania State University, Feb. 2; the University of Rhode Island, Feb. 4; California State University at Chico, March 9; San Jose State University, March 9; Humboldt State University (Arcata, Calif.), March 16; American River College (Calif.), March 17; Southern Illinois University at Carbondale, April 7; State

University of New York (SUNY) College, Oneonta, April 14; Trenton State University, April 14; Wheaton College (Mass.), April 14; Manhattan College (New York), April 14; State University of New York (SUNY), Buffalo, April 15; State University of New York (SUNY), Binghamton, April 15; Clemson University (South Carolina), April 16; Columbia College (Chicago), April 18; State University of New York (SUNY) College, Potsdam, April 19; Central Florida University, April 20; University of Maine (Orono), April 20; Hofstra University (Hempstead, New York), April 21; and, State University of New York (SUNY), Stony Brook, June 6.

In addition, Smith's ad also appeared for the first time in a major metropolitan daily, the Portland *Oregonian* (Oct. 24), the state's most widely read newspaper.

Rejection Publicity and Media Distortion

Even where it was turned down, news of the decision to reject Smith's ad sometimes generated considerable public interest and discussion. At Georgia State University, for example, the editors' decision to turn down the CODOH ad resulted in pages of commentary, both for and against publication, in the GSU student paper, *Signal*, between February 22 and April 19. Similarly, the decision to reject the ad by the student paper at the University of Buffalo resulted in a news story in the *Buffalo News* (April 16).

Another periodical that turned down Smith's ad was *The Skidmore News*, a paper that calls itself "the campus authority since 1925," and is apparently distributed to students at colleges and universities across the country. Nevertheless, this paper devoted an editorial and a 16-page Special Supplement (April 21), entitled "Why are Holocaust deniers targeting college campuses?," which contained the usual half-truths and smears.

A good example of how *The Skidmore News* brazenly twisted the truth is this assertion:

> Mr. Smith heads up the best-financed and most anti-Semitic propaganda organization in the country, Liberty Lobby. His newsletter published by the Institute for Historical Review is read by thousands across the country.

A *Skidmore News* essay by Prof. Robert Boyers, while highly critical of Smith and Holocaust revisionism, concluded with a gratifyingly strong support for the principle of free speech and a free press, even on this emotion-laden topic. Wrote Boyers:

> I do not observe in the current "revisionist" ad the tenor I associate with a murderous intention . . . Though it may seem tempting to censor or deny publication to ads that are empty or pointless or otherwise distasteful, many of us would argue that most ads — and many "news" features — are equally distasteful, or misleading, or dangerously manipulative. As long as the paid "revisionist" ads do not contain openly vicious, defamatory or incendiary messages, I would continue to support the decision of college newspapers to publish them.

Gas Chamber Evidence?

Holocaust historian Raul Hilberg, author of *The Destruction of the European Jews*, was asked by the *Skidmore News* about evidence "for the existence of [execution] gas chambers" in the German wartime German camps. Hilberg responded by citing the following:

- "Blueprints" from the Auschwitz construction office. In fact, these are clearly blueprints of crematory buildings and morgue rooms;
- "Aerial photography" from Auschwitz in 1944. In reality, these show no evidence whatever of "gassings" or killings of any kind;
- "Collateral documents which speak about the supply of gas." These are simply records of purchases and deliveries of the commercial pesticide Zyklon B;
- "Remains of these gas chambers," which were simply crematory buildings and morgue rooms; and,
- "Testimony," the dubiousness of which every serious historian is aware.

Finally, Hilberg claimed that "the [German] perpetrators, as a matter of fact, never denied it." Actually, a wide range of top-level German officials — including Hermann Göring and Albert Speer — strenuously rejected knowing of any wartime extermination program, or of gas chamber killings.

Further Publicity

It was the Brandeis controversy that prompted a full-page *Time* magazine article (Dec. 27), as well as a nationally distributed Associated Press report (which appeared, for example, in *The New York Times*, Dec. 12). The slanted *Time* report included a color photo of Smith at his home in Visalia, California, and a snide reference to the Institute for Historical Review and IHR *Journal* editor Mark Weber.

Reports also appeared in The *Philadelphia Inquirer* (Dec. 26), the Philadelphia *Jewish Times* (Dec. 30), and the *College Reporter* of Franklin & Marshall College (Jan. 17), although, typically, none of these addressed the specifics of Smith's ad.

Publication of Smith's ad in the Georgetown University paper prompted William Buckley to comment in his nationally-syndicated column (published, for example, in *National Review*, Jan. 24). Buckley, a fixture of New York City's pro-Zionist neo-conservative circles, dealt sarcastically with Smith and his campaign, and expressed satisfaction with the unusual way the university punished the offending editors.

An essay by Smith appeared as a guest editorial piece in the December 10 issue of the *Albany Student Press*, published at the State University of New

You have a right to know the facts!

A REVISIONIST CHALLENGE TO THE U.S. HOLOCAUST MEMORIAL MUSEUM

By Bradley R. Smith

This ad does not claim "the Holocaust never happened." Those who say it does want to muddy the issue. This is what the ad does claim: The U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum displays no proof whatever of homicidal gassing chambers, and no proof that even one individual was "gassed" in a German program of "genocide."

The question, then, is not, "Did the Holocaust happen?" The question is: If there were no gas chambers, *what was the Holocaust?*

This Museum promotes the charge that the Germans murdered the Jews of Europe in homicidal gassing chambers. It therefore has a *moral obligation* to demonstrate that the charge is true. Those who contend it is more important to be sensitive than truthful about whether the gas chambers truly existed are enemies of intellectual freedom and of the university itself.

What are the facts?

The Museum's "proof" for a gas chamber at Birkenau is a plastic model created by a Polish *artiste*. A plastic copy of a metal door is displayed as "proof" of a homicidal gas chamber at Maidanek. And, incredibly, the Museum has simply dropped the Auschwitz gas chamber, the basement room visited yearly by hundreds of thousands of tourists in Poland.

There is no mention of the alleged gas chambers at Buchenwald or even at Dachau, where after World War II American G.I.s and German civilians were assured that more than 200,000 victims were "gassed and burned."

The notion that eyewitness testimony, given under highly politicized and emotional circumstances, is *prima facie* true, was refuted by the Israeli Supreme Court when it acquitted John Demjanjuk of being "Ivan the Terrible." The Israeli Court found that the eyewitnesses who testified against Demjanjuk could not be believed!

Deborah Lipstadt argues in her much-praised *Denying the Holocaust* that revisionists ["deniers"] should not be debated because there can not be another side to the gas chamber stories. She charges that it is hateful to demand proof that the weapon allegedly used to commit horrendous acts of mass murder actually existed! She argues—in this one instance only—that we betray America's old civil virtues of free inquiry and open debate. For the benefit of whom?

I'm not in disagreement with Ms. Lipstadt and her *clique* on the gas chamber controversy because they may be Zionists or Jews. That's disingenuous. I'm in disagreement with her over the fact that she argues against "light of day," our understanding that in a free society *all* ideas are best illuminated in the "light" of open debate.

The Museum is so confident no one will challenge its gas-chamber gimcrackery that it even claims to have found a new "death camp" gas chamber. Proof? The uncorroborated story of one man with the usual overlay of sado-masochistic fantasy. *The Museum's historian doesn't even know where the place was!* It "may have been" near Giessen. "May have been?" That's the best historical writing $200 million can buy?

When I challenge such gas-chamber vaporings I understand I'm going to be slandered as an antisemite by the True Believers in the Holocaust Lobby. These quasi-religious Holocaust zealots claim that because of the purity of their own feelings about the Jewish experience during World War Two, mine must be soiled when I express doubt in what they preach as "truth."

Yet not even Winston Churchill in his six-volume history of World War Two, or Dwight D. Eisenhower in his memoirs, made reference to homicidal gassing chambers. How do the Holocaust Lobby and its Museum explain that?

Journalists who ask why I question the gas chamber stories rather than some other, less "sensitive" issue, should ask themselves why *they* never *dare* question them!

Professors who do not believe that intellectual freedom is worth the while on this historical issue, should ask themselves why they believe it's worth the while on *any* historical issue.

The Operation and Technique of the Museum

The Museum's exhibit technique is a mixture of sinister suggestion and dishonest omission. The first display confronting visitors beginning the Museum tour is a wall-sized photograph of American soldiers looking at corpses smoldering on a pyre. The context in which you see the photo suggests that the dead pictured in it are murdered Jews.

But were the prisoners killed or did they die of typhus or some other disease during the last terrible weeks of the war? Autopsies made by Allied medical personnel found that inmates died of disease. Not one was found to have been "gassed." *All such relevant information is purposely omitted from this exhibit. We don't even know that the dead pictured in the photo are Jews!*

Unable to judge the significance of the photograph, and not wanting to believe the Museum would mislead you, you are moved to accept the false and manipulative suggestion that it somehow represents the "genocide" of the European Jews.

We Don't Have to Argue About It! Here's the Answer!

I'm willing to be convinced I'm wrong about the gas chambers. All it will take is honest proof that they existed. The Holocaust Museum either displays such proof or it doesn't. We don't have to argue about it. CALL THE MUSEUM! Find out for yourself. The telephone number is (202) 488 0400. Ask which Museum exhibit (specifically) displays proof that the gas chambers existed. Have this (or any) newspaper publish the result. Then we'll all see what's what!

Special pleaders imply that to investigate the gas chamber stories in the light of day will be harmful to Jews. What a bigoted insinuation! Free inquiry will *benefit* Jews—for exactly the reasons it benefits us all. Call the Museum. You have nothing to lose but your innocence.

COMMITTEE FOR OPEN DEBATE ON THE HOLOCAUST (CODOH) is not affiliated with any political group or organization. We need your support to shine the light of free inquiry on this historical controversy. For your contribution of $20 I will send you regular updates on our progress. If you contribute $50 or more, you will receive the regular updates plus two book-length excerpts from my work in progress, **Confessions of a Holocaust Revisionist**. Send contributions, relevant press clippings and other communications to:

CODOH: P.O. Box 3267 Visalia CA 93278 Tel/Fax: (209) 733 2653

This advertisement (reduced in size) by Bradley Smith's "Committee for Open Debate on the Holocaust" appeared, in one form or another, in at least 35 student papers during the 1993–94 school year. Student editors on these campuses rejected the arguments and pressures of the Anti-Defamation League and other pressure groups, which contend that Americans lack the intelligence and wisdom to make up their own minds about this issue.

York at Albany. Headlined "The ADL's Nazi Devil Fantasy," the essay criticized the Anti-Defamation League for its efforts to suppress open discussion of the Holocaust issue, and particularly to stop publication of Smith's CODOH ads. Although this essay angered the campus Jewish Student Coalition, *Student Press* managing editor Eric Dagnall refused to apologize for running the piece. (Albany *Times Union*, Jan. 31.)

Smith's media outreach efforts also led to a front-page article and editorial about him in the February 17 issue of the *Collegian*, student paper at California State University at Fresno, a letter to the editor in the *Chicago Tribune* of February 27, a mention in the Cleveland *Plain Dealer* of April 9, and in several letters to the editor published in the Detroit *Free Press*, March 16.

Television and Radio Appearances

Smith's "Campus Project" success brought an invitation to appear on the nationally-televised "Donahue Show." (For more on this, see the May-June 1994 *Journal*.) His appearance there led, in turn, to guest appearances by Smith and other CODOH spokesman on several radio talk show programs.

On April 13, Bradley Smith appeared as a guest for an hour on Ft. Meyers, Florida, radio station WINK-AM. Two days later he was interviewed about his campaign for greater public awareness on the Holocaust issue during a 20-minute appearance on ABC Network Radio, which aired over a hundred affiliate stations across the country. On April 18, Smith appeared for one-half hour on WHJJ-AM radio, Providence, Rhode Island.

Friedrich Berg, a member of this *Journal*'s Editorial Advisory Committee, appeared as a CODOH spokesman for an hour on April 16 as a radio talk show guest on WFTL-AM, Ft. Lauderdale, Florida, and, the next day, for half an hour on WBSM-AM of New Bedford, Conn. On April 19 he was a guest for a full hour on WAFJ-AM, which serves the Decatur-Huntsville area of northern Alabama.

Robert Countess

Dr. Robert Countess appeared as a CODOH spokesman on April 11 for an hour as a guest on Chicago radio WVON, a major black-listenership station. His successful presentation, which was hosted by Cliff Kelly, went ahead in spite of demands from some irate Jewish groups in the area that the station cancel the appearance.

Countess, an educator and a member of this *Journal*'s Editorial Advisory Committee, has proven to be an effective and personable spokesmen for historical revisionism. Last year, for example, he appeared as a spokesman for the Institute for Historical Review on New York City television station WPIX's half-hour "11 News Closeup" program.

During his seven-minute appearance, which

ADL official trying to stop debates on Holocaust ads before they start

Holocaust revisionist dilemma

Holocaust ad prompts debate

Holocaust ad stirring up campuses

Questions murder of Jews

Holocaust Denial Update:

Bradley Smith Targets More Colleges, Turns His Sights on High Schools, Too

Revisionists gather steam

Holocaust ad in UM paper costs $2 million donation

■ PRESS

Debating the Holocaust

Those who deny the Nazi atrocities are finding a platform in college newspapers and raising a First Amendment ruckus

Holocaust revisionism at Queens College

U.S. Catholic, Jewish Leaders Decry Holocaust Revisionists

Holocaust revisionist ad runs

University of Maryland student newspaper to blame

Brandeis Is in Uproar Over Paper's Holocaust Ad

A small sampling of headlines (reduced in size) from the many dozens of newspaper and magazine articles that have appeared during the past year about Smith's campaign to place advertisements in student papers calling for open debate on the Holocaust issue.

was aired on April 24, 1993, Countess calmly pointed out that there are serious problems with the Holocaust extermination story. He spoke about the fraudulent "confession" of Auschwitz commandant Höss, which was obtained by torture. Countess said that the familiar Six Million figure is a gross exaggeration, and he explained the dreadful conditions in the German camps during the final months of the war. The Holocaust, he said, has become a kind of Jewish racket. Following Countess' appearance, host Marvin Scott was shown with three other guests who were encouraged to refute the IHR spokesman, including American Jewish Committee official Kenneth Stern (author of the anti-revisionist book, *Holocaust Denial*).

A Show of His Own

For some years Bradley Smith has appeared as a guest on more than three hundred radio and television talk shows across the nation. Now he has a regularly scheduled radio show of his own. On July 12, Smith's hour-long show began airing weekly on Providence (Rhode Island) station WALE (AM 990). His show, sponsored by CODOH, is broadcast from noon to 1:00 p.m. every Tuesday. Promotional notices and commercials for Smith's show are routinely aired throughout the week. Station WALE — on which Smith had already appeared several times as a talk show guest — has the largest radio listenership in the area (which includes Brown University and the University of Rhode Island).

The ADL Smear Campaign

Smith's success in reaching students and educators through his ad campaign is all the more remarkable because it has been achieved in spite of a well-financed and -coordinated smear campaign by the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) and other Jewish groups.

Unable to take issue with the content of Smith's CODOH ad, the ADL attempts instead to castigate Smith as a person, accusing him of the worst sins that anyone can be accused of in today's America. Typically, the ADL tries to persuade editors that Smith is a "hate monger" with ties to notorious neo-Nazis, who is supposedly promoting a secret neo-Nazi "agenda." In spite of the ad's civil and restrained text, the would-be censors continue to characterize it, inaccurately and unfairly, as "Holocaust denial," "anti-Semitic," "hate propaganda," and worse.

In the February-March 1994 issue of the *ADL On The Frontline* newsletter, the Anti-Defamation League warned:

> Smith has had a long time association with the California-based Institute for Historical Review (IHR), America's leading clearing house for Holocaust denial propaganda. His ad campaign is the centerpiece of the Institute's long-standing effort to influence America's youth.

This statement is not entirely inaccurate. As part of its "Media Project," the IHR is pleased to be able to provide funding for Smith's outreach work.

As part of the well-financed effort to counter Smith's campus outreach effort, student newspaper editors are being given expense-paid two-week summer trips to Poland and Israel, a propaganda tour that includes stops at Auschwitz, Krakow, and the former site of the Warsaw Ghetto. (Philadelphia *Jewish Times*, Feb. 17.)

Jewish groups have succeeded in gaining some non-Jewish support for their anti-revisionist campaign. In March, the Synagogue Council of America and the National Conference of Catholic Bishops issued a "Joint Statement on Dealing with Holocaust Revisionism," which declared: "All educational institutions and their publications, whether official or student sponsored, should unconditionally reject any efforts to deny the horrifying realities of the Holocaust."

Crime and Punishment at The Georgetown Voice

Because they had decided to publish Smith's CODOH ad, three top editors of Georgetown University's *Georgetown Voice* paper were "punished" with a guided tour of the US Holocaust Memorial Council in Washington, DC. This cartoon, distributed by CODOH, comments on the situation.

Heading up the ADL's anti-Smith campaign is Jeffrey Ross, who worked closely with ADL regional offices and Hillel groups around the country to pressure student papers into rejecting the CODOH ad. Ross told the Philadelphia *Jewish Times* (Feb. 17) that

> The Holocaust deniers are the ideological vanguard of the neo-Nazis, the Ku Klux Klan, Skinheads, white supremacists . . . Our point is that there is no debate over the Holocaust. There is not more than one position on the existence of the Holocaust. It happened. Period. End of story . . . Our way of responding to them is not to debate them on their own terms, but rather to expose them for the bigots and neo-Nazis they are.

Ross complained that "the [CODOH] ad in the Brandeis newspaper cost Bradley Smith $130, and he got millions of dollars' worth of publicity." Ross claimed to be "surprised" and "saddened" that

> Jews on the editorial board want to prove that they are such pure journalists and have such a pure commitment to freedom of speech that they will not allow the fact of their being Jewish to stand in the way of what they consider their duty to the journalistic profession . . . Therefore, they're going to decide to publish it.

On another occasion Ross charged (*Martyrdom and Resistance*, New York, Jan.-Feb. 1994):

> The Holocaust-denial campaign is probably the most widespread and effective anti-Semitic campaign since World War II in the United States ... The ADL and our colleagues in the Jewish community are expending all of our resources in responding to it.

Confident that Smith's efforts are no match for its own formidable financial and organizational resources, the Anti-Defamation League boasted in its April-May 1994 *On The Frontline* newsletter that a "lack of success in Bradley Smith's current campaign targeting campus newspapers with paid advertisements denying the reality of the Holocaust is testimony to the counteraction efforts of ADL." While noting that Smith's ad had appeared in 14 campus publications in the fall 1993 semester, the ADL newsletter asserted that his "current campaign has been much less successful." Such bragging proved premature. In fact, Smith's ad campaign overall during the 1993-1994 school year was by far the most successful ever.

"Jewish Onslaught Against Freedom"

In their effort to keep Smith's ad from appearing, Jewish groups such as the ADL, and Jewish intellectuals such as Emory University professor Deborah Lipstadt (author of the anti-revisionist polemic *Denying the Holocaust*), insult American students and educators. In effect, groups such as the ADL arrogantly insist that American students and teachers lack the intelligence and wisdom to make up their own minds about this issue.

The ADL argument that Smith's ad should not be permitted to appear because it "offends" some Jews is likewise specious and arrogant. Nearly everyone finds at least some advertising "offensive." And if Holocaust revisionism were really as absurd

as the ADL contends, no one need fear that will ever gain any significant acceptance among scholars or the general public.

In an essay published as a guest editorial in the SUNY-Stony Brook *Statesman*, June 6, Smith castigated the concerted efforts by the groups such as the ADL and Hillel to censor his ads. "What this amounts to," he aptly pointed out, "is nothing less than a Jewish onslaught against intellectual freedom." Smith went on to write:

> . . . On every campus in America where there is a substantial number of Jewish students, the Hillel organization (campus arm of the ADL, usually led by a rabbi) leads the attack against free inquiry and open debate on the Holocaust controversy. I am astounded that Jewish intellectuals and scholars stand idly by while the reputation of Jews as free thinkers is everywhere corrupted, diminished and burlesqued by a handful of organized Jewish extremists and censors.
>
> Student editors who are Jewish are under special pressure from the Holocaust lobby to betray their ideals as journalists and to betray as well the long tradition of intellectual liberty for which Jews have worked all over the world. Jewish editors are attacked ferociously, not only by spokespersons for organized Jewry off campus, but also on campus by well-meaning but unsophisticated students egged on by Hillel rabbis who function as semi-professional censors.
>
> Student editors who are not Jewish, while they experience all the above, must face the additional burden of being slandered as "anti-semites" and "haters." I understand why many are unwilling or even afraid to shoulder the burden that the ideal of a free press places on journalists with regard to the Holocaust controversy.

Impact

More than any other single person, Smith is succeeding in making skeptical discussion of the Holocaust story an established part of America's social-cultural landscape. While it is difficult to measure, it appears that his CODOH campaign is having a real impact on how students look at European history and American society. Professor Lipstadt now laments that, as a result of the efforts of Smith and other revisionists, "good students come in and ask, 'How do we know there were gas chambers?'." (*U.S. News & World Report*, Feb. 28.)

Smith's ad campaign, and the furor and publicity it has generated, have done much to raise public awareness about a particular chapter of European history and the issue of free speech. At least as important, the Smith ad campaign is teaching valuable lessons about American social-cultural and political life.

Even for those who may believe that the revisionists are entirely wrong about the historical issues involved here, the frantic and highly emotional nature of the effort to suppress a soberly worded advertisement questioning an aspect of the Holocaust story provides important lessons about political, social and cultural realities in today's America. For one thing, it teaches that we are expected to show greater sensitivity toward Jewish concerns and interests than to those of any other group, and it points up the almost religious role that the Holocaust story has come to play in American society.

Courage and Devotion

The success of Bradley Smith's ad campaign is a major defeat for the organized forces of bigotry, and a significant victory for the cause of freedom of speech and greater public awareness of history.

None of the student editors who made the decision to run Smith's ad have expressed public support for his skeptical view of the Holocaust gas chamber story. Indeed, some expressed animosity toward him for daring to raise the issue. And yet, these editors, some of them Jewish, choose to defy the threats and pleadings of the ADL and Hillel by providing Smith with a forum for his supposedly outrageous views. In doing so, these young men and women have shown greater courage and devotion to the principle of intellectual freedom and a free press than editors of many major metropolitan dailies and television network producers.

This editorial cartoon commenting on Smith's ad campaign appeared April 12 in *The Miami Hurricane*, student paper at the University of Miami (Florida). Betraying the arrogant ignorance that is all too common of those who learn their history from television and movies, the cartoonist seems to believe that the existence of crematory ovens in German wartime camps is proof of an extermination program.

How Zionist Leaders Doctored Historical Documents About Plans for Mass "Ethnic Cleansing" of Palestinian Arabs

In spite of the unusually close tie between the United States and Israel — a bond that several US Presidents have called a "special relationship" — Americans are remarkably ignorant about the true history of the Zionist takeover of Palestine, the machinations behind the foundation of the Jewish state in 1948, and the covert side of relations between their own country and Israel. So pervasive is American fear of offending Jewish sensibilities that it is not surprising that Israel's Hebrew-language press is frequently more ready than the American press to shed light on the embarrassing side of Zionist history.

In the following essay, which is excerpted from the Israeli Hebrew-language daily paper Haaretz, *February 4, 1994, writer Benny Morris explains how Zionist leaders doctored the official record of speeches at the 20th Zionist Congress of 1937, notably those in which Zionist leaders spoke in favor of plans to expel or relocate ("transfer") as many as 300,000 Palestinian Arabs from their homes as part of a plan to impose Jewish rule in Palestine. As this essay explains, Zionist leaders "rewrote history" for self-serving propagandistic purposes, and in such a way as to deceive even supposedly careful historians. (This translation is from the May 1994 issue of* From the Hebrew Press, *which is prepared by Dr. Israel Shahak and published by Middle East Data Center, P.O. Box 337, Woodbridge, VA 22194.)*

There are nations and political movements which, in seeking to create an unblemished image, rewrite not only their own history but also the documents on which that historiography is based. The Zionist movement is perhaps one of the most skillful practitioners of this strange art. In its case, the rewriting concerns the most sensitive area of Zionist history — the conflict with the Arabs, and especially the events and policies in which the Zionist side thought or acted in a manner that could be considered to be immoral.

In the course of the past decade the secrecy has been lifted from most documents of the [Israeli] state and its political parties. Now historians are able to re-examine the historic Zionist documents and protocols. A large part of what has been opened up now appears to be deficient and faulty, if not patently false.

The year 1937 was important in the development of the Zionist movement and the Zionist-Arab conflict. In 1936 the Arab Revolt broke out. The purpose of the revolt was to halt the turning of Palestine into a Jewish homeland and, more specifically, to stop the massive Jewish immigration and the purchasing of Arab land by Jews. They feared that the Jews would quickly become a majority and that the establishment of a Jewish state was just a step away.

At the end of that year, during a lull in the revolt (which the British totally repressed only in 1939), the British government sent an inquiry commission to Palestine, headed by Lord William Robert Peel, to investigate the reasons for the Revolt and to make recommendations. On July 7, 1937, the commission duly published its recommendations: to divide Palestine into three parts — a Jewish state, an Arab state, and a British enclave consisting of Jerusalem with its surrounding area and a corridor to the Mediterranean at Jaffa.

In order to guarantee the homogeneity of the proposed Jewish state and to prevent irredentism, there was a crucially important recommendation by the Peel Commission: to conduct a transfer of 225,000 of the Arab minority (which numbered 300,000) that were living in areas allotted to the Jewish state. They were supposed to be transferred to the new Arab state or to neighboring Arab countries, hopefully, willingly and with proper compensation, but if not — then by force. The report chastely termed the transfer "a population exchange." The exchange was to involve 225,000 Arabs, as well as 1,250 Jews who were then living in areas allocated for the Arab state. The transfer plan was shelved by a subsequent inquiry commission (the Woodhead Commission) and by the British government itself in 1938.

The idea of partition gave rise to a major dispute within the Jewish community. While the recommendation for transfer was almost universally accepted by the Jews, many doubted whether the British would indeed implement it. Nevertheless, [Zionist leader] David Ben-Gurion, who headed the struggle for the acceptance of the Peel plan, was extremely conscious of the sensitivity regarding the

transfer plan and the dynamite inherent in it. Some minority populations in parts of Europe and in Turkey and Greece had indeed been forcefully transferred not so long ago [in 1923-24, a million Greeks and 400,000 Turks were forcibly exchanged, under League of Nations auspices], but the concept remained a morally questionable step.

Although Ben-Gurion [who later served as Israel's first Prime Minister] and Chaim Weizmann [who later was Israel's first President] and other Zionist leaders wished for transfer, they usually expressed their opinion on this matter only in closed Zionist forums. They sometimes spoke in more public forums, but tried to censor the publication of their speeches afterwards. The result was not only a rewriting of Zionist history but also rewriting of Zionist documentation . . .

Rewriting the documents of the 20th Zionist Congress, which met in Zurich [Switzerland], August 3–21, 1937, was certainly a collective effort. It was the Zionist movement and not [merely] individuals that attempted to polish up the protocols of the speeches made for the use of future generations. The delegates spoke German, Yiddish, English and Hebrew. Stenographers recorded what was said in the course of the consecutive Zionist Congress meetings. Translators used the stenographers' notebooks and supplied transcripts in Hebrew and German. The original notebooks no longer exist, but many of the speeches and debates exist as Hebrew photocopies. Two or three days after they were made, the speeches supposedly were printed verbatim in the Congress "Newspaper." This periodical was published in Zurich every day or two in the course of the Zionist Congress, and was edited by Moshe Kleinman. For his publications Kleinman apparently referred to the Hebrew transcripts. But many of the speeches had undergone political editing and censorship between the time they were made and publication. One may notice this immediately when comparing the original Hebrew texts of the speeches and as they appeared in the Congress "Newspaper." The editing was done by each speaker himself or by [Zionist] movement leaders, or by Kleinman, acting on orders from his political superiors.

In the course of the following months, Leo (Aryeh) Lauterbach, head of the Zionist movement's organization department, prepared the speeches for publication in book form. Lauterbach, assisted by Moshe Gordon, a Jewish Agency official, explained in his hand-written autobiography (written in English and never published) that his goal was "to guarantee the original integrity." From the version that was published in February-March 1938 in Hebrew (and in German) [was produced] *The 20th Zionist Congress and the 5th Session of the Jewish Agency Council, Zurich, August 3–21, 1937, A Stenographic Report* (published by the management of the Zionist Movement and the Jewish Agency, Jerusalem). It is obvious that instead of referring to the stenographers' notebooks or the Hebrew typed texts, Lauterbach simply chose from what appeared in the "Newspaper," corrected typing and grammatical mistakes, and published it.

The articles appearing in the Congress "Newspaper" and in the Congress *Stenographic Report* are identical. As the title indicates, the *Stenographic Report* professed to be a verbatim record of the statements voiced at the Zionist Congress. In fact, the speeches as they appeared in this *Stenographic Report* are, in many cases, significantly different from the original typed text.

The major differences focus on the Zionist movement's attitude towards the Arabs and its policy towards them, mainly concerning the question of transfer. Up to now the Congress *Stenographic Report* has been the major or exclusive source used by historians for the statements made at the Zionist Congress. (For example it is used by [historian] Shabtai Teveth, for whom it serves as the [only] source. Teveth either could not locate the original transcripts or preferred to use the official and censored Zionist versions.) But in the Congress *Stenographic Report*, portions of the original speeches were totally deleted in order to significantly alter the meaning of the speeches. Usually, the omitted sentences and entire paragraphs concerned the issue of transfer.

The most important alterations are found in speeches and declarations of the movement's leaders. Weizmann clearly expressed sympathy and support for the transfer recommendation of the Peel Commission in his speeches, above all in his "political speech" on August 4. Unfortunately, neither the stenographic version nor the typed text of the speech survived, but there are repeated references to Weizmann's statements concerning transfer in the speeches of others, as they appear in the original typed texts as well as in the Congress *Stenographic Report* and in the Congress "Newspaper." For example, Dr. Moshe Glikson, one of the founders of the Zionist Democratic Party, said in his speech on August 9:

> There is a heavy cloud over the issue of the transfer. We should not be surprised to find some among us enthusiastic about it. They believe that it is possible to remove hundreds of thousands of Arabs from the Jewish state, just like that, in one sweep. Dr. Weizmann, who was more cautious than many of the supporters of this proposal, said that it would be possible to transfer 100,000 Arabs to the Arab state within 20 years.

Glikson argued that "5,000 per year" would not solve the demographic problem, in light of the much higher birthrate among the Arabs. "Of course," Glikson went on, "there are those who believe in the possibility of a complete transfer in the course of a short period . . ." Glikson named Shmuel Zokhow-

itzky, a leader from the agricultural settlements, as one who had "even asked Dr. Weizmann not to show any mercy" in this matter. Glikson explained:

> Dr. Weizmann told us about the plan to establish a fund for a large scale resettlement of Arabs. Jews would contribute three million pounds to it . . . I think there is reason to fear . . . we will not be able to find so many Arab peasants willing to leave the area of the Jewish state. We will not be able to remove them from the Jewish state by force, and no resettlement plan will encourage them to leave the Jewish state and go to the poorer eastern Jordan.

The editors of the Congress *Stenographic Report* left most of the text intact, although they deleted the sentence regarding Zokhowitzky's request that Weizmann address the question of the transfer unmercifully.

Other speakers at the assembly also associated themselves with Weizmann's statement about the transfer. Ussishkin said on August 10:

> When I heard the statement of the head of our movement . . . Dr. Weizmann, about his support for transfer of 300,000 Arabs out of the Jewish state . . . I said to myself: "My God, how far has this psychosis spread even among the greatest people!". . . Will a Mohammed suddenly leave our state? Why? . . . Is there any hope that the Arabs living in our country will of their own volition agree to grant us those millions of *dunums* [of land]?

But the most blatant distortion of the original was achieved by the editors of the Congress "Newspaper" and the *Stenographic Report* in omitting from Ben-Gurion's speech on August 7 all reference to the transfer problem. According to the original typed texts of the speech, Ben-Gurion declared:

> We must thoroughly examine the question whether the transfer is possible, necessary, moral and useful. We do not wish to dispossess anybody. Population transfers have been carried out previously in Palestine in various places. Now the transfer will have to be done on an entirely different scale. In many areas there will be no possibility for new Jewish settlement being established except by transferring the Arabs out of these areas. The British commission addressed this question seriously and it is important that transfer should appear as coming from the commission and not from us . . . Population transfer allows us to draw a comprehensive settlement plan. To our joy, Arabs have huge and desolate lands. The growing Jewish strength in Palestine will increase our possibilities of conducting a large scale transfer. You must remember that this method also contains an important Zionist and humanist idea — to transfer parts of the people to their own land.

This clear statement was entirely omitted from the Zionist Congress assembly's official printed [record of] speeches. Indeed, both speeches — the original and the rewritten version that appeared in the "Newspaper" and in the *Stenographic Report* — are fundamentally different as far as they concern the Arab problem. It may only be concluded that immediately following what he said in his speech, Ben-Gurion had second thoughts, and gave a rewritten version to the editors of the Congress "Newspaper."

In the published version, both in the "Newspaper" and in the Congress *Stenographic Report*, Ben-Gurion made an effort to expand this paragraph, and this is [accordingly] how it appeared:

> We are asked, how will we manage with the Arab minority, a minority of 300,000 Arabs among 400,000 Jews . . . The Jewish people . . . cannot forget the lesson of 2,000 years of Diaspora [dispersion] and the fate of its sons in foreign lands . . . [In the anticipated Jewish state] there will be one law both for the foreigner and the citizen. A just regime, brotherly love, true equality. The Jewish state will be a shining example for the world in treating minorities and foreigners . . . An Arab policeman supporting rioters from among his people will be punished with all the rigor of the law, just as a Jewish policeman will be punished if he does not protect an Arab from a Jewish hooligan if, Heaven forbid, a Jewish hooligan will appear in our midst.

But because he supported transfer of the Arabs, this paragraph must be regarded as being lip service.

These hitherto unpublished documents add to our understanding of the attitude of the Zionist leaders toward the idea of transfer prior to the establishment of Israel. But there is a broader lesson to be learned by historians from them, and not only with regard to the 1937 documents. The speeches, debates, diaries and memoranda that the Zionist bureaucrats issued wholesale passed through the sieve of political censorship on the way to publication; a large portion disappeared or was distorted. What happened to the 1937 documents also happened to Zionist documents from other years. Historians and students using those sources would do well to employ a large measure of caution in their use.

Correction:

In the May–June 1994 issue, page 37, two paragraphs are erroneously repeated. The paragraphs in the first column beginning with the words "No new work of art . . .," and "Every age and every form . . ." should be disregarded.

A French Scholar Responds to a Widely Acclaimed Anti-Revisionist Work about Auschwitz

On Pressac: History by Night or in Fog?

Serge Thion

Considerable attention has been devoted during the past year to a book on "The Crematories of Auschwitz" by French pharmacist Jean-Claude Pressac. Published in September 1993, it has been widely praised for providing definitive proof that the "Holocaust deniers" are wrong. For example, The New Yorker *(Nov. 15, p. 73) commented that Pressac has provided "incontrovertible evidence" of the existence of a wartime German "industrial-style process" for killing Jews. Similarly,* Newsweek *magazine (Dec. 20) praised the new Pressac book as a "dramatic rebuttal" of revisionist views. "Holocaust experts have hailed his work as definitive," the influential weekly added. (A brief, preliminary critique of Pressac's new book appeared in the January-February 1994* Journal.*)*

While a German edition of Pressac's book has been issued, an English-language edition apparently is not forthcoming. Instead, an abridged portion of it is included in Anatomy of the Auschwitz Death Camp, *a 528-page work recently published in association with the taxpayer-funded United States Holocaust Memorial Museum.*

Pressac's writings — including his much-discussed 1989 book — and the considerable discussion they have generated, confirm that a genuine debate about the supposed extermination gas chambers is underway. In the following review essay, French scholar Serge Thion contributes to the welcome discussion with a detailed and highly critical look at Pressac's new book. Incidentally, Thion's title for this essay is a play on the title of a 1955 French Holocaust movie, "Night and Fog," that is obligatorily shown in school classrooms throughout France.

Serge Thion, born in 1942, has devoted some 30 years to study, analysis and writing on social, economic and political issues, particularly in agrarian societies.

His research has taken him to many countries in the Middle East, northern, eastern and southern Africa, Southeast Asia, and the South Pacific. After seven years of studies in sociology, anthropology, history and linguistics at the Paris Sorbonne, he received a doctorate in sociology from that school in 1967. His doctoral dissertation on the South African political system was published in 1969 under the title *Le pouvoir pâle, ou le racisme sud-africain*. Between 1967 and 1970 he taught in Vietnam and Cambodia.

From 1971 until 1993 he was a research fellow with the National Center for Scientific Research (CNRS) in Paris, with special emphasis on the history of land problems and land reform in Vietnam and Cambodia, as well as political history and war and revolution in Rhodesia and Mozambique, and the history of statecraft in Southeast Asia.

Dr. Thion is the author of numerous scholarly articles, half of them dealing with Southeast Asia, which have appeared in academic periodicals in the USA, France, Germany and other countries. He is also the author of several books, including *Vérité historique ou vérité politique?* (in collaboration with Robert Faurisson), *Une Allumette sur la banquise: Ecrits de combat*, and (in English, 1993) *Watching Cambodia* (White Lotus, G.P.O. Box 1141, Bangkok 1141, Thailand).

This review essay is translated by the author and Theodore J. O'Keefe, and edited by Mark Weber. It appears, with the author's cooperation, for the first time here in English.

"Historian by night," writes the Paris daily newspaper *Le Monde* in its presentation of the new work of an "amateur" who happens to be a pharmacist by day.[1] While for the last twelve years revisionists have been reproached as being merely "amateurish historians," suddenly this term is presented as a quality that guarantees the worth of the new thesis being promoted by the media as the definitive response to the revisionists. I shall not be so cruel as to recall that this one joins a long list of "definitive responses" that have figured on various lists, since the big trials of 1980–1982, and including masterworks such as Filip Müller's *Eyewitness Auschwitz: Three Years in the Gas Chambers*, or Claude Lanzmann's cinematographic production, "Shoah."[2]

Jean-Claude Pressac, the author of this miraculous new book, *Les crématoires d'Auschwitz* ("The Crematories of Auschwitz"),[3] has already been presented several times as the ultimate champion, the man who will finally terminate Professor Robert Faurisson. He showed up during a colloquium at the Sorbonne in 1982 that was supposed to have already settled the question. His patron at that time was the Great Moral Conscience of our age, Pierre Vidal-Naquet, the White Knight in the struggle against revisionism. Because the discussion dealt mainly with material and technical questions,

which were way beyond Vidal-Naquet's competence as a specialist of Greek history, he had palmed Pressac off onto another archenemy of revisionism, Georges Wellers, a little-known chemist who happened also to be the editor of the journal of the Jewish documentation center in Paris.

After a long period of hesitation, Wellers published a paper by Pressac in his holy and irreproachable journal, *Le Monde Juif* (July-September 1982). In that paper Pressac developed his theory of "little gassings," abandoning altogether the canonical version that had ruled until then. He replaced it with the view that, of course, gassings had taken place, but on a smaller scale than previously thought, and that all figures must now be revised downwards. The impact of Pressac's new theory was negligible. Other means were needed to make use of Pressac in the struggle against revisionism. The Klarsfeld clan, with its strong community and media ties, was ready to intervene.

Jean-Claude Pressac

With their help, Pressac produced an enormous hodgepodge. In his research in the Auschwitz archives, he was not able to find any definitive proof that the Nazis had set up a murder factory there. Instead, he found a number of circumstantial traces that he thought might lead to some kind of presumption of extermination. It was couched in language reminiscent of a weak court case.

His 1989 book, *Auschwitz: Technique and Operations of the Gas Chambers*, included hundreds of plans, blueprints, photographs and documents from the Auschwitz camp's technical departments, which were, of course, part of the SS administration. In an effort to make this massive and disorganized dossier more convincing, the Klarsfeld organized its non-dissemination. Reports of its existence were considered more effective than its actual distribution in bookstores. Translated into English (no French-language edition was ever made available), and published in New York, it was not publicly sold, and was sent to few of those who ordered it. It was given merely to "responsible community leaders" and "opinion makers." Through its impalpable existence, it was supposed to promote the idea that there now existed, finally, The Response to revisionism.

Revisionists quickly managed to get hold of copies of this work, which neither Vidal-Naquet nor Klarsfeld obviously had ever read closely. Otherwise they would have caught a certain number of oddities and inconsistencies that would have caused them to doubt if they'd picked the right horse.

Pressac was trotted out again to battle against Fred Leuchter, the American expert of gas chamber construction who had carried out on-site examinations of, and took wall scrapings from, the supposed gas chambers, and who concluded that massive and repeated gassings would have been physically impossible.

Now we are presented for the fourth time with what the press calls the definitive argument. This time Pressac has another patron, an official historian by the name of François Bédarida who has been for quite some time head of the so-called "Institute of the Modern Age." He once distinguished himself by taking part, along with some shadowy political figures, in a phony academic "jury" that decreed, without reading it, that Henri Roques' thesis on the "confessions" of Kurt Gerstein was completely worthless. Having thus styled himself a master, Bédarida, whose works on English history are deservedly almost unknown, also wrote a thin booklet, in the form of a catechism, about the so-called Holocaust. It has been distributed free of cost to every history teacher in France in order to provide them with guidelines on how to stuff their pupils' heads with sanitized notions about Second World War events. Emboldened by such mass distribution, Bédarida felt brave enough to write an article in *Le Monde* (July 22–23, 1990) in which he revised the Auschwitz death toll downwards. It did not occur to him to explain why this revision was necessary, or the basis for his view that not four million, but rather 1.1 million people supposedly died in Auschwitz. Obviously still not entirely confident of himself, he added that the archives have still not been explored. He would not elaborate to explain why 45 years have not been enough time. Here's where Pressac came in.

Along with a few minor satellites, this luminary of historical thought, Bédarida, now serves as Pressac's patron. This patronage is not negligible, because Pressac's new book is published by the National Center for Scientific Research (CNRS). In order to obtain this prestigious label, the book was submitted to an ad hoc committee of specialists. There must have also been an official evaluation of some kind, which we would be delighted to read.

What does Pressac's book really say? It presents incontrovertible evidence that the Germans built crematories. Of course, only journalists believe, or pretend to believe, that the revisionists deny the existence of the crematories or of the concentration camps. These concentration camp crematories are well-known and have been documented since 1945. The issue has been whether they disguised secret facilities for carrying out mass killing.

Pressac, who combed through tens of thousands of documents left behind by the Auschwitz *Baulei-*

tung (construction office), states categorically that these installations, as planned from the outset, show no sign of lethal or homicidal intent whatsoever, and that they were specifically designed and built to contend with the health problems caused by a rather high mortality rate in the camps, above all after the beginning of the war. These problems, he shows, were linked with the raging epidemics that could (and did) wreak havoc not only among the camp inmates, but also among the Germans in the camps as well as the outside population. In this context, crematories had no ethical import, but were conceived as facilities to maintain public health, of the inmates as well as others.

Having carried out a detailed study of the correspondence between the Auschwitz construction office and the outside private civilian firms that contracted for specific jobs, Pressac is able to provide us with a thorough — and quite tedious — history of the different phases in the construction of the various crematories, including the numerous changes in plans by the chiefs of the SS construction office. Evidently lacking anything like a long-term perspective, these officials depended closely on their superiors, who envisioned grand projects without bothering much about the budgetary and procurement problems that those poor subordinates would have to solve on the spot.

Among these thousands of documents, where there are no secrets, where the SS "politicians" scarcely interfere; documents which after the war were divided among Germany, Poland, and Moscow; documents that remained intact at the end of the war, the department head having "neglected" to destroy them: among all these documents, there is not a single one that states clearly that these facilities were ever used for mass killing. Not one.

Pressac offers no explanation whatever of this strange fact. To be sure, following others, he states that the references found in certain documents to "special actions" refer in coded form to the existence of that monstrous crime. But the documents oblige him also to state "special actions" could and did designate all sorts of "other," quite banal activities, and that the term "special" (in German, "*Sonder-*") was very widely used in the German military and nonmilitary administration during that period.

The great value of Pressac's work would therefore lie in its almost complete sifting through of the documents dealing with the construction of the crematories, the presumed site and instrument of the alleged crime. As in his previous writings, he picks out "traces" of criminal intent. Many of these, incidentally, he's had to leave by the wayside. A number of "traces" he presented in his 1989 book are conspicuously missing from the 1993 work.

He notes, for example, that the SS wanted to install ventilation systems in the underground morgues of the crematories. He considers that this shows an intent to use these rooms for criminal purposes. Pressac is so convinced of this that he doesn't even bother to consider alternative explanations that would occur to less prejudiced souls, such as, for example, the need to disinfest, during typhus epidemics, the morgues with Zyklon B (used throughout the camp for disinfesting clothes, barracks, and so forth).

He thinks he's found a criminal "trace" in the fact that a wooden fan was requested in the ventilating system, because wood is more resistant to corrosion by hydrocyanic acid than metal. Yet, several days later, the engineer in charge had the wooden fan replaced by a metal one!

Pressac also states that the "definitive proof" of the existence of a homicidal gas chamber in crematory facility (Krema) II is found in a document dated March 1943 (cited on p. 72, doc. 28), which shows that the Auschwitz services were looking for gas detectors capable of detecting traces of prussic acid (hydrocyanic acid). But because he has explained earlier that these services used "tons" of Zyklon B for disinfestation, this "proof" is not particularly probative.

Eighty thousand documents. That's the number Pressac cites in his interview with the *Nouvel Observateur*.[4] These 80,000 documents, which he says he consulted in a matter of some days in Moscow, concern exclusively, if I'm not mistaken, the SS construction office at Auschwitz. One office among many others, therefore, but the one that would have been responsible for designing and constructing the infamous "industrial slaughterhouses." One might be astonished to learn that such installations are entrusted to the same low-level functionaries who dealt with the barracks, the bakeries, the roadworks, and so forth. No secret, no particular precautions were taken, as these same low-level officials didn't hesitate to subcontract with private firms, from which no particular discretion was requested. This is explained, as Pressac abundantly demonstrates, by the fact that these facilities were not designed or planned for a lethal purpose, but, quite to the contrary, as means of local public health control.

It's very clear: of these 80,000 documents, only a fraction of which concern the crematories, *not a single one deals explicitly with an installation for killing*. Otherwise, this document would have long since been brandished triumphantly to the public. Until Pressac, one could surmise that there were hidden or inaccessible archives, harboring such a document. But Pressac tells us that these archives (concerning the Auschwitz construction office) are now complete, and that the chief of this office, evidently believing they contained nothing incriminating, took no measure to destroy them at the end of the war.

In short, it must be acknowledged that among this mass of documents, which are supposed to clarify this issue, there are only a few that raise any

suspicion. Where logically we should have found 1,000 or 10,000 incriminating documents — considering, as Pressac concedes, there was no code language, that no documents were destroyed, and that everything was done according to superior orders — one finds only a few minor elements, the interpretation of which remains open.

These "traces" might conceivably support the charge if we could reconstruct a context in which only one interpretation is possible. Or, if several interpretations were possible, a historian should discuss the various ones before choosing his answer. This is not Pressac's practice. He dares not entertain the possibility of alternative interpretations of the documents. For if he were to give up calling these "the beginnings of proofs" (indeed, in a recent France-Inter radio interview he protested only feebly when a hasty journalist treated his "beginnings of proofs" as well-established proofs), Pressac would have to concede that all his work had been in vain. He would have to concede that he had rigorously demonstrated that German officials and engineers conceived and planned, in a rather disorderly way, crematory facilities that, as a matter of fact, did not work very well. No. This no one has ever doubted. He would have to admit that he had spent ten years of his life pushing on an open door, a door whose plan, conception, and stages of construction he describes in meticulous detail. What is truly interesting here is precisely that he found nothing obvious, in spite of exhaustive research.

What does Pressac do to salvage what he can of the extermination thesis? Injections. The basic text of his book, that is, the product of his own research, is a careful chronicle of the planning and construction of the crematories. He refers here to the archives. The reference notes provide sources: they follow each other with abbreviations to archives (abbreviated as ACM, ARO, AEK, and so forth), according to the key given on page VIII. However, if one turns to check the reference notes that are grouped together on pages 97–109 — and disregarding the rare bibliographic references or the occasional bits of factual information ("Pohl was *Oberzahlmeister* [chief paymaster]") — one finds that the series of archival references is interrupted here by *non-archival* references, either to the official Polish *Kalendarium* (or *Auschwitz Chronicle* — more about this later) or to the supposed postwar "memoirs" of Auschwitz commandant Höss. These non-archival references, we find, are the sources cited by Pressac for the passages in the main text dealing with homicidal gassings.

For example, on page 34 he abandons the archives to write about a "first gassing," and, in the same paragraph, he writes of the cremation "in one or two weeks of intensive work" of 550 to 850 corpses, leading to the deterioration of an oven. There exists no obvious or necessary link between the first "fact," based on the *Kalendarium*[5] and Höss, and the second — an oven's deterioration — the factuality of which is established from archival documents. This link is a merely a supposition that is dishonestly presented here as a fact.

This rigorous scholar then tells us that "it is estimated today that very few homicidal gassings took place in this crematorium, but they have been exaggerated because they impressed direct or indirect witnesses." We know that Pressac is a poor writer, but just what is an "indirect witness"? And what does it mean to "exaggerate" a gassing? We need to decode here, I think. What Pressac means to say in this tortured sentence, I suppose, is more or less this: sure, there has been a lot of talk about gassings in crematory building (Krema) I, in the Auschwitz I (main) camp. Genocidal gassings are supposed to have begun there. However, because the revisionists have pointed out so many inconsistencies, Pressac ("it is estimated") has chosen to give ground ("they have been exaggerated"), attempting to explain inconsistencies by claiming that witnesses were "impressed," even if they were not actually present, but who nonetheless are regarded as "indirect" witnesses. Not a single source, not a single document is cited by Pressac to justify this climb-down.

Pressac knows full well that the "classical" view cannot be defended, but in order to salvage something of it he must make concessions, without being able to justify them either. "It is estimated today . . .," and presto! — the trick is done. What follows is of the same nature. He writes (p. 35):

> As gassing forced the total isolation of the area of the crematorium [not a single witness has ever made such a statement, but this point is a result of revisionist criticism], and since it was impossible to carry them [gassings] out while construction was in progress [same comment], it will be decided at the end of April to transfer this sort of activity to Birkenau [Auschwitz II camp].

There is a pure invention, a supposition asserted as a fact by Pressac so that he can land on his feet and rejoin Establishment history.

The amusing paradox in all this is that Pressac respects the Establishment history only with regard to gassings. As for the rest, he joyously tramples dogmas underfoot. The famous "Wannsee Conference" of January 20, 1942, which so many thoroughly dedicated historians have designated as the time and place of the decision to exterminate, is swept aside in a mere six lines (p. 35). Pressac does what revisionists do: he reads the text of the Wannsee conference protocol, which speaks of the evacuation of the Jews to the East, and says nothing of industrial-scale liquidation. He confirms not a single specific instruction was sent to the Auschwitz construction office as a result of this high-level conference. The fog surrounding the supposed genocide

decision becomes thicker and thicker.

On page 39 we come to the two little farmhouses near Birkenau that are supposed to have been the next sites of gassing extermination. In the middle of the information culled from the archives, one finds a new injection from the *Kalendarium*. On page 41 Pressac reports that Himmler informed Höss "of the choice of his camp as the center for the massive annihilation of the Jews." As Pressac himself tells us, Höss' account contains enormous implausibilities and cannot be trusted at all (footnote 132). It's a rotten branch, but it's the only one left for Pressac to cling to, because he's done no research whatsoever in the realm of policy. That's a job for historians, and thus one far beyond the abilities of our pharmacist. At the same time, though, there is a need to suppose that someone, at some time, made the decision to initiate this vast homicidal enterprise, which was then carried out by low-level functionaries. Himmler might have made the decision, but because Pressac can't find anything to support that supposition, he relies on Höss' admittedly dubious account. Better something than nothing.

When Pressac comments on the work of the inmates' *Sonderkommando* teams "dragging the bodies from the gas chambers" (p. 43), the source he cites (note 141) is once again the *Kalendarium*. Third injection.

Later, on page 47, Pressac tells us that large quantities of Zyklon B were deemed necessary to combat the typhus epidemic that raged in the camp, and that they had been requested from higher authorities on account of a "special action" — which obviously was to disinfest buildings. (One SS man was even poisoned, as the previous page confirms.) Further on this same page, Pressac adds that *Bauleitung* officials gave consideration to building a new crematorium "because of the situation created by the 'special actions'" — an obvious reference to the measures taken in an effort to halt the epidemics. How Pressac manages to conclude from this information that Auschwitz had been chosen "as the site of [the] massive annihilation of the Jews" remains a profound intellectual mystery.

Here was an administration that struggled to contain an epidemic that may have killed 20,000 people (according to Pressac),[6] which had learned from higher authorities that the camp would again be considerably expanded (to accommodate tens of thousands of new deportees from the East, who were considered particularly "lousy"), and which was trying to gather the weapons to combat typhus: tons of Zyklon B and crematories. (Recall that at the Bergen-Belsen camp the British were unable to contain the epidemic that was raging there when they arrived. Some of the most "incriminating" photographs of horrific scenes from the camps were taken at Bergen-Belsen when it was under British administration.)

Pressac then launches his own personal theory (p. 47), which only makes sense if he is attempting to conform to an already established explanation pattern:

> This stupefying cremation facility [nevertheless obviously in strict accord with the needs dictated by the situation there] could not but attract the attention of the SS officials in Berlin [obviously, since they authorized the expenditures] who afterward associated it with the "final solution" of the Jewish problem.

This assertion has no basis in the documents found in the archives.

Ever eager to protect his rear, Pressac believes that these "special actions" (a term that covered anything and everything in the military-administrative jargon of the period) were used as a pretext to obtain authorization from Berlin to construct crematory facility (Krema) III, which he determines actually had a "public health function." In using this "special action" term, then, the sneaky SS men of Auschwitz sought to make Berlin believe that their crematory requirements were linked to the extermination of the Jews, whereas in reality they concerned only the real, normal needs of the camp. This is a good example of Pressac's acrobatic abilities.

I shall not dwell on the issue of open pit incinerations, which provide Pressac with an opportunity (p. 58) to severely criticize Höss' account, except to point out that he invents a figure of 50,000 corpses, burned in two months, based on a calculation of alleged killings that is derived, without actually quoting it, from the *Kalendarium*. Pressac pays no attention to the 100,000 cubic meters of wood (at a minimum) that would have been required, and of which there seems to be no trace in the archives.

Pressac has himself confessed that he first got involved with Auschwitz because he wanted to write a novel, several scenes of which would be set there. We know that many people have had a similar itch. This compelling urge re-emerges from time to time, for instance on page 65, when he simply conjures up, out of the blue, relations between the director and the engineers of the Topf company (which built the ovens for the crematories). The three following pages — in which Pressac, the suburban pharmacist, impersonates the terrible SS as they look for ways to rationally organize gassings — are probably also taken from a novel we'll never read. The welcome details are not derived from the archives, but rather from a testimony dear to Pressac, that of a person named Tauber (footnote 203).

When he evokes the first alleged gassing in crematory facility (Krema) II — supposedly the real industrial killing plant — and which was probably finished in March 1943, Pressac does not cite archival sources, but rather the secondary source *Kalendarium* and Tauber's testimony (pp. 73–74). The second alleged gassing is also based on the *Kalendarium*.

There is no point in going on. Pressac's injection technique is now quite clear. The reader must keep his eye riveted to the footnotes in order to detect the changes in the story line. All this would be quite acceptable if the sources used were of comparable value. But for some time now historians have learned to refer to Danuta Czech's official *Kalendarium* only with the utmost caution. Of this work, Pressac himself writes (note 107, p. 101):

> Danuta Czech has produced a work that is vulnerable to criticism because, without explanation, it retains some testimonies while dropping others, and because it favors testimonies above documents. This peculiar historical orientation persists in the latest, third, edition, now published in Polish . . . which makes no room for the *Bauleitung* documents of the Central Archives in Moscow. This greatly lessens the veracity of this fundamental work, which unfortunately was composed with a vision a little too skewed in the strained political atmosphere of the 1960's [in Poland].

What Pressac is really trying to say here, God only knows. For many people, though, this is a work that comes straight from the Polish government's Auschwitz State Museum, and thus from the exploitation of Auschwitz by Russian and Polish Stalinism as an instrument to encourage anti-fascist sentiments in the West during the Cold War. We know well the real value of the "testimonies" that were mass produced at that time. If Pressac were really confident of sources of this kind, it would be logical for him to use them. But he shows the greatest mistrust. Nevertheless, his account of homicidal gassings comes *exclusively* from such sources, the value of which he himself acknowledges to be severely limited. These stories have already been published a thousand times. It was their internal weakness that moved Paul Rassinier to criticize them, and launch the movement now known as Holocaust revisionism. In continuing to use them, with only slight cosmetic adjustments, Pressac seems to make a fool of himself.

But the most extraordinary thing about Pressac's book is the pretense that it dispenses entirely with testimony to make its case. That is what Pressac claims to journalists. They swallow this lie because they more easily trust commentary than the text itself. By burying in the depth of his footnotes his use of the most hackneyed products of the Polish Stalinist dossier, Pressac thus appears to respond to the revisionists on their own ground, that of verifiable fact, as long as one accepts that the physical laws of nature are as valid today as in 1944–1945.

In chronicling Pressac's inconsistencies, I have refrained from referring to Pressac's earlier writings, comparing them with his most recent book. But others might be less indulgent and could be naughty enough to point out variations, reversals, and other shifts of position that such a reading would obviously disclose.

I shall also spare the reader a crucial facet of the discussion of basic facts, the capacity of the crematories in terms of their actual output (an appropriate term when speaking of an industrial facility). To be sure, Pressac clearly realizes that there is a difference between the outputs claimed by Topf company salesmen and the reality of operation, hampered by breakdowns and design and manufacture flaws. But Pressac goes no further to establish the actual figures, and when he provides an estimate of 1,000 cremations per day for Kremas II and III, one sees clearly that he takes his readers for chumps. In the most modern crematory facilities, the limit is four bodies a day per oven. In the largest Auschwitz crematory facility, Krema II (at Birkenau), with its 15 ovens, one might envision tripling or even quadrupling the rate. In that case a peak figure of 300 bodies per day could be attained (but at the risk of wearing out everything very quickly). Pressac carefully avoids venturing into this technical area. Elsewhere, he says that the "ideal" figures provided by the SS to Berlin are propaganda lies, but that they are nevertheless to be trusted (p. 80). In his latest book, Pressac carefully refrains from citing the figures for coal provisioning of the crematories, which appeared in his 1989 work.[7] In the light of those figures, it is all the more difficult to believe that two or three kilograms of coal would have been enough to burn a single corpse. If he had found in Moscow additional invoices to make his estimates less improbable, he certainly would have let us know about them.

In the main body of his new book, this macabre accounting is only marginally important. It becomes important only in Appendix Two, "The Number of Deaths at KL Auschwitz-Birkenau" (pp. 144–148), where Pressac uses his estimates of cremation capabilities to revise downwards the numbers given in the "testimonies" found in the *Kalendarium*, to simply decree that there were fewer trains, and that they carried fewer persons. He writes as if the arrival of the trains was pre-determined by the efficiency of the crematories. This is obviously absurd.

Other discrepancies occur in his calculations that I will pass over here. Regarding the deportation of Jews from Hungary (about which Rassinier had already noticed the impossibilities of the estimates of official Polish sources), Pressac rejects out of hand the estimates of Georges Wellers, telling us in passing that the Israeli Yad Vashem center holds documents showing that 50,000 Jewish women from Hungary were transported onwards from Auschwitz to Stutthof, near Gdansk/Danzig. (Because these Jews had not been registered upon their arrival at Auschwitz, they are normally considered to have been "gassed.") Pressac believes that there is a need for further research. With regard to the

number of Polish Jews who were deported, he mentions "the uncertainties of this question, due to an absence of documents."

To return to the question of the Jews deported from Hungary, Pressac places himself in untenable positions. For example, he accepts the stories about cremation pits, which have been completely disproved by the aerial reconnaissance photographs of Auschwitz taken by Allied aircraft at precisely that period. He does so because it is necessary to increase the theoretical cremation capacity in order to account for a theoretical total of 438,000 Hungarian Jews arriving at Auschwitz from Hungary. (This would have been twice the total population of Auschwitz at that time.) His abstract calculation (p. 148) is that the SS *could* have annihilated 300,000 persons in 70 days. But this raises a question: where could these 300,000 persons, dead or alive, have been herded or stockpiled during the two months it would have been necessary to burn them all? And why do we find no sign of them in the aerial reconnaissance photos?

Pressac arrives at a figure of 630,000 people who were supposedly gassed at Auschwitz. Several years ago, the Poles lowered their official figures of Auschwitz "gassing" victims. Raul Hilberg in the United States, Fraçois Bédarida in France, and Yehuda Bauer in Israel have each lowered his figures. Pressac lowers them still further. Now, just how and why were these figures lowered? Has some new information come to light? Not at all. The calculations are being fudged in other ways. Pressac, who is certainly foxy but also a bit naive, shows how to do the trick.

Because most of the figures of deportees are merely guesswork estimates, they are subject to change. Wellers "loaded" the rail convoys with 5,000 deportees each. Hilberg disagrees, finding that 5,000 persons per rail convoy is too many. So he simply says to hell with it, and decides on 2,000. If one calculates on the basis of 120 train convoys, this makes a big difference (240,000 compared with 600,000). Along comes Pressac, who is not happy with either of these — not on the basis of rail convoy capacity, but rather crematory capacity. Accordingly, he lowers (pp. 146–7) the figure of rail convoy capacity to 1,000–1,500. The day he realizes that his estimates of crematory capacities are illusory, and that cremation pits would have been visible from the air, he will have to lower them again. None of these calculators have gone to look in the archives. They've done it off the cuff. Thus, if the figures change, it's not because the documents demand it, but rather on the basis of the prevailing fashion and these calculators' hunches.

The Reception of Pressac

As has consistently been the case throughout the 15 years that this gas chamber controversy has been public, the most interesting aspect has been the behavior of the press. Its role in molding public opinion is crucial. Anyone who wants a clear understanding of the historical background and context of the so-called Holocaust must do a great deal of research precisely because the problems have not yet been fully clarified. In this, the journalists, and the experts whom they quote, are thus in a position to separate truth from falsehood and, for the public at large, to differentiate between the Good and the Evil. In two books,[8] I have attempted to chronicle this media agitation, of which the large-scale worldwide publicity for Pressac's book is the latest chapter.

It must be said that the Pressac media campaign has been carried out in fine style. Pressac, who had been rather quietly working in the shadows, so to speak, was launched into public awareness as if a public relations expert had masterminded the operation. *L'Express*, a leading French news magazine, was first to open fire, with a Depardon cover photo and a big headline: "Auschwitz: The Truth."[9]

Soon follows the *Nouvel Observateur*[10] with a weekend at Auschwitz with Pressac, along with the heavy artillery of the "leading specialists." *Libération*, a Paris daily, joins in with two pages and more photographs and documents.[11] *Le Monde*, another Paris daily, then appears with a half-page article from the pen of Laurent Greilsamer, who has followed the Faurisson affair in the courts for a long time. Then came a barrage of television and radio publicity. La Ville-du-Bois, the little town south of Paris where Pressac sells his drugs, hasn't known such uproar since the Hundred Years War.

"A work that will serve as a reference for historians of the whole world," said *L'Express*. Thanks to the Soviet archives "the first synthesis of knowledge of one of the most important events of the 20th century has been accomplished," *L'Express* went on to remark. This commentary is provided by someone named Conan and another chap called Peschanski, a research fellow who owes obedience to Bédarida.[12] The distinguished commentators affirm that both the decision for and the execution of the "Judeocide" (a new term that has yet to gain wide acceptance) were shrouded in "absolute secrecy," of which we might say that it still hasn't been pierced.

But why did the archives lie dormant? "Because an important current of Jewish memory refused any rational approach to the Final Solution, which was deemed an 'unspeakable' and 'unthinkable' event." One would prefer, of course, a more straightforward denunciation, naming names and citing references, but at *L'Express* prudence prevails. The idyllic situation at the archives was disturbed by the "literature of denial," which set about picking out the errors "logically numerous in witness testimonies or in the postwar Soviet texts that made Auschwitz a theme of ideological propaganda." The fine sleuths at *L'Express* haven't noticed that every single asser-

tion by Pressac regarding homicidal gas chambers is based directly on these very Soviet and Polish texts. But then one can't demand too much of journalists. It is Pressac who is supposed have personally discovered that "the technological history of the Final Solution still remains to be written." It is impossible for a well-bred journalist, as they prefer them at *L'Express*, to recognize that the father of this brilliant "discovery" (in France) is none other than Professor Robert Faurisson. After all, it wouldn't do to acknowledge that from that discovery on, every advance in this area owes something to him.

In his 1989 book — published in New York by the Klarsfelds — Pressac boasted that, on the basis of his work in the archives in Poland and Germany (50,000 documents), he was solving the riddle in its entirety. Now, he says, the 80,000 documents from the Soviets will tell us more. However, the 1989 work — of 564 large-size pages — was far more comprehensive, and dealt with many more subjects. Had the journalists done their homework, they would have recognized that Pressac's 1993 book is much more limited in scope, and is much more circumspect, indeed diffident, in its assertions than the 1989 work.

After having explained the book's stupefying discovery — that the administration administered, that the construction office made plans and requested estimates and invoices — the subtle analysts of *L'Express* assert that Pressac "found proof of the organization of the killing." There's the trick. Pressac swims in a sea of ambiguities. He does not positively state that he has found "proofs," but rather traces, or clues, which are almost as good as proof. Journalists can't afford to indulge in such subtlety, and Pressac makes no protest against their distortions. As in a child's game, he seems to say: "I didn't say it. He did." Pressac is always able, faced with real criticism, to take refuge in this infantile position. These "proofs," he writes (p. 82), are "precise indications" that "betray the rules of secrecy." This secret is so secret that it may not exist, Pressac himself having explained that there was no coding in the documents.

In the list of clues magically transformed into proof, the most ridiculous is not in his book but in what he told the press: "In a real morgue, there is a need to use disinfectants, like chlorinated water or cresol, but not a product for killing lice."[13] The pharmacist who sells drugs to his everyday customers obviously has no idea of the scale of the problems arising from a full-scale typhus epidemic. The crematories were built to deal with a situation in which 250 to 300 corpses, swarming with disease-bearing lice, were delivered *every day.*[14] Can one imagine heaping them up in the morgues without further ado? Sending in a team to wash them in chlorinated water, while in all the other facilities, including the barracks, Zyklon B was used to kill lice?

If these morgues had not been treated in an efficient way, they would have been great reservoirs of infection — biological bombs. Pressac, with his bottle of chlorinated water, is a public menace. He should lose his license as a pharmacist for daring to say such things. Why such an idiotic remark? To persuade the reader to believe that the morgues would have been the only place in the camp where the use of Zyklon would not have been normal. Because the SS knew about chlorinated water,[15] they had no need to disinfest the morgues with Zyklon. The logic here is ridiculous. But this reasoning has a hidden corollary: If the SS had used Zyklon in the morgues to protect the crematory personnel (themselves included), they could have done it only once in long periods. Without ventilation, the lethal gas would have stagnated. Consequently, they needed a ventilation system for these semi-underground rooms. This would explain why they requested the installation of such a system there.

Pressac rightly provides considerable detail about this. But because he has already concluded in advance — and without the least support from the 130,000 documents available to him — that the very existence of a ventilation system is a "clue" providing evidence of a homicidal plan, he must discard in advance any possible alternative interpretation. That is why the two *L'Express* journalists dutifully accepted, like holy water, this role of chlorinated water. Holy water for journalistic holy writ.

Similarly, the journalists have no problem forgetting about the January 1942 Wannsee Conference. They swallow Pressac's currently fashionable view as avidly as they swallowed, five or ten years ago, other authors who said just the opposite. Nothing else was to be expected. Journalists now easily accept the notion that, by late May or early June 1942, an anonymous "political will," of unidentified origin, "found [by some kind of chance] in the technical innovations [although, says Pressac, the oven technique is quite elementary and somewhat archaic] implemented at Auschwitz (thanks to engineer Prüfer) the means for an industrial-scale extermination." To put it in a nutshell, thanks to this obscure little engineer, a salesman of crematory ovens who receives a percentage cut from sales he makes for Topf company, the highest-level officials of Nazi Germany (who? Himmler himself?) would have said to themselves: "What a windfall! Hurray for Prüfer! Now we can really kill Jews!" Without wishing to seem overly critical, it is difficult to believe that a "genocide" of that alleged magnitude could have been decided in such a manner. For journalists turned historians, though, this latest revelation is as much revealed truth as the old one, and an act of faith costs nothing.

In the same way, these journalists have no trouble accepting without a murmur the numerical hocus-pocus that Pressac presents as "calculations." Without knowing why, we come down from 5.5 mil-

lion deaths at Auschwitz (the Soviet figure in 1945) to 800,000. The *L'Express* journalists even predict that these figures, as well as estimates of deaths in the other camps and in the ghettos will be similarly revised downward in the future. It appears to be a general trend, and readers should be ready for it. (Do they already have new figures in mind?) But, basically, none of this is very important, they add in closing, because "the nature of the Final Solution remains unchanged." Personally, I take the view that only religious dogmas never change. (And sometimes even they change.)

L'Express also published an article by Bédarida, sponsor of Pressac's work. The bédarida is a little known species of squid. It swims in the cultural soup and propels itself rapidly toward all directors' chairs, to which it adheres with strong suckers. Always on the defensive, it emits jets of ink to cloud its surroundings. Author of a thin but definitive booklet on "the Nazi Extermination Policy," Bédarida courageously acknowledged that he did not have "all the necessary knowledge" on this subject. He sees in Pressac a case of biological mutation (he "transformed himself into a historian"), and believes that this pharmacist has become "an incontestable, if not unique, expert." Contested he is, however, and not only by revisionists. Unique, perhaps, if one considers only Establishment history, produced by all sorts of bédaridas, and the effects of the anti-revisionist laws. When he adds that Pressac has subjected the documents to a "pitiless critique," he looks like a fool to the astute reader. He regards as "terrifying" a work devoted to the study of construction plans, ventilation problems, overheating and other matters that are the daily concern of every civil engineer. This characterization seems to me to show, among the squid, a tendency toward bombast. When he adds the words "an irrefutable terrifying work," he is hallucinating. There are answers. Bad luck for the squids.

How is it possible, asks the sucker,[16] that no one had looked into these questions before this? He could have told the plain truth: that it's because nobody knew how to respond to Professor Faurisson. (For years it was fashionable to say that he didn't even deserve a response.) No, Bédarida prefers to claim that in those days people instead emphasized the "perpetrators and the victims." And how to justify this late date — 15 years after Faurisson raised the matter? Bédarida's explanation — the opening of the Moscow archives — is pure eyewash. Pressac's wretched hodgepodge that supposedly "settled everything" was published in 1989 — before the opening of the Moscow archives. The only new thing culled from the 80,000 documents found in Moscow is the story of an apparatus produced by the Siemens company to kill lice with short waves. It seems that some experimental use was made of *this* machine at Auschwitz near the end of the war.[17] This was new for Pressac and for most of us. Should this machine be added to the long list of mythical industrial-scale installations, including the Jewish soap factories, the electrified swimming pools, the vacuum and steam chambers, the heated iron plates, the trains of quicklime cars, and so forth, which, although described in numerous and precise testimonies, have sunk into oblivion from whence they could be revived only through the immense talent of a Claude Lanzmann? Because it does not seem that this Siemens machine could kill people, it's been ignored. This is the big novelty from Moscow, suppressed for 45 years by the KGB!

In 1979 I rhetorically asked "how" before "why."[18] In 1993 the squid is still looking for "how and why." It's not historical research work that has made real progress in those years, but rather that a number of obstacles meant to prevent such research have been removed. The road is still not clear, but one day it certainly will be.

Journalist Claude Weill must have access to secret information because in the *Nouvel Observateur* he writes "that the existence of the gas chambers and the reality of the Jewish extermination policy have been overwhelmingly demonstrated. The evidence is available to anyone who can read and who is willing to open his eyes." I pray Mr. Weill to open my eyes, to make this evidence public so that Mr. Pressac's labors would become quite useless and thereby permitting him to concentrate on his work as a druggist.

Weill tells his own little story. He visits Auschwitz where he follows Pressac around, listening to his technical arguments. But after a while, he breaks down. These discussions are odious, and he asks Pressac to get to the point. The learned pharmacist responds: those who refuse to do scholarly and technical work "are making Faurisson's bed for him." This throws the journalist for a loop. Overwhelmed, he sadly faces the fact that history will win in the end, that the good times are over, and that "the Shoah will not escape the historians' cruel scrutiny." I didn't know that historians have a cruel look. Cruel for whom? This sentence says a lot, I think. But then the journalist can be pretty cruel himself: he cites figures of total deaths at Auschwitz provided by several earlier authorities, and crudely calls them "lies." The Pope, Willy Brandt, and many other important visitors to Auschwitz have bowed down before the memorial plaque there bearing these "lies." Considering how these official figures were arrived at, there's no reason why the latest figures supplied by Pressac won't one day also be called "lies."

In concluding his article, Weill expresses some skepticism. He finds some of Pressac's conclusions "hasty," the throwing overboard of the Wannsee Conference "not entirely convincing," the lowering of the number of victims "a bit imprudent." Pressac "has not closed the debate."

Not being fully convinced, this journalist needs

to cover himself. So the Grand Masters of the Official Truth are permitted to speak. The first is Pierre Vidal-Naquet, who introduced Pressac to the Establishment. The first thing he shows us is that, as usual, he can't read: Vidal-Naquet believes that the "point" made by Pressac about the precise date of the "first gassings" is derived from the Moscow archives. This is clearly wrong.[19] This "point" is actually the result of an argument typical of Pressac: he sees in the archives records that the buildings were not usually completed by the dates given by "authorities" (based on "memory"). Pressac then searches for the dates on which construction of the crematories were completed, then refers back to the *Kalendarium* (which is also largely based on "memory," and which even Pressac himself calls dubious) to determine what gassings took place that day. Evidently the Moscow archives make no mention of any homicidal gassings. As for Pressac's calculations, Vidal-Naquet finds them a bit hasty, too much based on assumption, it's "not so simple," "probably". . . The man who earned the *Légion d'Honneur* by dint of his anti-revisionist efforts prefers Hilberg's figures, which he calls "rather solid." Vidal-Naquet hesitates more than usual. He seems to be having second thoughts about his wisdom in launching Pressac, who has become the satellite of others and who threatens to crash land.

Then comes Raul Hilberg. After being grilled on the stand during the first Zündel trial at Toronto, in 1985, this professor of political science has learned to be more cautious.[20] He laments that Pressac isn't really a historian, that his is not the "the last word on the subject." He complains that "important research is still necessary," that "considerable research is still needed," that "the German sources should be studied further," and that there is still a lot of work to do. One wonders what this fellow's been up to since he began his study of this subject in 1948.

But Hilberg says something very embarrassing: an extermination order by Hitler has already been missing; now an extermination order by Himmler is likewise nowhere to be found. Höss and Himmler did not even meet "during the crucial period." What now? Is it Höss who decided everything by himself? Or was he in the dark as well? An extermination order by Höss to his subordinates cannot be found either. Another mystery. Perhaps we should ask Vidal-Naquet.

But the best, as usual, comes from Claude Lanzmann. He's a raw fundamentalist, dazed, totally inaccessible to the least reasoning, but with an animal's intuition. He showed this intuition in making the movie "Shoah," in which he abandoned all (or nearly all) reference to the documents. He knows the documents. He doesn't know what they really mean, but he has a photographic memory and rightly says that all the documents cited by Pressac were already known. Lanzmann defends his work as a movie maker in almost Célinian terms: art should create emotions, nothing else. ("I prefer the tears of the Treblinka barber to Pressac's document on the gas detectors"). Lanzmann is very modern; he likes to hit below the belt, crying to avoid thinking, toying with the macabre. Pressac's material "drives out emotion, suffering, death," he says. Lanzmann tramples on Vidal-Naquet, who licked his boots for years: "The sad thing is that a historian, his being doubtless threatened by the truth, the force, the evidence of the testimonies, does not hesitate to endorse this perversity [Pressac's book]. A historian abdicates before a pharmacist . . ."

Lanzmann smells a rat in Pressac. He understands much better than the media and academic crowd, which rushed to embrace Pressac in the hope of finishing off revisionism, that

> Faurisson is the only one this convert wants to talk to. To be listened to by him [Faurisson], he [Pressac] must speak his language, make his thought processes his own, accept his methodology, produce the crucial evidence, the *ultima ratio*, that will convince his former master . . . In order to refute the revisionists' arguments, one must give them legitimacy, and they thus became the central point of reference. The revisionists occupy the whole terrain.

The poor man is right. He must feel quite lonely with his useless reels. He had to first delay, and then completely reorganize his movie because of Faurisson's work. In fact the terrain is not occupied by the revisionists — who are persecuted everywhere — but by the remnants of an imploded belief. Lanzmann, late in life, has become the epic poet, the cantor, of this belief. It's not just the revisionists' questions that caused the implosion. Time destroys myths: *fugit irreparabile tempus*, irreparable time flies.

The *Libération* article is quite cautious. The journalist who wrote it sticks to Vidal-Naquet's 1979 phrase: "It [gas chamber killing] was technically possible because it occurred."[21] (The author of that phrase has been having regrets.)[22] The *Libération* journalist effortlessly swallows the fantastic element of Pressac's book: the technicians, the foremen of the private firms who took part in the construction of the crematories, "saw." It is an interesting use of the word. "They saw." These two words say it all: the entire story and its refutation. But it's pure speculation. Nothing in the documents indicates that "they saw" anything implied by this lapidary formulation. In his interview with *Libération*, Pressac is less than hinting broadly when he says calmly: "I was close to Faurisson, who trained me rather well in deniers' theory in the late '70s." And, further on, he returns to one of the most amusing arguments in his book: the only members of the *Bauleitung* who were ever tried, Dejaco and Ertl, in Austria in 1972, were acquitted because (he says)

the Austrian judges couldn't read a blueprint or a technical description. Nevertheless, the court had access to documents from the Moscow archives. The Austrians, therefore, were cretins who awaited, without knowing it, the light emanating from Pressac's pharmacy. But it seems that Pressac himself did not inquire into the trial of Prüfer, the Topf company engineer who designed the crematory ovens, which took place before a Soviet court in April 1948. The transcripts of the Prüfer interrogations must certainly be somewhere in the Russian archives. The Soviets of 1948, doubtless as stupid as the Austrians in 1972, did not believe that Prüfer was the prime mover of extermination (as Pressac argues). Well then, whose turn is it to go to the Moscow archives now?

I have kept the article in *Le Monde* for dessert.[23] Its author, Laurent Greilsamer, has long followed the judicial saga of Professor Faurisson, toward whom he has always shown the same hatred. That's why it's amusing to note that he praises Pressac exactly for what he found so blameworthy in Faurisson: for being an amateur historian, for starting with an examination of the weapon used in the crime, for being a pioneer, for being curious about everything, and for deliberately turning his back on the survivor testimonies to interest himself in the ruins and the documents. "Elementary," he says. This "elementary" weighs several tons of court papers! But there is more. Pressac's conclusions, writes Greilsamer, "revise, in the noble meaning of the term, that which the community of historians believed was established." How beautifully inspired is this revision "in the noble meaning of the term"! No camouflage, no coded language, everyone understands, we are in full clarity.

Why then, this journalist wonders with hypocritical anguish, hadn't anyone said these things earlier? "Fear of provoking a scandal," he writes. Pressac adds: "Because people weren't mature enough. The subject was too sensitive and the Berlin Wall hadn't yet come down. Don't forget that the history of Auschwitz was written in Poland by the Communists and that, even in France, the Gayssot law forbids free expression."[24] Revisions therefore had to be administered "in homeopathic doses." We have seen that Dr. Pressac, however, has used the opposite technique: a large dose of revision, coupled with intravenous injections of the Polish *Kalendarium* to sedate memory sufferings caused by amputation of illusions. The journalist is not sufficiently alert to ask what Pressac would write if there were no Gayssot law.

Pressac is happy to talk to *Le Monde*. An amateur, he can easily dismiss the intellectual establishment: "The researchers have kept quiet in order to hold onto their precious positions. There has been cowardice in the universities, and the revisionists have taken advantage of this for denial. Personally, I am doing the basic work. Anyone with common sense could do it." I love it.

He is more careful with the false "eyewitness" testimonies: "We shouldn't say they lied. We must take into account a factor of personal emotionalism." This is outrageous. Pressac knows full well that there have been deliberate, organized, profitable lies, which have nothing to do with "factors of personal emotionalism" (which may exist, surely, as in every testimony of whatever nature).

Lanzmann is right. Without Faurisson, there would be no Pressac. Pressac is 90 percent Faurisson, with the rest coming from easily identifiable and discredited sources. The media simply falls into line. One wonders who's more hypocritical: Pressac, who half saws away, in his notes from Höss and the *Kalendarium*, the branch on which he's sitting, or the journalists, who accept with joy and recognition from Pressac everything they rejected when it came from Faurisson?

There is, perhaps, a way out of this tangle. It is indicated in a remark by Bédarida (in *L'Express*). He says that Pressac was first attracted to revisionism but later refused to follow this group "on the road of denial." On the other hand, the Italian writer Umberto Eco said to *Le Monde* that revisionism is all right, that it's natural; it is possible to calmly discuss the documents, but one mustn't fall into "denial," which, he says, consists of denying that anything bad was done to the Jews during the Second World War.

I wonder if a new line is being drawn here. It makes a distinction between, on the one hand, revisionism, once again beautiful and good, exemplified by Pressac and his patrons and followers, who are obliged to adopt the revisionist method because it is the normal method of historical research, and, on the other hand, "denial," banished to the outer limits of taboo, including those who doubt the gas chambers, as well as (non-existent) deniers of the concentration camps, the rail deportations, and so forth. The consequence of this new view would be that revisionism, recognized at last, would demonstrate (in the style of Pressac, that is, sloppily) the existence of homicidal gas chambers, but in a way that they would lose their diabolical character. The death figures could be dropped much lower without infringing the nature of the *Shoah*. Faurisson and his associates would lose the use of their rational armament, captured by their enemies, and would be banished to the void by the Gayssot law. This might offer the best opportunity for the restored squids to pursue and enhance their brilliant careers.

Notes

1. *Le Monde*, Sept. 26–27, 1993, p. 7.
2. Robert Faurisson's *Journal* review of Lanzmann's movie, "Shoah," is followed by Ted O'Keefe's review of the book version. See: *The Journal of Historical Review*, Spring 1988, pp. 85–95.

3. Jean-Claude Pressac, *Les Crématoires d'Auschwitz: La Machinerie du meurtre de masse* ["The Crematories of Auschwitz: Machinery of Mass Murder"] (Paris: CNRS Editions, 1993), 155 (+ viii) pages. [German edition: Jean-Claude Pressac, *Die Krematorien von Auschwitz: Die Technik des Massenmordes* (Munich: Piper, 1994).];
   See Robert Faurisson's "brief, preliminary" critique of Pressac's 1993 book, in the Jan.-Feb. 1994 *Journal*, pp. 23–24.
4. *Nouvel Observateur*, Sept. 30–Oct. 6, 1993, p. 94.
5. Danuta Czech, *Kalendarium der Ereignisse im Konzentrationslager Auschwitz-Birkenau 1939–1945* (Rowohlt, 1989); English-language edition: Danuta Czech, *Auschwitz Chronicle, 1939–1945* (London: I.B. Tauris, 1991).
   (Danuta Czech is head of the scientific research department of the Auschwitz State Museum in Poland.)
6. *Nouvel Observateur*, Sept. 30–Oct. 6, 1993, p. 94.
7. J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz: Technique and Operations of the Gas Chambers* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1989).
   Reviews and analysis of this book that have appeared in this *Journal* include: 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; A. Butz, Vol. 13, No. 3, (May-June 1993), pp. 23–37.
8. *Vérité historique ou vérité politique?* (Paris: La Vieille Taupe, 1980, 352 pages), and, *Une allumette sur la banquise*, (Paris: Le Temps irréparable, 1993, 330 pages).
9. *L'Express*, Sept. 23–29, 1993. (Eleven pages of text and photos.) The classic Orwellian translation of this headline would be: "Auschwitz: The Lie."
10. *Nouvel Observateur*, Sept. 30–Oct. 6, 1993, pp. 88–90, 92, 95–97. By Claude Weill, including interviews with J.-C. Pressac, Pierre Vidal-Naquet, Raul Hilberg and Claude Lanzmann.
    Eight pages are devoted to this trip, which calls to mind those Mediterranean cruises in which noted archaeologists act as tour guides. The allusion is quite explicit (p. 92): "Pressac runs through the ruins like an English archaeologist on the site of Ephesus." The image is revealing: the English were in fact the first, in 1863, to dig at Ephesus. It thus evokes a 19th century context, the beginnings of scientific archeology, the discovery or rediscovery of the great lost civilizations. Pressac, seen as an eccentric gentleman from an adventure novel, is about to reveal an unknown world for us. Everything we've known until now is made null and void by the triumphal "running" of the discoverer, resurrecting the past, and almost re-creating it.
11. *Libération*, Sept. 24, 1993, pp. 28–29.
12. Denis Peschanski is a research fellow with the Contemporary History Institute of the CNRS (Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique). Pressac's *Les Crématoires d'Auschwitz* was published under the guidance of Bédarida by the CNRS press. The cardinal principle of the world of Parisian literary criticism is well known: "No one is better served then by oneself — but it shouldn't show."
13. *Nouvel Observateur*, Sept. 30–Oct. 6, 1993, p. 84.
14. Information from the Auschwitz camp death registry volumes (*"Totenbücher"*), for the period of the epidemics. See: J.-C. Pressac, *Les Crématoires d'Auschwitz* (1993), p. 145.
15. Where, among the 130,000 documents, are the invoices for *chlorinated* water?
16. Presently glued to the chair of Secretary General of the International Committee of Historical Sciences.
17. J.-C. Pressac, *Les Crématoires d'Auschwitz* (1993), pp. 83 ff.
18. In "Le Comment du Pourquoi," 1979, which was included as the first part of *Vérité historique ou vérité politique?* (1980).
19. In an unforgettable article, published in 1980, Vidal-Naquet explained that because Faurisson had written something (supposedly) *faux* (false), he was a *faussaire* (forger). This may be found in Vidal-Naquet's book, *Assassins of Memory: Essays on the Denial of the Holocaust* (Columbia University Press, 1992). I dismantled this stupid pun and the poor arguments of Vidal-Naquet in *Une Allumette sur la banquise* (Le Temps irréparable, 1993). [*Assassins of Memory* is reviewed by Mark Weber in the Nov.-Dec. 1993 *Journal*, pp. 36–39.]
20. Although the media routinely calls Hilberg a "historian," that is not his profession. He, too, is another "amateur."
21. This phrase appears in the 1979 declaration co-authored by Pierre Vidal-Naquet and Léon Poliakov, which was signed by 34 scholars. It is quoted in the foreword to *Assassins of Memory* (p. xiv), and in *The Journal of Historical Review*: Spring 1983, p. 35; Summer 1985, pp. 166–167; and, Nov.-Dec. 1993, p. 38.
22. Regarding this phrase, Vidal-Naquet wrote, for example, in the review *L'Histoire* (June 1992, p. 51): "We were certainly wrong, at least in the form, even if the basis of our interrogation was justified." In fact, there never was any interrogation.
23. *Le Monde*, Sept. 26–27, 1993, p. 7.
24. Gayssot is a Communist member of the French parliament. The "Fabius-Gayssot" law of July 1990 forbids "contesting the crimes against humanity" as defined by the Nuremberg Tribunal, and specifies heavy fines and jail terms for violators. The law was passed as a trade-off between the Communists and the Socialists, to obtain continued support from the Communists in parliament for the Rocard government. I don't know whether this critical review violates the Gayssot law, but it's clear that Pressac's book (and thus all the press accounts of it as well) infringes the law seriously. [For more about this law, and the legal assault in France against Holocaust revisionists, see the *Journal*, March-April 1993, pp. 26–28.]

IN COLD BLOOD . . .

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A Pervasive Fear

JOSEPH SOBRAN

From time to time the press reports on polls measuring "anti-Semitism" in America, or recites numbers of "anti-Semitic incidents" (as defined and counted by Jewish organizations). In truth there is little active hostility to Jews in America, which is as it should be. But there is also very little public criticism of Jewish politics, which is another matter.

What polls don't and probably can't measure is the enormous fear of Jews that prevails in some parts of America, particularly in politics and the news media. People don't always admit fear to themselves, let alone to strangers. But it finds expression in many ways, most often in silence. Very few commentators dare to point out the obvious when it may reflect badly on Jews.

This has been true at least since World War II. And to some extent it can be excused as humanitarian concern for the rights of Jews, reinforced by a more specific apprehension of Nazi-like reprisals against all Jews if guilty parties were identified as Jews. But that explanation runs out of gas long before this point on the road. Today we find it rare to find culpable Jews identified as Jews even where it may be appropriate to point out that they are acting consciously as Jews.

A recent example is Pavel Sudaplatov's book *Special Tasks*, which alleges that J. Robert Oppenheimer and other Jewish scientists were motivated to leak nuclear secrets to the Soviet Union because they were persuaded that the Soviet Union provided a haven for Jews. Like other books that have raised sensitive questions about Jewish loyalties and their consequences for America, such as Victor Ostrovsky's *By Way of Deception* and Seymour Hersh's *The Samson Option*, *Special Tasks* has been the target of an intense discrediting campaign, and even when it has been discussed the Jewish angle has been played down or has even gone totally unmentioned. What makes these books especially explosive is that their authors are either Jewish or, in Sudaplatov's case, pro-Jewish, and can't be dismissed with the anti-Semitic smear.

To cite once more the case I know best, [*National Review* publisher] Bill Buckley warned me privately and urgently against criticizing Israel and thereby provoking the wrath of the Podhoretz crowd, whose charges of anti-Semitism he dreaded like Jove's thunderbolts; his book *In Search of Anti-Semitism* is written in the twisted prose of a man who is afraid of saying what he means — afraid of using his own mind, for fear of where it might lead him. And I've mentioned how shabbily he treated his own father in that book. But in fairness I should add that his father's record goes far to explain Bill's present concerns, though not as he describes them.

According to an old and now estranged friend of Bill named Revilo Oliver [a member of this *Journal*'s Editorial Advisory Committee], the elder William Buckley was "well known in certain circles for his discreet subvention of effectively anti-Jewish periodicals and his drastic private opinion about the aliens' perversion of our national life." And others have described Bill as (in the words of one friend) "terrified of his father's anti-Semitism" — terrified, that is, of being tainted by it. In his book, Bill makes it sound as if his father's hatred of Jews vented itself harmlessly in dinner-table talk. Evidently it went much further than that. So Bill may have thought he was protecting his father rather than disgracing him by telling as much (and as little) of the story as he did.

In one thing, though, Bill and his father are in accord; in their shared fear of the Jews. A recent issue of *National Review* carried an article by Elliott Abrams, Norman Podhoretz's son-in-law, blaming Christianity for anti-Semitism. This is the sort of propaganda Will Buckley was afraid would be disseminated in America if Jewish power continued to expand, but surely he would have been surprised to find it in his own son's magazine. Would Bill allow it into his pages if he weren't afraid to oppose Jewish influence?

And he is far from unique. I could make a long list of Christian conservatives — Judaeo-Christians, so to speak — who are equally timid; some of them mask their timidity behind belligerence against that great evil of our time, anti-Semitism, others pose as brave defenders of poor little beleaguered Israel. People have a way of praising what they fear, as everyone in Russia who dared to speak at all used to celebrate Stalin in the most fulsome terms. Yet looking back, we can now see that the praise itself was nothing but a barometer of inner dread, and the people who uttered it appear in retrospect as despicable, sometimes pitiable cowards. In the future I'm sure that the now-fashionable toadying to Jews will appear equally embarrassing, even to Jews.

The obvious question raised by such craven conduct is whether the prevalent "fear of the Jews" — the phrase recurs in the *Acts of the Apostles* — is rational or irrational. The news media certainly don't shy away from critical reporting on the Christian right or the Catholic Church, nor should they. But this is also to acknowledge that the Christian right and the Catholic Church accept criticism as legitimate or, at least, lack the clout to make it taboo. The organized though amorphous Jewish

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power does neither. (It is of course important to bear in mind that most Jews aren't responsible for this, and it is morally and intellectually wrong to blame them indiscriminately; but I assume I am speaking to grownup Christians here.)

When I criticize Israel from the most obvious considerations of conservative principle and Christian-American interest, I find that other Christians regard me as either notably courageous or as simply foolhardy. I don't think I'm either (I generally dive for cover as quickly as the next man), but both opinions do show how *dangerous* people think the Jewish influence is — dangerous, at least, to anyone who wants a career in politics or journalism.

This intuition is basically correct. Bill in effect warned me that Jewish power would try to wreck my career if I didn't shut up. I didn't and it did. I found a great many markets quietly closed to me, certain invitations to write and speak ceased to come, and a lot of dark rumors got back to me. There have been many compensations, chief of which has been the sifting of true friends from false (I found Jews who were ready to help me when some of my Judaeo-Christian friends were in full flight), and I have found new markets for my services; but believe me, that bunch will do their best to ruin you if you suggest that Israel is anything but the best friend this country ever had.

This means that American public disclosure is being quietly and constantly warped by unseen pressures. It would be one thing if we simply had an explicit rule that criticism of Israel and Jewish political power is taboo. But an open taboo is almost a contradiction in terms: The essence of a taboo is the pretense that no subject is really being avoided, that (so to speak) there is no subject *there*. The power is immensely increased because it goes unmentioned, unmeasured, uncriticized. You can't even talk back to it if you can't talk *about* it. And public debate is obviously bound to be distorted if Jews may say things about Christians which Christians may not say about Jews; the Holocaust can be blamed on Christianity, but it might cause a certain disturbance if the Communist slaughters of Christians, or even Israeli treatment of non-Jews, were similarly linked to the *Talmud*'s teaching about Gentiles, or to its blasphemies against Christ.

The older I get, the more I am impressed by this pervasive fear of the Jews — or rather, pervasive in some critical power centers, unfelt in other places. It is a huge factor, invisible and incalculable, in American culture and politics.

Half-truth, hypocrisy and hate are departments in the art of demagogues. The polite phrase for all this is intellectual dishonesty.

— Herbert Hoover

The Martyrdom of the Russian Church Under Communism

As more archival material comes to light, it becomes clearer that no other Christian community in modern times suffered a greater martyrdom than Russian Orthodox believers endured during the Soviet era. The destruction of religion was a central, early fixation of Lenin — not just a Stalinist aberration. One of a large number of bloodthirsty orders of Lenin that have recently emerged includes, for example, the reluctance of a local church to hand over its religious treasures to the state. Lenin ordered that 100 priests be rounded up immediately, hanged and left to putrefy in public as a lesson to the nation. The church, which had re-established an independent patriarchate during the 1917 revolution, was subjected to prolonged humiliation. Nearly every major Russian religious thinker or leader was either exiled in the 1920s or killed in the 1930s. Old women in the gulags who wanted to conduct Easter services were forced to hold them knee-deep in water that was freezing around them.

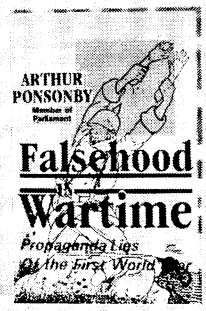
The Russian Church defeated early Bolshevik efforts to supplant it by a puppet "renovationist" church, but made its Faustian bargain with communism in 1927, accepting a narrowly liturgical survival in return for docile support of Soviet policies ...

After a brief revival during the [Second World] war, the Russian Church was brutalized anew by Khrushchev, who shut half of the remaining churches and most of its surviving seminaries between 1959 and 1962. The survivors were forced into a firmer support of Soviet political positions in the World Council of Churches. Recently released archival materials show that there were links between the KGB and many members of the ruling synod of the Church during the last quarter-century of communism.

— James H. Billington in
The New Republic, May 30, 1994, p. 25

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 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.

Revisionist Radio Talk Show Tackles Important Issues

Radio talk show host Jim Floyd has been regularly delighting listeners across northern Alabama with an array of stimulating revisionist guests and his own probing questions and hard-hitting commentary. "The Jim Floyd Show" is broadcast every weekday morning, Monday through Friday, normally for one hour, 8–9 a.m. over station WAJF (Decatur), and simulcast on WHRT radio (Hartselle).

Recent guests have included:

• Prof. Tony Martin, who became a victim of threat and intimidation because he dealt with the historic Jewish role in the trans-Atlantic slave trade during a Wellesley College survey course;

• Rev. Dale Crowley, who has campaigned against anti-Christian propaganda at the US Holocaust Memorial Museum;

• Issah Nakleh, Palestinian historian and 1981 IHR Conference speaker;

• Paul Findley, former Illinois Congressman and outspoken critic of America's dangerously pro-Zionist Middle East policy; and,

• IHR adviser Friedrich Berg.

On June 3, *Journal* editor Mark Weber appeared as a guest, along with IHR advisor Robert Countess, for more than an hour. Noting the attention being given to the 50th anniversary of the D-Day landing in France, Weber spoke about media distortion of Second World War history. He also commented on the destructive military adventurism of recent American presidents, and discussed war propaganda generally. Jim Floyd's well-informed questions showed that he had done considerable background reading.

With the daily "Jim Floyd Show" in Alabama, and Brad Smith's recently inaugurated weekly radio program in Rhode Island, there are now at least two regularly scheduled radio programs through which revisionist views routinely reach the American public.

University Officials Block Talk by Prof. Butz

Just two hours before it was scheduled to begin, Northwestern University officials used chicanery to cancel a student-organized campus presentation by Associate Professor Arthur Butz, a prominent Holocaust revisionist.

School administrators barred the May 9 semi-formal "fireside" meeting on the pretext that the Public Affairs Residential College (PARC) dorm where it was to take place would immediately have to pay $1,500 from its "Student Organizations Finance Office" (SOFO) account to hire eleven security officers. Even though a member of the faculty, Prof. Charles Thompson, announced that he was willing to pay the required amount himself, the dean of the university college, Donald Collins, insisted that the money could only come from the SOFO account.

Dr. Butz is an Associate Professor of Electrical Engineering and Computer Science at Northwestern University (Evanston, Illinois). He is a member of this *Journal*'s Editorial Advisory Committee and author of *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, a major work disputing the orthodox Holocaust extermination story. The text of his address at the 1992 IHR Conference was published in the May-June 1993 *Journal*.

Dr. Thompson, a professor of industrial engineering, said he believed that the last-minute SOFO qualification requirement was part of the university's "campaign of intimidation" to prevent Butz from presenting his revisionist views about the Holocaust story.

Dan Prosterman and Bob Fabsik, two sophomore students who had worked to organize the "fireside" meeting, said that in light of the university's actions, they had no choice but to cancel the event. "It was very embarrassing for Bob and I to cancel," said Prosterman. "But [Butz] was not as upset as I thought he would be." (*The Daily Northwestern*, May 10.)

"He [Butz] said that this was the closest that he'd ever gotten" to addressing a meeting on campus about his revisionist views, said Prosterman, who also expressed anger at the University's last-minute financial requirement. "We are extremely upset at the way the university handled the event," he said. "A lot of the strife and conflict that has gone on in the dorm between us, and the dorm and the community could have been avoided."

PARC dorm students complained that the Butz meeting was cancelled because of a technicality. "If the administration had told us up front that we would have had to use SOFO funds, we never would have considered" organizing the meeting, said Prosterman.

Even though Butz did not speak, about 120 demonstrators rallied against him and Holocaust revisionism on the evening of the cancelled meeting. The protest rally was organized jointly by the Hillel Jewish student group and the International Socialist Organization (ISO), a Marxist group. Hillel Rabbi Michael Balinsky addressed the rally and thanked the demonstrators.

Peggy Barr, the university's vice president for student affairs, attended the Jewish-Marxist demonstration, and said she was pleased that the Butz meeting had been cancelled. ISO member Joel

Geier, told demonstrators that Butz "used to be just a kook that this university was stupid enough to protect, and now we see the rise of fascism once again. Why does the faculty still rub shoulders with him?"

The bigoted university action apparently does not reflect the sentiment of most students. A survey conducted in connection with the controversy showed that an overwhelming majority of Northwestern University students — 72 percent of those polled — believe that Prof. Butz should be allowed to speak on campus. (*Northwestern Chronicle*, May 27).

Editor Addresses Populist Party Meeting

Journal editor Mark Weber addressed the national convention of the Populist Party in West Palm Beach (Florida) on May 21. He was introduced by Don Wassall, chairman of the struggling dissident political group. Among the other speakers was Jim Townsend, editor-publisher of the *National Educator*, a weekly paper that has often supported the IHR.

Idaho Television Poll Shows Widespread Skepticism about Holocaust Story

Smith and Weber on "Schindler's List" Discussion

A recent poll conducted by an Idaho television station shows that one in four participants reject the Holocaust extermination story.

On the evening of March 22, Twin Falls (Idaho) television station KKVI (an ABC network affiliate) aired a special report and discussion program devoted to Steven Spielberg's Holocaust movie "Schindler's List." A three minute telephone interview with *Journal* editor Mark Weber, which had been recorded the day before, was aired as part of the program. In addition, CODOH chairman Brad Smith appeared by telephone hookup as a live guest, along with a World War II veteran. Mention was made during the broadcast of the appearance of Weber and Smith two days earlier on the CBS television network's "60 Minutes" program. (For more about that, see the May-June 1994 *Journal*.)

Shar Alexander, who conducted the interview with Weber, later said that she was very pleased with the public response to the program, which she described as "wonderful." People were still talking about it a week later, she said.

Viewers of the KKVI television report and discussion were invited to respond to a telephone poll organized by the station. (Viewers can call a telephone number and, by using a touch tone phone, vote Yes or No.) The question was: "Do you believe that the Holocaust really occurred?" Alexander said that she and the others at the station were astonished by the viewer response: One out of four voted No.

Holocaust Skeptic Almost Wins US Congress Nomination

A New Jersey man who is openly skeptical of the Holocaust extermination story recently almost became the Democratic Party's candidate for US Congress in the state's 11th District. Receiving 48 percent of the vote, John L. Kucek — a 67-year-old Certified Public Accountant, US Army veteran, and former business manager — barely lost the June 7 primary election race.

"I do not believe that there was any deliberate extermination plot against Jews or anyone else," said *Journal* subscriber Kucek during an interview last fall. "The Auschwitz so-called gas chambers are documented to have been a fabrication." In a more recent interview, he said: "If there were 400,000 survivors of the concentration camps, and over four million Jewish survivors collecting reparations from the German government . . . Apparently, there couldn't have been six million who died." ("Holocaust skeptic is likely nominee for Congress," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, May 30.)

Kucek, who was denounced for his views by Jewish leaders and regular Democratic party leaders, describes himself as a "traditional Democrat in the tradition of Thomas Jefferson, Andrew Jackson and Al Smith." Kucek favors sharp limitations on immigration. He has cited "distorted" and "vicious" media coverage as major reasons for his defeat.

Weber Heard in Los Angeles

A portion of a previously-recorded interview with *Journal* editor Mark Weber was broadcast April 13 over Los Angeles radio station KFI, one of the most widely heard in the western United States. Hundreds of thousands heard Weber talking about the "victimization" phenomenon whereby various racial-ethnic groups cite a record of past persecution to claim moral standing in our society.

The complacent, the self-indulgent, the soft societies are about to be swept away with the debris of history.

— John F. Kennedy,
Address to newspaper editors,
April 20, 1961

Reviews

A Non-Polemical Look at Wartime Germany's Atomic Bomb Program

Heisenberg's War: The Secret History of the German Bomb, by Thomas Powers. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1993. Hardcover. 608 pages. Notes. Bibliography. Index. $27.50. ISBN 0-394-51411-4.

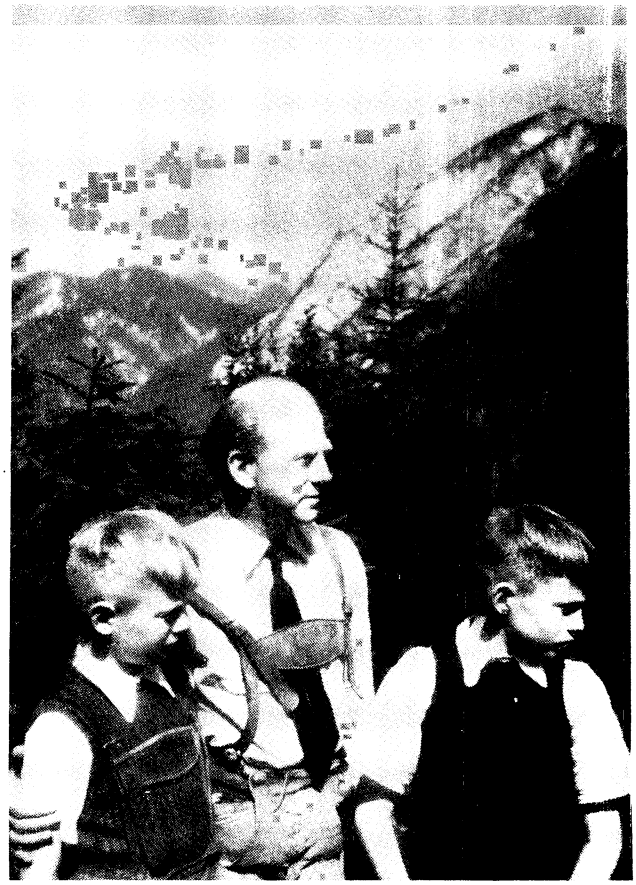
Reviewed by Andrew Gray

"In the years since Hiroshima," Thomas Powers writes in a luminous introduction to a superb book, "the makers of the American bomb have all made peace with their creation. They have been asked a hundred times if they feel guilt. They say no and they mean no. Hitler might have done it first . . . But with the Germans they have not made peace, only kept a polite silence. Just what went wrong with the German bomb program they are not sure, but on one point they are dead certain — *no moral compunction on Heisenberg's part, however tenuous, played a role.*" (emphasis in the original).

The evidence suggests otherwise — and massively. Much of this indictment of American hypocrisy, of a double standard, of wartime propaganda continuing in peacetime guise, is based upon the work of David Irving, whose interviews in 1965 and 1966 with Werner Heisenberg, head of wartime Germany's atomic bomb development program, provided the foundation for his 1967 work, *The German Atomic Bomb* (Simon & Schuster). Irving's interviews, Powers emphasizes (unsurprisingly for revisionists), elicited a greater candor from Heisenberg than those of any other historian. Beyond this, Irving has made available to Powers his microfilm files on the subject. Together with much newly available material (including expanded though not complete access to the transcripts of recorded conversation among the German physicists during their internment in England in the summer and autumn of 1945), these documents permit Powers to build a case strong enough to raise permanently the level of debate on the subject.

Yes, the German physicists, with few exception, *did* have moral scruples about any serious efforts to produce nuclear weapons for the Hitler regime, and these scruples *did* have practical effect. "The implication that Allied scientists," Powers continues, "— many of them Jewish, many driven from Germany, many bereaved in the Holocaust — might have some moral obligation to answer questions posed, however indirectly, by Germans is more, as I have more than once experienced, than they are ready to tolerate in silence." Silent or not, this volume leaves them no choice in the matter.

This book actually blends two subjects, one somber and the other hilarious. World history, of course, was at stake in the vicissitudes of German nuclear weapons research. The might-have-beens are stupefying, and not an appropriate subject for the author's iridescent irony. Not so, by contrast, his lengthy account of the efforts of US wartime intelligence (chiefly "Wild Bill" Donovan and his Office of Strategic Services) to find out what the Germans



Werner Heisenberg with two of his sons, in the late 1940s. Awarded the 1932 Nobel Prize for physics "for the creation of quantum mechanics," Heisenberg headed wartime Germany's atomic research program. His work on the quantum theory profoundly influenced the development of atomic and nuclear physics.

Andrew Gray, a writer and translator, is former office director in the US Department of Commerce. He lives in Washington, DC.

were up to. On the basis of their Ultra decrypts (which contained not even the most tangential reference to a German equivalent of the Manhattan Project, nor any mention of Heisenberg by name), British intelligence concluded early in the game that there would be no German atomic bomb, whereas Americans feared the worst almost to the end of the war. These fears culminated, it seems, in an OSS plot to kill Heisenberg, though this was originally disguised as a kidnapping venture under the auspices of a desperado named Eifler. "It didn't require a professional odds-maker," Powers observes, "to see that the chances were remote at best that Heisenberg would survive a kidnapping in Germany, a forced march into Switzerland, a secret rendezvous with an American military plane and a parachute drop onto some map coordinate in the Mediterranean where a submarine might or might not be waiting. Eifler was left in no doubt that Heisenberg's survival was not the mission's highest priority."

How interesting that a mainline publishing house such as Knopf remains capable of issuing a book that does not demonize the Third Reich or engage in any of the customary myth-making. The burden that any totalitarian regime imposes on science is evocatively rendered, but without the implicit claims to moral superiority that have pervaded most prior writings on the subject from these shores, or the post-war denigrations by Heisenberg himself for his decision to remain in Germany. Heisenberg himself shines through the text as a deeply decent person — a bit tactless now and then, perhaps, and not long on humor, but compared, let us say, to J. Robert Oppenheimer, a paragon of stability and humaneness.

The book contains considerable duplication of material and would have benefited from one last editorial combing-out, but that is true of almost every product of American presses, trade or academic, these days. For the most part, German names and quotes are rendered accurately, a healthy contrast to current standards, though it is a bit disconcerting to find the name of Colonel Stauffenberg repeatedly misspelled. Even the most casual proofing eye should pick up this sort of error.

The story has a happy ending, although the author prefers to leave it implicit. German physics is again thriving, thanks in large part to the continuity Heisenberg maintained for it. This was his specific and avowed intention. Never anti-Semitic — his rivals in the 1930s termed him a "white Jew" at one point — he nonetheless believed it a German science, par excellence, which it is.

Truth is strong, next to the Almighty. She needs no policies, no stratagems, no licenses to make her victorious.

— John Milton

Secretary Shultz and the Bitburg Uproar

Turmoil and Triumph: My Years as Secretary of State, by George P. Shultz. New York: Scribner's, 1993. Hardcover. 1184 pages. Photographs. Index. $30.00. ISBN 0-684-19325-6.

Reviewed by Andrew Gray

A hefty tome, but after all, George Shultz is an ex-professor, and obviously does not wish to be outdone by Dr. Kissinger. Buried in this long and discursive text, however, is a nugget for revisionists — 20 pages devoted to the story of President Reagan's much-criticized May 1985 visit to the German military cemetery at Bitburg. Candor on this subject was not to be expected from ex-President Reagan, and this account by the former Secretary of State is the most accurate we have been accorded to date from any of the principal figures in the drama. All of which isn't saying very much — we will no doubt have to wait for Patrick Buchanan to tell the tale as he experienced it for a remotely adequate version.

At any rate, the Bitburg crisis remains a central event of the time — an embarrassment to those who raised the uproar against the Presidential visit to the Bitburg cemetery and a salutary lesson for them and for everyone else. At issue was a specifically Jewish bid for veto power in government-to-government relations between the United States and the Federal Republic of Germany. Had this been granted at Bitburg, the World Jewish Congress would no doubt have demanded and received a seat at the table at which German reunification was negotiated five years later, though in such a case, there would probably have been no German statesman on the scene with sufficient prestige to negotiate the matter in the first place. We could only sense it at the time, but the prospects for German reunification were at stake in the concerted Jewish assault on Helmut Kohl. World leaders live by and on prestige.

If Ronald Reagan had deserted the German chancellor, Kohl would have been revealed as a *Gummilöwe*, a "rubber lion," like his predecessor Ludwig Erhard, a man without clout when push came to shove. Instead — after facing down combined Jewish power and hysteria — the chancellor emerged as a man who could later negotiate the withdrawal of the Soviets from Central Europe with Mikhail Gorbachev one-on-one, that is, with barely a nod to the president of the United States, whom he considered an interested bystander in the transaction.

Of course George Shultz doesn't say any of this. At the height of the uproar, he admits joining the chorus of those advising the President to cancel the Bitburg visit. Shultz is an ex-Marine, who has seen first-hand the most brutal forms of combat the

Pacific War produced, but he proves predictably incapable or unwilling to draw even the most obvious parallels with the Waffen SS. No, his is the same old litany, compete with ignorant reference to the Oradour tragedy, with is regularly served up in the propaganda-tinted history we receive from official sources as a "massacre" supposedly typical of Waffen SS units in action. Well, there were no doubt some Abolitionists who spat on the graves of Confederate dead, but by and large Confederate cemeteries have been honored even by the most convinced Unionists as symbolizing the bravery and spirit of self-sacrifice of those lying buried within them. One would think George Shultz of all people might accord such dignity to the German dead at Bitburg, but not at all — "Hitler is laughing in hell right now," he recalls telling his subordinates before leaving for Germany to accompany the President. "The idea of the visit, reconciliation, had been destroyed. Kohl has butchered it. He told us there were no SS buried at Bitburg. Teltschik said there were none."

It gets worse. "Just before leaving for Bergen-Belsen," Shultz writes, "I pulled out of my pocket a small lapel pin with a German emblem on it. It symbolized a decoration, the Grand Cross of the Order of Merit, that I had received in 1974 from the German government . . . I asked Rick Burt, Bernie Kalb and Charlie Hill whether I should wear this little button on my lapel. Immediately a fierce debate erupted . . . I sighed and put the little pin away." If this were typical of the Marines, we would still be fighting on Guadalcanal.

At all events, the eight minutes Ronald Reagan spent at the Bitburg cemetery were arguably the apogee of his presidency. It was not merely a lesson for Jewish organizations alone — no, it was a demonstration to the combined power of the American media that they, too, could not command and control the American state on a fundamental German-American issue. This obviously came as a great surprise to many people, some of whom have not recovered from it yet. Perhaps this accounts in part for the pusillanimity of the Shultz version of this crisis, and for the remarkable fact that the German Chancellor himself declined to permit the author to quote in full his confidential message to President Reagan of April 15, 1985, in which Kohl made the visit an *Existenzfrage* for himself and his administration. There is much more to come on this subject, and it is likely to be tasty for revisionists.

When preparing your will or trust, please consider a bequest to the Institute for Historical Review.
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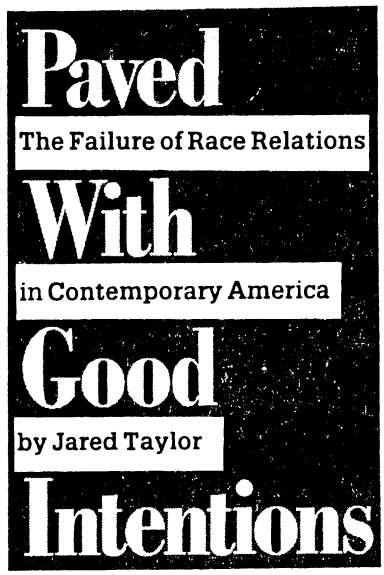
A BOLD BLOW AGAINST THE CONSPIRACY OF SILENCE



Timely, powerful, breathtaking. *This is a painful book to read, yet hard to put down. Its impact is profound. Let us hope that this important book does not itself become another victim of the conspiracy of silence, and that 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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Letters

Corrective Power

Richard Phillip's letter [in the May-June *Journal*, pp. 46-47] is an excellent illustration of the corrective power of historical revisionism. However, a few of his points require correction.

German Chancellor Otto von Bismarck tried to appease France over the issue of Alsace-Lorraine, and nearly succeeded in reaching a reconciliation.

It is not true that Germany "struck back so furiously 20 years later," that is, in 1940. British historian A. J. P. Taylor and American historian David Hoggan have each disposed of this widely held myth. Under Hitler, Germany peacefully retrieved lost territories and lost populations, usually to the thunderous applause of the people involved. The hybrid Czecho-Slovak state dissolved in 1939 without resistance, and Poland was attacked by Germany later that year only after prolonged provocation. Hitler was never serious about invading Britain, and would have withdrawn from France in exchange for peace with Britain. German expansion into Eastern Europe threatened no one but the Soviets, who had expansionist plans of their own.

Aside from the knotty historical question of war guilt, everyone can easily grasp the basic validity of the revisionist maxim that no side in a military conflict (including Hitler) is ever entirely morally pure. Revisionism benefits everyone of good will who seeks truth.

W. R. W.
Walnut Creek, Calif.

Understanding for Baltic Peoples

I am skeptical whenever I read about another elderly naturalized American citizen who is accused of committing "Nazi war crimes." One recent case involves a 72-year-old Latvian immigrant in very poor health who had been living in western New York State. He is accused of having been a member of a Latvian police unit that supposedly killed Jews during the German wartime occupation of his country.

It isn't difficult to understand why people in the Baltic nations of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania hated and feared the Soviets. At the end of the Second World War the father of a friend of mine escaped from Estonia and emigrated to the United States. As my friend explained to me, shortly after the Soviet occupation of Estonia in 1940, the Soviet secret police, the NKVD, set up street barricades. The NKVD police stopped all men who appeared to be between the ages of about 20 and 55, and forced them to hold out both hands. Those who did not have callouses were considered to be elitists, and were immediately shot by the NKVD. My friend's father, at the risk of life, took a photo of one such shooting with a concealed camera. (Fortunately, he was a manual laborer.) Ironically, many of those who passed the "callous test" were later shipped to Siberian labor camps, in part because they were considered to be hard workers. Many others disappeared without a trace. Many NKVD officers were Jews.

One can hardly blame the many people in the Baltic states, White Russia (Belarus) and Ukraine who chose during the Second World War to fight alongside the Germans for the freedom and independence of their nations.

R. B.
Paradox, N.Y.

Subtle Impact

The work of revisionists appears to have made a subtle impact on Spielberg's Holocaust epic, "Schindler's List." Although it includes many rather ridiculous scenes, such as German officers who are almost constantly drunk while on duty, or lusting after Polish Jewish female laborers, I suspect that Spielberg, with an eye to the ages, has tried to make a film that will better stand up to the scrutiny of future generations. Consider the following;

1. Execution gas chambers are first orally rumored, and then visually suggested by heavy fire and smoke from a chimney at Auschwitz, but the "Bath and Disinfection" chamber shown (and accurately depicted) is used only for showers. One Jewish woman suggests, quite logically, that rumors of "gassing" could not be true, because anyone so close to such an apparatus would not be permitted to survive to tell the story.

Since rumors and suggestion are, in fact, the basis of the entire gas chamber extermination story, all this seems rather fair. Also, because the chimney shows heavy smoke, unlike a crematory chimney, they could be burning trash for all we know.

2. An entire trainload of people arrives at Auschwitz, the inmates are well cared for, and then they safely leave the camp through the same gate on another train. What other Hollywood film has ever suggested that Auschwitz also functioned as a transit camp?

3. Indiscriminate shootings of entire communities are not shown, only shootings of individuals, particularly as saboteurs.

J. S.
Silverado, Calif.

Verge of Victory

The May-June 1994 *Journal* was, as usual, fascinating. I read the entire thing in one sitting. I showed the article about the "60 Minutes" broadcast [devoted to

Holocaust revisionism] to intellectuals I know who had been hoodwinked by the CBS presentation. After reading your article, each one changed his view.

Holocaust revisionism is on the verge of victory. Keep the *JHR* focused on this issue. I've won a renowned professor of history to our view on this.

P. G.
Lyndhurst, Ohio

Disappointment With Nolte Interview

Reading Dr. Warren's interview with Prof. Ernst Nolte, and Weber's review of Nolte's most recent book, *Streitpunkte* ("Points of Dispute"), in the January-February *Journal* was, unfortunately, a disappointment. Much of what Nolte says in this interview is nonsense, particularly his views about the Third Reich and National Socialism.

For decades now, Prof. Nolte has been one of the most prominent "re-educators" here in Germany. He is regarded as an expert on "fascism," whatever that means. (There was never any "fascism" in Germany.) In my view, he is a blatant opportunist who wishes at all costs to avoid giving any kind of offense.

Several years ago he initiated an exchange of letters with me that showed that he is not at all inclined to give validity to arguments against the Holocaust story, even if, at the same time, he gives the impression that he does not refuse to discuss this issue, and believes those who discuss it should not be punished. Consequently, I discontinued our exchange of letters as pointless. I cannot avoid the view that, in light of the increasingly obvious changes in how the Holocaust story is regarded, he is trying, to a certain degree, intellectually to "protect" himself.

After the "Leuchter Report" was made public, Nolte criticized it in an essay published in a German newspaper, without, of course, citing any effective arguments against it. Nolte concluded his essay by writing that he would not be convinced, even by a "better" forensic report, that Jews were not murdered in gas chambers. What a revealing statement by a man who calls himself a "scholar."

The so-called "historians' dispute" ("*Historikerstreit*") in Germany was a kind of "shadow boxing." Nolte sought to make more of a name for himself in this "dispute," and was entirely misunderstood by his adversaries. What the Germans did to the Jews, writes Nolte in *Der europäische Bürgerkrieg* ("The European Civil War"), was an act of "transcendental annihilation." This "attempted complete annihilation of a world-nation is quite significantly different than all [other] acts of genocide," Nolte contends, because it was not "merely" an act of "biological annihilation," but was a "decision against progress"!

In his book *Der Nasenring* ("The Nose Ring"), Swiss-born historian Armin Mohler aptly comments (pp. 210–211) that, far from "relativizing" German crimes, as his adversaries charge, Nolte actually provides the "most radical cementing known to us" of the notion of the "singularity of the German crime."

Incidentally, a very instructive critique by Manfred Köhler of Nolte's *Streitpunkte* has just recently been published (in German) by Cromwell Press in England [27 Old Gloucester St., London WC1N 3XX].

(Dr.) Wilhelm Stäglich
Glücksburg, Germany

Veteran Recounts Mistreatment of Prisoners

I served in the US Army during World War II, and was wounded in Belgium. I spent a lot of time in Germany during and after the war.

Many people are reluctant to believe that the United States could have mistreated German prisoners in the way that James Bacque relates in his book, *Other Losses*. I can attest to the fact that the US Army did have those inhumane holding pens for German prisoners: I saw them! These were guarded, fenced-in areas with thousands of German Prisoners of War inside, and there were no interior buildings or shelters. The POWs looked very thin and drawn. This was months after the war was over. They should have been released when the war was over.

Gruesome Harvest [also available from the IHR] is another book that accurately tells of the shameful treatment by the Allies of German civilians and prisoners of war. After the war the Germans had very little food. Old women and children would station themselves outside the [US military] mess halls with two buckets, one for food scraps that normally go into the garbage cans and the other for left over coffee from the GI canteen cups. No food scraps or coffee ever hit garbage cans. I would always go back for seconds so that I would have a full mess kit and canteen cup for them when I left the mess hall. I also gave them other food items and soap that I had, much of which was sent to me from home.

I didn't get home until March of 1946, so I was witness to many things mentioned in these two truthful books.

Even after all these years I am still bothered by the indiscriminate Allied bombing of German cities, killing thousands of civilians needlessly, and the Allied treatment of Germans after the war. This is a shameful period in our history.

The Germans were good Christian people, and it is too bad that they weren't treated in a Christian manner by the victors.

Oscar E. Plummer
Clinton, Ill.

We welcome letters from readers. We reserve the right to edit for style and space.

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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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—Prof. Robert Faurisson

Jean-Claude Pressac's *Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers* was published in 1989 to resounding worldwide media hosannas. It was followed in 1993 by his second opus, *The Crematoria of Auschwitz: The Machinery of Mass Killing*.

Pressac's principal volume, more than 500 pages with hundreds of illustrations, promised conclusive evidence of the existence and use of homicidal gas chambers at Auschwitz. Headlines proclaimed that the revisionists were finally vanquished, that Pressac had proven what the immense resources of the Holocaust industry had failed to prove in more than 40 years.

But in the mad rush to herald the news, the pundits hadn't bothered to *read* the book, presuming that the French pharmacist had accomplished what his publisher–the Klarsfeld Foundation–claimed he had. He hadn't.

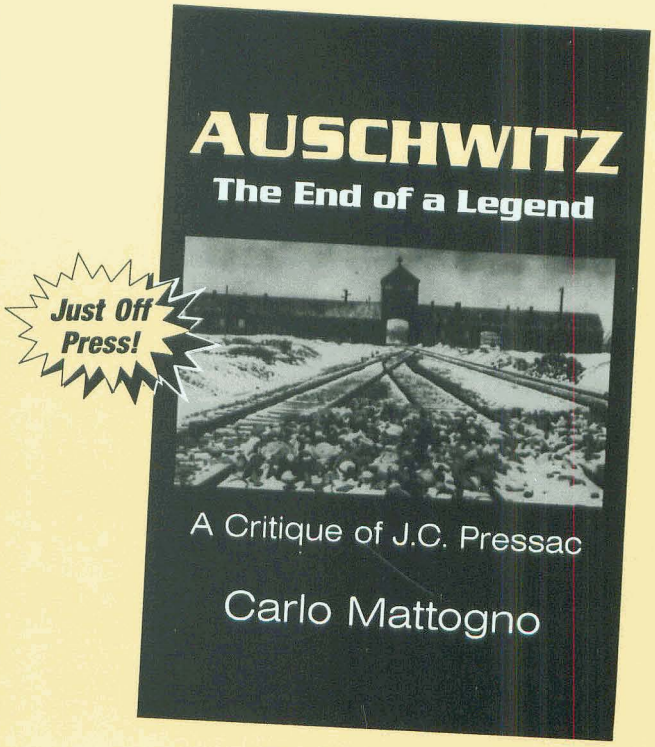
So Pressac's second volume was published, promising, in his own words, "*the definitive rebuttal of revisionist theories*." This dog wouldn't hunt, either.

As you read ***Auschwitz: The End of a Legend*** you'll find out why. Here, Italian documents specialist Carlo Mattogno demolishes the boldest attempt to date– Pressac's back to back volumes–to answer the revisionist critique of the Auschwitz extermination story.

Mattogno shows how Pressac misinterpreted his own data in such a way as to assist not his fellow exterminationists, but the very revisionists he had set out defeat.

Mattogno demonstrates that Pressac's confused arguments confirm his ignorance of the structure and functioning of crematory ovens and gas chambers, and of the nature and use of the disinfectant Zyklon B; that Pressac's use of available statistics was arbitrary and largely fanciful, resulting in a *down-sizing* of the number of alleged victims; and that where information did not exist, Pressac simply invented it, often with mutually contradictory arguments in different parts of his thesis.

Mattogno's relentless deconstruction of Pressac's assertions and interpretations not only reveals the Holocaust Lobby hero's incompetence, it's a case study of the pathetic sloppiness the media can be counted on to overlook in the crusade against Holocaust Revisionism.



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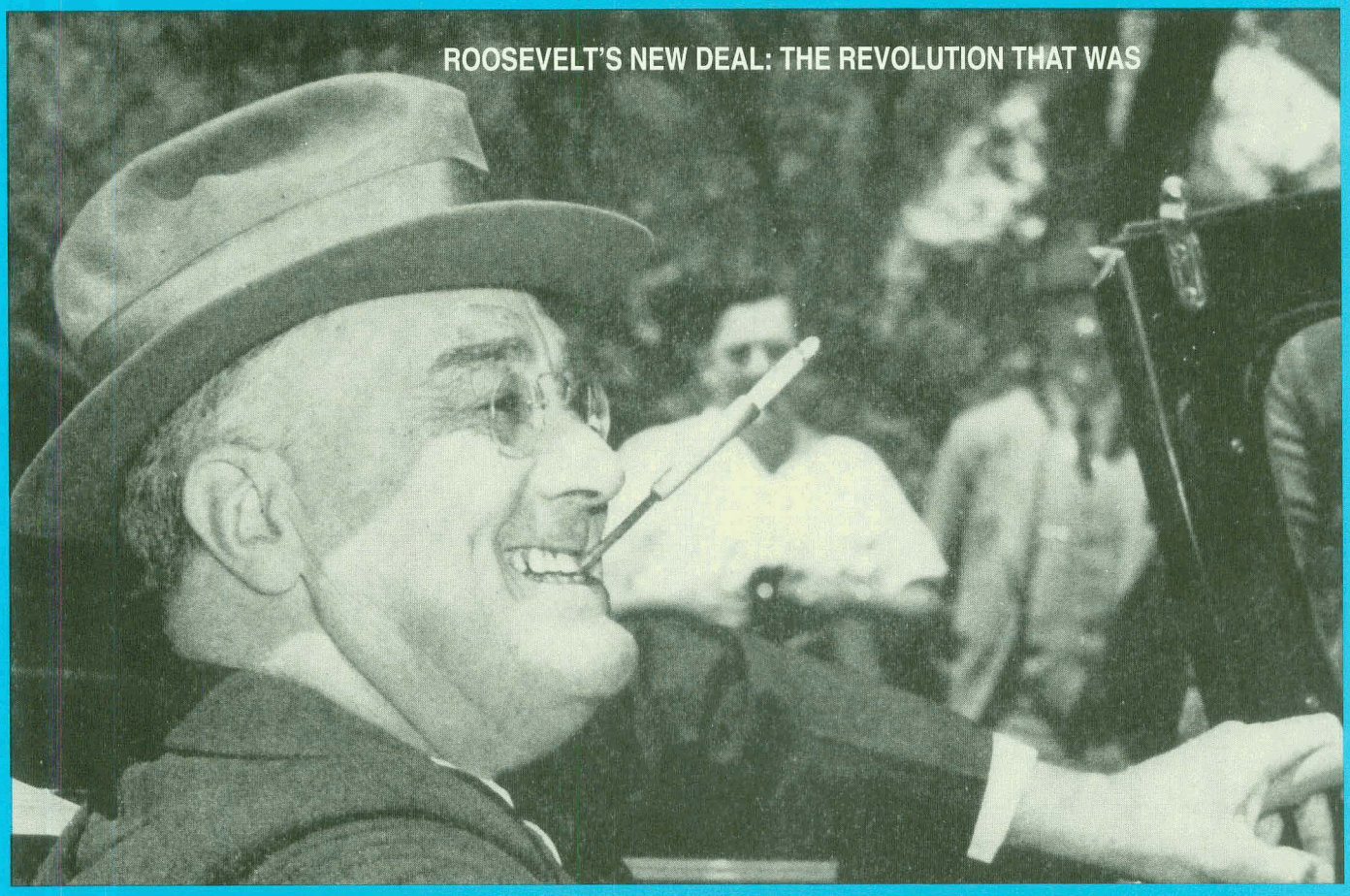

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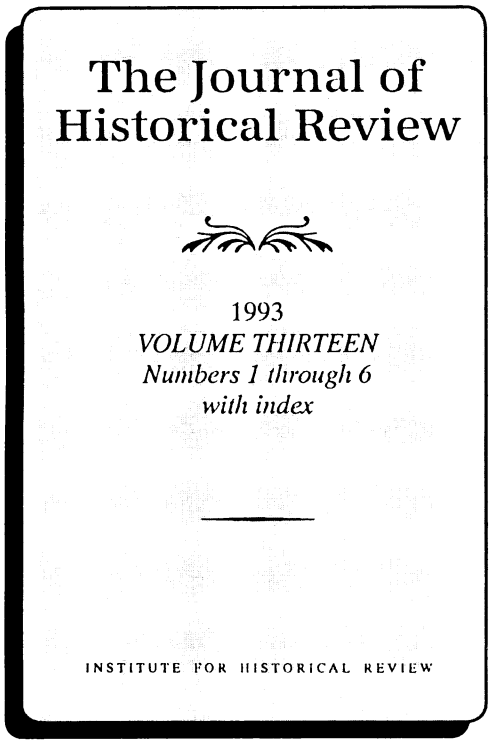

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The Journal of Historical Review (ISSN: 0195-6752) began publication in 1980. It upholds and continues the tradition of Historical Revisionism of scholars such as Harry Elmer Barnes, A.J.P. Taylor, William H. Chamberlin, Paul Rassinier and Charles Tansill. *The Journal of Historical Review* is published six times yearly by the **Institute for Historical Review**, P.O. Box 4296, Torrance, CA 90510, USA. Subscription price: $40 per year, $65 for two years, and $90 for three years. For foreign subscriptions, add $10 per year. For overseas airmail delivery, add $30 per year. Remittances for subscriptions must be payable in US dollars drawable on a US bank.

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Editorial Note

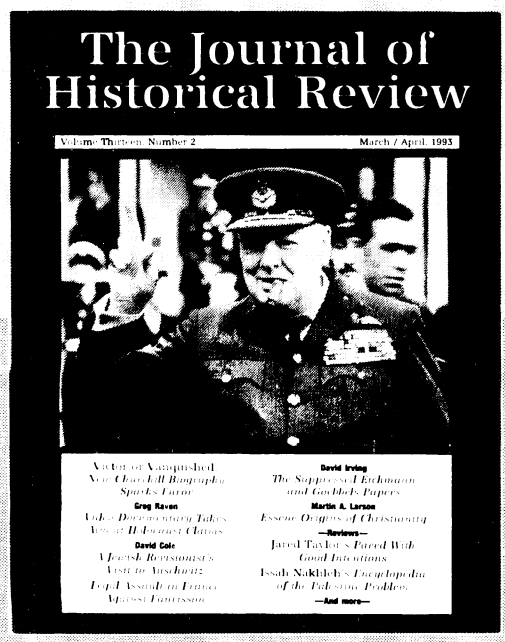
The last twelve months have been among the busiest ever at the IHR, with a staggering number of projects either completed or underway. A major project now in the "completed" column is the 12th Revisionist Conference, which took place over Labor Day weekend (September 3–5) here in southern California. Conferences are a major undertaking for the IHR, and once again, the staff pulled it off with nary a hitch, prompting many attendees to proclaim this the best Conference ever. Although there is nothing that can replace the experience of attending an IHR Conference in person, video- and audio-tapes of the Conference will be available, and the texts of the presentations will appear in this *Journal*. A complete report on the 12th IHR Conference will appear in the next issue of the *Journal*.

In this issue of the *Journal*, we look at an important tradition that once was a major feature in the political landscape of the west, a tradition reviewer Andrew Clarke calls "a significant intellectual-political movement that was suppressed and is now all but forgotten." This tradition, while called "right-wing" in nature, is not to be confused with modern-day conservatism, which seems preoccupied with turning back the clock, not to correct mistakes in recent policy but rather to make these same mistakes at a more deliberate pace. What might, for lack of a better term, be called authentic conservatism rejects this approach, these goals, and even the foundations of the modern conservative movement (foundations shared with its so-called opponents, the liberals). This tradition nearly disappeared as a result of the Second World War and the Cold War that followed. Now that the Cold War is over, this tradition is again relevant, and its reemergence would dramatically change the political spectrum.

A surprising number of people have asked about sending messages to the IHR through e-mail (electronic mail). If you have a computer, a modem, telecommunications software, and Internet access, you may send e-mail to the IHR at: greg.ihr@kaiwan.com.

If none of this makes any sense, don't worry: an article dealing with revisionism and the "information superhighway" is in preparation for a future issue of the *Journal*.

— G.R.



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"Overcoming" Germany's Burdensome Past

The Heritage of Europe's "Revolutionary Conservative Movement"

A Conversation with Swiss Historian Armin Mohler

Ian B. Warren

Following the aftermath of the cataclysmic defeat of Germany and her Axis partners in the Second World War, exhausted Europe came under the hegemony of the victorious Allied powers — above all the United States and Soviet Russia. Understandably, the social-political systems of the vanquished regimes — and especially that of Hitler's Third Reich — were all but completely discredited, even in Germany.

This process also brought the discrediting of the conservative intellectual tradition that, to a certain extent, nourished and gave rise to National Socialism and Hitler's coming to power in 1933. In the intellectual climate that prevailed after 1945, conservative views were largely vilified and suppressed as "reactionary" or "fascist," and efforts to defend or revitalize Europe's venerable intellectual tradition of conservatism came up against formidable resistance.

Those who defied the prevailing "spirit of the times," maintaining that the valid "Right" traditions must be accorded their proper and important place in Europe's intellectual and political life, risked being accused of seeking to "rehabilitate" or "whitewash" Nazism. Germans have been especially easy targets of this charge, which is nearly impossible to disprove.

One of the most prominent writers in German-speaking Europe to attempt this largely thankless task has been Armin Mohler. As German historian Ernst Nolte has observed, this job has fortunately been easier for Mohler because he is a native of a country that remained neutral during the Second World War.

Born in Basel, Switzerland, in 1920, Mohler worked for four years as secretary of the influential German writer Ernst Jünger. He then lived in Paris for eight years, where he reported on developments in France for various German-language papers, including the influential Hamburg weekly *Die Zeit*.

In his prodigious writings, including a dozen books, Dr. Mohler has spoken to and for millions of Europeans who, in defiance of the prevailing political-intellectual order, have sought to understand, if not appreciate, the intellectual heritage of Europe's venerable "old right."

Mohler's reputation as the "dean" of conservative intellectuals and as a bridge between generations is based in large part on the impact of his detailed historical study, *Die Konservative Revolution in Deutschland 1918–1932* ("The Conservative Revolution in Germany, 1918–1932"). Based on his doctoral dissertation at the University of Basel, this influential work was first published in 1950, with revised editions issued in 1972 and 1989.[1]

In this study, Mohler asserts that the German tradition of the *Reich* ("realm") in central Europe (*Mitteleuropa*) incorporates two important but contradictory concepts. One sees *Mitteleuropa* as a diverse and decentralized community of culturally and politically distinct nations and nationalities. A second, almost mythical view stresses the cultural and spiritual unity of the *Reich* and *Mitteleuropa*.

The main current of radical or revolutionary conservative thinking is expressed by such diverse figures as the Russian writer Feodor Dostoyevsky, Italian sociologist Vilfredo Pareto, American poet and social critic Ezra Pound, American sociologist Thorstein Veblen, and English novelist C. K. Chesterton.[2] This intellectual movement began at the close of the 19th century and flourished particularly during the 1920s and 1930s. Sometimes also called the "organic revolution," this movement sought the preservation of the historical legacy and heritage of western and central European culture, while at the same time maintaining the "greatest [cultural and national] variety within the smallest space."[3] In Germany, the "Thule Society" played an important role in the 1920s in this European-wide phenomenon as a kind of salon of radical conservative intellectual thought. It stressed the idea of a *völkisch* (folkish or nationalist) pluralism, underscoring the unique origins and yet common roots of a European culture, setting it apart from other regions and geopolitical groupings around the globe.[4]

Ian B. Warren is the pen name of a professor who teaches at a university in the midwest. This interview/ article is the third in a series.

In Mohler's view, the twelve-year Third Reich (1933–1945) was a temporary deviation from the traditional conservative thinking. At the same time, the conservative revolution was "a treasure trove from which National Socialism [drew] its ideological weapons."[5] Fascism in Italy and National Socialism in Germany were, in Mohler's judgment, examples of the "misapplication" of the key theoretical tenets of revolutionary conservative thought. While some key figures, such as one-time Hitler colleague Otto Strasser, chose to emigrate from Germany after 1933, those who decided to remain, according to Mohler, "hoped to permeate national socialism from within, or transform themselves into a second revolution."[6]

Following the publication in 1950 of his work on the conservative revolution in Europe, Mohler explored in his writings such diverse subjects as Charles DeGaulle and the Fifth Republic in France,[7] and the Technocracy movement in the depression-era United States.[8] In 1964 Mohler was appointed Managing Director of the prestigious Carl-Friedrich von Siemens Foundation, a leading scholarly and research support institute in Germany. In 1967 he began a stint of several years teaching political science at the University of Innsbrück in Austria. That same year, Konrad Adenauer honored Mohler for his writing with the first "Adenauer Prize" ever bestowed.

During the 1970s and 1980s, Mohler was a frequent contributor to *Criticon*, a scholarly German journal whose editor, Caspar von Schrenk-Notzing, has been a close friend of the Swiss scholar and a major promoter of his work. In 1985, Dr. Mohler produced a collection of writings to commemorating the 25th anniversary of the Siemens Foundation. The volume contained contributions from the writings of Oswald Spengler, Carl Schmitt, Konrad Lorenz, Hellmut Diwald, H.J. Eysenck, and Julian Freund.

Mohler is a leading figure in the European "New Right," or "*Nouvelle Droite*." (For more on this, see Prof. Warren's interview with Alain de Benoist, another major figure in this social-intellectual movement, in *The Journal of Historical Review*, March–April 1994, pp. 28–37.)

Year after year, political leaders, educators and much of the mass media take care to remind Germans of their important "collective responsibility" to atone for their "burdensome" past. This seemingly never-ending campaign has become nearly a national obsession — manifest recently in the enormous publicity and soul-searching surrounding the Spielberg film "Schindler's List." In Mohler's view, all this has produced a kind of national neuroses in Germany.

Mohler has written extensively on the particularly German phenomenon known as "mastering the past" or "coming to grips with the past" ("*Vergangenheits bewältigung*"). He tackled this highly emotion-laden topic in a book (appropriately entitled *Vergangenheits bewältigung*), published in 1968, and later re-issued in a revised edition in 1980.[9] Two years later he turned to the subject of German identity.[10]

In 1989 Mohler again boldly took on the issue of Germany's difficulty in coming to terms with the legacy of the Third Reich in what is perhaps his most provocative book, *Der Nasenring* ("The Nose Ring").[11] [A review of this work appears elsewhere in this issue of the *Journal*.]

With the reunification of Germany in 1989, the collapse of the Soviet empire, the end of the Cold War US-USSR rivalry, and the withdrawal of American and Soviet Russian forces from Europe, has inevitably come an earnest reconsideration of the critical issues of German identity and Germany's the role in Europe. This has also brought a new consideration of precisely how Germans should deal with the troubling legacy of the Third Reich and the Second World War.

Changing social-political realities in Germany, Europe and the world have given new significance to the views developed and nurtured by Dr. Mohler and his circle of like-minded "revolutionary conservatives."

* * *

This writer was privileged to spend a day with Armin Mohler and his gracious wife at their home in Munich early in the summer of 1993. After having spoken earlier with historian Ernst Nolte, I was interested to compare his views with those of Mohler. In particular, I was curious to compare how each of these eminent figures in German intellectual life assessed the present and future climate of their nation, and of the continent within which it plays such a critical role.

Although his movement is restricted due to a serious arthritic condition, Dr. Mohler proved to be witty, provocative and fascinating. (In addition to his other talents and interests, he is a very knowledgeable art specialist. His collection of reprints and books of Mexican, US-American and Russian art is one of the largest anywhere.)

During our conversation, Mohler provided both biting and incisive commentary on contemporary political trends in Europe (and particularly Germany), and on American influence. Throughout his remarks, he sprinkled witty, even caustic assessments of the German "political class," of politicians spanning the ideological spectrum, and of the several generational strands forming today's Germany. As he explained to this writer, Dr. Mohler felt free to

there will be bad times for Germany.

The generation that is coming into its own now is better because they are the sons and the daughters of the permissive society. They know that money is not everything, that money does not represent real security. And they have ideas. Let me give my description of this generation. For 20 years people like me were on the sidelines and barely noticed. But for the past six or seven years, the young people have been coming to me! They want to meet and talk with the "Old Man," they prefer me to their fathers, whom they regard as too soft and lacking in principles.

For more than a hundred years, the province of Saxony — located in the postwar era in the Communist "German Democratic Republic" — produced Germany's best workers. Since 1945, though, they have been lost. The situation is a little bit like Ireland. Just as, it is said, the best of the Irish emigrated to the United States, so did the best people in the GDR emigrate to western Germany. After 1945, the GDR lost three million people. With few exceptions, they were the most capable and ambitious. This did not include the painters of Saxony, who are far better than their western German counterparts. (Fine art is one of my special pleasures.) Moreover, many of the best who remained took positions in the *Stasi* [the secret police of the former GDR]. That's because the *Stasi* provided opportunities for those who didn't want to migrate to western Germany to do something professionally challenging. In a dictatorship, a rule to remember is that you must go to the center of power.

Recently, in an interview with the German paper *Junge Freiheit*, I said that trials of former *Stasi* officials are stupid, and that there should be a general amnesty for all former *Stasi* workers. You must build with the best and most talented people of the other side — the survivors of the old regime — and not with these stupid artists, police and ideologues.

Q: Are there any viable expressions of the "conservative revolution" in German politics today?

M: You know, I'm a friend of Franz Schönhuber [the leader of the *Republikaner* party], and I like him very much. We were friends when he was still a leftist. He has a typical Bavarian temperament, with its good and bad sides. And he says, "you know, it's too late for me. I should have begun ten years earlier." He is a good fellow, but I don't know if he is has the talents required of an effective opposition political leader. Furthermore, he has a major fault. Hitler had a remarkable gift for choosing capable men who could work diligently for him. Organization, speeches — whatever was needed, they could carry it out. In Schönhuber's case, however, he finds it virtually impossible to delegate anything. He does not know how to assess talent and find good staff people.

Thus, the *Republikaner* party exists almost by accident, and because there is so much protest sentiment in the country. Schönhuber's most outstanding talent is his ability to speak extemporaneously. His speeches are powerful, and he can generate a great deal of response. Yet, he simply doesn't know how to organize, and is always fearful of being deposed within his party. Another major weakness is his age: he is now 70.

Q: What do you think of Rolf Schlierer, the 40-year-old heir apparent of Schönhuber?

M: Yes, he's clever. He clearly understands something about politics, but he can't speak to the people, the constituents of this party. He is too intellectual in his approach and in his speeches. He often refers to Hegel, for example. In practical political terms, the time of theorists has gone. And he is seen to be a bit of a dandy. These are not the qualities required of the leader of a populist party.

Ironically, many of the new people active in local East German politics have gone over to the Republikaner because people in the former GDR tend to be more nationalistic than the West Germans.

Q: What about Europe's future and role of Germany?

M: I don't think that the two generations I have been describing are clever enough to be a match for the French and English, who play their game against Germany. While I like Kohl, and I credit him for bringing about German unification, what I think he wants most sincerely is Germany in Europe, not a German nation. His education has done its work with him. I fear that the Europe that is being constructed will be governed by the French, and that they will dominate the Germans. The English will side with the French, who are politically astute.

Q: That is the opposite of the perception in America, where much concern is expressed about German domination of Europe. And yet you think that the French and the English will predominate?

M: Thus far, they have not. Kohl hopes, of course, that he can keep power by being the best possible ally of America; but that is not enough.

Q: Do you think that the influence of America on German identity is still important, or is it diminishing?

M: Yes, it is still important, both directly, and indirectly through the process of "re-education," which has formed the Germans more than I had feared. Where have the special German qualities gone? The current generation in power wants to be, to borrow an English expression, "everybody's darling;" particularly to be the darling of America.

Those of the upcoming generation don't like their parents, whom they see as soft and lacking in

dignity. In general, I think that younger Germans are not against Americans personally. They will be better off with Americans than with the English or French. In this I am not as anti-American as Alain de Benoist. The "American way of life" is now a part of us. And for this we have only ourselves to blame.

For my own part, I see a great affinity between Germany and America. When I was visiting a family in Chicago a few years ago, I felt right at home, even if it was a patrician family, and I am from the lower middle class. I felt something. For example, if I were to have an accident, I would prefer that it occur on the streets of Chicago rather than in Paris or London. I think that Americans would be more ready to help me than people in France or England.

During my travels in the United States, I encountered many taxi drivers, who were very friendly if they had an idea that I was from Germany. But when I would tell them that I am Swiss, they didn't respond in this positive way. In the case of Black taxi drivers, there is always the same scenario when they converse with Germans. They say, "you treated us as human beings when we were there."

Some would talk about those death camps on the Rhine for German prisoners run by Eisenhower, where American soldiers had orders not to give water or food to the Germans.[13] (You know, Eisenhower ordered that those who gave food or water to the Germans in those camps would be punished.) Blacks gave them water, though, and that had a great impression on them. To German soldiers they said: "We are in the same situation as you."

Q: You are saying that there is a camaraderie among victims?

M: Yes.

Q: How is it possible to throw off this domination, this cultural occupation, as it were?

M: I had the idea that we must have emigration — as the Irish have had — to make Germans more spontaneous. I have written on three different occasions about Ireland in *Criticon*.

It was not fair of me to judge Ireland during that first visit, because I did not know the country's history. Then I dug into the subject, and especially the 800-year struggle of the Irish against the English. I relied on the best study available, written by a German Jew, Moritz Julius Bonn. An archivist at the University of Dublin had given Bonn access to all the documents about the English colonization of Ireland.

In my second *Criticon* article I boosted Ireland as an example for the Germans of how to fight for their independence. I said that it was a war of 800 years against the English. At last they won. And the English genocide was a real genocide.

During my first visit to Ireland, I felt that there was something really different, compared to Germany. Last year, after two decades, I returned to Ireland. Writing about that trip, I concluded that I had been deceived earlier, because Ireland has changed. Europe has been a very bad influence. Every Irishman, when he saw that I was from Germany, asked me, "Do you vote for Maastricht?" [referring to the treaty of European unification]. When I replied that the German people are not allowed to vote on this matter, they seemed pleased. And to me, the Irish now seem very demoralized. Twenty years ago, when I arrived in a little Irish town in Castlebar, it was a quiet little town with one factory and some cars, some carts and horses. Now, all the streets were full of cars, one after the other. "Is there a convention in town," I asked. "No, no, it's normal." I then asked, "Are these cars paid for?" "Ah, no," was the answer I received.

Every person can have three days off a week, and then it's Dole Day on Tuesday. Their mountains are full of sheep. They don't need stables for them, because it's not necessary. The owners are paid a sum of money from the European Union for each sheep. Their entire heroic history is gone! It's like the cargo cult [in backwoods New Guinea]. For the Irish, the next generation will be a catastrophe.[14]

Q: Returning to an earlier question: what does the future hold for German-American relations?

M: On one occasion when I was in America doing research on the Technocracy movement, I recall being the guest of honor at a conference table. At my side was a nationally prominent American scientist who was also a professor at a west coast university. Also with us was an internationally prominent Jew, a grey eminence in armaments who had an enormous influence. He was treated like a king by the president of the university. And at the other end of the table I sat next to this west coast professor, who told me that he didn't like the cosmopolitan flair of the East Coast. "You should come to western America," he said to me. "There you will not always hear stupid things about Germany." And he added that in his profession — he works in the forests and woods — are people who are friends of Germany. So I remember this fraternization between a visitor from Germany and someone from the American west coast.

Q: Are you suggesting that if it were not for the influence of certain powerful academic or political elites, there would be greater recognition of the compatibility of German and American values?

M: You see, this difficult relationship between Germans and Jews has had an enormous influence on public opinion in America. Jews would be stupid not to take advantage of this situation while they can, because I think Jewish influence in America is somewhat diminishing. Even with all the Holocaust

museums and such, their position is becoming ever more difficult. This is partly due to the "multicultural" movement in the United States. Actually, the Germans and the Jews are a bit alike: when they are in power, they over-do it! New leaders in each group seem recognize that this is dangerous.

* * *

Dr. Mohler also spoke about the *Historkerstreit* ["Historians' dispute"], which he sees as a critical milestone on the road of enabling Germans to consider their own identity in a positive way. (For more on this, see Prof. Warren's interview with Dr. Ernst Nolte in the *Journal*, Jan.–Feb. 1994, pp. 15–22, and the review of Nolte's most recent book in the same issue, pp. 37–41.)

He expressed the view that many European leaders — particularly those in France and Britain — welcome an American President like Bill Clinton who does not seem expert at foreign policy matters.

With regard to developments in Germany, Mohler explained that he speaks as both an outsider and an insider, or as one who is "between stools" — that is, born and raised in Switzerland, but a resident of Germany for most of his adult life.

"With the Germans," he said, "you never know exactly what they will do the next day. You may become so involved in what is true at the moment that one thinks things will last for an eternity. People thought this about [Foreign Minister] Genscher."[15] In a closing comment, Dr. Mohler declared with wry humor: "In politics everything can change and the personalities of the moment may easily be forgotten."

Notes

1. Mohler's most important work, *Die Konservative Revolution in Deutschland 1918–1932*, was first published in 1950 in Stuttgart by Friedrich Vorwerk Verlag. Second and third editions were published in Darmstadt. The revised, third edition was published in Darmstadt in 1989 in two volumes (715 pages), with a new supplement.
2. See, for example: Ezra Pound, *Impact: Essays on Ignorance and the Decline of American Civilization* (Chicago: H. Regnery, 1960); Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (1899).
3. Quote from Milan Kundera, "A Kidnapped West of Culture Bows Out," *Granta*, 11 (1984), p. 99. In his influential book *Mitteleuropa*, first published in 1915, Friedrich Naumann popularized the concept of a central European community of nations, dominated by Germany, that would be independent of Russian or British hegemony. Naumann, a liberal German politician and Lutheran theologian, sought to win working class support for a program combining Christian socialism and a strong central state.
4. As one German intellectual puts it, "The renaissance of *Mitteleuropa* is first of all a protest against the division of the continent, against the hegemony of the Americans and the Russians, against the totalitarianism of the ideologies." Peter Bender, "Mitteleuropa — Mode, Modell oder Motiv?," *Die Neue Gesellschaft / Frankfurter Hefte*, 34 (April 1987), p. 297.

   For a comprehensive discussion of the recent controversy over *Mitteleuropa*, See Hans-Georg Betz, "Mitteleuropa and Post-Modern European Identity," in *The New German Critique*, Spring/Summer 1990, Issue No. 50, pp. 173–192.
5. Mohler, *Die Konservative Revolution* (third edition, Darmstadt, 1989), p. 13.
6. *Die Konservative Revolution* (third edition), p. 6.
7. *Die fünfte Republik: Was steht hinter de Gaulle?* (Munich: Piper, 1963).
8. The movement known as Technocracy began in the United States and was especially active during the 1930s. It focused on technological innovation as the basis for social organization. Among other things, Technocracy held that major social-economic issues are too complicated to be understood and managed by politicians. Instead, society should be guided by trained specialists, especially engineers and scientists. While rejecting the Marxist theory of "class struggle,' it sought to create unity among workers, notably in the industrial heartland of the United States. Much of the popularity of Technocracy derived from widespread disgust with the obvious failure of the social-political order in the international economic crisis known as the Great Depression (approximately 1930–1940). See: Armin Mohler, "Howard Scott und die 'Technocracy': Zur Geschichte der technokratischen Bewegung, II," *Standorte Im Zeitstrom* (Athenaum Verlag, 1974).
9. *Vergangenheits bewältigung*, first edition: Seewald, 1968; second, revised edition: Krefeld: Sinus, 1968; third edition, Sinus, 1980. Mohler dedicated this book to Hellmut Diwald. See: "Hellmut Diwald, German Professor," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Nov.–Dec. 1993, pp. 16–17.
10. Caspar von Schrenck-Notzing and Armin Mohler, *Deutsche Identität*. Krefeld: Sinus-Verlag, 1982. This book offers views of several leading figures in the movement to restore German national identity. See also von Schrenck-Notzing's book, *Charakterwäsche: Die Politik der amerikanischen Umerziehung in Deutschland* ("Character Laundering: The Politics of the American Re-education in Germany"). This book, first published in 1965, was reissued in 1993 in a 336-page edition.
11. Armin Mohler, *Der Nasenring: Im Dickicht der Vergangenheits bewältigung* (Essen: Heitz & Höffkes, 1989). Revised and expanded edition published in 1991 by Verlag Langen Müller (Munich).
12. Arnold Gehlen, *Moral and Hypermoral*. Frankfurt: Athenäum Verlag, 1969.
13. See: James Bacque, *Other Losses* (Prima, 1991). Available from the IHR.
14. Mohler recounted an anecdote about a German company that considered building a factory in Ireland. As the chief of the Irish branch of this company explained, "I can't run a factory with people about whom I can't be sure if they will arrive at 8:00 in the morning or 11:00 in the morning or if they arrive at all."
15. The fall from power of Hans-Dietrich Genscher came suddenly and precipitously in the wake of the unification of the two German states in 1989. Mohler alludes here to suspicions that a number of West German Social Democratic party leaders may have been clandestine East Germany agents, whose national allegiance may have been mixed with some loyalty to international Marxism.

Vilfredo Pareto: Sociologist and Philosopher

Life, Work and Impact of the "Karl Marx of Fascism"

JAMES ALEXANDER

Few nations have made more impressive contributions to political and social thought than Italy — one need only mention names such as Dante, Machiavelli, and Vico. In the twentieth century as well, the contributions of Italians have been of the highest significance. Among these are Gaetano Mosca's theory of oligarchical rule, Roberto Michels' masterful study of political parties, Corrado Gini's intriguing sociobiological theories, and Scipio Sighele's investigations of the criminal mind and of crowd psychology.[1] One of the most widely respected Italian political theorists and sociologists in this century is Vilfredo Pareto. Indeed, so influential are his writings that "it is not possible to write the history of sociology without referring to Pareto."[2] Throughout all of the vicissitudes and convulsions of twentieth-century political life, Pareto remains "a scholar of universal reputation."[3]

Pareto is additionally important for us today because he is a towering figure in one of Europe's most distinguished, and yet widely suppressed, intellectual currents. This broad school of thought, which includes such diverse figures as Taine, Burckhardt, Donoso Cortés, Nietzsche, and Spengler, stands in staunch opposition to rationalism, liberalism, egalitarianism, Marxism, and all of the other familiar offspring of Enlightenment doctrinaires.

Life and Personality

Vilfredo Federico Damaso Pareto was born in Paris in 1848.[4] Of mixed Italian-French ancestry, he was the only son of the Marquis Raffaele Pareto, an Italian exiled from his native Genoa because of his political views, and Marie Mattenier. Because his father earned a reasonably comfortable living as a hydrological engineer, Pareto was reared in a middle-class environment, enjoying the many advantages that accrued to people of his class in that age. He received a quality education in both France and Italy, ultimately completing a degree in engineering at the *Istituto Politecnico* of Turin where he graduated at the top of his class. Thereafter he worked as a civil engineer, first for the state-owned Italian railway company and later in private industry.

In 1889 Pareto married Dina Bakunin, a Russian who preferred a very active social life. This clashed with Pareto's own love of privacy and solitude, and after twelve years of marriage Dina abandoned her husband. His second wife, Jane Régis, joined him shortly after the collapse of his marriage, and the two remained deeply devoted to one another throughout the remainder of Pareto's life.

During these years Pareto acquired a deep interest in the political life of his country, and expressed his views on a variety of topics in lectures, in articles for various journals, and in direct political activity. Steadfast in his support of free enterprise economics and free trade, he never ceased arguing that these concepts were vital necessities for the development of Italy. Vociferous and polemical in his advocacy of these ideas, and sharp in his denunciation of his opponents (who happened to be in power in Italy at that time), his public lectures were sufficiently controversial that they were sometimes raided and closed down by the police and occasionally brought threats of violence from hired thugs. Making little headway with his economic concepts at the time, Pareto retired from active political life. In 1893 he was appointed Professor of Political Economy at the University of Lausanne (Switzerland), where he established his reputation as an economist and sociologist. So substantial did this reputation eventually become that he became known, by both adversaries and admirers, as "the Karl Marx of the Bourgeoisie" or "the Karl Marx of Fascism."[5] In economic theory, his *Manual of Political Economy*[6] and his penetrating critique of Marxian socialism, *Les Systèmes socialistes*,[7] remain among his most important works.

Pareto turned to sociology somewhat late in life, but he is nonetheless widely acclaimed in this field.

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which have come and gone up to the present day. All revolutionaries proclaim, in turn, that previous revolutions have ultimately ended up by deceiving the people; it is their revolution alone which is the true revolution. "All previous historical movements" declared the Communist Manifesto of 1848, "were movements of minorities or in the interest of minorities. The proletarian movement is the self-conscious, independent movement of the immense majority, in the interest of the immense majority." Unfortunately this true revolution, which is to bring men an unmixed happiness, is only a deceptive mirage that never becomes a reality. It is akin to the golden age of the millenarians: for ever waited, it is for ever lost in the mists of the future, for ever eluding its devotees just when they think they have it.

Dynamic Sentiment

One of Pareto's most noteworthy and controversial theories is that human beings are not, for the most part, motivated by logic and reason but rather by sentiment. This idea appears repeatedly in *Les Systèmes socialistes*, and in its most fully developed form in Pareto's vast *Treatise on General Sociology*. In his *Treatise*, Pareto examined the multitudes of human actions that constitute the outward manifestations of these sentiments, classifying them into six major groups or "residues." All of these are common to the whole of mankind, Pareto comments, but certain "residues" stand out more markedly in certain individuals. Additionally, they are unalterable; man's political nature is not perfectible but remains a constant throughout history.

Class I is the "instinct for combinations." This is the manifestation of sentiments in individuals and in society that tends towards progressiveness, inventiveness and the desire for adventure. **Class II** residues have to do with what Pareto calls the "preservation of aggregates," and encompass the more conservative side of human nature, including loyalty to society's enduring institutions such as family, church, community and nation, and the desire for permanency and security. Following this comes the need for expressing sentiments through external action, Pareto's **Class III** residues. Religious and patriotic ceremonies and pageantry stand out as examples of these residues, and are manifest in such things as saluting the flag, participating in a Christian communion service, marching in a military parade, and so on. In other words, human beings tend to express their feelings in symbols. Next comes the social instinct, **Class IV**, embracing manifestations of sentiments in support of the individual and societal discipline that is indispensable for maintaining the social structure. This includes phenomena such as self-sacrifice for the sake of family and community, and concepts such as the hierarchical arrangement of societies. **Class V** is the quality in a society that stresses individual integrity and the integrity of the individual's possessions and appurtenances. These residues contribute to social stability, systems of criminal and civil law being the most obvious examples. Finally, **Class VI** is the sexual instinct, or the tendency to see social events in sexual terms.

Foxes and Lions

Throughout his *Treatise*, Pareto places particular emphasis on the first two of these six residue classes, and to the struggle within individual men as well as in society between innovation and consolidation. The late James Burnham, writer, philosopher, and one of the foremost American disciples of Pareto, states that Pareto's Class I and II residues are an extension and amplification of certain aspects of political theorizing set down in the fifteenth century by Niccolò Machiavelli.[17] Machiavelli divided humans into two classes, foxes and lions. The qualities he ascribes to these two classes of men resemble quite closely the qualities typical of Pareto's Class I and Class II residue types. Men with strong Class I residues are the "foxes," tending to be manipulative, innovative, calculating, and imaginative. Entrepreneurs prone to taking risks, inventors, scientists, authors of fiction, politicians, and creators of complex philosophies fall into this category. Class II men are "lions" and place much more value on traits such as good character and devotion to duty, than on sheer wits. They are the defenders of tradition, the guardians of religious dogma, and the protectors of national honor.

For society to function properly there must be a balance between these two types of individuals; the functional relationship between the two is complementary. To illustrate this point, Pareto offers the example of Kaiser Wilhelm I and his chancellor, Otto von Bismarck. Wilhelm had an abundance of Class II residues, while Bismarck exemplified Class I. Separately, perhaps, neither would have accomplished much, but together they loomed gigantic in nineteenth-century European history, each supplying what the other lacked.[18]

On the other hand, seen from Pareto's standpoint, the regime of French emperor Napoleon III was a lopsided affair, obsessed with material prosperity and dominated for almost 20 years by such "foxes" as stock-market speculators and contractors who, it is said, divided the national budget among themselves. "In Prussia," Pareto observes, "one finds a hereditary monarchy supported by a loyal nobility: Class II residues predominate; in France one finds a crowned adventurer supported by a band

of speculators and spenders: Class I residues predominate."[19] Even more to the point, whereas in Prussia at that time the requirements of the army dictated financial policy, in France the financiers dictated military policy. Accordingly, when the "moment of truth" came in the summer of 1870, the vaunted Second French Empire fell to pieces and was overrun in a matter of weeks.[20]

Justifying "Derivations"

To rationalize their essentially non-logical, sentiment-driven actions, Pareto observed, people often employ ostensibly logical justifications (or what he called "derivations"). Pareto named four principle classes of derivations: 1) derivations of assertion; 2) derivations of authority; 3) derivations that are in agreement with common sentiments and principles; and, 4) derivations of verbal proof. The first of these include statements of a dogmatic or aphoristic nature, for example the saying, "honesty is the best policy." The second, authority, is an appeal to people or concepts held in high esteem by tradition. To cite the opinion of one of the American Founding Fathers on some topic of current interest is to draw from Class II derivations. The third deals with appeals to "universal judgment," the "will of the people," the "best interests of the majority," or similar sentiments. And, finally, the fourth relies on various verbal gymnastics, metaphors, allegories, and so forth.

An understanding of Pareto's outlook provides fresh insights into the paradox of human behavior. His theories of "residues" and "derivations" are a direct challenge to rationalism and liberal ideals in that they illuminate the primitive motivations behind the sentimental slogans and catchwords of political life. Pareto devotes the vast majority of his *Treatise* to setting forth in great detail these observations about human nature, and to demonstrating the validity of his observations by citing examples from history. His legendary erudition in fields such as Greco-Roman history is reflected throughout this massive tome.

Natural Equilibrium

"Residues" and "derivations," Pareto argued, are mechanisms by which society maintains its equilibrium. He viewed society as a system, "a whole consisting of interdependent parts. The 'material points or molecules' of the system ... are individuals who are affected by social forces which are marked by constant or common properties."[21] When imbalances arise, a reaction sets in whereby equilibrium is again achieved. Pareto believed that Italy and France, the two modern societies with which he was most familiar, were grossly out of balance, and that "foxes" were largely in control. Lengthy are his laments in the *Treatise* about the effete ruling classes in those two countries. In both instances, he held, revolutions were overdue.

As we have already noted, when a ruling class is dominated by men possessing strong Class I residues, intelligence is generally valued over all other qualities. The use of force in dealing with internal and external dangers to the state and nation is shunned, and in its place attempts are made to resolve problems or mitigate threats through negotiation or social tinkering. Rulers in such societies routinely seek to justify their timidity with false humanitarianism.

Misguided Charity

In the domestic sphere, the greatest danger to a society is an excess of criminal activity, with which Class I types attempt to cope by resorting to various supposedly charitable gestures, such as efforts to "rehabilitate" criminals. The inevitable result, as we know only too well, is a country awash in crime. With characteristic sarcasm Pareto comments on this phenomenon:[22]

> Modern theorists are in the habit of bitterly reproving ancient "prejudices" whereby the sins of the father were visited upon the son. They fail to notice that there is a similar thing in our own society, in the sense that the sins of the father benefit the son and acquit him of guilt. For the modern criminal it is a great good fortune to be able to count somewhere among his ancestry or other relations a criminal, a lunatic, or just a mere drunkard, for in a court of law that will win him a lighter penalty or, not seldom, an acquittal. Things have come to such a pass that there is hardly a criminal case nowadays where that sort of defense is not put forward. The old metaphysical proof that was used to show that a son should be punished because of his father's wrongdoing was neither more nor less valid than the proof used nowadays to show that the punishment which otherwise he deserves should for the same reasons be either mitigated or remitted. When, then, the effort to find an excuse for the criminal in the sins of his ancestors proves unavailing, there is still recourse to finding one in the crimes of "society," which, having failed to provide for the criminal's happiness, is "guilty" of his crime. And the punishment proceeds to fall not upon "society," but upon one of its members, who is chosen at random and has nothing whatever to do with the presumed guilt.

Pareto elucidates in a footnote:[23]

> The classical case is that of the starving man who steals a loaf of bread. That he should be

allowed to go free is understandable enough; but it is less understandable that "society's" obligation not to let him starve should devolve upon one baker chosen at random and not on society as a whole.

Pareto gives another example, about a woman who tries to shoot her seducer, hits a third party who has nothing to do with her grievance, and is ultimately acquitted by the courts. Finally, he concludes his note with these remarks:[24]

> To satisfy sentiments of languorous pity, humanitarian legislators approve "probation" and "suspended sentence" laws, thanks to which a person who has committed a first theft is at once put in a position to commit a second. And why should the luxury of humaneness be paid for by the unfortunate victim of the second theft and not by society as a whole?... As it is, the criminal only is looked after and no one gives a thought to the victim.

Expanding on the proposition that "society" is responsible for the murderous conduct of certain people, with which viewpoint he has no tolerance, he writes:[25]

> In any event, we still have not been shown why people who, be it through fault of "society," happen to be "wanting in the moral sense," should be allowed freely to walk the streets, killing anybody they please, and so saddling on one unlucky individual the task of paying for a "fault" that is common to all the members of "society." If our humanitarians would but grant that these estimable individuals who are lacking in a moral sense as a result of "society's shortcomings" should be made to wear some visible sign of their misfortune in their buttonholes, an honest man would have a chance of seeing them coming and get out of the way.

Foreign Affairs

In foreign affairs, "foxes" tend to judge the wisdom of all policies from a commercial point of view and usually opt for negotiations and compromise, even in dangerous situations. For such men profit and loss are the prime determinants, and though such an outlook may succeed for some time, the final result is usually ruinous. That is because enemies maintaining a balance of "foxes" and "lions" remain capable of appreciating the use of force. Though they may occasionally make a pretense of having been bought off, when the moment is right and their overly ingenious foe is asleep, they strike the lethal blow. In other words, Class I people are accustomed by their excessively-intellectualized preconceptions to believe that "reason" and money are always mightier than the sword, while Class II folk, with their native common sense, do not nurse such fatal delusions. In Pareto's words, "The fox may, by his cunning, escape for a certain length of time, but the day may come when the lion will reach him with a well-aimed cuff, and that will be the end of the argument."[26]

Benito Mussolini at the age of 21 in Lausanne, Switzerland, October 1904. It was during this time that he attended lectures by Pareto at the University of Lausanne.

"Circulation of the Elites"

Apart from his analyses of residues and derivations, Pareto is most celebrated among sociologists for the theory known as "the circulation of the elites." Let us remember that Pareto considered society a system in equilibrium, where processes of change tend to set in motion forces that work to restore and maintain social balance.

Pareto asserts that there are two types of elites within society: the governing elite and the non-governing elite. Moreover, the men who make up these elite strata are of two distinct mentalities, the speculator and the rentier. The speculator is the progressive, filled with Class I residues, while the rentier is the conservative, Class II residue type. There is a natural propensity in healthy societies

for the two types to alternate in power. When, for example, speculators have made a thorough mess of government, and have outraged the bulk of their countrymen by their corruption and scandals, conservative forces will step to the fore and, in one way or another, replace them. The process, as we have said, is cyclical and more or less inevitable.

Social Opportunity

Another aspect of this theory of the circulation of elites should be noted. According to Pareto, wise rulers seek to reinvigorate their ranks by allowing the best from the lower strata of society to rise and become fully a part of the ruling class. This not only brings the best and brightest to the top, but it deprives the lower classes of potential leaders of talent and ability who might one day prove to be a threat. Summarizing this component of Pareto's theory, a contemporary sociologist observes that practicality, not pity, demands such a policy:[27]

> A dominant group, in Pareto's opinion, survives only if it provides opportunities for the best persons of other origins to join in its privileges and rewards, and if it does not hesitate to use force to defend these privileges and rewards. Pareto's irony attacks the elite that *becomes* humanitarian, tenderhearted rather than tough-minded. Pareto favors opportunity for all competent members of society to advance into the elite, but he is not motivated by feelings of pity for the underprivileged. To express and spread such humanitarian sentiments merely weakens the elite in the defense of its privileges. Moreover, such humanitarian sentiments would easily be a platform for rallying the opposition.

Few aristocracies of long standing grasp the essential nature of this process, noted Pareto, shortsightedly preferring to keep their ranks as exclusive as possible. Time takes its toll, and the rulers become ever weaker and ever less capable of bearing the burden of governing:[28]

> It is a specific trait of weak governments. Among the causes of the weakness two especially are to be noted: humanitarianism and cowardice — the cowardice that comes naturally to decadent aristocracies and is in part natural, in part calculated, in "speculator" governments that are primarily concerned with material gain. The humanitarian spirit ... is a malady peculiar to spineless individuals who are richly endowed with certain Class I residues that they have dressed up in sentimental garb.

In the end, of course, the ruling class falls from power. Thus, Pareto writes that "history is a graveyard of aristocracies."[29]

Pareto and Fascism

Pareto frequently expressed boundless contempt for the pluto-democratic governments that ruled Italy throughout most of his life. As Arthur Livingston writes, "He was convinced that ten men of courage could at any time march on Rome and put the band of 'speculators' that were filling their pockets and ruining Italy to flight."[30] Consequently, in October 1922, after the Fascist "March on Rome" and Benito Mussolini's appointment by the King as Prime Minister, "Pareto was able to rise from a sickbed and utter a triumphant 'I told you so!'"[31] Yet Pareto never became a member of the Fascist Party. Well into his seventies, and severely ill with heart disease, he remained secluded in his villa in Switzerland.

Years before the "March on Rome," a youthful Mussolini had attended Pareto's university lectures in Lausanne, listening to the famed professor with rapt attention. "I looked forward to every one," he later recalled, "for here was a teacher who was outlining the fundamental economic philosophy of the future."[32] After his elevation to power, Italy's *Duce* sought immediately to transform his aged mentor's thoughts into action:[33]

> In the first years of his rule Mussolini literally executed the policy prescribed by Pareto, destroying political liberalism, but at the same time largely replacing state management of private enterprise, diminishing taxes on property, favoring industrial development, imposing a religious education in dogmas ...

During the final months of his life, Pareto was accorded many honors by the new Fascist regime. Mussolini designated the Pareto as delegate to the Disarmament Conference at Geneva, made him a Senator of the Kingdom, and listed him as a contributor to his personal periodical, *Gerarchia*.[34] Although he was obliged to decline many of these honors due to the state of his health, he remained favorably disposed towards the Fascist regime, exchanging letters with Mussolini, and offering advice in the formulation of economic and social policy.[35]

Even more than his economic theories, Pareto's sociological views influenced the policies of the Fascist state. His "*Sociologia generale* has become for many Fascists a treatise on government,"[36] noted one writer at the time. Furthermore, there was conspicuous agreement between Pareto and the new Fascist government at the most foundational level. His theories of rule by elites, his authoritarian proclivities, his uncompromising rejection of the liberal

concept of "economic man," and his belief in an aristocracy of merit are all signal components of the Fascist credo. Without question, the Fascist movement was greatly indebted to the illustrious sociologist for much of its own political theory.

Some writers have speculated that had Pareto lived he would have found many points of disagreement with the Fascist state as it developed. While it is true that he expressed his disapprobation over limitations placed by the regime on freedom of expression, particularly in academia,[37] it should be noted that it was in Pareto's nature to find fault with nearly all regimes, past and present. It should therefore not be surprising that he found reason occasionally to criticize the Fascists.

Neither Pareto nor Mussolini, it should be pointed out, were rigid ideologues. Mussolini once declared, perhaps a bit hyperbolically, that "every system is a mistake and every theory a prison."[38] While government must be guided by a general set of principles, he believed, one must not be constrained by inflexible doctrines that become nothing more than wearisome impedimenta in dealing with new and unexpected situations. An early Fascist writer explained, in part, Mussolini's affinity with Pareto in this respect:[39]

> "To seek!" — a word of power. In a sense, a nobler word than "to find." With more of intention in it, less of chance. You may "find" through a coincidence, and you may "find" something that is false; but he who seeks goes on seeking increasingly, always hoping to attain to the truth. Vilfredo Pareto was a Master of this school. He kept moving. Without movement, Plato said, everything becomes corrupted. As Homer sang, the eternal surge of the sea is the father of mankind. Every one of Pareto's new books or of the new editions of them, includes any number of commentaries upon and modifications of his previous books, and deals in detail with the criticisms, corrections, and objections which they have elicited. He generally refutes his critics, but while doing so, he indicates other and more serious points in regard to which they might have, and ought to have, reproved or questioned him. Reflecting over his subject, he himself proceeds to deal with these points, finding some of them specious, some important, and correcting his earlier conclusions accordingly.

Though Italian Fascist rule came to an end with the military victory of the Anglo-Americans in 1945, that mighty upheaval has not seriously diminished Pareto's influence. New editions of his works, and new books about his view of society, continue regularly to appear. That his ideas endured the catastrophe of the war virtually without damage, and that they are still discussed among and debated by serious thinkers, suggests their universal vitality and timelessness.

Notes

1. See, for example, W. Rex Crawford, "Representative Italian Contributions to Sociology: Pareto, Loria, Vaccaro, Gini, and Sighele," a chapter in *An Introduction to The History of Sociology*, Harry Elmer Barnes, editor (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1948); Howard Becker and Harry Elmer Barnes, "Sociology in Italy," a chapter in *Social Thought From Lore to Science* (New York: Dover, 1961); and, James Burnham, *The Machiavellians: Defenders of Freedom* (New York: John Day Co., 1943).
2. G. Duncan Mitchell, *A Hundred Years of Sociology* (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1968), p. 115.
3. Herbert W. Schneider, *Making the Fascist State* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1928), p. 102.
4. Biographical details are taken from Charles H. Powers, *Vilfredo Pareto*, vol. 5, *Masters of Social Theory*, Jonathan H. Turner, editor (Newbury Park, California: Sage Publications, 1987), pp. 13–20.
5. Pareto's Marxist opponents called Pareto "the Karl Marx of the Bourgeoisie." During the 1920s and '30s it was commonplace to call him "the Karl Marx of Fascism," an appellation often proudly bestowed on Pareto by the Fascists themselves.
6. *Manuale di economia politica* was first published in Milan in 1906. An English-language edition, *Manual of Political Economy* is available with Ann Schwier as translator, and Ann Schwier and Alfred Page as editors (New York: August M. Kelly, 1971).
7. First published in Paris in 1902–3. The complete text has never appeared in English. A lengthy excerpt appears in Adrian Lyttelton, editor, *Italian Fascisms: From Pareto to Gentile* (New York: Harper Torchbook, 1975), pp. 71–90.
8. *Trattato di Sociologia generale* was first published in two volumes in Florence in 1916. It first appeared in English in 1935 under the title *The Mind and Society: A Treatise on General Sociology* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1935), translated by Andrew Bongiorno and Arthur Livingston. It was reprinted under this same title in 1963 (New York: Dover), and remains in print (New York: AMS Press, 1983); Pareto's monograph, "Un Applicazione de teorie sociologiche," first published in 1901 in *Revista Italiana di Sociologia*, has been published in English under the title *The Rise and Fall of the Elites: An Application of Theoretical Sociology* (Totowa, New Jersey: The Bedminster Press, 1968; reprint, New Brunswick, New Jersey: Transaction Books, 1991). Pareto's *Trasformazioni della democrazia* was first published in Milan in 1921. It has appeared in English, *The Transformation of Democracy* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Transaction Books, 1984), translated by R. Girola, and edited by Charles Power.
9. Charles H. Powers, *Vilfredo Pareto*, vol. 5, *Masters of Social Theory* (1987), p. 19.
10. This term, "equality of opportunity" is so misused in our own time, especially in America, that some clarification is appropriate. "Equality of opportunity" refers merely to Pareto's belief that in a healthy society advancement must be opened to superior members of all social classes — "Meritocracy," in other words. See C. H. Powers, *Vilfredo Pareto*,

pp. 22–3.

11. C. H. Powers, *Vilfredo Pareto*, p. 20.
12. Adrian Lyttelton, editor, *Italian Fascisms: From Pareto to Gentile* (New York: Harper Torchbook, 1975), pp. 79–80.
13. A. Lyttelton, ed., *Italian Fascisms* (1975), p. 81.
14. H. Stuart Hughes, *Oswald Spengler: A Critical Estimate* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1952), p. 16.
15. A. Lyttelton, ed., *Italian Fascisms* (1975), p. 86.
16. A. Lyttelton, ed., *Italian Fascisms* (1975), pp. 82–3.
17. James Burnham, *Suicide of the West* (New York: John Day Company, 1964), pp. 248–50.
18. V. Pareto, *The Mind and Society: A Treatise on General Sociology* (New York: Dover, 1963), 2455. Instead of page numbers, citations from this work are identified by section or passage numbers. Citations are thus uniform in all editions.
19. V. Pareto, *The Mind and Society: A Treatise on General Sociology* (New York: 1963), 2462. This work is henceforth referred to as V. Pareto, *Treatise*.
20. V. Pareto, *Treatise*, 2458–72.
21. Nicholas Timasheff, *Sociological Theory: Its Nature and Growth* (New York: Random House, 1967), p. 162.
22. V. Pareto, *Treatise*, 1987.
23. V. Pareto, *Treatise*, 1987n.
24. V. Pareto, *Treatise*, 1987n.
25. V. Pareto, *Treatise*, 1716n.
26. V. Pareto, *Treatise*, 2480n.
27. Hans L. Zetterberg, "Introduction" to *The Rise and Fall of the Elites* by Vilfredo Pareto, pp. 2–3.
28. V. Pareto, *Treatise*, 2474.
29. V. Pareto, *Treatise*, 2053.
30. V. Pareto, *Treatise*, p. xvii.
31. V. Pareto, *Treatise*, p. xvii.
32. Benito Mussolini, *My Autobiography* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1928), p. 14.
33. Franz Borkenau, *Pareto* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1936), p. 18.
34. F. Borkenau, *Pareto* (1936), p. 18.
35. F. Borkenau, *Pareto* (1936), p. 20.
36. George C. Homans and Charles P. Curtis, Jr., *An Introduction to Pareto* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1934), p. 9.
37. F. Borkenau, *Pareto* (1936), p. 18; In a letter to Mussolini written shortly before his death, Pareto cautioned that the Fascist regime must relentlessly strike down all active opponents. Those, however, whose opposition was merely verbal should not be molested since, he believed, that would serve only to conceal public opinion. "Let the crows craw but *be merciless* when it comes to *acts*," Pareto admonished Mussolini. Quoted in: Alistair Hamilton, *The Appeal of Fascism: A Study of Intellectuals and Fascism* (New York: 1971), pp. 44–5.
38. Margherita G. Sarfatti, *The Life of Benito Mussolini* (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company, 1925), p. 101.
39. M. Sarfatti, *Life of Benito Mussolini* (1925), p. 102.

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Search for the truth is the noblest occupation of man; its publication is a duty.
— Mme. de Stael

On Conservatism, Liberalism, and History

Revilo P. Oliver

(This sampling of Prof. Oliver's writing is taken from America's Decline, *pages 1–4, 79–83, 182–183, 187–189.)*

Conservatism

Conservatism, when that word was first used in a political sense, correctly implied the maintenance of existing governmental and social institutions and their preservation from all undesirable innovation and substantial change. In Europe and the United States, however, the term has now acquired a quite different and linguistically improper meaning: it implies the restoration of political and social institutions that were radically changed and subverted to produce the governmental and social institutions that now exist.

Strictly speaking, therefore, "conservatism" has come, paradoxically, to mean reaction, an effort to purge the nation's social and political organization of deleterious accretions and revolutionary changes imposed upon it in recent times, and to restore it to the pristine state in which it existed at some vaguely or precisely defined time in the past. The persons who now call themselves conservatives, if they mean what they propose, are really reactionaries, but eschew the more candid word as prejudicial in propaganda ...

I began as an American conservative: I wished to preserve the American society in which I grew up, not because I was unaware of its many and gross deficiencies, but because I saw it threatened by cunningly instigated agitation for changes that would inevitably destroy it and might ultimately result in a reversion to total barbarism. And with the euphoria of youth, I imagined that the existing structure, if preserved from subversion, would, under the impact of foreseeable and historically inevitable events, accommodate itself to the realities of the physical and biophysical world and perhaps give to the nation an era of Roman greatness.

Over the years, as the fatal subversion proceeded gradually, relentlessly, and often stealthily, and was thoughtlessly accepted by a feckless or befuddled populace, I became increasingly aware that "conservatism" was a misnomer, but I did entertain a hope that the current of thought and feeling represented by the word might succeed in restoring at least the essentials of the society whose passing I regretted. And when I at last decided to involve myself in political effort and agitation, I began a painful and very expensive education in political realities.

Since I have held positions of some importance in several of what seemed the most promising "conservative" movements in the United States, for which I was in one way or another a spokesman, and I was at the same time an attentive observer of the many comparable organizations and of the effective opposition to all such efforts, friends have convinced me that a succinct and candid account of my political education may make some contribution to the historical record of American "conservatism," should someone in an unpredictable future be interested in studying its rise and fall ...

I think I may claim without immodesty that I always saw reality more clearly than anyone in the motley procession of self-appointed "leaders" who, inspired by illusory hopes and imagined certainties, arose to "save the nation," fretted out their little hour on the darkling state of an almost empty theater, and vanished, sometimes pathetically, into the obscurity from which they came. What I dare not affirm is that I ever saw reality as clearly as some of the shrewd men who cynically exploited — and exploit — the residue of patriotic sentiment and the confused instinct of self-preservation that remains in the white Americans who still respond to one or another variety of "right-wing" propaganda ...

... An explicit warning ... This book may come into the hands of readers for whom it is not intended. I do not propose to entertain with anecdotes or to soothe by retelling any of the fairy tales of which Americans seem never to tire. If these pages are worth reading at all, they deal with a problem that is strictly intellectual and historical, and they are therefore addressed only to the comparatively few individuals who are willing and able to consider such questions objectively and dispassionately, thinking exclusively in terms of demon-

strable facts and reason, and without reference to the personal wishes and emotional fixations that are commonly called "faith" or "ideals." It is not my purpose to unsettle the placidity of the many who shrink from unpleasant realities and spare themselves the discomfort of cogitation by assuring themselves that some Savior, most commonly Jesus or Marx, had promised that the earth, if not the whole universe, will soon be rearranged to suit their tastes. As Kipling said of the fanatics of his day, they must cling to their faith, whatever the cost to their rationality: "If they desire a thing, they declare it is true. If they desire it not, though that were death itself, they cry aloud, 'It has never been'."

Persons who are not capable of objectivity or are unwilling to disturb their cerebral repose by facing displeasing facts should never read pages that cannot but perturb them emotionally. If they do so, they must blame the curiosity that impelled them to read words that were not intended for them. The reader has been warned.

Liberalism

"Liberalism" is a succedaneous religion that was devised late in the Eighteenth Century and it originally included a vague deism. Like the Christianity from which it sprang, it split into various sects and heresies, such as Jacobinism, Fourierism, Owenism, Fabian Socialism, Marxism, and the like. The doctrine of the "Liberal" cults is essentially Christianity divested of its belief in supernatural beings, but retaining its social superstitions, which were originally derived from, and necessarily depend on, the supposed wishes of a god. Thus "Liberalism," the residue of Christianity, is, despite the fervor with which its votaries hold their faith, merely a logical absurdity, a series of deductions from a premise that had been denied.

The dependence of the "Liberal" cults on a blind and irrational faith was long obscured or concealed by their professed esteem for objective science, which they used as a polemic weapon against orthodox Christianity, much as the Protestants took up the Copernican restoration of heliocentric astronomy as a weapon against the Catholics, who had imprudently decided that the earth could be stopped from revolving about the sun in defiance of Holy Writ by burning intelligent men at the stake or torturing them until they recanted. Pious Protestants would naturally have preferred a cozy little earth, such as their god described in their holy book, but they saw the advantage of appealing to our racial respect for observed reality to enlist support, while simultaneously stigmatizing their rivals as ignorant obscurantists and ridiculous ranters.

The votaries of "Liberalism" would have much preferred to have the various human species specially created to form one race endowed with the fictitious qualities dear to "Liberal" fancy, but cultists saw the advantage of endorsing the findings of geology and biology, including the evolution of species, in their polemics against orthodox Christianity to show the absurdity of the Jewish version of the Sumerian creation-myth. The hypocrisy of the professed devotion to scientific knowledge was made unmistakable when the "Liberals" began their frantic and often hysterical efforts to suppress scientific knowledge about genetics and the obviously innate difference between the different human species and between the individuals of any given species. At present, the "Liberals" are limited to shrieking and spitting when they are confronted with inconvenient facts, but no one who had heard them in action can have failed to notice how exasperated they are by the limitations that have thus far prevented them from burning wicked biologists and other rational men at the stake.

It is unnecessary to dilate on the superstitions of "Liberalism." They are obvious in the cult's holy words. "Liberals" are forever chattering about "all mankind," a term which does have a specific meaning, as do parallel terms in biology, such as "all marsupials" or "all species of the genus Canis," but the fanatics give to the term a mystic and special meaning, derived from the Zoroastrian myth of "all mankind" and its counterpart in Stoic speculation, but absurd when used by persons who deny the existence of Ahura Mazda or a comparable deity who could be supposed to have imposed a transcendental unit on the manifest diversity of the various human species. "Liberals" rant about "human rights" with the fervor of an evangelist who appeals to what Moses purportedly said, but a moment's thought suffices to show that, in the absence of a god who might be presumed to have decreed such rights, the only rights are those which the citizens of a stable society, by agreement or by a long usage that has acquired the force of law, bestow on themselves; and while the citizens may show kindness to aliens, slaves, and horses, these beings can have no rights. Furthermore, in societies that have been so subjugated by conquest or the artful manipulation of masses that individuals no longer have constitutional rights that are not subject to revocation by violence or in the name of "social welfare," there are no rights, strictly speaking, and therefore no citizens — only masses existing in the state of indiscriminate equality of which "Liberals" dream and, of course, a state of *de facto* slavery, which their masters may deem it expedient, as in the United States at present, to make relatively light until the ani-

mals are broken to the yoke.

"Liberals" babble about "One World," which is to be a "universal democracy" and is "inevitable," and they thus describe it in the very terms in which the notion was formulated, two thousand years ago, by Philo Judaeus, which he cleverly gave a Stoic coloring to the old Jewish dream of a globe in which all the lower races would obey the masters whom Yahweh, by covenant, appointed to rule over them. And the "Liberal" cults, having rejected the Christian doctrine of "original sin," which, although based on a silly myth about Adam and Eve, corresponded fairly well to the facts of human nature, have even reverted to the most pernicious aspect of Christianity, which common sense had held in check in Europe until the Eighteenth Century; and they openly exhibit the morbid Christian fascination with whatever is lowly, proletarian, inferior, irrational, debased, deformed, and degenerate. Their maudlin preoccupation with biological refuse, usually sicklied over with such nonsense words as "under*privileged* [!]," would make sense, if it had been decreed by a god who perversely chose to become incarnate among the most pestiferous of human races and to select his disciples from among the illiterate dregs of even that *peuplade*, but since the "Liberals" claim to have rejected belief in such a divinity, their superstition is exposed as having no basis other than their own resentment of their betters and their professional interest in exploiting the gullibility of their compatriots.

In the Eighteenth Century, Christians whose thinking was cerebral rather then glandular, perceived that their faith was incompatible with observed reality and reluctantly abandoned it. A comparable development is taking place in the waning faith of "Liberalism," and we may be sure that, despite the cult's appeal to masses that yearn for an effortless and mindless existence on the animal level, and despite the prolonged use of public schools to deform the minds of all children with "Liberal" myths, the cult would have disappeared, but for the massive support given it today, as to the Christian cults in the ancient world, by the Jews, who have, for more than two thousand years, battened on the venality, credulity, and vices of the races they despise. In 1955, however, the extent and pervasiveness of their power in the United States remained to be determined.

There is one crucial fact that we must not overlook, if we are to see the political situation as it is, rather than in the anamorphosis of some "ideology," i.e., propaganda-line, whether "Liberal" or "conservative." The real fulcrum of power in our society is neither the votaries of an ideological sect nor the Jews, clear-sighted and shrewd as they are, but the intelligent members of our own race whose one principle is an unmitigated and ruthless egotism, and implacable determination to satisfy their own ambitions and lusts at whatever cost to their race, the nation, and even their own progeny. And with them we must reckon the bureaucrats, men who, however much or little they may think about the predictable consequences of the policies they carry out, are governed by a corporate determination to sink their probosces ever deeper into the body politic from which they draw their nourishment. Neither of these groups can be regarded as being "Liberal" or as having any other political attitude from conviction. The first are guarded by the lucidity of their minds, and the second by their collective interests, from adhesion to any ideology or other superstition.

History and the Historians

A conservative is essentially a man who is willing to learn from the accumulated experience of mankind. He must strive to observe dispassionately and objectively, and he must read from his observations with a full awareness of the limitations of reason. And he must, above all, have the courage to confront the unpleasant realities of human nature and the world in which we live. That is why history, the vast record of human trial and error, is a discipline for conservatives. It necessarily lies beyond the emotional and intellectual capacities of children, savages, and "liberal intellectuals," who instinctively flee from reality to live in a dreamworld in which the laws of nature can be suspended by the intervention of fairies, witch-doctors, or "social scientists."

History is a high and arduous discipline in which it is always necessary to collect and weigh complex and often elusive data, and in which, as in so many other fields of research, we must frequently content ourselves with a calculation of probabilities rather then a certainty. And when we try to extract from history the laws of historical development we find ourselves calculating the probability of probabilities — as difficult and delicate a task as the human mind can set for itself.

Fortunately for us, in the practical affairs of this world prudence and common sense (though somewhat uncommon qualities) are an adequate guide and do not depend on answers to the great questions of philosophy. A man may learn not to buy a pig in a poke without finding solution to the epistemological problem that Hume posed so clearly and that yet remains unsolved. We can learn much from history without answering the ultimate questions.

Our minds, however, by their very nature desire a coherent philosophy that will account for the

whole of perceived reality. And we live in a time in which we are constantly confronted by claims — some obviously mere propaganda but others seriously and sincerely put forward — that this or that development must take place in the future because it is "historically necessary." Furthermore, we live in a time in which all but the most thoughtless sense that our very civilization is being eroded by vast and obscure forces which, if unchecked, will soon destroy it utterly — forces that we can identify and understand only if we can ascertain how and why they are shaping our history. And here again we are often told that those forces represent a destiny inherent in civilization itself and therefore irresistible and inescapable.

That is why the development of a working philosophy of history is the most urgent, as well as the most difficult, task of Twentieth Century thought ...

Greece and Rome

History as the reasoned reporting of political and social change was the product of the Greek mind. Indeed, it could be argued that the capacity for history in that sense is the exclusive property of the Western culture that the Greeks created and we inherited — but it would be a fairly long argument. We cannot indulge ourselves in it here, any more than we can undertake a survey of ancient historians. But we should observe that the two basic conceptions of the historical process between which the modern mind must choose were both formed in Classical antiquity. I merely mention two historians who illustrate the contrast.

If we consider his almost superhuman dispassion and objectivity, the intellectual power that enables him to extract the essential from great masses of detail and so write concisely of highly complex events, and his lucid presentation of the evidence included by theory of thesis, we must regard Thucydides as the great historian of all time. With perfect precision he tells us what happened and how it happened; he sees reality with an eye that is never blurred by a tear for his country's fate; and the implacable lucidity of his intellect is no more perturbed by a theory to be demonstrated than it was perturbed by the temptation, which no other writer could have resisted, to add at least a few words to explain or defend his own conduct as a general or to mention his own misfortunes. We cannot read Thucydides without deep emotion, but the emotion is ours, not his; we cannot read him without pondering the lessons of history, but they are lessons that we must draw from the facts, not accept ready-made from the writer.

The future will always resemble the past because human nature does not change; men will always be actuated by the same basic desire and motives; the limitations of human reason and of human willingness to reason constitute a kind of fatality, but the events of history are always the result of human decisions, of wisdom or folly, in dealing with matters that can never be calculated with certainty in advance because the result will to some extent depend on chance — on factors that cannot be predicted. Nations, like men, must suffer the consequences of their own acts — consequences often unforeseen and sometimes unforeseeable — but there is no historical force which compels them to decide how they will act: they are subject, therefore, to no fate, other than that inherent in the limitations of their physical, mental, and moral resources. History is tragic, but it is tragedy in the strict sense of the word, the result of human blindness.

That conception of history contrasts strongly with another, with may be described as either more cowardly, since it does shift responsibility, or more profound, since it tries to account for decisions. The elder Seneca, writing his history of the Civil Wars after the fall of the Roman Republic and the establishment of the Precipitate, was certainly influenced by the Stoic conception of a universe that operates by a strict mechanical necessity in vast cycles from one *ecpyrosis* to another, endlessly repeating itself. Seneca saw in the Roman people an organism comparable to a man and undergoing, like men, a kind of biological development. Rome spent her infancy under the early kings; adolescent, the nation established a republic and, with the indefatigable vigor of a growing organism, extended its rule over the adjacent parts of Italy; with the strength and resolution of maturity (*iuventus*), Rome conquered virtually all of the world that was worth taking; and then at last, weary and feeling the decline of her powers, unable to muster the strength and resolution to govern herself, she in her old age (*senectus*) resigned herself and her affairs into the hands of a guardian, closing her career as she began it, under the tutelage and governance of a monarch.

Unfortunately, the surviving fragment of Seneca's history does not tell us how soon he thought decrepitude would be followed by death. We cannot even be certain how strictly he applied the fatalism implicit in the analogy; he seems to have believed that nations, like men, could in their maturity a little hasten or retard the onset of senility by the care that they took of themselves. But at best, human will and wisdom can but little affect the biological necessity that carried all living things to the inexorable grave. Seneca was thinking of Rome, rather than of Classical civilization as a whole, but this analogy anticipated the essentials of what we now call the organic, or cyclic, conception of history.

The Modern Dilemma

Modern history begins with the Renaissance, an age which thought of itself, as the name indicates, as a "rebirth" of Classical antiquity. For a long time, men's energies were concentrated in an effort to ascend to the level of high civilization represented by the great ages of Greece and Rome. The most common metaphor described cultural change in terms of day and night: Civilization had reached high noon in the age of Cicero and Virgil; the decadence of the Roman Empire was the gloaming that preceded the long night of the Dark Ages; and the revival of literature and the arts that began with Petrarch was the dawn of a new day — the return of the sun to illumine the earth and rouse the minds of men. This metaphor was intended to mark contrasts, not to draw an analogy. Culture did not come to the world as the sun rises and sets, independently of human effort; on the contrary, literature, philosophy (including what we now call science), and the arts were the products of the highest and most intense creativity of the human mind. It followed, therefore, that civilization was essentially the body of knowledge accumulated and maintained by the intellect and will of men. This sense of constant striving precluded a cyclic or deterministic conception of history, while the awareness that the thread of civilization had been all but broken during the Dark Ages precluded a facile and unthinking optimism.

From the dawn of the Renaissance to the early years of the Twentieth Century men thought of the history of civilization as a continuum that could be reduced to a line on a graph. The line began at the bottom somewhere in pre-history before the time of Homer, rose steadily to a peak in the great age of Athens, dipped a little and then rose again to the Golden Age of Rome, fell steadily toward zero, which it almost reached in the Dark Ages, rose a little in the later Middle Age, and with the Revival of Learning climbed sharply toward a new peak. History thus conceived divided itself into three periods: Ancient, Mediaeval, and Modern.

That linear conception of history was simply taken for granted by historians. Guicciardini, Juan de Mariana, Thuanus, Gibbon, and Macaulay differ greatly from one another in outlook, but they all regard the linear conception as apodictic ...

Misgivings

The Nineteenth Century brought to the West the assurance of military superiority over all the other peoples of the world. It seemed certain that the white man, thanks to his technology, would forever rule the globe and its teeming populations. And from this confidence sprang a mad-cap euphoria — a bizarre notion that progress was inevitable and automatic; that civilization, instead of being a precious and fragile creation that men must work very hard to maintain and even harder to improve, had become self-perpetuating and self-augmenting; and that the line on the graph, having risen higher than the highest point attained in antiquity, was destined to move upward forever and forever. That childish fancy, to be sure, did not impose on the best minds of the century (e.g. Burckhardt), but like a heady wine it intoxicated many writers (e.g. Herbert Spencer) who passed for serious thinkers in their day. And it did serve to suggest to reflective minds the question whether or not there was a destiny inherent in the nature of the historical process itself as distinct from the wisdom or folly of decisions made by men.

Toward the end of the century, deep misgivings that could no longer be repressed found expression in such works as Théodore Funck-Brentano's *La civilisation et ses lois*, Brooks Adams' *The Law of Civilization and Decay*, and Henry Adams' *The Degradation of the Democratic Dogma*. No one thought of doubting the supremacy of the West or its perpetuity, but men began to wonder whether civilization was not falling to a lower level. And to find an answer, they sought to establish a "science of history" — what is now called historionomy in English and *métahistoire* in French — which would ascertain the natural laws that govern the development of civilization.

On the eve of the First World War, a few remarkable minds, prescient of the coming catastrophe, formulated the historical question in more drastic and fundamental terms: Was the civilization of the West mortal and already growing old? Would a traveller of some future and alien civilization meditate among the moldering ruins of New York and London and Paris as Volney had meditated among the ruins of Babylon, Baalbec, and Persepolis — and perhaps, like Volney, soothe himself with illusions that his civilization could endure, although all its predecessors had left but heaps of broken stone to attest that they had once existed?

Power in the World

We must understand that the grim question thus posed was at that time, and remains even today, entirely a question of *internal* decay — of a sickness or debility of the Western mind and will. It was not then, and had not yet become, a question of strength relative to the rest of the world. The power of the nations of the West was, and is, simply overwhelming.

In 1914, men debated whether or not Russia was part of the Western world. Assuming that it was not, it was obvious that there were only two non-Western nations on earth that possessed the military

and industrial capacity to offer serious resistance to even a medium-sized nation of the West. And neither Russia nor Japan could have hoped to defeat a major western power except by forming an alliance with another major power of Europe or America. And despite all the efforts of the west to destroy itself in fratricidal wars and by exporting its technology and its wealth to other peoples, that remains in large part true today.

The retreat of the West has been self-imposed, and we must not permit the screeching of "liberals" to distract our attention from that obvious and fundamental fact. Great Britain, for example, was in no sense compelled to relinquish India as a colony. During the great Indian Mutiny of 1857, fifty thousand British troops cut their way through the whole of the India subcontinent, and in little more than a year reduced to complete submission its population of more than one hundred million. And this, *nota bene*, was done at a time when the only basic weapon of warfare was the rifle, so that a man with a rifle on one side was the match of a man with a rifle on the other side, except insofar as discipline and individual intelligence might make some difference in the use of the common and universally obtainable weapon. In 1946, Great Britain, with all the weapons that are by their very nature a monopoly of great nations, could have snuffed out in a few weeks the most formidable revolt that Nehru and his gang could conceivably have instigated and organized.

The power is still ours. The greater part of the globe lies open for our taking, if we as a nation resolved to take it. Despite all the frenzied efforts in Washington to sabotage the United States for the past thirty years, it is still beyond doubt that if we were so minded, we could, for example, simply take the whole continent of Africa, exterminate the native population; and make the vast and rich area a new frontier for the expansion of our own people. No power on earth — certainly not the Soviet that we have so diligently nurtured and built up with our resources — would dare to oppose us. To be sure, there are good reasons for not annexing Africa, but if we are to think clearly about our place in the world, we must understand that lack of power is not one of them.

That the Western world, with it virtual monopoly of the instruments of power, should slavishly cringe before the hordes for which it felt only contempt when it was less strong than it now is, is obvious proof that our civilization is suffering from some potentially fatal disease or decay that has deprived us — temporarily or permanently — of the intelligence and the will to live. Every philosophy of history, or, if you prefer, every system of historionomy, is simply an effort to diagnose our malady — to tell us, in effect, whether the debility and enervation of the West is the result of a curable disease or of an irreversible deterioration ...

Historical Understanding

The social and political questions of our day are all primarily historical problems. To think about them rationally, we must begin by consulting the record of human experience in the past. And we soon realize that if only we knew enough about history — and understood it — we should have the answers to all our questions.

Unique events are always incomprehensible. And every change is unique until it has been repeated often enough to be recognized as forming part of some intelligible pattern. We could not identify even so simple a sensation in our own bodies as hunger, had we not experienced it a thousand times and observed that a good meal invariably abolished it — for a while.

No man lives long enough to behold with his own eyes a pattern of change in society. He is like the midge that is born in the afternoon and dies at sunset, and which, therefore, no matter how intelligent it might be, could never discover, or even suspect, that day and night come in regular alternation. Unlike the midge, however, man can consult the experience of the comparatively few generations of his species that have preceded him during the comparatively brief period of about five thousand years in which human beings have had the power to leave records for the instruction of their posterity.

That, unfortunately, is not enough history to give positive and indubitable answers to many of our questions — but it is all that we have. The historian today is often in the position of the Greek philosophers who tried to decide whether the solar system was geocentric or heliocentric, and could not reach a definite conclusion simply because there was not available in the world a record of sufficiently exact observations recorded over a sufficiently long period of time. The modern historian who tries to explain the rise and fall of civilizations may possibly find the right explanation; but if he does — and if he is really a historian — he knows that, at best, he is in the position of Aristarchus, who first systematized and formulated the heliocentric theory, and who must have known that the theory could not be proved during his own lifetime or for many years to come. (I.e. not until the annual parallax of at least one fixed star had been determined. This was first accomplished by Bessel in 1838 — three centuries after Copernicus.) What Aristarchus could not anticipate, of course, was that the level of civilization would so fluctuate that it would be twenty-one centuries before men could be certain that he had been right.

The historionomer, though aware that his hypothesis must remain a hypothesis in his time, can draw an analogy in terms of a historical certainty. When civilized mankind lost interest in the problem that Aristarchus tried to solve with his unverifiable theory, it was headed toward a Dark Age in which men forgot facts that had been ascertained — an age so stultified that men forgot that they had once known that the earth was a globe, and so relapsed to the primitive notion that it was flat.

"The future will always resemble the past because human nature does not change."

"The social and political questions of our day are all primarily historical problems. To think about them rationally, we must begin by consulting the record of human experience in the past. And we soon realize that if only we knew enough about history — and understood it — we should have the answers to all our questions."

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The Holocaust and The Myth of the Past as History

Howard F. Stein

In a letter commenting on my paper, "Judaism and the Group-Fantasy of Martyrdom: The Psychodynamic Paradox of Survival Through Persecution,"[1] Lewis Brandon [pen name of David McCalden, the first editor of this *Journal*] posed the question:

> I wonder how far you would go along with our view that it is not just the history of the Holocaust which is sanctified, but that the very "Holocaust" itself is a group-fantasy?

This article is an attempt to reply to Brandon's thoughtful question. My remarks are based on a decade of psychohistorical/ anthropological research into ethnicity, nationalism, American culture, and Judaica.[2]

My point of departure is the simple observation that between 1933 and 1945 some awesomely terrible things took place in Europe — to *everyone*. It is, however, another matter to view the entire sordid era through the eyes of a single group — the Jews — and to accept this interpretation as the only valid one. Yet the very essence of "history" is its ethnocentrism.[3] One ubiquitous function and purpose of having a sense of history, both individual and group, is to replace the reality of the present and past with a defensive myth of the past through which distorting filter we perceive the past. Were it not one's need to falsify retrospectively by distorting, we would now have no need for a "revision" of sacred historical orthodoxies. Only by stepping outside the cozening ignorance of our tribal caves do we have that perspective which compels us *to revise* our cherished errors. Should we wonder why the "Holocaust" is excluded from open scholarly debate — save for those "safe" disputes within the boundary of the permissible — we need only note that the violation of any taboo in a "primitive" society is followed by censure, ostracism, punishment, or death. "History" is socially sacred knowledge. One is duty-bound to revere, and never to question, that knowledge.

But that presses us to other questions. What does each group select to enshroud in ineffable mystery? Why, for Jews, the Holocaust? What, in sanctifying the Holocaust, do Jews *not* want to know about that grim era? Whatever the "facts" of the Holocaust, it is experienced as a *necessity*, as part of a recurrent historic pattern. Reality must be made to conform to fantasy. Whatever did happen in the Holocaust must be made to conform to the group-fantasy of *what ought to have happened*. For the Jews, the term "Holocaust" does not simply denote a *single* catastrophic era in history, but is a grim metaphor for *the meaning of Jewish history*. The "Holocaust" lies at the heart of the Jewish experience of time itself. One is either anxiously awaiting persecution, experiencing persecution, recovering from it, or living in a period that is a temporary reprieve from it.

"Holocaust" is thus the *timeless* fabric into which the 1933–1945 period is woven. Enslavement in Egypt under Pharaoh Ramses II, the two Exiles in Biblical times, pursuit by the Amalekites in the desert on the journey to the Promised Land, the medieval Crusades, expulsion from Spain during the Christian *reconquista* from the Moors, the uprising of the Ukrainian and Polish peasants in 1648 under Bogdan Chmielnicki, are all inseparable parts of the chain in Jewish history from which per-

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spective the National Socialist period is perceived. Thus the "reality" of the Holocaust is inextricably part of the myth in which it is woven — and for which myth it serves as further confirmatory evidence for the timeless Jewish theme that the world is in conspiracy to annihilate them, one way or another, at least eventually.

The tormented and phantasmagoric Franz Kafka is perhaps this century's most pure distillation of the Jewish persecutory world. "Every obstacle smashes me," he writes to Max Brod. His is a world ruled by an inaccessible, implacable "High Command"; his is a godless theology of father-Gods, personified by the Bureaucracy, who are remote, unappeasable, overbearing, capricious, formidable. There is No Exit from history; there is No Respite. Philip Rahv writes hauntingly:[4]

> ... The clue to *The Trial* is in the reflection that "only our concept of time makes it possible for us to speak of the Day of Judgment by that name; in reality it is a summary court in perpetual session." And in the same sequence of reflection we find the perfectly typical sentence: "The hunting dogs are playing in the courtyard, but the hare will not escape them, no matter how fast it may be flying already through the woods." The identification here is plainly with the hare; and with the hunting dogs, too, insofar as they represent the hare's longing for self-punishment, his inner wish to be cornered, to be hurt, to be torn to pieces so as to atone for the guilt that fills him from top to bottom. In this one short sentence about the hare and the hunting dogs you have the gist of the typical Kafkan narrative, the obsessive theme, the nuclear fable concerning the victim of an unappeasable power to which he returns again and again, varying and complicating its structure with astonishing resourcefulness, and erecting on so slender a foundation such marvelous superstructures as that of the myth of the Old Commander in *In the Penal Colony*, the myth of the Law in *The Trial*, and of the celestial bureaucracy in *The Castle*.

Here, "art" is both history and prophecy about what would become history in World War II.

Myth truly generates reality in its own image. "History" is more than a group projective myth of the past, a screen on which we see what we need to see in order not to encounter reality. The sense of history not only dictates perception of the past, but is a template for the future which will "repeat" the past. Not unexpectedly, Yasir Arafat is often referred to by Israelis as a contemporary exterminationist-Hitler, the Palestine Liberation Organization and El Fatah as Nazis, Brownshirts, SS, and the like. If past, present, and future merge into gauzy sameness, no authentic change can be expected (even though it might be fervently wished): holocausts, walls, ghettos, trials, judgments, punishment are part of the plight of the spectral Ahashueras who is condemned to wander the earth, to be redeemed from history only by death. Now as in the past, historical partners will be found who will only too willingly complement the suicidal wishes of Jews or Israelis. Projected self-hatred returns as provoked hatred. The unofficial Israeli policy of resettlement of Jews on the West Bank; the fanaticism of the *Gush Emunim* ("Bloc of the Faithful") who have zealously "occupied" the West Bank; the Israeli claim to the entire city of Jerusalem; the Israeli claim to the West Bank based on "historical" entitlement (Judea/Samaria Biblically — one can manipulate history such that one can justify virtually any claim!); and the overseas financial and moral support given to these adventures by American diaspora Jewry: these together are unconscious provocations against the Arabs for the war of annihilation which Israelis not only expect but seek in order that the masochistic fantasy come true. Both in the Jewish religious tradition and in secular Israeli nationalism, any awaited-for redemption and resurrection will be heralded by a preceding era of unfathomable cataclysm and bereavement.[5]

Journalist Martin Woollacott writes of the Israelis that: "Refuge is taken in the future, a future in which new outbreaks of anti-Semitism will blast the diaspora. A young and able official, a supporter of the Begin government, knowledgeable and even liberal, said: 'There will be another disaster in world Jewry. It could come in South Africa. It could come in America itself ...'"[6] In the same essay, another Israeli is quoted as saying that "'America is the Jewish national home ... Israel is the Jewish national graveyard.'"[7] These fears of inevitable death are not the product of lone voices, but the litany of Jewish tradition that traces biblically to the prophetic threat of imminent Yahwistic punishment for the commission of sins. But what "sins"? As Gonen has observed, these sins are in fact *wishes* for the possession of the land (mother), Zion, which is god's Biblical bride.[8] Psychohistorically, Zionism and Israeli nationalism have achieved in reality what is taboo: usurpation of the power of the father-God, the claim upon the mother-land by the son. What remains is the group-fantasy of retribution in which history *re*plays in this third Zionade (return to Zion) the drama of Jewish guilt and punishment.

It turns out that in group history, just as in individual history, an overblown fear camouflages an underlying wish (a point made by Freud eight decades ago). Wim van Leer, an insightful retired

Israeli industrialist, writes: "Hatred became an indispensable prop for the maintenance of Jewish cohesion and identity, for whenever the cold eye of ostracism was mellowed by a kindly glint, whenever humanism and liberalism reared their ugly heads, Jewish identity melted away in the warm bath of assimilation."[9] Furthermore, "Provoking this hatred for Israel is one of the few areas where Prime Minister Menachem Begin's government has been a resounding success. A useful tool had been the *Gush Emunim* ... We revel in our ostracism and, instead of advancing arguments to justify our actions, we reply to criticism with ever more provocative and oppressive actions."[10] Van Leer's article repeatedly uses "provocation," "defiance," "fanaticism," "dogmatic determinism," and "intransigence" to characterize Israeli actions that once again make Jews into an isolated, emotionally ghettoized people, and which will once again occasion the very (next) Holocaust that is as much expected as it is dreaded. We are thus face to face with the terrible psychohistorical truth that *Jews must survive in order that they be persecuted.*

The scientific discipline of history — indeed, of all behavioral science — ought rightfully to occupy itself with the search for the "facts." Correcting facts is one thing. But to understand the intractable need to edit reality and thereby distort the facts is an equally important matter. Historical myth is one type of "fact" that must be decoded as well as courageously doubted. For, as we know only too well, the myth of the Holocaust has for forty years been more compelling — not only for Jews — than reality. It is this resistance to testing and accepting reality that we must also explain.

Thus, while we constantly struggle to separate myth from fact, we need *also* to accept the fact that people adhere tenaciously to their mythic world-views in order that they not be compelled to come painfully face to face with the world as it is and the repressed world of their childhood. Collectively as well as individually, we remember in order to forget. In the process, our defenses remove us even further from reality so that the world to which we adapt is hopelessly tangled by our projections and displacements. Jews cling to their history of persecution so that they need not look at their own role in the process (both the act of persecution and the perception of the act). Greatly simplifying what I have written at length elsewhere,[11] this is to say that so central is the Holocaust in that condensation of Jewish history/folklore/myth/world-view, and the like, that it is unimaginable to be a Jew (or even an ideologically anti-"Jewish" Israeli) without it. I would go so far as to say that one who comprehends the Jewish meaning of "Holocaust" (and I encompass some five thousand years here) has understood the Jewish experience of life: fear of punishment, expectation of punishment, inevitability of punishment, and, finally, unconscious conviction that punishment is deserved (from Yahweh through Hitler through Arafat). Of course, all this is massively defended against — not unsurprisingly, by projecting and displacing the wish and fear onto outer sources of rejection and extermination, and *by distorting the reality of history so that it conforms with the myth of history.* It is utterly catastrophic for reality-testing when a group-myth, fueled by narcissistic trauma of childhood, family, and unresolved past, finds mirroring "confirmation" in current events.

It is precisely at this point that the Holocaust as sacred symbol collides with a scientific approach to the Holocaust as a fact to be analyzed. The magic of "numbers" has long played an almost hypnotic role in any discussion of the 1933–1945 period. To most Jews, and to many non-Jews, the Holocaust is defined exclusively in terms of the "six million" Jews who perished. Little mention is made of non-Jewish Slavic peoples, or non-Axis peoples of western Europe, who perished. To Jews, the Holocaust, it must be remembered, interweaves two elements of the doctrine of Chosenness: (a) election as moral superiority, and (b) election to suffer. What ethnocentric persecution mania accomplishes is to omit the suffering of non-Jewish victims. It is to say in essence: "Our suffering has more meaning than yours."

At present, one can notice the same process at work in the Mideast negotiations on the "Palestinian" problem or on the political status of Jerusalem. Those two to three million Palestinian refugees and their children living in Arab lands are, from the point of view of pure fact, exiles in no sense different than were the Jews in Europe and Islamic lands who emigrated to Palestine/Israel. Yet, in religious Zionist and secular Israeli nationalist ideology, Arab exiles are an Arab problem, not an Israeli one; secondly, because Palestine/Israel was envisioned from the outset as a Jewish state and homeland (*Der Judenstaat*, published in 1896, the title of Theodor Herzl's manifesto), Arabs would either have to accommodate to the new ethno-nationalist hegemony or leave; and finally, although Jerusalem is a holy city to Jewish, Christian, and Islamic faiths alike, Israelis rationalize their greater entitlement to the whole of it because of ancient historic precedent.

Narcissistic self-preoccupation knows no empathy for others outside the self or group-self. This has been the fate both of primitive ethnocentrism and rabid nationalism. "We" (Jews) are good; "they" (Gentiles) are evil. What is more, because "we" are Chosen (if not by God, then at least by the duty-bound guilt of the world's nations), the fate of our

people is of greater consequence than that of those who oppose us. With the same taunting arrogance of those whom they fled in Europe, Israelis assert, in essence, that "The future belongs to us." What matters, in ethno-nationalist terms, is not the enormity of the "numbers," *but whose they are*: who counts and who is discountable. The expansive claim by Jews and Israelis on land in the Mideast as "atonement" exacted from the world for historic injustices visited upon them is one powerful expression of the narcissistic principle of entitlement. Vengeful demand for restitution underlies the seemingly idealistic contemporary principles of "human rights" based on ethnic, national, or religious grounds.

Let me take this a step further. If Jews feel that their suffering is more significant and historically memorable than that which was afflicted on non-Jewish victims of the Nazis, what then, are we to make of the suffering of the *Germans* during the same period? How are we to understand their role in modern European history? Do we not need also to "revise" the great mythology of the West (one held by Russia as well) which holds that psychogeographically, Germany is the perpetual "bad boy" and menacing nemesis of the West, a people who must be kept under vigilant watch (although their economy supported!), and who must remain divided (symbolized by that simple yet sinister wall in Berlin) lest their inherent evil be once again unleashed?

Part of the West's myth of Germany is its denial of flagrant atrocities committed *against* Germany in the name of democracy. The infamous bombing of Dresden is the most conspicuous example in Europe. (The use of the atomic bomb on Japan is the parallel on the Asian front.) In warfare there is invariably a double-standard: what "we" do against the enemy is justified, what "they" do against us is "criminal," "barbaric," and the like. Not the deed itself, but *who* perpetrated it, is our fatuous relativistic argument! Psychologically, the process is disarmingly simple: we fight in our enemies what we hate in ourselves and conveniently locate in then. We fight a disowned part of ourselves in them; in killing them, as symbolic embodiments of our evil, we cleanse ourselves of that evil — at least temporarily, until the next need for purging through war arises.

The core of revisionism must be the *re-humanization* of all participants, whatever their role, in the Second World War. The consequence, I propose, will be a discovery of a systemic irrationality in which Germany cannot be singled out for blame. "Holocaust" will acquire a far more encompassing meaning in which the drama of the "family" of nations transcends any easy distinction between villains and victims. Let me cite a brief poignant example offered by Professor George Kren:[12]

> I vividly recall a trip in a bus from a psychohistory conference to the airport where I had suggested that I had considered learning to fly a light plane so that I could fly to the various conferences without the hassle of airports and reservations. One of the members of our party, a psychiatrist, indicated that he had been a pilot in the Second World War and described to us in detail his participation in the bombing of Dresden. He was clearly nostalgic. He analyzed the technical problems of getting that many planes into the air so that they would not collide, and then enthusiastically described how the American methods of coming over the target were so much more destructive than the British ones. There appeared an almost erotic infatuation with the technical destructive apparatus. Yet by contemporary psychiatric and for that matter social standards that person was and is totally normal.

A psychohistoric revisionism leads to a radically new interpretation not only of international conduct during the War, but of the very causes of the War itself. Psychohistorian Henry Ebel observes that "Nazism was not only a German but a *world* event — and that to see the Nazi movement entirely within the German context is to distort its meaning."[13] The regnant myth in the West is that xenophobic, paranoid, self-aggrandizing, anti-Semitic German nationalism was an exclusively indigenous event whose rabid, cancerous spread had to be stopped by nations "allied" to preserve freedom — nations free of the blemishes that tainted Germany.

Here, quite plainly, projection onto Germany plays a dominant role in the creation of the myth of German uncontrollably, invincibility, and the like. We fight the enemies we first make, enemies we need in order that we be "complete" — at a distance. As psychoanalyst and anthropologist George Devereux writes: "A common defense against the thought that one is psychologically disturbed consists of an attempt to represent the disturbance as peripheral to the self."[14] That is: *my* problem is *you*!

Until now, most students of World War II have focused on German projection *onto* Jews. Conspicuously absent have been studies of *stereotypes about Germany* which made Germans appear as monsters beyond the pale of humanity. What we are discerning, however, is a far more complex *complementary* system of projection in the international family, one in which the Jews were a single sub-system. What could not be tolerated in the "democratic" nations of the West was located exclusively in a supposedly venomous German "national character" that had its roots fifteen centuries earlier in the barbaric invasion by the Goths. If nations wanted Germany to act out aggressively, how then could they be expected to

stop Germany *before* Germany was allowed first to wage war? In a process identical to that of a family with a "deviant" or "sick" member, likewise within the international "family" of nations, "specific members take on specific roles that serve distinct roles for all the other members of the family."[15] Indeed, one member of the "family" cannot change without threatening the stability of the entire family.

The emotional role of "aggressor" that the West "assigned" to Germany was first observed by British historian A.J.P. Taylor in *The Origins of the Second World* War[16] — a work for which he incurred the *odium theologicum* of the scholarly community, not to mention the accusation of being a Fascist sympathizer. What this early "Revisionist" Taylor noted was simply that from the mid-1930s the statesmen of the West were giving Hitler cues to indulge his madness, giving him latitude to flex his muscles, turning away their heads as he continuously tested his limits and found no obstacle in his path.

Today we would say that the complementary pathology of those "normal"-appearing nations of the West was the very thing which permitted Hitler to dare even further. What is true for pathological family systems[17] is equally true for pathological international (group) systems. The officially "normal" are able to mask their sickness and shore up their stability *only* as their designated deviants do their mischief for them.

Very briefly, for instance, consider the role of France in the late 1930s. According to the myth in the West, vulnerable France was victim to the unstoppable *Blitzkrieg* that Hitler unleashed mercilessly in 1939. Yet, in some recent psycho-historic work, Jacques Szaluta and Stephen Ryan[18] turn this interpretation of the fall of France upside down (likewise, David Beisel[19] reinterprets the Munich "mistake" as based on the West's passivity and denial of reality, beneath which lay an encouragement for Germany to press even further).

Szaluta and Ryan link the fall of Republican France to a French fear of and *wish for* abandonment, expressed in fantasies of defeat, suicide, homosexual surrender, punishment, and the need to pay for pleasure with pain. How could a France which felt *feminized* possibly feel strong enough to *repel* Germany's *penetration*? Likewise, how could Marshall Pétain, leader of the Vichy government, *resist* the Germans when his own heightened conflicts over abandonment led him, like his countrymen who followed him, to abandon France to Germany? Psychologically, what the French felt they deserved they allowed to happen — with their passive complicity. *Fantasy, in other words, so powerfully affected the perception of reality that it helped bring about the very reality which was as much sought as it was consciously repudiated.*

It was the West's fantasy about Hitler's and Germany's *virility* (masculinity) that gave the Nazis the time and space and practice to perfect *their* fantasy in reality. Were it not for this deadly combination of admiration, envy, passivity, and delegation of the "aggressor" role, the West would not have given such license to German impudence. Not only did Hitler believe his propaganda, but his later adversaries were paralyzed by it because they also wanted to believe it.

In fact, rather than fantasy, Hitler was ill-prepared for war in September 1939. Yet it was the shared, complementary, fantasy, rather than military fact that prevailed — and which allowed the Germans to translate their group-fantasy (reversal of the trauma of 1918; the resurrection of the "betrayed" Siegfried into superhuman heroism) into fact. Ebel notes that[20]

> Sixty percent of the German artillery, in 1939, was still being pulled by horses, and to accomplish the *Blitzkrieg* invasion of France he had to skim the armored units from a great number of divisions and fling them into the center of France. Had the French refused to panic at the sight of those flags moving across the map, and vigorously counterattacked, they might well have won. Instead, they could not bring themselves to believe that any world leader might be willing to bet on the potency of his theatrical fantasies — and they allowed themselves to be *intimidated* into surrendering. Afterward, there were French commentators who declared that defeat was inevitable in view of the greater "virility" of the German uniforms and the German military *panache*.

The *Triumph of the Will* was a joint venture between the victor and the vanquished. Ebel writes further:[21]

> The fact that the Western powers, before the Second World war, seemed to be sending out encouraging signals to Hitler — including encouragements for his anti-Semitic policies — is perfectly understandable, however, once we acknowledge the extent to which Hitler and Nazism were "acting out" their [the Western powers'] own suppressed impulses; indeed, the extent to which they were able to suppress those impulses only *because* he was acting them out.

Finally, writes Ebel,[22]

> In its anger, its militarism, its aggressiveness, and its rituals of triumph and national purpose, Germany was serving as a delegate of all the other nations, acting out the materials [?] that their own citizens were not prepared to

acknowledge — directly and openly — as being "their own." The enemy, as always, was also oneself ...

Viewed in this perspective, the Germans were every bit as much victims — both of their own national psychology, mythology, and of their role in the international family — as were the Jews. It was the fatal symbiosis of nations that resulted in a Holocaust in the wake of whose unprecedented *fratricide* (not reducible to "genocide") only Death was victor. So long as we persist in viewing and debating the "Holocaust" as though it were primarily a Jewish or Jewish/German event, we will miss its tragic enormity for all who participated in it.

It is thus proper that a paper which began with a discussion of the Jewish myth of the Holocaust, concludes with the preliminary formulation of a revision of the entire Western myth of the 1933–1945 period. No single group can claim that period as its private property. In the earlier part of this paper, I briefly explored the *meaning* of the Jewish claim on the Holocaust. In the final section of the paper, I have argued that to over-focus on the fate of the Jews is to join rather than analyze the truly inter-national group-fantasy of World War II: it is to postpone insight into what was a Holocaust for all humanity.

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19. David R. Beisel, "Chamberlain and the Munich Crisis." Paper presented at this same 1980 panel (cited in Note 18).
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The Enemy Struggles as a Legend Dies

Two years ago we said that the Germans' "Holocaust" nightmare was almost over, and predicted it had another two years to run.

If that milestone has so far proved illusory it is because our worldwide Traditional Enemy has pulled every dirty trick he can — short of doing a Tonya Harding to every single revisionist writer — to breathe a few more years of life into the rotting corpus of his profitable legend.

To the uninitiated outsider, the events of the last months must seem baffling — indeed quite inexplicable. In a world beset by AIDS, starvation, unemployment, tribal and inter-racial strife, and a rising tide of crime, legislatures around the globe have found their timetables clogged with the enactment

of meaningless new litigation including laws:

— making it a crime for forensic scientists to challenge the prevailing details of the "Holocaust;"

— making it an offense for historians to question the crimes as defined at Nuremberg in 1945;

— Making it mandatory in several states across the United States, where religious education as such is now outlawed, to inflict compulsory "Holocaust" lessons on innocent schoolchildren in perpetuity.

If it were not such a tragic waste of government and legislative resources, there would be something almost comical in the antics of our opponents as they twist and writhe, struggling to avoid actually debating with the "Holocaust deniers."

Yet there is a lesson in it for us all: the dying throes of the "Holocaust" legend prove once again how mighty is the traditional enemy of the truth — how his tentacles extend into every crevice of government and the law, and how he will stop at nothing to get his way. It has been a fifty-year lesson to us all.

— David Irving, British historian, writing in the *Sept. 1994* issue of his *Action Report* newsletter.

Searching for Purpose in the "Post-Modern" World

VACLAV HAVEL

There are thinkers who claim that if the modern age began with the discovery of America, it also ended in America. This is said to have occurred in the year 1969, when America sent the first men to the moon. From this historical moment, they say, a new age in the life of humanity can be dated.

I think there are good reasons for suggesting that the modern age has ended. Today, many things indicate that we are going through a transitional period, when it seems that something is on the way out and something else is painfully being born. It is as if something were crumbling, decaying, and exhausting itself, while something else, still indistinct, were arising from the rubble.

Periods of history when values undergo a fundamental shift are certainly not unprecedented ... The distinguishing features of such transitional periods are a mixing and blending of cultures and a plurality or parallelism of intellectual and spiritual worlds. These are periods when all consistent value systems collapse, when cultures distant in time and space are discovered or rediscovered. They are periods when there is a tendency to quote, to imitate and to amplify, rather than to state with authority or integrate. New meaning is gradually born from the encounter, or the intersection, of many different elements.

Vaclav Havel

Today, this state of mind ... is called post-modernism. For me, a symbol of that state is a Bedouin mounted on a camel and clad in traditional robes under which he is wearing jeans, with a transistor radio in his hands and an ad for Coca-Cola on the camel's back. I am not ridiculing this, nor am I shedding an intellectual tear over the commercial expansion of the West that destroys alien cultures.

I see it rather as a typical expression of the multicultural era, a signal that an amalgamation of cultures is taking place. I see it as proof that something is happening, something is being born, that we are in a phase when one age is succeeding another, when everything is possible ...

This is related to the crisis, or to the transformation, of science as the basis of the modern conception of the world. The dizzying development of this science, with its unconditional faith in objective reality and its complete dependency on general and rationally knowable laws, led to the birth of modern

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Vaclav Havel is president of the Czech Republic. This is excerpted from an address he gave on the occasion of receiving the Liberty Medal at Independence Hall in Philadelphia on the Fourth of July, 1994.

technological civilization. It is the first civilization in the history of the human race that spans the entire globe and firmly binds together all human societies, submitting them to a common global destiny.

It was this science that enabled man, for the first time, to see Earth from space with his own eyes, that is, to see it as another star in the sky.

At the same time, however, the relationship to the world that modern science fostered and shaped now appears to have exhausted its potential. It is increasingly clear that, strangely, the relationship is missing something. It fails to connect with the most intrinsic nature or reality, and with natural human experience. It is now more of a source of disintegration and doubt than a source of integration and meaning. It produces what amounts to a state of schizophrenia: man as an observer is becoming completely alienated from himself as a being.

Classical modern science described only the surface of things, a single dimension of reality. And the more dogmatically science treated it as the only dimension, as the very essence of reality, the more misleading it became. Today, for instance, we may know immeasurably more about the universe than our ancestors did, and yet, it increasingly seems they knew something more essential about it than we do, something that escapes us. The same thing is true of nature and of ourselves. The more thoroughly all our organs and their functions, their internal structure, and the biochemical reactions that take place within them are described, the more we seem to fail to grasp the spirit, purpose, and meaning of the system that they create together and that we experience as our unique "self."

And thus today we find ourselves in a paradoxical situation. We enjoy all the achievements of modern civilization that have made our physical existence on this Earth easier in so many important ways. Yet we do not know exactly what to do with ourselves, where to turn. The world of our experiences seems chaotic, disconnected, confusing. There appear to be no integrating forces, no unified meaning, no true inner understanding of phenomena in our experience of the world. Experts can explain anything in the objective world to us, yet we understand our own lives less and less. In short, we live in the post-modern world, where everything is possible and almost nothing is certain ...

The abyss between the rational and the spiritual, the external and the internal, the objective and the subjective, the technical and the moral, the universal and the unique constantly grows deeper.

These questions have been highlighted with particular urgency by the two most important political events in the second half of the 20th century: the collapse of colonial hegemony and the fall of Communism. The artificial world order of the past decades had collapsed and a new, more just, order has not yet emerged. The central political task of the final years of this century, then, is the creation of a new model of coexistence among the various cultures, peoples, races, and religious spheres within a single interconnected civilization. This task is all the more urgent because other threats to contemporary humanity brought about by one-dimensional development of civilization are growing more serious all the time.

Many believe this task can be accomplished through technical means ... But such efforts are doomed to failure if they do not grow out of something deeper, out of generally held values.

This, too, is well-known. And in searching for the most natural source for the creation of a new world order, we usually look to an area that is the traditional foundation of modern justice and a great achievement of the modern age: to a set of values that — among other things — were first declared in (Independence Hall). I am referring to respect for the unique human being and his or her liberties and inalienable rights, and the principle that all power derives from the people. I am, in short, referring to the fundamental ideas of modern democracy.

The idea of human rights and freedoms must be an integral part of any meaningful world order. Yet I think it must be anchored in a different place, and in a different way, than has been the case so far. If it is to be more than just a slogan mocked by half the world, it cannot be expressed in the language of a departing era, and it must not be mere froth floating on the subsiding waters of faith in a purely scientific relationship to the world ...

A modern philosopher once said: "Only a God can save us now." Yes, the only real hope of people today is probably a renewal of our certainty that we are rooted in the Earth and, at the same time, the cosmos. This awareness endows us with the capacity for self-transcendence. Politicians at international forums may reiterate a thousand times that the basis of the new world order must be universal respect for human rights, but it will mean nothing as long as this imperative does not derive from the respect of the miracle of being, the miracle of the universe, the miracle of nature, the miracle of our own existence. Only someone who submits in the authority of the universal order and of creation, who values the right to be a part of it and a participant in it, can genuinely value himself and his neighbors, and thus honor their rights as well.

It logically follows that, in today's multicultural world, the truly reliable path to coexistence, to peaceful coexistence and creative cooperation, must start from what is at the root of all cultures and what lies infinitely deeper in human hearts and

minds than political opinion, convictions, antipathies, or sympathies: It must be rooted in self-transcendence. Transcendence as the only real alternative to extinction.

The Declaration of Independence, adopted 218 years ago in this building, states that the Creator gave man the right to liberty. It seems man can realize that liberty only if he does not forget the one who endowed him with it.

Holocaust Hate Propaganda Targets Germans

An important component of the seemingly perpetual Holocaust media campaign is the promotion of ugly and hateful images of Germans. A good example is the cartoon shown here. It appeared in the April 1, 1994, issue of the *Jewish Press*, an influential Brooklyn, New York, weekly with a claimed circulation of 160,000.

Such hate-mongering is not confined to papers such as the *Jewish Week*. Jewish writer Elie Wiesel, who has been honored by American presidents, wrote in one widely circulated work, *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." Similarly, Steven Spielberg's widely acclaimed motion picture "Schindler's List" depicts Germans as brutal, corrupt, evil and mindless. The only exception is the main character, Oskar Schindler, who is portrayed positively only in so far as he helps Jews.

Friday, April 1, 1994 • THE JEWISH PRESS

"We Germans always show compassion towards the sick and elderly. That has been our trait throughout history."

Even US government officials contribute to the bigotry. During the March 20, 1994, "60 Minutes" broadcast, Michael Berenbaum, an official of the US Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, DC, blamed "the Germans" for killing millions of European Jews during the Second World War.

So acceptable is such anti-German defamation in American newspapers, books, motion pictures and television that examples such as these rarely provoke even the slightest murmur of protest, even by groups such as the powerful Anti-Defamation League, which hypocritically claims to be concerned for the dignity of all.

— M. W.

Our Savaged "Living" Constitution

Joseph Sobran

Most Americans are taught, and assume, that we still live under the Constitution of the United States. We are even told that the Constitution improves with age — that it's a "living document" whose full potential has only been realized in modern times thanks to the interpretations of the Supreme Court.

Thanks to the Court, we now know that the First amendment protects obscenity, but forbids prayer in public schools. We know — again thanks to the Court — that we have a constitutional right to "privacy," which means that a woman may have her child aborted without consulting or informing the father. We know that the abortion laws of all 50 states, even the most permissive, had been in violation of the Constitution.

We know, in short, that many of our moral and religious traditions are "unconstitutional" — in the eyes of our ruling elite. It seems to make no difference that most of us had no inkling that we were acting unconstitutionally until the modern Court announced the fact to us.

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On the other hand, the court finds nothing unconstitutional about the countless new powers constantly claimed by the federal government, even when these clash directly with the Bill of Rights. The Court upholds federal gun control laws, even though the Second Amendment says plainly "the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed."

So the Court can create "rights" that are nowhere mentioned or implied by the Constitution; and it may set aside rights that are explicitly listed in the Constitution.

It is all, of course, nonsense.

This is what the idea of a "living document" comes down to: The Court is not bound by the plain meaning of the words it interprets. It may assign unsuspected new meanings to those words, disregarding history, tradition, and the dictionary.

The Constitution was not "dead" before the modern Court went to work on it. It had been amended five times in the two decades before Franklin Roosevelt sought to change it by stealth during the New Deal. That was the fastest rate of amendment since the adoption of the Bill of Rights.

Far from being dead, the Constitution proved capable of being changed by the people themselves through the amending process the Constitution provides for in Article V. It didn't have to be subtly twisted by clever jurists bent on reading their pet notions into it.

There is no need to rehearse all the details of the great change that has occurred since Roosevelt filled the Court with his cronies. In fact, many learned constitutional scholars know the details without seeing the pattern those details form: they don't grasp that the Constitution has been stood on its head.

The clear purpose of the Constitution is to distribute power very carefully. Most powers of government are reserved to the states and the people; this is implicit throughout, but it is affirmed expressly by the Tenth Amendment and is clear from all the ratification debates of 1789. A very few powers, carefully listed and defined, are delegated (key word!) to the federal government. These few powers, in turn, are divided among three branches of government, one of which (Congress) is further divided into two houses.

In granting new powers to the federal government, then, the framers of the Constitution were anxious to prevent power from being centralized, or (in their fearful word) "consolidated." The idea of trusting any single man, group, or branch of government with all power was the very opposite of what they had in mind.

It is worth noting that a close modern synonym of the word "consolidated" is "fascist." Centralization of power is the fascist — as well as the "socialist and communist" ideal. And elements of all three systems, which were sweeping Europe and Russia, helped inspire and form the New America of the New Deal.

The champions of consolidated government knew that the old Constitution was the great obstacle to their designs. They wanted to preserve the outward forms of constitutional government while emptying those forms of content, because an openly revolutionary government could not command the allegiance of the American people. So they developed the strange idea of a "living" or "evolving" Constitution that somehow became the opposite of itself, and actually reversed its meaning with the passage of time.

Today the plan and original meaning of the Constitution exists only on paper, and in the minds of a shrinking number of Americans who still understand the heritage they have been robbed of. We live in what might be called post-constitutional America, where the arbitrary and purposeful misinterpretation of the Constitution has turned ours into a government of men, not laws. The doctrine of the "living document" really makes the Constitution a dead letter, a law without effect.

Does this sound gloomy? There is no need to despair. By recognizing the idea of a "living document" for the nonsense it is, we can restore the Constitution and reclaim the liberty our ancestors earned for us.

The First World War and American intervention therein marked an ominous turning point in the history of the United States and the world. Unfortunately, there are relatively few persons who recall the days before 1914 ... All kinds of taxes were relatively low. We had only a token national debt ... Inflation was unheard of here ... There was little or no witch-hunting and few of the symptoms and operations of the police state which has been developing so rapidly here during the last decade ... Enlightened citizens of the Western world were then filled with buoyant hope for a bright future of humanity ... People were confident that the amazing developments of technology would soon produce abundance, security and leisure for the multitude. In this optimism no item was more potent than the assumption that war was an outmoded nightmare ... The great majority of Americans today have known only a world ravaged by war, depressions, international intrigue and meddling; the encroachments of the police state, vast debts and crushing taxation and the control of public opinion by ruthless propaganda.

— Professor Harry Elmer Barnes (1889–1968). Quoted in: G. Garrett, *Burden of Empire*, pp. 94–95.

Reviews

Classic Critique of "The Revolution That Was" Traces America's Road from Republic to Empire and Explores Legacy of the Roosevelt New Deal Revolution

Burden of Empire, by Garet Garrett. Introduction by Theodore J. O'Keefe. Newport Beach, Calif.: Noontide Press, 1993. Softcover. 178 pages. ISBN: 0-939482-42-8. (Available through the IHR for $9.50, plus $2 shipping).

Reviewed by Andrew Clarke

Every once in a very long while, a book comes along which throws a reviewer into a quandary: Is it possible to do the book justice? While taking the risk of seeming slavishly uncritical, I must state up front that *Burden of Empire* is such a book. Among the many turgid works of political analysis that have published in recent decades, this classic shines as a diamond in the sludge of American political literature.

Garet Garrett writes with a grace and clarity that verges on the lyrical.

Yet, the most striking feature of the book is its prescient and penetrating political analysis. Garrett's book has been characterized as "the most radical view of the New Deal" available, but perhaps it would be better described as the most insightful of existing critiques.

Originally published in 1953 under the title *The People's Pottage*, this book is composed of three separate essays: "The Revolution Was," which was first published in 1938, "Ex America" (from 1951), and "Rise of Empire" (1952). The first two focus on the Franklin Roosevelt era and the consolidation of the welfare state during his twelve-year presidency. The final essay documents the transformation of America from republic to empire, as the last vestiges of the Old Republic were squashed by the leviathan government of perpetual warfare and welfare. In a timely introduction to this attractive new edition of Garrett's trilogy, *Journal* review editor Theodore J. O'Keefe provides useful background material about Garrett as well as a damning critique of the neglect of his work by our contemporary "conservative" apologists for the welfare-warfare state.

Andrew Clarke is the pen name of a recent graduate of the University of Pennsylvania. Born in South Carolina, he was raised in Missouri, upstate New York and New Jersey.

The opening of the first essay, "The Revolution Was," provides a synopsis of its main theme, as well as a sample of Garrett at his stylistic best:

> There are those who still think that they are holding the pass against a revolution that may be coming up the road. But they are gazing in the wrong direction. The revolution is behind them. It went by in the Night of Depression, singing songs to freedom.
>
> There are those who have never ceased to say very earnestly, "Something is going to happen to the American form of government if we don't watch out." These were the innocent disarmers. Their trust was in words. They had forgotten their Aristotle. More than 2,000 years ago he wrote of what can happen within the form, when "one thing takes the place of another so that ancient laws will remain, while the power will be in the hands of those who have brought about the revolution in the state."

This notion of "revolution within the form" aptly characterizes Garrett's view of the New Deal. While the American Congress has never been disbanded, and the US Constitution remains encased in glass, a fundamental change had occurred in the relationship between the American people and their government. Garrett's first essay explains how and why this fateful metamorphosis took place.

Implemented "by scientific technique," Garrett suggests that this "silent revolution" was intentionally prepared from the outset to institute domestic socialism, the depression crisis being used as a pretext to achieve that end. Whenever President Roosevelt and his New Deal administrators were confronted with a choice about how next to proceed politically, they chose the step that would "ramify the authority and power of the executive," "strengthen its hold upon the economic life of the nation," "extend its power over the individual," "degrade the parliamentary principle," "impair the great American tradition of an independent, Constitutional judicial power," "weaken all other powers," and "exalt the leadership principle." In other words, FDR's New Deal engineered a massive transfer of power from the people to the central state — a radical realignment that turned the American political system on its head.

Most of "The Revolution Was" is devoted to tracing the steps needed to implement a revolution within the form, and to showing just how this was done in the New Deal. So utterly convincing is Garrett's presentation that the reader is bound to reread this essay to commit to memory the dynamics of the surreptitious revolution.

A sense of gloomy finality pervades Garrett's conclusion:

> Like the hag fish, the New Deal entered the old form and devoured its meaning from within. The revolutionaries were on the inside, the defenders were on the outside. A government that had been supported by the people and was so controlled by the people became one that supported the people and so controlled them. Much of it is irreversible.

Unless one understands the central implication of "The Revolution Was" — that the Constitutional Republic of 1787 no longer exists — no meaningful understanding of contemporary politics is possible. Those who seek to "preserve" our constitutional system are, at best wasting their time; at worst, they are misleading others into misdirecting their talents as well.

In contrast to the theme of "The Revolution Was," Garrett's second essay in this collection deals at length with the consequences of the revolutionary changes that have taken place in the American form of government. Complementing the first essay, "Ex America" completes the picture of America's domination by the welfare state.

It begins with a memorable description of America's role in world politics. Garrett castigates this country's self-destructive foreign policy with a harsh depiction of the spectacle of carping client-states sucking up American hand-outs. Because it contains a short rebuttal of European charges of American imperialism, one is left with the feeling that Garrett had not yet fully developed his own blistering critique of US imperialism when he wrote this essay in 1951. All the same, "Ex America" is not primarily about international affairs — it is about the shackling of a free people, a precondition for the establishment of a full-fledged imperium.

Garrett links the growth of government and diminution of domestic liberty with the ability of the state to seize the wealth of the people: "No government can acquire power and put it forth by law and edict. It must have the means ... In the modern case, means will be money." More specifically, money without the "conventional limits" of hard currency, generated by inflation, government debt, and confiscatory taxation.

A key event in the establishment of the modern American state was the introduction of the federal income tax. Writes Garrett:

> The first great turning was accomplished with the ease of a Pullman train passing from one track to another over a split-point switch. The landscape hardly changed at all for a while, and then gradually, and when people found themselves in a new political region, there was no turning back.
>
> The event was the amendment of the Constitution in 1913, giving the Federal government power to impose a progressive tax on all incomes. The idea was not only European, it was Marxian, one of the cardinal points of the Communist Manifesto. President Wilson disarmed opposition by saying the Federal government would use this power, if at all, only in time of emergency and yet, as we now know, the obsequies of limited government ought then to have been performed. Only the intellectuals knew what it meant. Nobody else dreamed, least of all perhaps President Wilson, that the Federal income tax would be used not for revenue only, which was until then the only kind of taxation Americans knew, but for the purpose of re-distributing the national wealth from the top downward, according to European ideas of social amelioration.

Another radical change in American political life has been the transformation of the role of the Supreme Court. Writing in 1951, Garrett anticipated the even greater usurpations of power that would come in the decades to follow:

> By a series of reinterpretations of the Constitution, the reformed Supreme Court has so relaxed the austerities of the supreme law as to give government a new freedom. It this process it has cast itself in a social role. Formerly its business was to say what the law was, according to the Constitution; if people did not like the law they could change it, only provided they change it in a lawful manner by amending the Constitution. Now the Supreme Court undertakes to say what is justice, what is public welfare, what is good for the people and to make suitable inflections of the Constitution. Thus law is made subordinate to the discretions and judgments of men, whereas the cornerstone of freedom was that the government should be a government of law, not of men.

As Garrett reminds the reader, the men who founded the American republic were aware of the dangers of the powerful central state with which we must contend today:

> The founders of the American government knew history. As far back as they could see all governments both good and bad, no matter in what form they appeared, had certain features

> in common, such as a natural appetite for power, a passion to act upon peoples' lives, a will to live, resources of self-perpetuation and longings for grandeur — with always the one sequel, that they abused their power and fell and were succeeded by government that did it all over again, as if by some kind of inner compulsion.

Garrett largely avoids the tendency of most political ideologues to act as uncritical apologists for the economic system that fortuitously fits their preconceived worldview.

The most impressive part of "Ex America" is the discussion of New Deal monetary policies, and the strength of this critique rests in Garrett's penetrating look at economic reality. Capitalism, he suggests, is the most desirable alternative in an imperfect world, not an ideal economic system. In the decades since the New Deal, America's political elite — including "supply side" conservatives — has consistently supported Keynesian economic policy in one form or another. Garrett puts the Keynesian vision of perpetual debt and inflation in perspective:

> ... Inflation as the New Deal planned it was bound to be popular. Many were enriched and few were impoverished. Those who have been enriched could afford to pension or assist the few who have been impoverished, and if this could be arranged, and if it could go on forever, what a world this would be! The government would never have to balance its budget, debt would be a myth, and nobody ever again would have to worry about money.
>
> Has that the sound of fantasy? Nevertheless, it is the pure logic of inflation.

Given a policy that refuses to confront economic reality, Garrett contends that only method of maintaining stability is by continuously bolstering the state's power over the economy, and, consequently, the people.

When he first published "Rise of Empire" in 1952, Garrett was a lonely voice speaking out against the Cold War consensus, and its program of "perpetual war for perpetual peace." In this final essay of the trilogy, Garrett returns to the theme of "revolution within the form," focusing on the changes in the American form of government as manifest in international relations.

"Rise of Empire" is divided into three sections. The first draws comparisons with Rome, as it was quietly transformed from republic to empire. For Garrett, the fatal change in the American system occurred when the executive branch took from Congress the power to initiate war. "The question is: Whose hand shall control the instrument of war? It is late to ask, for when the hand of the Republic begins to relax another hand is already putting itself forth."

Garrett's description of America's transition to imperialism is not as radical as it may first appear. Others have offered earlier dates for this transition. Sociologist William Graham Sumner, for example, believed that the Spanish-American War marked the turning point from republic to imperial power. [See "The Fateful Year 1898: The United States Becomes an Imperial Power," *The Journal of Historical Review*, July–August 1993, pp. 4–13.] Today, of course, even Garrett's more restrained view is anathema to the establishment Right.

In the second section of "Rise of Empire," Garrett spells out the characteristics of empire, defining what he means and citing US policy examples. So well does he present his case that even the most recalcitrant reader is likely to be convinced that the United States has indeed become an aggressive imperial power. In the final section Garrett somewhat hopefully suggests that the American empire is not necessarily permanent and inviolable.

Throughout "Rise of Empire," Garrett implicitly rejects the often repeated contention that imperialism is an inevitable manifestation of capitalism. According to this familiar Leftist argument, capitalist states endemically over-produce, and are therefore driven to constant intervention in foreign lands to open new markets for their surplus products. (This was supposedly manifest, for example, in America's "Open Door" policy toward China.) With one line in "Ex America," Garrett deftly dismisses this simplistic argument: "It was nonsense to say that we could not have used [the 'surplus' production] ourselves, if not in the same forms in which it was distributed abroad, then in other forms, since wealth is a thing which can assume other forms." Whatever the flaws of a market economy, an impetus toward imperialism is not one of them. One of the great virtues of this book is its straightforward debunking of such popular notions.

Taken as a whole, *Burden of Empire* is a devastating indictment of the legacy of the New Deal and American policy during World War II. It shows the close and inevitable relationship between the rise of a powerful US central government and an American apparatus of international power. Perhaps the greatest value of this book is its exposition of the demise of the Old Republic. Given the validity of Garet Garrett's analysis, which calls into question the very legitimacy of the current US government, perhaps it is high time to heed Gore Vidal's advice: decide on the shape and form of the next American republic.

New Work Examines Suppressed Conservative Political-Intellectual Heritage

Reclaiming the American Right: The Lost Legacy of the Conservative Movement, by Justin Raimondo. Foreword by Patrick J. Buchanan. Burlingame, Calif.: Center for Libertarian Studies (P.O. Box 4091, Burlingame, CA 94011), 1993. Softcover. 289 pages. Notes. Bibliography. Index. $17.95. ISBN: 1-883959-00-4.

Reviewed by Andrew Clarke

Much attention has been given in recent years to ideological quarrels among factions of the American Right. Traditionalists, nationalists, and libertarians are feuding with internationalists and neo-conservatives. Charges that the forces of the Old Right are threatening to drag conservatives into the fever swamps are countered with accusations of treason and takeover by social democratic interlopers. The casual observer might assume that political movements are simply given to internecine rhetorical squabbling, and that nothing of consequence is really at stake here. *Reclaiming the American Right* is a useful antidote to such a faulty conclusion.

Justin Raimondo, a San Francisco writer and veteran libertarian activist, has written a timely and very worth-while, yet sometimes problematic, revisionist history of the American Right. In contrast to conventional treatments of American conservative ideology and politics that begin with the post-war period, this book begins with a focus on the period between the two world wars, and continues through to the present.

Raimondo's polemical book is directed primarily to the reader who is already sympathetic toward, or even involved in, right-wing politics. Yet, this ambitious and often radical reinterpretations of the history of the "conservative movement" demands a somewhat more detailed and scholarly examination, one that is beyond the scope of a work of this kind. As a result, Raimondo sometimes needlessly confuses issues of philosophical subtlety with substantive political disputes.

This book attempts to address a critical problem of late twentieth century American conservatism: the American Right today has revealed itself as a flaccid and relatively inconsequential political force. Writes Raimondo:

> After taking over the Republican Party in the sixties, and then capturing the White House in 1980, conservatives are baffled to discover that the power of the federal government to tax and regulate, and invade every aspect of our lives, has not lessened but increased over the last decade. Bewildered, frustrated, and demoralized, the men and women of the Right are asking themselves: What went wrong?

Raimondo lays out the root of the problem in his introduction. The Right, he contends, was beset with three waves of defectors from the political Left: ex-communists who gathered during the 1950s around the young Bill Buckley and his *National Review*; liberals and Social Democrats who were repelled by the isolationism and counter-culture of the New Left, and defected from the Democratic Party in the late-1960s to become "neo-conservatives"; and an array of "neo-con" think-tanks and publications that arose during the 1980s. As a result of these "three invasions from the Left, loosely grouped along generational lines," the conservative movement was detached "from its moorings in American political culture" and was transformed from an isolationist and *laissez-faire* movement into a globalist crusade to crush Communism by any means necessary, including the imposition of totalitarianism at home. In several chapters, Raimondo carefully examines the Right prior to these invasions — that is, the Old Right that had formed in opposition to the New Deal and American entry into World War Two. After focusing on the remnant of the Old Right that managed to survive during the Cold War, he follows with an analysis of the contemporary political scene. He concludes his book by considering the development of an effective opposition to the welfare-warfare state.

Raimondo's analysis of the leftist incursion and injection of universalist and internationalist ideologies into the conservative intellectual body during the 1950s is one of the best and most useful on the subject. It is rigorous and yet accessible to even the casual reader.

In his treatment of these three "invasions," Raimondo traces their roots on the far Left to their positions of influence on the Right. His description of the messianic opposition to the Soviet Union by the ex-Leftists at *National Review* as a quasi-religious quest is quite accurate, as an afternoon perusal through back issues of that magazine at any good library will confirm. In his description of the intellectual evolution of neo-conservatives "from Trotsky to Shachtman to Reagan" Raimondo brings to light information hitherto unavailable in a single source. Regrettably lacking is any mention of the influence of German emigré Leo Strauss on the contemporary neo-conservative worldview, which might be interesting in light of the claim of some neo-cons that Strauss provides a coherent philosophical basis for what often seems to be a loose collection of political positions or, less generously, sheer opportunism.

The only serious flaw in Raimondo's examina-

tion of the role of ex-Leftists in the American conservative movement during the formative postwar period (particularly after 1955 and the founding of *National Review*) is his gross misinterpretation of James Burnham as political theorist.

Raimondo presents Burnham as a prototypical neo-conservative, an enthusiast of the rising managerial class, and a man obsessed with power. While this description may satisfactorily summarize the typical neo-conservative, it does not apply to Burnham. However wrong-headed some of his political prescriptions may have been, a fair evaluation of Burnham's intellectual career is in order here.

James Burnham began his life in politics as a member of Leon Trotsky's Fourth International, which (theoretically) offered Marxists an alternative to the "bureaucratic deformations" of Stalinism. After a number of crises involving the historical record of the Soviet Union and Trotsky's insistence on defending the Soviet "worker's state" "against the Stalinists, and in spite of the Stalinists," Burnham broke with Trotsky and, indeed, with orthodox Marxism.

In 1941, Burnham published *The Managerial Revolution*, a work that analyzed the past from a historical perspective similar to the dialectic of the Marxists. However, Burnham identified the post-capitalist system not as one of liberating socialism, but as a new method of exploitation: rule by a rigid managerial elite that choked out all hopes of liberation and possibility of freedom. He identified this trend in the Soviet Union, in Europe's fascist or authoritarian regimes, and in New Deal America. He was particularly sagacious in incorporating a description of the concurrent rise of managerial dominance in the private economy, fueled by a growing trend toward separation of business control from business ownership. Burnham would eventually drop the flaw of dialectic (George Orwell criticized him for "predicting the continuation of anything that is happening"), and concentrate on the essential nature of the new elite in his analyses.

Raimondo is simply incorrect in imputing to Burnham a partisanship for the managerial class. He claimed agnosticism on this point in his major work, and it is clear that he regarded the new class as exploitative by its nature. Raimondo goes so far as to quote Burnham making this precise point: "I am not writing a *program* of social reform, nor am I making any *moral* judgment whatever ..." Further, Burnham's analysis is rooted in the observations of earlier thinkers as diverse as Max Weber and Simone Weil, neither of whom is usually associated with totalitarian politics. In addition, Burnham's critique of the managerial class has been taken up by Samuel Francis, whom Raimondo praises, and, at least by implication, the Frankfurt School critics in their assessment of the domination of society by the emergent "New Class."

Raimondo's excoriation of Burnham as a partisan of raw power is another spurious characterization. Burnham was a "Machiavellian" in that he believed that politics must be understood in terms of power struggles. He almost certainly misapplied this in over-estimating the Soviet danger, but it is unfair to contend that Burnham was obsessed with whomever appeared to be most powerful simply because he utilized a methodology that attempted to elucidate the underlying realities of political conflicts.

Contrary to the portrayal provided by Raimondo, Burnham was actually an early critic of the neo-conservatives. Raimondo's disdain of Burnham is likely rooted in Burnham's early, fervent support for the Cold War, a position that typically also meant support for curtailment of domestic liberties as part of the effort to expand the garrison state of the emerging American empire.

Aside from his mischaracterization of Burnham, it should be emphasized that Raimondo's basic point about how the American Right was co-opted by one-time Leftist intellectuals who continued to adhere to key Leftist premises is essentially correct. Hence, the modern Right seeks "liberal ends through conservative means." Thus, a "conservative" such as Jack Kemp may claim to reject liberal programs to, for example, equalize the economic status of different ethnic groups. Nevertheless, he will support ostensibly "conservative" programs to achieve this same goal. By contrast, the traditional or "paleo-" conservative rejects both the goal and the means, recognizing that social hierarchies are natural and desirable in any healthy society.

Given that both the contemporary Left and Right accept the egalitarian premises that prevail in today's society, the paleo-conservative view is now widely castigated as simply beyond the pale of allowable discussion. Pointing up the essential similarity between establishment Left and Right was the allegedly conservative "Reagan revolution," which, in spite of dark mumblings of some liberal critics, was led by a geriatric actor who proudly, and skillfully, presented himself as a political heir to Franklin Roosevelt and the New Deal.

Much of this can be explained by the Cold War establishment consensus that developed in America in the aftermath of the Second World War. An essential feature of the Cold War anti-Communist American Right was its collaboration with Cold War liberalism. As a result of this alliance, conservatives largely failed to challenge the basic philosophical underpinnings of American liberalism. (Recent scholarship, particularly that of Elizabethtown College professor Paul Gottfried, verifies Raimondo's

conclusions.)

Avoiding any detailed explanation of the final neo-conservative split with the far Left, Raimondo focuses instead on neo-conservatives as liberal critics of capitalism and as democratic internationalists. Underlying this break, which came in the late 1960s and was initiated by the concerns mentioned above, was a specifically Jewish consciousness and self-identification of many (and perhaps most) neo-conservatives. Recognizing this self-identification is important, as it has played a major and possibly essential role in shaping neo-conservative political positions, as well as serving as a pretext to denounce conservative opponents of neo-conservative positions as "anti-Semitic." (Columnists Patrick Buchanan and Joseph Sobran, and the late scholar Russell Kirk, come to mind.)

Paul Gottfried, a prominent critic of neo-conservatism (and himself Jewish) emphasizes this point in his thorough study, The Conservative Movement:

> Among the factors that led [Norman] Podhoretz and many other neo-conservatives to disengage with the Left, their Jewishness was certainly significant. From 1969 on, Commentary [edited by Podhoretz and published by the American Jewish Committee], included strongly worded polemics that presented the [anti-establishment] "Movement," particularly black radicalism, as a danger to American Jews. Critics like Earl Raab and Nathan Glazer stressed the inevitable anti-Jewish character of the policies advocated by the New Left and its liberal followers.

An analysis of the neo-con break from liberalism is interesting because it sheds some light on the ongoing conflict between neo-conservatives and paleo-conservatives that have raged in the wake of the collapse of Soviet Communism and the tearing down of the Berlin Wall. These intramural "conservative wars" (discussed in the last section of the book) stem not, as some neo-cons would have the public believe, from dislike of Jews per se, but from two competing worldviews that are contending — as the glue of anti-Communism dissipates — for hegemony on the Right: one largely rooted in Jewish identity and interests, and another strongly emphasizing a Christian European and Anglo-American historical-cultural tradition.

In the next section of the book, Raimondo provides an informative examination of the Old Right that is particularly important because it introduces to a new generation of Americans a significant intellectual-political movement that was suppressed and is now all but forgotten. The American "Old Right" is not only significant as an important part of an American conservative and right-wing tradition (that includes, for example, Southern Agrarianism), but it is also relevant because it provides a timely and damning critique of the political structures that support the welfare-warfare state with which America has been saddled since the New Deal era.

In addition to well-done treatments of such "Old Right" stalwarts as H.L. Mencken, Albert Jay Nock, Frank Chodorov, and the Old Right *Chicago Tribune*, Raimondo devotes separate chapters to two once very influential journalists, Garet Garrett and John T. Flynn. In these chapters (three and four), Raimondo explores the life, work and impact of each man.

Garet Garrett was a widely published journalist who specialized in writing about financial affairs. In 1915, *The New York Times* assigned him to cover the war in Europe. After the war, he published his first novel, and went on to write on a range of subjects. He envisioned America as an independent republic of free men. Garrett opposed immigration on racial and cultural grounds, and opposed the inflationary Federal Reserve System, recommending instead a 100 percent gold standard currency. (An interesting feature of his outlook was simultaneous support for both *laissez faire* and autarchy in economics.) It is no wonder, then, that when Roosevelt initiated his attack on domestic liberties and began to move America toward war in Europe, Garrett was among his most eloquent critics.

After World War II, Garrett remained an active critic of "New Deal" America. He published *The People's Pottage*, a famous collection of essays (recently reissued by the Noontide Press under the title *Burden of Empire*). Before his death in 1954 he finished *The American Story*, an ode to the uniquely American way of life. Raimondo captures well the life and spirit of Garrett, combining a biographical overview with a good analysis of his writings. Flynn receives similar treatment.

In the years following World War I, John T. Flynn was a "liberal," which meant that he was an isolationist and a supporter of *laissez-faire* economics. He had a prolific career, with scintillating essays and books ranging from attacks on Franklin Roosevelt *(The Roosevelt Myth)* to works on the fate of the republic *(The Decline of the American Republic and How to Save It)*. Raimondo's provides a thorough and particularly interesting discussion of Flynn's important role as a member of the national committee of the non-interventionist America First Committee (1940–1941). He goes on to trace Flynn's active life through the Korean War and beyond. As Raimondo summarizes "Flynn ended his career in 1960, at the age of seventy-nine ... He died in 1964 as Buckley and his followers were eradicating the last remnants of the Old Right, his works largely forgotten."

As Raimondo goes on to explain in his treatment

of the Old Right during the 1950s and 1960s, during this period anti-Communist globalists headed by William Buckley effectively expelled libertarians, "Objectivists," John Birch Society adherents, and others, from the "official" conservative movement. All the expellees, Raimondo points out, seemed to have one thing in common: opposition, at least residual, to the growing American welfare-warfare state that was being justified by the alleged threat of the Soviet Union.

Because he seems largely indifferent to the Soviet Union as a real military and political threat, it is surprising that Raimondo makes no mention of the body of scholarship — loosely described as "Cold War revisionism" — initiated by William Appleman Williams in his *The Tragedy of American Diplomacy.* Other Cold War revisionists of note include Ronald Radosh and Gabriel Kolko, whose *Politics of War* deserves particularly close attention. [Radosh's *Prophets on the Right* is available from the IHR for $5.95 plus $2 shipping.] The political disposition of these revisionists was decidedly to the Left; in fact, many were associated with the 1960s New Left, which may account for their omission from this study of conservative politics. At one point, Cold War revisionism was widely recognized as an important historical trend, portraying the US as aggressively imperialistic, a view foreshadowed by Garrett, Harry Elmer Barnes and others.

Journal readers will appreciate Raimondo's sympathetic discussion of revisionist historians, including Harry Elmer Barnes, Charles A. Beard, William Henry Chamberlin, Charles Callan Tansill, and George Morgenstern. Given the reflexive, implacable hostility by today's academic and media establishment toward Second World War revisionism of any kind, Raimondo's treatment is welcome. In this brief section — entitled "The Revisionists: Getting the Truth Out" — he focuses primarily on revisionist works that indict Franklin Roosevelt for maneuvering the United States into war.

In chapter eight, Raimondo provides some original and noteworthy revelations about Ayn Rand. According to Raimondo, "the overwhelming mass of evidence" shows that Rand was strongly influenced by, and probably borrowed stylistic and thematic elements from, a book by Garet Garrett in writing her well-known novel, *Atlas Shrugged*. Although she claimed not to owe any philosophical debts — a claim which shows either patent dishonesty or sheer stupidity — Rand apparently was also influenced deeply by Isabel Paterson, whose classic book, *The God of the Machine*, is touched on by Raimondo.

Raimondo's final section deals with the political prospects for today's paleo-conservatives, whom he regards as upholding the spirit of the Old Right. While it is true that the paleo-conservatives have much in common with the Old Right as a matter of political interest, many "Old Right" personalities actually had much in common with the tradition of eighteenth century liberalism. Among today's paleo-conservatives, this tradition is largely non-existent.

Chris Woltermann, in the Winter 1993 *Telos*, describes paleo-conservatism as a modern phenomenon, tracing its roots to such twentieth century European conservative theorists as Bertrand de Jouvenel and Eric Voegelin. There is also a tendency among many paleo-cons to employ sociobiological arguments, which are clearly of contemporary origin. At the same time, though, they emphasize an understanding of history — a perspective that includes a thorough-going skepticism about human nature that has its roots in classical thought. Also characteristic of paleo-conservativism is a distrust of the doctrine of human rights and the corollary role of the state as protector. With decentralist tendencies and a distinct distrust of supranational agencies, they prefer instead to see power removed from government hands.

The political positions derived from such a worldview are clearly similar, if not identical, to those advocated by the Old Right. Indeed, Raimondo quotes a passage from paleo-conservative Thomas Fleming that echoes Garet Garrett's critique of post-war America: "There is not much left of the Old Republic, which has bloated into a cancerous and swollen empire that threatens to devour all life and energy that still exists." Yet after endorsing this view, Raimondo's most ambitious recommendations are support for Patrick Buchanan as a presidential candidate and the recapturing of the conservative movement under the inspiration of the Old Right. However praiseworthy these goals may be, a much more radical political program than Raimondo outlines here would seem necessary to dismantle the enormous welfare-warfare state he decries.

Despite some oversimplification, *Reclaiming the American Right* deserves a wide readership. The issues it treats are vitally important, both on an intellectual-ideological plane, and politically. For any effective right-wing movement to achieve even tentative success, its roots must extend back into the American political-intellectual tradition much further than 1950. Despite new and destructive trends since the New Deal, such as the "Civil Rights" revolution, an effective movement will need to come to terms with the Old Right critique of the welfare-warfare state, which is the center of the malignancy that penetrates the American body politic. Unless that is dismantled, America will never again be healthy.

"European New Right" Study Warns Against Universalism and Egalitarianism

Against Democracy and Equality: The European New Right, by Tomislav Sunic. With preface by Paul Gottfried. New York: Peter Lang (62 W. 45th St., New York, NY 10036), 1990. Hardcover. 196 (+ xii) pages. Notes. Bibliography. $40. ISBN: 0-8204-1294-5.

Reviewed by William Saunders

This important and regrettably little-known book has a twofold purpose, the author tells us in his introduction. The first part "describes resurgent conservative movements in Europe and their intellectual heritage." Here Dr. Sunic is concerned with the relationship between the Continental European New Right of today and its mentors, including Carl Schmitt (1888–1982), Oswald Spengler (1880–1936) and Vilfredo Pareto (1848–1923), the most lucid of these being Pareto. But these are just three chosen by Sunic from among many other forerunners of the New Right (see pp. 40–41). These thinkers clearly saw the disastrous consequences of the trend toward universalism that was already well underway in the decades before the Second World War.

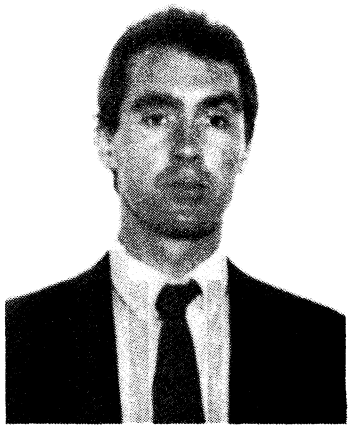
In the second part of his book, Dr. Sunic presents a reasoned attack against egalitarianism, liberal capitalism, "economism," and socialism — in short, the "Revolt of the Masses" in the well-known formulation of Ortega y Gasset.

The author is a Croat, with a good knowledge of German and French, and a reasonably good knowledge of English (having lived in the United States for many years). He received his Ph.D. in political science at the University of California, Santa Barbara, and for a time taught at Juniata College in Pennsylvania.

The European Right is, and was, a reaction against Communism, egalitarianism, welfarism and the social uniformity of liberal societies. But at the same time, it embraces some of the ideas previously associated with the Left. The basic message is that egalitarianism leads inexorably to totalitarianism. The reason for this, I would add, is because equality does not exist in nature and so it must be imposed if it is even to be approached.

Dr. Sunic notes the tendency of theorists on the European Right to present a wide variety of ideas, not all of them compatible by any means. But these ideas help to decompose the stereotype of the "fascist" with a small "f" and get the theorist of the Right off the hook, so to speak. Still, it is clear that intellectuals of the Right have had much more freedom to express their ideas in France than in Germany, or even Italy. The media campaign to force the French to "come to terms" with the Vichy regime is inspired by the fear that intellectuals such as Alain de Benoist (the foremost theorist of the European New Right) may be getting away with too much. [See the interview with de Benoist in the March–April 1994 *Journal*.]

Sunic is at great pains to emphasize the difference between the European New Right and the American equivalent: "The message of the New Right is simple: egalitarianism, economism, and universalism, when left unchecked, set the stage for most horrendous form of totalitarianism — communism." Well, it is the American Declaration of Independence that enshrines Jefferson's absurd principle that "all men are created equal," while modern America has reached the culmination of economism in the form of consumerism, and actively promotes the creation of a culturally undifferentiated multiracial biomass.



Tomislav Sunic

But communism has collapsed, and for a reason explained by Friedrich von Hayek. When I say "communism," I do not mean the anarchist millennium of communism, when the state has "withered away," but the communist reality, particularly in the Soviet Union and eastern Europe, which was oppressive state socialism. Hayek explained that it had to collapse because it fixed prices. Even if fixed prices are correct at the moment of being fixed, they will tend to be either too high or too low within a short time. This leads to a black market in underpriced goods (sausages in Moscow, for example) and a glut of over-priced goods (such as matrioshka dolls). While Hayek — one of the Austrian Economists — is very little known in Europe, he is studied with reverence at a number of American universities.

European New Right theorists see Americanism as an even more dangerous enemy than communism. In *The End of History*, a much-discussed book written after the collapse of communism, Francis

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William Saunders is the pen name of a British-born specialist of international finance, economics and social and political affairs. He lives and works in central Europe. This review is his first contribution to the *Journal*.

Fukuyama claimed that Americanism would take over the world. Many Europeans feared that he might be right. But the argument does not hold water. In fact, the US and USSR were each able to control large areas of the earth because together they were able to maintain a potential balance of terror. Now that one of the protagonists has fallen flat on his face, the other is likewise left face down, like a playing-card that had been held up by another one leaning against it. That is why official representatives of the American and British governments are unwilling to condemn "fascist" members of the Italian government. After all, they were democratically elected, right? (I can think of other like-minded persons who, half a century ago, were similarly democratically elected!)

Besides, a diseased system produces its own antibodies if it is to survive, and it is Americans who are the most effective critics of their own system. To make a point in favor of the US Constitution, the First Amendment permits Americans to air views that in Europe are forbidden by law. It harks back to the powerful arguments in favor of the free clash of ideas expressed in Milton's *Areopagitica*. Without this free clash of views, historical revisionism would be in a poor way indeed. Sunic admits (p. 41) that "even the United States" has produced a number of "conservative revolutionaries," and cites Lothrop Stoddard, Madison Grant, Francis Yockey, and James Burnham as examples. One should not judge American conservatism by the Christian Fundamentalists or the neo-cons.

Sunic is good on the *Nouvelle Droite* in France, with its rejection of communism, liberalism and the Judaeo-Christian heritage, and its attachment to Europe's pagan, pre-Christian past. He shows that some of its ideas, such as the dismantlement of the Western Alliance, are those of the Left. I fear that continental New Right's emphasis on how "a sense of community must invariably preside over individualistic and economic self-interests" *(sic)* — that is, that the political must always take precedence over the economic — also means that it sides with the Left in the matter of taxes. In this respect it parts company with the Anglo-American Right, which has a *long and* honorable anti-tax tradition. But note that continental right-wing political leaders such as Mogens Glistrup (former leader of the Danish anti-tax party) and Jean-Marie Le Pen (leader of France's *Front National*) have suggested doing away altogether with income taxes. What is more, Le Pen acknowledges his debt to the American right. When de Benoist talks about "soft" American totalitarianism air-conditioning hell and killing the soul, while creating "happy robots", he does not acknowledge his debt to Aldous Huxley and his *Brave New World*.

A great deal depends on how we interpret the attacks of de Benoist and his friends on the Anglo-American concern for "economic utility and efficiency." If by this is meant mass production methods and the lowest-common-denominator advertising, then it is obviously pernicious. Subsidiarity, as defined in the papal encyclical *Rerum Novarum* and restated by the present Pope, is the watchword if we want to promote the quality of life. But economic efficiency can (and should) be redefined to take account of such necessary concerns as the environment and customer satisfaction. Just as Sunic shows how Jewish elements in France have diabolized, caricatured and vilified the *Nouvelle Droite*, so the *Nouvelle Droite* is in danger of doing the same to right-wing Anglo-Americans who might easily be their allies. On the other hand (p. 27), some of de Benoist's most vicious critics, such as Georg Wolf (of the German weekly *Der Spiegel*) and Maurice Duverger (a former disciple of Jacques Doriot), not to speak of Paul de Man (of Deconstructionist fame) are, or were, fascists.

A very important chapter, "Gramsciism of the Right," refers the need for the Right to go on a "long march through the institutions," in imitation of Antonio Gramsci's left-wing disciples. However, Sunic's chapter on "The Pagan Right" fails to emphasize the essential difference between the Judaeo-Christian spirit, which is essentially moralistic, and the Greek spirit, which was essentially aesthetic:

> "Beauty is truth, truth beauty" — that is all
> Ye know on earth, and all ye need to know.

Not till the ugly, degenerate twentieth century did the metaphors of the poets cease to draw on the riches of Greek mythology. Still, this chapter contains some very fine insights, as when Sunic quotes Ernest Renan on Judaism's essential monotheism deriving from the desert (p. 74), or when he contrasts the heroic spirit of paganism with the guilt tradition of Judeo-Christianity (p. 75), and contrasts the pagan notion of eternal recurrence with the Jewish notion of progression towards a final millennium (p. 76). (The same could be said of Islam.) Catholicism, on the other hand, as de Benoist says, owes its manifestations of the sacred to its absorption of pagan traditions.

The second part of Sunic's book, on "The Egalitarian Mystique," contains a great many insights from the author's wide reading in history, anthropology, ethnology, philosophy, and economics. It deserves to be read with thought and attention to detail.

Modern computers contain spelling checks that offer alternatives to obvious mistakes and would enable the author to avoid such typological errors as

"inuendos" (p. 49), "milennial" (p. 129), though not the term "Carolinian" (where "Carolingian" is indicated, p. 53), or expressions like "the reigns of power" (p. 63) and "individualism reins supreme" (p. 139). But these are merely irritating flaws in a work I recommend highly. I can think of no other book that contains so many right-wing views conflated in such a masterly manner.

"Mastering" Germany's Difficult Past

Der Nasenring: Im Dickicht der Vergangenheits bewältigung ("The Nose Ring: In the Thicket of Mastering the Past"), by Armin Mohler. Essen: Heitz & Höffkes, 1989. (Revised and expanded edition published in 1991 by Verlag Langen Müller, Munich.) Softcover. 256 pages. Index. ISBN: 3-926650-26-5.

Reviewed by Mark Weber

Armin Mohler, the Swiss-born author who has lived for many years in Germany, begins this well-written revisionist look at the Third Reich and its historical legacy by telling the fascinating story of his experiences as a 22-year-old in wartime Berlin.

Following the German-led military attack against the Soviet Union in June 1941, the youthful author — then a student at the University of Basel — shared the enthusiasm of many Europeans of his day for the "European crusade" against Bolshevism. So intense was his passion that in early February 1942 he illegally crossed the border into Germany with the intention of volunteering for service in the Waffen SS. Mohler's "romantic break out" failed. He was not accepted into the SS, and after his return to Switzerland about a year later, was tried and sentenced to six months imprisonment. (Others were much less fortunate. A number of Swiss citizens who had acted similarly, Mohler reports, were shot by the Swiss authorities for their "treason" on behalf of the Third Reich. Others had to endure years in Swiss prisons.)

Although not permitted to serve in the German armed forces, he was allowed to live for a time in Berlin. In addition to study at the Prussian state library there, he thoughtfully observed the rhythm of life in wartime Germany.

Mohler writes convincingly about how people lived in National Socialist Germany during its third year of war. "The Third Reich was not as I had expected," he recalls. Life in wartime Germany was much more complex and multifaceted than is portrayed by the official propaganda image put out by the Allies during the war, and since then in the western mass media. (p. 91)

Mohler was struck, for example, by the self-confident style and attractive, even rather erotic appearance of Berlin's women, who bore little resemblance to the dowdy "Gretchen" types portrayed in Allied wartime propaganda.

In contrast to the heavy-handed effort in Stalinist Russia to mold a uniform "new Soviet man," no such effort was ever attempted in the Third Reich. Berliners very much retained their well-known sarcastic wit and spirited individuality.

Even membership in the National Socialist party did not imply a uniformity of thinking and behavior, as many today assume. "A Party member might be a pagan or a pious Christian; he was free to agitate for a free market economy or for state control of the economy. He was not even obliged to support racist views — Hitler's contempt for popular racialist views was well known ..." (p. 67)

"The greatest surprise for me was the intensity of the intellectual disputes ... Conversations were much more free than I had expected." Indeed, Mohler contrasts the vitality of intellectual discussion in wartime Germany with the "monotone" character of discourse in Germany today. (pp. 95–96)

Mohler was impressed by the perseverance and toughness of the Berliners in the face of the privations and sacrifices of war. "In this century," writes Mohler, "the Germans have accomplished something that is unique in modern history: in the space of three decades — first for four years, and then for almost six years — they waged war against practically the entire world." (p. 61)

Most Germans, Mohler explains, supported the regime. "The [Third Reich] leadership could count on two things from the great majority of the Germans: first, the basic feeling that 'life goes on,' and second on a consensus [of support] that went far beyond National Socialism ..." This consensus, writes Mohler, was never officially laid out, but could be determined from numerous conversations. It included almost universal rejection of the democratic "system" of the pre-Hitler Weimar period, and, a common feeling that the war must first of all be won, and that all problems and disputes would be peacefully and fairly worked out afterwards. This basic consensus, within which Germans could and did disagree on a wide range of issues, held up until the end of the war. (pp. 66, 70–71)

During the final years of the war, Mohler notes, a new generation of younger men and women assumed control of Germany's administrative and military apparatus. It was this tough and capable generation, which had come to maturity during the Third Reich's pre-war years (including "incubation" in the Hitler Youth), that re-built Germany after the

defeat of 1945, and was responsible for the postwar "economic miracle."

During his stay in wartime Germany, Mohler once attended a summer camp of about 150 representatives of youth groups from various European countries, including Spain, Italy, France, Denmark, and Finland. Curiously, there were even three youths from Britain and Canada. These young nationalists, he recalled, shared a passionate idealism for a united Europe of fraternally-linked nations. Although Germany's wartime leadership encouraged this spirit of idealism, it never sincerely cultivated it. As a result, writes Mohler, many young non-German Europeans felt let down by the National Socialist regime.

Mohler's year in wartime Germany, "impressed me so much that, more than ever, I was not able to fit in to the 'self-satisfaction' of Swiss society." He anticipated that Germany would play a decisive role in his future. (p. 90)

Most of this book is devoted to a forthright, dissident treatment of the highly emotion-laden issue of Germany's burdensome Third Reich legacy. Mohler argues persuasively that the seemingly endless emphasis on Nazi crimes, and on German efforts to "atone" for collective "sins," is perverse, unjust and ultimately dangerous.

He cites a public opinion poll conducted some years ago, in which Germans selected at random were asked: "Who was guilty of the German-Hungarian war of 1893?" A decisive majority readily answered "the Germans," confessing collective guilt for a conflict that, in fact, never took place. Only a small minority responded with "the Hungarians" or "don't know."

"The legend of the 'singularity,' the uniqueness, of the German [wartime] crimes," he writes (p. 245), "is today's expression of hatred of Germany." In fact, he goes on (p. 252),

> World history consists of many pasts that have not been 'overcome.' The Germans must live with their victims just as the Americans must live with their exterminated Indians, and the English must live with their ravished Irish, not to mention the Russians, the Turks, the Serbs, *the Iranians* and the Cambodians.

To point up the injustice and primitive sensationalism that characterizes so much of the hunt for "Nazi war criminals," Mohler devotes 16 pages to the case of Ilse Koch, the wife of a concentration camp commandant who was castigated in the American media as the "bitch of Buchenwald." She became internationally infamous for supposedly helping to make lampshades from the skins of murdered camp prisoners. Her husband, Buchenwald commandant Karl Koch, had been found guilty of murder and corruption by an SS court, and executed. (Mohler relies heavily on a book about the Koch case by California historian Prof. Arthur L. Smith, Jr. See also: M. Weber, "Buchenwald: Legend and Reality," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Winter 1986–87, pp. 405–407.)

A remarkable feature of *Der Nasenring* is the author's objective treatment (pp. 226–229) of the history-making findings of American gas chamber expert Fred Leuchter, Jr.

(On the basis of his 1988 on-site forensic investigation of the supposed "gas chamber" killing facilities at Auschwitz, Birkenau and Majdanek, Leuchter concluded that these facilities were never used, and could never have been used, to kill people as alleged. For more about Leuchter, his work and his impact, see the Winter 1992–93 IHR *Journal*.)

At least one German author has credited Mohler for being the first to bring the Leuchter Report to his attention. (See: Ernst Gauss, *Vorlesungen über Zeitgeschichte*, pp. 163, 203, and the Nov.–Dec. 1993 issue of this *Journal*, p. 26.)

Mohler insists (p. 252) that

> This process of 'overcoming the past,' as it is practiced today, must come to an end because it hampers [worthwhile] policies and makes them impossible. Above all, the Germans themselves must bring this process to an end ... Most Germans living today were not alive during the Third Reich era (or only as children) ... It won't be possible to play out this same game for all eternity, portraying the German as singularly guilty, contrasted against the supposed normality of all others.

As part of this seemingly endless process of "overcoming the past" — which, as Mohler points out, was imposed on defeated Germany by the victorious Allied powers in the aftermath of the Second World War — not only is the Third Reich simplistically diabolized, but along with it all "conservative" virtues, including order, honor, morality, homeland, loyalty, decency, are defamed and discredited as "fascist" or even "Nazi." (p. 192)

The things that will destroy America are prosperity-at-any-price, peace-at-any-price, safety-first instead of duty-first, the love of soft living and the get-rich-quick theory of life.

— Theodore Roosevelt

The Most Ambitious Book-length Debunking to Date of the Works of Jean-Claude Pressac

AUSCHWITZ
The End of a Legend

by Carlo Mattogno

Mattogno is a learned man in the mold of his ancestors of the Renaissance. He is meticulous and prolific . . . in the first rank of Revisionists.

—Prof. Robert Faurisson

Jean-Claude Pressac's *Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers* was published in 1989 to resounding worldwide media hosannas. It was followed in 1993 by his second opus, *The Crematoria of Auschwitz: The Machinery of Mass Killing*.

Pressac's principal volume, more than 500 pages with hundreds of illustrations, promised conclusive evidence of the existence and use of homicidal gas chambers at Auschwitz. Headlines proclaimed that the revisionists were finally vanquished, that Pressac had proven what the immense resources of the Holocaust industry had failed to prove in more than 40 years.

But in the mad rush to herald the news, the pundits hadn't bothered to *read* the book, presuming that the French pharmacist had accomplished what his publisher–the Klarsfeld Foundation–claimed he had. He hadn't.

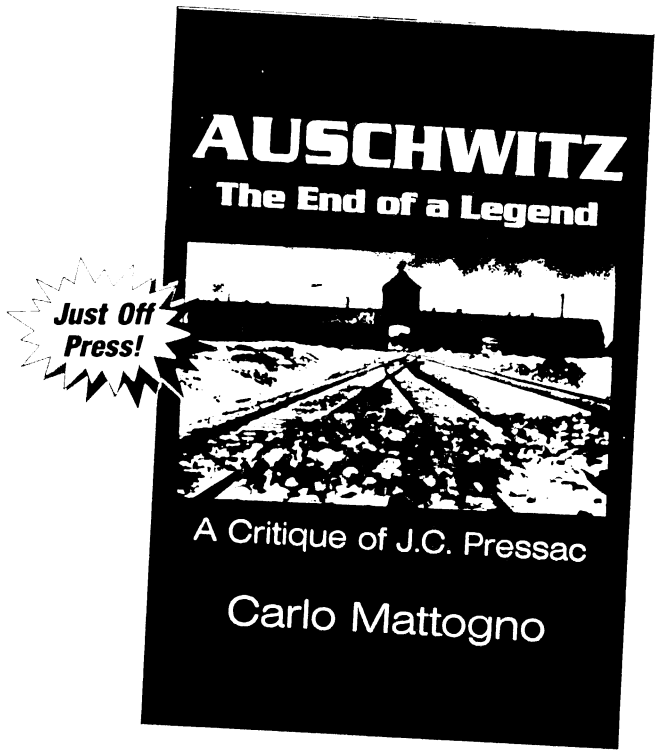
So Pressac's second volume was published, promising, in his own words, "*the definitive rebuttal of revisionist theories*." This dog wouldn't hunt, either.

As you read ***Auschwitz: The End of a Legend*** you'll find out why. Here, Italian documents specialist Carlo Mattogno demolishes the boldest attempt to date– Pressac's back to back volumes–to answer the revisionist critique of the Auschwitz extermination story.

Mattogno shows how Pressac misinterpreted his own data in such a way as to assist not his fellow exterminationists, but the very revisionists he had set out defeat.

Mattogno demonstrates that Pressac's confused arguments confirm his ignorance of the structure and functioning of crematory ovens and gas chambers, and of the nature and use of the disinfectant Zyklon B; that Pressac's use of available statistics was arbitrary and largely fanciful, resulting in a *down-sizing* of the number of alleged victims; and that where information did not exist, Pressac simply invented it, often with mutually contradictory arguments in different parts of his thesis.

Mattogno's relentless deconstruction of Pressac's assertions and interpretations not only reveals the Holocaust Lobby hero's incompetence, it's a case study of the pathetic sloppiness the media can be counted on to overlook in the crusade against Holocaust Revisionism.



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What Attendees Are Saying about IHR's
TWELFTH INTERNATIONAL REVISIONIST CONFERENCE
September 3-5, 1994 in Irvine, California

Just a brief note to let you know how very much I enjoyed the entire conference. I am a seasoned "conventioneer" and have had my share of high-caliber events, both as a speaker and as an attendee. I have never seen such scholarship and class! Thoroughly enjoyable conference! —I. Rimlaud

Thank you for all the work each of you did to make the Twelfth IHR Conference the intellectual event of the year. . . . [It] was my third — and the best! . . . Each [speaker] was excellent! —P. Mayer

I wish to thank you for an excellent IHR conference in Irvine, California. The conference speakers were excellent. Everything seemed to be better organized and more relaxed and friendly. —J. Bishop

I found the conference deeply interesting. I just arrived home determined to redouble my efforts on behalf of revisionism. —A. Thomas

The depth and breadth of the topics [and] the quality of the presentations [made this conference] one of the best I've ever attended. —H. Becker

This weekend was a wonderful opportunity to meet honest historians from around the world. Their enthusiasm and professionalism in spite of political persecution was inspiring! —G. Cetton

Twelfth Conference Lectures Now Available on Audio Cassette and Videotape. Quality VHS Videotapes (some videos include two speakers) are $29 each. Audio Cassettes are $9.95 each. (See below for special set prices)

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Video #V109 Engineer **FRIEDRICH P. BERG** explains in fascinating slides how 500,000 wood-burning gas vehicles produced in Germany during the war would have made ideal "gas chambers," but were never used as such (audiotape #**A137**). Aerial photography expert **JOHN BALL** reveals new forensic evidence showing that wartime CIA reconnaissance photos of the German camps were altered to fit the Myth (audiotape #**A135**).

Video #V110 Swiss revisionist activist **JÜRGEN GRAF** discusses the *Three Pillars of the Holocaust Story*, prefacing his talk with a report on the Third World minority invasion of Europe (audiotape **#A136**). Italian documents scholar **CARLO MATTOGNO**, author of *Auschwitz: The End of a Legend*, demolishes exterminationist Jean-Claude Pressac's second attempt to answer the revisionists (audiotape **#A141**).

Video #V111 IHR media director **BRADLEY SMITH** describes the astounding success of the "Campus Project" in placing full page revisionist ads in college papers across America. He also tells side-splitting anecdotes about his run-ins with anti-revisionist heavyweight Deborah Lipstadt (audiotape #**A139**). Independent documentary film producer **DAVID COLE** reports on his on-again, off-again intellectual affair with editor and publisher of *Skeptic Magazine*, Dr. Michael Shermer (audiotape #**A143**)

Video #V112 Brilliant, controversial English historian and international bestselling author **DAVID IRVING** thrills the audience with an update on his worldwide Campaign for Truth in History. In part two of his talk, Irving reveals the most telling entries from Goebbels' long-suppressed personal diaries (audiotape #**A138**).

Video #V113 France's peerless revisionist **ROBERT FAURISSON** delivers a humorous lecture entitled *The U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum: A Historical Fiasco.* The professor toured the museum just days before the conference (audiotape #**A142**). International revisionist emissary **ROBERT COUNTESS** explains his unique methods for *Getting Out the Word* (on audiotape #**A139** with Bradley Smith).

Video #V114 Canadian revisionist activist **ERNST ZÜNDEL**, barred by the U.S. State Department from attending three previous IHR conferences, pays tribute to fellow revisionists around the world, tells of his trials and ultimate victory in Canada's Supreme Court, and describes his recent trip to Russia, where he met with leaders to introduce historical revisionism (audiotape #**A140**).

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The Journal of Historical Review

Volume 14, Number 6 November / December 1994

Spirited Meeting Marks Progress: Twelfth IHR Conference Report

William Henry Chamberlin: A Man Ahead of His Time

Mark Weber

The Crematories of Auschwitz: A Critique of J.-C. Pressac

Carlo Mattogno

New Assault Against Freedom of Speech in Canada

Doug Collins

America's Second Crusade

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— And More —

The War that Never Ends

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.

Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace is the most authoritative, and the most comprehensive, one-volume history of America's real road into World War II. The work of eight outstanding American historians and researchers, under the editorial leadership of the brilliant Revisionist historian Harry Elmer Barnes, this timeless classic demonstrates why World War II wasn't America's war, and how our leaders, from President Franklin Delano Roosevelt on down, first lied us into the war, then lied us into a maze of international entanglements that have brought America ***Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace***.

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Classic... and Burningly Controversial

Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace, first published in 1953, represents Revisionist academic scholarship at its full and (to date) tragically final flowering in America's greatest universities—just before America's internationalist Establishment imposed a bigoted and chillingly effective blackout on Revisionism in academia.

Its republication by the Institute in 1983 was an event, and not merely because IHR's version included Harry Elmer Barnes' uncannily prophetic essay on "1984" trends in American policy and public life (considered too controversial for conservatives and anti-Communists in the early 50's). It was hailed by the international Revisionist community, led by Dr. James J. Martin, the Dean of living Historical Revisionists, who wrote:

> It is the republication of books such as *Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace* which does so much to discommode and annoy the beneficiaries of the New World Order.

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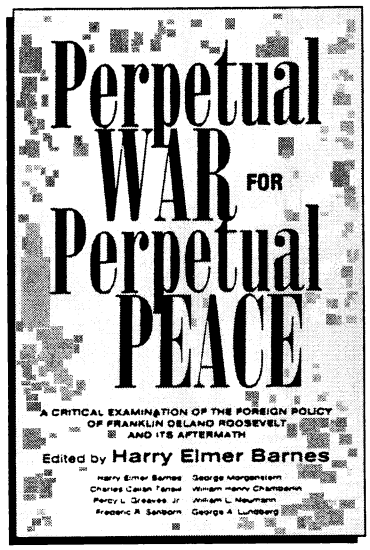

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Quality Softcover
740 pages · $18 + $3 shipping
ISBN 0-939484-01-3
INSTITUTE FOR HISTORICAL REVIEW
P.O. Box 2739 · Newport Beach, CA 92659

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The Journal of Historical Review

Volume 14, Number 6 November/December 1994

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The Journal of Historical Review (ISSN: 0195-6752) began publication in 1980. It upholds and continues the tradition of Historical Revisionism of scholars such as Harry Elmer Barnes, A.J.P. Taylor, William H. Chamberlin, Paul Rassinier and Charles Tansill. *The Journal of Historical Review* is published six times yearly by the **Institute for Historical Review**, P.O. Box 4296, Torrance, CA 90510, USA. Subscription price: $40 per year, $65 for two years, and $90 for three years. For foreign subscriptions, add $10 per year. For overseas airmail delivery, add $30 per year. Remittances for subscriptions must be payable in US dollars drawable on a US bank.

Single issues — Spring 1986 (Volume 7) to the present — are available for sale for $7.50 each, plus $1.05 shipping. Back issues of the *Journal* are also available for purchase in hardbound annual volumes for the years 1984, 1985, 1986, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991 and 1992, for $35.00 each. Please write for our booklist and prices. Quantity subscription and bulk issue rates are available upon request.

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Spirited Twelfth IHR Conference Brings Together Leading Revisionist Scholars and Activists

Defying Powerful Adversaries, Institute Marks Progress

From across the United States and several foreign countries, scholars, activists, and friends of the Institute for Historical Review met over the September 3-5 weekend in southern California for the IHR's landmark Twelfth International Revisionist Conference.

This Conference, one of the most spirited and successful ever, featured leading figures in the growing international revisionist movement. It was characterized, attendees agreed, by high morale and a confident sense of progress. About 125 men and women attended the Conference, which met in a pleasant hotel meeting hall in Irvine.

Leading revisionist activists provided attendees with the exciting inside story about major achievements, as well as the latest efforts of our adversaries, in the international campaign for greater historical awareness about the most hyped and taboo-laden chapters of history. In addition, prominent revisionist scholars shared new research discoveries and breakthrough insights that further shatter major icons of "official" history. (As usual, Conference presentations are available on audio- and video-tape cassettes, and most will also be published in the *Journal*.)

Underscoring its international tone, Conference speakers arrived from Italy, France, Switzerland, Britain and Canada, as well as the United States, while attendees from Finland, Argentina, Britain and Switzerland were among those who traveled to southern California specifically to attend this meeting.

As at previous IHR conferences, attendees took advantage of this opportunity to meet personally and talk privately with the speakers and fellow attendees, many of whom are themselves important revisionist activists.

This gathering, one of the most informative, inspiring and memorable ever, was particularly important in light of the major developments since the last, Eleventh IHR Conference in October 1992.

David Irving

In his familiar riveting and entertaining style, best-selling British historian David Irving presented startling new facts and insights about Joseph Goebbels, based in large part on his headline-making research in Moscow archives of the Third Reich propaganda chief's long-hidden personal diaries.

At the last IHR Conference, Irving explained how he was able to gain access to the diaries, which were recorded on fragile glass plates. Having in the meantime carefully evaluated this priceless historical material, Irving related new findings and insights from this and other sources to present a fuller and more rounded portrait of Hitler's propaganda chief, and of the internal life of the Third Reich.

Contrary to the popular propaganda image, said Irving, Goebbels' animosity against the Jews, which was more severe than Hitler's, reached its full intensity only after, and in response to, the Jewish wartime propaganda campaign against Germany.

Spicing his presentation with anecdotes about Goebbels' private life, Irving discredited the propaganda image of him as a profligate womanizer. In fact, Irving related, Goebbels' sexual experiences were quite limited.

Speaking about the notorious *Kristallnacht* outburst of anti-Jewish violence in Germany on November 9, 1938, Irving pointedly took issue with the thesis of German revisionist historian Ingrid Weckert, who addressed the Sixth, 1985 IHR Conference. (On that occasion, Weckert presented evidence to suggest that Goebbels had no advance knowledge of the *Kristallnacht* outburst, and that the violence may have been incited by anti-German *agents provocateurs*. Weckert's thesis is detailed in her book *Flashpoint*, published by the IHR.)

In fact, said Irving, the evidence shows that Goebbels played the crucial role in inciting the anti-Jewish "Crystal Night" violence.

This disagreement between Irving and Weckert — which Irving referred to as "a revisionist revising a revisionist" — is precisely the kind of thoughtful disputation among revisionist scholars (including IHR conference speakers) that points up the intellectual vitality and integrity of the Institute for Historical Review.

Speakers at the Twelfth IHR Conference (from left to right)**: Robert Faurisson, John Ball, Russ Granata, Carlo Mattogno, Ernst Zündel, Friedrich Berg, Greg Raven, David Cole, Robert Countess, Tom Marcellus, Mark Weber, David Irving and Jürgen Graf.**

Irving, one of the world's most prolific historians, also updated attendees on the ever more frantic international campaign to muzzle him — and all others who dare to defy the powerful worldwide Holocaust lobby. He told about his new lawsuit against the Canadian government for unlawful detention during his 1992 speaking tour — an arrest that was later cited by the New Zealand and Australian governments to justify their own bans against him.

As at previous IHR conferences, Irving sold and autographed copies of his books.

Ernst Zündel

German-Canadian publicist and civil rights activist Ernst Zündel delivered the Sunday evening banquet address. His appearance was particularly welcome because, although he attended the first IHR conference in 1979, he had been barred by the US State Department from entering this country to address several subsequent IHR conferences.

Zündel devoted the first part of his banquet presentation to an eloquent expression of gratitude for all those who, over the years, have contributed significantly to the revisionist cause. He expressed special appreciation for the role of the Institute for Historical Review, and took time to remember friends and supporters who are no longer alive, including Frank Walus, Joseph Burg, Dr. William Lindsey and IHR co-founder David McCalden. Zündel related all this to his two widely publicized "Holocaust trials" (1985 and 1988), which brought major breakthroughs for historical revisionism and an important victory for free speech in Canada.

During the second portion of his presentation, he reported on his recent visit to Russia, where he met with important Russian nationalist figures, including Vladimir Zhirinovsky, the prominent opposition political leader.

In the wake of the collapse of Communism, said Zündel, a process of full-scale historical revisionism is now taking place in Russia. People are enduring a drastic, soul-searching re-evaluation of their national history and collective self-identity. This includes a dramatic reassessment of the Second World War. Oddly enough, said Zündel, many nationalist Russians view both Stalin and Hitler rather sympathetically.

Predicting that Russia would take a course that is neither Communist nor liberal-democratic/Capitalist, Zündel spoke with hope about the possibilities of future close collaboration between a revived, nationalist Russia and a revived, nationalist Germany.

Zündel, who was interviewed by journalist Mike Wallace for an appearance on a March 1994 broadcast of the popular "60 Minutes" television show, has been devoting considerable time in recent months to a new international television and radio broadcast outreach campaign.

Attendees enjoy dinner and fellowship during the Sunday evening Conference banquet.

Robert Faurisson

Robert Faurisson delighted attendees with a fascinating and witty description of his visit, just days earlier, to the US Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, DC, where he met with Museum official Michael Berenbaum in his office.

At the Twelfth IHR Conference, Swiss educator Athur Vogt tells *Journal* editor Mark Weber about revisionist work in Europe.

Faurisson spoke with Berenbaum about the model on display at the Museum of Auschwitz-Birkenau Crematory II, which shows an SS man pouring Zyklon B in vents on the roof of the supposed "gas chamber" and through perforated pillars. This model, the French scholar told Berenbaum, is preposterous because, as any visitor to Birkenau can determine for himself, there are no vents or regular holes in the roofs of the supposed "gas chamber." Berenbaum made no effort to defend the model, said Faurisson.

Faurisson asked Berenbaum why the Museum had not answered his challenge to "Show me or draw me a Nazi [homicidal] gas chamber!" (See the Jan.–Feb. 1994 *Journal*, p. 23.) After some prodding, Berenbaum eventually related that "the decision has been made not to give any physical representation of the Nazi gas chambers."

In response to Faurisson's pointed questions and comments, Berenbaum angrily lost control of himself. "I thought he was going to smack me," said Faurisson.

Faurisson, a French university professor (and frequent *Journal* contributor), was the first person to dig up and publish key documents from the Auschwitz construction department archives. After attempting for years to ignore this evidence, his hard-pressed enemies are now obliged to offer responses, albeit confused ones.

For years he has been the victim of vicious media attacks and a campaign of legal persecution in his native France, where it is a crime publicly to challenge the currently fashionable view of the Holocaust extermination story.

Carlo Mattogno

Carlo Mattogno, Italy's foremost revisionist scholar, explained that newly-uncovered German records held for years in Soviet archives, supported with other documentary and forensic evidence he has collected in years of research, thoroughly discredit claims of mass extermination of Jews at Auschwitz. His presentation summarized findings and conclusions of his new 150-page book, *Auschwitz: The End of a Legend: A Critique of J. C. Pressac*, which was published by the IHR just in time for sale at this Conference. Mattogno autographed numerous copies of the book for attendees.

Mattogno, a scholar of rare precision and exactitude with an impressive command of languages, cited copious evidence collected during years of meticulous research to explain that the crematories at Auschwitz simply were not capable of handling the number of corpses alleged to have been produced from the supposed extermination process. Even if operated at maximum capacity, the crematory ovens could not possibly have handled anything like the numbers of corpses alleged.

Appearing with Mattogno as his translator was Russ Granata, a retired southern California teacher who provided critical help in making possible the publication of *Auschwitz: The End of a Legend.*

Jürgen Graf

Jürgen Graf, a Swiss educator with an impressive command of languages and an author of several carefully researched revisionist works, spoke about the perverse social-psychological role that the Holocaust story has come to play in Western political, social and cultural life. Graf has been active not

only in the Holocaust revisionist movement, but also in the campaign to halt further non-European immigration into Switzerland.

Speaking with verve and wit, and in impressively-delivered English, Graf said that the Holocaust story has become a major weapon in the growing campaign to discredit Western culture and to break down European racial-cultural consciousness. It is used to subvert national sovereignty, and promote massive Third World immigration into North America and western Europe.

In Switzerland and other western European countries, as well as in the United States and Canada, popular sentiment overwhelmingly favors a halt to further Third World immigration. The refusal of elected public officials and the mass media to reflect this popular sentiment points up a profound failure of political institutions in the Western World, said Graf.

Referring to the well-organized effort to introduce a legal ban on Holocaust revisionism in his own country (similar to such prohibitions in neighboring France and Germany), Graf boldly announced that he will openly defy any such ban.

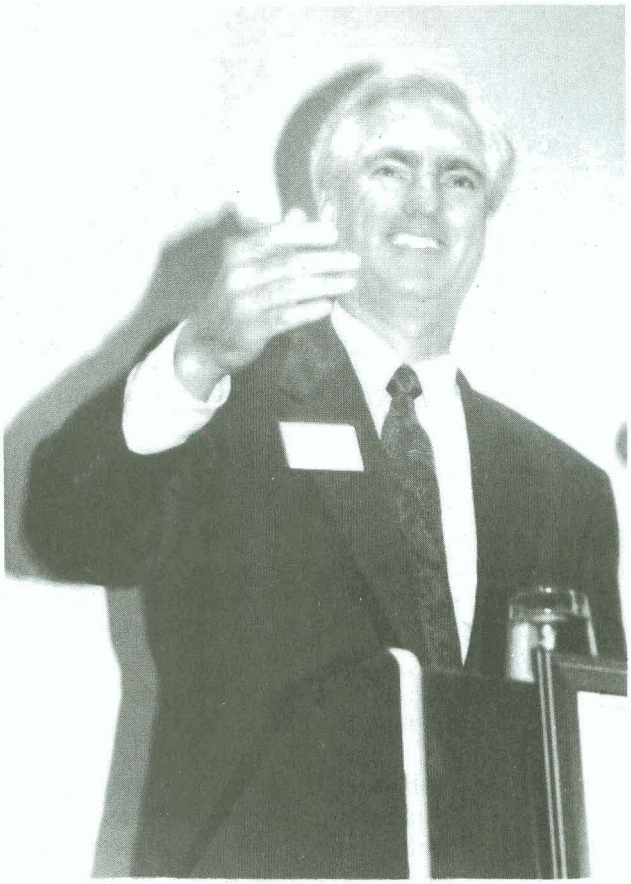
In March 1993, following the publication of his 112-page book *Der Holocaust auf dem Prüfstand* ("The Holocaust on the Test Stand"), Graf was summarily dismissed from his post as a secondary school teacher of Latin and French, in spite of support from his students and colleagues. His firing came on orders of high-level Swiss authorities. Graf is also author of several other revisionist books, copies of which were available for sale, and which he autographed for attendees.

John Ball

John Ball, a western Canadian geologist who specializes in interpreting aerial photos used in mineral exploration, explained that much can be learned from Second World War aerial reconnaissance photographs. Ball has collected, studied and published scores of long suppressed reconnaissance photographs of German camps, including Auschwitz, Majdanek and Plaszow (featured in "Schindler's List"), as well as Babi Yar.

Illustrating his presentation with numerous slides of aerial photos, maps and diagrams, he provided devastating new insights into the suppressed history of Auschwitz and other alleged German extermination camps. Speaking with the confidence of a specialist, Ball showed a rare ability to make a rather technical subject easily understandable to lay persons.

Ball spent considerable time throughout the three-day Conference patiently answering questions by inquisitive attendees, inviting them to examine reconnaissance photos under a magnifying glass. Ball also displayed wall-mounted photo enlargements and diagrams, and he autographed copies of the unabridged edition of *The Ball Report*.



Master of Ceremonies Greg Raven kept the Twelfth Conference on track throughout the hectic three-day schedule.

Friedrich Berg

Friedrich P. Berg, an engineer who has devoted extensive effort to researching technical aspects of the Holocaust story, pointed out that wartime Germany ironically did have an immense quantity of lethal gas at its disposal: wood- and coal-derived "producer" gas, which was widely used to power trucks and buses. However, Berg noted, not even the most hysterical Holocaust propagandists have ever suggested that toxic "producer" gas was used to kill people.

Making use of color slides, and spicing his talk with humor, Berg told the fascinating story of how petroleum-starved wartime Germany was able to continue moving people and goods with "producer" gas vehicles. This story, he said, is a tribute to the nation's remarkable improvisational ability, in spite of tremendous adversity.

Berg is the author of three important *Journal* articles, including a path-breaking essay (Spring

1984 issue) in which he shows the absurdity and technical infeasibility of the widely-repeated story that hundreds of thousands of Jews were killed with diesel engine exhaust fumes.

Mark Weber delivers the Conference Keynote address.

Mark Weber

Journal editor Mark Weber dedicated this Conference to the memory of William Henry Chamberlin, an American historian and journalist who has not been properly appreciated because he was a fervent and knowledgeable anti-Communist writer when it was not fashionable.

As he has at numerous previous IHR conferences, Weber also delivered this year's keynote address. He noted the tremendous progress that has been made in the decade since the devastating arson attack against the IHR office-warehouse on July 4, 1984, which destroyed virtually the entire IHR stock.

In spite of relentless opposition from powerful adversaries such as the Anti-Defamation League, the IHR is today vastly more influential than ever, Weber noted. In large part due to the efforts of the IHR, historical revisionism is now an acknowledged part of America's social-cultural landscape.

In his review of the recent progress of the international revisionist movement and the IHR, Weber cited numerous specific examples. An important sign of the growing impact of the IHR since the last IHR conference, said Weber, has been the publication in 1993 of no fewer than four books attacking Holocaust revisionism and, in particular, the Institute for Historical Review.

Another important sign of impact is the widespread (albeit almost invariably hostile) media coverage of the IHR. A notable example, he said, was a March 1994 broadcast of the widely-viewed "60 Minutes" television show, during which the front cover of the Nov.-Dec. 1993 IHR *Journal* was shown to millions of viewers.

Weber paid tribute to the many men and women who have selflessly supported the IHR and its work over the years, calling attention to several who were attending the Conference.

Greg Raven

Journal Associate Editor Greg Raven made his first appearance as Master of Ceremonies at an IHR Conference. Peppering his introductions with wit and humor, he also did a first-rate job keeping the speakers on time and the Conference on schedule.

Germar Rudolf

In a statement read to the Conference, this year's "Mystery Speaker," Germar Rudolf, explained the reasons — including police raids and eviction as a result of political pressure — why he was not able to participate. Rudolf, a chemist who lives in southwest Germany, is the author of a technical study of the alleged mass-murder "gas chambers" at Auschwitz that confirms that these facilities were not and could not have been used to kill people as claimed.

Attendees watch a video-tape screening of the "Donahue" show, which originally aired in March 1994, on which David Cole (shown on the screen) appeared as a guest along with Bradley Smith and Michael Shermer.

David Cole

Speaking with verve and humor (often self-deprecating), youthful Jewish filmmaker David Cole enthralled his audience with a passionate response to a lengthy polemic against Holocaust revisionism (in which the work of the IHR and Cole were prominently featured) in a recent issue of *Skeptic*, a magazine published and edited by Michael Shermer. (Shermer, who had attended the previous day's Conference sessions, was not present during Cole's address.)

After Cole and other revisionists supplied the Occidental College associate professor with abundant evidence discrediting the Holocaust gas chamber story, an exasperated Shermer declared that the existence or non-existence of Nazi gas chambers

doesn't really matter. With biting sarcasm, Cole commented: "If the gas chambers don't matter, then why are we revisionists being persecuted for trying to revise such a 'minor detail'? Try telling the ADL or the Wiesenthal Center that it's a 'minor detail'!"

David Irving and Ernst Zündel take a break during the Conference.

Cole, who had delighted attendees at the IHR's Eleventh Conference, has proven himself an effective spokesman for the revisionist view in several nationally-broadcast television appearances, including an appearance in March 1994 (with Shermer and Bradley Smith) as a guest on the "Donahue Show." (See the May-June 1994 *Journal*, pp. 19-20).

In Cole's first blockbuster revisionist video, the curator of the Auschwitz State Museum admitted to Cole on film that the "gas chamber" shown to tourists there is actually a fraudulent postwar reconstruction. Cole is now working on a promising second video exposing fraudulent claims about alleged wartime German killing facilities.

Bradley Smith

Bradley Smith, America's most prominent revisionist activist, reported on his successful headline-making campaign, in defiance of malicious smear tactics and ADL censorship, to bring revisionist facts and arguments to students and professors by placing advertisements in dozens of student papers across the United States. (See the July-August 1994 *Journal*, pp. 18-24)

Speaking in his familiar wry, soft-spoken and anecdotal style, Smith amused attendees with a description of his "special relationship" with adversaries Deborah Lipstadt and Jeffrey Ross of the Anti-Defamation League.

Robert Faurisson and Michael Shermer, editor-publisher of *Skeptic* magazine, exchange views during a Conference break.

Dr. Robert Countess

Dr. Robert Countess, the IHR's "roving ambassador" and a member of the *Journal*'s Editorial Advisory Committee, updated attendees on his revisionist activities since the last Conference. As a college history instructor, he related, he assigned students to read Dr. Arthur Butz's revisionist classic, *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century.* Countess also reported on recent radio and television appearances, and suggested new ways to get out the word about Holocaust revisionism.

Tom Marcellus

At the conclusion of this Conference, Institute Director Tom Marcellus hosted a special session for interested attendees about IHR business and organizational development in recent years, including the background and current situation arising from the termination in September 1993 of the IHR's association with Willis Carto.

Along with Mark Weber, Marcellus recounted the internal crisis that led to the termination, and reported on Carto's relentless campaign of outrageous lies against the IHR, above all through *The Spotlight* weekly that he controls. Marcellus and Weber also reported on Carto's efforts to destroy the Institute through lawsuits, and on the IHR's current legal action against Carto to recover millions of dollars that he illegally diverted from the IHR.

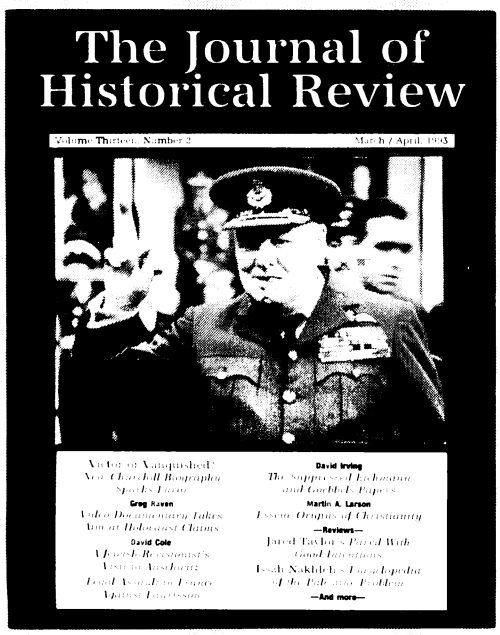
During this special session, Robert Faurisson explained how Carto's lies and deceit to him personally in the Spring and Summer of 1993 finally convinced him that Carto's continued involvement with IHR affairs was no longer tolerable.

Guillermo Coletti, who was responsible for Conference security, with speaker Carlo Mattogno during a break in the proceedings.

Marcellus has been with the IHR since its founding in 1978, and has served as its Director since 1981 — except for an 18-month break in 1986 and 1987 during which the IHR *Journal* ceased publication and no new books were published. By contrast — and as Raven pointed out in his introduction of Marcellus — during the past twelve months, and in spite of intense legal harassment and media smears, the IHR — under Marcellus' leadership — brought out five issues of the *Journal*, four books, a new catalog, and was able to organize this Twelfth IHR Conference.

Robert Countess chats with Jürgen Graf

In past years, members of the criminal Jewish Defense League attempted to sabotage several IHR conferences. This year, five agents of Willis Carto showed up to make a feeble attempt to wreck the gathering. Their efforts were entirely inconsequential, however, and after a short time they were escorted away by police.



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Further Progress and Renewed Commitment

Mark Weber

Adapted from the keynote address at the Twelfth IHR Conference, September 1994.

There are many ways to measure progress and success. A corporation, for example, normally measures progress by its record of annual profit. Because of the special nature of its work, the Institute for Historical Review measures success differently. Our main measure of success is the impact we have on society at large; but more than that, given the reality of the powerful forces aligned against us, we can also measure it in terms of basic survival.

1984 Arson Attack

Our meeting here this weekend of this Twelfth International Revisionist Conference is taking place ten years after a milestone event in the history of the IHR. On the Fourth of July 1984, unknown terrorists fire-bombed our office-warehouse complex in an attempt to destroy the Institute for Historical Review.

These criminals nearly succeeded. In an emergency letter to supporters following the attack, Director Tom Marcellus reported:

> As a physical entity, the Institute for Historical Review has virtually ceased to exist. Ninety percent of our book and tape inventory — the largest collection of revisionist literature to be found anywhere — has been wiped out. Every last piece of office equipment and machinery — including desks, chairs, files and shelves — lay in charred heaps of useless, twisted scrap.
>
> Manuscripts, documents, artwork, galleys and film negatives — products of more than six long years of a tough, dedicated effort to bring suppressed historical data to people the world over — no longer exist. Tens of thousands of books ... estimated at over $300,000 in value, are gone ... More than 2,500 square feet of space that was once the world's most controversial publisher lies blackened in chaos and total ruin.

As we know, of course, the attack failed to finish off the IHR. Under Tom Marcellus' directorship, and with the generous support of friends across America and in many foreign lands, we were able to rebuild.

Today — ten years later — the Institute for Historical Review is vastly more influential than ever. Particularly during the last two years — and in spite of an relentless barrage of media smears and lies — the IHR and its work have become widely known across America and around the world.

While media coverage of our work continues to be overwhelming hostile, historical revisionism and the IHR are now grudgingly accepted as an established part of the American social-cultural landscape.

References to the IHR and its work have been appearing with greater frequency than ever in newspapers and magazines. Just recently, for example, *The Los Angeles Times* described the IHR as a "think tank that critics call the 'spine of the international Holocaust denial movement'." Indeed, and as everyone in this hall knows, the IHR is at the center of a worldwide network of scholars and activists who are working — sometimes at great personal sacrifice — to separate historical fact from propaganda fiction by researching and publicizing suppressed facts about key, socially-politically relevant chapters of twentieth century history.

Growing Impact

An important sign of the growing impact of the IHR during the past few years was the appearance last year, to the accompaniment of much media publicity and hype, of no fewer than four books — including Deborah Lipstadt's widely promoted but mendacious polemic, *Denying the Holocaust* — attacking Holocaust revisionism and, in particular, the Institute for Historical Review.

Not only is the IHR featured prominently in each of these books, one of them, a work published by American Jewish Committee entitled *Holocaust Denial*, states, "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."

Another indication of our growing impact was the mention of the IHR during a broadcast in March of "60 Minutes," one of America's most widely viewed television programs. Millions were introduced to the IHR's *Journal of Historical Review*, when the front cover of the November-December 1993 issue was shown on the screen.

Articles from the our *Journal* are widely reprinted and circulated, including in translation in numerous foreign countries. *Journal* articles, IHR leaflets and other IHR material are being disseminated to many hundreds of thousands, if not millions of people throughout the world through the international computer network, and specifically through such systems as GEnie, CompuServe, Prodigy and the Internet.

Steadily growing numbers of scholars and educated lay persons — in the United States, throughout Europe, and in Asia, Latin America and northern Africa — support the work of the IHR. Unfortunately, although for very understandable reasons, not many of them are yet willing publicly to express this support.

Until recently, the standard operating procedure in dealing with revisionism was either to ignore the phenomenon, or stridently to dismiss revisionists as crackpots, neo-Nazis, hate-mongers, flat earth types, and so forth. Now there is widespread recognition that that approach just won't work any more.

Thus, along with growing effectiveness has come, inevitably, ever more fevered opposition from formidable enemies. As our influence grows, and as the great social-cultural struggle of the Western world intensifies, so also does the fury and desperation of our adversaries. This, too, is a sign of our growing impact.

As Robert Faurisson, David Irving and Ernst Zündel — three of our speakers here this weekend — are able personally to attest, the traditional enemies of free historical inquiry have become so anxious and desperate that in some countries they have resorted to repressive and even laughably absurd laws to punish those who express dissident, revisionist views about twentieth century history.

We must be doing something right.

Inevitability of Revisionism

At the same time, the natural and inevitable process of historical revisionism continues — that is, reevaluating and reassessing the past in the light of new historical evidence, and new insights and perspectives, and through overcoming of old prejudices and hatreds.

One expression of this process came in July 1993, when — in the face of compelling evidence — Israel's Supreme Court was obliged to acquit Ukrainian-American John Demjanjuk of the hideous charge that he helped to kill hundreds of thousands of Jews at the Treblinka camp in 1942-1943.

This widely-publicized acquittal was a devastating indictment of the so-called "Office of Special Investigations," the US government agency established to track down "Nazi war criminals." In its zeal to "get" Demjanjuk, the OSI, it 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.

This acquittal was an important vindication of the cause of historical revisionism because, for one thing, revisionists were again confirmed in our long-standing 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." During the earlier trial of Demjanjuk, the Israeli judges had cited this "eyewitness" testimony as the most compelling evidence in declaring the accused guilty.

Suppressed History Comes to Light

Nowhere is the natural and inevitable process of historical revisionism more acute or manifest than in the former Communist world, particularly Russia and the countries of eastern and central Europe. Anyone who does not understand the importance of historical revisionism, or the relationship between political freedom and historical awareness, should look to the full-scale historical revisionism that has swept across eastern Europe and the countries of the former Soviet Union in recent years.

This process of historical revisionism is based in large part on the coming to light of long-suppressed information from eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. This includes, for example, the facts about Communist-run death camps for ethnic Germans in Poland in the period just after the end of the Second World War, in which many ethnic Germans were put to death. This shocking story is detailed, for one, in the book *An Eye for an Eye* by American Jewish writer John Sack [available from the IHR].

It is only in recent years that startling evidence has emerged to show that Soviet dictator Stalin was preparing to invade and conquer Germany and all of Europe, and that his invasion plan was thwarted by the German-led Axis attack launched against Soviet Russia on June 22nd, 1941. This evidence does not merely force a rewriting of history textbooks, but compels a drastic and profound reassessment of our understanding of the basic nature of the Second

World War, and of the roles of the major players in that conflict.

Holocaust Revisionism

We are sometimes asked why we devote so much time and effort to the Holocaust story and the issues involved with it. Many people are completely bored with this subject. Millions of Americans are sick of hearing still more about the tragic fate of just one particular people in Europe during the Second World War. Well, frankly, we're sometimes bored with it ourselves.

But we are obliged to deal with this issue because it is objectively important: it has come to play an enormously significant role in American cultural and political life, virtually that of a perverse, ersatz secular religion.

This is perhaps most concretely manifest in the opening, in April 1993, of the enormous United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, DC. Opened to great fanfare and publicity, this $160 million monument to misguided priorities and illicit power was built and is maintained by a taxpayer funded, federal government agency, the US Holocaust Memorial Council. The decision to build this great monument was made, at least in part, deliberately to respond to the growing revisionist challenge.

Another sign of the role now played by the Holocaust story in our society is the phenomenon of "Schindler's List" — and by this I mean not merely the motion picture, as widely promoted as it was, but by the campaign surrounding it, including the push to makes its showing obligatory in school classrooms.

We also devote so much time to the Holocaust issue because no one else is doing so, or at least not as consistently and as conscientiously as the Institute for Historical Review. And finally, it is a pleasure to keep hammering away on this issue because, more obviously than ever, we are winning.

New *Journal* Format

Since the last IHR Conference, there have also been some important changes here at the IHR. For one thing, there has been a change in the format and frequency of publication of *The Journal of Historical Review*. We are pleased that the new format, which was first proposed by Tom Marcellus in 1992, has been very well received by the great majority of our readers. This format change, we believe, has made the *Journal* more inviting and attractive, especially to new readers, and seems to have helped contribute to a gratifying increase in paid circulation during the last two years.

It also seems that the *Journal* is more carefully read than ever, not only by subscribers, but by our adversaries at the Simon Wiesenthal Center and the Anti-Defamation League who, we are reliably informed, carefully comb through every sentence.

Accountability

No cause can win the trust and support of generous, open, honest and idealistic men and women unless the leaders of that cause are themselves generous, open, honest and idealistic. Cynicism, small-mindedness and narrow self-interest is cancer in any organization, particularly one such as ours — dedicated as it is to ideals of exactitude, truthfulness and free, open inquiry.

There must be a strong relationship, particularly in an enterprise like the IHR, between authority and accountability. It is not only ethically wrong, but ineffective and ultimately suicidal for any organization to operate in such a way that those who make decisions and give orders insist that others are made legally and publicly responsible. To be successful over the long haul, the IHR must operate in a professional, accountable and responsible manner. In our day-to-day operation, we are proud to employ our modest financial resources cost-effectively. For every dollar we lay out, adversaries such as the ADL are obliged to spend a hundred.

Obligation and Commitment

Without the staunch, on-going support of its many friends and supporters across the United States, in Canada, and in many other countries around the world, the Institute for Historical Review would not be possible. Moreover, the support we have received over the years from thousands of individuals, most of whom have never attended an IHR Conference, imposes on those of us who are responsible for the IHR on a day-to-day basis, as trustees or stewards, a solemn obligation to do all we can to insure that the IHR conscientiously and consistently maintains high standards of exactitude and truthfulness, and to make sure that it is operated in a responsible, accountable and above-board way, true to the principles it proclaims.

We are committed to doing everything in our ability to insure the survival and success of the Institute for Historical Review. With a profound sense of gratitude to all those who have made our success possible, and a sense of obligation to uphold the standards of the IHR, we pledge to carry on the mission of the IHR in helping to make this a better world for us all. With the continued support of our friends, together we will see to it that the next ten years will be our most successful ever.

IHR's Twelfth Revisionist Conference

A Spectacular Line-up Now Available on Video and Audiotape

Faurisson, Europe's leading Holocaust scholar, is fighting French laws that criminalize dissent on the Holocaust story

Prof. ROBERT FAURISSON: The intrepid French academic and dean of revisionist critics offers a simple challenge to the Exterminationists: "Show me or draw me a Nazi gas chamber." Fresh from the Washington DC Holocaust Museum, he declares it a "historical fiasco" – though not a business fiasco, he adds, because "there's no business like *Shoah* business!" While there, Faurisson paid a visit to Museum chief Michael Berenbaum, who became enraged at Faurisson's questions ("I thought he was going to smack me!"). Faurisson demands that the Holocausters depict a complete homicidal gas-chamber – not a wall, not a "testimony," not a pile of shoes or toothbrushes, but an honest-to-God gas chamber of the kind in which Berenbaum and his ilk so fervently believe. **Audio A142 / Video V113**

Zündel won his 10-year Holocaust battle when Canada's Supreme Court struck down an anti-Revisionist "False News" law.

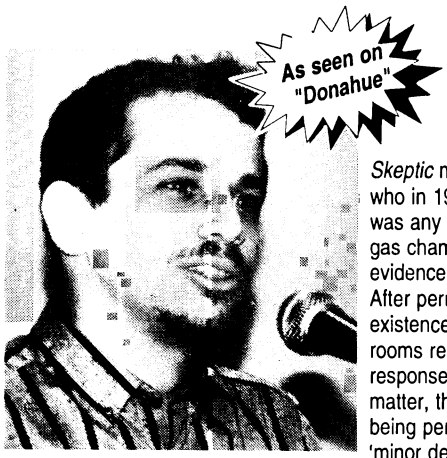
ERNST ZÜNDEL barred by the U.S Department from . previous IHR conf legendary German-Canadian arrives to tell about the effect Canadian Supreme Court dec favor. He offers thank-yous to and dead, including Prof. Rev late Leon Degrelle, and David the freewheeling IHR co-founc talks about his recent visits wit and revisionist personalities in explains the nationalists' vener Stalin (an admiration which doe preclude similar reverence for h their sensitivity toward the Thirc disrespect for Slavic peoples. **A / Video V114**

MARK WEBER: IHR director Tom Marcellus and associate *Journal* editor and conference MC Greg Raven welcome attendees to the Twelfth Conference and note the Institute's achievements and difficulties of the past year. *Journal* editor Weber keynotes the meeting with a rousing dedication to American journalist and historian William Henry Chamberlin, author of *The Russian Revolution* and *America's Second Crusade*. Weber points out that Chamberlin's biting criticism of American "crusades for righteousness" is as apt today — during the latest American invasion of Haiti — as it was in the 1940s and 50s. Weber then cites the important gains made by revisionism since the last conference, and what lies ahead. **Audio A134 / Video V108**

Journal of Historical Review *editor Weber details the important gains we've made since the last conference*

FRIEDRICH BERG: An engineer by training and technical historian by vocation, Berg was among the first to point out that mass murder by diesel fumes (a feat attributed to the Germans) is not technically feasible. Diesel exhaust, unlike gasoline exhaust, contains very little carbon monoxide. Ironically, wartime Germany *did* have an immense quantity of lethal gas at its disposal: wood- and coal-derived "producer" gas, used not for mass-murder but *mass-transit!* But not even the most hysterical Holocaust propagandists have ever proposed that this gas or these vehicles were used for sinister purposes. With ample humor and visual aids, Berg shows how the Third Reich powered itself for years on little more than coal and ingenuity. **Audio A137 / Video V109**

American engineer Berg, expert on "the other gas chambers," exposes the myth within The Myth in a fascinating slide show



Cole's dramatic video documentary featuring an interview with Auschwitz Museum director rocked the Holocaust Lobby

DAVID COLE: A self-described atheist Jewish high school dropout "who sounds like Jerry Lewis," Cole has the audience in stitches. He turns his wit on *Skeptic* magazine editor Michael Shermer, who in 1993 speculated on whether there was any hard evidence to refute the "Nazi gas chamber" stories. Shermer got his evidence, of course — by the carload! After perusing it, he then declared that the existence or nonexistence of these killing rooms really doesn't matter. Cole's response: "If the gas chambers don't matter, then why are we [Revisionists] being persecuted for trying to revise such a 'minor detail'? Call up the ADL or the Wiesenthal Center and try telling them it's a 'minor detail'!" (Shermer appeared opposite Cole and Smith on the "Donahue" show.) **Audio A143 / Video V111**

Italian document expert Mattogno's devastating critique of Jean-Claude Pressac was recently published by IHR

CARLO MATTOGNO (with Russ Granata): A specialist in textual criticism, this longtime IHR editorial advisory board member and author of *Auschwitz: The End of a Legend*, presents a detailed scholarly analysis of the obfuscatory writing of French Holocaust enthusiast Jean-Claude Pressac. Pressac is best known for his responses to and condemnations of Robert Faurisson's investigations into the extermination myth. To counter one major thesis of Pressac, Mattogno calculates the number of corpses that could have been cremated in Auschwitz if the ovens had worked at maximum capacity, and finds it falls far short of the millions of dead presumed by exterminationist writers. Russ Granata smoothly translates Mattogno's presentation. **Audio A141 / Video V110**

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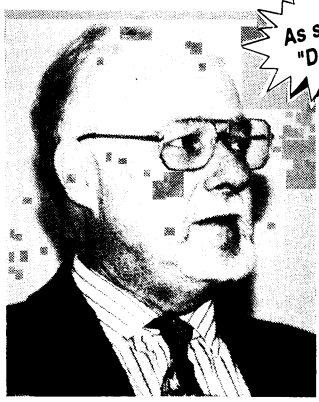
Britain's leading independent historian is battling and beating organized Zionist efforts to ban him from Western countries

DAVID IRVING: The world's most popular WWII historian, the controversial Irving again takes on the Holocaust establishment. He tells of his new lawsuit against the Canadian government for unlawful detainment during his 1992 speaking tour, an arrest later cited by the New Zealand and Australian governments to justify their banning him as an "undesirable." The bestselling English writer discusses his latest major research project — the "missing" passages from the diaries of Dr. Joseph Goebbels, which he discovered on glass plates in Moscow. Irving offers a rounded, sometimes surprising picture of Goebbels, who loathed vulgar racism and anti-semitism. Goebbels' animosity against the Jews did not fully develop until the Jewish propaganda campaign began going full blast against Germany. **Audio A138 / Video V112**



Smith's successful campaign to place revisionist ads in campus newspapers has created media uproars from Seattle to Miami

As seen on "Donahue"

BRADLEY SMITH : In his trademark wry, soft-spoken manner, Smith recounts his recent adventures as America's foremost popularizer of Holocaust revisionism. He tells of his many radio and TV appearances (he calls his *Donahue* show appearance "flashy" but not really important) and his far-reaching "campus project" that has placed ads calling for open debate on the Holocaust in college and university newspapers across America. Smith explains his relationships with Washington DC Holocaust Museum historian Michael Berenbaum; the ADL's campus point-man, Jeffrey Ross; the Smith-obsessed Deborah Lipstadt; and a fellow named Curtis Whiteway, a onetime army sergeant who claims to have discovered a heretofore unknown Nazi death camp — only he forgets where it was! **Audio A139 / Video V111**

Swiss educator Graf reveals links between the Third World immigration invasion and Holocaust propaganda campaign

JÜRGEN GRAF: A Swiss revisionist offers a stinging critique of "multi-culturalism" propaganda in Europe. Initially, Graf says, he thought the main purpose of the Holocaust story was to extort reparations. Now he sees it as a ploy against the indigenous populations of Western countries by encouraging Third World immigration and silencing debate on racial policies. Furthermore, this continued focus on events (and non-events) of a half century ago keeps the populace distracted from present day problems. Even left wingers who oppose "anti-racist" restrictions on free speech are now being branded "racists" and "Nazis" by the popular press. Graf, a classics teacher, was suspended from his job by Swiss officials because he published a 112-page book criticizing the Holocaust story. **Audio A136 / Video V110**

Aerial photography expert Ball shows in slides how the famous wartime aerial photos of Auschwitz debunk The Myth

JOHN BALL: A professional geologist and air-photo-interpretation specialist leads the audience on a spellbinding slide tour of Eastern Europe during the Second World War. We look at reconnaissance photographs of Katyn, Babi Yar, and the concentration camps at Auschwitz and Majdanek — and even Plaszow of *Schindler's List* fame. Auschwitz aerial photos taken during the war reveal obvious retouching, evidently added in recent years to make the reconnaissance photographs conform more neatly to postwar mythology! **Audio A135 / Video V109**

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Revisionist diplomat extraordinary Countess has traveled the world making new friends for revisionism and IHR

Dr. ROBERT COUNTESS: IHR's "Ambassador at Large" recalls his experiences as a college teacher (he made *The Hoax of the 20th Century* required reading), radio interviewee, and veteran critic of the exterminationist thesis. He proposes redefining the basic issue as: "The troubled Holocaust story — what remains for the rational mind to accept?" and suggests ways to get out the word about Holocaust revisionism. **Audio A139 Video V113**

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"A form of collective insanity is now sweeping Germany"

Rudolf's "Mystery Speaker" Statement

Germar Rudolf, the "mystery speaker" who was scheduled to address the Twelfth IHR Conference (Sept. 3-5, 1994), explained why he was regrettably not able to attend in the following statement, which was read to the Conference by Master of Ceremonies Greg Raven:

Usually the whole audience is eager to learn who the mystery speaker will be. This time, unfortunately, the IHR must deny you the satisfaction of seeing this mystery solved in person. For reasons that are, regrettably, not very mysterious, I am not able to appear for this Conference. I want to tell you the reasons for this, but to maintain some air of mystery, I will withhold my name for the time being. As I tell the story, perhaps one or more of will sooner or later guess my identity.

I don't need to explain to you that Holocaust revisionists are subject to social ostracism, and in some countries even to criminal prosecution. Therefore, I do not need to go into the details of my own story, which is not so very different from that of others.

It began with my dismissal, without notice, from my position at the Max Planck Institute. Then came the refusal by the University of Stuttgart to allow me, at the completion of my studies, to stand for my doctoral examinations. After this came the first police search of my home, which involved seizing my computer, all my papers, my correspondence, and so forth, leading to my criminal indictment on a charge of "incitement of race hatred." Just two weeks ago police from the prosecution attorney's office again showed up at my door, confiscating my new computer, the printer, my address file, my calendar and planner, and much more.

The town I live in, not to be outdone, sent an official representative to my landlord to open his eyes to what an "evil" person he had been renting an apartment to. He was so intimidated that just recently, with all sorts of great regrets and numerous excuses, he threw us out — a happy event for both me and my wife in her ninth month of pregnancy. And all this happening under the cloud of a press campaign of lies against me that has gone on since this spring.

But I am not one to complain, because I knew in advance what would await me — and I would do it all over again. After all, a German revisionist is not considered reliable and trustworthy unless he has undergone at least one house search! And whoever has not come before a German court at least once must be suspected of being an agent of the German "state security" counterpart of the old East Berlin *Stasi* [secret police].

Such blows of fate are worn like medals on the chest by German revisionists. Nevertheless, the most recent blows against me by our self-styled "government of justice" prevent me, for numerous reasons, from joining you as I had wished — to report to you on the work going on in Europe in recent years. The publication of a written account of all our battles has also been greatly delayed by the same interference. I am certain, though, that Messrs. Graf, Mattogno and Faurisson will be able to give a sense of our activities, which I would like

Germar Rudolf at Auschwitz-Birkenau, taking samples from the ruins of the mortuary cellar room (the supposed "gas chamber") of Crematory II.

to merely sketch out for you now.

If the district prosecuting attorney does not foul our plans again, an anthology will appear this year in Germany, a detailed study by a team of 13 authors of the most important aspects of the Holocaust story. In addition to an investigation of the purported gas chamber witnesses of Auschwitz, it will contain several legal studies, including critical examinations of Holocaust trials, among them one against an alleged perpetrator (Weise) and a "denier" (Lüftl). This anthology will also deal with the problem of statistics, through a comparison of two already-existing works (by Benz and Sanning). Also in this work will be critical treatments of documents, including the Wannsee Protocol, documents on "diesel gas wagons," and purported photo documentation. The technical portion of this anthology will include an analysis of aerial reconnaissance photos, the chemistry and architecture of a working gas chamber, a thermo-technical study of the claims of mass cremation, and analyses of the alleged diesel gassings and the purported mass burnings in the Treblinka camp. This detailed collective work will conclude with a look at the Babi Yar case, which involves many aspects of the work cited above.

But something is missing in this study. All our work up until now has aimed to show that things were not as portrayed. It was, in effect, "destructive" research. What we will need in the future is less carping about traditionalist portrayals of history, and much more work toward a holistic alternative. Our challenge must be to write a comprehensive history of the persecution of the Jews in the area ruled by the Third Reich: one that says not merely what did not happen, but above all tells what really did happen.

I do not know whether I will be able to tackle this very ambitious task in the near future, or even to coordinate it. Since the recent ominous conviction of Günter Deckert, chairman of the right-wing NPD party in Germany, it has become obvious to everyone that the German justice system is no longer truly independent [of political pressure]. A judge now knows that handing down a mild sentence against a revisionist means that he may be removed from the bench and socially ostracized. Germany's most respected daily newspaper, the *Frankfurter Allgemeine*, regards "incitement to ethnic hatred" as a much worse transgression when it occurs in an academic, scholarly guise. Our entire media and all our politicians sing a rare choral song of agreement that the Holocaust is in effect the foundation stone of the Federal Republic of Germany.

A form of collective insanity is now sweeping the country. It seems as if pyres and stakes are being set to fire, this time to burn Holocaust revisionists. I don't know where all this will end, but I do know this: the truth may go under, but it cannot drown. In this spirit, I wish you all a pleasant and instructive time at this Conference.

Germar Rudolf's problems began in 1993 following the publication of his chemical-technical report about the supposed mass killing "gas chambers" at Auschwitz, and especially Auschwitz-Birkenau. He wrote this detailed report on the basis of an on-site investigation, chemical analyses of samples, and meticulous research.

"For chemical-physical reasons, the claimed mass gassings with hydrocyanic acid in the alleged 'gas chambers' in Auschwitz did not take place," he concluded. "The supposed facilities for mass killing in Auschwitz and Birkenau were not suitable for this purpose." The "Rudolf Report" corroborates and strengthens the findings of earlier forensic investigations of purported Auschwitz "gas chambers," including the one by American gas chamber expert Fred Leuchter.

At the time he wrote this report, Rudolf — a certified chemist — was working at the renowned Max Planck research center in Stuttgart, and was a doctoral candidate at the University of Stuttgart. The "Rudolf Report" was published in 1993 in a handsome, 110-page, magazine-size glossy paper edition, with numerous photographs (several in color), charts, diagrams, and more than 200 reference notes. (For more, see the Nov.-Dec. 1993 Journal, *pp. 25-26.)*

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"The Iron Logic of Facts"

William Chamberlin: A Man Ahead of His Time

Mark Weber

Adapted from the dedication address at the Twelfth IHR Conference, September 1994.

Every IHR Conference has been dedicated to the memory of an outstanding revisionist historian or writer, who, in his life and work, represents the ideals of the Institute for Historical Review. This Twelfth IHR Conference is no different, and we dedicate it to the memory of American journalist and revisionist historian William Henry Chamberlin.

Born in Brooklyn, New York, in 1897, and reared in Philadelphia, after high school and college education he went into journalism. Chamberlin's worldview as a young man was idealistic and strongly leftist. He was, in the words of one reference work, an "enthusiastic radical." In 1922, at the age of 25, he was named correspondent in Russia of the daily *Christian Science Monitor.* Later he also served as Moscow correspondent of the liberal British daily *Manchester Guardian.*

It didn't take long, living in what many at the time liked to call the "first state of workers and peasants," for Chamberlin to be lose his wide-eyed enthusiasm for the Bolshevik experiment. Soon, and for the rest of his life — until his death in 1969 — he was a bitter opponent of Communism, and particularly of the form it took in Soviet Russia.

Beginning with *Soviet Russia*, a volume published in 1930, Chamberlin began writing books exposing what he regarded as the evil and fraud of Soviet Communism. His principal works about Russia in the early 1930s also included *The Soviet Planned Economic Order*, which appeared in 1931, and *Russia's Iron Age*, which came out in 1934.

Probably his most impressive work was *The Russian Revolution: 1917-1921*, a scholarly two-volume study first published in 1935. For years it remained the best single English-language work covering the overthrow of the Tsarist regime, the Bolshevik takeover, the Russian Civil War and the consolidation of Soviet power in Russia.

This masterful two volume study received widespread acclaim. Typical was the praise of the reviewer for *The New York Times*, who wrote:

> Mr. Chamberlin's intimate knowledge of Soviet conditions, the soundness and fairness of his judgment, his intellectual integrity and courage, his ability to present his findings to the general public in an attractive form without sacrificing any of the essentials, the straightforward simplicity and charm of his style have received the recognition they deserve ... [These volumes] are no longer the work of Chamberlin the journalist, but of Chamberlin the historian. And in this new capacity Mr. Chamberlin succeeds in making a contribution of the highest order.

A tribute to the quality and durability of his scholarship, *The Russian Revolution* was reprinted in 1987 by Princeton University Press.

After twelve years of outstanding work as a journalist in Soviet Russia, in 1935 *The Christian Science Monitor* transferred him to the Far East, from where he reported until 1939, when he was transferred to France. Following the French declaration of war against Germany, and the subsequent German defeat and occupation of France, he returned to the United States.

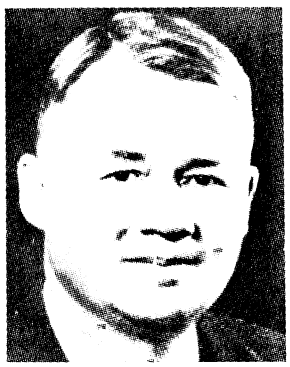
Between 1937 and 1940 appeared additional books by Chamberlin, including *Collectivism: A False Utopia*, two acclaimed books about Japan, as well as a somewhat autobiographical work, *Confessions of an Individualist.* Chamberlin lectured on world affairs at Haverford College, Yale University and Harvard University, and during the early 1950s he wrote a regular column for the *Wall Street Journal.*

Along with many other thoughtful Americans, Chamberlin was disgusted by the role played by the United States in the Second World War. He gave eloquent and scathing voice to his bitterness about the hypocrisy of western Allied leaders in that terrible conflict, above all, President Franklin Roosevelt, in a book that was his most important work in the postwar period. Entitled, *America's Second Crusade*, this 372-page historical study, which was originally published in 1950 by Henry Regnery Company, has held up very well as an outstanding

work of revisionist scholarship. Harry Elmer Barnes praised it as "the ablest revisionist study of the background, course and results of the Second World War. It will long remain the best survey for the general reader." [*America's Second Crusade* is available from the IHR for $10.50, postpaid.]

The past, as they say, is prologue, and an attentive reading of *America's Second Crusade* helps provide an understanding of the same arrogant and self-deluding thinking that is manifest in the eagerness of recent American presidents to use military might in foreign adventures, and, in the process, spend billions of the American people's money and take the lives of many young American men.

We see this thinking in the recent and misguided attempts by American presidents to impose, by military force, currently fashionable notions of democracy and equality in such far-flung lands as Somalia, Bosnia and Haiti. If ever an understanding of history can tell us something about the future, it should be in such cases. To anyone with even a superficial awareness of 20th century history, the notion, for example — which President Clinton seems to hold — that the United States military can somehow impose what we call "democracy" in a place like Haiti is obvious idiocy.



William Chamberlin

Chamberlin opens *America's Second Crusade* with the words: "Americans, more than any other people, have been inclined to interpret their involvement in the two great wars of the twentieth century in terms of crusades for righteousness." In the pages that follow, Chamberlin deftly and devastatingly tears apart the folly of such arrogance. He exposes the mendacity of American leaders such as Woodrow Wilson and Franklin Roosevelt, the fraud of the Nuremberg trials, and the hypocrisy and bad faith of the Allied leaders in their Second World War "crusade."

It is all the more appropriate that we remember Chamberlin because today it is glaringly obvious that his was a voice of warning years ahead of its time. The collapse of Communism in Russia and eastern and central Europe in recent years has thoroughly exposed the basic bankruptcy and fraud of this great historical experiment in fashioning an international, egalitarian society.

Only now are a few members of America's supposedly enlightened and progressive academic elite beginning to search their souls to consider what all this means. One such person is Eugene Genovese, who for years has been one of America's most prominent historians. For five years as a young man he was a member of the Communist Party and, later, in his own words, "a supporter of the international [Communist] movement and of the Soviet Union until there was nothing left to support."

In a remarkable essay in the summer 1994 issue of the leftist journal *Dissent*, which has caused some comment around the country (including a full page article in *Time* magazine, August 22, 1994), Genovese boldly accuses his fellow leftist scholars of bearing some of the responsibility for the terrible suffering and oppression, death and misery of Communism. He accuses these academics of the political left of complicity in the greatest mass murders of the 20th century — and perhaps of any century.

Unlike many others on the left who still regard the so-called ideals of Marxism as essentially valid, and blame Stalin or other individuals for supposedly distorting these principles, Genovese contends that the "ideal" of Communism itself is terribly wrong. He points out:

> The horrors did not arise from perversions of radical ideology but from the ideology itself. We were led into complicity with mass murder and the desecration of our professed ideals not by Stalinist or other corruptions of high ideals, much less by unfortunate twists in some presumably objective course of historical development, but by a deep flaw in our understanding of human nature — its frailty and its possibilities — and by our inability to replace the moral and ethical baseline long provided by the religion we have dismissed with indifference, not to say contempt.
>
> Our whole project of "human liberation" has rested on a series of gigantic illusions. The catastrophic consequences of our failure during this century — not merely the body count but the monotonous recurrence of despotism and wanton cruelty — cannot be dismissed as aberrations ... They have followed in the wake of victories by radical egalitarian movements throughout history. We have yet to answer our right-wing critics' claims, which are regrettably well documented, that throughout history, from ancient times to the peasant wars of the sixteenth century to the Reign of Terror and beyond, social movements that have espoused radical egalitarianism and participatory democracy have begun with mass murder and ended with despotism.

As it turned out, Communism proved to be much more terrible than all but a tiny number realized. And yet, for years America's intellectual and cultural elite routinely vilified staunch anti-Commu-

nists as McCarthyites, political Neanderthals, reactionaries, bigots, and so forth. The view of Communism and anti-Communism that prevailed among liberal, supposedly "enlightened" Americans during the 1930s and 1940s was perhaps best summed up by Arnold Forster, for many years a top official of the mis-named Anti-Defamation League. In his revealing memoir, *Square One* (p. 171), Forster wrote: "The civilized world was more revolted by McCarthyism than by Communism." [Also quoted in a review in the Nov.-Dec. 1993 *Journal*, p. 42.]

Contributing to the great deception were such writers as Walter Duranty, *The New York Times* correspondent in Soviet Russia, who provided readers of America's most influential daily paper with intentionally deceitful reports about the reality of the Soviet regime. In 1933, during the height of the state-induced mass famine in Ukraine, Duranty assured *Times* readers that "there is not actual starvation or deaths from starvation ..."

At this very same time, Chamberlin was one of the few western journalists in Moscow who tried to provide truthful reporting about the imposed famine. However, it was Duranty who was awarded the Pulitzer prize for his deceitful reporting, while Chamberlin was castigated. Because of his factual reporting about the Soviet reality, William Chamberlin was, as historian Robert Conquest has put it (in *Harvest of Sorrow*, p. 321), "under continuous and violent attack by pro-Communist elements in the West over the next generation."

Finally, it is appropriate that we remember William Henry Chamberlin because the school of historical revisionism that he and others once represented has been shamefully abandoned by what passes for intellectual "conservatism" in America today, particularly the so-called "neo-conservative" movement.

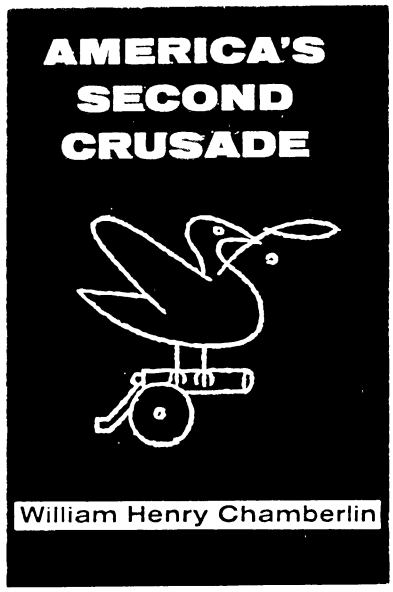
Chamberlin concludes *America's Second Crusade* with these words: "The point of view set forth in this book will challenge powerful intellectual and emotional interests, but the iron logic of facts will, I believe, confirm these interpretations with the passing of time."

This sentiment applies with equal validity to the work of the IHR. Just as it took decades for the revisionist views of men such as Chamberlin about Communism to become generally accepted, so also will it take time for Chamberlin's revisionist, dissident views about the Second World War, and other issues, to become generally accepted. Ultimately, though, as William Henry Chamberlin put it, the "*iron logic of facts*" will prevail.

"The point of view set forth in this book will challenge powerful intellectual and emotional interests, but the iron logic of facts will, I believe, confirm these interpretations with the passing of time."

—WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLIN

"The ablest revisionist study of the background, causes, course, and results of the Second World War. It will long remain the best survey of the subject for the general reader. Mr. Chamberlin's long and close contact with world conditions gives him special competence to assess the effects of the Roosevelt foreign policy upon the state of the world in our time." —HARRY ELMER BARNES



As Chamberlin points out in his opening to ***America's Second Crusade***, *"Americans, more than any other people, have been inclined to interpret their involvement in the two great wars of the twentieth century in terms of crusades for righteousness."* Then in the pages that follow, he deftly and devastatingly tears apart the folly of such arrogance, exposing the mendacity of American leaders such as Woodrow Wilson and Franklin Roosevelt, the fraud of the Nuremberg Trials, and the rank hypocrisy and bad faith of the Allied leaders in their Second World War "crusade."

Chamberlin, award-winning journalist and historian of the Russian Revolution, takes an early, critical look at the consequences of America's bent for self-righteous moralizing during and after World War II.

The past, as they say, is prologue, and ***America's Second Crusade*** describes the same arrogant and self-deluding thinking manifest in the eagerness of recent American presidents to use US might in foreign military adventures and, in the process, waste billions of taxpayer dollars and sacrifice the lives of young American men.

America's Second Crusade has stood the test of time as an outstanding work of revisionist scholarship.

America's Second Crusade
by WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLIN
Quality Softcover · 372 pages · $10.50 postpaid

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How Franklin Roosevelt Lied America Into War

William Henry Chamberlin

Excerpted from the anthology Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace, *pp. 485-491.*

According to his own official statements, repeated on many occasions, and with special emphasis when the presidential election of 1940 was at stake, Franklin D. Roosevelt's policy after the outbreak of the war in Europe in 1939 was dominated by one overriding thought: how to keep the United States at peace. One of the President's first actions after the beginning of hostilities was to call Congress into special session and ask for the repeal of the embargo on the sales of arms to belligerent powers, which was part of the existing neutrality legislation. He based his appeal on the argument that this move would help to keep the United States at peace. His words on the subject were:

> Let no group assume the exclusive label of the "peace bloc." We all belong to it ... I give you my deep and unalterable conviction, based on years of experience as a worker in the field of international peace, that by the repeal of the embargo the United States will more probably remain at peace than if the law remains as it stands today ... Our acts must be guided by one single, hardheaded thought — keeping America out of the war.

This statement was made after the President had opened up a secret correspondence with Winston Churchill, First Lord of the Admiralty and later Prime Minister in the British government. What has been revealed of this correspondence, even in Churchill's own memoirs, inspires considerable doubt as to whether its main purpose was keeping America out of the war.

Roosevelt kept up his pose as the devoted champion of peace even after the fall of France, when Great Britain was committed to a war which, given the balance of power in manpower and industrial resources, it could not hope to win without the involvement of other great powers, such as the United States and the Soviet Union. The President's pledges of pursuing a policy designed to keep the United States at peace reached a shrill crescendo during the last days of the 1940 campaign.

Mr. Roosevelt said at Boston on October 30: "I have said this before, but I shall say it again and again and again: Your boys are not going to be sent into any foreign wars."

The same thought was expressed in a speech at Brooklyn on November 1: "I am fighting to keep our people out of foreign wars. And I will keep on fighting."

The President told his audience at Rochester, New York, on November 2: "Your national government ... is equally a government of peace — a government that intends to retain peace for the American people."

On the same day the voters of Buffalo were assured: "Your President says this country is not going to war."

And he declared at Cleveland on November 3: "The first purpose of our foreign policy is to keep our country out of war."

So much for presidential words. What about presidential actions? American involvement in war with Germany was preceded by a long series of steps, not one of which could reasonably be represented as conducive to the achievement of the President's professed ideal of keeping the United States out of foreign wars. The more important of these steps may be briefly listed as follows:

1. The exchange of American destroyers for British bases in the Caribbean and in Newfoundland in September, 1940.

This was a clear departure from the requirements of neutrality and was also a violation of some specific American laws. Indeed, a conference of top government lawyers at the time decided that the destroyer deal put this country into the war, legally and morally.

2. The enactment of the Lend-Lease Act in March, 1941.

In complete contradiction of the wording and intent of the Neutrality Act, which remained on the statute books, this made the United States an unlimited partner in the economic war against the Axis Powers all over the world.

3. The secret American-British staff talks in Washington in January-March, 1941.

Extraordinary care was taken to conceal not only the contents of these talks but the very fact that they were taking place from the knowledge of Congress. At the time when administration spokesmen were offering assurances that there were no warlike implications in the Lend-Lease Act, this staff conference used the revealing phrase, "when the United States becomes involved in war with Germany."

4. The inauguration of so-called naval patrols, the purpose of which was to report the presence of German submarines to British warships, in the Atlantic in April, 1941.

5. The dispatch of American laborers to Northern Ireland to build a naval base, obviously with the needs of an American expeditionary force in mind.

6. The occupation of Iceland by American troops in July, 1941. This was going rather far afield for a government which professed as its main concern the keeping of the United States out of foreign wars.

7. The Atlantic Conference of Roosevelt and Churchill, August 9-12, 1941.

Besides committing America as a partner in a virtual declaration of war aims, this conference considered the presentation of an ultimatum to Japan and the occupation of the Cape Verde Islands, a Portuguese possession, by United States troops.

8. The orders to American warships to shoot at sight at German submarines, formally announced on September 11.

The beginning of actual hostilities may be dated from this time rather than from the German declaration of war, which followed Pearl Harbor.

9. The authorization for the arming of merchant ships and the sending of these ships into war zones in November, 1941.

10. The freezing of Japanese assets in the United States on July 25, 1941.

This step, which was followed by similar action on the part of Great Britain and the Netherlands East Indies, amounted to a commercial blockade of Japan. The warmaking potentialities of this decision had been recognized by Roosevelt himself shortly before it was taken. Addressing a delegation and explaining why oil exports to Japan had not been stopped previously, he said:

> It was very essential, from our own selfish point of view of defense, to prevent a war from starting in the South Pacific. So our foreign policy was trying to stop a war from breaking out down there.... Now, if we cut the oil off, they [the Japanese] probably would have gone down to the Netherlands East Indies a year ago, and we would have had war.

11. When the Japanese Prime Minister, Prince Fumimaro Konoye, appealed for a personal meeting with Roosevelt to discuss an amicable settlement in the Pacific, this appeal was rejected, despite the strong favorable recommendations of the American ambassador to Japan, Joseph C. Grew.

12. Final step on the road to war in the Pacific was Secretary of State Hull's note to the Japanese government of November 26. Before sending this communication Hull had considered proposing a compromise formula which would have relaxed the blockade of Japan in return for Japanese withdrawal from southern Indochina and a limitation of Japanese forces in northern Indochina.

However, Hull dropped this idea under pressure from British and Chinese sources. He dispatched a veritable ultimatum on November 26, which demanded unconditional Japanese withdrawal from China and from Indochina and insisted that there should be "no support of any government in China other than the National government [Chiang Kai-shek]." Hull admitted that this note took Japanese-American relations out of the realm of diplomacy and placed them in the hands of the military authorities.

The negative Japanese reply to this note was delivered almost simultaneously with the attack on Pearl Harbor. There was a strange and as yet unexplained failure to prepare for this attack by giving General Short and Admiral Kimmel, commanders on the spot, a clear picture of the imminent danger. As Secretary of War Stimson explained the American policy, it was to maneuver the Japanese into firing the first shot, and it may have been feared that openly precautionary and defensive moves on the part of Kimmel and Short would scare off the impending attack by the Japanese task force which was known to be on its way to some American outpost.

Here is the factual record of the presidential words and the presidential deeds. No convinced believer in American nonintervention in wars outside this hemisphere could have given the American people more specific promises than Roosevelt gave during he campaign of 1940. And it is hard to see how any President, given the constitutional limitations of the office, could have done more to precipitate the United States into war with Germany and Japan than Roosevelt accomplished during the 15 months between the destroyer-for-bases deal and the attack on Pearl Harbor.

Former Congresswoman Clare Boothe Luce found the right expression when she charged Roosevelt with having lied us into war. Even a sympathizer with Roosevelt's policies, Professor Thomas A. Bailey, in his book, *The Man in the Street*, admits the charge of deception, but tries to justify it

on the following grounds:

> Franklin Roosevelt repeatedly deceived the American people during the period before Pearl Harbor ... He was like the physician who must tell the patient lies for the patient's own good ... The country was overwhelmingly non-interventionist to the very day of Pearl Harbor, and an overt attempt to lead the people into war would have resulted in certain failure and an almost certain ousting of Roosevelt in 1940, with a complete defeat of his ultimate aims.

Professor Bailey continues his apologetics with the following argument, which leaves very little indeed of the historical American conception of a government responsible to the people and morally obligated to abide by the popular will:

> A president who cannot entrust the people with the truth betrays a certain lack of faith in the basic tenets of democracy. But because the masses are notoriously shortsighted and generally cannot see danger until it is at their throats, our statesmen are forced to deceive them into an awareness of their own long-run interests. This is clearly what Roosevelt had to do, and who shall say that posterity will not thank him for it?

Presidential pledges to "keep our country out of war," with which Roosevelt was so profuse in the summer and autumn of 1940, could reasonably be regarded as canceled by some new development in the international situation involving a real and urgent threat to the security of the United States and the Western Hemisphere.

But there was no such new development to justify Roosevelt's moves along the road to war in 1941. The British Isles were not invaded in 1940, at the height of Hitler's military success on the Continent. They were much more secure against invasion in 1941. Contrast the scare predications of Secretary Stimson, Secretary Knox, and General Marshall, about the impending invasion of Britain in the first months of 1941, with the testimony of Winston Churchill, as set down in his memoirs: "I did not regard invasion as a serious danger in April, 1941, since proper preparations had been made against it."

Moreover, both the American and British governments knew at this time that Hitler was contemplating an early attack upon the Soviet Union. Such an attack was bound to swallow up much the greater part of Germany's military resources.

It is with this background that one must judge the sincerity and realism of Roosevelt's alarmist speech of May 27, 1941, with its assertion: "The war is approaching the brink of the western hemisphere itself. It is coming very close to home." The President spoke of the Nazi "book of world conquest" and declared there was a Nazi plan to treat the Latin American countries as they had treated the Balkans. Then Canada and the United States would be strangled.

Not a single serious bit of evidence in proof of these sensational allegations has ever been found, not even when the archives of the Nazi government were at the disposal of the victorious powers. The threat to the security of Great Britain was less serious in 1941 than it was in 1940. There is no concrete evidence of Nazi intention to invade the American hemisphere in either year, or at any predictable period.

One is left, therefore, with the inescapable conclusion that the promises to "keep America out of foreign wars" were a deliberate hoax on the American people, perpetrated for the purpose of insuring Roosevelt's re-election and thereby enabling him to proceed with his plan of gradually edging the United States into war.

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America's "Second Crusade" in Retrospect

William Henry Chamberlin

Excerpted from the concluding chapter of America's Second Crusade, *pp. 337-353.*

America's Second Crusade belongs to history. Was it a success? Over two hundred thousand Americans perished in combat and almost six hundred thousand were wounded. There was the usual crop of postwar crimes attributable to shock and maladjustment after combat experience. There was an enormous depletion of American natural resources in timber, oil, iron ore, and other metals. The nation emerged from the war with a staggering and probably unredeemable debt in the neighborhood of one quarter of a *trillion* dollars. Nothing comparable to this burden has ever been known in American history.

Were these human and material losses justified or unavoidable? From the military standpoint, of course, the crusade was a victory. The three Axis nations were completely crushed. American power on land and at sea, in the air and in the factory assembly line, was an indispensable contribution to this defeat.

But war is not a sporting competition, in which victory is an end in itself. It can only be justified as a means to achieve desirable positive ends or to ward off an intolerable and unmistakable threat to national security. When one asks for the fruits of victory five years after the end of the war, the answers sound hollow and unconvincing.

Consider first the results of the war in terms of America's professed war aims: the Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms. Here surely the failure has been complete and indisputable. Wilson failed to make his Fourteen Points prevail in the peace settlements after World War I. But his failure might be considered a brilliant success when one surveys the abyss that yawns between the principles of the Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms and the realities of the postwar world.

After World War I there were some reasonably honest plebiscites, along with some arbitrary and unjust territorial arrangements. But the customary method of changing frontiers after World War II was to throw the entire population out bag and baggage — and with very little baggage.

No war in history has killed so many people and left such a legacy of miserable, uprooted, destitute, dispossessed human beings. Some fourteen million Germans and people of German stock were driven from the part of Germany east of the Oder-Neisse line, from the Sudeten area of Czechoslovakia, and from smaller German settlements in Hungary, Yugoslavia, and Rumania.

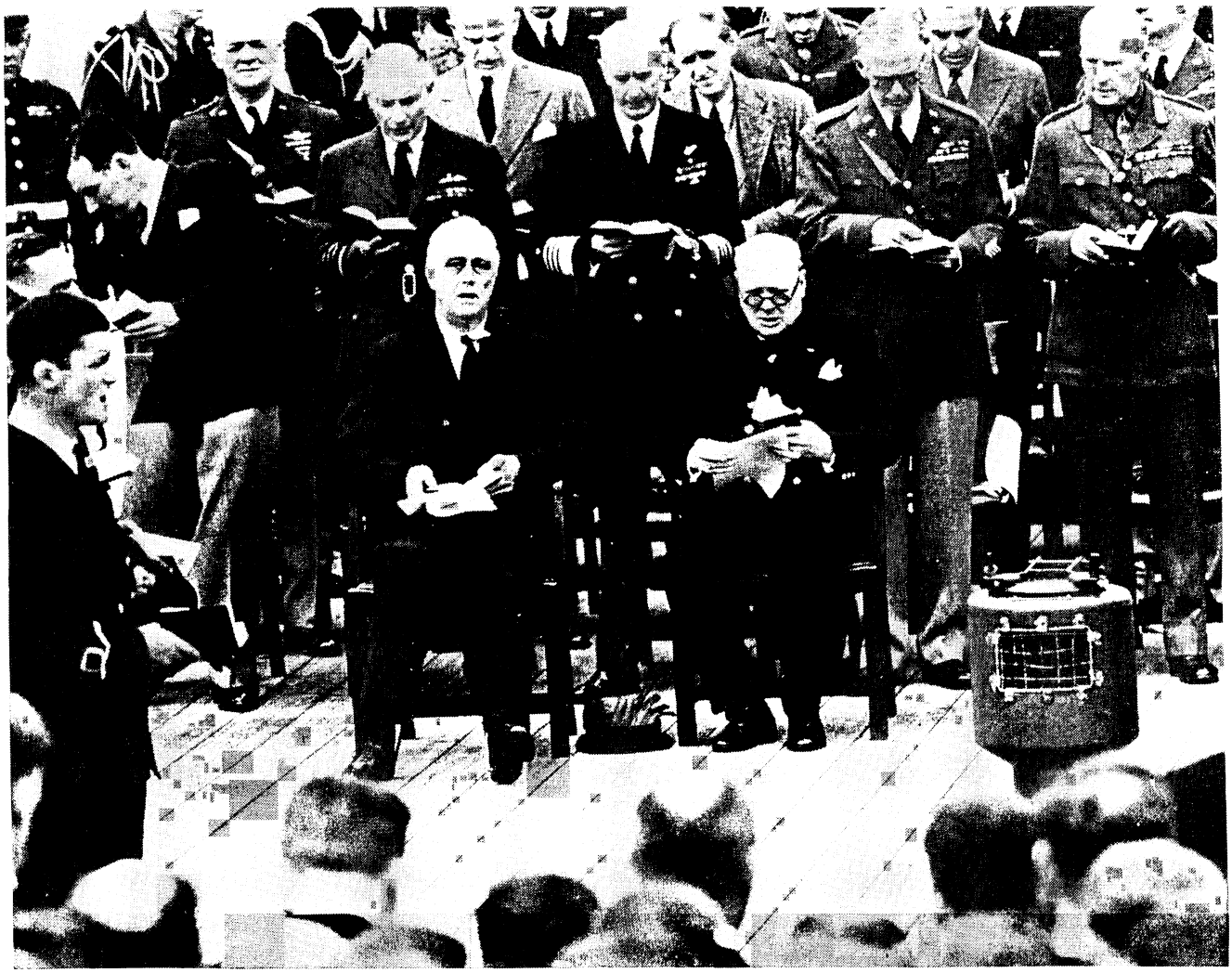
Millions of Poles were expelled from the territory east of the so-called Curzon Line and resettled in other parts of Poland, including the provinces stolen from Germany. Several hundred thousand Finns fled from parts of Finland seized by the Soviet Union in its two wars of aggression. At least a million East Europeans of various nationalities — Poles, Russians, Ukrainians, Yugoslavs, Letts, Lithuanians, Estonians — became refugees from Soviet territorial seizures and Soviet tyranny.

Not one of the drastic surgical operations on Europe's boundaries was carried out in free consultation with the people affected. There can be no reasonable doubt that every one of these changes would have been rejected by an overwhelming majority in an honestly conducted plebiscite.

The majority of the people in eastern Poland and the Baltic states did not wish to become Soviet citizens. Probably not one person in a hundred in East Prussia, Silesia, and other ethnically German territories favored the substitution of Polish or Soviet for German rule. What a mockery, then, has been made of the first three clauses of the Atlantic Charter: "no territorial aggrandizement," "no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned," "the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live."

The other clauses have fared no better. The restrictions imposed on German and Japanese industry, trade, and shipping cannot be reconciled with the promise "to further the enjoyment by all States, great or small, victor or vanquished, of access, on equal terms, to the trade and to the raw materials of the world."

The terrific war destruction and the vindictive



President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill sing "Onward Christian Soldiers" during their August 10, 1941, meeting on board a British battleship anchored off of Newfoundland.

In the great conflict then raging between Germany and the other Axis nations, on one side, and the British Empire and Soviet Russia, on the other, the United States was officially still neutral. Nevertheless, and violating both international law and repeated pledges to the American people, Roosevelt had already plunged the United States into the war. At this meeting he publicly committed the US to "the final destruction of the Nazi tyranny." Just weeks earlier, and on his order, US forces had occupied Iceland.

At this meeting Roosevelt and Churchill announced the "Atlantic Charter," which proclaimed "the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live." The Allied leaders were never sincere about such pledges. Britain was already violating it in the case of India and other imperial dominions, and later Roosevelt and Churchill would betray it in the case of Poland, Hungary and other European nations.

peace have certainly not helped to secure "for all, improved labor standards, economic advancement and social security."

In the year 1950, five years after the end of the Second Crusade, "all men in all lands" are not living "out their lives in freedom from fear and want." Nor are "all men traversing the high seas and oceans without hindrance."

The eighth and last clause of the Atlantic Charter holds out the prospect of lightening "for peace-loving peoples the crushing burden of armaments." But this burden has become more crushing than it was before the crusade took place. The "peace-loving peoples" have been devoting ever larger shares of their national incomes to preparations for war.

All in all, the promises of the Charter seem to have evaporated in a wraith of Atlantic mist.

Nor have the Four Freedoms played any appreciable part in shaping the postwar world. These, it may be recalled, were freedom of speech and expres-

sion, freedom of religion, and freedom from fear and want. But one of the main consequences of the war was a vast expansion of Communist power in eastern Europe and in East Asia. It can hardly be argued that this has contributed to greater freedom of speech, expression, and religion, or, for that matter, to freedom from want and fear.

The fate of Cardinal Mindzenty, of Archbishop Stepinac, of the Protestant leaders in Hungary, of the many priests who have been arrested and murdered in Soviet satellite states, of independent political leaders and dissident Communists in these states, offers eloquent testimony to the contrary.

In short, there is not the slightest visible relation between the Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms and the kind of world that has emerged after the war. Woodrow Wilson put up a struggle for his Fourteen Points. There is no evidence that Franklin D. Roosevelt offered any serious objection to the many violations of his professed war aims.

It may, of course, be argued that the Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms were unessential window dressing, that the war was not a crusade at all, but a matter of self-defense and national survival. However, there is no proof that Germany and Japan had worked out, even on paper, any scheme for the invasion of the American continent.

In his alarmist broadcast of May 27, 1941, Roosevelt declared:

> Your Government knows what terms Hitler, if victorious, would impose. I am not speculating about all this ... They plan to treat the Latin American countries as they are now treating the Balkans. They plan then to strangle the United States of America and the Dominion of Canada.

But this startling accusation was never backed up by concrete proof. No confirmation was found even when the Nazi archives were at the disposal of the victorious powers. There has been gross exaggeration of the supposed close co-operation of the Axis powers. General George C. Marshall points this out in his *Report on the Winning of the War in Europe and the Pacific* [Simon & Schuster, pp. 1-3], published after the end of the war. This report, based on American intelligence reports and on interrogation of captured German commanders, contains the following statements:

> No evidence has yet been found that the German High Command had any over-all strategic plan ...
>
> When Italy entered the war Mussolini's strategic aims contemplated the expansion of his empire under the cloak of German military success. Field Marshal Keitel reveals that Italy's declaration of war was contrary to her agreement with Germany. Both Keitel and Jodl agree that it was undesired ...
>
> Nor is there evidence of close strategic coordination between Germany and Japan. The German General Staff recognized that Japan was bound by the neutrality pact with Russia but hoped that the Japanese would tie down strong British and American land, sea and air forces in the Far East.
>
> In the absence of any evidence so far to the contrary, it is believed that Japan also acted unilaterally and not in accordance with a unified strategic plan.
>
> Not only were the European partners of the Axis unable to coordinate their plans and resources and agree within their own nations how best to proceed, but the eastern partner, Japan, was working in even greater discord. *The Axis as a matter of fact existed on paper only.* [Italics supplied.]

So, in the judgment of General Marshall, the Axis did not represent a close-knit league, with a clear-cut plan for achieving world domination, including the subjugation of the American continent. It was a loose association of powers with expansionist aims in Europe and the Far East.

Of course the United States had no alternative except to fight after Pearl Harbor and the German and Italian declarations of war. But the Pearl Harbor attack, in all probability, would never have occurred if the United States had been less inflexible in upholding the cause of China. Whether this inflexibility was justified, in the light of subsequent developments in China, is highly questionable, to say the least.

The diplomatic prelude to Pearl Harbor also includes such fateful American decisions as the imposition of a virtual commercial blockade on Japan in July 1941, the cold-shouldering of Prince Konoye's overtures, and the failure, at the critical moment, to make any more constructive contribution to avoidance of war than Hull's bleak note of November 26.

The war with Germany was also very largely the result of the initiative of the Roosevelt Administration. The destroyer deal, the lend-lease bill, the freezing of Axis assets, the injection of the American Navy, with much secrecy and double-talk, into the Battle of the Atlantic: these and many similar actions were obvious departures from neutrality, even though a Neutrality Act, which the President had sworn to uphold, was still on the statute books.

It is sometimes contended that the gradual edging of the United States into undeclared war was justified because German and Japanese victory would have threatened the security and well-being of the United States, even if no invasion of this

hemisphere was contemplated. This argument would be easier to sustain if the war had been fought, not as a crusade of "a free world against a slave world," but as a cold-blooded attempt to restore and maintain a reasonable balance of power in Europe and in Asia.

Had America's prewar and war diplomacy kept this objective in mind, some of the graver blunders of the Second Crusade would have been avoided. Had it been observed as a cardinal principle of policy that Soviet totalitarianism was just as objectionable morally and more dangerous politically and psychologically than the German and Japanese brands, the course of American policy would surely have been different. There would have been more favorable consideration for the viewpoint artlessly expressed by Senator Truman when he suggested that we should support Russia when Germany was winning and Germany when Russia was winning.

It was the great dilemma of the war that we could not count on winning the war without Russia and certainly could not hope to win the peace with Russia. But there was at least a partial solution for this dilemma. One of the ablest men associated with the American diplomatic service suggested this to me in a private conversation: "We should have made peace with Germany and Japan when they were too weak to be a threat to us and still strong enough to be useful partners in a coalition against the Soviet Union."

But such realism was at a hopeless discount in a crusading atmosphere. The effect of America's policy was to create a huge power vacuum in Europe and in Asia, and to leave the Soviet Union the one strong military power in both these continents. Then the United States belatedly began to offer resistance when the Soviet leaders acted precisely as anyone might have expected them to act in view of their political record and philosophy.

An old friend whom I met in Paris in 1946, a shrewd and witty British journalist, offered the following estimate of the situation which followed the Second Crusade: "You know, Hitler really won this war — in the person of Stalin."

President Roosevelt declared in his speech of May 27, 1941: "We will accept only a world consecrated to freedom from want and freedom from terrorism." The war into which he was steadily and purposefully steering his country was apparently supposed to assure such a world.

The argument that "we cannot live in a totalitarian world" carried weight with many Americans who were not impressed by lurid pictures of the Germans (who were never able to cross the narrow English Channel) suddenly frog-leaping the Atlantic and overrunning the United States. Both in the hectic days of 1940-41 and in the cooler retrospect of 1950 it seems clear that a Nazi Germany, dominant in Europe, and a militarist Japan, extending its hegemony in Asia, would be unpleasant neighbors and would impose disagreeable changes in the American way of life.

It could plausibly be argued that in such a world we should have to assume a heavy permanent burden of armament, that we should have to keep a constant alert for subversive agents, that our trade would be forced into distorted patterns. We would be exposed to moral corruption and to the erosion of our ideals of liberty because the spectacle of armed might trampling on right would be contagious.

These dangers of totalitarianism were real enough. But it was a disastrous fallacy to imagine that these dangers could be exorcised by waging war and making peace in such fashion that the power of another totalitarian state, the Soviet Union, would be greatly enhanced.

Failure to foresee the aggressive and disintegrating role which a victorious Soviet Union might be expected to play in a smashed and ruined Europe and Asia was the principal blunder of America's crusading interventionists. Those who secretly or openly sympathized with communism were at least acting logically. But the majority erred out of sheer ignorance and wishful thinking about Soviet motives and intentions. They were guilty of a colossal error in judgment and perspective, and almost unpardonable error in view of the importance of the issues at stake.

After Pearl Harbor and the German declaration of war, the United States, of course, had a stake in the success of the Red Army. This, however, does not justify the policy of one-sided appeasement which was followed at Teheran and Yalta.

If one looks farther back, before America's hands were tied diplomatically by involvement in the conflict, there was certainly no moral or political obligation for the United States and other western powers to defend the Soviet Union against possible attacks from Germany and Japan. The most hopeful means of dealing with the totalitarian threat would have been for the western powers to have maintained a hands-off policy in eastern Europe.

In this case the two totalitarian regimes might have been expected to shoot it out to their hearts' content. But advocates of such an elementary common-sense policy were vilified as appeasers, fascist sympathizers, and what not. The repeated indications that Hitler's ambitions were Continental, not overseas, that he desired and intended to move toward the east, not toward the west, were overlooked.

Even after what General Deane called "the strange alliance" had been concluded, there was room for maneuvering. We could have been as aloof

toward Stalin as Stalin was toward us. There is adequate evidence available that the chance of negotiating a reasonable peace with a non-Nazi German government would have justified an attempt, but the "unconditional surrender" formula made anything of this sort impossible. With a blind optimism that now seems amazing and fantastic, the men responsible for the conduct of American foreign policy staked everything on the improbable assumption that the Soviet Government would be a cooperative do-gooder in an ideal postwar world.

The publicist Randolph Bourne, a caustic and penetrating critic of American participation in its First Crusade, observed that war is like a wild elephant. It carries the rider where it wishes to go, not where he may wish to go.

Now the crusade has ended. We have the perspective of five years of uneasy peace. And the slogan, "We are fighting so that we will not have to live in a totalitarian world," stands exposed in all its tragic futility. For what kind of world are we living in today? It is not very much like the world we could have faced if the crusade had never taken place, if Hitler had been allowed to go eastward, if Germany had dominated eastern Europe and Japan eastern Asia? Is there not a "This is where we came in" atmosphere, very reminiscent of the time when there was constant uneasy speculation as to where the next expansionist move would take place. The difference is that Moscow has replaced Berlin and Tokyo. There is one center of dynamic aggression instead of two, with the concentration of power in that one center surpassing by far that of the German-Japanese combination. And for two reasons their difference is for the worse, not for the better.

First, one could probably have counted on rifts and conflicts of interest between Germany and Japan which are less likely to arise in Stalin's centralized empire. Second, Soviet expansion is aided by propaganda resources which were never matched by the Nazis and the Japanese.

How does it stand with those ideals which were often invoked by advocates of the Second Crusade? What about "orderly processes in international relations," to borrow a phrase from Cordell Hull, or international peace and security in general? Does the present size of our armaments appropriation suggest confidence in an era of peace and good will? Is it not pretty much the kind of appropriation we would have found necessary if there had been no effort to destroy Nazi and Japanese power?

Secret agents of foreign powers? We need not worry about Nazis or Japanese. But the exposure of a dangerously effective Soviet spy ring in Canada, the proof that Soviet agents had the run of confidential State Department papers, the piecemeal revelations of Soviet espionage in this country during the war — all these things show that the same danger exists from another source.

Moral corruption? We have acquiesced in and sometimes promoted some of the most outrageous injustices in history: the mutilation of Poland, the uprooting of millions of human beings from their homes, the use of slave labor after the war. If we would have been tainted by the mere existence of the evil features of the Nazi system, are we not now tainted by the widespread prevalence of a very cruel form of slavery in the Soviet Union?

Regimentation of trade? But how much free trade is there in the postwar world? This conception has been ousted by an orgy of exchange controls, bilateral commercial agreements, and other devices for damming and diverting the free stream of international commerce.

Justice for oppressed peoples? Almost every day there are news dispatches from eastern Europe indicating how conspicuously this ideal was not realized.

The totalitarian regimes against which America fought have indeed been destroyed. But a new and more dangerous threat emerged in the very process of winning the victory. The idea that we would eliminate the totalitarian menace to peace and freedom while extending the dominion of the Hammer and Sickle has been proved a humbug, a hoax, and a pitiful delusion.

Looking back over the diplomatic history of the war, one can identify ten major blunders which contributed very much to the unfavorable position in which the western powers find themselves today. These may be listed as follows:

(1) The guarantee of "all support in their power" which the British Government gave to Poland "in the event of any action which clearly threatened Polish independence." This promise, hastily given on March 31, 1939, proved impossible to keep. It was of no benefit to the Poles in their unequal struggle against the German invasion. It was not regarded as applicable against Russia when the Soviet Union invaded and occupied eastern Poland, with the full understanding and complicity of Hitler.

All this ill-advised guarantee accomplished was to put Great Britain and France into war against Germany, to the great satisfaction of Stalin, for an objective which the western powers could not win. Poland was not freed even after the United States entered the war and Hitler was crushed. It was only subjected to a new tyranny, organized and directed from Moscow.

There is no proof and little probability that Hitler would have attacked the west if he had not been challenged on the Polish issue. The guarantee, more than any other single action, spoiled the best politi-

cal opportunity the western powers possessed in 1939. This was to canalize German expansion eastward and to keep war out of the West.

(2) The failure of the American Government to accept Konoye's overtures for a negotiated settlement of differences in the Far East. The futility of the crusade for China to which the American Government committed itself becomes constantly more clear.

(3) The "unconditional surrender" slogan which Roosevelt tossed off at Casablanca in January 1943. This was a godsend to Goebbels and a tremendous blow to the morale and effectiveness of the underground groups which were working against Hitler. It weakened the American and British position in relation to Russia, since Stalin did not associate himself with the demand. It stiffened and prolonged German resistance.

Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin at the February 1945 Yalta Conference. At this meeting, the Allied coalition leaders decided the fate of millions of people around the world.

(4) The policy of "getting along" with Stalin on a basis of all-out appeasement. The Soviet dictator was given everything he wanted in the way of munitions and supplies and was asked for nothing in return, not even an honest fulfillment of the Atlantic Charter, of which he was a cosignatory. The disastrous bankruptcy of this policy is evident from one look at the geographical, political, and moral map of the world today.

(5) Failure to invade the Balkans, as Churchill repeatedly urged. This mistake was the result partly of the policy of appeasing Stalin and partly of the narrowly military conception of the war which dominated the thinking of the War Department. There was a tendency to regard the war as a kind of bigger football game, in which victory was all that mattered.

(6) The public endorsement by Roosevelt and Churchill in September 1944 of the preposterous Morgenthau Plan for the economic destruction of Germany. To be sure, the full extravagance of this scheme was never put into practice, but enough of its vindictive destructionist spirit got into the Potsdam Declaration and the regulations for Military Government to work very great harm to American national interests and European recovery.

(7) The bribing of Stalin, at China's expense, to enter the Far Eastern war and the failure to make clear, until the last moment, that unconditional surrender, for Japan, did not mean the elimination of the Emperor. These were grave mistakes, fraught with fateful consequences for American political interests in the Orient. Had the danger from Russia, the undependability of China, and the desirability of enlisting Japan as a satellite ally been intelligently appreciated, a balance of power far more favorable to the United States would now exist in East Asia.

(8) The failure, for political reasons, to exploit the military opportunities which opened up in the last weeks of the struggle in Europe, notably the failure to press on and seize Berlin and Prague. Closely linked with this error was the failure to insist on direct land access to Berlin in the negotiations about the postwar occupation of Germany.

(9) The persistent tendency to disregard the advice of experts and specialists, and base American foreign policy on "hunches" inspired by amateurs and dilettantes. Conspicuous examples of unfitness in high places were Harry Hopkins as adviser on Russia, Edward R. Stettinius as Secretary of State, Henry Morgenthau, Jr., as policy framer on Germany, and Edwin W. Pauley as Reparations Commissioner. A parallel mistake was the laxness which permitted American and foreign Communist sympathizers to infiltrate the OWI, OSS, and other important strategic agencies.

(10) The hasty launching, amid much exaggerated ballyhoo, of the United Nations. The new organization was not given either a definite peace settlement to sustain or the power which would have made it an effective mediator and arbiter in disputes between great powers. It was as if an architect should create an elaborate second story of a building, complete with balconies, while neglecting to lay a firm foundation.

These were unmistakable blunders which no future historical revelations can justify or explain away. In these blunders one finds the answer to the question why complete military victory, in the Second Crusade as in the First, was followed by such complete political frustration. Perhaps the supreme irony of the war's aftermath is that the United States becomes increasingly dependent on the good

will and co-operation of the peoples against whom it waged a war of political and economic near extermination, the Germans and the Japanese, in order to maintain any semblance of balance of power in Europe and in Asia.

Primary responsibility for the involvement of the United States in World War II and for the policies which characterized our wartime diplomacy rests with Franklin D. Roosevelt. His motives were mixed and were probably not always clear, even to himself. Frances Perkins, Secretary of labor in his Cabinet and a personal friend, described the President as "the most complicated human being I ever knew."

Certainly Roosevelt was far from being a simple and straightforward character. In an age when Stalin, Hitler, and Mussolini played the role of the popular tyrant, of the dictator whose grip on his people is maintained by a mixture of mass enthusiasm and mass terrorism, Roosevelt showed what could be done in achieving very great personal power within the framework of free institutions. His career after his election to the presidency stamps him as a man of vast ambition, capable, according to Frances Perkins, of "almost childish vanity."

There were probably three principal motives that impelled Roosevelt to set in motion the machinery that led America into its Second Crusade. First was this quality of ambition. What role could be more tempting than that of leader of a wartime global coalition, of ultimate world arbiter? Second was the necessity of finding some means of extricating the American economy from a difficult position. Third was a conviction that action against the Axis was necessary. This conviction was greatly strengthened by the first two motives.

Roosevelt's first Administration, which began at the low point of a very severe depression, was brilliant political success. He was re-elected in 1936 by an enormous majority of popular and electoral votes. But dark clouds hung over the last years of his second term of office. For all the varied and sometimes contradictory devices of the New Deal failed to banish the specter of large-scale unemployment. There were at least ten million people out of work in the United States in 1939.

The coming of the war in Europe accomplished what all the experimentation of the New Deal had failed to achieve. It created the swollen demand for American munitions, equipment, supplies of all kinds, foodstuffs which started the national economy on the road to full production and full employment.

There was the same economic phenomenon at the time of the First World War. The vast needs of the Allies meant high profits, not only for munitions makers (later stigmatized as "merchants of death"), but for all branches of business activity. It brought a high level of farm prices and industrial wages. As the Allies ran out of ready cash, loans were floated on the American market. The United States, or at least some American financial interests, acquired a direct stake in an Allied victory.

Now, the purely economic interpretation of our involvement in World War I can be pressed too far. There is neither evidence nor probability that Wilson was directly influenced by bankers or munitions makers. He had given the German Government a public and grave warning of the consequences of resorting to unlimited submarine warfare. When the German Government announced the resumption of such warfare, Wilson, with the assent of Congress, made good his warning.

Yet the lure of war profits (not restricted, it should be noted, to any single class of people) did exert a subtle but important influence on the evolution of American policy in the years 1914–17. It worked against the success of the mediation efforts launched by House as Wilson's confidential emissary. The British and French governments counted with confidence on the absence of any strong action to back up periodic protests against the unprecedented severity of the blockade enforced against Germany. The American economy had become very dependent on the flow of Allied war orders.

After the end of the war, after depression and repudiation of the greater part of the war debts, the majority of the American people reached the conclusion that a war boom was not worth the ultimate price. This feeling found expression in the Neutrality Act. Roosevelt himself in 1936 described war profits as "fools' gold."

Yet the course of American economic development in World War II followed closely the pattern set in World War I. First the Neutrality Act was amended to permit the sale of munitions. Then, as British assets were exhausted, the lend-lease arrangement was substituted for the war loans of the earlier period. As an economic student of the period [Broadus Mitchell in *Depression Decade*] says:

> The nation did not emerge from the decade of the depression until pulled out by war orders from abroad and the defense program at home. The rescue was timely and sweet and deserved to be made as sure as possible. Whether the involvement of the United States in the war through progressive departure from neutrality was prompted partly by the reflection that other means of extrication from economic trouble had disappeared, nobody can say. No proponent did say so. Instead, advocates of "all-out aid to Britain," convoying of allied shipping and lend-lease took high ground of patriotism

and protection of civilization.

There can be no reasonable doubt that the opposition of business and labor groups to involvement in the war was softened by the tremendous flood of government war orders. It is an American proverb that the customer is always right. Under lend-lease and the immense program of domestic arms expansion the government became the biggest customer.

Ambition certainly encouraged Roosevelt to assume an interventionist attitude. He unmistakably enjoyed his role as one of the "Big Three," as a leading figure at international conferences, as a mediator between Stalin and Churchill. There is a marked contrast between Roosevelt's psychology as a war leader and Lincoln's.

The Civil War President was often bowed down by sorrow over the tragic aspects of the historic drama in which he was called to play a leading part. His grief for the men who were dying on both sides of the fighting lines was deep and hearty and unaffected. One finds little trace of this mood in Roosevelt's war utterances. There is no Gettysburg Address in Roosevelt's state papers. The President's familiar mood is one of jaunty, cocksure, sometimes flippant, self-confidence.

Another trait in Roosevelt's personality which may help to explain the casual, light-hearted scrapping of the Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms is a strong histrionic streak. If he originated or borrowed a brilliant phrase, he felt that his work was done. He felt no strong obligation to see that the phrase, once uttered, must be realized in action.

When did Roosevelt decide that America must enter the war? There was a hint of bellicose action in his quarantine speech of October 5, 1937. Harold Ickes claims credit for suggesting the quarantine phrase, which did not appear in earlier drafts of the speech which had been prepared in the State Department. It was like Roosevelt to pick up and insert an image which appealed to him. However, the quarantine speech met such an unfavorable reception that it led to no immediate action.

Various dates are suggested by other observers. Supreme Court Justice Felix Frankfurter, who enjoyed substantial influence and many contacts in Administration circles, asserted in a Roosevelt memorial address at Harvard University in April 1945:

> There came a moment when President Roosevelt was convinced that the utter defeat of Nazism was essential to the survival of our institutions. That time certainly could not have been later than when Mr. Sumner Welles reported on his mission to Europe [March 1940].

That Roosevelt may have been mentally committed to intervention even before the war broke out is indicated by the following dispatch from Maurice Hindus in the *New York Herald Tribune* of January 4, 1948:

> Prague — President Eduard Benes of Czechoslovakia told the late President Franklin D. Roosevelt on May 29, 1939, that war would break out any day after July 15 of that year, with Poland as the first victim, and Mr. Roosevelt, in reply to a question as to what the United States would do, said it would have to participate because Europe alone could not defeat Adolf Hitler.

A suggestion by Assistant Secretary of State A. A. Berle that Roosevelt should have become the leader of the free world against Hitler is believed to have influenced the President's psychology. [Davis and Lindley, *How War Came*, p. 65.]

Admiral James O. Richardson, at that time Commander in Chief of the Pacific fleet, talked at length with Roosevelt in the White House on October 8, 1940. He testified before the Congressional committee investigating Pearl Harbor [*Report of the Congressional Joint Committee*, Part I, p. 266] that he had asked the President whether we would enter the war and received the following answer:

> He [Roosevelt] replied that if the Japanese attacked Thailand, or the Kra peninsula, or the Netherlands East Indies, we would not enter the war, that if they even attacked the Philippines he doubted whether we would enter the war, but that they could not always avoid making mistakes and that as the war continued and the area of operation expanded sooner or later they would make a mistake and we would enter the war.

It is clear from these varied pieces of evidence that the thought of war was never far from Roosevelt's mind, even while he was assuring so many audiences during the election campaign that "your government is not going to war." During the year 1941, as has been shown in an earlier chapter [of *America's Second Crusade*], he put the country into an undeclared naval war in the Atlantic by methods of stealth and secrecy. This point was made very clear by Admiral Stark, then Chief of Naval Operations, in his reply to Representative Gearhart during the Pearl Harbor investigation:

> Technically or from an international standpoint we were not at war, inasmuch as we did not have the right of belligerents, because war had not been declared. But actually, so far as the forces operating under Admiral King in certain areas were concerned, it was against any German craft that came inside that area. They

were attacking us and we were attacking them.

Stark also testified that, by direction of the President, he ordered American warships in the Atlantic to fire on German submarines and surface ships. This order was issued on October 8, 1941, two months before Hitler's declaration of war.

It is scarcely possible, in the light of this and many other known facts, to avoid the conclusion that the Roosevelt Administration sought the war which began at Pearl Harbor. The steps which made armed conflict inevitable were taken months before the conflict broke out.

Some of Roosevelt's apologists contend that, if he deceived the American people, it was for their own good. But the argument that the end justified the means rests on the assumption that the end had been achieved. Whether America's end in its Second Crusade was assurance of national security or the establishment of a world of peace and order or the realization of the Four Freedoms "everywhere in the world," this end was most certainly not achieved.

America's Second Crusade was a product of illusions which are already bankrupt. It was an illusion that the United States was at any time in danger of invasion by Nazi Germany. It was an illusion that Hitler was bent on the destruction of the British Empire. It was an illusion that China was capable of becoming a strong, friendly, western-oriented power in the Far East. It was an illusion that a powerful Soviet Union in a weakened and impoverished Eurasia would be a force for peace, conciliation, stability, and international co-operation. It was an illusion that the evils and dangers associated with totalitarianism could be eliminated by giving unconditional support to one form of totalitarianism against another. It was an illusion that a combination of appeasement and personal charm could melt away designs of conquest and domination which were deeply rooted in Russian history and Communist philosophy.

The fruit harvested from seeds of illusion is always bitter.

I believe that much of "knowledge" is indeed merely "memory," and this is why so many misconceptions persist for such a long time in the human population. For example, science is rife with error. Because so many people are so thoroughly schooled in the common misconceptions, however, only the most brilliantly skeptical of them will ever discover a mistake. And even then, it will likely be denied for generations to come. If the error has cultural importance too — such as the belief that emotions arise from the heart — generations stretch into centuries.

— Marilyn Vos Savant
Parade magazine, Feb. 6, 1994, p. 11.

The Most Ambitious Book-length Debunking to Date of the Works of Jean-Claude Pressac

AUSCHWITZ
The End of a Legend
by Carlo Mattogno

Mattogno is a learned man in the mold of his ancestors of the Renaissance. He is meticulous and prolific; in the future he will be in the first rank of Revisionists. —Prof. Robert Faurisson

Jean-Claude Pressac's *Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers* was published in 1989 to resounding worldwide media hosannas. It was followed in 1993 by his second opus, *The Crematoria of Auschwitz: The Machinery of Mass Killing.*

Pressac's principal volume, more than 500 pages with hundreds of illustrations, promised conclusive evidence of the existence and use of homicidal gas chambers at Auschwitz. Headlines proclaimed that the revisionists were finally vanquished, that Pressac had proven what the immense resources of the Holocaust industry had failed to prove in more than 40 years.

But in the mad rush to herald the news, the pundits hadn't bothered to *read* the book, presuming that the French pharmacist had accomplished what his publisher—the Klarsfeld Foundation—claimed he had. He hadn't.

So Pressac's second volume was published, promising, in his own words, "*the definitive rebuttal of revisionist theories.*" This dog wouldn't hunt, either.

As you read ***Auschwitz: The End of a Legend*** you'll find out why. Here, Italian documents specialist Carlo Mattogno demolishes the boldest attempt to date—Pressac's back to back volumes—to answer the revisionist critique of the Auschwitz extermination story.

Mattogno shows how Pressac misinterpreted his own data in such a way as to assist not his fellow exterminationists, but the very revisionists he had set out defeat.

Mattogno demonstrates that Pressac's confused arguments confirm his ignorance of the structure and functioning of crematory ovens and gas chambers, and of the nature and use of the disinfectant Zyklon B; that Pressac's use of available statistics was arbitrary and largely fanciful, resulting in a *down-sizing* of the number of alleged victims; and that where information did not exist, Pressac simply invented it, often with mutually contradictory arguments in different parts of his thesis.

Mattogno's relentless deconstruction of Pressac's assertions and interpretations not only reveals the Holocaust Lobby hero's incompetence, it's a case study of the pathetic sloppiness the media can be counted on to overlook in the crusade against Holocaust Revisionism.

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Softcover • 150 pp. • index • illustrated
$12.95 + $2 postage

—Published by—
Institute for Historical Review
P.O. Box 2739 • Newport Beach, CA 92659

World War II, American "Defense" Policy, and the Constitution

JOSEPH SOBRAN

Rethinking the Holy War

We learn now of the likelihood that several top physicists on the Manhattan Project may have been passing helpful information along to Joseph Stalin. The story is startling but, on reflection, hardly amazing.

In his book *Special Tasks*, the former Soviet spymaster Pavel Sudaplatov makes a sensational disclosure: He says proudly that the Soviets' acquisition of the atomic bomb was facilitated by the nuclear insider trading of Enrico Fermi, Leo Szilard, Niels Bohr, and — surprise! — Robert Oppenheimer.

If Sudaplatov's story is true, Joe McCarthy was living in a fool's paradise. But there are more serious implications.

Oppenheimer's loyalty to the United States had long been suspect; there is much in his life, his family, his circle of friends, to suggest the Soviet sympathies that were common enough in those days. During what is now called "the McCarthy Era," his security clearance was suspended with much apologetic coughing from the government that suspended it, which was at pains to stress that nobody doubted his loyalty. Ever since then, Oppenheimer had been a certified Victim of McCarthyism, like Alger Hiss.

But the more important point is that Oppenheimer and others like him (including Hiss) may also have felt that Soviet sympathies were not necessarily anti-American. If he was helping Stalin, after all, he was doing no more than Franklin Roosevelt himself, whose obsession with destroying Germany led him into alliance with the most murderous regime in history (except, possibly, for Communist China). And Bohr several times urged Roosevelt to share nuclear technology with the Soviets. We may also think of the Israeli spy, Jonathan Pollard, who still insists, probably in all sincerity, that he never meant to be disloyal to this country when he turned its secrets over to an "ally."

Though much disputed, Sudaplatov's story merely underscores what should have become obvious by now: The antiwar Americans — the "isolationists" and "America Firsters" — were right about World War II. The United States should have stayed out.

It is time we stopped treating World War II as a holy war and took its measure rationally.

The net result of the war, apart from hundreds of thousands of dead young Americans (very nearly including my father, who saw pieces of his friends retrieved from the ocean with grapples after a kamikaze attack), was to leave much of Europe in Communist hands, with the Soviets in possession, only four years after the war's end, of something Germany and Japan hadn't had: the means of annihilating us.

There were other drawbacks and disgraces. American freedoms were sharply curtailed, most flagrantly the rights of Americans of Japanese descent; the federal government consolidated its power over us, ceasing to be "federal" in any meaningful sense. American planes bombed cities in a deliberate campaign of killing civilians, abetted by war propaganda inciting race-hatred against the Japanese. And of course the military draft meant that everybody, not just draftees, could be forced to participate in one way or another. It was total war, which necessitates something like a totalitarian state. "It's a free country" yielded to "Don't you know there's a war on?"

Neither the Japanese nor the Germans wanted war with us; Roosevelt did his utmost to provoke them while lying to the citizens of the country again and again and again. Roosevelt's defenders don't deny that he lied; showing their dedication to democracy, they defend the lies themselves as "far-sighted."

Roosevelt's defenders also don't deny that the

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Soviets murdered tens of millions of Christians, mostly Orthodox (one scholar [R. J. Rummel in *Lethal Politics*] puts the total number of dead at 61.9 million, including non-Christians). It's just that, for liberals, tens of millions of Christians are as nothing against the sacred imperative of stopping Hitler. And to this day there is no public memorial in the United States or, as far as I know, in the new, democratic Russia to the myriads of persecuted Christians, whose churches were razed, whose culture was destroyed, whose children were taken from them, and whose lives ended in torment and oblivion. There are sharp limits to liberal compassion.

As the 50th anniversary of D-Day is commemorated, think of the millions we have been quietly allowed to forget.

Afraid to be Popular

Do you, dear reader, ever ask yourself: "In just what sense does the Department of Defense defend me? Why does it — still — keep military bases in far-flung places like South Korea and Turkey?"

Good questions. The truth is that you are not being defended much at all. And if you look at American history, you'll find that your ancestors weren't defended much either. They may have been involved in fighting, but it almost certainly wasn't within our borders, which is where you'd naturally expect "defense" to occur.

It's startling to reflect that the U.S. government has probably killed more people outside its own borders, in proportion to the number killed by foreign powers within its borders, than any government in history. Our wars may be defensible, but they're not always "defense."

Still, no President has ever been elected by promising to take us to war. Several, like Franklin Roosevelt, have been elected after promising not to. I don't recall whether Bill Clinton ever promised not to, but it doesn't matter, because he would have explained afterward, the way he always does, that he never actually said what everyone thought they heard him say. The man talks extemporaneously in fine print.

Even so, it was reasonably assumed that, as President, he wouldn't send American boys to the fate he had so adroitly side-stepped during his college years; his unofficial campaign slogan in 1992 was: "He kept himself out of war." And as President, he has conducted a popular foreign policy. At least it would be popular if he weren't afraid to call attention to it. He doesn't want to admit it, but he has kept us out of war — in Bosnia, Korea, and the Mideast.

Which raises an interesting question. Here is a President who can use all the popularity he can get, yet he doesn't want to point out that he has kept us at peace. And as I write, he appears about to launch a mini-war in Haiti. What gives? Why this foreign policy that dares not speak its name? If the Haitian War comes to pass, it won't be "defense," any more than the Gulf War and the Panama War were. The Haitian rulers aren't threatening us. The war will be fought because someone other than the great mass of the American people insists upon it.

Joseph Sobran

Here I yield the floor to a source I don't usually turn to for enlightenment, Richard Cohen of *The Washington Post*. In a passage that could be profitably studied in a political science course, he has explained why Clinton, as a practicing politician, has no choice but to invade Haiti: "The American public may not give a damn about foreign policy, but the various elites (political, journalistic, business, etc.) do. For a widely popular President, the judgment of the elites would not matter. But Clinton is far from popular. His margin for error is virtually nonexistent."

My only quibble is with Cohen's parenthetical identification of these "elites." It's interesting that he names journalists among them; so much for the idea that journalists are neutral observers. But he leaves out the ethnic lobbies that do so much to drive American policy. In the case of Haiti, it's the black lobby — especially the Black Caucus in Congress — that is pushing for war.

Of course all this has nothing to do with defending you, Mr. Doe. That's why you aren't especially being consulted, even indirectly. Your representative won't be asked to declare war, as prescribed by the Constitution, which has so little to do with how we are actually ruled anyway. Ordinary Haitians are already pining under a savage U.S. blockade; the people who are starving aren't the ones with the guns.

What our elites call "isolationism" our ancestors called "neutrality" — and most Americans still instinctively prefer it to intervention and war. It tells you something about our democracy that Clinton feels than in order to survive, he has to do something that may make him even more unpopular than he already is.

The Constitutional Prejudice

Gosh! My one-man campaign to revive the Tenth Amendment seems to be paying off! All over the nation, Americans are discovering the part of their constitutional heritage liberals hoped they wouldn't find out about.

Nancy Roman reports in *The Washington Times* that the forgotten Tenth is now being invoked all over the place. It's being cited by states rejecting federal orders (known as "unfunded mandates") to clean up their water and air, hire more police, jail illegal aliens — and to bear the costs themselves; by law enforcement officers who refuse to do background checks on gun purchasers, as demanded by the (unconstitutional) Brady Bill; by various champions of both states' and individuals' rights.

Colorado, followed by other states, is suing the federal government to "cease and desist" issuing unfunded mandates. Jim Abbott, chairman of the state's Tenth Amendment Committee, notes that under the historical understanding of the Constitution, the federal government has no power to create departments of Health and Human Services, Labor, Transportation, Energy, Education, and Commerce, or the Environmental Protection Agency, the Food and Drug Administration, the Federal Communications Commission, and the Occupational Safety and Health Administration, to name a few of the many federal regulatory agencies.

The Tenth is usually thought of as the states' rights amendment, but it's more than that. It says simply: "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the states, are reserved to the states respectively, or to the people." Put otherwise, "We the People" have "delegated" certain powers to "the United States" (i.e., the federal government). These powers are listed in the Constitution. And any powers not listed remain with the separate states or with Us the People.

There was a good reason for this amendment. Many of those who hesitated to ratify the Constitution didn't feel that the powers it conferred were tyrannical; but they feared that if the federal government had those powers, it would also be strong enough to claim and exert powers that hadn't been conferred — and at that point nothing would be able to stop it from taking all the powers it wanted. So the Tenth nailed down the point that the people were granting the federal government only those powers mentioned in the Constitution, and no others.

You can see this point more clearly by contrasting the Tenth Amendment with its companion, the Ninth Amendment: "The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people." Put otherwise, the Constitution does not attempt to list all the people's rights, but it does list all the federal government's powers. There is thus a constitutional prejudice in favor of rights retained by the people, but against any new power claimed by the federal government.

Today the operative prejudice is just the reverse. We think we don't have a right unless it's listed in the Constitution, but we assume that the federal government can claim just about any unlisted power it wants to. If the framers found out about this state of affairs, they'd reach for the smelling salts.

How did the central principle of the Constitution get stood on its head? In 1940 Roosevelt's rubber-stamp Supreme Court declared the Tenth Amendment a mere "truism," of no force or effect. And since then the court has never struck down a single major power grab by the federal government, while it has extirpated hundreds of state laws. The court has "expanded" — distorted and inflated, actually — the First, Fourth, Fifth, Eighth, Ninth, and Fourteenth Amendments (not to mention the interstate commerce clause), but never the Tenth or, interestingly, the Second. On the contrary, these two amendments have been contracted almost to nothingness.

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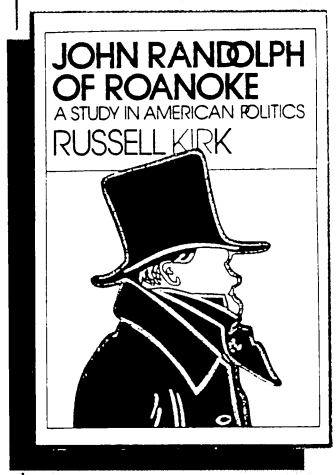

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The Crematories of Auschwitz
A Critique of Jean-Claude Pressac

Carlo Mattogno

French Professor Robert Faurisson deserves credit for being the first to research the technical aspects of alleged homicidal gas chambers in wartime German camps, particularly in Auschwitz-Birkenau. He noticed that in none of the many trials of so-called Nazi war criminals had anyone ever called for an expert technical examination of the alleged weapon of the crime, which in this case would mean a technical study of one of the many "gas chambers" alleged to have been used by the Nazis for homicidal purposes. Therefore, Faurisson himself undertook such a technical study, even visiting a genuine execution gas chamber in an American penitentiary.

Faurisson's methodology in this field is very important because "exterminationist" historiography, which predominates in this field, is rooted in dogmatism. The virtually theological nature of this dogmatism is pointed up in a declaration by 34 French scholars published in the French daily newspaper *Le Monde* on February 21, 1979, in which they stated:

> 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.

Rejecting this unscholarly axiom, French researcher Jean-Claude Pressac set out on a technical study of the gas chambers, as well as of the crematories. In this, Pressac directly challenged Faurisson and his findings.

Pressac's first work, which appeared in English in 1989, is entitled *Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers*. His second, published in French in 1993, bears the title *Les Crématoires d'Auschwitz: La machinerie du meurtre de masse* ("The Crematories of Auschwitz: the machinery of mass murder"). In 1994 an adaptation of this second work appeared as a chapter in the English-language anthology, *Anatomy of the Auschwitz Death Camp* (published by Indiana University Press in association with the US Holocaust Memorial Museum).

Pressac's 1993 book, which was given tremendous worldwide promotion, was portrayed as a total and unquestionable refutation of Holocaust revisionism, and moreover one that beats the revisionists on their own favorite field, namely, the technical. As a result, Pressac achieved international fame as a unique specialist of the alleged Nazi extermination techniques.

In reality, both of Pressac's books display a surprising deficiency of documentation, both with regard to the chemical-physical properties, use, and purpose of hydrocyanic acid gas (from a pesticide known commercially as Zyklon B, which was widely used throughout Europe to disinfest clothing and buildings), and the structure and functioning of crematory ovens. Pressac's incompetence in these two essential aspects of the problem inevitably leads him to unfounded conclusions. All the same, his 1989 book should be recognized for its considerable documentation and for its critical spirit, which are uncommon among mainstream historians. Pressac also deserves credit for having the courage to overcome, or at least the intention to go beyond, the established historiographic technique with regard to this issue, which essentially has been a non-critical acceptance of "eyewitness testimony." Even

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This article is an edited transcript of Mattogno's presentation at the Twelfth (1994) IHR Conference. It was translated by Russ Granata, a Second World War US Navy veteran and retired California educator, and is copyright 1994 by Granata Publishing Corporation.

The points and arguments made in this article are developed in much greater detail in Mattogno's 150-page softcover book, *Auschwitz: The End of a Legend*, published by the IHR in September 1994. It is available from the IHR for $12.95, plus $2 shipping.

though he did not intend it, his 1989 book has furnished so much useful material for revisionists that it might be considered crypto-revisionist.

Pressac's 1993 book was supposed to complement and advance his earlier work because it was said to be based on his study of a vast trove of hitherto unavailable documents in Soviet archives, particularly those from the Auschwitz construction department, or *Bauleitung*, which fell intact into the hands of the Soviets when they overran the camp. In reality, within those eighty thousand documents housed in Moscow, most notably the *Bauleitung* documents, Pressac did not find a single proof of the existence of even one homicidal gas chamber at Auschwitz-Birkenau. This must have troubled Pressac who, returning to the cliches of the worst "exterminationist" historiography, found himself in the difficult situation of having to cite documents as saying what they do not say.

This might explain Pressac's openly specious approach, characterized by an unscrupulous use of sources, and by arbitrary and unfounded affirmations woven throughout the body of the text in such a way as to give the impression that they are based on documents. He forces connections between the various documents, and twists interpretations of the documents to support his preconceived notions about the alleged gas chambers.

Because Pressac purports to present a total and definitive refutation of revisionism on a technical level, a simple historical critique of Pressac's thesis is insufficient. Accordingly, I present here a historical-technical critique of Pressac's thesis. (This critique is developed in much greater detail in my recently-published book, *Auschwitz: The End of a Legend*.)

Some Background

Before laying out the most important aspects of this critique, I want to indicate how and why a scholar with a foundation in the humanities came to concern himself with complex technical questions, and to discuss the scholarly merit of my conclusions.

When I began my study of this issue, I felt that revisionists had not yet conducted adequate technical studies of alleged Nazi homicidal gas chambers; if, at Auschwitz-Birkenau, there really had been a mass extermination of Jews and others whose bodies were cremated, then the weapon of the crime, the homicidal gas chamber, must have had an indispensable accessory, namely, the crematory oven.

Faurisson's principal investigative methodology has been to demonstrate the technical impossibility of homicidal gassing (as alleged), thereby also demonstrating the material impossibility (and therefore the historical unreality) of mass extermination in homicidal gas chambers. This principle is also valid regarding cremation. If one demonstrates the technical impossibility of mass cremation of hundreds of thousands of corpses, one also demonstrates the material impossibility (and therefore the historical unreality) of mass extermination in homicidal gas chambers or by any other means.

Carlo Mattogno (left), with translator Russ Granata, presents his critique of the work of Pressac at the Twelfth IHR Conference (Sept. 1994).

It was on the basis of this principle that in 1987 I became interested in the technology of cremation. I delved into this question with the valuable collaboration of two talented engineers: Franco Deana of Genoa, Italy, and a German engineer, who died in 1991. After long years of research in German libraries, we have collected an extensive bibliography comprising practically all of the technical articles concerning cremation that appeared in Germany from the 1920s through the 1940s. Moreover, in the archives of the Auschwitz State Museum in Poland, we examined photocopies of unpublished documents from the Moscow archives concerning the crematory ovens manufactured during the war by the Topf company of Erfurt, Germany. In addition, we made on-site studies of the Topf crematory ovens still in existence at the concentration camps at Dachau, Mauthausen, Gusen and Buchenwald. We also studied the crematory ovens made by the Kori

company of Berlin at the concentration camps at Dachau, Mauthausen and Majdanek.

Our on-site study of these installations is important because the two-chambered crematory oven at Mauthausen is of the same design as those installed in Crematory I at the Auschwitz main camp, and the three-chambered ovens at Buchenwald are of the same design as those installed in Crematories II and III at Auschwitz-Birkenau. The two Topf ovens in the Auschwitz crematory, however, were so poorly reconstructed after the war by the Poles that one cannot understand anything of their functioning. As they now stand, these ovens could not function.

The result of all this study is a book on the technical aspects of cremation that is being published in Italy. The demonstrative procedures and conclusions of this work have been examined by a group of German engineers who have confirmed their scientific value. We expect to publish an English-language summary of our findings in the United States.

"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 clothing with "Zyklon" gas, quarantine of newly arriving prisoners, disinfection baths for inmates, and inspections of barracks. In spite of such measures, the dread disease claimed the lives of many tens of thousands of inmates. German camp personnel also fell victim, including garrison physician Dr. Schwela and other SS officers.

In addition to the cremation problem, we have delved deeper into the details of alleged homicidal gas chambers, collecting a valuable bibliography on hydrocyanic acid and disinfestation chambers, and, like German chemist Germar Rudolf, carrying out chemical testing. To this, we have added a very careful inspection of sites at Auschwitz-Birkenau.

On the basis of my seven years of study, I feel I have acquired the requisite technical knowledge competently to judge Pressac's thesis.

The Problem of Cremation

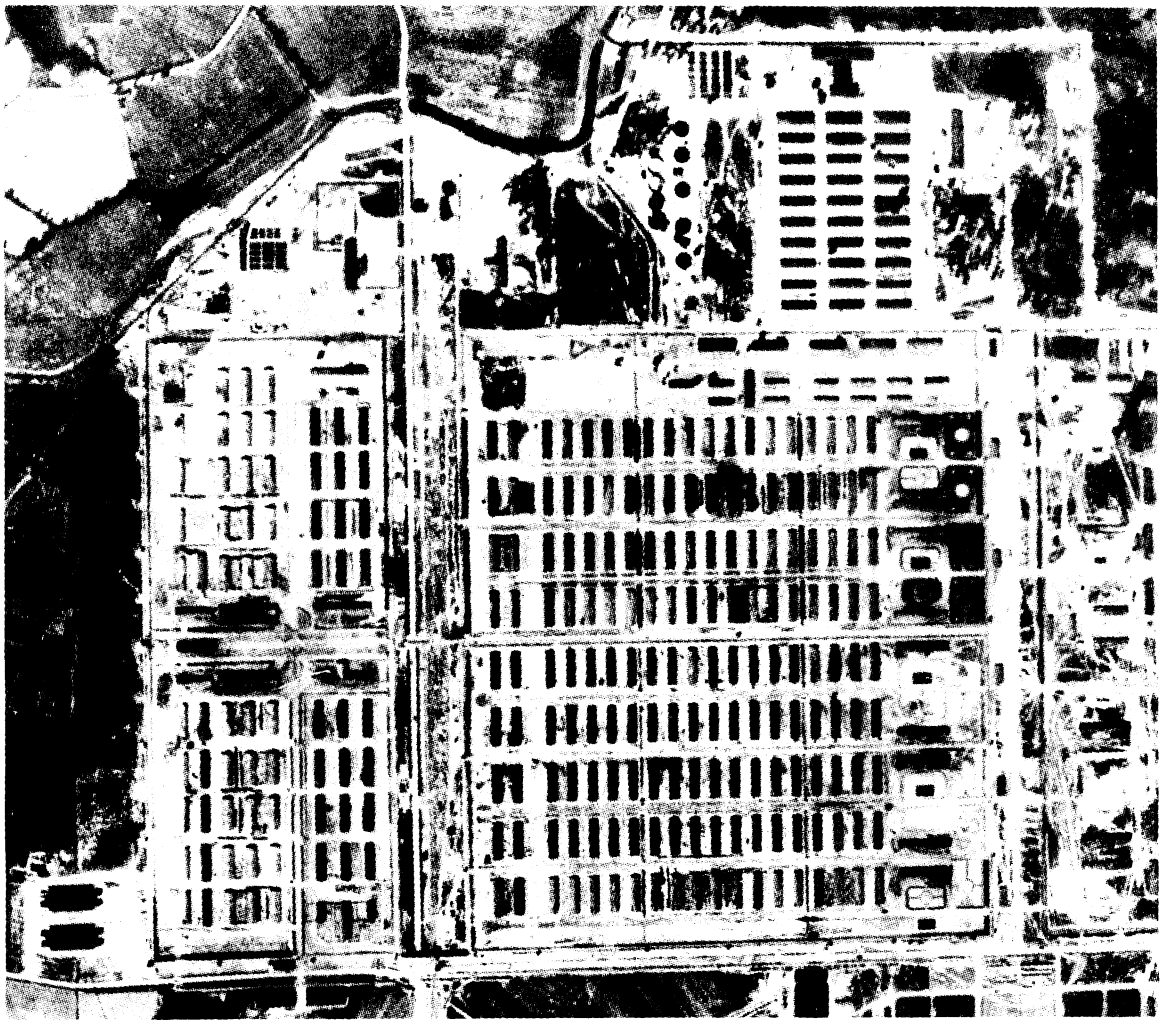
A scientific study of the Auschwitz-Birkenau crematory ovens must confront and resolve two fundamental thermal-technical problems: cremation capacity and coke consumption.

Pressac does not adequately deal with either of these two problems. Instead, he contents himself with a series of affirmations scattered throughout his work meant to establish that the cremation capacity in Crematory II and Crematory III each at Birkenau was 800 or 1,000 bodies per day, with the possibility of as many as 1,440, while the cremation capacity each of Crematory IV and Crematory V at Birkenau was 500 bodies per day, with the possibility of as many as 768. These higher figures are based on a purported *Bauleitung* letter dated June 28, 1943, according to which as many as 4,756 corpses were cremated every 24 hours in the 52 muffles of the five crematories at Auschwitz and Auschwitz-Birkenau. This works out to one body every 15 minutes, or four bodies per hour. Pressac considers this possible. [See also Dr. Arthur Butz's comment on this purported letter in the May-June 1993 *Journal*, p. 35, n. 15.]

Crematory Capacity

The Topf ovens at Auschwitz-Birkenau, which were designed and constructed to hold one corpse at a time, required an average of approximately one hour to cremate each corpse. In fact, because of their limited heat potential it was not economically feasible to cremate two or more bodies together, from the point of view both of duration and of coke consumption. A simultaneous cremation of four bodies per hour, in accordance with Pressac's view, was therefore thermo-technically impossible.

The maximum capacity of the Auschwitz-Birkenau ovens could have been no more than 1,040 (adult) bodies per day. Taking into account the percentage of infants and children among those alleged to have been homicidally gassed, and considering



Enlargement of a portion of an Allied aerial reconnaissance photograph of the Auschwitz-Birkenau camp, taken on May 31, 1944. As Mattogno and other revisionist scholars have pointed out, this photo shows no trace of the mass extermination of Jews that supposedly was being carried out there on that day.

average weight as a function of age, the daily cremation capacity could have been augmented by 20 percent, resulting in a theoretical maximum capacity of 1,248 bodies per 24-hour day. Of course, this does not mean that the Auschwitz SS ordered the cremation of 1,248 or 1,040 bodies per day; these are simply maximum theoretical figures.

Several practical considerations significantly lower the actual cremation capacity. First, proper functioning of the ovens required a break of at least four hours each day to clean coke slag from the furnace grilles.

Second, the ovens were programmed to function for twelve hours per day. Moreover, past experience with the two-chambered ovens at the Auschwitz main camp crematory had shown that these installations wore out rapidly and were subject to frequent breakdowns. Therefore, they could not have been expected to function continuously, or to be better than other ovens of that era. Consequently, it was necessary to arrange for the installation of more ovens than efficient cremation would dictate. (Similarly, at Majdanek, one of the five crematory ovens built by the Kori company in the new crematory was meant as a reserve oven.)

We also need to consider that the decision to build the four crematories at Birkenau (with their 46 oven chambers) was made on August 19, 1942, following Himmler's inspection of Auschwitz on July 17 and 18, after which he ordered a drastic increase in the capacity of the Auschwitz-Birkenau camp from 125,000 to 200,000 prisoners.

Finally, we must consider the impact of the terrible typhus epidemic during the summer of 1942, with its huge death toll in the Auschwitz-Birkenau camp. During the first 20 days of August, in the male sector alone there were 4,113 deaths of registered inmates, for an average of 216 male deaths

per day. During the third trimester of 1942, the death rate was 20.5 percent of the average camp population, which did not exceed 25,000 during this period.

Taking all these factors into consideration, we can maintain that the Auschwitz camp construction department (*Bauleitung*) ordered those 46 crematory oven chambers from the Topf company on the basis of a projected "worst case" mortality rate of approximately 500 prisoners per day from among an average projected camp population of 200,000. This corresponds to a monthly mortality rate of approximately eight percent. The capacity of the crematories therefore was quite adequate for the increase of the camp population anticipated by Himmler, even in the event of a typhus epidemic.

Abstractly, it might seem that a cremation capacity of 1,040 bodies per day was excessive. In August 1942 an average of 269 prisoners were dying each day at Auschwitz, which means that this maximum cremation capacity was almost four times greater than needed. This figure could perhaps be cited to demonstrate homicidal intentions on the part of the Auschwitz SS. By comparison, in 1939 in Germany there were 131 crematories with approximately 200 ovens, for a maximum cremation capacity of 4,000 corpses per day. However, during that entire year approximately 102,000 persons died in Germany (or about 280 per day). German crematories thus had a maximum capacity 14 times greater than the number of deceased: perhaps this shows that the Nazis intended to exterminate Germany's civilian population?

A study of the crematory ovens of Auschwitz-Birkenau offers three additional important proofs that refute the mass-gassing thesis.

SS Estimates

The first proof can be found in the SS projection of the number of cremations for March 1943. The *Bauleitung* file entry of March 17, 1943, estimates the projected consumption of coke for the four Birkenau crematories. The document indicates that the time period of activity of the crematories is twelve hours, and mentions a projected coke consumption. Therefore, one may calculate that it was possible to cremate approximately 360 emaciated adult corpses per day. From March 1 to 17, 1943, the average mortality at Birkenau was 292 prisoners per day, which in terms of crematory coke consumption represents 80 percent of the SS projection. This means that this projection is calculated on the basis of the average mortality, plus a 20 percent margin of error. Note that there is no allowance for the cremation of those alleged to have been homicidally gassed during this period, which were averaging 1,100 per day according to the supposedly authoritative *Auschwitz Chronicle, 1939-1945* (compiled by Danuta Czech, and published by I.B. Tauris, London, 1991).

If the homicidal gassing claims were true, the daily death rate during this period would have been approximately 1,400, or almost four times the SS forecasts. This would have had to include 26,000 Greek Jews who, according to the *Auschwitz Chronicle*, were gassed and cremated between March 20 and April 28. The complete lack of any provision by the SS camp officials for dealing with these many additional corpses shows that there were no homicidal gassings.

Coke Consumption

The second proof concerns the consumption of coke in the Auschwitz-Birkenau crematories during 1943. In *Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers*, Pressac maintains that from April to October of 1943, the crematories of Birkenau cremated between 165,000 and 215,000 bodies using 497 tons of coke, resulting in an average consumption of 2.6 kilograms of coke per body. To determine the validity of Pressac's claims, let us examine coke consumption more closely.

At Gusen (a sub-camp of Mauthausen), 677 adult corpses were cremated in the crematory's Topf two-chambered oven during the period from October 31 to November 13, 1941, with a total consumption of 20,700 kilograms of coke, or an average of 30.5 kilograms of coke per body. Because there were 52 cremations per day on average, and the oven remained in constant thermal equilibrium, the average consumption of coke was the minimum obtainable with that type of crematory oven. This data can also be assumed to be valid for the three Topf double-chambered ovens at the Auschwitz main camp crematory.

The design of the Topf three- and eight-chambered ovens at the Birkenau crematories represented a significant thermo-technical advantage, in that they dramatically reduced fuel consumption. For the cremation of each emaciated adult corpse, the three-chambered oven required 20 kilograms of coke, while the eight-chambered oven required approximately 15 kilograms of coke. This means that in disposing of corpses from hypothetical Nazi homicidal gassings, in which are included infant and child corpses among those alleged to have been gassed, the minimum theoretical coke consumption at the Birkenau crematories would have averaged 13 kilograms, as against the 2.6 kilograms assumed by Pressac.

From March 1 to October 25, 1943, the crematories of Auschwitz-Birkenau were supplied with a total of 641.5 tons of coke. During this same period, the number of prisoner deaths from natural causes

Detail from an Allied aerial reconnaissance photo, taken on August 25, 1944, shows Crematories II and III at Auschwitz-Birkenau.

was approximately 27,300. The number of those alleged to have been gassed, according to the *Auschwitz Chronicle*, was approximately 118,300, making a total of approximately 145,600.

For the prisoners who died of natural causes, the average coke consumption is 23.5 kilograms per corpse, which agrees with the actual crematory oven requirements. After adding those alleged to have been homicidally gassed, the average consumption drops to 4.4 kilograms of coke, which is thermo-technically impossible. (Keep in mind that according to the "exterminationist" historiography, so-called "cremation pits" were not used during this period.) Therefore, the quantity of coke supplied to the crematories from March to October of 1943 also demonstrates that the crematories handled only the corpses of registered prisoners who died from natural causes.

Recapitulating, Pressac assumes a maximum cremation capacity for the ovens of Auschwitz-Birkenau that is approximately four times what is realistically possible, and a coke consumption for each cremation that is approximately one-fifth of the average real effective requirement. This shows that Pressac's declarations regarding mass cremations of individuals alleged to have been homicidally gassed are technically and historically unfounded.

Crematory Endurance

The third proof concerns the durability or endurance of the fire-brick masonry of the crematory ovens. In his 1989 book, Pressac asserts that a total of 938,000 corpses were cremated at Auschwitz-Birkenau: 781,000 in crematories and 157,000 in "cremation pits." These numbers refer only to those alleged to have been killed by poison gas, and do not include the bodies of registered prisoners who died from natural causes. In his 1993 book, Pressac reduces his estimate of Auschwitz dead to 775,000, of whom at least 675,000 were cremated at

Birkenau. Pressac's revision of the numbers of persons alleged to have been homicidally gassed has no connection with the Moscow documents he examined.

Engineer Rudolf Jakobskötter, speaking in 1941 of electrically-heated Topf ovens that were used in the crematory in Erfurt, stated with considerable pride that the second oven successfully carried out 3,000 cremations, while normally the durability of (flame) crematory fire-brick masonry permitted 2,000 cremations. The Topf two-chambered oven at Gusen lasted for approximately 3,200 cremations, after which it was necessary to dismantle it and replace its fire-brick masonry walls. The duration of one cremation chamber was therefore 1,600 cremations.

Even assuming the endurance of the Auschwitz-Birkenau oven masonry reached the extreme limit of 3,000 cremations per chamber, the highest possible number of corpses that could have been cremated would have been approximately 156,000. (Incidentally, according to Pressac, the total number of victims among the registered prisoners was 130,000.) The cremation of 675,000 bodies at Auschwitz-Birkenau would have required at least four complete replacements of the fire-brick masonry of all the camp's cremation chambers. For Crematories II and III, that would have required 256 tons of heat-resistant building materials, plus a labor time of approximately 7,200 man hours.

Yet, in the Auschwitz *Bauleitung* archives, which were captured intact and which Pressac has thoroughly examined, not a trace exists of such extensive construction work. The only possible conclusion is that this work was never carried out because it was not needed. Because it was technically impossible to cremate anything like 675,000 bodies at Birkenau, given what we know about crematory endurance, it follows that no mass extermination could have taken place there.

Hungarian Jews

Another important proof that specifically refutes the thesis of mass homicidal gassing at Birkenau — in this case of Hungarian Jews — are Allied military aerial reconnaissance photographs taken of the camp on May 31, 1944. On that day, during the supposedly crucial period of the alleged extermination, 15,000 Hungarian Jewish deportees supposedly arrived at Birkenau. According to Pressac, during a 14-day period in May-June 1944 an average of approximately 13,000 Hungarian Jews arrived daily at Birkenau, while 110,000 of the 184,000 deportees were gassed at a rate of 7,800 per day.

But the aerial photographs of Birkenau do not show the least indications of this alleged mass extermination. No smoke; no cremation pits (burning or not); no traces of the earth that would have to have been dug out of the pits; no piles of wood to fuel the pits; no traces of vehicles, or of any activity in the critical zone of the courtyard of Crematory V, nor in the grounds around Bunker 2, nor in areas of Crematories II or III. These photographs provide irrefutable proof that the story of the extermination of the Hungarian Jews is historically unfounded.

Pressac claims that 292,000 Hungarian Jews were homicidally gassed and cremated in Birkenau at Crematories II, III, and V, and in "cremation pits," during a 70-day period in May-July 1944, at a rate of approximately 4,200 per day. In reality, the deportation of Hungarian Jews lasted only 39 days, and Crematories II, III, and V could cremate, at the maximum, only 900 bodies per day. "Cremation pits" are a technical absurdity, because combustion is impossible in a pit due to the lack of sufficient oxygen.

Thus, during the 39-day-long deportation of the Hungarian Jews, Birkenau's crematories could have cremated a maximum of 35,000 bodies. This leaves 257,000 bodies that would have to been stored somewhere. This is further evidence that the story of the mass homicidal gassing of the Hungarian Jews is historically false.

Gas Chambers

Pressac's basic thesis is that Crematories II and III in Birkenau were planned and constructed as normal hygienic-sanitary installations, but were subsequently transformed into homicidal gas chambers. There is no doubt that up to the end of 1942, various changes were made in the basements of Crematories II and III deviating from the initial design plans. Likewise there is no doubt that the oven rooms were not altered from the original design regarding their number and their capacity for cremation. How is this apparent inconsistency to be explained?

If Crematories II and III had been designed as sanitary installations adequate for the natural mortality rate of the camp, their transformation into instruments of mass extermination would have required alterations permitting a corresponding increase in the cremation capacity of the ovens — that is to say, the installation of extra ovens. But this did not occur. So Pressac has no choice but to triple or quadruple the cremation capacity of the ovens, and to declare that ovens designed for normal, hygienic-sanitary purposes could, without difficulty, have coped with mass extermination.

The reality is very different. The installation of a 210-square-meter gas chamber (the size of *Leichenkeller* [mortuary cellar] 1), in Crematories II and III — in which, according to Pressac, it was possible homicidally to gas 1,800 victims at a time

without difficulty (eyewitness testimony even speaks of 3,000 victims) — would have required 75 crematory oven muffle chambers instead of the actual 15 for the cremation of the corpses produced in just one day. It would have required five days to cremate the bodies of the victims of one gassing — a major impediment to the alleged extermination process. The fact that the oven room was not altered shows that the basement alterations had nothing to do with mass murder.

According to Pressac, the final SS project was to turn *Leichenkeller* ("corpse cellar") 1 into a homicidal gas chamber, and to turn *Leichenkeller* 2 into an undressing room. Of course this would mean that *Leichenkeller* mortuary cellars for storing bodies awaiting cremation would no longer be available in Crematories II and III. So where would the SS have stored all the bodies of the registered prisoners who had died of natural causes, including typhus, prior to cremation? This question is significant because Crematories II and III originally were conceived with three mortuary rooms for each: a total of 671 square meters reserved exclusively for hygienic-sanitary use. In support of his thesis, Pressac puts forward a series of conjectures, the most important of which deal with the ventilation systems of the crematories, and the "gas testers."

Ventilators

It is well known that because of the extreme toxicity of hydrocyanic acid — the gas contained in Zyklon B — ventilation was of vital importance in the safe operation of disinfestation gas chambers. Pressac claims that an important element of the criminal transformation of a morgue into a homicidal gas chamber was an increase of the ventilator capacity in the alleged gas chamber from 4,800 to 8,000 cubic meters of air per hour. This alteration was supposedly decided on because the original ventilation installation had been planned and constructed for a normal mortuary chamber, and because a homicidal gas chamber would require much more efficient ventilation. Pressac cites this alteration as proof that the mortuary chamber was transformed into a homicidal gas chamber. Apparently for balance or symmetry, Pressac also declares that the capacity of the ventilators of the alleged undressing room was increased from 10,000 to 13,000 cubic meters of air per hour.

As evidence of this change of ventilator capacity, Pressac cites Topf company invoice number 729, of May 27, 1943, for Crematory III. [Published in facsimile in *Auschwitz: The End of a Legend*, p. 110.] However, a study of the ventilation installations in Crematories II and III demonstrates to the contrary that *Leichenkeller* 1 was *not* transformed into a homicidal gas chamber.

First, the Topf invoice cited by Pressac projected for the alleged homicidal gas chamber a ventilator with capacity of 4,800 cubic meters of air per hour, not of 8,000, and for the alleged undressing area a ventilator with a capacity of 10,000 cubic meters, not of 13,000. Pressac has therefore misrepresented the contents of this document.

Second, considering the volume of the two rooms, it is clear that for the alleged homicidal gas chamber, the SS had projected 9.5 exchanges of air per hour, but for the alleged undressing room 11 exchanges per hour: the so-called undressing room was better ventilated than the alleged homicidal gas chamber! This is technically senseless.

The classic work of engineer Wilhelm Heepke on crematory planning establishes that for mortuary chambers it is necessary to provide for a minimum of five exchanges of air per hour, but in the case of intense usage, up to ten exchanges. This is entirely consistent with the revisionist position that the ventilation installations of *Leichenkeller* 1, with their 9.5 exchanges of air per hour, were planned and constructed for a mortuary chamber, and that the room in question was not transformed into a homicidal gas chamber. By comparison, for the (non-homicidal) disinfestation or delousing gas chamber with hydrocyanic acid, using the DEGESCH-*Kreislauf* (circulation) system, 72 air exchanges per hour were projected.

Pressac asserts that Crematories II and III were planned and constructed as normal hygienic-sanitary installations but were later transformed into instruments of extermination. Yet, after the alleged transformation, the oven rooms of the two crematories still had the same number of crematory ovens that had been projected to handle the prisoner death rate due to natural causes, and the ventilators of *Leichenkeller* 1 still had the same capacity that had been specified for normal mortuary rooms. Where, then, is the criminal transformation of the crematories?

Gasprüfer

On February 26, 1943, the Auschwitz main construction office (*Zentral-Bauleitung*) sent a telegram to the Topf company asking for ten gas analyzers or testers (*Gasprüfer*). [Pressac translates this as "gas detectors."] In Moscow, Pressac discovered a letter of response from the Topf company, dated March 2, 1943, in which the *Gasprüfer* were referred to as *Anzeigegeräte für Blausäure-Reste*, or "apparatuses for indication of hydrocyanic acid traces." [These two documents are published in facsimile in *Auschwitz: The End of a Legend*, pp. 117, 188.] Pressac contends that this document constitutes proof of the existence of a homicidal gas chamber in Crematory II at Auschwitz-Birkenau.

In reality, the document could, at the most, be an indication, but not definitive proof, of the existence of a gas chamber. However, the contention that this gas chamber was homicidal is arbitrary. Regarding this document, the following points should be made:

(a) In German technical terminology, *Gasprüfer* were simply analyzers or testers of combustion gas.

(b) The standard apparatus that was used to detect hydrocyanic acid residual traces was called *Gasrestnachweisgeräte für Zyklon* ("Gas trace detection apparatus for Zyklon"). This was a test kit for measuring the amount of residual Zyklon gas.

(c) This apparatus was routine required equipment at all (non-homicidal) disinfestation or hydrocyanic acid delousing installations, including those at Auschwitz.

(d) The request for ten combustive-gas testers sent to the Topf company, which manufactured crematory ovens, was perfectly understandable. However, what could have motivated the Auschwitz *Zentral-Bauleitung* office to request ten devices for detecting traces of hydrocyanic gas from Topf, a company specializing in the installation of combustion equipment, rather than ordering them directly from the company that manufactured Zyklon B — namely DEGESCH (*Deutsche Gesellschaft für Schädlingsbekämpfung* or "German company for combatting pests") — or from the firm that was one of the two distributors of Zyklon for the manufacturer — namely TESTA (Tesch und Stabenow)? The Auschwitz *Zentral-Bauleitung* office was in regular contact with TESTA, its supplier of Zyklon B. The conclusion is that the ten *Gasprüfer* requested in February 1943 were simple testers of combustion gas in the crematories. They were meant for the ten smoke ducts or conduits of Crematories II and III, or perhaps for the ten smoke flues of the crematory stacks at Birkenau. I therefore conclude that the document discovered by Pressac is a fake.

Conclusions

As already mentioned, Pressac wished to carry out a technical study of the question of the crematory ovens and of the alleged homicidal gas chambers at Auschwitz-Birkenau. While he did not possess the requisite competence to undertake such a study, he nevertheless accepted the methodological principle put forth by revisionists, that is, in case of discrepancy between testimony and physical evidence, it is physical evidence that should prevail.

Pressac has applied this principle by reducing the number of persons alleged to have been homicidally gassed at Auschwitz. He did this precisely because of technical incompatibilities between the previously-claimed number of victims and the capacity of the crematories, even though he arbitrarily increased their capacity three- or four-fold. In accepting the revisionist methodology, Pressac has punctured an irreparable hole in the traditionally dogmatic "exterminationist" historiography, because technical reality and physical evidence show the material impossibility of a mass extermination at Auschwitz-Birkenau.

Pressac's colleagues, including those responsible for compiling *Anatomy of the Auschwitz Death Camp*, seem immediately to have understood the danger here, and have taken remedial action. In fact *Anatomy of the Auschwitz Death Camp* seems to be directed against Pressac more than against revisionist scholars. In refutation of Pressac's three most important conclusions, this book states:

1. All the crematories at Auschwitz-Birkenau were designed and planned for criminal purposes of mass killing.

2. The number of Auschwitz victims amounted to 1,100,000 persons.

3. The Birkenau crematories were able to cremate 8,000 corpses per day.

With this, the theological dogmatism proclaimed by the French scholars in 1979 and imprudently violated by Pressac has been re-established. All Pressac can do now is make public amends; by collaborating on *Anatomy of the Auschwitz Death Camp*, he already seems to have begun doing so. For the revisionists, however, Pressac's own two books are further milestones in the dismantling of a legend.

IN COLD BLOOD . . .

GRUESOME HARVEST: The Allies' Postwar War Against the German People, by Ralph F. Keeling, tells the grim, suppressed story of how the victorious Allies—after the end of the Second World War—carried on a brutal campaign against defeated Germany's civilian population. Completely reset attractive new IHR edition of a moving classic, with a new publisher's introduction by Ted O'Keefe. Bristling with contemporary documentation, burning with humanitarian and patriotic outrage, this informed, riveting classic dares to tell the shameful story of how American and other Allied policymakers undertook the political, economic and social destruction of the German people even as they presumed to instruct them in "justice" and "democracy." Softcover. 151 pp., $9.00 + $2 shipping.

Doug Collins Under New Fire for Holocaust Views

Jewish Group Brings Criminal Charges for "Swindler's List" Column

Over the years, few Canadian writers have delighted and aggravated more readers than Doug Collins. Now semi-retired, the feisty, articulate British-born journalist regularly still turns out an often-provocative column for the widely-read *North Shore News* of North Vancouver, British Columbia.

No stranger to controversy, Collins has recently come under fire from Jewish groups for a March 9 column (reprinted in the May-June 1994 *Journal*) about Spielberg's much-hyped movie, "Schindler's List."

Calling it "Swindler's List," Collins wrote:

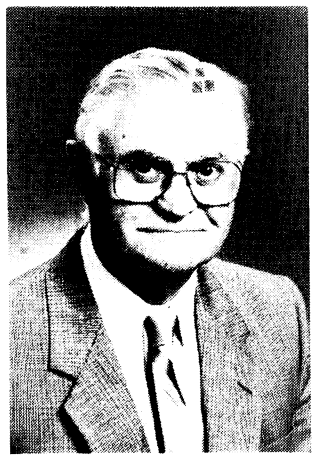
> Fifty years after the war one tires of hate literature in the form of films. British Columbia school-children are being trooped in to see this effort... What happened to the Jews during the Second World War is not only the longest lasting but also the most effective propaganda exercise ever ...
>
> In time of war, propaganda is justified. Fifty years on, it's a bit much. But it comes about because the Jewish influence is the most powerful in Hollywood. One is not supposed to say that, of course. It's the ultimate in political incorrectness ...

Opening the new campaign against Collins was a polemic masquerading as a news article in the British Columbia daily paper *The Province*, Oct. 5. Headlined "Holocaust just a story: Collins," it began with a doubly erroneous statement: "Right-wing columnist Doug Collins came out of the closet yesterday and denied the Holocaust occurred." As an irate Collins later pointed out, his views about the Holocaust story have not been a secret, and he is just about the last person in the world to hide his views, in a closet or elsewhere.

Compounding the misrepresentation, the *Province* article went on to complain that Collins' columns are being reprinted by the *Journal* of the Institute for Historical Review, which the paper called "a prominent anti-Semitic group in the US." It added that the IHR "is described by Nazi fighters as a cornerstone of the US neo-Nazi movement." *The Province* made no effort to contact the IHR before printing this rubbish. (For some time now, selected Collins' columns have occasionally been reprinted, with his permission, in this *Journal*.)

This was not the first time that Jewish groups have expressed displeasure with Collins, an outspoken champion of freedom of speech who has publicly defended Ernst Zündel, and who addressed the 1990 IHR Conference. (Collins' presentation, "Reflections on the Second World War, Free Speech and Revisionism," was published in the Fall 1991 *Journal*.)

Not one readily to cave in under pressure, Collins has roared back against the new smear campaign, both in his regular column and during a spiritedly defiant October 21 appearance on the Charles Maclean radio talk show (station CKST). "The press has grossly misrepresented Collins and broadcasters are urging a boycott of the *North Shore News*," observes Maclean. "It's a sad day for freedom of speech."



Doug Collins

As part of its vindictive campaign against him, the Canadian Jewish Congress recently brought a criminal charge against Collins, charging that his "Swindler's List" column violates the country's "hate law." Canada's "Human Rights Act" criminalizes any public expression that "exposes a person or group of persons to hatred or contempt." If found guilty, Collins could be fined up to $100,000 (Canadian).

Along with Collins, the CJC has also brought a "hate law" charge against John Ball, a British Columbia geologist who rejects the Holocaust extermination story. (Ball spoke about his extensive study of wartime aerial reconnaissance photography at the recent Twelfth IHR Conference).

The CJC complaint "is too ludicrous to take seriously," says Collins. "The obvious intent is to terrify people into silence," he adds. "I may wind up losing $100,000 and having to live with the homeless, but I'm enjoying myself." He slams the complaint as "a direct attack on freedom of speech and freedom of the press — and, as such, well in line with the traditions of the Canadian Jewish Congress."

Collins, a native of the United Kingdom, served with the British army during the Second World War. After being captured at Dunkirk he was interned, but later escaped from German and Hungarian prisoner of war camps. Recipient of two of Canada's most coveted awards for journalism, his career has included work, both a reporter and commentator, for several major Canadian daily papers, and on television and radio. (For more about Collins, see the *Journal* of Fall 1991, p. 382, Jan.-Feb. 1993, p. 42, and May-June 1993, p. 22.)

The Collins affair is beginning to receive country-wide attention. Diane Francis, editor of the nationally circulated *Financial Post* (Dec. 3), castigated Collins' "Swindler's List" column as "dreadful" and "obnoxious," but at the same time criticized the CJC legal action. Similarly, the leadership of the British Columbia Press Council, a media monitoring group, is "appalled" by the CJC move.

As happened in the Ernst Zündel case, it is likely that the CJC effort against Collins and Ball ultimately will prove counter-productive. For one thing, the "Collins affair" seems to be generating greater public awareness about the Holocaust issue, and public sentiment appears to be largely on Collins' side. For example, every one of the 30 or so persons who called in during Collins' October 21 radio talk show appearance expressed support or sympathy for him. Moreover, a call-in "Hotline" telephone poll conducted by *The Province* asked readers: "Do you agree with Doug Collins that the Nazi Holocaust is exaggerated?" Of the 295 calls received, 50 percent answered "yes." (*The Province*, Oct. 6, 1994.)

— M.W.

"Columnist Blasts News Story"

Doug Collins

[From the North Shore News, *Oct. 7, 1994]*

There I was, barely off the plane from a holiday in England when a callow youth from the morning trash sheet called me to ask why a couple of my columns had appeared in a sinister magazine in the US called *The Journal of Historical Review.*

The pieces in question were my famous columns on the propaganda movie "Schindler's List" and the Holocaust.

The next day [Oct. 5] there was a "zip" across the bottom of the [front page of] said rag that read "Holocaust? What Holocaust?", plus a picture of Doug the Villain and the words "North Van columnist Doug Collins denies it happened."

On page five the headline was "Holocaust just a story: Collins," plus a picture showing me with a curled lip. (All the best people curl their lips now and again, there being newspapers like *The Province* around.)

The lead paragraph contained the breathless news that "Right-wing columnist Doug Collins came out of the closet yesterday and denied the Holocaust occurred." Fact: I did not deny that "it" occurred. I said I did not believe in the six million story; but that there was no doubt that large numbers of Jews died in the concentration camps, as did large numbers of non-Jews.

Nor did I say that the Holocaust was "just a story." If the interview was taped, I challenge young Mr. Callow, aka Gordon Clark, to produce such words. They were never spoken.

As for coming out of the closet, someone must be mad, and it ain't me. I have been accused of many things, but hiding in closets isn't one of them. Mountain tops yes, closets no.

The columns reprinted in *The Journal of Historical Review* had of course already appeared in the *North Shore News* and caused endless discussion. So talk of closets is pure balderdash.

Clark also asked me whether I was anti-Semitic. This came out as "Collins doesn't consider himself to be anti-Semitic or neo-Nazi (thanks, Gordon) 'but I can't say that some of my best friends are Jews'." What I said on the question of anti-Semitism, was, "The usual answer to that is often the cliche, 'Some of my best friends are Jews.' I can't say that, but it would idiotic to be opposed to Jews simply because they are Jews."

I also pointed out that I had fought against Hitler for six years during the war (and would do so again if I had the choice). For the record, I take people as I find then. There are vicious Jews, kind Jews, poor Jews, rich Jews. The same applies to any other group.

I did say that in my opinion the gas chamber story was false, and pointed out that for some years after the war it was being claimed that gas chambers existed in the concentration camps of Western Germany; also, that I had seen Bergen-Belsen in 1945 and that it had contained no gas chambers.

Today, as I told the reporter, if such he be, even "Nazi-hunter" Simon Wiesenthal admits there were no gas chambers in the West. As to their existing elsewhere, there is considerable doubt. Not that

such doubts would appear in our politically correct press, except to be ridiculed.

Also for the record, it isn't only "neo-Nazis" who are asking questions. Arno Mayer, a Jew and Professor of European History at Princeton University wrote a book on the Holocaust called *Why Did the Heavens Not Darken?*. In it, he admitted that "sources for the study of the gas chambers are at once rare and unreliable." Also that "there is no denying the many contradictions, ambiguities and errors in the existing sources."

David Cole, who is also Jewish, has the director of the Auschwitz Museum confessing on video tape that the "gas chamber" shown to tourists there was a reconstruction done after the war by the Soviets. And the Poles have stated that the story of "four million" deaths there is not true. All of which is food for thought, except that some people do not want thought. They want tunnel vision.

To repeat. The Nazis did horrible things. But the six million story is something else. And it's curious that while we get the Holocaust thrown at us daily, the crimes perpetrated by the Communists are dropped into the memory hole. I leave you to guess why.

So why did two or three of my columns appear in the revisionist *Journal*? Because they asked me for them and I said OK. It is reviled by Jewish pressure groups but is a scholarly publication. My arrangement with the *News* is that if anyone wants to run my column regularly, as Sterling News did before my critics got to work, it had to be cleared with my publisher, Mr. Peter Speck. But he told me years ago that the occasional column did not need clearance.

Is the Institute for Historical Review "neo-Nazi?" If so, there must be a lot of neo-Nazis in or from the universities because its magazine's masthead contains the names of 18 PhDs. And in the issue in which my two pieces appeared, so did some Solzhenitsyn stuff. So did an article by Joseph Sobran, whose column appears in 70 U.S. newspapers. If I don't watch it I'll get a big head.

"Confessions of a Modern Heretic"

Doug Collins

[From the North Shore News, *Oct. 16, 1994]*

The subject is heresy and heretics, because it seems that I am one.

I am in good company. One of the greatest heretics was William Tyndale, who first put the Bible into English. The Roman Catholic Church objected because it thought it would be dangerous for the "uneducated" to be able to read it.

Tyndale was burned at the stake.

Then there was Galileo. Having studied Copernicus he knew that the Earth revolved around the sun. And said so. The Church thought otherwise, and Galileo was told to recant. He refused. Then they showed him the torture chamber and he changed his mind. I would have done the same. You bet. But Galileo still knew that the Earth went round the sun. And now we do, too.

More recently there was the case of Malcolm Muggeridge, top British writer, journalist and wit, now deceased. In 1953 Muggeridge wrote a piece called "Royal Soap Opera" for an American magazine. It ridiculed the reverence in which the Royals were held, and all hell broke loose. (He was in advance of his time, as you may have noticed.) Muggeridge's name was mud. Cowards libelled him. No one would use him and he was forced to flee to Australia for a while.

But in the end he was rehabilitated. I am a nonentity but I do have a doctorate in political incorrectness. I am against immigration, affirmative action, radical feminism, abortion on demand, homosexuality, the prodnoses of the "human rights" racket and other goodies dispensed by the New Establishment. Still, it is with some timidity that I mention myself in the same breath as Muggeridge and the great heretics. They were captains. I am a rear-rank foot soldier.

My main heresy is "the holocaust." I do not believe the six million figure, although I used to. Nor do I believe in the gas chamber stuff.

How can I know about such things when the Popes of the New Establishment know otherwise? I don't "know" anything, but have read the revisionist literature and come to certain conclusions. My media critics, on the other hand, have not read any of it. They just go on repeating the Orthodox Version. And that's safe. Discussion is not on. Discussion is "denial" and therefore heresy. Don't they get the truth daily on TV?

The literature is impressive. It includes Professor Butz' *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, the writings of Professor Robert Faurisson of France, those of former French Resistance leader and concentration camp inmate Paul Rassinier, and judge Wilhelm Stäglich's *Auschwitz: A Judge Looks at the Evidence*. Plus the work of arch-heretic David Irving.

Although the smell of burning flesh does not attend today's heretics, jail can await them. If they have teaching jobs they will lost them. That's why no Canadian academic wants to blot his copybook. Academic freedom has its limits.

If a person is a top threat to orthodoxy, like Irving, Jewish pressure will get him barred from South

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 microphone, 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, *devastating*. Cole not only documents on tape the falsehoods told Auschwitz visitors every day by unknowing tour guides, he shows that the very people who run the museum aren't at all sure about their main attraction—the "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. For those who cannot afford the trip to Europe to see all this for themselves, this video brings Auschwitz, as well as *The Leuchter Report*, to life right in your living room.

Most devastating of all is Cole's interview with Dr. Piper, in which the director of the Auschwitz Museum casually admits to postwar alterations of the room that for decades has been shown to tourists as an unaltered, "original state" gas chamber.

Professionally produced in full color and crisp sound, the tape runs just under an hour. If you've been waiting for a concise, intelligent, and persuasive presentation on the Holocaust that you can comfortably show to friends and family, *that video is here*! For those with no access to a video player, the soundtrack is available on C-60 audio cassette.

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Correction:

The sampling of Revilo Oliver's writings in the Sept.–Oct. 1994 *Journal* was taken not only from pages 1–4, 79–83, 182–183 and 187–189 of his book, *America's Decline* (as noted on page 21 of that issue of the *Journal*), but also from the following additional pages of Oliver's book: 190–191 and 212–213.

Africa, Australia and Germany. It will also get him arrested while making a speech in Victoria and deported from liberty-loving Canada on the pretext of his having broken the immigration laws.

This even though immigrant rapists and murderers float freely around this country and an apologist for terrorism like Sinn Feiner Gerry Adams can make speeches here. The clamps on holocaust discussion are there "for the protection of the truth." The same sort of thing applied in Tyndale's day. But as Oberon Waugh has asked, what sort of truth is it that needs protecting?

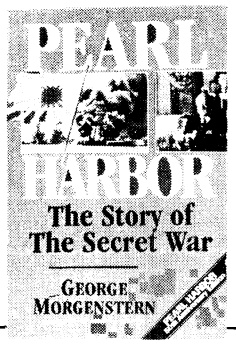
Meanwhile, even a minor heretic like me can watch out. If he starts writing for a newspaper chain the pressure groups will soon have him "desyndicated." And the biggest fool and flapmouth in local radio will call for the boycotting of the one newspaper that publishes him. The least he can expect is that a contemptible sheet like the *Province* will publish a crude cartoon on him reminiscent of the stuff in the Nazi newspaper *Der Stuermer*.

Such trash is not confined to "holocaust heretics." For criticizing our crazy immigration policies the late, great J.V. Clyne was shown in the same fine newspaper getting encouragement from a man in a white hood. "Way to go, J.V.," said the hood.

No, they're not yet burning people at the stake. But when they do they'll need a lot of wood because a *Province* phone poll showed that 50 percent of their hundreds of respondents agreed with me. Amazing. Look out for a veritable tsunami of abuse and propaganda.

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.



"Taking Tabloid 'Trash' to Task"

[Reprinted from the North Shore News, *Oct. 9, 1994]*

To the Editor, *The Province*:

The article you ran by Gordon Clark on Oct. 5 ("Holocaust just a story: Collins") was the grottiest piece of "journalism" I have seen in a long time. And that's saying something.

I did not deny that the "Holocaust" occurred. I stated quite clearly that large numbers of Jews died in the camps, as did large numbers of non-Jews. Just ask the Poles. I did not say that "it" was "just a story." If your reporter was taping our conversation I challenge him to produce those words. They were simply not spoken.

I did say that the six million story was not true. And I quoted several Jewish sources to that effect, including Professor Yehuda Bauer, the Israeli Holocaust scholar who in 1989 was quoted in *The New York Times* as saying: "The larger figures have been dismissed for years, except that it hasn't reached the public yet." [*New York Times*, Nov. 12, 1989]

When Clark said that historians stand by the six million story I replied that many do but some don't (including Professor Arthur Butz, author of *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*). Also that Prof. Daniel Vining, another American, has stated [*Chronicles*, Sept. 1993] that to question the six million story is a good way for academics to lose their jobs. Jewish pressure groups don't mess around.

Nor did I state, baldly, that "none of my best friend are Jews." Asked whether I was anti-Semitic I stated that the usual cliché response to such a question was to state that "some of my best friends are Jews." But I added that it would be idiotic to dislike Jews simply because they were Jews.

I did say that I do not believe in the gas chamber stuff and could have quoted Jewish academic Arno Mayer who stated in his book *Why Did the Heavens Not Darken?* that sources on the gas chambers are "at once rare and unreliable." A particularly stupid statement by Clark was that "Columnist Doug Collins has come out of the closet and denied the Holocaust."

Closets are not my style. My views, including those on this subject, have been up front for years, and as far as I am concerned anyone can have them, including the Institute for Historical Review.

Your newspaper is a tabloid trash bag. Next time you want to interview me, don't bother. Just make it up out of whole cloth. The result would be the same.

Doug Collins

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Letters

Havel and "Ethnic Cleansing"

In his Independence Hall speech (published in the Sept.-Oct. 1994 *Journal*), Vaclav Havel said that "the Creator gave man the right to liberty."

Does Mr. Havel live by those words? As President of the Czech Republic, he has deplored the forced expulsion of 3.5 million ethnic Germans from Czechoslovakia, and the killing of 325,000 of them, in 1945–1946. But today he protects the killers from prosecution and upholds the Benes "ethnic cleansing" decrees of 1945 that ordered the expulsion. Also, Havel refuses to meet with the representatives of the expelled Sudeten Germans.

Why does Mr. Havel not reverse a great historic injustice and "give man the right to liberty." It seems that President Havel is a liberal: he says what people like to hear, but does what he wants. He is not a revisionist!

E. B.
Hallandale, Florida

Dr. App's Book Recommended

I am writing to recommend to readers *No Time for Silence* [published by the IHR], a 150-page collection of newspaper articles, essays and pamphlets by Dr. Austin App that originally appeared between 1946 and 1978 about the terrible fate that befell Germans in the aftermath of the Second World War.

As freedom-loving people, we must not forget the terrible treatment of the more than ten million German men, women and children who fled or were driven from their ancient homelands in East and West Prussia, Pomerania, Silesia, the Oder-Niesse region, and Sudetenland. Under often appalling conditions, they fled or were deported from their homes into what was left of bombed-out, dismantled, amputated Germany.

One million German, Austrian and Hungarian women — ages eight to eighty — were raped. In Berlin alone, more than 100,000 women were raped. Small boys who tried to protect their mothers and sisters were shot down on the spot. More than two million men, women, and children perished in this horror — history's single most terrible act of genocide.

To "complete" the devastation, American officials devised the genocidal Morgenthau Plan — which was backed by President Franklin Roosevelt. According to App, this horrific plan for the devastation of Germany was abandoned only after loud protests from American Christians. [*No Time for Silence* is available from the IHR for $6.95, plus $2 for shipping.]

T. G.
Fort Smith, Ark.

Appreciation from Egypt

The Holocaust story plays a very important role in Western public opinion, and certainly needs revision. The Zionist movement exploits the Holocaust story to justify the establishment of the Zionist state and its bloody crimes against the Arab Palestinian people.

We are convinced that some of the Western literature about Zionist history and the Palestinian cause is biased, if not entirely wrong. Of course, we do not accept the killing of even one innocent person, but deaths of Jews decades ago in Europe is no excuse to push the Palestinian people from their homeland.

I would like to express my appreciation of the efforts by you and others to reconsider and revise the historical record.

Recently I have been committed to attending several sessions of a drawn-out trial relating to what we have published in our newspaper *Al Shaab* ["The People"] exposing corruption of high-level Egyptian officials.

Magdi Hussein
Editor, Al Shaab
Cairo, Egypt

Truth From America or Russia?

I very much appreciate the work that is being done by the IHR and the revisionists cooperating with all of you, especially as a German who sees that the political action taken by the Bundestag is leading us into the worse dictatorship we ever had.

The Kohl regime rules against the will of more than 80 percent of the German people in order to deprive us of our state, its constitution and its currency. In keeping with the proposals of T. N. Kaufman (*Germany Must Perish*) and Earnest A. Hooton, the Kohl administration is flooding Germany with millions of foreign people, drawn by high incomes paid for by German taxpayers.

There is no newspaper and no television station informing the public about this background. The truth about Auschwitz cannot be published in Germany. A Munich paper (*Münchner Anzeiger*) and David Irving tried. The editor of the paper survived an attempt on his life, and the paper is no longer published. Irving is now prohibited from entering Germany. It seems that the truth must come to us from America and/or from Russia.

Because I am a retired engineer my funds are not so grand anymore. So my contribution is only $100.

D. L.
Neustadt, Germany

We welcome letters from readers. We reserve the right to edit for style and space.

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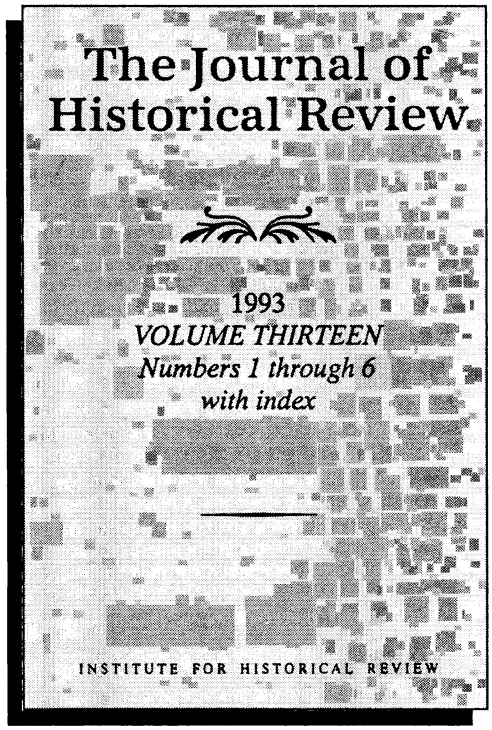

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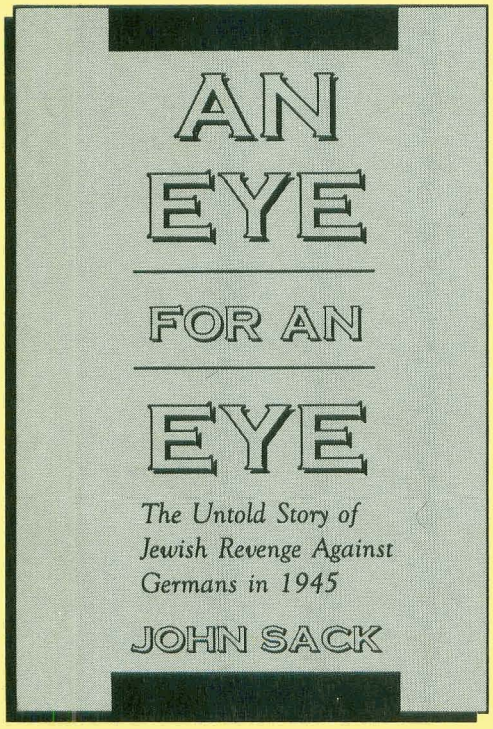

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